

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN

known in religious life as

FRANCIS MARY OF THE CROSS JORDAN

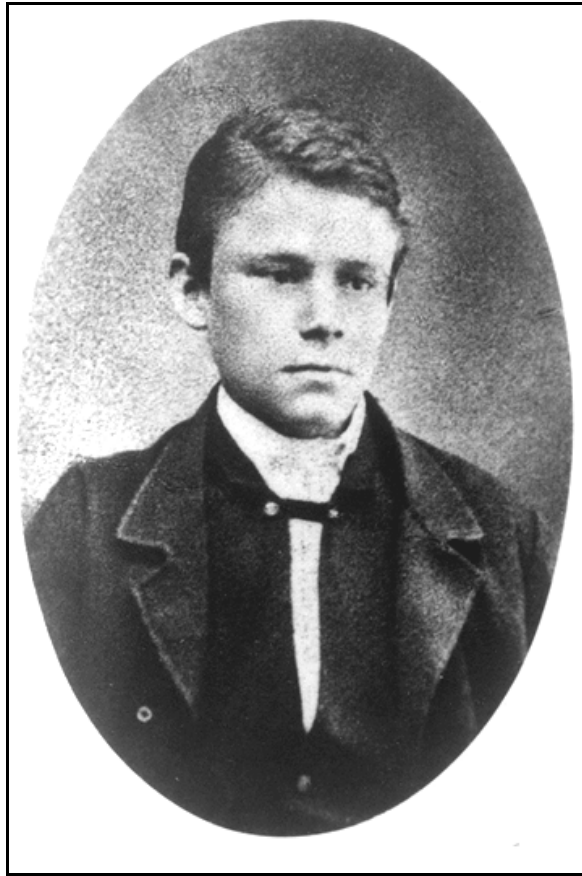
Childhood, Youth, and Young Adulthood
1848-1878

DSS XIII, Text and Excursus

A Biographical Study by
Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

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John Baptist Jordan

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

John Baptist Jordan, known later as Francis Mary of the Cross, founded two Salvatorian religious communities: The Society of the Divine Savior (Fathers and Brothers) and the Congregation of the Divine Savior (Sisters). This volume, DSS XIII, presents the early period of Jordan's life: from his birth to his ordination to the priesthood (1848-1878).

Up till now, little attention has been paid to Jordan's lineage and family. Reminiscences of his contemporaries are more or less the only documentary sources and these are often rather unclear. Therefore, I have sought and consulted all the existing documents. This explains why his family history gets so much space and attention here. This is also why, as an introduction to his actual life, I present more information and insight concerning the poverty and want of Jordan's earlier life—similar to what was suffered at that time by so many Christian families in that part of Europe.

I have consulted professors Wolfgang Müller, Hubert Jedin, Julius Dorneich and Victor Conzemius for information on the religious and political situation prevailing in the Grand Duchy of Baden at that time.

Each volume projected for this biography of our Founder will have two general sections: one narrative and the other more technical. The first tells the basic story; the second part [called in this edition "A Closer Look"] gives more detailed and technical information and background by way of documents, appendices and footnotes.

My friend Rudolf Ehrensperger and his wife have my warm thanks for searching through the archives of Jordan's homeland. I also thank Sr. Lioba Rieth, SDS, for being my knowledgeable secretary. Very cordial thanks are also due to those responsible for the archives in Gurtweil Parish and town; the Bühl Parish; the Waldshut Parish, town and district; Radolfzell City; the parishes, gymnasium and City of Constance; the episcopal and university archives of Freiburg i Br.; St. Peter i. Schw.; and others.

The SDS Chronology was developed with great effort by Fr. Alois Filthaut, then postulator, and supplemented and reformatted by the "editorial group" solely with reference to other chronologies (Sr. Avellina, DSS XIII).

Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS
Rome: 8 December, 1979

EDITOR'S PREFACE

June 1990

With this volume begins the serialization of the monumental research biography of Father Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan written by Fr. Timotheus (Robert) Edwein, SDS, priest of the Swiss Province. Although Fr. Edwein died before finishing this biography, he did complete his narrative up to 1909. He had envisioned one more volume to conclude the series. The original German text of his work appeared between 1981 and 1986 and comprises *Documenta et Studia Salvatoriana* (DSS) XIII - XVII.I.

Fr. Edwein intended this as a documentary resource which would later be summarized in a "Vita" and submitted to the curial office dealing with the process for canonizing saints. He never thought of it as a definitive biography, but as a working text. Thus, he was always careful to tell others that this was for personal and internal use of the Society and its members. He did not see it as ready for widespread publication. Although the text admittedly contains many small errors, it remains a valuable reference.

Each of the volumes of Fr. Edwein's work is divided into two sections: a basic narrative section plus a section of *Excurses*. This second section contains more in-depth information along with documentation and footnotes. In the DSS the combined narrative for all seven volumes is about 650 pages. The *Excurses* containing documents and footnotes, encompass another 2,300 pages.

Many thanks are due to Fr. Bardo Buff, SDS, of the US Province [+1991] who worked patiently over a period of four years to translate the whole of the narrative section, and to Fr. Franz Leicht, SDS, of the South

German Province [+1997] who polished some of the narrative and continued working at the documentation and footnote sections. Mere gratitude is scant recompense for their gift to future generations of English readers, Salvatorian and non-Salvatorians, especially to those in formation and to the rest of us in continuing formation. So we not only thank them, we bless them! It is hoped that these pages will be widely read, enjoyed and applied!

We hope this translation will aid further research. We thank Frs. Peter van Meijl, Joseph Henn, and Mrs. Jody Junk for their translation and/or transcription services.

Fr. Thomas Novak, SDS

EDITOR'S PREFACE

January 2005

After a break of almost 15 years this project has recently be revived at the prompting of the International Historical Commission. The goal is translation, publication and dissemination in English of the German text, fully realizing that the current text is not letter perfect. Clearly the work done here has in some ways already been superceded by many other excellent Salvatorian historians, including notably Fr. Peter Van Meijl, SDS, Fr, Michael Piela, SDS, and many others who have worked on the cause of beatifying the Founder or have added research on his charism.

This edition never questions the first translators' decisions to abridge or omit material, nor was the effort made to recheck every fact or citation. Efforts have been made, however, to regularize the formats found in the various volumes, which changed (at subtly, at abruptly) over the years of composition. Wherever possible the original footnote numbering, etc. have been retained to aid those who desire to compare this edition with the German text. Each Excursus has been given a brief descriptive title which serves as a kind of mini-index. No other index is provided here. Corrections which appeared in later volumes have been incorporated in the text. One standard list of abbreviations has been drawn up and is included in each volume.

Following American-English style, very short paragraphs in the original text have sometimes been incorporated into the paragraph immediately preceding or following. One other small attempt to make the text a bit more reader friendly was to replace the somewhat off putting term "*Excuse*" with the more inviting "A Closer Look." Finally, although the original text is divided in to two parts, text and excursus, here each excursus section has been placed immediately after the text material. This change makes volume XIII now the same as all the later volumes.

Fr. Daniel Pekarske, SDS
Morogoro, Tanzania

SHORT CHRONOLOGY

(1848-1878)

1848, June 16	Birth
June 17	Baptism
1855 - 1862	Elementary school
1855	Father's accident
1860, September 20	Confirmation
1861, April 7	First Communion
1862 -1864	Day laborer
1863, May 19	Father's death
1864 - 1866	Painter's apprentice
1867 - 1868	Journeyman travel
1869	Military recruit
1869 - 1870	Private studies
1870, July/August	Soldier
1870 - 1874	High school student
1874 - 1877	University student
1877 - 1878	Seminarian at St. Peter
1878, March 15	Sub Diaconate
March 16	Diaconate
July 21	Ordination
July 25	First Mass

ABBREVIATIONS

AGS	<i>Archivum Generale Societatis Divini Salvatoris, Rome</i>
Beringer	Leo Beringer, <i>Geschichte des Dorfes Gurtweil</i> (History of the Village of Gurtweil) <i>Selbstverlag der Gemeinde Gurtweil</i> , 1960.
CS	<i>Archivio del Campo Santo Teutonico, Rome</i>
Dor	Dor, Franz. <i>"Gottfried Nagele, ein stilles Priester- und Gelehrtenleben"</i> Rastatt, 1918.
GAG	<i>Gemeinde-archiv Gurtweil</i>
i p.i.	<i>in partibus infidelium</i> , until 1882 the designation for titular bishops
Kissling	Kissling, J. B. <i>History of the "Kulturkampf" in the German Reich</i> . Herder, I/1911, II/1913, III/1916.
St. A. Buch	<i>Standesamt - Buch</i>
SD	Spiritual Diary (<i>Geistliches Tagebuch</i>) DSS XXII. Unless otherwise indicated with a Roman numeral, all references are to SD book I.
Werber	Werber, Anton. <i>"Ein Ultramontaner diesseit der Alpen"</i> in <i>Freie Stimme</i> , August, 1920.

-In documentary citations "F" signifies photocopy. Any other upper case letters with no further archival identification refers to materials in ASG

To regularize this volume with later volumes, the two sections, "Text" and "A Closer Look" have been integrated. Thus, here for example, the text of chapter one is immediately followed by the excursus material for chapter 1, etc. Footnotes appear at the appropriate place in the text rather than in a separate section of endnotes

As far as possible all the emendations listed in later volumes are incorporated in this text. All footnotes have been appropriately integrated in a way that makes it easy to refer back to the original German text. Typographical errors such as repeated page numbers or gaps in footnote numbering have been corrected.

This edition contains none of the indexes found in the German original. But as an aid to the reader the table of contents has been expanded, listing the subject headings of all the excursus material.

1. The Homeland and Ancestry of John Baptist Jordan

John Baptist Jordan was born June 16, 1848, and grew up in Gurtweil, at that time part of the Grand Duchy of Baden. Gurtweil was then a quiet hamlet, population 460. Situated some distance off the main road between Waldshut and Tiengen, it is sheltered in a valley open to the southeast. The village stands on a plateau of glacial boulders protecting it against flooding on the Schlücht River, which, after forming a deep gulch through the granite and gneiss formations and running through a wide valley, flows out of the Black Forest east of the village. There it joins the Wutach and eventually flows to the Rhine. **See, A Closer Look: 1.1. Gurtweil.** North of the village the terrain rises steeply toward the Black Forest. To the west and southwest Gurtweil is separated from the county seat of Waldshut by wooded hills. Tiengen is easily accessible by going east over the bridge spanning the Schlücht.

"Gurtwila" began as a Frankish settlement. First written mention is found in a document in the Rheinau Monastery dated 873. Gurtweil is situated between the Klettgau territories (both German and Swiss) and the Albgau (formerly the Alpengau) with Wutach to the east, the upper Rhine to the south, and the Wehra to the west. The village itself is dominated by the church and monastery-castle. In the Middle Ages, Gurtweil belonged to the parish of Tiengen. In 1612 it founded its own parish. Gurtweil had belonged to the diocese of Constance until the Archdiocese of Freiburg was established as a result of the Napoleonic reorganization of southwest Germany in the early nineteenth century.

John Baptist Jordan was the second of three sons born to Lorenz Jordan and Notburga Peter, who had set up their household in 1848. **See, 1.2. Gurtweil in 1848: the revolutionary year.** The Jordan family had come to Gurtweil around the middle of the 18th century. **See, 1.3. Jordan Family history.** At that time Josef Jordan of Nöggenschwiel married Maria Schlosser in Gurtweil. The marriage was fruitful, though 5 of their 8 children died in childhood. (When Josef Jordan first came to Gurtweil in 1754, he must not have brought any property with him. There is a

listing of Gurtweil properties from 1766. No Jordan appears there, but by 1758 the property of Josef Jordan is listed as worth 781 Gulden.)

John Michael Jordan carried on the family name. He married Maria Müller in 1784. Together they had five children. As a small farmer he certainly added something to his inheritance during his 30-year marriage since he was able to leave enough property to his only surviving son, Franz, for him to start his own household. As was common at the time, John Michael and his wife transferred their estate to Franz when the latter married (April 22, 1812). The parents then moved in with their son's family. Both John Michael and Maria died two years later.

Franz Jordan was the grandfather of John Baptist. He married Anastasia Klemm in what was for her a second marriage, and they were blessed with two boys and three girls, none of whom fell victim to the high infant mortality of that time. In fact, all of them reached a good age. The two sons, Lorenz and Anton, and the daughter Katherine married; while the other two girls, Elizabeth and Magdalen remained single due to their poverty. Franz must have been very enterprising. He was a farmer, a forester, and a day laborer. As a church trustee and town judge he must certainly have enjoyed the confidence and respect of his community. This undoubtedly benefitted his six children. Hence, it is rather puzzling that in 1841 and 1842, Franz was forced to barter part of his property and then sell the remainder to satisfy his creditors. He barely managed to keep a roof over the family's head. First he exchanged his house for a much smaller one into which he moved his wife and children. Then he sold all his land, pastures and vineyards to a Jewish businessman in Tiengen. **See, 1.4. Jordan Family's economic situation.**

When this happened his children ranged in age from 17 to 24; none of them could now expect to receive any inheritance or dowry, and each would have to earn his own bread. The oldest son, Lorenz (later to be Baptist's father), immediately after finishing school went to work as a man-servant and groom at a tavern, "The Angel" in nearby Rheinheim. The two youngest daughters, Elizabeth and Magdalene, continued as

day laborers; they were never able to set up households of their own. The three oldest children were successful in doing so but only with great difficulty and then only later in life.

At the time his father liquidated their property, Lorenz Jordan had already been working at "The Angel" for seven years. It was there that he met the maid Notburga Peter. They were eager to set up their household together, particularly after she bore them a healthy son, Martin, on November 12, 1843. Until their marriage became possible, Martin was being raised in the home of his mother's parents in Bühl, where he was also baptized in the parish church. Lorenz and Notburga, however, were not able to marry until June 8, 1848 after there had been a property settlement between Lorenz, the eldest son, and his father Franz, as well as with the rest of the family. Franz and his wife Anastasia were now about 62 years old and ready to move in with their son Lorenz. This, however, was a difficult inheritance for Lorenz: to house his parents along with his younger brothers and sisters. Though Franz had managed to pay off most of his own indebtedness, new debts again overtook him and encumbered his property far above its real value. Nevertheless, Lorenz resolved to assume the burden of sheltering his parents as well as his unmarried brothers and sisters. This decision opened the way for him and Notburga finally to be married.

John Baptist's mother, Notburga Peter from Bühl in Klettgau, had also come from a large family. **See, 1.5. Baptist's mother's native place.** Her father, Athanas Peter, had married Elizabeth Sauer in a first marriage that produced nine children. All died soon after birth except for the oldest, Josef, and the seventh, Notburga. Elizabeth, Baptist's grand-mother, died when her daughter Notburga was only three years old. Athanas remarried shortly after and Notburga gained a stepmother under whom she endured a very hard life. There was little time for laughter or childhood fun. She was always forced, almost driven to work very hard just to survive the burdens of life. As soon as she left school, she had to hire herself out as a maid. No doubt this contributed to her sober and cool mind, far removed from pious sentimentality. She proved her love for

her family by working hard and fighting to overcome their legacy of poverty.

Notburga's paternal grandfather, Josef Peter, had been a tailor from the hamlet of Bühl-Oberhof. His parents had been small farmers as were his wife's parents and their parents before them. Maternal grandfather, Xavier Sauer had also worked as a miner. All this shows that John Baptist's family on his mother's side was also familiar with poverty.

Trusting in their youthful energies, Lorenz and Notburga were confident they could meet their pressing financial obligations. Eager to start their family, they resolved to get married in spite of all the difficulties facing them. So on June 8, 1848, Lorenz and Notburga were married in church. Sadly, a shadow hung over the couple's happy day: Anastasia Jordan, Lorenz's mother, had died just a few days before the wedding of her eldest son. But happily eight days after their wedding the second son, John Baptist, was born. He was baptized the next day.

Anton Jordan, Lorenz's younger brother and the uncle and godfather of little John Baptist, had lived and earned his bread outside the family home for a time. But from 1868 on he moved home again to work. He had the right to live in the family home and exercised that right until he married. **See, 1.6. Baptist's relatives; 1.7. Right to dwell in the Jordan Family home.** Anton worked as forester for several years. In 1872, at age fifty-one, he married Wilhelmine Dörflinger who had already borne him one daughter, Adelheid, on January 18, 1870. He died in 1897. His god-child, John Baptist, certainly never had any help from his uncle, though he did not want for anything either. The uncle remained one of the poor Jordans. Not much more is known about him except that by 1876 he was no longer a forester, as by that time he had received permission to collect firewood in the state forests—a traditional entitlement of the very poor.

Baptist had even less contact with his three aunts than with his uncle. The eldest, Katharina, had one son Theodore, who grew up together with Lorenz's three sons. But Katharina eventually married and left the family

home. She is listed as deceased in 1874. The 2 younger aunts, Elizabeth and Magdalena, remained single and worked as day-laborers, never succeeding to work their way out of poverty. Magdalena hired out in Oberlauchringen, where she bore a son, Englebert, who grew up there. She returned in her last years to live in Gurtweil where she died on October 21, 1899, having survived all her brothers and sisters.

Elizabeth lived her entire life in Gurtweil as a day-laborer—a poor and not particularly “respectable” life. Her name is found on all the lists of the village poor entitled to collect wood in the state forests each year. Finding their names on these lists confirms two things: that the aunts did live in Gurtweil (as did Anton, his uncle, at least in his last years); and that they ranked among the village “poor.” Elizabeth had three sons. One of them stayed at home and the other two tried their luck in the New World like so many others without means. Elizabeth, being single, claimed her right to live in the Jordan Family home. But both Elizabeth and Magdalena waived these rights in March 1881 in exchange for a lien on a certain piece of land. In this way their nephew Martin and his wife were able to secure a single mortgage on their house from one creditor, and to pay off all their other smaller creditors. Elizabeth died in Gurtweil on November 2, 1891, before Martin's wife and before her sister-in-law Notburga, Baptist's mother. **See, 1.8. Baptist's other relatives.**

All in all we can say that in Gurtweil the Jordans were numbered among the poor and debt-ridden citizens; their voices did not carry much weight. Their reputation and influence were considerably reduced after Franz's mismanagement of family affairs. Although some of John Baptist's relatives bore downright bad reputations, his own parents, Lorenz and Notburga did not. They were esteemed and respected by all as more “praiseworthy Christians,” than even their parents. It is a pity John Baptist's siblings did not always live up to their parents' good reputation. Particularly as a priest John Baptist, sensitive as he was, must have suffered from the poor reputation which some of the Jordans had in Gurtweil. Thus, it must have seemed all the more important for him to bring his aging mother some consolation and joy with his short visits.

1. The Homeland and Ancestry of John Baptist Jordan. A Closer Look

1.1. Gurtweil: Today's village of Gurtweil¹ mirrors the characteristic industrial development seen between Tiengen and Waldshut. The population of the "Pylon Village" of Schluchsee-AG now exceeds 1,500. Gurtweil lies 327 meters above sea level. At the lowest point within its boundaries (319 m) the Wutach River enters the Rhine. In the southwest the Arberg rises to 444 m, and in the west the Hungerberg rises to 647 m. The distance by road from Gurtweil to Tiengen is only 3 km. It is 6 km to Waldshut; but going through the valley, over the mountain and through a shadowy forest, the distance is only 4.2 km. [Paragraph omitted by translator.] Gurtweil was favorably situated along the old Basel-Constance highway skirting the 140 km long Upper-Rhine. It had easy access to Tiegen via the old south-north thoroughfare constructed by the Romans in 72 C.E. as a paved imperial road from Windsich (*Vindonissa*) to Rottweil (*Arae Flaviae*) via Zurich (*Tenedo*), Rheinheim and Schleithelm (*Juliomagnus*). Gurtweil was always well connected to Switzerland.

Older atlases often indicate *Bruckhaus* (Bridge House) instead of Gurtweil because this customs house at the bridge was so important for commerce along the right bank of the Upper Rhine. Situated at the eastern end of the village, in the 19th century it was also a shelter with public baths. In Jordan's time a thatched-roofed wooden bridge spanned the Schlücht River. The customs house was closed in 1871, and since 1905 a safe stone bridge has spanned the often rapid waters of the Schlücht.

The Schlücht flows near St. Blasien out of the Schlüchtsee (900 m above sea level). The Wutach River comes out of the Foldsee (1,100 m above sea level) flowing through the Titisee. At its beginning it is called Gutach (good water), but then in the Watchschlucht (*schlucht* means gorge) it becomes a rapid mountain river (*wutach* means raging *ach*).

¹ Leo Beringer, pastor in Gurtweil (1929-1952) wrote "History of the Village of Gurtweil," 1960.

Territorially, Gurtweil belongs to the Albgau² (Alb-region) which as Alpengau was separated from Klettgau in 524 and added to the Kingdom of the Franks. In the ensuing years it became increasingly difficult to safeguard its regional independence from the far larger Breisgau, which threatened it in the west and north. In a similar way the still independent Klettgau tried to dominate the Hegau in the west.

In the 3rd century C.E. the Alemans, a race of Guexbens, had fought their way in hard battles up the Upper Rhine and into the region of Lake Constance. But already by the year 500 their political might was broken by the Merovingian Chlodwig, and they merged with the Franco-German colonists who established themselves as the country's upper class.

The inhabitants of Gurtweil dislike being considered *Hotzenwälder*, despite their common border with the Hotzenwald in the northwest and their propensity to make common cause in their aggressive love of freedom. They contrast their gentler and more joyful character and temperament with their Alemannian neighbors living on the rough plateau of the southern Black Forest. These were mostly saltpeter refiners, raftsmen and miners in the nearby Hauensteiner Land. They were formed and stamped by a struggle for survival more harsh than the Gurtweilers'. In addition, these Gurtweilers looked enviously at their Swiss neighbors enjoying the greater liberties they had won for themselves. In the hopes that they might be able to achieve the same liberties, in the 18th century "the old Hotzeners and saltpeterers" resisted the pressure of Austria and the hard servitude of their royal monastery, St. Blasien. In the 19th century, unhappy with the ecclesiastical renewals of Baron von Wessenberg in Constance as well as the burdensome measures of the new lord of the country, the Grand-Duke in Karlsruhe, they put their hopes in the Revolution of 1848-1849 in Baden and never wavered in supporting the popular freedom movement.

The name *Hotzenwälder* carries the glorious fame of the robust people of the southern Black Forest of Hauensteiner Land –people who never wavered in their fight for freedom. But the name itself is more recent. The geographic designation *Hotzenwald* only dates back to 1877.

² For a detailed map of Waldshut District, see German DSS XIII. Part II, 4.

It was given to the region on both sides of the Alb Valley from Buch and straight to Albruck, that is, to an important part of Hauenstainer Land which bordered the Albgau toward the south. In atlases of 1900, the region is identified for the first time as Hotzenland. The name *Hotz* comes perhaps from *Hotzenhaus*, an old form of the southern Black Forest houses. The bulky defense tower of Pelagius Church at Hochsal was once called "The Old Hotz."

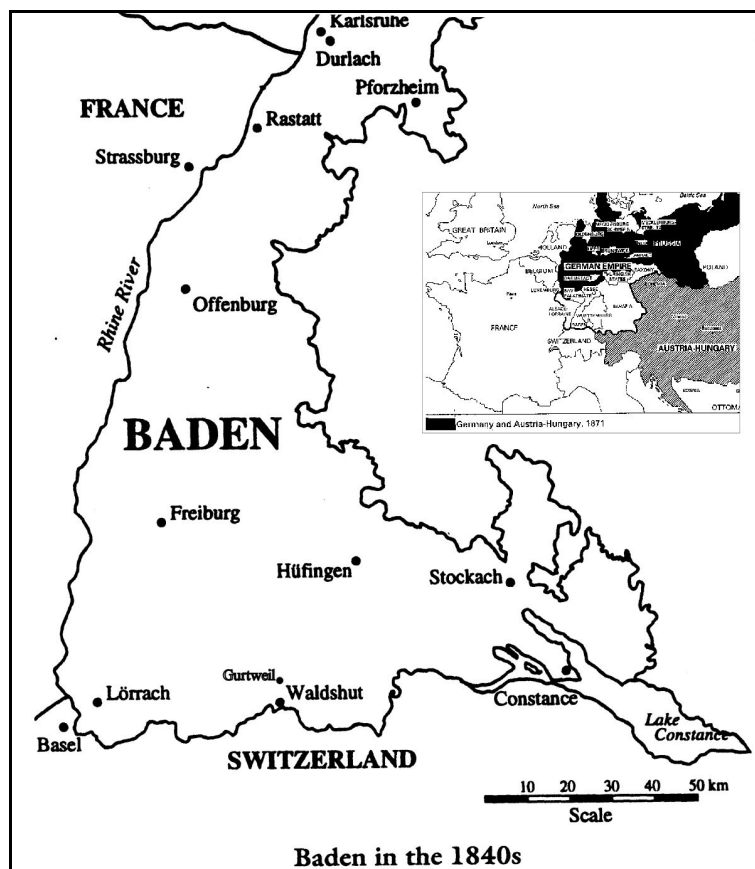
In its early days Gurtweil was ecclesiastically and economically dependent on Tiengen. This village-like town in the Klettgau lies only half-an-hour east of Gurtweil between the Wutach and the Upper Rhine (350 m above sea level). Though it has a longer history than the Austrian Waldshut, the latter subsequently surpassed Tiengen in importance. At the Baroque parish church of Tiengen, the work of *Vorarlberger* Peter Thumb (1753-1755), a plaque commemorates an event which highlights Tiengen's importance in the Middle Ages: "In the former old church at this spot Bernhard of Clairvaux preached the crusade on December 8-9, 1146." Whenever he was in Tiengen, Baptist never failed to visit this house of God.

The name Gurtweil itself comes perhaps from the combining *curtis* + *villa*. Curtis was the Merovingian-Franconian name for a large estate. At that time "villa" meant the surrounding hamlet in which mostly craftsmen settled under the protection of the farm estate.³

At about the turn of the first millennium Gurtweil came under the influence of the Monastery of St. Gallen. Since the middle of the 13th century it stood under Habsburg authority. Through Austrian hegemony the Monastery of St. Blasien was able to gain a foothold at Gurtweil. So Gurtweil from 1646 to 1806 became a dependency of St. Blasien, which at that time served as a window towards the south for this important royal monastery. Thus, even today Gurtweil boasts of its "castle" as well as its astonishingly large and stylish parish church (relative to the small size of

³ At that time the two words borrowed from the Romans had already lost their original Latin meaning (*cohors* = enclosure, yard; *villa* = country house, leasehold farm).

the village) which it owes to St. Blasien.⁴ After the erection of the Grand Dukedom of Baden in 1806, the castle became the property of the town and it was sold in 1822. In 1857 a new religious congregation, Sisters of the Precious Blood, bought the castle for a convent, but they were expelled during the *Kulturkampf* in 1873. In 1896 the castle was acquired for use as an archepiscopal home for girls; it was taken over by sisters again and greatly improved in the following years.



⁴ The church patrons of Gurtweil are apostles, Simon and Jude Thaddaeus.

1.2. Gurtweil in 1848: the revolutionary year. In history of the German church, 1848 marks the first *Katholikentage* in Mainz as well as the first bishops' conference in Würzburg. Gurtweil itself was less affected by such ecclesiastical events than by the political events unfolding in Baden. The democratic movement led by Struve and Hecker which inaugurated the Baden Revolution found a quiet echo at Gurtweil. In April 1848, about 34 Gurtweilers joined the roughly 400 irregulars engaged to fight for civil freedom. These however were defeated near Gagern on April 20.⁵ In April of the following year the democratic revolution in South Baden flared up again. On July 7, 1849, about 700 freedom fighters quartered at Gurtweil. When the government called in Prussian soldiers these men retreated over the nearby Swiss border and voluntarily disarmed. Gurtweil itself now had to carry the burden of billeting the Prussians and Bavarians. 25 Gurtweilers were arrested. The castle again became a hospital especially for typhoid patients. Luckily this postlude to the Baden Revolution took place in summer, not in winter (Beringer, 222ff). Doubtless Jordan's newly married parents experienced the hardships such events inevitably caused in a little village.

1.3. Jordan Family history: When Prince-Abbot Martin of St. Blasien introduced a fire brigade in the territory of the monastery he drew up a list of the houses of Gurtweil. On this list are several house owners with the family name Schlosser. Josef Jordan's wife was a Schlosser (Beringer, 243). These were great-great grandparents of Baptist Jordan.

Josef Jordan of Nögenschwiel (November 7, 1726-1774, October 1) married in 1754 Maria Schlosser of Gurtweil (August 4, 1730-1791, January 25). The Jordans came to Nöggen-schwiel in the 17th century. The family was very prolific (cf., Beringer, 138).⁶

⁵ Near Günterstal, east of Freiburg i. Br. At that time the Gurtweiler Franz Schlosser fell in battle.

⁶ The name Jordan was at that time a common family name. We find it in the oldest Who's Whos. The priest catalogue of the Diocese of Freiburg indicates priests of this name since the year 1600. Still today, this name is to be found in columns of telephone books of western Switzerland. It is equally often found in

Nöggenschwiel (*Notgeri Villa*) is situated about 2 hours north of Gurtweil on the rough plateau of the southwestern Black Forest. Josef Jordan's father, George, had married twice in Nöggenschwiel. From each marriage there were 5 children; to those who survived childhood the modest farmer could give nothing, especially not to one like Josef who chose to marry "outside." Through Stefan Jordan, Josef's brother, the family came to Indlekofen, and from there to Waldshut about 1880. Michael Jordan, the great-grandfather of Baptist, outlived his wife by hardly a month.

On the 27th of Hornung [February] at 4 a.m. died here and was buried today at 10 a.m. Maria Müller, wife of Michael Jordan day laborer. Was born here October 7, 1754. Witnesses are Johanna Jordan and Blasius Jehlin. Gurtweil, 22 Hornung, 1814, Joseph Mayer, curate (Death Register of Gurtweil, nr. 22).

On March 21, at 1 p.m. died here and today was buried Johann Michael Jordan, widower of the late Maria Müller, day laborer. Was born here on September 29, 1757, witnesses were Vincent Gamp and Johanna Jordan. Gurtweil March 23, 1814. Joseph Meyer, curate (Death Register of Gurtweil, nr. 27).

Franz Jordan, Baptist's grandfather, first married Katharina Hauser (September 18, 1784-1917, May 9) on April 22, 1812. This marriage lasted only 5 years. Franz Jordan lost his wife before she reached 33.

On May 1st, 1817 at 9 a.m. died here and was buried today at 9 a.m. Katharina Hauser, wife of the citizen Franz Jordan. She was born here on autumn month 18, 1784; witnesses are Anshelm Hilpert and Johann Baptist Jordan, Gurtweil, May 3, 1817, Joseph Meyer, curate (Death Register of Gurtweil, 35, nr. 1).

the neighboring French-speaking parts of the country, as well as in villages on the right bank of the Rhine. Since 1754, the name of Jordan is also found in the Badish Village of Gurtweil.

The first child of this marriage, Maria Ursula,⁷ was 3 years old when Franz remarried. Two months after the burial of his first wife "on hay month 3, 1817," Franz Jordan married 30 year-old Anastasia Klemm of Gurtweil, who bore him 6 healthy children and stood bravely at his side for over 30 years until she was called home by God 16 years before him.

In the year 1848 on June 3 at 3 a.m. died here at the age of 62 and was buried on the 5th at 7 a.m. Anastasia Klemm, wife of the citizen Franz Jordan . . . [On the margin Vicar Clar notes:] Anastasia Jordan, 62 years old (Death Register of Gurtweil, 169, nr. 6).

In terms of work, Franz Jordan was astonishingly multifaceted. In the register of marriages of Gurtweil of 1812 he was listed by the parish priest as a simple *tauner*, i.e., day laborer. He was listed in just the same way at the occasion of his second marriage in 1817. But when his son Anton was baptized the curate listed him as "Judge of the Common" (Baptism Register of Gurtweil 1821, 40, nr. 1). At the baptism of his daughter Katharina the parish priest listed the occupation of Franz Jordan as church-warden and farmer (Baptism Register of Gurtweil 1821, 48f, nr. 14).⁸ Franz Jordan was also sexton from 1832 to 1836. Where the Baptism Register of Gurtweil lists the baptism of the oldest son of the second marriage, Lorenz, the curate also adds the occupation of the father, Franz Jordan, as "*tauner* and church-warden." Also here the baptizing curate discretely notes: "*copulati* 1817, July 3." In regard to Lorenz, Baptist's father, is noted: "Born 1818, July 28, 9 a.m., baptized 3 p.m." The Death Register indicates no profession.

In the year 1864, August 17, at 8:30 a.m. died here and was buried the 19th at 9 a.m. by the undersigned: Franz Jordan, widower 78 years old of the late Anastasia née Klemm . . . Gurtweil, August 19, 1864, K. Gessler, curate and dean (Death Register of Gurtweil, 241).

⁷ Ursula later married the town clerk Josef Bercher of Oberlauchringen and reached the almost biblical age of 95 years.

⁸ In the Register of Baptism of his daughter Elisabeth's children, Franz Jordan is again listed as a simple farmer; Heinrich and Johannes Jordan as resp. country man; Hermann the same or as just day laborer like Joseph and Magdalena.

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN: PATERNAL ANCESTRY (Excerpt)

Father

Lorenz Jordan
28/07/1818-1863/05/19

Grandparents

Franz Jordan = 03/07/1817 (2nd) = Anastasia Klemm
(05/10/1786-1864/08/01) (21/12/1786-1848/06/03)

Great Grandparents

Maria Müller = 23/02/1784 = Johann Michael Jordan = 26/04/1774 = Maria Gamp
(07/10/1754-1814/02/27) (29/09/1757-1814/03/21) (04/04/1743-1812/08/22) (15/08/1745-1814/01/18)

Great-Great Grandparents (Parents of Great Grandfather)

Maria Schlosser = 10/11/1754 = Josef Jordan = 09/09/1738 = Katharina Doerflinger
(04/08/1730-1791/01/25) (07/11/1726-1774/10/01) (1711-1762/09/02) (1713-1776/08/15)

Great-Great-Grandparents (Parents of Great Grandmother)

Magdalena Zuber = 08/07/1753 = Josephus Mueller = 23/04/1739 = Anna Jehlin
(19/07/1728-1812/03/21) (18/01/1732-1813/09/13) (??-1756/11/23) (12/11/1719-1792/05/16)

Great-Great-Great Grandfather (Parents of Josef Jordan)

Katharina Banholzer = 29/02/1715 (2nd) = Georg Jordan
(1689-1740/06/08) (?? - 1728/03/14)

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN: MATERNAL ANCESTRY (Excerpt)

Mother

Notburga Peter
(15/03/1823-1896/12/02)

Grandparents

Athanas Peter = 23/11/1812 = Elisabeth Saurer
(24/05/1789-1845/07/05) (26/05/1790-1826/07/26)

Great Grandparents

M. Elisabeth Dörflinger = 27/11/1776 = Joseph Peter
(17/11/1751-1827/08/26) (30/01/1739-1813/09/09) Fintan Saurer = 29/01/1788 = Idda Widmer
(25/10/1762-1824/06/13)

Great-Great-Grandparents (Parents of Great-Grandfather)

Dorothea Griesser = 06/07/1732 = Konrad Peter
(21/03/1703-1780/04/07) (24/11/1698-1754/06/09) Xaver Saurer = 19/05/1760 = Maria Peter-Mayer
(25/10/1723-1763/05/26)

Great-Great-Grandparents (Parents of Great-Grandmother)

Katharina Griesser = 10/04/1747 = Konrad Dörflinger
(24/11/1723-1793/09/07) (24/10/1717-1780/04/20) Fintan Widdmer = 07/02/1752 = Maria Weissenberger
(12/01/1727-1786/11/24)

1.4. Jordan Family's economic situation [heavily edited]: Today we cannot definitely ascertain what led to the economic ruin of the Jordan Family.⁹ With his wife Maria Müller, Michael Jordan had eight children. But with the exception of Franz and his one brother Johann Baptist, all died in early childhood. Thus from the parents' side, children were not the reason for their indebtedness.¹⁰

⁹ An explanation of some concepts found within the documents. DSS XIII.II pp. 16-26 have been condensed here by the translator.

-*Leibgeding* was the name for the parents' old-age settlement, mostly fixed by contract when they handed over their property. In the parish register, Michael Jordan died as *Leibgedinger*.

-*Berain* was an exact description with the indication of rights and burdens of the taxes and interests to be paid, that is a kind of land-register.

-*Tauner* is the old word for day-laborer with a little property of his own.

-*Kaufschilling* means a purchase debt secured by pledge, i.e., mortgage.

Before the 1873 standardization of weights and measures the following units were in use:

-*Jauchert* (*Juchart*) was an acre of tillable land; an acre referred to a meadow to be mowed.

-*Morgen* was originally a measure of time. It came to be a measure of area: what a farmer could work in a full morning. Correspondingly, a *Jauchert* was equal to 1½ *Morgen*.

-A *Mannsmahd* was equally 1½ acres.

-A *Rute* was equal to 10 feet, equal to 100 Zoll, equal to 3 meters. A square-*Rute* (often simply called *Rute*) was 9 m²; a *Morgen* amounted to 400 square-*Ruten* of 36 acres.

-A *Vierling* (*Vrlg*) was equal to a quarter of a *Morgen* or 9 acres.

-One Gulden (1 fl = florin) corresponded to 60 Kreuzer (kr or xr) or 25 sh (Schilling from escudo); one Pfund (pondo) was 20 shilling.

-4 Gulden were one Dukaten; 2 Gulden were one Reichsthaler in Baden.

-In 1875 the Mark-currency was introduced (1 fl. = 1.71 Mark)

¹⁰ It can not be ascertained today whether Franz Jordan had to take over a modest debt together with the parental house when his father became a *Leibgedinger*. At that time this was a matter-of-course at each property transfer in poor circles. Poor families with many children were always in want of money in those times and could hardly manage their household without temporary

Franz Jordan (Baptist's grandfather) seems to have been an enterprising man but he had no luck in business. Maybe he was too sober and strict by way of calculation. Whatever the case, by about 1840 the indebtedness of the prolific family of Franz Jordan had reached the sum of 4,500 Gulden, which was simply oppressive.¹¹ His eldest daughter Ursula was able to earn something and wanted to start her own family. At that time the children of the second marriage were still in school or just beginning to earn their own bread as young farm hands.

Franz Jordan tried at first to fulfill his obligations by selling small parts of his land. On January 14, 1841, he auctioned his part of the "common property" for 241 Gulden. Shortly after that he sold fields for 100 Gulden to "the innkeeper Josef Hierlinger."

Already in spring 1841, Franz and Anastasia Jordan intended to move in with the daughter from his first marriage, Maria Ursula Jordan. Thus a contract of sale was drawn up on March 29, 1841: "The citizen Franz Jordan and his wife Anastasia Klemm from here sell freely all their common property, house and land, to their single major daughter Maria Ursula Jordan." The sum of purchase was fixed with 4,226 Florins. At the same time they arranged: "The purchase-shilling at 5% interest rate will be passed to account for the liabilities of the sellers, starting on St. George's Day 1841." Therefore, the impending debts had to be paid at once with the proceeds of the sale.

On the following day, March 30, 1841, they concluded a "contract about movables and right of home and sustenance." Franz Jordan leaves to his daughter Ursula all "movables" for 420 fl. with the exception of some furniture for his sons and daughters. Franz Jordan was willing to give her half of his income as long as he would be able to work as forest warden or at any other job. It is understandable that Ursula Jordan

indebtedness. Early capitalism was often built on the backs of poor citizens and families with many children, whose children were often pushed off the land and into the working class.

¹¹ Family tradition says Franz Jordan had taken over building a section of the Schlücht road. He failed and this caused his indebtedness.

felt herself overcharged because when all was said and done she and all her family would have had just one room in their new house.

Fortunately, his neighbor Peter Cku was ready to exchange his house with Franz Jordan for 3,100 Gulden. So he received 2,000 Gulden in cash which the municipal council transferred to his creditors. Among the creditors Ursula Jordan received 800 fl. maybe from the still unpaid inheritance of her mother. To Franz Jordan and his numerous family there remained from the trade just 217.57 fl. Now he was hardly even a day laborer. On July 15, 1844, he finally sold all his property, meadows, fields, wood and vines for 2,300 Gulden. But some debts still remained.

On May 17, 1848, Franz Jordan and his wife sighed with relief as they transferred their property to their son Lorenz (Baptist's father), keeping for themselves the right of home and maintenance. Lorenz also had to guarantee the right of dwelling to his single brothers and sisters for as long as they remained single. In the contract of transfer Lorenz declared "determined and unequivocal expressions that he accepted the present donation of his parents, the Franz Jordan couple, under the given conditions." Also the adult children had to agree to this transfer of property to their older brother and be satisfied with their right of home. After Ursula Jordan with her husband's consent agreed to this transfer, the contract was legally concluded in Waldshut, June 23, 1848.¹²

1.5. Baptist's mother's native place was Bühl in Klettgau. Notburga was a favorite girl's name, St. Notburga being the much venerated patron saint of Klettgau. Around 820 she is said to have come into this Upper Rhine region with Scottish missionaries as a royal widow after her husband Duke Albion lost his life in battle. He is buried in the monastery of Rheinheim. She is portrayed as a king's mother wearing a crown and with four children in her arms; a dead child lies at her feet. She is buried in the central nave of the church in Bühl, a property of the Monastery at Rheinau. The present parish church together with the monastery church

¹² Contract of transfer "May 28, 1848 in Thiengen" in the Archives of the Court of Waldshut; "Transfer of Property" in GAG, Purchase Register vol. 3, 299, nr. 97; "Extract of Property Transfer," Amtsrevisor Waldshut.

in Rheinau were built by the *Vorarlberger* Franz Beer. The church in nearby Balterswil has another Scottish patron saint, Fintan. Therefore, we often meet with this name in the register of baptism of this region.

Klettgau is the district in the Swiss-German region north of the Upper Rhine drained and bordered by the Wutach. "Chleggau" is mentioned already in the testament of Charlemagne in 806. In the east it joins with the Hagau, the hilly country west of Lake Constance, a fertile region for fruit. In Notburga Jordan's (née Peter) native place, "Behnerz" ore was mined and processed in the iron works of Albruck.

1.6. Baptist's relatives [heavily edited]:¹³ In 1869 the still single Anton Jordan, forest-warden, lived in Widow Notburga Jordan's house together with her sons Edward and Martin. [Baptist was by now out of the house working as a journeyman.] He married Wilhelmine, née Dörflinger on February 3, 1872. At the same time their daughter Adelheid was legally acknowledged.¹⁴ On the wood collecting list of September 1, 1876 are listed Jordan, Anton and his wife. On May 8, 1882, their son Friedrich was born.¹⁵ Anton Jordan died on November 26, 1897, at the age of 77.

¹³ The point to which this footnotes refers has been omitted by the translator.

¹⁴ "1870, January 18, Adelheid Dörflinger, illegitimate." (Baptism Register of Gurtweil 1810-1882, 272). Adelheid Jordan appears once more in the Municipality Acts. She was accused of "together with another woman causing a fire in a large area of woods through her negligence by setting fire to resinous pinewood on a grassy ground because of which the grass caught fire, extending itself to an area of about one acre 50 Ruten." This happened in April 1885. The criminal case, nr. 2495, was brought to an end without further consequences by the lawyer of the Commune of Waldshut on April 24 in Waldshut (GAG, Acts, documents, criminal law). On June 5, 1894, Adelheid Jordan married Johann Maier of Bierbronnen. They set up house in Gurtweil (Parish Archives Gurtweil, Announcement of Marriage of May 19, 1894, signed Frech, Parish Administrator).

¹⁵ His sponsors were Martin Jordan and "Baptista Keller, daughter of the local miller Anton Keller" (Register of Baptism, 1882, 416, nr. 31). When Anton Jordan

The cousin, Theodore Jordan, born on October 31, 1854, the son of Baptist's aunt Katharina Jordan remained in Gurtweil. He became a miller. He was one of the citizens' sons who had to pay for army recruits. On May 1874, a flash of lightning hit the church steeple while he was ringing the big bell. His hands and feet were seriously injured. He suffered another accident through a tumble at work in the mill. He died May 29, 1902.¹⁶

The names of Baptist's single aunts, Magdalena and Elisabeth Jordan,¹⁷ are also found on the wood-collection lists. Magdalena moved over to Oberlauchringen in 1859.¹⁸ There her son Engelbert was born and

died, his son Friedrich was not yet of full age and Xaver Hilpart was appointed his guardian. (Compare "Grand Ducal Badish Notary Waldshut, nr. 146" to Grand Ducal District Court Waldshut, regarding the heritage of the single Magdalena Jordan, day-laborer of Gurtweil"). Later Friedrich had to be taken care of as incompetent in the mental hospital Herthen (cf., Family Chronicle, 97). In addition to Adelheid and Friedrich, the couple Anton and Wilhelmine Jordan had two other children Augusta and Emilie, who died young.

¹⁶ The house which cousin Theodore had acquired before his marriage is still called "Theodore." At the time of this writing a grandson is living there, the 3rd generation (Fischerweg 3).

¹⁷ Frieda Schlosser, daughter of Regina Schlosser (+ April 23 1925), in a letter of January 9, 1927, returns to the two already forgotten aunts of Baptist Jordan. She reports what she had been told "by an older woman who once was a neighbor of Fr. Jordan," above all that these two "single sisters of his father's" had been a "terrible cross for this poor family" and "how just because of this sad situation the Rev. Fr. Jordan's good mother had to suffer so much." But this sentimentally exaggerated letter was evidently a report from hearsay. It is enough to recognize its exaggerated imprecisions by looking at the documents of the parish and village (J-51).

¹⁸ On February 25, 1886, Engelbert married a Berta Köpfler in Oberlauchringen; they had two children, Alois (born April 1894) and Frieda (born January 30, 1898). Engelbert earned a living as a day-laborer in Oberlauchringen and died January 20, 1902.

baptized on November 6, 1859. Later she returned to Gurtweil probably after her son's marriage. Elisabeth Jordan had three sons of whom two "went abroad." Another boy and a girl died shortly after birth.^{19 20}

1.7. Right to dwell in the Jordan Family home [heavily edited]: After the death of Lorenz Jordan the "right of dwelling" was re-confirmed:

In this house Anton, Elisabeth and Magdalena Jordan have the following right (gratis) of dwelling and use as long as they are single:

- a) the right of residence in the house;
- b) the right of the sleeping room on the upper floor for Elisabeth and Magdalena;
- c) the right of Anton Jordan to a bedroom next to his sisters'.

"The Contract of Donation and *Leibgedin* between Notburga née Peter, the Widow of Lorenz Jordan and her sons Martin, Johann Baptist and Edward Jordan" of November 23, 1878, expressly noted only the right of home of the Widow Notburga and her son Edward. But with this, the right of home of the two single sisters was not to be touched. An April 15, 1881 mortgage contract of Martin Jordan noted that Elisabeth and Magdalena Jordan had waived the right of home and use. This "document of renunciation" is dated March 9, 1881. In it also "Lorenz Jordan-widow Notburga née Peter"²¹ disclaims her right of home, because "Martin Jordan intends to take up a credit of about 3,500 M." Magdalena and Elisabeth Jordan received a preferential and mortgage right on a plot of land for their own security in case of losing their right of home.

¹⁹ Two of Baptist's nephews, Theodore and Hermann, became qualified millers. Their two brothers, Johann and Joseph, are said to have emigrated.

²⁰ It seems certain that Aunt Elisabeth's lifestyle was the reason Jordan didn't like to preach in the parish church during his short visits to his mother. Instead he usually celebrated Mass in the chapel of the castle with the sisters who ran the girls' home.

²¹ After his second marriage, Athanas Peter had 5 more children, of whom 2 died in childhood.

Martin took up this credit, which was paid back in 1890, so that the three women regained their right of home. Notburga lived in the little house nr. 45 up to her death.

In the contract of sale there were the following reservations: the right of home and bedroom for the parents as long as mother lives. If she should die before the father, he will take a bedroom on the upper floor. The right of home was reserved for Johann Jordan, and sleeping rooms for the 2 sons of the second marriage as well as for the 3 daughters.

On May 17, 1848, Franz Jordan and his wife transferred their property to their son Lorenz Jordan, keeping for themselves the right of home and maintenance. Lorenz had to guarantee the right of dwelling also to his single brothers and sisters while they remained single. The other adult children also had to agree to this transfer of the property to their older brother and to be satisfied with their right of home. After Ursula Jordan with her husband's consent had agreed, the contract was legally concluded in Waldshut on June 23, 1848 (cf., 1.5. Jordan Family's economic situation).

1.8. Baptist's other relatives: With his stepsister Maria Ursula living in nearby Oberlauchringen (3 November 1815-1910, October 27) Baptist had hardly any contacts. She had married even before he was born. Also when his aunt Magdalena was living there they had no special relations.

Also the relations to his mother's relatives in Bühl were probably rare and just occasional. His mother's elder brother Joseph was married in Bühl. His mother's stepsisters of her father's second marriage with Katharina Rickle²¹ had no contacts with Gurtweil. Maria Josepha remained single. Notburga's other two stepsisters Maria Anna and Katharina married in Switzerland.

Grandmother Anastasia's two older sisters were married in Gurtweil. They survived their sister Anastasia, the youngest daughter of Josef Klemm and Maria Gamp. Regina Jehle died in 1851; Franzicka Hilpert in 1855.

2. John Baptist's Immediate Family

This was the Jordan household in 1848: five people in their one little house—grandfather Franz, parents Lorenz and Notburga, and the two sons Martin and John Baptist. **See, 2.1. The Jordan household.** Three years later, on May 27, 1851, another son came into the world and was baptized Edward. Notburga surely had plenty to do to manage the house and keep an eye on the three growing boys. Lorenz took care of the small farm and also worked as a day-laborer—happy to be able to provide the basic necessities for his wife and children. In this period Lorenz became a full citizen. This gave him certain civic rights and privileges in the village and municipality. He was one of the four village grave diggers in 1849-1850, and from 1853-1855 he was a parish usher. **See, 2.2. Lorenz's community service.**

Once freed from the obligations that bound him to his village, Lorenz was able to accept the invitation of his former employer to return to work at "The Angel," the Rheinheim (Post) tavern. This was a particularly welcome prospect, especially because of the interest and excitement generated there by the great market connected to the celebration of the town's patron, St. Verena in nearby Zurzach, and by other parish fairs and festivals like the "Leather Fair of Zurzach," which attracted many people even Germans from across the border who were ferried from Rheinheim to Zurzach.

Lorenz suffered a serious accident probably in the summer of 1855, while working in Rheinheim. He remained an invalid for the rest of his life. **See, 2.3. Lorenz's accident.** Many horse were stabled at "The Angel." Being strange to each other the animals became restless and Lorenz got into the middle of a melee. His leg was shattered and he suffered a deep wound below his right collarbone. In this condition he was brought home to his wife. It took a full year for Lorenz to regain his mobility—but now only with the help of a brace the local blacksmith had fashioned for him—a kind of wooden leg.

Life in the little wooden frame house with its thatched roof was seriously complicated by this accident. **See, 2.4. The Jordans' little wooden house.** The father of the family, not yet forty, was severely handicapped and scarcely able to work. As a result he became more and more depressed. In addition, the seventy year-old grandfather, also unable to work, himself needed care. For John Baptist's mother all this meant harder work. **See, 2.5. Mother Notburga.** So the three boys had to help as best they could for their ages. Though they now felt their poverty even more acutely, their misfortune also brought them closer together.

Many years later as an old man of 73, Edward recalled the accident that had deeply impressed him at the time. Even his sober and restrained narrative communicates how seriously his father's affliction affected the three lively Jordan boys. It also helps us understand why the boys held their mother in such high esteem, and why, with all their differences in character, the three boys were guided and urged early in life to act so independently and selflessly, cooperating in their common distress.

The father was still able to take on some small jobs for a few years. The festering wound in his chest actually bothered him more than his splinted leg. But Lorenz's condition worsened greatly in the fall of 1862. He spent most of that winter of 1862-63 at home in the small living room. On May 19, 1863, not yet forty-five years old, Lorenz found release from his sufferings. He left a forty year-old widow with three healthy young sons. Grandfather Franz survived his oldest son by only 15 months.

Fortunately by this time Martin, not yet twenty and the oldest, was able to earn his own keep. John Baptist, almost sixteen, also went to work on the railroad and on the project to dam the Schlücht River. His income was a great help for his mother. Edward, now twelve years old, also had to help since Lorenz and Notburga, despite their best efforts, had not been able to reduce their debts. **See, 2.6. Debts.** They had just been able keep up with the interest payments, especially after Lorenz's accident when other considerable expenses arose for doctors and medicine.

The tragic premature death of her husband made Notburga even more quiet and serious. Though caring for the sick had absorbed much of her energy, being now alone with her boys did not reduce her worries. Martin and John Baptist certainly earned some money to help reduce their debts. But Edward and Theodore (left to the care of Notburga by her sister-in-law and now nine years old) were still in school. When Martin left for military service and his help was gone, Edward took up the slack with good results. Theodore acting as a full family member also made his contributions to support the household. It is astonishing that these boys who could not dream of ever having their own farms were nevertheless successful in training themselves for solid and profitable professions. Notburga, who was used to hard work from her youth, did not think much of John Baptist's secretly reading books. She did not, however, stand in the way of her children when they tried to make an honest living.

As long as her children were considered "sons of a citizen" but not full citizens themselves, Notburga was able to claim the civil rights of her deceased husband. When Martin later enlisted she received modest support as did other soldiers' mothers. **See, 2.7. Assistance.** Uncle Anton who lived in the house until 1872, earned some income as a forester. Edward also earned something at his job in Tiengen. With all these helpers life wasn't quite as difficult as it had been in the early years of their homesteading when they had not always had enough to eat.

Notburga drew up a contract to divide the little property she retained among her three sons. The house went to Martin who had married and brought his wife back home. Notberga then went to live with them. **See, 2.8. Leibgeding: right to home and maintenance.** She got along well with Martin's wife, making the younger woman's early death all the harder on the old woman. Soon afterwards the Jordan home had to be sold to strangers. Although technically her right to live there could not have been taken away, she had renounced it in order to make it easier for Martin to find a mortgage broker to cover his building debts. Martin and Edward did provide for their mother, but it was painful for her to lose

the family home which Martin had renovated so comfortably, and where forty-five years earlier with Lorenz she had started out in married life so bravely despite their indebtedness.

Notburga became the grandmother of four lovely grandchildren through the marriage of Edward. That may have brought some sunshine into her later years. John Baptist, meanwhile, had forged ahead on his own way—something she never fully understood but supported with her prayers in her last years. It must have been some consolation for her to see Martin get back on his feet in nearby Albbbruck.

Death lifted her heavy cross on December 2, 1896, after a life colored more by sorrow than joy—a life borne in a true Christian spirit. **See, 2.9. Death of Widow Notburga.** She would have felt great consolation if her priest-son John Baptist had assisted her in her last hour. But he only found time to return to Gurtweil later to visit her grave. Edward, who accompanied his priest-brother to the grave side, recalled many years later, "After the death of his mother he only came back to Gurtweil once; he knelt at his mother's grave and wept."

2. John Baptist's Immediate Family. A Closer Look

2.1. The Jordan household: The marriage of John Baptist Jordan's parents was entered in the wedding register as follows:

In the year 1848, on June 8 at 8 a.m. were married after the legal proclamations of May 7 and 14 by the undersigned in the parish church the single citizen from here Lorenz Jordan, legitimate son of Franz Jordan and the late Anastasia Klemm, born on July 28, 1818, and the single Notburga Peter, legitimate daughter of Athanas Peter and Elizabeth Saurer from Brühl, born on March 15, 1823. Sponsors of the wedding are Xaver von Bühl and Earl Hilpert from here. Gurtweil, June 8, 1848. Clar, curate. (Wedding Register of Gurtweil, 52)¹

On September 29, 1848, parish administrator Clar added in the Baptism Register that the already 5 year-old Martin was "recognized as begotten by them and that he has been given the rights of a legitimate child."²

In the Register of Baptism of Bühl Parish the baptism of "Martin Peter" is entered on November 12, 1843.

In the year 1843, on November 12, 4 a.m. in Bühl was born and baptized on the same day at 11 a.m. by the undersigned in the local parish church Martin Peter, illegitimate son of the single Notburga Peter, legitimate daughter of the day laborer Athanas Peter and his wife Elizabeth Saurer from Brühl.³ Sponsors are . . . all of them from here. Bühl November 13, 1843, Curate Castell.

¹ "Xaver von Bühl" was the bride's brother, Franz Xaver Peter, born February 1, 1817. Carl Hilpert (March 10, 1813-1902, March 14) was a cousin of the bridegroom; His mother Francisca (1785-1855) was a sister of Anastasia Jordan, née Klemm, the grandmother of Baptist on his father's side.

² According to the "extract of the marriage contract of the engaged couple Lorenz Jordan of Gurtweil and Notburga Peter of Bühl, Office of Jestetten, June 1, 1848," Amtsrevisorat Waldshut, Baptism Register of Gurtweil, 1848, 171.

³ The day laborer Joseph Peter was the elder brother of Notburga Peter.

Following the marriage of his parents, his baptism was transcribed in the baptism record of the Parish of Gurtweil as "Martin Jordan." At the margin, parish administrator Clar noted "Martin Peter/Jordan" and pointed to the following:

Extract from the wedding contract [of Martin's parents, in which] this child is recognized by the spouses as procreated by them and given the rights of a legitimate child (Gr. Amtservisorrat of June 1, 1848, Baptism Register, 170f).

2.2. Lorenz's community service: Among the grave diggers of 1849, Lorenz Jordan is listed third among four. In 1850, he is listed first. In 1851 he was replaced by Joseph Gamp. It is not certain whether he was already installed as village policeman. No documents survive before 1849 concerning certain municipality services like grave digger or church warden. The acts preserved regarding policemen begin only in 1855.

But in the register of persons of the municipality we have a valuable hint. On January 27, 1853, one "of the uninvolved witnesses" in a hearing concerning a contract of transfer of Joseph Klemm, innkeeper of the "Old Stag," is "the beadle Lorenz Jordan." When on November 30, 1859, there was another hearing about the same matter, "Lorenz Jordan local beadle" was again one of the "witnesses having legal capacity."⁴

On March 7, 1855, police-assistant Jordan is commissioned to call the 48 enfranchised citizens for the election of the burgomaster on March 22: "Council beadle Jordan has to hand over these voting papers for the election of the burgomaster on Thursday, 22 c.m. to the following and to have them signed by each recipient." Lorenz Jordan signed his name on the list as well. The yearly salary of the "police- and council-assistant, who at that time was also hunting warden, was only 58 Gulden."⁵

At the election of March 22, Lorenz was the only Jordan to cast a ballot. As a "pensioner" his father Franz Jordan was no longer an active

⁴ Mortgage Book, vol. 3, nr. 28, March 21, 1853; cf., 187 and 192.

⁵ GAG-Acts IV, 2.1: Municipal Services, May; cf., Acts IV, 2.8: Grave digger, Sexton. . . 1848-1944.

citizen. His son, Anton Jordan, was not yet on the list; consequently he must still have been considered a citizen's son. He would have to wait until another citizen relinquished his place before a citizen's son could take his turn. Lorenz Jordan's name isn't found among the services of the municipality acts of 1855 nor the following years, either as night watchman or as hunting or fishing warden.

2.3. Lorenz's accident: "The Angel" tavern was often called "The Post" because it housed a post office for Rheinheim. It stood opposite the parish church, near the moorings of the ferryboat operating between Rheinheim and Zurzach. Its large stables have since been torn down. The ferryboat became redundant in 1907 after a stone bridge was constructed. The distance from Gurtweil to Rheinheim is about an hour's walk.

Despite searching the parish and municipal archives as well as the existing newspapers, particularly the *Albot von Waldshut* (1851-1864), Lorenz's accident cannot be dated exactly. The annual editions of *Zurzacher Zeitung* no longer exist in Zurzach, Aarau or Bern. There was, however, one helpful hint from Emil Gamp (born February 10, 1905) son of Mattä Gamp and Augusta Jordan, a daughter of Edward Jordan. When Mattä Gamp together with his wife moved to Buchenschwand in 1906 (cf., Family Chronicle of the Parish Gurtweil) they left little Emil with his grandfather Edward to grow up at Gurtweil. He well remembers that while still a little boy his grandfather told him that he (Edward) was hardly 5 years old when his own father Lorenz had a serious accident. And that his father died when he (Emil) was just 12 years old. The following is what Edward Jordan remembered about his father's accident as related by Emil in mid-October of 1978.

His father had been a groom in "The Post" in Rheinheim. His mother was probably a maid-servant there. They married later and moved into their parents' house at Gurtweil. Father had already at an earlier date exchanged the little house with the Tröndle family who once lived in the present birthplace of the Jordan's. Several fairs took place in the neighboring Zurzach in Switzerland. Many carts and horses came to Rheinheim as well as for the fairs in Constance and Basel. The horses and carts were left behind on this side of the Rhine at "The Post" in Rheinheim. Therefore, father went there to help every now and then,

and this was good earnings for the poor family. Once however, when they were stabling about 40 to 50 horses, he unfortunately got in among the fidgety horses and was gravely injured in the leg and chest. The foot was broken and the bone was smashed, so that he had to use an iron leg made by the blacksmith. Furthermore, he sustained a deep wound on the right side of his chest below the collarbone, which did not heal but festered on and on so that he died at last after many painful years. Because of this wound he got the "shrinking" [i.e., atrophy: the arm became weaker, shorter and finally useless]. Various medicines were used and physicians were consulted, like a doctor at Hallau to whom Baptist often had to go. He was quite patient in his suffering; no lamentation was heard either about his illness or his ever increasing poverty. Only with great effort could he do his police service. The youngest brother, Edward, was 11 years old at the time of his father's death. (December 1924/January 1925, G-18.70)

In reality Edward was only a few days away from completing his 12th year when his father died. Edward doesn't say which of his father's legs was smashed by the horses.

Regarding Lorenz Jordan's police service, remembrances seem to overlap. This can be proved by the fact that by 1855 he was no longer a policeman. Especially after the Baden Revolution 1848-1849 the police service was a post of confidence requiring a vigorous and sober man.⁶ He had to be a citizen or citizen's son of the municipality elected each time by the citizens of the municipality and deputized with a solemn oath according to regulations by the Grand Ducal district office in Waldshut.⁷

To earn some money Lorenz Jordan was entrusted by the burgomaster with small errands like going through the village with a

⁶ Letter nr. 16801 of Grand Ducal District of Waldshut, 14 August, 1860, ordering the dismissal of the policeman Böhler for drunkenness; cf., GAG, Acts IV, 2.6, Municipal Services, Police Services.

⁷ Certificate of commitment (Ibid., nr. 1590.)

bell to announce local news.⁸ In September 1860, the salary of a policeman was raised to 90 fl yearly. On the list of electors of September 8, 1860, there are 37 citizens, among them Lorenz Jordan as number 19. There it was stated that "extras like announcing news with a bell, etc." were not covered by the salary (GAG-Municipal Services). Benedict Böhler replaced Lorenz Jordan in mid-summer. Although this is unusual, no other corroborating evidence could be found whether Lorenz Jordan actually had his accident at that time.

Dating the accident of Lorenz Jordan to the summer of 1855 would fit insofar as he was released from his municipal service⁹ as of August 1855 and his name as a citizen entitled to vote is missing from the voting lists. He does, however appear on the lists of those receiving gift-wood (January 7, 1856; February 16, 1857) which makes sense if he were still bedridden, unable to walk with his artificial leg. On the list of January 14, 1858, Lorenz Jordan cast his vote again as 25th among 38 citizens; in the meantime he had learned to use his "wooden leg." His name appears on the voting list one final time September 3, 1862, when Lorenz Jordan cast his vote as 23rd.¹⁰ It must also be noted that at the election for municipal administrator, September 6, 1858, Lorenz Jordan, though eligible did not appear among the 41 citizens in the town-hall,

⁸ Widow Schlosser-Vonderach (née Regina Hauser) describes the auxiliary service she witnessed as a girl. Baptist's "poor father also had a wooden leg so he couldn't work very well; with great effort he could perform his police duty in the village, and he passed away when Baptist was still a little boy" (J-23). When Lorenz Jordan, died Regina Hauser was 18 years old.

⁹ The proper recording of policemen begins after the election of Benedict Böhler. Records there and in the ducal District Office confirmed on August 4, 1855, the election of Benedict Böhler as policeman and gamekeeper obliging him according to the prescriptions (GAG - Acts IV, 2.6, Police Service, night watchmen, game- and fish-keepers (1855-1920).

¹⁰ GAG, Acts III, 3 *Gemeinde-Bürger nutzungen*, Fasc. 1, Gift Wood Supply 1856-1873.

although the existing lists show that he was always serious about his civic obligation and never missed voting without a reason.

The reminiscence of widow Regina Schlosser seems to belong to the period 1862-63: "Later on father could neither work nor walk. He carved many little things from wood to entertain the children; he also carved little sheep out of the cutoffs from the saw mill" (January 1925, G-18.120). This record is completed by the statement of the former church warden Johannes Müller: "The father was always at home in his last years; for Christmas he carved little sheep, or also he tried to earn something by signing sacks."¹¹

In the year 1863, on the 19th at 10:30 p.m. died at the age of 44 years, 9 months and 21 days Lorenz Jordan citizen and compatriot, husband of Notburga Peter and was buried by the undersigned vicar May 22 at 8 a.m. Witnesses of the burial were: Augustin Cku, farmer, and Augustin Busi, day-laborer, both citizens from here. Gurtweil, May 22, 1863, H. Hessler, vicar.¹²

2.4. The Jordan's little wooden house, between the *Hirschen* and "The Post," where Baptist Jordan was born still exists. At that time it had a thatched roof and looked much poorer than today (Beringer 237; nowadays house Nr. 4 in Franz Jordan Street).

His parents were very poor country people living in a small and meager house. (Widow Regina Schlosser-Vonderach).¹³

The birth-house is down above the mill; it is a poor little house. Three little houses are built into one another and beside one another. Further

¹¹ Johannes Müller, born August 13, 1851, married January 19, 1882, church warden since 1885, died December 31, 1931; statement at the beginning of January 1926: G-18.181; marking sacks was done for the neighboring mill.

¹² Death Register of Gurtweil, 1810-1863, 236, nr. 9. In the right margin is noted: "nr. 9 - Lorenz Jordan - May 19 - 44 years, 9 months, 21 days."

¹³ In her memoirs "Of the youth of the blessed Fr. Johannes Baptist Jordan of Gurtweil" December 27, 1924: J-23.

up the road there was the old "Klopf mill" (Frieda Schlosser, January 3, 1926, G-18.169).¹⁴

"Three little houses" that is to say "a one-story house with stable and barn" is described in the register of sales of Gurtweil. Incidentally, the Jordan's house was not the only little thatched wooden house of Gurtweil. The list of houses of Gurtweil of the year 1700 gives an exact description of the housing situation of those times, which improved slowly at first and more quickly only after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. In 1766 all the houses in the village were thatched. Only 12 houses were stucco; four were built of stone; all the other houses were wooden. Three houses had 3 rooms; 8 houses had 2 rooms, so that 3 and 2 families respectively could live there (Beringer, 245).¹⁵

2.5. Mother Notburga: "His mother, now in even poorer conditions, depended on strenuous labor" (Widow Regina Schlosser-Vondernach in her above mentioned memoirs: J-23). "The mother had been a hard-working, quiet, serious woman since her youth, and as such formed by great poverty. She was very quiet, never loquacious, curt but good." This to how the widow Schlosser-Vondernach remembered Baptist's mother's reputation among the people (G-18.67). Johann Müller, the old churchwarden and schoolmate of Baptist's, though three years his junior, remembers:

For the mother it was almost impossible to take sufficient care of the children. The husband was continuously suffering and could walk only

¹⁴ Frieda Schlosser (September 26, 1877-1952, June 14) daughter of Regina Schlosser Vondernach-Hauser of a second marriage. While tobogganing as a child she had an accident which slightly shortened her leg. She became a seamstress and was considered a garrulous *Störschneiderin*.

¹⁵ The little Jordan house repeatedly changed its number, because the houses got new numbers now and then corresponding to the growth of the village. In 1844 it had the number 20, before 1869 the number 50, in 1869 the number 45, about 1900 the number 57. At the time of this writing the birthplace of the Servant of God was Nr. 4, Franz Jordan Street.

with great effort, and the income was poor. The whole burden rested with mother (January 3, 1926, G-18.180).

After the death of Lorenz Jordan there are preserved lists of beneficiaries entitled to gift-wood for the years 1864, 1865 and 1866. On the first two there is no Jordan. The list of April 23, 1866, notes that 57 have this right, the 42nd of them is the Widow Jordan.¹⁶

2.6. Debts: In economic terms the life of Lorenz and Notburga was a never-ending fight with the debts they had assumed along with the little house opposite of the Klopff sawmill. They had hardly moved in when they received the first default summons for a local tax. On July 27, 1848, they received a dun-letter saying that 45 Gulden for taxes were due. But they had to care for their old father and the two little boys. It was quite impossible for them to raise the required sum. On September 10, 1848, this debt was entered in the Mortgage Register (vol. 2, nr. 16).

On St. George's Day 1849, Lorenz Jordan succeeded to secure a second loan of 530.31 fl. from the church-fund of Gurtweil. For this too he provided security through a lien November 10, 1850. Only on May 20, 1870, was this debt canceled as repaid (Mortgage Register, vol. 2, nr. 64).

The lingering illness and early death of her husband eroded the family's economic situation greatly. Mother Notburga had no other choice but to assume alone and fully "as her property" the "inventory and communal goods after the death of Lorenz Jordan, citizen and farmer of Gurtweil." This inheritance consisted of the little thatched "one-story dwelling house with barn and stable under one roof near the sawmill with about 40 Ruthen garden beside August Cku and miller Keller" as well as 7 parcels of land of 4½ acres all together. The house remained burdened with the "right of home" for Anton, Elizabeth and Magdalena "during the time of their being single" and the whole property was mortgaged with about 1,710 Gulden of debts. By the time of the transfer in summer 1848 the debts were only about 1,150 Gulden.

¹⁶ GAG - III, 3: Gift Wood Supply, Fasc. 1, 1856-1873.

In addition to the old debt to the church fund (665.49 fl) and to the merchant Hirsch Bernheim in Tiengen (338.31 fl) which was still owed by her father-in-law Franz, there were listed in the books as new debts those 45 Gulden of unpaid taxes, and the loan from the church fund (530.31 fl.); there was also a debt of 130 fl. to the neighbor Peter Tröndle for an 80 Ruthen vineyard.

Not only had the debt of the Jordans increased by 560 fl. since summer 1848, but their land had been enlarged by 2 acres, which was important with so many mouths to feed--four young ones and four adults sat for daily meals. After her husband Lorenz's death, Mother Notburga was responsible for everything. But already, and more and more in the ensuing years, she could count on the help of the four boys: Martin, Baptist, Edward and Theodore.

On December 8, 1864, Widow Notburga borrowed 309 Gulden from merchant Hermann Guggenheim to purchase cattle (Mortgage Register, vol. 3, nr. 4555). On December 9, 1875, she was once more in need of money. This time she secured a loan from his brother Max Guggenheim. But she had to repay the loan of 665.71 Mark within one year (Mortgage Register-Annex, vol. 4, nr. 255; Cancellation Grant of March 19, 1877). Meeting such strict deadlines is clear evidence of how the Jordans stood together to overcome such common difficulties.

Nevertheless, these impossible debts were for Mother Notburga a continuously oppressing burden. Creditors like the Guggenheims were always at hand to lend short term money at high rates, and at the foreclosures they hurried to involve the courts and let the lawyers earn something too. Reading through some documents regarding Notburga's debts one quickly recalls what Scripture urged in favor of widows and orphans. In April 1877, Widow Notburga made one good deal. She received from the single Agatha Sutter, "1 Vierling and 76 Ruthen of field at the mortgage price of 300 M" (Mortgage Register, vol. 6, nr. 141).

On September 20, 1878, Notburga concluded a purchase contract with her eldest son. She handed over,

... a one-story house Nr. 45, with barn and shed together with an adjacent building, woodshed built of stone and with tiled roof as well as a house-square beside Fridolin Strittmatter and Anton Keller. Acquired through inheritance . . .

and about 5 acres of land, all together valued at 5,753 Mark, and movables for 800 Mark. On the whole property there was still a debt burden for the two loans from the church fund (642.31 fl. and 530.31 fl), and the old loan of Hirsch Bernheim (338.31 fl) which had been on the books since 1847. There was also the loan for the purchase of cattle in 1864 as well as one for the purchase of land from Agatha Sutter. For Martin it was a combined burden of about 3,400 Mark.

Mother Notburga was now Martin's pensioner. But she continued to be concerned over whether he could cope with his own indebtedness as he had assisted his mother in her debt matters since 1872. For his part, Edward did whatever he could to become financially independent, which was another advantage for Martin. When the need became urgent, Edward helped his brother considerably with his commercial skills. Soon after taking possession of the little house, probably after his marriage with Magdalena Rotzinger Maring, Martin's first remodeling made the space under the roof habitable. In the grant of loan from the Leu Bank, house Nr. 45 was described as:

. . . two-story house with barn and shed under one roof, as well as a secondary building remise for carts and wood, built of stone and covered with tiles, together with a yard and a place where the buildings stand, in the upper village on one side Anton Keller, on the other side Florian Strittmatter (Mortgage Register, vol. 7, nr. 7, April 15, 1881).

There were now four living in the one house: Mother Notburga, Martin with his wife, as well as Edward until his marriage. After acquiring his own house in 1889, Edward probably only came down for meals. Also Theodore Jordan who married only in 1896 found a place at the table as long as the powerful creditors' patience lasted.

2.7. Assistance: The official correspondence regarding "assistance to the families of the drafted reservist and veteran reserve troops" is preserved in GAG, Fasc. IX "War and Military Matters of 1870-71." There we can see that "on January 14, 1870, Widow Jordan received 6 fl from the fund for the poor for the municipality." In autumn 1871, Only Martin received a gift of money in favor of his mother, while the requests of the others met with the concession of repayable loans. The document reads:

Waldshut, October 23, 1871. Grant to assist the relatives of the reserve and veteran reserve troops respectively. nr. 15709. The municipal council of Gurtweil is informed to take notice that at its meeting of the 20th it had granted a loan of 150 fl. at the rate of 2% to Wilhelm Bartholomä repayable after 2 years; to Friedrich Müller one of 100 fl at the rate of 2% repayable after 2 years . . . ; finally to Martin Jordan a present of 20 Thalers. District Office, Baader.

2.8. *Leibgeding*: right to home and maintenance: Even before the marriage of Martin Jordan we find the following entry in the Land Register of Gurtweil, vol. 7, 149, nr. 32 of November 23, 1878: "Lifelong *Leibgeding* of the Lorenz Jordan widow Notburga, née Peter."

When Martin Jordan went bankrupt March 16, 1894, the parental house (with farm) went to Maria Josepha Griesser, née Hilpert. It was "burdened with the right of home and use of the Lorenz Jordan widow Notburga née Peter and of the unmarried Magdalena Jordan."¹⁷ Widow Maria Josepha Griesser-Hilpert sold the house to the day-laborer Leo Müller on April 28, 1895. In the Land Register this bargain also remains burdened with the "right of home and use of the Lorenz Jordan widow Notburga née Peter . . . with right of home of Magdalena, single."¹⁸

2.9. Death of Widow Notburga: After the death of Martin's wife, Mother Notburga became even more frail. The local parish priest as well as the nearest relatives kept her priest son informed about the bad health of the woman tired of life. Already on April 30, 1869, cousin Theodore had written to Jordan that his mother was declining rapidly and that they had to expect her early death.¹⁹

¹⁷ Land Register of Gurtweil, vol. 8, 478, nr. 130.

¹⁸ At the time of this writing, Mrs. Rosa Müller (1868-1954) owned Jordan's birth house. She sleeps in the simple low chamber where Baptist was born.

¹⁹ A letter of cousin Theodore of April 30, 1896 to Fr. Jordan states:
Dear cousin! Next Thursday, May 7, is my marriage with Josephine Gamp from here. We invite you cordially to the Wedding Mass at 9 o'clock. Like everyone

November 13, 1896, the parish priest writes Jordan that his mother's health was not good.

Rev. Fr. Superior, I inform you that your mother has fallen ill. She complains about headaches and vertigo. The doctor thinks it might have been a little stroke which might easily be repeated. To you, Reverend Father I give this information so that you together with your congregation may pray for her. I have already administered the Holy Sacraments to her. With the prayer for a memento I sign. Yours respectfully B. Föderle, Pastor. (D-1110).

The death register states:

In the year 1896, December 2, 7:30 died of a stroke at the age of 73 years 8 months 17 days with the Holy Sacraments for the Dying the widow of Lorenz Jordan Notburga née Peter and was buried by the undersigned on December 5 at 9 a.m. Witnesses Johann Müller, church warden and Konrad Geiger. Gurtweil December 5, 1896. B. Föderle, Pastor. (Death Register of Gurtweil, 75)

The parish announcement book of 1896 records the death of Widow Notburga: "II Sunday of Advent, December 6. Afterwards Rosary for Notburga Jordan . . . Wednesday 2nd Mass for Notburga Jordan." Jordan himself was at that time on a visitation journey across Austria and Switzerland and departed from Freiburg for Rome on December 2, arriving in Rome in the evening of December 8.

else in the village, Mother would be very glad, especially in her old age because she has declined very much and a long life won't be granted to her. In the expectation that you fulfill our wishes, I greet you Theodore Jordan - Josephine Gamp. - Mother says you should also bring *Guwert*. (D-1107).

Theodore, like Edward, writes as he "speaks." By "mother," he means of course Jordan's mother who was his own unforgettably good foster-mother. Theodore Jordan was himself well regarded, something which certainly filled Mother Notburga with joy and pride.

3. John Baptist's Brothers

John Baptist Jordan's older brother, Martin, the strongest of the three sons, was said to have learned masonry after finishing primary school. **See, 3.1. Martin and Edward Jordan.** This was considered a trade which could support a man, especially in the two decades before the turn of the century—peaceful years when industry experienced some expansion in this district to the benefit of all. Martin, healthy, young, cheerful and adventurous, soon found his home too confining. After his military basic training he took part in the wars of 1866 and 1870-71, but returned home to his mother in good health. **See, 3.2. Martin Jordan, soldier.**

Martin was enrolled in the lists of citizens of September 10, 1868, and is found on the list of January 2, 1875, along with his uncle, Anton Jordan. After the War of 1870-71 he moved in with his mother, devoting his energy to helping her cope with the financial obligations she had inherited from his deceased father.

When he was about thirty-five, Martin married Magdalena Rotzinger, July 21, 1879. **See, 3.3. Martin Jordan, husband.** It was then that his mother divided the property, transferring the parental property to Martin and moving in with him as was then the custom. **See, 3.4. Contract to maintain Mother Notburga** These rights to live in the parental homestead went to Notburga along with Edward and the two unmarried aunts, Elizabeth and Magdalena. The newly ordained priest, John Baptist Jordan had renounced this right. However, heavy debts stemming not only from their ailing father but from their grandfather Franz as well, still lay upon the small house. Notburga could not help but accept this inherited indebtedness after her husband's early and untimely death.

Even before his marriage, Martin had begun the complete renovation of the Jordan's small, wood-frame house. Thus he was able to move with his wife into a "one-story house at Nr. 45A, with a barn and stables all under one roof, with an annex and shed made of stone and tiled." Soon after the wedding Martin added a second story with its own outside

staircase, making it entirely separate from the ground floor. But all these renovations overextended Martin financially. **See, 3.5. Debt burden.**

To their regret the marriage remained childless. Martin's wife got along well with her mother-in-law, but she died before Notburga on November 12, 1893, not even fifty years old. Once again Martin was alone with his mother. It was very difficult for him to bear his fate and he began to frequent taverns. He fell behind in his payments and ended up having to sell his little house while his mother Notburga was still alive.

After Notburga's death, Martin moved to Alb, into Hochsal Parish. **See, 3.6. Martin Jordan in Alb.** There he found a well-paying job in the paper industry which at that time was doing very well. This soon put him on his feet again. He married a second time on November 22, 1899, but this marriage also remained childless. Martin died, "having received the sacraments" April 24, 1905, and was buried in Hochsal Parish cemetery.

Edward (**see, 3.7. Edward Jordan**), the youngest of the three Jordan boys, was able in time to work himself out of his inherited poverty. He found great pleasure in fishing under the instruction of his brother John Baptist. **See, 3.8. Fishing business.** After leaving school he perfected this skill and became a master fisherman. Prior to that time, however, he had done his military basic training (**see, 3.9. Edward Jordan: Army recruit.**) with the infantry in Constance immediately after the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. (Compulsory military training had already been introduced.) As John Baptist was studying at the Constance Gymnasium at this time, the brothers were able to meet more frequently. When he finished his military service, Edward found a good job with the Department of Military Inspection in neighboring Tiengen. Thus, he was able to live at home and help support his mother with his earnings. He was soon able to become self-employed, not only as a fisherman and hunter, but also as a highway contractor. He began working on the repair and construction of the Waldshut-Tiengen highway. **See, 3.10. Edward Jordan: Accountant and contractor.** He was so successful that he was

able to buy his own home in the upper section of the village. Edward always knew where his advantage lay and how to take care of himself.

Edward married Katharine Baumgartner of Stotzingen on November 17, 1881. **See, 3.11. Edward Jordan; Husband and father.** She was two years his senior and bore six children, the first and second of whom died as children. Edward was never considered a very zealous church-goer, but was a good father and a helpful brother. When his oldest brother Martin became seriously indebted from renovating the family house, Edward helped support him. When Martin later got even deeper into debt, Edward stood surety for him during the forced sale of the Jordan house.

Edward's wife died at the end of 1897, leaving him with four children between the ages of 10 and 15. A few months later he married the widow Auguste Schäuble. This marriage remained childless and was not very agreeable. He increasingly devoted himself to his business which continued to flourish. In 1907, he was able to buy a second house in Fischersteg where he settled down. He left his Gurtweil home to his son Emil, who took over his father's fishing business. Edward was able to marry his three daughters to men outside the village. He purchased a third house, this time in Gurtweil, in the very difficult years after World War I, but he sold it again at a profit. Even in his old age, Edward loved to hunt. He maintained his ties with his famous brother in Rome in his own shy manner, and died in Gurtweil at the age of 77 in 1928.

3. John Baptist's Brothers. A Closer Look

3.1. Martin and Edward Jordan, baptist's brothers, especially as young single men were not always guiltless in pursuing their common aim of ridding themselves of the poverty they had inherited through no fault of their own. In the summer of 1879, they were even hailed into district court where both were found guilty and sentenced. Martin "because of several thefts" to 14 days, and Edward "because of theft and receiving stolen goods" to 8 days in jail. The Mortgage Register (vol. 6, nr. 116) which records the sentences in customary legal terms, contains no other details. But Martin's crime probably involved poaching or theft in the woods, while the younger brother Edward keep watch for the elder. A fatiguing battle for their daily bread awaited the two brothers home from the war and barracks life. Still single, they were no paragons of virtue. In the daily struggle to survive Martin helped himself not only with his strong arms but perhaps also with his elbows. Cleverness was Edward's weapon of choice in the battle of life. As brothers they covered for one another where necessary, as they certainly did later as citizens.

We may take it for granted that Baptist was kept informed about such unpleasant happenings in his family. But he was not the kind of brother to reproach them. He took such incidents as occasions for thanking God for leading him in ways which spared him from such failures occasioned by need. In addition, these incidents made him feel all the more obliged to pray for protection and help for his mother and his brothers (SD 89).

3.2. Martin Jordan, soldier. Martin liked soldiering. In the barracks he was among men like himself. There he was not marked by poverty, pressed by the burdens of debt, or concerned for his daily bread. It isn't known precisely where Martin was a recruit. At that time the infantrymen of the Waldshut region were generally assigned to the 2nd Infantry Brigade.¹ In 1863 Martin's age-group was mobilized. The first recruits list

¹ The post of the 2nd Infantry Brigade and the Resident Brigade was Rastatt. The 2nd Infantry. Regiment was quartered in Freiburg. Rastatt became the post of

of 1863 is not preserved. On the recruit list of 1864 the name of Martin Jordan is no longer found.² But neither he nor Johann Baptist Jordan, both sons "of Lorenz," are listed under those obliged to contribute for two recruits in the year 1864. The lists of recruits of 1865 and 1866 are not preserved. In an official extract of the parish records of 1866, Martin Anton Jordan is listed as having been reported to the military administration in Tiengen. Thus, the strong Martin Jordan may have been chosen for military service in 1863.

When the War of 1866 began Martin Jordan and Wilhelm Bartholomä were again mobilized as reservists from Gurtweil. Prior to 1870, only one or two of the young men from Gurtweil were drafted each year, although all young men were mustered after reaching the age of 20. Each year the parish office had to report the relevant names to the military administration in Tiengen.

The parish extract of June 29, 1866, reported: "1848 . . . 6th, Johann Baptist Jordan, parents Lorenz Jordan; Martin Anton, parents Lorenz Jordan, born in 1843." Martin, who had been born and baptized in Bühl was only registered in Gurtweil in a notation appended to Baptist Jordan's entry (Baptism Register of Gurtweil, 1848, 170, nr. 8), so the pastor only now remembered the often absent young man.

It was an old custom for those who were actually recruited to receive "compensation" from the rest of the young men of the municipality who remained at home.³ The local administration anticipated this

the 6th Battalion Infantry Regiment, and later of the "114th." Martin was with them in 1870-1871.

² In 1864 only Joseph Rees and Joseph Gamp were drafted.

³ Something is also known about the draft status of Baptist's father and his uncle Anton. Each year were drawn up "lists of the single male persons from age 16 to 26, who have to pay 30 kr. to each recruit from here according to a resolution of the municipality." Thus we find in the list 1818-1827 under 1818: "2. Lorenz Jordan (of) Franz Jordan 1 fl." Hence, Lorenz Jordan was not drafted as a recruit because he continued to pay his yearly contribution. On the list 1818-1831 of those obliged to pay we find: "5. Lorenz Jordan (of) Franz Jordan: July 28,

compensation and collected it from those families having no one called up. When Martin was conscripted in the very unpopular War of 1866 (the Grand Duchy of Baden fought on the West-Austrian side since the country had been West-Austrian for some centuries) he received the usual soldier's pay:

For the reservists Wilhelm Bartholomä and Martin Jordan have been anticipated 11 fl. each, 22 fl. together according to usage. As these contributions cannot be taken over by the municipality they are to be reimbursed as usual by the citizenry. Each citizen has to pay 22½ kr to . . . 42nd, Widow Jordan, Gurtweil, October 12, 1846.

In joining the army Martin had sworn: "Having received the above sum of 16 fl. 30, Gurtweil, July 25, 1866, Martin Jordan." Wilhelm Bartholomä had already received the same amount on June 30, 1866. Widow Jordan paid the contribution for the 18 year-old Baptist Jordan. On the list of

1818 . . . 19. Anton Jordan (of) Franz Jordan: January 12, 1821." At that time the young men had to pay 30 kr. compensation a year for their comrades who had been drafted until they turned 30. So, the list of 1841 records:

List of sons from here of the age group from 16 to 30 years, who according to old usage would have to pay an amount of .30 fl/ 30 kr each to the two [Gottfried Gamp and Nikolaus] who have been drafted this year by lot . . . 11. Lorenz Jordan, (of) Franz, 1 fl.; 12. Anton Jordan (of) Franz 1 fl.

In 1842, Anton Jordan was drafted as a recruit:

List of those sons from here of the age group 16 to 30 who according to old usage would have to pay 30 kr. each, to Anton Jordan, who has been drafted this year: . . . 35. Lorenz Jordan (of) Franz .30 fl. . . . [Anton Jordan confirms on the list the] receipt of 16 Gulden, 30 kreutzer on March 10, 1842.

On January 2, 1844, at a municipal session it was decided to retain the contribution of indemnification, to extend it to the citizens called to war service, to return to the upper limit of 26 years, as well as to put on the list the present and absent sons of citizens "to avoid flagrant exceptions like in the previous year" (GAG, Acts IV, Municipal Administration: Subsidy to Recruits).

October 13, 1867, Martin Jordan's name is not found among those obliged to contribute. He had probably not yet returned from service.

Eleven men from Gurtweil were drafted for the War of 1870, among them Martin Jordan. We find his name in a letter of January 24, 1871, in which District Councillor Thoma in Tiengen requests relief for those Gurtweil families who according to military law have that right and can prove their need based on having a family member drafted into the reservists or *Landwehr*. Since mid-August 1870, the competent district council of Tiengen had been trying to support the families of reservists in service. But the municipal council of Gurtweil seems not to have given the required response. So on August 25, 1870, it received a warning letter from the Grand Ducal district office in Waldshut:

Resolution nr. 8275. The Municipal Council of Gurtweil has urgently to report what it has done so far for the support of families of their reservists in service in order to state how far the rumor about the negligence of obligation towards them is founded. Stonner.⁴

About Martin it was later reported:

. . . his brother was not obliged to go to the war. But [he went] so that he or other poor people should get more money [from assuming] the obligation to serve for someone else in case of war. Each substitution lasted 6 years and the sub was paid up to 500 Gulden (G-18,111).

It couldn't be determined how far that was the case for the 26 year-old Martin. But it seems to fit his temperament and he wanted to help his mother in this way to cope with the debts continuously coming due.

Martin was certainly home again at the beginning of 1872. At the wedding of his uncle Anton Jordan on February 8, 1872, he signed as witness to the marriage at the registry office "Martin Jordan, single" (Parish Archives Gurtweil: Certificate of Marriage of Anton Jordan and Wilhelmine, née Dörflinger).

⁴ GAG, Acts IV, Municipal Administration: Support to Families.

3.3. Martin Jordan, husband:

In the year 1879 on July 21 at 10 a.m. in the local parish church after the previous proclamations during the solemn services on July 6 and 13 in Birndorf and Waldshut with dispensation of the third one, after no legal impediment became known, was joined in marriage by undersigned: Martin Jordan, single, farmer, legal son of the late farmer Lorenz Jordan and Notburga, née Peter, from here with the single servant Magdalena Rotzinger, legal daughter of the late farmer Konrad Rotzinger and the late Katharina Rotzinger from Birkingen. Witnesses: the single farmer Edward Jordan from here and Johann Rotzinger from Birkingen. Gurtweil, July 21, 1879, Fortenbacher, pastor (Wedding Register of Gurtweil 1879, 120, nr. 3).

In the parish archives of Gurtweil there still exists the . . . marriage certificate: between Martin Jordan, farmer, living at Gurtweil and Magdalena Rotzinger from Birkingen, at present living in Waldshut, before the undersigned registrar, today has been concluded the marriage. Gurtweil, July 21, 1879, the registrar J.A.D.L. Fridolin Bartholomä.

Already on July 15, 1879, the contract of marriage was deposited at the district office in Waldshut. In this contract Martin and Magdalena agreed to the following [edited]:

. . . each marital partner puts only the sum of 40 Mark from his and her property into the joint property; all the other present and future movable and immovable property with the debts lying on it of each partner remains excluded from the joint property . . . etc., etc.

Hence we see that the property of Martin's wife is explicitly excluded from the marriage contract. When she died after 14 years of matrimony without their having succeeded in greatly diminishing their debt burden, the only way out for Martin was an auction, the more so as there were no children who might have helped to reduce the indebtedness.⁵

⁵ To Martin and Magdalena was born a girl, Augusta, on June 2, 1880. But she died by August 24, 1880 (Family Chronicle of Gurtweil Parish, 140).

3.4. Contract to maintain Mother Notburga: When Baptist was home as a newly ordained priest, Notburga discussed and settled the future with her three sons. Martin and Edward were still single. But they had their family plans and were working to realize them. Notburga was prudent enough to bring her own future into the planning. In fact, the debts still existing at the death of Lorenz Jordan (1863) had been increased by Martin when he transformed the little house of wood and straw into a "house built of stone and covered with tiles." Martin was willing to move into the parental house with his future wife and to take over the maintenance of his mother Notburga. In this way Notburga settled everything in full agreement with her three sons. On September 20, 1878, she concluded a contract of sale in a private form with Martin Jordan. The next day she went together with her three sons to Waldshut to notarize the contract of donation and maintenance juridically.

According to the contract Martin received the parental house and the greater part of the real estate, all together valued at 6,553 Mark, "payable in three yearly rates on St. Martin's day 1879, 1880 and 1881, bearing interest of 4½ % starting on September 20 of this year." Of this *Kaufschilling* Notburga donated "to full and irrevocable property and use in a completely gratuitous manner, however with the obligation of including her former inheritance" to each son 1,714.13 Mark. She kept the rest of the money, 1,410.13 Mark, as her personal nest-egg. The obligations resulting from the contract (e.g., lodging, food and clothes) were exactly fixed. Also a second solution was agreed upon, probably in the event that she were not able to get on well with a future daughter-in-law and would prefer to have her own household in the parental house. Edward too got the "right of home." Eventually, Martin also took over existing debts as well as the obligation to provide for the expenses arising from illness and burial. This contract of maintenance (*Leibgedingvertrag*) and donation, was legally signed on November 7, 1878 (AGA Land Register, vol. 7, 149-156, nr. 32). Johann Baptist is identified in the contract as *Neupriester* (newly ordained priest).

3.5. Debt burden: To understand how the Jordans planned to overcome the greatly increased debts in which all of them were involved, three

factors must be considered: the marriage contract between Martin and Magdalena; the sales contract between Notburga and Martin; the already completed and the planned remodeling of the Jordan's little house.

Already on November 8, 1878, the debt principle of 300 Gulden owed to the heirs of Hirsch Bernheim was canceled as paid (Appendix to Mortgage Book, vol. 5, nr. 193).

In the marriage contract with Magdalena Rotzinger filed in Waldshut on July 15, 1879, Martin had listed his debts as 4,488 Mark. After subtracting the debt relief from assuming the property of Mother Notburga, there still remained a debt of 1,700 Mark. We can suppose that Martin with the consent of the family left unconsidered the rights of his mother and his brothers with regard to the contract of maintenance. So the remaining debt of 1,700 Mark may be from remodeling the house, which again Notburga had not included in her contracts.

It is not known how far Martin's wife was free to help her own brother Joseph according to the marriage contract. Magdalena certainly helped her husband and his mother reduce their debts wherever possible. She was co-liable for any debt incurred after their marriage.

On February 7, 1881, on the occasion of a home visit, "Mr. Johann Baptist Jordan, missionary from here, now resident in Rome" recorded his portion of his "mother's donation" (1,714.29 M) "as paid to Martin" and had it canceled in the Mortgage Register (Appendix to the Land Register, vol. 5, nr. 247).⁶ Baptist considered this waiver his contribution to reducing the debts which Martin had assumed with the contract of purchase. Baptist also enjoyed lodging in the two-story house whenever he visited home during his journeys.

By December 31, 1880, Edward had sold his part of his mother's donation to J.G. Eitel in Tiengen. At this "*cessio*" Edward received only 200 Marks in cash. The rest could be paid on account of 742 Marks. On November 11, 1881, Eitel assumed the remaining debt owed to the Church Fund of September 9, 1844, namely 780.83 Marks (Appendix to the Land Register, vol. 5, nr. 241; Mortgage Book, vol. 7, nr.16).

⁶ According to the form in the schedule.

The above donations were for Martin and his wife prerequisite to risking greater indebtedness—all the more so after adding a second story to the parental house. On April 14, 1881, Martin succeeded in receiving a "loan of 3,100 Marks at 5% interest from Stock Corporation Leu and Co. in Zurich against pledge." But as collateral the bank requested not only,

. . . the house Nr. 45. A two-story house with barn and stable under one roof, together with a separately nearby standing building, cart, and wood remise, built of stone, covered with tiles [but also the land belonging to the property of Martin Jordan. Also,] the spouse of the borrower with the authorization of her husband had to assume responsibility for the overall sum, the interests and expenses and to renounce the mortgage-rights of her partner's property to which she was legally entitled.

Even those having lodging rights had to renounce them, and in addition Notburga had to renounce her *Leibgeding* right. For this the lender assumed the entire registered mortgage burdens: the Church Fund, the *cessio* to Eitel, as well as the *Kaufshilling* request of Widow Notburga Jordan (Mortgage Book, vol. 7, nr. 7). In the end, on May 9, 1881, Notburga was compelled to renounce this "*Kaufschilling* request of the Lorenz Jordan widow Notburga née Peter amounting to 1,410 Marks 13 Pf" (Mortgage Book Appendix, nr. 251). Martin received from Bank Leu in Zurich a loan of 3,100 Marks, and thus from the beginning of the summer of 1881, he could partially pay off other creditors.

The loan that Grandfather Franz Jordan had received from the Gurtweil Church Fund on September 9, 1844, as a second mortgage had for a long time been quietly forgotten. But on February 10, 1875, it was renewed at the mayor's request, and on January 2, 1878,⁷ it was transferred to Notburga as "according to the inventory and common property of July 23, 1863, after Lorenz Jordan's death everything had passed over to his widow Notburga née Peter." When it had been transferred in its entirety to his son Martin, "the same confirms himself through his

⁷ It should probably be 1879; "1878" might be a slip of the pen at the beginning of the new year.

personal signature as personal debtor to the above capital. Martin Jordan" (GAG, Mortgage Book, vol. I, 169-210, nr. 204).

Thus the life of "Martin Jordan: farmers, husband and wife" developed into a continuous battle against the indebtedness they assumed when they took over and remodeled the parental home. Even with the continuous unselfish help of Mother Notburga, they only succeeded with utmost effort to fulfill their oppressing obligations toward the uncaring creditors in Zurich.

Everyday life was hard. Compulsory labor was consuming Magdalena's health and causing emotional trouble with Martin. He felt all this misery as an often insuperable burden on his sociable and actually soft nature. So Martin sometimes became ornery and fickle in spite of the true support of the two women. We know about a complaint made in 1880, showing how the pitiless struggle for existence had stiffened Martin so much that when he quarreled he could not be calmed or reconciled. A tentative reconciliation between "Martin Jordan from here (plaintiff) against Paul Müller single, because of insult" on February 22 and 26, 1880, met with no success. "Results: the parties got even more deeply involved in their quarrel. The tentative reconciliation is frustrated" (GAG, Fasc. Criminal Law). In these hard years Martin was also said to have several times taken refuge in liquor.

In the years 1889 and 1890, Martin and Magdalena Jordan had to pay off the outstanding credit to the Zurich bank. They succeeded in finding benevolent lenders in their village, and were able to convert the debt caused by remodeling the house. Already on February 6, 1889, the sawyer Ferdinand Maier loaned them 800 Mark. At the beginning of 1890, Martin received from the property of his not yet adult nephew Engelbert a short-term credit of 400 Mark, which was soon redeemed by Martin's brother Edward to Martin's favor. The housekeeper Ida Frässle, niece of Anton Frässle, pastor for many years in Gurtweil, loaned 620 Mark. Furthermore, the *Creditverein Tiengen* helped him with 410 Mark and the *Creditverein Gurtweil* with 500 Mark.⁸ Smaller but urgent sums

⁸ Mortgage Book, vol. 7, nr. 93; cf., nr. 126.

had to be repaid to the strictly demanding and troublesome "Joseph Guggenheim Jakobs, merchant in Tiengen."

Of course the local creditors also requested security for their loans through mortgage of all the couple's property, most of all of the "estate nr. 74:4 Ar 76 m house garden and yard with the two-story house, with the farm building and the separately standing wood- and cart-shed with the pigsty, house Nr. 45."⁹ Edward Jordan was of invaluable help when it came to converting the debts; his financial capacity assured the creditors that they would recover the money they had lent to Martin.

After the unexpected death of his wife Magdalena, Martin had to sell all his property at auction—painful as this was for him as well as for Notburga. The whole substance of auction was valued about 4,944 Mark. Edward Jordan "farmer and solvent citizen stepped in as guarantor. Already at the conversion of the debt in 1889 and 1890, the home rights of Widow Notburga Jordan and the single aunt Magdalena Jordan were entered again legally. Edward himself didn't need a home-right any more, because he now had his own house in the upper village. Mother Notburga renounced the renewal of the contract of maintenance. Martin stayed with her, and Edward took care of her needs.

Martin's property would have covered all his debts, but being alone without wife or children and with a careworn mother, he did not repay all interest and payments on time. Thus Martin had to choose the hard way of auction. For the cozy little house he received 2,230 Mark. The remaining 2,100 Mark was covered through the sale of the fields and movables. Edward had to guarantee and eventually cover the rest. On December 11, 1893, he had his mortgage-right renewed. As a creditor he made himself a guarantor for Martin, and in this way a debtor to himself (Book of Mortgages, vol. 7, nr. 127).¹⁰

⁹ Ibid., nr. 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 113, 123, 124, 126, 127 and 128.

¹⁰ That the creditors were satisfied is shown by the cancellations of the various mortgage debts: for the *Vorschusverein Thiengen* on April 4, 1894, (Mortgage Book, vol. 7, nr. 123), for "Joseph Guggenheim Jakobs, trader in Thiengen" on July 31, 1894, and on December 7, 1895, (nr. 113 and 124), for the

The auction of the Jordan house took place March 16, 1894. It went to a widow, Maria Josepha Griesser, née Hilpert who sold it on April 28, 1895, to the day-laborer Leo Müller. It was still burdened with the "right of home and dwelling of the Lorenz Jordan widow Notburga, née Peter . . ." and "with the right of dwelling of Magdalena Jordan, single. . ." (GAG, Land Register, vol. 8, 478, nr. 130).

3.6. Martin Jordan in Alb: Martin was now without property but he was also free of debts. Life had to go on. Fortunately he retained his strength for work. After his mother's death he couldn't endure life in Gurtweil. Too many burdening memories crossed his path again and again. Moreover, he had not even a piece of land to subsist on.

Soon he found good work at Albbbruck. Now as a simple laborer he was free from the pressure of paying interest and meeting debts. In nearby Albbbruck a paper mill had been opened in 1870-1872. It was in the former iron-works which had existed there since 1681 processing mainly the bohnerz found in that region. The paper mill was soon flourishing and already by 1900 employed 300 workers.

Probably with his brother Edward's help, Martin set up a small widower's home and found good work in the paper mill. This also brought him back to mental balance. The mill worker found a good new mate in Sophie Strittmatter from Schachen near Hochsal. Martin married the 14-year younger Sophie on November 23, 1899 (Wedding Register of the Parish Hochsal-Albbbruck, 1899, 31).

Edward had more luck financially and with regard to children than his older brother. Still he assisted Martin whenever the need arose, and he judged him with brotherly respect in his memoirs which he gave orally to Fr. Camillus Mohr, SDS in January 1925.

Creditverein Gurtweil on July 31, 1894, (Mortgage Book Annex, vol. 6, nr. 135), for Ferdinand Maier (nr. 87). The loan of *Aktiengesellschaft Lue & Co.* in Zurich of 3,100 Mark was already canceled as repaid on June 4, 1899 (Mortgage Book, vol. 7, nr. 165) in the course of the adjustment of the mortgage books according to the law of April 14, 1898.

The oldest brother's name was Martin; he was married and also kept his mother with him; the two women worked eagerly together. Mother died first, and soon after his wife too.¹¹ He spent everything that remained on drink; the rest was mortgaged as there were many debts. He had an eye-catching work cap which he dyed black. He had taken part in the war 1870/71 and brought back a Frenchman's cap which he dyed black. He was a diligent and steady worker, tall and rather stout. After having lost everything he moved to Albbbruck, worked there in the paper mill, earned good money and married again (G-18.110).

The Death Register of the Hochsal Parish records:

In the year 1905, on April 27, died in Alb administered with the Holy Sacraments and was buried here on April 29, by vicar Martin Stegmüller: Martin Jordan, factory worker in Alb, husband of Sophie, née Strittmatter, 61 years old, Hochsal, April 29, 1905, H. von Bank, Parish priest (Death Register, Parish of Hochsal from 1900, 80).

Pastor Edward Fehringer of Gurtweil in response to a letter from Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS on September 16, 1918, for information about brothers or sisters of Fr. Jordan, who had died the previous week, wrote: "Martin . . . died in Alb (buried in Hochsal in the veterans' cemetery)."

About Sophie Jordan née Strittmatter there is no further trace in Hochsal Parish records. The 47 year-old widow may have started a new life after Martin's death. This is all the more possible since her parents were already dead: master-weaver Gregory Strittmatter on June 22, 1876, just 54 years old, and her mother Katharina Strittmatter née Gottstein on January 6, 1902 at the age of 78 (Death Register of Hochsal Parish).

3.7. Edward Jordan.

In the year 1851, May 27, at 10 p.m. was born and baptized on May 28 at 1:30 p.m. by the undersigned in the local parish church: Edward, legal son of Lorenz Jordan, citizen and day-laborer and Notburga née Peter, witness of birth and baptism are: Anton Jordan single, day-laborer from here, Godfather at the same time, and Joseph Müller,

¹¹ Edward's report to Fr. Mohr is mistaken here. Martin's wife died 3 years before Mother Notburga.

citizen and sexton here. Godmother: Theresia Jehle single, from here. Gurtweil, May 28, 1851. Klihr, parish administrator. (Baptism Register of Gurtweil, 188, nr. 5)

Thus, Edward had the same godparents as his brother Johann Baptist.

3.8. Fishing business: "Until then the fisherman Sutter from Aachen had the fishing-right on the Schlücht. About twice or three times a year he went down catching some hundred weight of fish; the rest he left to the farmers through whose land the river flowed. It changed its bed each year." This is the village recollection about 1920 (G-18.114). "For the fishing-right in the mill canal, Matthä Sutter of Deitlingen paid in 1855, 5 Gulden, 24 Kreuzer" notes the village chronicler (Beringer, 249).

The young Baptist showed an inclination and knack for fishing and taught his young brother Edward. "By catching fish in the Schlücht, Baptist earned quite a few pennies. Through his success in catching fish, fishing came into the family," stated his brother Edward around New Years Day 1925 (G-18.119, 82). Edward fished professionally and commercially and was for many years fishing warden and fishing master in Gurtweil. The parents just worked a small farm. The lucrative fishing business was begun by Edward (G-18.113). Edward's only son Emil also became an excellent fishing master and passed the business on to his own son. Emil Jordan himself reported at the end of December 1924, that he had been a fisherman and hunter and at the same time worked a little farm. At the beginning, even before the war, he together with his family had a great struggle against misery and poverty. Only through fishing did they make any progress (G-18.57, 58). After the First World War the skillful Edward was able to expand so much that he made a trip by train to Zurich every Friday together with his son Emil to deliver two tubs of fresh trout to its best hotel, the Lac au Baur.¹² It was Edward who began

¹² Communicated by Mrs. Sophie Krempel née Ebner, at the end living in Zurich, Voltastraße. Sophie Ebner was born in Zurich on April 27, 1879. As a child she spent her holidays around Gurtweil. Her father's home was in Etwil near Waldshut, her mother's was Gurtweil. Her mother, Mrs. Anna Maria Ebner,

his own fish farm, which proved so important when industrial expansion increasingly reduced and endangered the fish habitat in the Schlücht.

3.9. Edward Jordan: Army recruit: No documents exist about the mustering and service of Edward Jordan as a recruit. However, he is entered on the recruit lists of November 18, 1867, and again on the December 28, 1868 list because he had at first been overlooked (GAG, Fasc. Support of Recruits). With the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 (i.e., after the Frankfurt Peace of May 10, 1871) he served in Constance with the 114th Infantry Regiment. Baptist was already at the Constance Gymnasium at that time, so that the two brothers were able to meet occasionally (G-18.74, 137, 193, 194).

3.10. Edward Jordan; Accountant and contractor: As "accountant of road- and river-work" Edward assumed at his own risk the completion of construction "lots" of the Waldshut-Tiengen road, as well as the regulation of the Schlücht River.

Edward is said to have been in danger of being caught and killed by a train while crossing the high railway-bridge, but to have been able at the last moment to save himself through a daring jump over the rail without sustaining injury. Out of gratitude he donated a granite crucifix.

Out of gratitude for the blessing received in their undertakings [Edward and his wife Katharina] had a gilded crucifix of granite erected on May 28, 1886. It bears the inscription "*Im Kreuz ist Heil.*" [In the cross is salvation] and the year "1886" On the backside are the names of the donors. On June 3, 1886, it was blessed by the dean and pastor Frässle during a procession (Parish Book of Gurtweil, The Way Cross in the *Steigackern*).

Edward didn't restrict himself to earning his bread as a simple farmer and fisherman. He wanted to get on his own feet more quickly. While

née Schlosser, was a sister of Mrs. Gertrud Tröndle, née Schlosser. A son of Mrs. Krempel's became a priest, at first a Passionist. The two Jordans, father and son, usually went to dinner at Mrs. Krempel's after handing over their living load of fish at Lac au Baur. Mrs. Krempel (Sophie) esteemed Fr. Jordan very much.

Martin helped his mother with hard labor to master their debts, Edward dared to build his future in an easier and more lucrative way as a building-contractor. He felt as guiltless as Martin concerning the debts they had been burdened with, but he also felt that he personally could contribute more through his entrepreneurial activities. On September 17, 1878, during the holidays of his newly ordained brother and few days before the legal distribution of property already agreed to, he was sentenced to 14 days in jail for bribery (Book of Mortgages, vol. 6, nr. 153). It was probably a matter of trying to get a good construction lot in Tiengen in a questionable way.

On February 27, 1879, and on March 3 of the same year he bought some land (Land Register Annex, vol. 5, nr. 207; Mortgage Register, vol. 6, 158), the first with cash, the second against a mortgage.

In the following year, July 28, 1880, Edward bought at auction for 3,765 Mark from Matthias Gamp "a two-story house with barn and shed under one roof, pigsty and wood sheds and a 6-Ruthen garden in front of the house at the road to Waldshut." The purchase price could be paid in three equal yearly installments (Land Register, vol. 5, nr. 237). Edward married his first wife Katharina Baumgartner and moved into this house Nr. 15 in the upper village on November 17, 1881 [further financial matters omitted].

3.11. Edward Jordan: Husband and father: Two years after Martin's marriage, Edward was also able to start his family.

. . . Edward Jordan citizen from here and an accountant, single, legal son of late Lorenz Jordan and of Notburga née Peter and the single Katharina Baumgartner, legal daughter of the late Fidel Baumgartner and of Maria Ursula née Sibold, born March 16, 1849, in Stotzingen. Witnesses are Anton Jordan, citizen and farmer from here, and Philipp Baumgartner, single from Stotzingen . . . Gurtweil, November 17, 1881. Frässle. (Wedding Register, Gurtweil 1881, 125f, nr. 2.)¹³

¹³ Exact title: "Marriage Book of Gurtweil Parish according to Civil Laws."

Edward Jordan lived happily with his first wife who gave birth to and raised 4 children. When Katharina died December 27, 1897, "wife of the fisherman and farmer" left her property to the 4 children Maria, Emil, Augusta and Sophie as her legal heirs (Lower Court Waldshut, Archives, Register Department IV, R. nr. 541) surely with her husband's consent.

Edward married again on February 25, 1898, in the Shrine of Einsiedeln (cf., Family Chronicle of Gurtweil Parish, 141) the widow Augusta Schäuble née Gamp (born August 17, 1858).¹⁴ Her first marriage had been to the shoemaker Xaver Schüble and she brought along with her a daughter Bertha, born November 30, 1889, three other children of her first marriage having already died as children. The children of Edward's first marriage didn't have good memories of their stepmother. She is said to have been so rude and coarse that neighbors were shocked. Edward coped in his own manner. He was often away fishing for up to two weeks, recalled Emil Jordan's wife Elizabeth Jordan, née Flum.¹⁵

Augusta Schüble died November 12, 1920, and left one half of her estate (about 8,000 M) to her husband; the other half went to her daughter Bertha, as there were no other children of her marriage with Edward. (Lower Court Waldshut, Archives). Thereafter, Edward dedicated himself totally to his business, and to hunting and fishing, especially after his daughters were married. In this way, after his son Emil had taken over the fishing business and after his hopes for his second marriage had failed to materialize, he was able to compensate for both. Edward's business practices were envied by some because of their success, while others looked askance. This was particularly true on the

¹⁴ " . . . Widower Edward Jordan, fisher, and Widow Augusta Schäuble, née Gamp . . . Einsiedeln, February 25, 1898, Rev. Fr. X. Scheerman" (Marriage Register 1898, 165). Also Emil Jordan and M. Elizabeth Flum were married in Stiftskirche in Einsiedeln, August 17, 1907 (Marriage Book 1907, 177).

¹⁵ Born September 25, 1887, died October 22, 1953; their parents ran the inn *Zum Hirschen*. Elizabeth herself preferred the church to the hearth, and liked to judge her neighbors according to her "over-pious tendency" (cf., G-18.184).

eve of the 1923 inflation when he is said to have bought the bakery of Gurtweil for 24,000 Mark in order to resell it quickly for profit.

Edward knew how to exploit an advantage for himself and his children. He was also charitable now and then (certainly not to quiet his conscience) although he remained particular in his giving. While his brother Baptist received help for his pious aims, pastor August Siebold of Gurtweil (1922-1929) was disappointed at receiving nothing from wealthy Edward Jordan's estate (December 1924, G-18.60).¹⁶

In the year 1828, February 26, died of a stroke at the age of 76 years, 10 months provided with the Sacrament of Anointing and was buried in the local churchyard by Otto Forster, pastor retired, Edward Jordan, fisherman, husband of the late Katharina née Baumgartner and of the late Augusta Schüble, née Gamp. Gurtweil, April 10, 1928. August Siebold, pastor (Death Book 1928, 100, nr. 1).

¹⁶ Fr. Mohr reports his impression:

Edward Jordan is a true Gurtweiler with his sides of light and shadows. He is very hard working, a little more zealous in his religious life since the death of the Rev. Father. A great lover of hunting, while his son Emil holds under lease the fishing in the Schlücht, Wutach and Steina. During the war [WW I] the expansion of the fishery brought in a lot of money (G-18.114b).

4. John Baptist's Youth

John Baptist Jordan's childhood was certainly poor but he was well cared for. **See, 4.1. Childhood.** His parents fought hard constantly to earn their living. Still, there was scant bread on the table and hardly any meat. Potatoes, oatmeal and milled gruel were the ordinary food of the poor in those days. The parents provided as best they could for their growing sons, but there was never a surplus; sometimes even the necessities were scarce. It was not only a matter of finding the family food and clothes, but also of paying the debts handed down from Lorenz's father. Thus the Jordans were forced to work hard and to live frugally.

During the week the parents had little time for the children. Grandfather Franz, however, was always on hand for them and loved caring for them. As John Baptist grew and began to toddle his world expanded. Across the street was the sawmill where Valentin worked—a single man, simple, quiet and a good neighbor to the Jordans. **See, 4.2. Valentin.** In the millrace which turned the big wheel of the noisy mill Baptist made his first acquaintance with running water so captivating for a boy.

John Baptist also got along well with his godmother Theresia who was one of the few well-off people in the village. **See, 4.3. Godmother.** She had a good heart and a maternal liking for her godchild. For John Baptist this was all the more comforting as his three aunts, his father's sisters, hardly played any role in his life. His uncle Anton, who worked outside Gurtweil at that time, only rarely came home to visit.

The boy soon learned his way around the little village of Gurtweil. He got along well with his brothers and playmates. His childhood was by no means boring. There were always new things to explore in the woods and on the river. There were two other important people in the village—the parish priest and the school teacher. But John Baptist preferred to avoid them; he enjoyed and guarded the freedom of childhood.

A new period of life began for him, however, when he turned six. Now both the church and the school laid claims on training him. **See, 4.4. School.** His parents were happy and relieved for this help! John Baptist was talented and also lively. So his teacher experienced both joy and annoyance with him—joy because the little Jordan learned so easily, and annoyance because his teachers could not keep him busy enough with schoolwork without neglecting the rest of the class. They managed to resolve these difficulties to their mutual advantage—at times Baptist was allowed to play assistant teacher (but then he often chose to entertain the class rather than to supervise it); at other times John Baptist chose to skip classes to roam the woods, explore the Schlücht River, or simply go fishing. This latter hobby became both a boyhood passion and later a duty for the support of the family.

After his father's tragic accident John Baptist took it as his natural duty to help reduce the worries of his mother about providing daily meals. This he did by fishing. **See, 4.5. Fishing.** He would haul his catch out of the fresh water with his bare hands, never conscious of doing anyone any harm or injustice. Being poor was no shame for him. He felt drawn to learn on his own and he kept an open heart and a watchful eye to the needs of others. His boyish wildness worried his parents, but his honesty as well as his practical success consoled them. **See, 4.6. Boyish pranks.**

At age 12 a change occurred in the life of John Baptist—until then a carefree and happy youngster. The world of religion had been opened up to him in the unobtrusive and ordinary atmosphere of the parish church. In the church as in his village there was a natural and healthy religious growth. He matured during these years within the simple and God-fearing climate of his family. More and more this pointed toward his future path. Looking back as a mature person Jordan felt that his twelfth year was a "conversion" year—the year he began with youthful fervor to decide the purpose and meaning of his personal life as a Christian and its future shape.

From the age of seven John Baptist had been accustomed to attend Mass on Sundays with his parents. With the beginning of school he made the acquaintance of the pastor, but that probably was no more than an ordinary contact. **See, 4.7. Village pastor.** At twelve he was introduced to the sacrament of penance. Here he became more thoroughly acquainted with his own conscience and learned to cultivate it.

Then a new spiritual experience informed his budding personality. At the age of 13, John Baptist received the sacrament of confirmation in the parish church of Waldshut from Bishop George Anton von Stahl of Würzburg on September 20, 1860. **See, 4.8. Confirmation.** He received his First Holy Communion on April 7, 1861. **See, 4.9. First Communion.** This event, accentuated by the "Communion dove incident," directed and supported his future development. The pastor had long before noticed the precocious and zealous youth. John Baptist himself admired his pastor Fr. Hermann Kessler, an eager and industrious priest who in a time of secular hostility toward religious and monastic foundations, devoted himself to setting up in the former dependency (in the so-called Castle of Gurtweil) a new home for the flourishing community of Sisters of the Precious Blood, dedicated to educating and forming young girls.

Primary school ended for John Baptist around Easter 1862, when he was just shy of 14. Now what was he to do? He would have loved to continue his studies but the Jordans were too poor for that. His father's condition had considerably worsened; his mother, moreover, was overburdened with his care. She longed for the day when she could also count on the wages of John Baptist.

Thus, immediately after finishing school John Baptist did not hesitate to find a paying job. Though not as strong as his older brother Martin, he signed up for hard labor with the railroad, which provided work and wages for so many day-laborers and small farmers of the area. **See, 4.10. Hard labor.** When this job ended he went to work on road construction alongside the railway, and on the damming of the Schlücht River. However, after working hours and also on Sundays he would settle

down with his books. This was not easy in the little Jordan household, since when the three boys were at home they had to share their one room with their grandfather. Nor did their parents' small bedroom afford any extra space because their father had to be nursed. So John Baptist used to go into the woods to study. When the weather was too severe he could always cross the road to the little room of his friend Valentin. After his father's death, Baptist's help was need all the more, since death was generally accompanied by increased expenses and of deeper debt.

Already at this point in his life John Baptist wanted to study for the priesthood. **See, 4.11. Dreams of priesthood.** But for now this was just a dream-wishful thinking. How could such a poor young man afford such studies? Anyway, after 2½ years working on the railroad, on the road, and on the river, because of his talent for drawing John Baptist was able to quit heavy work in October 1864, and begin an apprenticeship with a decorator and paperhanger, Master Jakob Hildenbrand in Waldshut.

As apprentice and helper he lived with Hildenbrand and returned only occasionally to Gurtweil. Jordan applied for a four-year passport on October 11, 1864, "for the purpose of entering into an apprenticeship as painter in Waldshut." He received his identity card October 19, 1864, from the Grand Duchy office in Waldshut, but only for three years. He was listed then as living with the master decorator Jakob Hildenbrand "next to the upper gate." He dedicated his free time to his studies, especially to studying the languages of neighboring countries to the west and south, which he secretly wished to visit.

He had talent for the trade of painter. **See, 4.12. First trade: painter.** His zeal was exemplary. Thus after two years his master could certify him as a journeyman painter on September 2, 1866. Three days later he applied for a new 2-year passport, "for the purpose of journeying as a decorator in his home and in foreign countries." His application was granted, but with the significant notation, "up to August 15, 1868;" for it was then that John Baptist Jordan was supposed to report to his recruiting station for compulsory military service.

The journeyman decorator did not set out immediately after receiving his passport, but helped in his master's shop probably to get some ready cash. Supplied with an excellent testimonial from Hildenbrand, John Baptist left his home in March 1867, to perfect himself in his trade.

But not even this tiring manual labor dampened his inner longing. He still felt he was at a crossroad of his life. In spite of all his prayers for light from above he did not know yet how to decide about his future. He had heard the call but he could not find a meaningful way to respond. During his travels John Baptist, by his own report, worked in Augsburg, Regensburg, and Baden-Baden. His training under Master Hildenbrand restricted his work to "painter, gilder and paperhanger." He tried applying his talents to artistic painting, all without neglecting his spiritual formation or his beloved language studies. He investigated the cities where he found work, observing the local life and activities. And everywhere he went he sought contact with local Catholic life. The 20 year-old had no eye for taverns or for girls, only for churches and bookstores.

John Baptist was home again promptly on August 15, 1868, and only five days later, on August 20, he reported at Waldshut to be mustered into the military and to learn how to be a soldier. **See, 4.13. Soldier.** Although he was one of the three recruits from Gurtweil's 1848 age group, he was actually listed among the Waldshut recruits because, as in previous years, Gurtweil had to provide only two military candidates.

Baptist, judged fit for cavalry service, was temporarily furloughed to await his draft call. Forced to stay in his home district he went to visit his former master with the intention of earning some money. He also joined the Catholic journeyman's union in Waldshut, where he was received by Fr. Friedrich Werber on August 27, 1868. John Baptist was happy to establish contact with good companions, so he gladly and punctually took part in their meetings. He also strove to make some progress in his artistic work.

John Baptist reported to the barracks at Constance for active duty in January 1869. But he was only briefly to experience military life in Constance. "I was soon able to go back home again," he wrote in his biography some ten years later. He regarded it as providential that he was free again so soon. Because he was now able to determine his course for the future, he could recognize more clearly the will of God in this turn of events. How much had he secretly asked for the light to be sure, and not to be fooled by a pious and youthful dream!

In January 1869, John Baptist again obtained a journeyman certificate with the recommendation of the president of his union. However, he did not travel immediately (at least there is no entry on his passport or travel papers to indicate he had taken up any employment away from home). We may be sure that he devoted himself immediately and completely to studies once he came home from the cavalry barracks. **See, 4.14. Private studies (I).** He was now of age and he did not want to build a future in the trade he had learned. He wanted to study for the priesthood.

Meanwhile, after the death of Baptist's father the pastor of Gurtweil, Fr. Hermann Kessler had moved away. His poor health forced him to look for an easier post wherein he could continue to direct his foundation, the Sisters of the Precious Blood, installed in the Gurtweil Castle. His successor, Fr. Cajetan Gessler, arrived in Gurtweil in September 1863.

During his ten years of ministry in Gurtweil, Gessler was instrumental in paving the way for John Baptist to pursue his true vocation. Observing Baptist's seriousness, studiousness, readiness to work, and piety he was able to vouch for the authenticity of his priestly vocation and that he possessed the required capabilities. Once convinced, he did everything he could to encourage John Baptist. The young man, however, ran into rather stiff opposition when he revealed his plans at home. Even those who really liked him could not understand such an unusual change of vocation. Without the energetic help of his farsighted pastor, John Baptist would never have been able to find the way into his future.

Already in early spring 1869, Fr. Gessler found a private tutor for him in Waldshut (**see, 4.15. Private teachers**) in the person of Chaplain Werber, whom John Baptist already knew from his journeyman's connections. This priest willingly undertook this addition to his pastoral duties in order to help the young Jordan (now twenty-one years old) to learn Latin and French. John Baptist was not only an excellent student, he was also a diligent, patient and tireless worker. Chaplain Werber was never sorry he undertook this extra work. In fact, he gladly and justly boasted about it in later years. Gessler and Werber both agreed with John Baptist's wish for a student's passport, so already in 1869 they recommended him as a serious and successful student.

In fall 1869, John Baptist found a second teacher, the amiable Vicar Gottfried Nägele, who taught him Greek and natural science. Before this, however, on August 6, 1869, John Baptist witnessed a feast in Gurtweil which would certainly have dispelled any hesitancy or fear he may have harbored about his vocation—the newly ordained Ferdinand Mayer celebrated his First Holy Mass, August 7, 1869, in the chapel of the Castle in Gurtweil. **See, 4.16. Inspirations: First Mass, parish mission, First Vatican Council.**

In his loyalty to his vocation and zeal for knowledge, especially for languages, John Baptist already in his student days in Waldshut suffered hunger like many students at that time. His mother was alarmed to see her son losing energy. He had not yet learned to pay attention to his physical condition or to moderate his efforts. Soon the doctor had to intervene, and Mother Notburga did everything she could to see that John Baptist would not damage his health any further.

When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in the summer of 1870, Jordan had to report for service like his other young companions in Waldshut. Once more he was a soldier. **See, 4.17. Soldier again.** His unit came to Strassburg, but before marching west he was dismissed as too weakened from his studies. In this he himself recognized with a grateful heart the loving hand of God's providence.

After 18 months of preparatory studies (**see, 4.18. Private studies (II)**) his tutors thought the time had come for John Baptist to transfer to public school. So with great personal courage, being somewhat older than his peers, Jordan sat for the strict entrance exam for the gymnasium at Constance. His teachers were proud when Jordan was admitted to the sixth class. For John Baptist who was now twenty-two years old, this was an important success. It dispelled any fears about his ability to handle studies and it refuted any lingering doubts about his vocation. Now too he could count on the modest support of his family.

This was important especially for his first year in Constance because John Baptist was totally dependent on outside support for his regular studies. **See, 4.19. Scholarship aid.** His pastor did not hesitate to give the future theologian an unequivocal recommendation for help and support. John Baptist himself, in his own honest and modest way, did his best to earn the confidence of others and he accepted any help with gratitude.

In spite of all this, he faced more years of need and want. He had indeed learned from childhood what it meant to go hungry, but now he was grown up and had already learned a trade to support himself. It was a real test of his endurance to suffer hunger during his student years. Constance, moreover, was too far away for anyone to curb his zeal or keep an eye on his health. Believing, however, in his vocation and trusting in help from above he was ready to clear all hurdles.

The years of his youth in his home village had been marked by want and privation, particularly after the premature death of his father. Years of hard labor and study followed his carefree and somewhat wild boyhood. Soon, however, God's special guidance was noticeable in the youth's life. **See, 4.20. Recollections.** His spiritual life, rooted in his baptism, did not lag behind his natural growth. If his first Confession had awakened his conscience, his Confirmation started a conversion in the twelve year-old boy which reached its climax in his First Communion. The "Communion dove incident," a most embarrassing moment for John Baptist, is only one powerful hint of the divine call which increasingly captivated the

fiery and energetic young man. John Baptist could not and would not shrink from this Pentecostal and Eucharistic call. So his was no mere pious conversion. On the contrary, it inaugurated in Baptist a spiritual struggle which directed him slowly but steadily toward an apostolic life.

4. John Baptist's Youth. A Closer Look

4.1. Childhood:

In 1848, on June 16, at 8 a.m. was born here, and on 17th at 7 a.m. there was baptized in the church by the undersigned: Johannes Baptist legally born son of the citizen Laurentius Jordan and of Notburga Peter from Bühl. Witnesses are sponsors Anton Jordan, single, and Theresia Jehle, single, together with Joseph Müller Sigris, all from here. Gurtweil, June 17, 1848. Clar, parish administrator. (Baptism Register of the Parish Gurtweil 1848, 169, nr. 5.)¹

In this customary way the pastor of Gurtweil recorded Baptist's birth and baptism. Unlike his patron saint, no one asked his parents, "What will this child be?" (Lk 1:66). We also have Baptist's vaccination certificate of October 8, 1849, according to which a Doctor Faller vaccinated Baptist on September 29 (C-5).²

"Father Jordan's parents were simple folk who had to struggle much against poverty, but who managed it honestly and eagerly," writes Pastor Edward Fehringer³ from Gurtweil on October 2, 1918 (J-107b) answering a letter of Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS of September 16, 1918, and describing how the Jordans continued to be remembered by people.

They had just a meager street level house with a thatched roof almost to the ground, no walls, no chimney, just a black smokey cottage. [Baptist] and his two brothers had an extremely poor room under the roof with no real window. (Letter of Frieda Schlosser, January 8, 1927, J-51).

¹ In the margin the pastor noted "Johannes B. Jordan." The underlinings in the text are by him as well. It's a pity that later on neither Confirmation nor major orders are indicated. John Baptist received also the baptismal name of his single grand-uncle on his father's side, who must have been a good and esteemed man.

² At that time vaccination certificates were important documents which had to be presented when entering school, mustering, etc. This explains why Baptist's vaccination certificate was preserved.

³ Edward Fehringer (Nussloch, September 2, 1878-1934, February 7, Freiburg); pastor in Gurtweil, December 1, 1917- November 1922 (Beringer, 173).

The oppressive poverty of Baptist's parents is also underscored by Widow Schlosser-Vonderach née Hauser (August 17, 1845-1925, April 21) in a letter of September 27, 1924, in which she reminisced about Jordan's youth (J-23): "His parents were extremely poor farmers living under a little poor thatched cottage." Earlier in August 1924 she declared in oral testimony: "The financial situation was always bad" (G-18.24). A schoolmate of Baptist's, Johann Müller (August 31, 1851-1931, December 31, sexton since 1885) recalled as an old man:

For mother [Notburga] it was almost impossible to care for the children. The husband was continuously suffering and could only walk with difficulty, and the earnings were poor. The whole burden of work was on mother's shoulders (January 3, 1926, G-18.180).

After the early death of their father, Notburga was living "now in even poorer conditions, and depended on hard work and had no time to look to and educate her three sons, who were left to themselves," writes Regina Schlosser in her "Memoirs of Baptist Jordan's Youth" (December 27, 1924, J-23).

4.2. Valentin Maier, born January 14, 1837, was one of those righteous men without whom no village can live well, "and no town, and not even our whole country" (Solzhenitsyn: "Matriona's Farm").

Also a devoted unmarried man, Valentin, who was employed quite near to his [Baptist's] parental house at the mill stream near the saw mill, and who on cold days often went into the Jordan's living-room, made a deep impression on young Baptist. He kept in his tiny room Lives of the Saints and other pious books, which Baptist read with interest and which now began to open up to him a new way of life.⁴ He [Jordan] retired more and more from his companions, became very devoted and received Holy Communion every Sunday (Widow Schlosser-Vonderach, memoirs of December 27, 1924, J-23; cf., G-18.32).

⁴ In late years Valentin found a good job at Herder's in Freiburg, probably through Jordan's intervention (G-18.88).

The *Klopfsäge* or *Stampfe* (ram-saw) was opposite the Jordans' little house at the mill flow. "It was driven by a waterwheel. Anton Jordan (1821-1897) is said to have been the last sawyer in Gurtweil" (Beringer, 126). Ferdinand Emil Maier, owner of the tavern "Hirschen" erected in 1881 a modern steam-mill, which competed with the old one. The *Klopfsäge* was shut down and demolished after World War I. The new steam-mill was erected at the end of the village towards the Bruckhaus on the Schlücht.

4.3. Godmother: Baptist's godmother was truly concerned about her growing godchild. Theresia Keller, née Jehle (September 20, 1823-1904, November 24) was married to Anton Keller (February 21, 1822-1895, April 12), when Baptist had just begun his apprenticeship. Anton Keller was a wealthy miller in Gurtweil. His first wife Christina, née Müller, whom he had married on November 26, 1854, bore three daughters and died early. Theresia became a good stepmother. Though her marriage with Anton Keller remained childless she was a good, motherly woman, esteemed and loved by all. It was she who most of all supported Baptist Jordan in the difficult years of his studies. Baptist remained thankful to her his whole life. Theresia Keller continued to live with her husband in the spacious mill even after the youngest stepdaughter of the first marriage, Johanna Baptista Keller (June 5, 1852-1891, April 22), married on August 4, 1885 the miller Anton Weber (Altbierlingen, January 15 1852-1924, December 5, Gurtweil) who then took over the mill (Beringer, 125ff, 138).

4.4. School: In 1828 Gurtweil built (for about 2,150 fl) a school to replace the one-room school rented by the local administration (Beringer, 186). From spring 1846 to fall 1877, Franz Xaver Boll (Aichen, September 15, 1813-1884, September 17, Gurtweil) was the teacher there (Beringer, 188).

Boll was not overly talented but conscientious and diligent; he did more than was legally demanded. He was religious and an exemplary family man. As organist and song leader he was sufficient for a congregation not demanding too much. Generally he was healthy, but now and then greater efforts and too much work attacked his lungs. He also worked a small farm having his own fields and properties on the school.

This is how Pastor Josef Anton Laub (September 26, 1783-1855, January 14; pastor in Gurtweil from December 11, 1851) judged him in an 1854 evaluation (Parish Archives Gurtweil). Widow Schlosser remembers in her old age (January 1925) her teacher and how he ran his school:

The teacher was Xaver Boll from Aichen. He was quite capable, teaching reading, calculating and writing well. He was quite religious. Now and then he played the organ, although it was not always exact. His punishments were cane strokes on the fingers. The girls had to go to school up to age 13, the boys to 14. In summer the older ones attended from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m, and the little ones from 1 to 4 p.m. Sometimes he went for walks with them over meadows, fields and to the woods. Now and then another organist came. Once Baptist got cane strokes because he had played truant or drew pictures during lessons (G-18.97).

In the one-room school lessons occupied at least 12 hours a week, not more than 20. From 1835 on only about 120 students attended. (Cf., *Erläss über die Errichtung von Volksschulen, die Aufsicht, Schulordnung und Lehrplan vom Jahre 1834.*)

The ordinary term of school went from St. Martin's Day (November 11) to St. George's Day, (i.e., White Sunday). The lessons were given in three groups at that time. The teacher had to take care of an average of 70 children. In summer the school was open only three half-days a week. The girls were dismissed at the age of 13, the boys at the age 14. Then followed 3 years of "Sunday school." In 1920, Gurtweil together with Gutenberg had 90 pupils (Beringer, 183ff).

Baptist had finished school before the introduction of inter-confessional schools in 1868, and before the April 28, 1869 decree from the Ministry inaugurated the two-class school (lower grade 1-3, upper grade 4-8). By the way, these decrees changed nothing at Gurtweil until the fall of 1921 when a "secondary teacher" was finally hired.

When in 1858, teacher Boll fell ill, a substitute was employed. He was more successful and was seen by Boll as a rival, about whose "bad school" there had been several complaints. The local community would have liked him to resign, and for some time he contemplated doing so. But with a family to feed he couldn't consent to change his post (*Gemeinde Akten, Gurtweil*).

In these circumstances it was difficult for the teacher to treat each pupil according to his/her abilities. Baptist learned quickly and it was difficult for the teacher to restrain his liveliness. "In school he was always the best; once in German he wrote a very good composition to the joy and surprise of the teacher," wrote the old church-warden Johannes Müller, a schoolmate of Baptist's (G-18.171). Müller adds,

He was always drawing; when he had to go to the blackboard in the math lesson, he always took two pieces of chalk. While he calculated and wrote with one hand, he sketched something to the pleasure of the children with the other (January 3, 1926, G-18.168).

His brother Edward recalls:

In school he was always the best. Now and then he had to give lessons. While the teacher was doing his own work, Jordan with a few strokes could quickly draw a little man or something else on the blackboard. Then he quickly wiped it off. He copied whatever gave him pleasure. The children and even the teacher himself often couldn't help laughing. Things then were different from things today (August 1924, G-18.18).

When describing Baptist's high spirits to which he sometimes gave vent even in the classroom, Widow Regina Schlosser-Vonderach adds,

He sometimes played truant especially in summer, or stared out the window. Sometimes he brought into the classroom a bumble-bee in a little box and let it fly during lessons. Once he is even said to have brought in a garter snake (G-18.56, 62, 63).

Of course such pranks are part of every healthy boy's world.⁵ But it is characteristic of Baptist that his schoolmates remember him just this way.

⁵ His best school friends were (according to Schlosser-Vondernach) Gottlieb Tröndle (November 10, 1848-1919, April 30), son of Peter Tröndle, who had exchanged houses with grandfather Franz Jordan and was also Baptist's neighbor; also Schlosser's brothers Franz Xaver Hauser (December 2, 1846-1899, December 2) and Josef Hauser (June 3, 1848-1901, May 18). Edward Jordan also remembers (January 1925): "Gottlieb Tröndle and the two brothers of Regina were his constant schoolmates and playmates (G.18.79).

Baptist's religion teacher, Vicar Kessler, was surprised and maybe also struck by the talents and possibilities showing up in the Jordan boy. So he once said in priestly concern and hope: "You will become either very good and competent or else very bad" (Johannes Müller, G-18.164).

4.5. Fishing: When Baptist didn't come to school he hardly ever told anybody where he was going. They just figured "he may be fishing on the Schlücht" (G-18.100). "By catching fish he earned many a penny" (G-18.76). "Through his success, fishing came into his family. With this job he helped his family several times in days of bitter want" (G-18.82). "The family hadn't enough to eat each day. His catching fish was therefore mostly out of want" (G-18.103).

The Schlücht as well as the neighboring little river, the Wutach, were known to contain many fish. The clean, oxygen-rich mountain waters were preferred by the quick, shy trout. From the Rhine the well-nourished salmons and the clumsy carp pushed their way up the Schlücht in dense schools to spawn. Then it was fishing time for the whole village. Under the leadership of the fishing-warden the school boys were also engaged to help with the rich catch.

The fishing-right, formerly with St. Blasien, was transferred to the municipality after the dissolution of the Gurtweil Dependency. Only fishermen were formally allowed "to catch fish with a fishing rod." Their leases were fixed as were their duties concerning the fishing waters, the fishing supervision, and later the control of fish farming. Usually everyone was allowed to catch fish for his own use, but only using tackle and only at certain times. With the increased control of the wild rivers the abundant fish diminished. That's why Edward built a fisher's hut, setting up a hatchery there. With him professional fishing came into the Jordan family, which up to now holds the fishing-right of Gurtweil for the third generation.

Post-WW II industrialization between Waldshut and Tiengen polluted the rivers and finished off the abundance of fish in the Schlücht and Wutach. In the same way the giant industries along the Rhine put an end to the yearly spawn-shoals of salmon and nase up the Rhine.

4.6. Boyish pranks: In the little house there was too little space for the three lively boys to "horse around," but they didn't feel this as children. The whole village and its surroundings were their playground. Baptist liked to frolic with his companions, and with his ideas he was quite often the leader in their boyish tricks. "In his young years he pulled many boyish pranks, but he was never malicious; he just enjoyed life as boys his age usually do," (Johannes Müller, G-18.185). "While he was young he now and then snatched apples as all boys do," his brother Edward notes.⁶ And he adds: "He was always inclined to all kinds of fun (that is humorous and ready for tricks). In regard to his character he was always friendly and happy and cheerful" (G-18.16, 21). Regina Schlosser, when asked about Baptist's school-days recalls similar memories:

"You rough Bavarian" was the nickname from his schoolmates. He thought up harum-scarum and all silly tricks and jokes. But otherwise a clever mind; he was never malicious. Once his school fellows were punished for a prank they had pulled under Baptist's leadership, while he himself remained safe and unpunished. Now wanting revenge, they lay in wait for him. But he, funny as he was, knew how to reconcile his friends by brushing away their wish of revenge with a new plan. "Come on, we'll do *Spatzenschlagen*" (G-18.99, 131).

⁶ All three brothers were once denounced and probably arrested for stealing apples. Their mother wept and defended herself: "It is not my fault." Baptist, however, answered her: "It is your fault, earlier you always told us to go down and pick up the apples (at other people's!), and so we got this," reports Regina Schlosser in January 1925 to Fr. Mohr; Albin Tröndle concurs (G-18.108). Yet the esteemed and trustworthy but almost 80 year-old Widow Schlosser may have mixed up what she had experienced with what she had heard. This of course can no longer be disentangled.

Collecting fallen fruit was at that time a common right of the poor. That Baptist before his Confirmation and First Communion "now and then went after apples, like all boys" (G-18.21) was at that time a matter of course in the village. But it is highly improbable that the three Jordan boys undertook common pranks. Martin left school when Baptist was in the 2nd or 3rd class, while Edward wasn't attending school yet. As much as the Jordan boys after leaving school made common effort against the need at home, they remained all the more united to their school fellows and age mates during their carefree school days.

"*Spatzenschlagen* was a favorite boys game. A lath was put on a beam; on one end of the lath was placed a stone or some other object. Then one hit the other end or jumped on it so that the object few off in a large arc," explained Regina Schlosser (G-18.81). In her "memories" of young Baptist Jordan precisely these boyish tricks took an important place.

Baptist was his mother's darling but also her problem child because he was a turbulent boy. He was inclined to all boys' tricks. Nothing was safe from him, neither birds nor fruit on the trees. His companions liked him and he was always their leader in their loose projects. His favorite pastime was catching fish in the nearby river (although prohibited), and sometimes he played truant and went fishing. It was the same in school. Learning was too silly to him and paying attention was too boring; when the teacher turned his back, he quickly and with skill drew the devil or another funny picture on the blackboard to the greatest *gaudium* of the pupils (J-23).

Thus she was all the more deeply impressed by Baptist's conversion after his First Communion. "He began a quite different life. He retired ever more from his companions, became very devoted and received Holy Communion every Sunday" (J-23).

"He didn't have a favorite between his brothers. As boys' do, sometimes they got along well, and then they quarreled," Albin Tröndle reports his father Gottlieb's opinion (G-18.66). Between Martin and Baptist there was a difference of 5 years, which is considerable both for childhood and youth. Edward was only three years younger. But his intellectual interests separated Baptist from Edward more markedly from the upper grades onwards, although as brothers they remained closer than Baptist and the older Martin.

4.7. Village pastor: The local pastor during Baptist's school years was a zealous priest, Hermann Kessler, born June 8, 1828, in Biberach, Riss, and ordained on August 10, 1848. As he was not a *Wessenbergianer* like his predecessor Josef Anton Laub (December 11, 1851-1853, June 14), he kept strictly to the church. In the conflict between the government and the archdiocese he stood on the side of the bishop. He was reprimanded for

not investing the parish savings; he provided for the spiritual needs of his flock only as an administrator. Kessler took care of the parish of Gurtweil from summer 1855 to 1863. Because of his weak health he gave up the parish and became pastor in nearby Kadelburg, but as the founder of his congregation of sisters he retained his role in Gurtweil as their director. He died in Gurtweil on October 23, 1867 (Beringer, 170).

Young Baptist certainly observed with great interest the new life Kessler's sisters brought to the castle. The parish administrator tried with all his strength to help the many "at risk" orphans. With the help of individual "benefactors" and helpers he acquired on February 26, 1857 the neglected Provosty for 23,000 fl., and for another 4,000 fl he had it transformed into a girls home. On December 3, 1857, 6 sisters of the Precious Blood from Ottmarsheim, Alsace arrived; in May 1858, 6 more sisters followed. Soon the house was flourishing. By the end of 1858, there were already 60 girls in the house and a surprising number of vocations to the sisters. But by 1869, the blooming community in Gurtweil had to prepare for dissolution. Advised by the superior, Anton Frässle (Kessler's successor in caring for the girls home) the sisters took off their religious habits toward the end of 1869. When the *Kulturkampf* also prohibited their charitable work of education, they emigrated in groups to North America and founded new settlements in St. Louis and O'Fallon, Missouri. These soon developed into independent mother-houses. On the basis of a decree of April 21, 1873, of Interior Minister Jolly, "the Catholic Association of Catholic women in Gurtweil, district of Waldshut [was] dissolved and prohibited as being against state law." A few of the sisters remained to administer the property. On August 1, 1896, Franciscan sisters from Gengenbach took over the monastery establishing a children's home. The last two sisters of the Precious Blood, who Jordan later tried to win over for his purposes, departed at the end of October 1896 for their new motherhouse in O'Fallon (Beringer, 200ff).⁷

⁷ In her Chronicle, Blessed Mary of the Apostles wrote on August 26, 1889, that Jordan during his trip in Germany stopped in Gurtweil. On that occasion he may have tried to win over the Sisters of the Precious Blood who still remained there. Mother Mary noted obviously with joy:

4.8. Confirmation: Nothing has been handed down that Baptist Jordan ever said anything about his Confirmation. Neither is there a certificate of Confirmation among the seminary documents of the archepiscopal chancery. There "are only certificates of Confirmation for the ordination classes of 1880 to 1885, perhaps a time when there were special reasons to require them only in the seminary" (Letter of the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, July 22, 1952). Gurtweil's parish has no Confirmation lists for the 19th century.

In those days it was the pastor's duty to prepare the "youth obliged to school and after school" for Confirmation. The age of Confirmation was about 14 in the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the century the age for receiving the sacraments was increasingly reduced for pastoral reasons. Bishop Lothar von Kübel wrote to the pastor of the cathedral in Constance "On Sunday, May 9, of this year, I plan to celebrate Holy Confirmation . . . I wish that children over 11 be admitted. . . ." In 1887, 10 year-olds from Gurtweil were also invited for Confirmation in Tiengen.

From 1850 onwards it became ever more customary to confirm children as soon after their First Confession as possible, and after the innovations of Pius X even after their First Communion. Although there was no strict ecclesiastic obligation to receive Confirmation it was naturally a prerequisite for receiving Major Orders. Hermann von Vicari, Archbishop of Freiburg from 1843 to 1868, made his Confirmation trips at great intervals, while his successor Lothar von Kübel made them as often as possible. [The dates of these Confirmation trips (DSS XIII, p. 86) have been omitted here by the translator.]

Rev. Father was here on 26th and brought good news: sisters of his home village who have a monastery there want to join us. They are now wearing secular clothes (of the Precious Blood). When Rev. Father arrived at his home, where the monastery is, in the evening 12 storks settled on the monastery and left on the following morning--certainly miraculously meaningful.

The remaining sisters in Gurtweil finally make their long voyage to their mother-monastery in U.S.A.

Baptist cannot have taken part in the Confirmation in Gurtweil itself on July 1, 1871, since at that time he was attending the gymnasium in Constance. 370 confirmandi came to the cathedral in Constance on May 25, 1873, among them 68 from the gymnasium. But Baptist was not listed among them. So it is evident that Pastor Kessler led the alert Baptist to Confirmation after his First Confession, but before his First Communion on September 20, 1860, in Waldshut. Thus, Baptist was among the youngest aspirants from Gurtweil.⁸

4.9. First Communion (celebrated as White Sunday) was at that time received by children after Confirmation at about age 13. They had made their First Confession the previous year. Only in 1868 did the bishop of Freiburg endeavor to lower the age for First Communion:

After completing their 11th year, good and well-instructed children shall be led to First Holy Communion in the years before they are dismissed from school, and from there on shall be invited to receive the Blessed Sacrament more often. Up to this age those school-leaving children may be placed back who haven't reached yet the 6th school-year (Explanations and Notifications of the Archdiocese Freiburg, collected and edited by Franz Heiner, 1892).

There was no reason for parish administrator Kessler not to have followed this order. Thus, Baptist wouldn't have had his "White Sunday" before turning 13.

Jordan's successor as superior general, Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS, assisted the Founder at his death-bed. Soon afterwards he asked Jordan's home-pastor for details about Jordan's youth for a "sketch of the deceased's life." He explained the investigations by saying: Jordan "hardly ever spoke about his family, so that our knowledge in this regard is very poor" (Letter to Pastor Edward Fehringer, Gurtweil, September 16, 1918). More remarkable is the fact that Jordan in a conversation with Pfeiffer had said that at his First Communion he had experienced a kind

⁸ If Baptist had received Confirmation during his university studies or in St. Peter, we would certainly find a trace in his Spiritual Diary.

of conversion. Pfeiffer, a newly ordained priest at that time, had made some short notes for himself after this conversation, which he later made known in a more extensive and universally readable form. The short notes probably date from 1896, and Pfeiffer authenticated them in his own hand: "Statements which the Reverend Father gave me many years ago. I was then a newly ordained priest." Pfeiffer's catch words of that time were "forest praying // up to age 12 frivolous // Confession strict // 1st Communion good // father dead // changed // prayers at hidden places" On April 28, 1941, he rewrote them extensively like this:

. . . he was frivolous up to his 12th year, from then on changed. He was always strict in regard to Confession. After his first Holy Communion and his father's death he was somehow transformed. He often went to pray in the woods or in hidden places (J-85).

Quite independently from this, Widow Schlosser-Vonderach reports in her memories of December 27, 1924, just how little Baptist's First Communion remained unforgotten:

The Communion instruction was given by Rev. Parish Administrator Kessler, a very devote and zealous priest who is the founder of the monastery in Gurtweil. At his [Jordan's] First Communion, at the communion rail he attracted attention through his naughty behavior, and Pastor Kessler scolded him very severely on the following day; but Baptist answered seriously that it wasn't his fault, because above his head was a white dove and then it flew upwards to the sky. From then on, Rev. Kessler took special care of him.

Of course, one feels excited to speculate on this event or to play down its importance for Baptist. But one should not forget that by this time Baptist had already received Confirmation. His Communion experience, corresponding to the "popular theology" of the village, may have been distorted with transmission. It was of course first of all Baptist's personal inner experience of grace and vocation in the Holy Spirit. But he himself was so shocked about it, and this in a manner which got out of control in a boy still inexperienced in regard to spiritual "behavior." The event handed down is just the raw husk in which the villagers' memory has preserved the charismatic kernel that initiated the young Baptist's conversion, which otherwise would have been inexplicable in the village.

Precisely when this story took the definitive form in which it has been transmitted to us can't be determined and is in itself unimportant.

It lies in the nature of rural tradition that the experience of the Communion dove was not forgotten after Jordan had become "a successful Founder." In this way he may have contributed to the story although without his knowing or intending it [lightly edited].

What is decisive, leaving aside all popular distortion, is the boy's conversion which was provoked by this event—conversion that was true, deep and lasting, as well as the fact that the local pastor at the time was himself serious about the honesty of the boy and the credibility of his experience.

Psychologically, the experiences of children do not begin and end in a purely spiritual environment completely beyond the level of understanding to be expected from the "psyche" of a boy. It never came into Baptist's mind, overwhelmed and frightened by "The Holy," immediately to judge the experience or to divide it into spiritual and corporeal elements. In this event he was not the consciously active one, but the unexpectedly receptive one.

His schoolmates now and then used to tease Baptist because of his "conversion" and his new and more serious way of life. "Later on he was often teased, especially about how he would manage to become a priest: 'Is there a dove flapping around your head again?'" (Regina Schlosser, *Ida Frässle*, G-18.61). This too demonstrates that this event left unequivocal traces in the whole village.

His younger brother Edward was also deeply impressed by the change in his brother. Although he rather preferred the more light-hearted Baptist.

Starting with First Communion he was somehow transformed. He went to Confession punctually and strictly every three or four weeks. Parish Administrator Kessler and later Dean Cajetan Gessler⁹ were always open to him, especially after his First Communion. After his First Communion he didn't go anywhere, and after leaving school he was never

⁹ Cajetan Gessler was born April 29, 1805, in Brietenfeld near Meersburg; he was ordained priest in 1833 and died July 13, 1873 (Beringer, 170f).

seen in a tavern. He didn't care about girls, not even in the years as a journeyman after his apprenticeship (G-18, 19, 20, 64, 83, 92).

"Once he built a hut of boards in the woods." This recollection of Regina Schlosser's, related January 1925 (G-18.109) also proves how at 12 the previously merry Baptist isolated himself, creating his own space for prayer and study.

4.10. Hard labor: "Wherever Baptist could earn money and so ameliorate the family situation, he did so. He also participated at Mass, although not as an altar boy" (Edward Jordan, G-18.102). Nevertheless, Baptist would have preferred to continue his studies immediately after leaving school, but there was his sick father and his hard-working mother, in addition to the debts on the little house. So beginning in the spring of 1862, Baptist decided to take a construction job on the Waldshut-Constance railway (88.73 km). He also worked in the fields and at river-regulation (Edward Jordan, G-18.15).

Railway construction was jobbed out to various firms. People pressed to get a chance to earn something. Near Gurtweil a bridge was built over the Schlücht. On November 9, 1862, the Schlücht bridge was tried for the first time. December 19, 1862, saw the first technical test-run of the train from Waldshut to Constance. Beginning on June 15, the Waldshut-Constance line was printed in the timetable. On July 15, 1863, the Grand Ducal inauguration took place (cf., "Rail Construction and the Opening of the Line, Reports from Albboten 1861-1864;" Beringer, 148).

Work along the rail line continued a long time. Up to 1864, there were course corrections as well as the strengthening of the dams and lateral roads. There was also damming against high water, the Schlücht correction and regulation, and brush clearing at the Schlücht. All this was necessitated by rail construction, because otherwise it would have been necessary to build two bridges (Edward Jordan, G-18.102).

4.11. Dreams of priesthood: His schoolmate Regina Schlosser surmises: His deepest wish was to become a priest, but because of his great poverty he could not think about it. His mother told him: "I couldn't give you a penny for your studies." He would probably have expressed

his wish to become a priest even earlier if he hadn't been so poor (January 1925, G-18.115).¹⁰

Baptist, however, did not give up. He strove, alone and independent, to continue his education. "Every evening he sat down to draw and paint and later on to study," remembers his brother Edward (G-18.17).

His schoolmate Johann Müller reports: "He was deeply moved by his father's death, so that afterwards he was somehow changed" (G-18.174). "At age 18 he believed he heard an inner voice, that God wanted something special from him." This is what Pfeiffer later explained in his short note: "Impulse to do something. At 18: *Deus vult*" (J-85).

4.12. First trade: painter: Waldshut on the Upper Rhine was founded by the Habsburgs as one of the four forest-towns of *Vorder-Austria*. Since 1866 it was a Baden District town. When Baptist Jordan lived there as an apprentice, journeyman and student, it boasted about 4,000 inhabitants and had a well developed trade. Baptist made an application for a passport "to begin an apprenticeship as painter in Waldshut" (State Archives Freiburg, F 48/1). About that time his brother Edward recalls:

At the age of 16 he came to Jakob Hildenbrand in Waldshut as an apprentice for flat painting. Here he also attended the trade school. He learned the trade of painting in Waldshut at Mr. Hildenbrand's; he returned home every evening and went back to work in the early morning. His master was well satisfied (G-18.11; G-18.170).

Schlosser-Vonderach writes in her "Memories of Sainted Father Jordan":
He then began training with master painter Hildenbrand in Waldshut and was much esteemed by his master. He didn't give up the idea and his heart's desire to become a priest and took lessons at Pastor Hans-jakob's. He also tried to earn money at every possible occasion to be able to buy books. He was very hard on himself, he was never seen in a tavern or merry-making; he used all his leisure time to learn (J-23).

¹⁰ Cf., December 1924 (J-23).

It isn't confirmed by anyone else and it is not very probable that Hansjakob gave private lessons to the painter-apprentice Jordan. Hansjakob was the director at the Waldshut Citizen School from 1865 to 1869. For political reasons (he was one of the leading politicians of the Catholic People's Party) he was deprived of the directorship in 1869. A commemorative plaque at the *Rheinischer Hof* in Waldshut records: "Pastor Dr. Heinrich Hansjakob, President of the Citizen School Waldshut from 1865 to 1869, lived here in the *Gasthaus Rheinischer Hof*."

Whether and where the apprentices in the town of Waldshut received their ongoing scholastic training is not recorded. Perhaps it is in this regard that we can understand a statement from an apprentice who was at that time a member of the *Bad Brückhause* organization: "I went to the *Realschule* with him in Waldshut" (G-18.5). We may suppose that Waldshut apprentices, Baptist Jordan among them, attended the Citizen- and *Real-schule* directed by Hansjakob. This school had existed since 1814. In 1840 it merged with the *Gewerbe* (trade) School founded in 1837 to become the Citizen High School. Only beginning in 1872 did this school accept the course of instruction of a *Realgymnasium* for natural sciences. Chaplain Werber was religion teacher at this school during Baptist's apprenticeship.

Jakob Hildenbrand was a citizen of Waldshut [shortened by translator]. As master-painter he had his studio "beside the upper gate." He was esteemed as a good craftsman not only in regard to painting and gilding but also for "gold-leaf, wall-papers, oil paintings and varnish." In 1861 he also started a photo lab. His nephew, the businessman Adolf Hildenbrand, wrote about the apprentice of his grand uncle:¹¹ "My father remembers that his uncle could not keep him [Jordan] as a painter, as his thoughts were often with his studies, . . . because he was often occupied

¹¹ Painter professor Adolf Hildenbrand (September 14, 1881-1944, December 12) was Jakob's grandson through his son Emil Jakob (March 2, 1856-1926, December 21). Another Adolf Hildenbrand, merchant (and conductor of the town war-band 1914-1916) was a grandson of Wilhelm Hildenbrand, master-baker, of a brother of Jakob Hilden-brand. (cf., "The Hildenbrand Family in Waldshut" in *Albbote*, October 31, 1942).

with his books" (Letters of March 9; June 23, 1936). The apprenticeship lasted two years after which Baptist received his certificate:

Testimonial. Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil has today completed his apprenticeship as a painter, gilder and wallpaper hanger and has through fidelity, diligence and moral behavior acquired my satisfaction so much that I can recommend him best to my colleagues. Waldshut, September 2, 1866, Hildenbrand, painter (C-7).

During the last two months of his apprenticeship, Baptist together with his mother were much concerned about Martin. He had been called up to take part in the brief German War, which definitively replaced Habsburg Grand Germany with the Wilhelmain Small Germany. Baden had fought on the side of Austria, but knew how to take advantage of the political tide and transferred allegiance to the Prussians in the same year.

After his apprenticeship, Baptist worked half a year as journeyman at Hildenbrand's. Then, with a recommendation of his master (C-8), he began his journey. Baptist remained in southern Germany.¹² Upon his return, "to his schoolmates and age group he showed his sketches of towns and churches he had seen and where he had worked," reports his schoolmate Johannes Müller (G-18.167).

By autumn Baptist had already been mustered out of military service. Now every day he returned to Hildenbrand's painting shop at the "lower gate" in Waldshut. At this time he also entered the journeymen's union founded in 1846 by the shoemaker and priest Adolf Kolping (1813-1865) whose aim was to help young journeymen everywhere in the towns stay morally stable in a "family of like-minded." In the "Protocol Book of the *Kolpingsvereins* Waldshut" of 1868, Baptist is on the list of members who paid their 12 Kreuzer for September, October and November for their member certificate and monthly contribution.

¹² That Jordan was as a journeyman in Bohemia, Hamburg and Berlin was the firm tradition already during the Founder's lifetime, as we see from novitiate notes (1901-1906). But we don't know from what sources this tradition is taken, so it can't be proved.

About Baptist's artistic attempts his brother Edward mentions a well-made portrait of the parents,¹³ probably from the time Baptist was engaged in railway construction. At the beginning of 1925, Edward handed over to the Society founded by Jordan two of Baptist's paintings which had still been kept at home: an oil painting of the Crucifixion as well as a carbon-drawing representing the Mother with Child. The latter is preserved in the Archives of the SDS, while the former is lost. "Everyone admired his first attempts at painting," remembers Edward Jordan (August 1924, G-18.16).

4.13. Soldier: Already on August 10, 1868, Baptist had reported for induction and received his provisional passport to leave the training district of Waldshut:

The bearer, the recruit Johann Baptist Jordan from Waldshut, who at the muster of August 20, 1868, has been declared fit for service and destined for cavalry, is granted leave with this. He has to be ready to obey his draft immediately and to report any change of domicile to the district sargent of the veteran reserve (C-9).

Baptist was drafted to the barracks at the beginning of 1869. Before he left for Constance as was the custom he drew his cash-payment at Petershausen Abbey. "Municipal accountant cashier's: Gurtweil, January 3, 1869, municipal office, Bgstr. Gamp, Klemm secretary." Baptist signs this order: "received ten Gulden: Gurtweil, January 3, 1869, Johann Baptist Jordan." Johann Müller was then drafted as a third recruit (GAG, Support for Recruits) [condensed by the translator].

¹³ We may suppose that Baptist made the drawing of his parents with the help of a photograph. We still have a photo of Baptist as an elementary school boy, which might be from the year 1860. When Baptist began his training as a painter, his father had already passed away. During Baptist's training the most popular photographic technique was the Daguerreotype, invented by Louis Jacque Nandé Daguerre (1789-1851). The expensive silver plates needed were substituted only in 1871 by R. L. Maddox through bronsilver gelatine dray plates, and in 1887 by Goodwin through celluloid film.

On November 25, 1870, Baden voluntarily surrendered its war rights to the King of Prussia in the so-called Military Convention. Following this, the 6th Baden Infantry Regiment got the supplementary number 114 on their epaulets. Henceforth, it was officially called "6th *Badisches Infantries Regiment Nr. 114*," or more commonly just the 114ers.¹⁴ After the Franco-Prussian War, Edward Jordan was also drafted in Constance for one year of service. By now all young men had to serve as recruits for one year.¹⁵ Widow Schlosser-Vonderach reports of Baptist: "In his 20th year he was drafted for military service, but certainly through God's Providence he had to serve only 6 weeks" (J-23).¹⁶

4.14. Private studies (I): As soon as he returned from barracks, Baptist fetched his *Wanderbuch* from the *Kolpingsverein* in Waldshut. Chaplain Werber wrote a warm recommendation in this journey identity book dated January 1869, without the day. If written at the end of the month, Jordan would have been a recruit in Constance for just a few weeks.

From the curriculum vitae which Jordan wrote in 1876 in Campo Santo we can conclude that after his release from military service he

¹⁴ The 114 Infantry Regiment belonged to the XIV army corps. Young men were liable for military service at the age of 20. In case of war obligatory service was extended to those between 17- 45.

¹⁵ Jordan's obituary (*Freiburger Nachrichten, Liberté*, September 10, 1918) reported that he had served in the military 2 years. Two-year service, however, was introduced only on October 1, 1893.

¹⁶ Whether Baptist was a recruit for 6 weeks or, as an earlier tradition affirms, only about 4 weeks is unimportant in itself. However, the tradition of 4 weeks fits better into the course of events in Jordan's life of that time. It also fits better with his own statement, that he could return "soon" from the barracks. It is quite certain that a two-year service is an historical error; it is to be considered as an "unintentional" retrojection into the past of a later time in which 2-year service had become a matter of fact, and in which the "remembrances" about Baptist Jordan's youth were collected.

endeavored to begin his private study. Until everything was ready he may have worked for a short time at his master's in Waldshut.

Back home it caused a sensation that Baptist, who had perfected his craft, now so suddenly hurried to Waldshut everyday to learn languages, and that he dedicated himself so eagerly to his studies.

He was often the whole day in Waldshut taking lessons. As he had sometimes to wait for a long time, he sat down on the stairs or in the room studying and waiting often for hours (Edward Jordan, August 1924, G-18.30).

As long as he took lessons in Waldshut, he walked across the wooden bridge [pulled down in 1925] over the Schlücht in the evening. Every now and then he took a slip of paper out of his pocket. He always carried a little book or a slip of paper with him for learning. Otherwise he helped others with their work (Johannes Müller, January 2, 1926, G-18.172).

"All the time he went to Waldshut for his lessons, he was very modest so that one could be edified by his behavior and diligence;" This is how the young Baptist remained in the memory of the bridge tender from Gurtweil after 50 years (January 3, 1926, G-18.175).

"He studied quite intensively and slept little, so that his mother feared that he wouldn't hold up for long," reports Schlosser-Vonderach in her memoirs (J-23). She also touches this part of Baptist's life.

After his apprenticeship he went away from home as a journeyman and worked for some time in Munich and in 2 or 3 other cities. There, too, Baptist dedicated his time to study, especially to learning foreign languages. He was restless abroad and returned home and said to his mother that now he had a will to study. With great zeal he set to work, took lessons in Waldshut, and now and then with another priest (J-23).

To Baptist as well as to Pastor Gessler it was evident that Baptist at his age could not enter the lower classes of the gymnasium. He would have to succeed in entering one of the upper classes. Edward remembers:

Baptist was rather weak by nature, and that's why he was dismissed from military service. He was only allowed to eat bacon and eggs. The doctor had forbidden everything else. This was while he was still taking

lessons in Waldshut. In Constance he was dismissed as unfit. His mother often cried: "It would be better for him to earn a little than to study, his health can't endure it" (G-18.73, 77).

Mother Notburga must have felt depressed that Baptist threw himself into his studies without restraint. However, he himself was driven by the desire to advance in his basic studies as fast as possible. He couldn't lose any more time. Too late he became aware that his health was damaged. Eggs and bacon were considered good nourishment at that time, and they were available in a farming village. Consequently, such a prescription was the simplest and most appropriate course for a doctor. In later years, Baptist often regretted having weakened his health by being overly zealous in his youth. Because of this experience, the health of others was a priority of his in his later years.

4.15. Private teachers: Friedrich Werber (Ettenheim, April 2, 1843-1920, August 31, Ruhestand) ordained August 1, 1866 [shortened by translator]. From September 15, 1870 till 1905 he worked in Radolfzell as editor of "*Freie Stimme*." Jordan had already met Chaplain Werber during his apprenticeship, when Werber taught religion at the Citizen School at Waldshut.

Gottfried Nägele: (Ebent, Bondorf Parish, November 10, 1841-1914, January 27; ordained August 4, 1868. He was Vicar in Waldshut from September 1869 to September 1872, then served as pastor in Waltersweiler from 1873 to 1914. He was called "the snail-pastor" as he occupied himself with the study of snails. He collected shells from all over the world, thus furnishing many European and American Universities. . . . Baptist learned from Nägele not only Greek and natural sciences, but also how a priest lived his everyday life. Nägele was extremely modest and unpretentious and gave all he had to people in need. All his priestly life Nägele was a charitable helper of the poor, the sick and needy. On the eve of his death he could say with confidence: "Tomorrow morning I'll sing the *Te Deum* in heaven!"

Fr. Nägele helped not only Baptist but also many other talented and good but poor boys to become priests through his private teaching. Pastor Franz Dor in his short biography "Gottfried Nägele, the Very

Quiet Life of a Priest and Scholar" (Rastatt: 1918) also speaks of the relation between Nägele and Jordan: ". . . from that time we must point out a promising work of his brotherly love. . . ."

Vicar Nägele got to know a solid young man, Jordan from Gurtweil. He was already in the age group of obligatory military service. He served in Constance but, in spite of that decided to study theology. Nägele met him obligingly with all his kindness and showed himself ready to give private lessons to that courageous young man. Three times a week Jordan came to the kind vicar from his home village of Gurtweil for lessons. As the clever student was poor, Gottfried Nägele found a magnanimous benefactress who made numerous sacrifices for the student. The preparation lasted about a year and a half, then Jordan was admitted to the 6th grade at the Gymnasium in Constance. After a few years he took his final examinations, getting a certificate for admission to the university. After successful studies of theology in Freiburg he was ordained priest in 1878. In the Eternal City of Rome the new priest continued his studies, visited the Holy Land, and with the consent of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII founded the Society of the Divine Savior, also called Salvatorians.¹⁷ The young congregation developed and spread rather quickly in the three decades of its existence. Still today Fr. Jordan is at the head of the congregation as its Founder and Director. Gottfried Nägele followed with great interest the plans and enterprises of his former pupil. He let never pass a year without promoting and supporting his work in pastoral fields.

4.16. Inspirations: First Mass, popular mission, First Vatican Council:

The nephew of Ferdinand Meyer (Herdern, Klettgau, 1845-1922 Tiengen; ordained 1869), Pastor Meyer in Arlen, wrote on September 4, 1924:

On the day of my uncle's First Mass, the young painter journeyman Jordan returned from abroad to settle down as a painter in his home village. He took part in this celebration, and here he was struck by the thought that he himself could still become a priest. Jordan went to see Chaplain Werber in Waldshut, shared his decision and asked him to

¹⁷ Pastor Dor cites 1880 as the foundation year when Leo XIII sanctioned Jordan's intended foundation. But Jordan only started the formal foundation December 8, 1881.

teach him basic Latin. Werber was not delighted about this new task and wanted to get rid of him directly by handing him a grammar book with the enormous task of learning the 5 declinations. Thus, Werber thought Jordan himself would give up. But when Jordan, after one or two weeks returned having exactly learned his task, the disappointed Werber continued hopefully with his new and very promising pupil.

Although this legendary report does not correspond to the facts, it has found its way into Jordan's vita. Nevertheless it does exemplify Jordan's language talents as well as the intensity with which he attacked all obstacles to his high vocation (Letter of Pastor Meyer, I-13).

In the weeks of 24th and 25th Sunday after White Sunday 1869, a popular mission was held in Gurtweil. Baptist certainly utilized this time of grace at the conclusion of the liturgical year not only to renew his heart but also to see more clearly how to continue into the future. It's a pity that the names of the missionaries have not been recorded in the "Announcement Book" of Gurtweil Parish. Dean Werber, however, can remember those missionaries: "The Redemptorist Fathers Cigrang, Gruenblatt and Willi preached the mission and worked to the great benefit of souls" (Werber, 20).

While Baptist was engaged in his studies and eagerly walking everyday to see his priest-teachers in Waldshut, back in Rome, Vatican Council I had convened. Baptist took part spiritually when Pope Pius IX opened it on December 8, 1869, on that Marian feast which marked his pontificate in a special way (1854, Dogma of the *Immaculata*; 1858, Lourdes) and which later would stamp Jordan's own foundation. His two teachers certainly must have discussed the final knock-down-drag-out fight which preceded the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility by the Council Fathers on July 18, 1870. On the following day came the French declaration of war. Italian troops, making use of the favorable political situation occupied Rome on September 20. Such warlike events in Europe hampered the free working of Vatican I. The Pope had no other recourse but to adjourn (October 20, 1870). In the meantime, Baptist was in Constance and felt the aftermath of the Council in the quarrels which arose there among Catholics, something in which Constance under its liberal burgomaster, Stromeyer, distinguished itself.

4.17. Soldier again: On July 19, 1870, the French declaration of war arrived in Berlin. After that all draftees had to report to their units. Baptist, too, had to interrupt his private lessons. He was still on the mustering list of the town of Waldshut, and he was sent to Donaüschingen together with his comrades. From there the unit was transferred to Strassbourg and prepared for action. It belonged to the United Württembergish-Badish Field Divisions under Lieutenant General von Werder, which was part of the 3rd army under infantry General, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia. Before Baptist's company went to the front he was sent home again as unfit for action.

There is a very early tradition among Salvatorians that: "Soon afterwards the war broke out, and the corps he had belonged to was deeply involved in the French campaign." This tradition is certainly not baseless, as can be seen in Jordan's corresponding grateful utterances. In fact ten of his schoolmates from Gurtweil were mobilized (without Jordan) when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, his two fellow-recruits of 1860 among them. All participants in the war returned home safely (GAG, Recruits; Beringer, 321).

The fact that Baptist was not registered with the Gurtweilers but with the Waldshut soldiers had an honorable but quite undeserved postlude for him. In 1906, the town of Waldshut wanted to erect a simple memorial to the soldiers of the Franco-Prussian War. It was erected in a small park quite near the Albbote. To the pedestal of this memorial was affixed an iron plaque with the names of the participants in the War of 1870-71. Among the more than 40 soldiers named there is also a "Jordan, B." The monument was dedicated on September 16, 1906. Later the casualties of the two tragic World Wars were memorialized by inscribing the war years on the opposite side of the pedestal.

We find Jordan, Baptist on the list of "War-participants of Waldshut 1870-71" which the artist received from the city-administration as a documentation order to cast the individual names without misspellings. But from another similar list his name is missing. But on the list of the age-groups of the Waldshut soldiers we read: "There were under the colors and called-up from Waldshut . . . of the age-group 1868 . . . Baptist

Jordan, 16.IV.48, painter." On the list of officers and men, composed subsequently we again find "Jordan Baptist, 114."

When the authorities of Waldshut were busy erecting their veteran's memorial near Albbote, they were surprised to find the name of a Gurtweiler among the Waldshuter. Therefore the burgomaster of Waldshut, on June 27, 1906, asked his colleague in Gurtweil for information "in regard to the war memorial." The burgomaster of Waldshut wrote:

Baptist Jordan, formerly a painter, now a priest in Rome, born June 16, 1848 in Gurtweil, son of the farmer Lorenz Jordan and of Notburga née Peter, was living here in 1868 and was assigned to the then 6th Infantry Regiment (now 114er).¹⁸ We now request to get information from the brother who lives there whether Jordan took part in the war 1870-71 in Regiment 114, or whether at that time he was dispensed from service. If Jordan was a participant in the war, we wish to be informed from which place he joined the army.

Gurtweil's burgomaster asked Edward Jordan for written information:

As far as it is known to me, Baptist had learned painting at Mr. Hildenbrand's, master painter in Waldshut, in 1868, and in 1870 he assisted Mr. Hildenbrand's, and from there he had to join the army and to go to Donaüschingen; he was stationed in Strassbourg, and from there dismissed to Gurtweil. During the mustering he worked in Waldshut. Gurtweil, June 29, 1906. Edward Jordan.

This brief information made its official way back to Waldshut. "Resolve. Back to hon. burgomaster's office in Waldshut, concluded an explanation of Jordan. Gurtweil, June 29, 1906. Burgomaster's Office, Strittmatter." The "Mayor's Office of the Grand Ducal Baden District Town Waldshut" was quite satisfied with this information and left the name "Jordan, Baptist" on the list for the artist who cast the plaque (Town Archives Waldshut, Acts War Memorial, 1906).

¹⁸ From 1935, the 6th Bad. Inf. Regiment nr. 114 was changed to "Infantry-Regiment 14" (cf., "*Der Seehase*," October 26, 1967).

4.18. Private studies (II): How long Baptist Jordan took private lessons is reported in his obituaries in the local papers of September 1918, but they are not uniform. They are based on descriptions of Dean Werber (in his autobiographical essays) and Pastor Dor in his "Short Biography of the Exemplary Priest Gottfried Nägele." Edward Jordan adapted his partial memories to this tradition when he gave them to Fr. Camillus Mohr, SDS in 1924 to 1926. Mohr didn't trouble to clear up such little differences. Werber writes in "An Ultramontaner on the Other Side of the Alps:"

. . . and after the end of the year he [Jordan] was admitted as a guest into the then *Unterquinta* (6th grade) of the Lyceum in Constance. He had learned so rapidly and developed an iron diligence as I have never seen before and which I would have wished for myself. God and charitable people helped him to meet his living expenses and although he never had money of his own he has made journeys in the whole world and learned by heart 12-15 languages. He has great talents for languages (Werber, 90).

The obituary in *Neu Waldshut-St. Blasier Zeitung* reports the following:

Jordan as a painter journeyman showed a really wonderful talent for languages, he served in Constance and decided at his draft-age to study theology. He took lessons with the pious as well as scientifically cultured Vicar Gottfried Nägele in Waldshut and after a preparation of just 1½ year passed the examination for the 6th grade at the gymnasium in Constance (Nr. 213, September 14, 1918).

It is certain that Baptist Jordan took private lessons even before the First Mass of Ferdinand Meyer (cf., 4.16; the previously mentioned certificate of his teacher), that he took lessons in Waldshut for more than one year, and that he was admitted to the 6th grade of the gymnasium in Constance already in the fall of 1870.

In Chapter 12 of his autobiographical essay, "As Chaplain in Waldshut," Werber returns again to his pupil Baptist Jordan, but he only reports what he wrote in the above mentioned report about Jordan's journey to Rome (published after Werber's death in *Freie Stimme*).

In the questionnaire Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS composed for the planned "life-sketch" of Jordan and which he sent to Msgr. Werber, the latter declares on October 3, 1918, among other things:

He was extremely diligent and showed great talents for languages. When I wasn't at home he often remained for hours in my room waiting and studying until I returned even very late in the evening. His zeal was superior to any praise.

Regarding Jordan's time in private lessons Werber answered: "In 1869 and 1870, Nägele instructed him a little longer than I did, as I was transferred to Radolfzell, September 1870. With him he also began a little later" (I-53). Vicar Nägele first came to Waldshut in September 1869.

4.19. Scholarship aid: Life in the barracks, although brief, contributed to Baptist's final decision in spite of his age to become a priest. Pastor Gessler, with whom he spoke after returning from Constance, was able to counsel him to find the best way. There was the question of private teachers and the problem of what to live on while Baptist would no longer be able to earn his living. He couldn't just burden his mother. So he had to win other good people for himself. In Gurtweil there weren't many people who could donate anything. And if he wanted to ask them he would first of all have to win their trust. He had to convince them he was really fully serious about his unheard of change of vocation.

To succeed in this Baptist begged for a helpful recommendation. His local pastor did not hesitate to give him a correspondingly good certificate. Chaplain Werber added to the same paper a certificate of Baptist's promising success in his studies which left no doubt:

Moral testimony. At his request, to Jordan Baptist from here is attested with the present [letter] that according to all our observations up to now he has distinguished himself through a blameless, religious and moral life. Gurtweil, June 5, 1869. Catholic Parish Office, Gessler.

In order to study theology, Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil has taken private lessons from the undersigned in Latin and French. In a short time he has made great progress which gives rise to the best hopes that he will successfully finish his studies. His diligence as well as his progress are very good. Waldshut, June 5, 1869. Werber, Chaplaincy Administrator (C-11).

This certificate was extremely precious to Baptist. He handed this testimonial not only to his mother toiling at home to read, but also to his wealthy godmother who until then had been so helpful to him (Schlosser-Vonderach's memoirs, August 1924 (G-18.29).

His godmother was Mrs. Keller, born in 1823, living at the mill and saw-mill in Gurtweil. She diligently cared for him and supported him later in his studies. Baptist could overcome the initial mistrust towards his vocation by the firm decision: "This time, however, I am serious."

"Mrs. Keller, at the mill, had high esteem for him and supported him; she was religious and charitable," confirmed Mrs. Johanna Batista Weber, her daughter-in-law, on January 3, 1926 (G-18.179). "His godmother helped him much; but nobody got to know how much or what she gave him." "You just leave him alone, he will succeed." This is how Edward Jordan describes Mrs. Keller's behavior and help toward his older brother (January 1924, G-18.72). The good Vicar Nägele contributed his part to remove any mistrust and encouraged her to become the "great benefactress who made numerous sacrifices for the student," cf., Dor).

Jordan also showed his certificate to the sawyer Valentin Maier whom Baptist was never reticent to help. Valentin needed very little for himself, and liked to give Jordan those things he himself could do without. "Now Baptist studied the more eagerly, supported by his godmother, Valentin, and other charitable villagers" (J-23).

Naturally, at the beginning of this new venture it was crucial for Baptist to find generous priests who took him seriously and supported him. Priests in those days felt it was their obvious duty to promote priestly vocations among those who came from poor circumstances, even at the cost of remarkable personal sacrifices.

4.20. Recollections. In his previously mentioned conversation with newly-ordained Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, Jordan disclosed something of his former life. Pfeiffer jotted down the following keywords covering the time between finishing primary school and Jordan's proper studies: "Secret signs (?), photograph painter, soldier, fallen opponents, others raised."

In his notes of April 1929, Pfeiffer simply omitted these encoded words. He no longer remembered what Jordan had told him at that time, or what he himself had wanted to capture in these *Stichworten*.

"Photograph painter" of course refer to Baptist's work with Master Jakob Hildenbrand, who ran a photo studio. "Soldat" refers to his time in Constance, which he also mentions in his resume:

. . . [from that waltz] I returned home, and in 1868 I was mustered and served as a recruit in Constance the following year. Soon after I was released, returned home and began my private studies at home with God's help in the year of grace 1869; I was already at that time 21 years old (*Lebenslauf*, October 26, 1878).

Baptist nowhere alluded to having to reenter the Franco-Prussian War. The keyword "secret signs" concerns Jordan's inner struggle to clarify his vocation. The words "fallen opponents—others raised" on the other hand does not refer to the Franco-Prussian War but to the *Kulturkampf*.¹⁹

¹⁹ Maybe Jordan was talking here about his time at the Constance gymnasium, the "Stromeyer Era."

5. Classical High School in Constance

After St. Michael's Day (September 29) John Baptist Jordan applied to the school nearest Gurtweil, the Grand Ducal High School in Constance, for an entrance examination. **See, 5.1. Constance, c. 1870.** He passed and was admitted to the 6th level (*Unterquinta*) "after he had with God's help been able to overcome the difficulties," as he later confessed in his life story—a normal situation for a young man in his circumstances. He now found himself on the academic treadmill straining for success. He would stay on it for four years, working extremely hard to succeed. He persevered in great part because this was simply the only way to achieve his goal. In addition he did not want to disappoint his mother, his sponsors in Gurtweil, his tutors, in fact the whole hometown which was a spectator on his life.

His first problem was finding room and board in Constance. **See, 5.2. Food and lodging.** When he reported to school they assigned him to a family. He was just one more of those many poor out of town students. Good-hearted citizens offered them a study and sleeping room as well as their daily fare for charity's sake. Certainly such students could not boast of the quality of their meals or that their rooms were heated in winter. Though Baptist had grown up unpretentiously, his time in Constance demanded more of the same hard living he was used to at home and as an itinerant artist.

Thus at the very outset his vocation had to endure trial by fire. John Baptist now learned to fight harder, to calculate more carefully, to plan more diligently. He was not inclined to give up just because he had less than others—often hardly enough to live on. In these very difficult years he experienced for himself that Divine Providence again and again moved well disposed hearts to support him. Personal scheming and effort proved insufficient. For all that, John Baptist never put Providence to the test. No, he fought always and everywhere to do what he could to bring the blessing of Providence into his life.

For someone who had previously enjoyed so much freedom, this school was an entirely new world, organized, and regulated. **See, 5.3. High school.** John Baptist had to get used to new classmates who were mostly younger than himself. As regards schooling, he was hardly equal to them at first. They had attended well-organized schools, and he did not even know how far ahead or behind he was in his learning and knowledge. But his classmates would soon discover that life experience also conferred some advantages. Some may well have envied the fact that Baptist had seen so much of the world and that he knew exactly what he wanted out of life.

The fact that Jordan returned to school only to become a priest must have been incomprehensible to some of them. As for his low class origin, that hardly created any difficulty, particularly among youngsters. That he, son of a widow, was a guest-student after he had already been earning his own support was reason for respect rather than for derision.

Establishing new relationships with his teachers, now called "professors," was not so easy. Until then, John Baptist had only his good painting master and his kind spiritual fathers who had adopted, promoted, and educated him with all patience. With them he could set the pace of his own studies. But now he was delivered up to specialists. The goals of learning were the same for everybody in the class, and they were high. John Baptist had no choice. He had to adapt--sink or swim.

Yet he could not give up his favorite subject: the study of many different languages. On account of this other subjects now and then got squeezed. In addition he soon felt that his private studies in Waldshut had neglected mathematics. This deficiency had jeopardized his entry into the sixth level and quickly revealed that in spite of all efforts and good results he was just not going to be able to catch up fully in all subjects.

John Baptist was also behind in other subjects and had to admit other gaps in his education. During his four years in Constance he suffered from the fact that he had not been able to begin a well-regulated and

systematic course of studies earlier. As profitable and as serious as his private studies in Waldshut had been, they had lasted only 18 months. So in Constance he came face to face with his educational inadequacies and had to catch up on things about which he knew little or nothing. Thus it was all the more remarkable that he did not just give up. Instead he fought on through four hard years to reach his goal.

The first year in Constance was in particular a year of surprises and disappointments. Having struggled to find his way, the newcomer was glad to go home for Christmas. His mother must have looked at his pale face with concern. While home John Baptist said little and studied hard. His mother took care of his laundry and clothes. He himself may have gone to Waldshut occasionally for helpful hints from Vicar Nägele. Fr. Gessler also encouraged and helped him. There were also his godmother Theresia Jehle and his good friend Valentine with whom he shared willingly and honestly. What would he have done without them?

On August 11, 1871, he received the results of his first year of school. What a relief! He ranked eighth among his thirty classmates. Now he could relax a bit and enjoy his first long vacation. But how? He found the little Jordan house too cramped; he felt the urge to travel, to look around in the world. Life was still his best teacher. John Baptist was never afraid of finding his way around in foreign countries. Armed with a recommendation from Fr. Gessler and with his training as a painter he could always work his way through his travels if he had to. On this trip he wandered through the Austrian lands, visited churches and monasteries and tried to enjoy nature as well as culture. But he returned to Constance promptly on Michaelmas.

The next years brought John Baptist some financial relief. He was given an annual stipend of 100 francs for the duration of his studies from the Kurz Foundation in the city of Überlingen. **See, 5.4. The Kurz Foundation.** This year too, his younger brother brought a little variety into his life. Edward was undergoing basic training as a recruit in the 114th infantry regiment in Constance and in his free time he dropped in at his

brother's. Surely he would not have come empty handed. John Baptist went home for Christmas in 1871 and Easter 1872. In August, 1872, he was able to show his mother his second annual school report- this time he ranked 18th among twenty-nine pupils. Summer vacation again found him traveling, this time through beautiful Switzerland.

John Baptist returned to Constance in fall of 1872. He was now in the *Unterprima* (Lower Primary) and some things had changed. A new director had taken over. "A stimulating, very methodical teacher, maybe somewhat radical, but in the end, good-natured." This was the opinion people had of Dr. Ernst Suetonius who was at that time still young and more radical than good-natured. He demanded efficiency. Marking now became rather strict and John Baptist was under increased pressure because the subjects had become more difficult as well. At least he could be relieved that now the struggle for basic survival was not so worrisome with his annual stipend from Überlingen. Back home, moreover, they had begun to believe in him and therefore felt more obliged to support him. Even Edward who had found a good job in Tiengen after his military service did his fair share.

By Christmas, 1872, the school director was urging John Baptist to concentrate more completely on school requirements. This hint was probably directed at his language studies which displeased the teachers dissatisfied with his marks in regular classes. Baptist could not really boast about his results. There was little consolation in the fact that he ranked twelfth of twenty-nine or that his other classmates were also victims of the stricter methods of the new director and they too found similarly critical remarks on their reports. Jordan's mother, Notburga, countersigned this report also, but she felt an uneasiness about her son. She could have wished for a better Christmas report card.

At Easter 1873, John Baptist came home with a remark on his report which in clear and plain language pointed like an omen to a future struggle in the *Oberprima* (Upper Primary): "he lacks real diligence in history and mathematics." Yet in math he had a "good average" mark of

"sufficient," and overall he ranked fourth among twenty-one students. But in geometry and history he had a "hardly sufficient." With all this, it was becoming quite clear to Baptist's professors that they could not possibly demand more diligence from their zealous pupil, but that he simply was weak due to deficiencies in his initial training.

When it came, the year-end report for 1873 was no surprise—John Baptist was promoted only conditionally: he advanced to *Oberprima* "under the condition of an additional test in geometry." So he was not really able to enjoy this summer vacation of 1873. **See, 5.5. School holidays 1873.** He had to prepare for the exam scheduled for the beginning of the fall term.

In spite of this he did not just sit around at home and study. He took a trip through France, which had always attracted him but which in previous years had been closed to him for political reasons. The climate between the two competing nations had been disturbed by wars and rumors of war. It took time before mutual relations would become normal. John Baptist, however, had enough courage to risk the journey despite of the hostile atmosphere.

The Rhine River was not a cultural boundary for John Baptist, and Catholic France was worth a trip. Besides, French was his only modern language—a main subject in the upcoming final examinations. He was home again in time to settle down to the study of trigonometry. He passed this important exam on September 30, 1873 and advanced to the *Oberprima*. In the meantime, the class had shrunk to only eleven pupils. Throughout the whole year Baptist wrestled with geometry, but he was as good in algebra as he was in languages.

It was with a certain uneasiness, therefore, that Baptist reported in August, 1874, for the final qualifying exams for university studies. **See, 5.6. Final examinations.** In spite of the unusual heat during those test days, Jordan's work was evaluated "sufficient to good" in all subjects except trigonometry, which he failed with the mark of "insufficient." At the age of twenty-six, nevertheless, he received his certificate entitling

him to attend the university. It carried but one condition: "there to attend an additional lecture on mathematics."

John Baptist voluntarily attached a polyglot treatise to his examination papers. He may have thought that he could thereby make up in some measure for his poor trigonometry grade. At any rate, his professors in their final testimonial of August 11, 1874, noted, "with his diligence and cooperation in school he had achieved progress that we must acknowledge." Thus, Baptist had good reasons to sing out his personal *Te Deum* on August 14, 1874, before leaving Constance and starting for home. **See, 5.7. Goodbye to Constance.**

First he had to take leave of his demanding but efficient professors. Each of them in his own way had effectively helped Jordan to educate himself in the humanities—that basic step toward his important goal. He must also have thanked in a special way his "spiritual advisor," Adam Hennecka, who had helped him again and again to overcome all adversities and to bear them in a Christian spirit. Taking leave of his classmates was somewhat easier. Sooner or later they would meet again, maybe at the university in the coming fall. Most of all, however, he had to thank the families with whom he had found bed and board, especially his "student-mother Martha Höfler."

His mother welcomed him with relief when he arrived home on the eve of the Feast of Mary's Assumption! Baptist already had plans for that summer. Before beginning his theological studies he was burning to take one final trip which he so loved, this time through Italy. **See, 5.8. Holiday journeys.** For four years he had heard about Roman culture and power. Now he wanted to experience for himself what he had learned from books. Most of all he wanted to discover Catholic Rome in view of the cultural battle which threatened papal Rome.

So Baptist applied for the necessary passport and headed south by train to Naples. We do not know where he stopped on his trip. Most of all, however, he had wanted to visit Rome—the Rome of St. Peter's successor

Pius IX, and of the martyrs. He was very impressed by the catacombs. Now he knew definitely where he belonged and to whom he would devote his life: it would be in the service of the church of Jesus Christ, so embattled yet so sure of its future. Interiorly strengthened by this trip, John Baptist returned home in October, 1874, to pack his bags and begin his university studies in the episcopal city of Freiburg im Breisgau.

5. Classical High School in Constance. A Closer Look

5.1. Constance, c. 1870: Constance (404 m above sea-level) in picturesque surroundings where the Rhine flows out of Lake Constance, was at that time an historically rich and vibrant town culturally and economically. No traces remain to us the extent to which Jordan was captured by the ecclesiastic/political conflicts then swirling around Constance—conflicts which spread from there to the whole of Baden, and in which certainly the professors of his gymnasium were involved. On November 11, 1870, the Constance newspaper published the so-called *Janusthesen*, endeavoring to take a shot "at the despotic Church-constitution in order to rescue the lower clergy." It was an effort to up-grade the "lower clergy" as well as to reinstall lay people. To express it more bluntly: the supporters of the new state-church wanted to gain ground through the back-door. But the hoped-for rush of support from the lower clergy never materialized.

When Baptist Jordan came to Constance, Max Stromeyer was burgomaster and at the same time served on the administration board of the Gymnasium Fund. Stromeyer was born May 6, 1830, in Karlsruhe. In Constance he tried to orient city politics in an "enlightened" way. On April 4, 1859, he was married at St. Stephen's. What Minister of Culture Jolly did in Karlsruhe, Stromeyer tried to repeat in Constance. Especially as burgomaster (1866-1877) he exerted all his influence to give the city a more liberal face. He was a defender of the inter-confessional school and "quarreled with the clergy." With political intransigence, Burgomaster Stromeyer worked for the secularization of the charitable endowment of the hospital and for inter-confessional schools, pursuant to the Hospital Endowment Law of 1869 and the School Law of March 8, 1869. After the usual prior admonition, Bishop Lothar von Kübel had to "exclude" him from the church on January 14, 1869 (Kissling, II, 432). Stromeyer belonged to the militant liberals of the "City of the Council." In 1869, the German *Katholikentage* asked for Constance as the venue for their meeting. In a public session Stromeyer called a *Katholikentage* in Constance "a shame for a township always standing for the flag of progress and for liberal development on all levels of public life." Stromeyer admittedly

stood nearer to the Hussites than to the Catholics. To the pastor of St. Augustine's he wrote that the city council,

. . . would be decisively against this meeting of *Katholikentag* which supported in its principles [Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors] and the clerical government against sound reason and modern political development (May, *History of the German "Katholikentag,"* 188).

In order not to disturb civil peace, Catholics decided against meeting in Constance and accepted an invitation to Düsseldorf. This event shows, however, the strained situation Baptist met with in Constance and which burdened not only the life of the church, but the whole cultural milieu.

In Constance, the Union of Old Catholics [a schismatic group that arose in response to Vatican I, especially against its doctrine of papal infallibility] on February 10, 1873, called for a plebiscite of those who were against papal infallibility. In the city of about 11,000 inhabitants 657 votes were cast against the dogma. No means was disdained to move dependent people to cast their vote in line with the Old-Catholics.

The Minister of Culture "by February 15, had given them [Old Catholics] accordingly, the right of common use of the hospital church" the former St. Augustine's Church, because they retained all the rights of Catholics (Kissling, II, 437). In the years just after Vatican I, Old Catholics had an influential protector in Stromeyer. In 1873, the 3rd Old Catholic Congress was held in Constance. Because of unlucky business ventures with city funds, Stromeyer had to resign the office of burgomaster in 1877.¹ He died as an Old Catholic on March 17, 1902.

¹ "The *Konstanzer Badehotelkrach* (collapse of the Constance Badehotel) caused the downfall of First Mayor Stromeyer, my cousin Otto Winterer became First Mayor" (Werber, 34, in Chapter 22: "The *Kulturkampf* Threatens." Otto Winterer (1846-1915) transferred as First Mayor of Constance (1877-1888) to Freiburg i. Br. (1888-1913); he was also a deputy of the Landtag (from 1883 of the 2nd Chamber, from 1905 of the 1st Chamber). As a politician he was moderate-liberal and helped the Grand Duke dismantle Jolly's *Kulturkampf* laws step by step. In 1903 the Old Catholics gave up the hospital church and received in return the Jesuit church near the gymnasium.

In Constance, Jordan felt the Franco-Prussian War only insofar as it produced bottlenecks in the general food supply, and in his concern for his older brother serving in the war.² Jordan's participation in peace celebrations with the parade on March 4, 1871—after the Emperor's proclamation (January 18, 1871) and the provisional Peace of Versailles (February 26, 1871)—was more an obligation than a heart's desire. Together with Chaplain Werber he suffered under the Pan-German trauma visited on Catholics after the Battle of Königsgrätz (July 3, 1866). For the defeat of Austria had made Catholics a minority in the new "Small-German" territory, so that they soon had to defend themselves in order not to be pushed to the wall by the *Kulturkampf*. All this was fomented by Minister of the Interior Jolly, while Bismarck dared to do so in Prussia only after the successful conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War. On June 18, after the Frankfurt Peace (May 10, 1871) the whole gymnasium celebrated the patriotic feast of peace with a solemn service in the former Jesuit church at the gymnasium, which would have to be handed over to the few Old Catholics in 1903.

5.2. Food and lodging: Exams for admission to Constance Gymnasium took place after St. Michael's Day 1870, and October 2nd was Baptist's first day of school. Baptist Jordan, according to the Book of Personal Data of the Pupils of the Grand Ducal Lyceum, i.e., gymnasium (presently in the Archives of the Suso-Gymnasium Constance) had to get used to a new lodging-family each school year.

When at the end of September 1870, Baptist apprehensively presented his request to the first boarding-family that had been recommended to him, he was surely relieved that he could present the recommendation of his local pastor instead of relying on many words. Mrs. Rosenlächer, later to become his *studentenmutter* in his first year in Constance, certainly read Pastor Gessler's note carefully. Then she

² The families not only worried about their sons at the front or mourned their fallen ones, they also feared the soldiers returning home bringing small pox and typhus, for in some places there were numerous deaths. Gurtweil itself was spared from such plagues.

examined the young man standing in front of her so modest and at the same time so reliable-looking, that her good heart quickly said yes.

Pastor Gessler had written:

This Johann Baptist Jordan, son of a poor widow, has distinguished himself up to now through a quite blameless way of life. He feels himself especially urged to study theology. But without material support he will not be able to reach his goal. His two instructors, Chaplain Werber and Vicar Nägele in Waldshut, confirmed the undersigned in regard to his capability, diligence and progress to their full satisfaction, so that he is perfectly recommended for support. Gurtweil, September 26, 1870, Cajetan Gessler, Pastor and Pro-Deacon (Archives of the Archdiocese Freiburg, F 12/1).³

Karl von Rüpplin from Constance⁴ knew from Jordan's personal dossier that he lodged at a house on Wessenbergstraße 26/I (April 1925, G-18.136), then the Plattenseestraße. Baron von Rüpplin reported later:

As the poor gymnasiasts had so-called boarding-days with various families, they had the nickname "Gymnasium-spoon" because each one had to bring his spoon with him for meals [even now they are often called *Real-spoons*] (June 1926, G-18.200).

Fr. Mohr, SDS, from Constance noted in this regard: "In the monastery of Boffingen [Dominican nuns] there is still the little room where he [Jordan] ate his meals as a student" (1925, G-18.154).

Karl von Rüpplin further reports that the hospital administrator Keller from Überlingen, already a pensioner at that time, also confirmed to him that Jordan,

³ This paragraph of addresses (DSS XIII,120) is omitted by the translator. The deleted section contains one footnote, the number for which is included here to retain proper sequence.

⁴ Karl von Rüpplin was born in Constance (St. Stephan) March 10, 1853, and got his diploma there in 187. As a jurist he worked at court. He married, May 21, 1889, in Bühl, Baden. He died as *Oberlandesgerichtspräsident a. D.*, May 22, 1938 in Constance (St. Gebhard). His brother was pastor at the cathedral of Überlingen, although he, too, was at first a *Sperrling* after his ordination.

... received his dinner mostly on boarding-days (at my time it happened quite often to poorly-off students that weekly on one or more days they went by turn to this or that family to board out of charity—a good practice, which seems to have stopped all together nowadays); but K. could not remember where he [Jordan] took such boarding-days; [he continues:] he led a very poor life; in the evening he satisfied himself with a Batzen [little] sausage boiled in water, which he then ate as soup. ... (Letter of June 24, 1925, I-33. We may suppose this is the exception.)

On principle, the oral and written memoirs of the so-called "school-mates" of Baptist Jordan cannot be accepted without question, the more so as they are very scanty. Furthermore, they are statements of old men, whose remembrances in the course of decades had not only faded but had also become overlapped and mixed up with other events.

However, the tradition of the "student-mother" Martha Höfler, with whom Baptist not only lodged for a year and who also afterwards was concerned about the trustworthy and very promising student, is historically proved (G-18.8.137, 160). We have a letter of Jordan in which he gratefully wishes Miss Höfler "happiness and blessing" for the new year 1875/6. He gives her the good news of his new place of studies in Freiburg i. Br. adding "hearty greetings and good wishes to Andreas, to Mrs. Steinhauser in the Riesen, to Setteles and to all acquaintances," a proof of his not at all being lonely in Constance, and that he found good people to whom he remained connected in grateful remembrance (A-1).

His brother Edward was also living in Constance for a year. After the Franco-Prussian War (1871-72) he served as a recruit with the 114th Infantry Regiment, whose 1st and 3rd battalions were stationed in Constance. After 1870, the draft extended beyond the one or two from among those liable for military service. Now the obligation was extended to all those in the age group fit for service. Later on, certain groups like students and teachers were exempted. Edward himself said he was called up to the 114th Infantry Regiment in Constance after the conclusion of the Peace of Frankfurt (May 10, 1871). "We visited one another several times" (G-18.74, 193). This tradition is also confirmed from Constance itself by a recruit-companion of Edward's:

Mr. Hilbert⁵ [sic] and his [Baptist's] brother Edward went to see him [Baptist] sometimes during the time of their military service in the little house near the Old Schotten Church [now in the Vincetians' garden, Msgr. Scheu]. He [Baptist] received his meals from various families (Hilpert as well as Luise Link, née Mohr, April 1925, G-18.137).

In this little house lived Jordan's "student-mother" Martha Höfler, and Jordan himself was registered there for the school-year 1871-72.

Simon Deggelmann's less exact remembrance also points in this direction: "During his time of studies in Constance he [Jordan] lived with the family of a sacristan at the Schotten Chapel in the little house which now belongs to the Vincentius-House in whose garden it stands" (July 21, 1925, G-18.160). The family mentioned here is probably the sexton Benedict Höfler, who in 1848 had bought the modest *Beneficium St. Jakob im Schotten*, and with whom at that time lived the "farmer Höfler, Martha." The postal address was *Im Schotten*, Nr. 224).

5.3. High school: The reputation of the school was good. Strict discipline was enforced. The punishment for smoking or visiting taverns was detention, as can be seen in the Protocol Book. "Marking was very strict," remembers *Oberlandesgerichtspräsident* von Rüpplin in his old age (April 1925, G-18.140).

The average age of the pupils was about the normal school age. When Jordan entered the 6th grade in Constance, he was the oldest of 33 pupils. However, the differences were not so great that he wouldn't have fit in quite well. He was already past 22; the next oldest was 20. Four of the pupils were 19; 6 pupils each were 18, 17, 16 and 15; only three were 14 years old. The class above his was even older. There 16 pupils were Jordan's age; 7 had been born in the years 1849-1850; there was even one pupil each born in the years 1845-1846. When Jordan took his final examination, the two youngest of his classmates were 18 years old, two were 22, one was 20, one 21, and one 23. He himself was 26. This age

⁵ The correct name was "Hilpert."

distribution shows that Jordan, the student with the moustache, was not forced to live among children.

Also the social strata of the 6th grade to which he had to accommodate himself was not prejudiced against him as a craftsman with a farmer as a father. The parents of 6 other pupils were farmers, 9 were artisans, 3 were millers, 6 were employees, 2 were teachers, 4 were doctors (including vets and pharmacists); 2 fathers were at court.

Elective subjects were limited to Hebrew, which Jordan took all four years with good success, and English which he could attend only some terms. Von Rüpplin says that Jordan cultivated "especially also Spanish, Italian and Russian" (letter of January 23, 1925, I-24). Among modern languages only French was obligatory. But Jordan presented a voluntary work in eight European languages for his final examination. It is understandable that due to the study of languages much time was lost from the study of obligatory subjects. On the other hand, it is astonishing that he was appraised as a "language genius" among his classmates (letter of Rüpplin, January 23, 1925).

According to the school reports of that time, the standard grades made an even greater impression on the diligent pupils, but rather dulled the modestly talented ones. It is surprising what a good place Jordan captured in the first two years. It is to be noticed that also during the term, in the upper classes alone several pupils withdrew. In the first school year Jordan fought his way among 32 pupils from the 27th place at Christmas, in 1870, to the 8th place at the end of the school year. He was able to keep this place also at the end of the following school year.

The director at the Constance Gymnasium was Professor Franz Alois Hoffmann, an experienced and benevolent philologist of ancient languages. At that time the gymnasium was housed in the former Jesuit College beside the cathedral.

September 25, Professor Herman Schiller (1839-1901) succeeded Hoffmann. He introduced a new method of instruction urging more efficient teaching; he was not only a philologist of ancient languages of excellent caliber, but he also wanted to be a modern educator, a reforming pedagogue. Schiller was at the gymnasium from 1872 to 1876 and was soon promoted to a teaching assignment at the University in

Giessen. There he worked until 1899 with success and high esteem. He became famous through his "Manual of Practical Pedagogics" which went through several editions.

Under Schiller the names of the levels were changed. (It was reversed by "higher order of the Grand Ducal Ministry of the Interior of June 11, 1872.") Thus the counting was no longer from the *Prima* as the first grade to the Upper *Sexta*. Instead the pupil now began in the *Sexta* and took his final exam in the Upper *Prima*. Also the name of the school was changed from Grand Ducal Lyceum to Grand Ducal Gymnasium.

Now Jordan had to dedicate himself to his books even more. If he once, as Widow Schlosser-Vonderach relates in her memoirs, "gave lessons to the children of a rich family in Constance to earn some extra money" (J-23), he now had to dedicate all his time to study. He was the more grateful that now Edward, too, helped his mother to alleviate the economic concerns for her Baptist: "During his studies he also received some support from his mother, as his brother Edward earned quite some money at his supervisory work in Tiengen, which he gave to his mother" (December 1924, G-18.71).

In cases of need Baptist could always turn to his godmother who never let him down. He remained connected to her with special gratitude, as her stepdaughter remembered with appreciation. "He wrote many letters and postcards to her from his student days. Most of them have been lost in the fire at the mill" (Mrs. Weber from the mill, January 3, 1926). At least one letter has been preserved, good wishes for the new year to his godmother who had already begun her eightieth year of life. It is proof to us of how thankful the 50+ year-old Founder was to his benefactors, despite his other onerous concerns.⁶

⁶ The New Year's letter carries the date "Rome, December 29, 1902" and reads:
Dear godmother! For the new year I wish you all the best for time and eternity.
May God preserve you long, healthy and well and grant you after this life joys
for ever. Wish also a happy new year to the friends and relatives. With friendly
greetings I remain full of gratitude, P. Fr. Jordan (F 50/71).

Cf., the namesday letter to church warden (1846-1854) Joseph Müller in Gurtweil of March 10, 1883, from Rome (DSS X, 163, A-5).

Director Schiller proceeded with unusual severity, although with best intentions. Most of all the old-fashionedness of the school was to him a nuisance to be eliminated. He reasoned that the cause of the falling enrollment at the Constance Gymnasium came especially from the fact that, "many of the applicants were to be refused because of their advanced age and because of their insufficient preparation." He also announced that the [admissions] practice in use until then, which in his opinion was to the disadvantage of the school and of the pupils "would be limited from our side by strictly applying the legal prescriptions" (Annual Report 1872-73, 4f).

In fact, under his direction the number of pupils, especially in the upper classes, diminished so greatly that he could conduct only 18 pupils to the final examination. In the *Unterprima* (8th grade) to which Jordan belonged when Schiller took over the direction of the school, the number of pupils diminished from 29 at the beginning of the term to 16 at the end of the term. More noteworthy is the fact that Jordan got the 5th place in summer 1873. The *Oberprima* began with 11 pupils; at the final examination there were only 7, while two non-Catholics were able repeat their examination in spring of 1875.

Director Schiller thought the classic gymnasium was the best way to build the necessary leading class in the country. Consequently, only talented pupils could stand their ground. In the annual report of 1871-72 Professor Franz Kränkel in an essay "The Instruction in the Modern Languages at our Schools" states that most pupils strive "just for a grade of sufficient, so that they may not be deprived of the graduation certificate" (Annual Report 1871-72, 15). During Schiller's direction not only the pupils but also the teachers could regard the evaluation of "sufficient" as a success so that at least a proper number of pupils could reach the goal of the class. Therefore, it is very doubtful whether Jordan would have passed the entrance exam under Director Schiller. He certainly would not have been admitted to the *Untersecunda*, or more obligatory subjects would have been required from him.

The negative evaluation Professor Schiller receives from Karl Rüpplin and Simon Deggelmann in their remembrances of their classmate Jordan do not fully correspond to the truth. Rather they reflect an

understandable adversarial relationship that grew out of the *Kulturkampf*. This animosity was increased further by their desire to remember good things about a "holy Founder of an order," with whom they had the luck to study at the gymnasium. This impression is substantiated by the opinion of Jordan's classmate and later advocate, Dr. Schleich⁷ in his remembrances:

Jordan's humility, goodness of heart, openness, compatibility, his quiet and devote life is said to have been no object of admiration among his schoolmates, perhaps not among those who already at that time were standing on less religious ground (Letter of von Rüpplin, January 23, 1925, I-24).

But Schiller was neither an "atheist" nor an "extremely pugnacious *Kulturkampf*-er" (Deggelmann G-18.2; von Rüpplin, I-24); it is equally unjust to talk about him as "unfriendly toward our philosophy of life, a completely co-opted man" (Hospital Administrator Keller, I-33). "It is true that he dissuaded the *Oberprimaners* from studying theology (the Protestants as well) out of exaggerated concern that they might, in their search for making a living, become hypocrites" (letter of Ernst Suetorius, Berlin, November 14, 1931).

Of course, Schiller was a liberal humanist close to the pro-*Kulturkampf* Burgomaster Stromeyer. Therefore, Werber's judgement may be more just than those of Jordan's classmates; he simply says: "and after a year [of private lessons] Director Schiller in Constance, who was not a friend or ours, admitted him [Jordan] to the 6th class of the gymnasium."⁸

⁷ Fridolin Schleich was born February 16, 1855, in Neuhausen near Villingen. He took his diploma in Constance in 1875. After his law studies he worked as a non-graduated lawyer. On August 7, 1883, he married in Stockach. He died December 24, 1929 in Constance.

⁸ Old Dean Werber in his posthumously published autobiography "*Ein Ultramontaner diesseits der Alpen*" Radolfzell: *Freie Stimme*, August 1920, p. 18. Here it is, of course, to be noted that Baptist was admitted to the *Unterquinta* not by Schiller, but by Schiller's predecessor.

[Ftn. 8 numbering repeated, DSS XII, 144*] Among the books Jordan

In his moderately liberal manner of thinking, Director Schiller may also have spoken with Jordan, who was the only *Oberprimaner* who had indicated theology as his future profession. But he must have felt soon that it was not at all the question about bread and honors for Jordan. Rather this mature young man had not only experienced his conversion, he also saw his vocation sufficiently clearly.

There is no reason to think that Jordan's priestly vocation might have induced the director or his teachers to give him a more difficult final examination or to block his way to the university as his Constance classmates wanted to suggest in their remembrances. The intentions of his friends were most of all to contribute something favorable to the "proposed biography" of the highly esteemed Fr. Jordan.⁹

later took with him to Rome there is also an historical-political textbook used in the upper classes of the gymnasium: *German Land and People on Both Sides of the Ocean. History and the Present Time. For private and school use, narrated by Dr. Wilhelm Jensen*. Stuttgart: Schmidt & Spring, 1867. Jordan signed it with "B. Jordan 1873" and gave it the number 5 in his list of books.

The top form student made various corrections in this text which give witness of the anti-clerical spirit of the then "Small German" gymnasium, and which also show clearly Jordan's sound and independent judgement in regard to the *Kulturkampf*.

- He brackets the passage on South Germany and Austria calling the Counter-reformation a "dark spirit of Jesuits" of their "most infamous means" (p. 21).
- Where it stresses its desire "to attack the 1,000-year old bastion of clerical thirst for sovereign power," he crosses out "clerical thirst for sovereign power" (p. 28).
- Jordan also cancels: "A free church in the free state corresponds alone to the requirements of the 19th century" as well as "fanatic" in "fanatic clergy" (p. 29).
- Also the expression "ultramontane" is refused, where Austria is supposed to have "ultramontane hidden thoughts," because in 1864 Austria wants to start the "obvious demolition of Prussia" (p. 30).

On church and politics, Jordan never betrayed his private teacher, Chaplain Werber, and gave no pro-*Kulturkaempfer* credit to liberal Director Dr. Schiller.

⁹ Letter by Br. Aemilian Rempel, SDS to Fr. Pfeiffer, SDS (I-24). Br. Aemilian was born in Schlatt, Baden on March 20, 1871, entered the Society on February 15, 1898, made his profession on August 25, 1899 and died in Munich on March

Certainly Director Schiller's bad image came from his academic severity. How biased the judgement of the above mentioned former students of Constance really is can easily be proved in other ways. Von Rüpplin, for example, says Schiller wanted to sue him over a student's song in which he expressed his views by poking fun at the professors. (April 1925, G-18.138). Von Rüpplin, however, never even experienced Director Schiller. He took his final exam in summer 1872, and Professor Schiller came to the gymnasium in the fall of 1872.

Simon Deggelmann's judgment of Schiller is also questionable. He was from Reichenau and came to the Gymnasium of Constance in the fall of 1871, but left it soon after the *Untertertia*, that is during the school-year 1874/75. He never had Schiller as his teacher.

Hospital Administrator Karl Keller from Überlingen, of whom Baron von Rüpplin affirms: "he was in the same class with Jordan and was more closely associated with him than all the other classmates" (letter of June 24, 1925, I-33), attended the *Obersecunda* only as a guest-student in the school-year 1871-72, and repeated this class again as a guest-student in the following year. Thus, he stayed only two years as a guest-student at the school and just one year as a guest-student in Jordan's class.

Of all those students mentioned above none was in Baptist's class. Karl von Rüpplin was two classes ahead, so that they were together in the same school for two years. Attorney Schleich was one year behind Jordan, so they were together for three years. Simon Degglemann was with Jordan at the Constance Gymnasium, but 6 classes behind him. Spiritual director Mamier, Pastor of St. Stephan's in Constance is also listed as an informant and called "fellow-pupil of Baptist Jordan."

18, 1934. He worked indefatigably in the press-apostolate (cf., Br. Aemilianus Rempel. A Press-Apostle, by Fr. Willibrord Menke, SDS, Berlin: 1934). Br. Aemilian had corresponded with von Rüpplin for years. The latter's letter of January 20, 1925 (I-24) was addressed to Br. Aemilianus, who passed it on noting that he had "visited the gentleman for many years" and had asked him to contribute to the intended biography of Jordan.

Mamier, however, was not at the Constance Gymnasium during the years Jordan attended.

These statements show sufficiently that remembrances of these "schoolmates" of Jordan need to be corrected. First, Director Schiller was better than the reputation which those "informants" have handed down to us, perhaps with a subconsciously Catholic bias. The previously mentioned Dr. Suetorius who had known him well in Giessen stated: "in Giessen, Catholic pupils and students had nothing to complain about, as it was his custom [Schiller's] to intervene in favor of suppressed minorities" (letter, November 14, 1931).

In the school year 1871-72, Jordan had enrolled for Hebrew and English as electives, but he gave up English after Christmas 1872, probably due to the note in his Christmas school report: "Can only expect to reach the goal of the class if he concentrates great and continuous diligence completely to the tasks of the school" (underlined in the report). His on-going study of elective Hebrew through all four years he believed he owed to his priestly vocation. Unfortunately, we have no detailed reports from Leopold Stitzenberger, his mathematics teacher in the *Obersecunda* who also taught physics in the *Prima*. His being Protestant certainly did not play a negative role. On the contrary it was a good enough reason for him to be especially correct at a Catholic school.

That Stitzenberger, especially in his very delicate subject, insisted on satisfactory results and that in this he was supported by his severe director can be concluded from the fact that among the 18 A-level school leavers during Schiller's time of office, seven (like Jordan) were only conditionally promoted, six of them because of deficiency in math. The seventh failed in Greek, taught by Director Schiller.

During the term of office of Schiller's successor, 1877-1880, the number of A-level school leavers increased again to 38, all of whom passed without any condition (cf., *Historica SDS*, nr. 39).

When Baptist came home for Christmas 1872, the beloved Vicar Gottfried Nägele had been transferred from Waldshut. But during their future lives they remained connected in friendship (cf., *Dor*, 11).

Two copies of Jordan's Easter-report of 1873 exist. The one of April 1, 1873, contains the note: "Lacks serious diligence in history and

math." This is surprising insofar as in mathematics as well as in all the other subjects Jordan received the mark of "sufficient," while in geometry and history he only rated "hardly sufficient." Did Baptist defend himself against such a rating? Or was there a difference of opinion within the teaching staff itself? In any case, the report was not stamped and Jordan received a new written term report, in which a better grade is noted: "It is to be hoped that the zealous pupil after overcoming the lacks of his basic studies will succeed to get completely satisfactory marks in all subjects." This report does bear stamp of the director.

In the annual report of the *Unterprima* of August 9, 1873, Jordan succeeded to get "sufficient" in almost all subjects, even algebra. Only geometry was again 'insufficient." Consequently, he was admitted to the *Oberprima* only "under the condition of a supplementary examination in geometry at the *Oberprima*." Then there is the note: "Was admitted to the *Oberprima* after passing the examination; Gen. Directory of the Gymnasium, Schiller."

The summer holidays were strained by the question of whether Baptist would succeed in the fall supplementary examination in trigonometry needed to insure admission to the *Oberprima*. His companion Joseph Blattmann from Unterglotterthal, who until then was the other future student of theology in his class, did not succeed and left the Constance Gymnasium early. They both met again at the University and were together admitted to ordination.

The two quarter-term reports of Christmas 1873 and Easter 1874 are without any notes. Neither indicates Jordan's place in regard to performance. In geometry, Jordan remained among the challenged ones. Mother Notburga, who had looked at Baptist's school reports, counter-signed them with concern and hope: "W. Jordan."

5.4. The Kurz Foundation was a fund established in 1578 by Jakob Kurz, born in Thann in Alsace, canon of the Higher Institute in Constance, for "twelve poor, honest, qualified young boys who oblige themselves to study theology and become priests or at least deacons." The executor of this foundation was the Imperial City of Überlingen. Of the 12 recipients

of the stipend, 6 should be nominated by the City of Überlingen, 4 by the Chapter of Constance, and two by the state.

After secularization, the Foundation was administrated by the municipal council of Überlingen under state supervision of the Ministry of Schools in Karlsruhe. On November 3, 1871, five free "slots" were advertized in the newspaper by the municipal council of Überlingen. Jordan had the courage to apply, although he was no longer a "boy." He was lucky, that "for the duration of his orderly time of studies one 'portion' was awarded to him." It was the yearly sum of 140 fl. or, after the introduction of the standard value for measures, weights and values in 1873, 300 Mark yearly in two payments made each time he presented his current school report. The recipient of the scholarship was obliged "to pay 10 fl to the Kurz Scholarship Fund in Überlingen, after his being employed, for each year as long as he has had the scholarship.

Jordan received during the time of his studies (October 23, 1871 - April 23, 1878, over 6½ years) 1,770 Mark. Thus he owed 65 fl. or 111.42 Mark. As the accountant of the fund confirmed on November 4, 1890, Jordan discharged this obligation finally in the fall of 1890. (C-54)

5.5. School holidays 1873: When in 1873, Baptist returned home for summer holidays, the good Pastor Cajetan Gessler had already died on July 13, 1873. From July 1873 till the end of October 1875, his successor as parish administrator was the superior of the Precious Blood Sisters, Anton Frässle. Pastor Michael Fortenbacher succeeded him from December 1875 till January 1880. Then Frässle took over the parish again from 1880 to 1893, exactly the years Jordan was engaged in his apostolic foundation. In Pastor Frässle, Jordan met a spiritual confrere who participated in the joys and sorrows of his work.

Something else that summer moved Baptist deeply and stiffened his will all the more to resist all difficulties opposing his vocation. When he returned from his holidays in France, the community of sisters whose charitable work had become such a blessing for the Children's Home in Gurtweil had emigrated to O'Fallon in the USA. State Secretary Jolly, a rabid *Kulturkampf*-er, had decreed April 21, 1873:

On the strength of § 4 of the law of October 9, 1873, in regard to the legal position of the churches and their unions in the state regarding the

right of unions and conventions, the religious union of Catholic women in Gurtweil, District of Waldshut, is herewith dissolved and prohibited as contrary to the state laws.

On August 26, the capable Mother Augusta left with her sisters to gain a foothold in the New World, where they would be able to develop fully their apostolic activity without any hindrance from the state.

5.6. Final examinations: The written exam took place from July 7-11, 1874. Because of the hot weather on some days the examination began as early as 6 a.m. The math exam was fixed for the last day. Karl von Rüpplin wrote in his letter of January 16, 1925:

I myself remember hearing from circles of students who took their exams together with him, that Jordan immediately after this exam had handed over an empty sheet signed with his name, because he refused to copy answers found “under the bench” as most weaker pupils did: a proof of his strict and truthful conscientiousness (I-24).

This tradition too sounds rather fanciful. Of course, Jordan was conscientious and honest. On the other hand, the math examination consisted of trigonometry and algebra, two problems each. Jordan never had an “insufficient” in either algebra or trigonometry. But the extra work he freely chose to submit in languages didn't succeed in making up for his low scores in mathematics. In fact, he didn't have really good marks in the other obligatory subjects either, and on an average he achieved just a rating of “sufficient.”

Fridolin Schleich, later a lawyer with great respect for Jordan, and just one year behind him in school (cf., letter of Baron von Rüpplin, January 23, 1925, I-24) could only attain a mark of “insufficient in the final examination in math. But he passed without difficulty with the aggregate mark 'good,' because in all the other main subjects he scored 'good' or 'almost good.'”

According to term-reports, Jordan was not especially talented in mathematics. But on the other hand he was not as unmathematical as the legend runs—because it fits better a man who in his life trusted primarily

God's benevolent Providence before engaging his own talents. However, his marks prove he had on average a good talent in mathematics.

His insufficient preparation in mathematics is to be ascribed only to trigonometry. When with his modest mathematics from grade school and his apprenticeship he began formal studies in the *Untersecunda*, basic algebra and geometry were presupposed, and Jordan had to feel sure of himself in powers and roots of numbers. The teacher couldn't be expected to wait for Jordan to close the gap. It is quite understandable that logarithm, trigonometry, stereometry, quadratic equations, etc. were for Jordan *terra incognita*. He deserves praise for not giving up like so many others. Instead, he fought his way through—sometimes courageously, sometimes desperately. But none of the Constance recollections handed down to us does justice to such courageous struggle. Consequently, it cannot be said that Jordan was a victim of professors inclined to the *Kulturkampf*, as Dr. von Rüpplin would have it in his memoirs of later years. Jordan was treated with justice at the gymnasium.

The oral, non-public examination took place on August 11, 1874. On the same day the certificates were written and signed. August 14 was the final celebration in the auditorium with the announcement of the graduates. Jordan was one of the seven courageous students who had held out to the end. When he first entered the gymnasium his class had numbered more than 30 pupils.

Jordan was released with the condition to "attend a course of lectures on mathematics," when he began his higher academic studies. Furthermore, he received a detailed note in his certificate which shows well how he was judged by his teachers:

Considering the fact that he came to the gymnasium very late, through diligence and participation at the lessons he has realized laudable progress. But he would certainly have reached the goal of the gymnasium without any doubt, if he had given his undivided effort to all disciplines instead of dedicating himself to some sometimes sterile favorite subjects. He has entered voluntary works of linguistic-scientific contents: 1) Argument of the Electra by Sophocles in Eight European Languages; 2) Essay about Patriotism in 4 Modern Languages; 3) An Attempt at

Comparative Philology (C-24.¹⁰ Two other of his classmates had also submitted voluntary work.)

This remarkable letter by the Director accompanied the exam papers to the President of the Examination Commission on July 17, 1874:

[To the] *Gr. Oberschulrat* I have the honor to send the prescribed works of the A-level school-leavers according to the prescribed practice.

Nothing special happened in the execution of the work. Because of the exceptional heat, I ordered the beginning of the German and mathematic exams for 6 a.m., but at the same time I gave the order that none of the pupils be allowed to leave the room before 10 o'clock, so that it was impossible that the questions could become public before about 7 o'clock. To the papers of the pupils Brünig, Jordan, Kretzdorn are added three more extensive voluntary tasks of these pupils. The polyglot one of Jordan could be only partly criticized; but from that a conclusion can be made regarding the rest (F 45/5).

Without a doubt, Jordan had a real talent for languages and was admired and envied for this by his schoolmates. And precisely this talent for languages enhanced a vague memory, an unclear tradition. The letters of Baron von Rüpplin, with which he in his helpful manner wanted to furnish material for the planned biography of Jordan, prove this. He wrote about Jordan on January 23, 1925: "In the sphere of languages of which he during his stay at the gymnasium practiced not fewer than 10 to 12, . . . it is not exaggerated if one calls him a language genius" (I-24).

In a June 24, 1925 letter, von Rüpplin reports what the Hospital Administrator Karl Keller had told him about "Jordan's promotion to the

¹⁰ Jordan himself also speaks, although less exactly in regard to time, of his beloved language studies when he gives a first report about his foundation to Leo XIII. In his unfinished sketch he mentions that to respond to the divine call, at the university he had studied various languages and, supported by the grace of God, had been able to learn quickly 12 languages, to the point that he could write essays for the school. He could furthermore pass examinations in various other oriental languages (Minuta, March 10, 1882, E-25/2). The essays mentioned here in 12 languages are probably Jordan's polyglot themes handed in voluntarily for his final examinations at the gymnasium.

Oberprima, " that by his presenting a manuscript in 16 languages he had impressed Director Schiller "so much that someone who would not have promoted him before now promoted him without any objection" (I-33). In reality, however, his promotion to the *Oberprima* depended on the supplementary examination in geometry and had no reference to the polyglot piece of diligent work Jordan added to the final examinations, which in any case was not in 16 languages.

In a letter of July 4, 1925, von Rüpplin reports turning to the Baden Ministry of Instruction to find documents from his Constance school time about "that 14-language work" handed in by Jordan. With all this confusion it is fortunate that the numerous extant documents the Constance Gymnasium from that time allow us to clear certain mistakes and to correct historical inaccuracies.¹¹

5.7. Goodbye to Constance: During the poor hard years in Constance, Jordan's religion teacher, Adam Hennecke, instructed him not only in religion (and in the last year also in Hebrew) but encouraged him and also led him spiritually. In the list of professors, he is indicated as "spiritual teacher." We can suppose that he was this for Baptist in a deeper sense. He retired in the summer of 1875.

Among Jordan's classmates, Karl von Rüpplin mentions an Emil Winterhalter von Roggenwies, who later was *Kanzleirst* and who had procured for Jordan the class-photo of the *Obersecunda*, on which Jordan can be seen. They said he was a classmate of Jordan's. In fact he left the gymnasium after finishing the *Obersecunda*. We have no further information from him about Jordan (letter, March 9, 1925, I-25).

¹¹ The various gymnasium documents are noted here as "Fontes:" Jubilee Publication 1904; Annual Reports 1870 to 1875; Protocol Book for the Teachers' Conferences 1872/5; Examination of Admission between 30/9 and 2/10/1870; etc., are all in the archives of the Suso Gymnasium in Constance, the successor Gymnasium of the earlier Grand Ducal Lyceum. Regarding the *Kurz'sche Stipendium* we referred to *Historica SDS* by Fr. Beatus Schneble, SDS. For some details of the Constance period were equally consulted his *Historica*, nr. 38 to 41.

5.8. Holiday journeys: About his holiday journeys during his studies in Constance we only know what Jordan himself wrote. In the curriculum vitae he had to write on October 26, 1878, for his stay at Campo Santo, and which excels in its brevity and exactness, he states for his time in Constance: "In the holidays I made journeys to Austria, Switzerland and France" (F/46/4).¹² When he arrived back home he had of course to relate his experiences. Starting from these memoirs there developed a certain tradition. His brother Edward reports, certainly according to reality: "He made his trips through Germany and abroad visiting also various monasteries" (G-18.13). An obituary records: "In the holidays he was welcomed in French, Italian, English and Dutch monasteries" (*Donaubote*, September 18, 1918). Such unproved descriptions are of course extended in an inexact manner. Jordan never went to England during his studies. And we do not know whether or in which monasteries he stayed during his holiday trips.

Certainly Jordan also visited Chaplain Werber in nearby Radolfzell on Sundays. He was official editor of "Free Voice," the press organ of the Catholic party in the Western Lake Region. From him Jordan got an insight into the *Kulturkampf* in his homeland from an expert.

On August 26, 1874, Jordan applied for a passport for "five years [for] a journey to Italy." At the same time the Gen. District Office Waldshut granted him "a passport for inland and abroad for 3 years" (F 48/3, original in the State Archives Freiburg). His journey took him as far as Naples but no details have been transmitted. In Rome he lodged at Campo Santo. In his "Spiritual Diary" he remembers the unforgettable impression made by the Rome of the martyrs, especially the catacombs. We can imagine his emotions when reading his exclamations in his Spiritual Diary: "*O momento felice! O momento santo! O momento da non scordarsene!* September 23, 1874, in Rome" (SD 117; cf., SD 107).

¹² That Baptist Jordan visited Paris as a student is found as a tradition already about 1900 in still preserved "novitiate notes."

6. At the University

John Baptist was able to start his theological studies at the University of Freiburg in the second half of October 1874. **See, 6.1. Freiburg.** At 27 he began his more proximate preparation for priesthood. Once more he had to find a place providing room and board. The archepiscopal boarding house for theologians (**see, 6.2. Seminary**) had been closed the summer of that year at the height of the *Kulturkampf* in Baden. **See, 6.3. The Kulturkampf in Baden.** This fatal struggle between the stubborn Minister of Culture, Julius Jolly (**see, 6.4. Kulturkampfminister Julius Jolly**), and the politically defenseless but popular episcopal administrator, Bishop Lothar von Kübel (**see, 6.5. Lothar von Kübel**) disturbed and hurt the spiritual life of the whole state.

Just before Jordan arrived in Freiburg, the bishop had been deprived of the regular seminary boarding residence for his theologians, although it was still home for some students. However the great majority, especially the newcomers, had to find their own board and lodging with families in the city. Joseph Kamill Litschi, director of the seminary (1868-1880), had already prepared lists of addresses. **See, 6.6. Director Litschi.** He wanted to know where the theologians entrusted to his spiritual guidance were boarding. Thus, for John Baptist it was more of the same—the usual simple student life went on. But the constant worry of having to provide for his daily needs was noticeably reduced by the fact that the stipend from Überlingen continued. This represented a certain economic security for him. The diocese likewise had support available for needy students, and the university was able to grant some relief for the expenses of its students. Jordan was prudent enough to make use of all such assistance.

On Monday, October 23, John Baptist enrolled in the Grand Ducal Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg. That day he received a document equal to the importance of the moment attesting that he was a *civis academicus* and as such had to respect the university traditions and customs, since he was now enjoying its protection. **See, 6.7. Civis Academicus.**

Jordan started the winter semester of 1874-1875 with an astonishing eagerness to learn. He took more than the compulsory subjects in theology. He fulfilled the obligation imposed on him by the examination commission of Constance (the required mathematics course) and took on six courses in philological subjects "with excellent fervor and good results." In this way, he was able to expand and deepen his education in the humanities and to make up for the deficiencies which had so often been pointed out to him by his Constance professors.

His program for the summer semester of 1875 contained only three philology courses. The examinations took place at the end of the semester. Jordan must have wondered why, after so many merely "satisfactory" reports in the Constance school, he was now showered with so many "good" and "excellent" grades and notes, and not just in theological subjects.

We know little about the spiritual guidance theologians received at the university. Their prudent seminary director had to pick his way along a difficult path of the ever-stiffening demands of the *Kulturkampf* without giving the political authorities, who had increased their distrust and suspicion since 1874, any cause to interfere. The students, however, responded with courage and cunning to defend themselves. They simply founded a students' club with the highly nationalistic name "Arminia." **See, 6.8. Arminia.** Among its founders were two theologians of Jordan's class of fourteen. Since the director himself had hesitated to found such an organization, Jordan hesitated to join. But after a year or so when things had calmed down somewhat Jordan too joined the club.

Jordan's personal life deepened noticeably with his theological studies. Some of his professors may have contributed to this by the prudence and discretion they showed in offering their lectures, or by the way they courageously utilized all the resources of a state university to point out clearly the unjust suppression of the Catholic agenda throughout the country, even if for the time being they were unable to mitigate the difficulties of the situation.

Jordan himself now had enough incentive to cultivate his talents and to form his character more and more in accord with his vocation. He began to write down his insights and spiritual resolutions. It is typical of his apostolic vocation, which now became clearer and stronger, that he did not simply start a diary. His gaze was not simply backward resting upon his achievements, but he felt urged to look forward. He noted what he felt to be his obligation and what, with the grace of God, he had to undertake. All of these inspirations remained available for him to reread and recall in self-examination. This daybook, his *Spiritual Diary*, has been preserved. It gives us a precious insight into Jordan's inner life, into his human struggles and victories, into his apostolic plans and toils, and into his developing and maturing holiness.

Although he gratefully and eagerly absorbed theology and philology from his professors, Jordan's everyday life in these Freiburg years was shaped by more than just the university. **See, 6.9. Jordan's everyday life.** His professors limited themselves to transmitting traditional material. They plowed little new ground. Their general aim was to provide the conditions needed for a "national-liberal culture." The "spiritual greatness of Germany" was to be grounded in and developed from that new culture. Thus, theology remained in an apologetic stance; the political disputes imposed on Catholics by the *Kulturkampf* in Baden led to a certain torpor outwardly symbolized by a staff of aged, somewhat feeble professors. **See, 6.10. Teaching staff.**

The numerous clubs and circles were much livelier than the lecture halls. Theologians met in taverns or in their clubhouses with some of the professors. There they found better and more fruitful insights. This was even more true in their apostolic service in the cathedral or elsewhere in the diocese. There the theologians were often confronted with a reality that was personal for them as well as for the whole diocese. Thus, their "impeded archbishop," the Roman Catholic archepiscopal administrator, whose role was to withstand the liberalizing pressures of Baden's capital, Karlsruhe, became their "dearly beloved bishop" precisely because he was so subjected to humiliation by the state.

The theologians soon began to manifest a more aggressive Christianity—all the more so as their own professional futures were at stake. With the political lines between the church and state hardening, the question of the future of their own vocations presented itself in a new light. If their bishop did not succeed in tempering the official rigidity—something for which he had struggled bravely to do but so far in vain—it would mean that they might all be forced to go abroad as exiles in search of an uncertain ecclesiastical position. But these prospects never tempted Jordan to give up; they only strengthened his yearning soon to stand at the altar. Surely, it was not only his afflicted home church that he saw and for whom his heart beat all the more. Without hesitation he was totally at its disposal.

It was certainly true that for now he could not see which way to go. He left that to Divine Providence. He simply kept his eyes open and his heart ready to see and respond to the Lord's concern for the salvation of humankind and for the holy cause of the church. This meant realizing that he had to pray. Already at that time he was beginning to experience deeply and unforgettably that without prayer there was for him no personal progress and no progress in his vocation.

Accordingly, the vacation after the August 1875 examinations did not include his usual trips through countries steeped in Catholic heritage but now deprived of their normal life due to secularizing trends. He found the claims of his politically complex homeland in conflict with the claims of the missionary activities of the church on other continents. Both cried out for his assistance and caused a previously unknown but powerful tension in his student life. In the end he would have to choose one of the competing church needs: either to work within Germany or in the foreign missions.

Thus, in the summer of 1875, Jordan only went as far as home to see his mother for a short visit, because by the end of August he was supposed to be in Freiburg again. From August 31 until September 4, the "XXIII General Convention of German Catholics" known as *Katholikentag*, was

scheduled. Naturally all the diocesan theology students had to be on hand to help prepare and organize this event.

This *Katholikentag* was for the enthusiastic Jordan a great adventure. **See, 6.11. *Katholikentage*.** Here he became intimately acquainted with the great leaders of German-speaking Catholics together with other famous leading personalities from neighboring countries. For Jordan one such personal meeting was to become of great importance; it was with Canon Schorderet, founder of the Press-Apostolate of St. Paul in Freiburg, Switzerland. **See, 6.12. *Schorderet*.** It was no casual acquaintance for Jordan but an honor. The student, eager for work, was charmed by Schorderet who readily accepted him, realizing that as an enthusiastic apostolic priest he had to be ready and quick to win cooperators. This was also a unique opportunity for Jordan to test his own apostolic fervor in action. So after the congress, with Schorderet's recommendation letter in his pocket, he returned to his homeland to canvas for the Catholic press. He worked so hard that he endangered his health again and had to break off his campaign to be strong and fit again for the winter semester in Freiburg, 1875-76.

His second year in Freiburg was marked by the fact that he reduced his language studies and devoted himself more to theology. In the summer of 1876, we find him after a short home visit, again at the *Katholikentag* in Munich from September 11-14. Here he met Arnold Janssen, founder of the Mission House of Steyl. **See, 6.13. *Janssen*.** His mission-minded conscience was impressed by Janssen's personality and work; but Janssen was also impressed by the enthusiastic, linguistically talented, pious and mature young man, and he tried to win him for his own plans. For his part, Jordan was willing to cooperate but could not decide about joining Janssen. He was still searching. He still wanted to and had to pray much and to think until he could focus his mind and his views on his own way of life. Only then could he follow it with unreserved dedication.

A regular evaluation report of the theologians made to the bishop by seminary director Litschi in the fall of 1876 tells us how the student from Gurtweil impressed him. He characterized Jordan as a man whose piety, humility and talents for languages were outstanding. On the other hand, Jordan seemed to him outwardly more awkward than worldly wise. During the last year at the university Jordan devoted himself totally to theology and left philology almost entirely aside. At the age of 29 he received a diploma which he could show everywhere.

Jordan felt fully attracted to missionary activities. But none of the recently founded organizations he knew of captivated him. So he thought it best to put himself at the disposal of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, also called the Apostolic Work for the Propagation of the Faith.

The summer vacation of 1877 he used above all to learn the modern language of a mission country. He traveled to the Netherlands to take lessons in Chinese with Fr. Smorenburg in Bredevoort. **See, 6.14. Smorenburg.** He also used the opportunity to investigate Netherlands and Belgium. The student of theology willingly sacrificed his vacation time for his further apostolic training.

The Freiburg years had decisively helped Jordan see more clearly what God expected of him. As mentioned, Jordan as a student of theology had begun a day book which, for his spiritual sons and daughters was to have the value of a *Spiritual Diary* of their Founder (hereafter, SD). The first entry is dated Thursday, July 1, 1875, toward the end of his first year at the university. This note already shows how completely Jordan felt seized by his vocation, how much the cultural struggle in Baden oppressed him, and how he was possessed by prophet-like zeal for the sake of the church. This apostolic spirit found expression in this first entry which sounds like a prelude. But it remained difficult for him to put it into words. For what really moved him he often left just eloquent and powerful dashes.

Convert, you nations to the eternal Father, to God, just and holy. You have provoked and rejected your Creator. Rise up and do not delay because the Lord is near! . . . And you, Germany, why do you defy your

God? Why do you abuse his precious Bride? With vehement anger He will pronounce His holy sentence upon you. . . . Elias – John the Baptist – Paul – Jesus Christ the Son of God and Savior of the World – Moses by Jethro in the – Jonas? “If the world does not hate you, you cannot be my disciple” (SD 1/2).

Jordan dated this entry in Russian in a beautiful Cyrillic capital script. The language of Russia had interested him for a long time, not only out of his fondness for languages, but more so for the missionary challenge this closed country held for him. For the same reason the Chinese language had attracted him early on. Thus Jordan's thinking and feeling are already revealed in his student years– that universal orientation which would mark, burden and stimulate him throughout life.

On November 2, 1875, the *Spiritual Diary* speaks excitedly of: "*initium tribulationis et afflictionis*" and a spiritual darkness into which he feels himself thrown. But even here, as so often in his life, he casts himself into the arms of God: "*Speravi in Domino, non confundar in aeternum*" (Ps 30:2). Two weeks later Jordan would write:

Into your arms, O my Savior and Redeemer, I throw myself; with You, for You, through You, and in You I will live and die (SD 7, 8).

This was the outlook on life of a man who hungered for the priesthood and fought his way through to it because he recognized it as the will of God in his life: "*Deus vult!*" (Curriculum vitae, F 46/4).

When Jordan left the Albert Ludwig University after three years of successful studies, he knew what he wanted. His *adsum* had matured as he had already noted in 1876:

Jesus Christ, accept me as your instrument and dispose of me as You will. Look, with the help of your grace, I am ready to die (SD 12).

6. At the University. A Closer Look

6.1. Freiburg, the capital of the southern Black Forest and of Breisgau (268-286 m above sea level) bordered in the east by the Black Forest and opening toward the Rhine Valley, boasts a pleasant and mild climate. The city was founded by Berthold II and Conrad of Zähringen. It was sold to Austria in 1368 by the Counts of Urach, and from 1648 to 1805 it was the seat of the Anterior-Austrian Government. The city is dominated by its gothic cathedral. The Albert-Ludwig University there was founded in 1457. When Jordan attended this university it enrolled well over 300 students, half of them theologians.

The Archdiocese of Freiburg was created in 1827 out of the Baden part of the Diocese of Constance and parts of five neighboring dioceses which had been added to the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1806. Since its foundation its bishops had to defend themselves against encroachments of the Grand Ducal government. Baden was the first "Small-German" country in which these state encroachments intensified to become the so-called *Kulturkampf*.¹

The fact that the *Kulturkampf* first arose in Baden is due to a certain liberal current in Baden Catholicism, favored by Ignaz, Baron von Wessenberg (4 November, 1774-1860, August 9) its progressive Vicar General (1802-1827). After the death of the last bishop of Constance, von Dalberg in 1817, von Wessenberg became administrator of the diocese until it was finally dissolved in 1827. Wessenberg supported a democratic and national-ecclesiastic Catholicism and worked for biblical-

¹ The expression *Kulturkampf* comes from Rudolf Virchow, the famous physician and implacable adversary of Bismark (1821-1902). In January 1873, he called the differences between the Prussian State and the Catholic Church a struggle (*Kampf*) which was taking on more and more the character of a great *Kulturkampf*. In March of the same year he used this term in an election rally of the liberal progressive party as a slogan for the struggle of the state against the church. Already some years earlier Julius Jolly had characterized the struggle of the Baden Government against the Catholic Church as a struggle for moral culture and education.

liturgical reform in the diocese. Despite his popular pastoral reforms he was rejected as a bishop candidate by Rome because of his liberal inclinations, and in the country itself he had ultramontane opponents. As vicar general he worked successfully and unselfishly, although with a heavy heart, for a smooth dissolution of the Diocese of Constance.

6.2. Seminary: Von Wessenberg forced the State of Baden to honor the obligations it had assumed during secularization. Thus, in return for appropriated church properties, the state built a seminary for about 100 seminarians on the site of the former Capuchin convent in Frieberg where St. Fidelis had lived and worked. Karlsruhe and Rome finally came to an agreement about a bishop only in 1827. The seminary was inaugurated on November 18, 1827, by the first archbishop of the new diocese, Bernhard Boll. In January 1828, the first 49 resident students moved in. But in the matter of building a residence for theologians, von Wessenberg could not prevail against the State of Baden.

The second archbishop of Freiburg, Ignatius Demedter, tried in vain to expand the seminary to a boarding home for theologians. Finally in 1840, the State of Baden agreed to the transfer of the seminary to St. Peter in the Black Forest. On November 15, 1842, that seminary was solemnly inaugurated.

At the same time, the seminary in Freiburg became a state-controlled boarding home, the *Collegium Theologicum* for theologians studying at the university (November 13, 1842). As such it was subject to the Ministry of the Interior. But the revolution of 1848 made a quick end to it. Most of its students had to enlist in the *Volkswehr* (civil defense) and the house became a Prussian military hospital. The remaining theologians subsequently lived spread over the city, but formed a union with their spiritual director.

The church quarrel in Baden (1853-1854) scuttled all attempts of the third archbishop of Freiburg, Hermann von Vicari, to re-open the seminary under the direction of the church. In April 1854, the archbishop wanted to confront the state with a *fait accompli* by calling the 2nd and 3rd year theologians into the *Collegium Theologicum*. But the state foiled this plan by locking the doors and stationing a guard at the house. This guard

was removed only in May 1857 (during the preparatory negotiations for the concordat with Baden). Thus the seminary could only be re-opened on October 25, 1857, under the direction of the archbishop. However, the government reserved the right to veto the choice of director. (It exercised this veto several times, the last time the Ministry of Culture vetoed Wendelin Rauch who later became archbishop.) Already during the summer term 1874, the seminary was ordered shut by the government. Only in 1883, when the *Kulturkampf* had come to its end, could the house be re-opened as a private residence, and from 1889 on it continued as an archepiscopal house, the *Collegium Borromaeum*.

6.3. The *Kulturrekampf* in Baden reached its climax during Jordan's university years. On February 19, 1874, the State Parliament enacted a law concerning the juridical position of the church in the state and tried to enforce the "Examination Law" of September 6, 1867 by political means. Henceforth, priests who exercised their ministry publicly without taking the *Kulturexamen* were to be prosecuted.

Archbishop von Vicari, opposing Governor Jolly, called the *Kulturexamen* an inquisition corrupting the jurisdiction and the doctrine of the church in regard to ecclesiastical principles of the clergy. The archbishop ordered that no cleric was allowed either to take the state exam or to ask for a dispensation (14 September, 1867). From that point on, no young priests were installed as permanent pastors. Vacant parishes received administrators with a 1½ Gulden per diem (Kissling I:458).

On January 31, 1874, Bishop Lothar von Kübel bypassed the law and ordained 35 theologians under strict secrecy in St. Peter in the Black Forest. Once informed, Governor Jolly ordered August 4, 1874, that the newly ordained were in no way allowed to exercise public ecclesiastic functions, and the *Sperrlinge* (lock out) began. Many young priests were thus excluded by the state and had either to suffer prison or go abroad.²

² All the new priests who obeyed their bishop and refused the *Kulturexamen* were punished with prison. Only three succeeded to flee abroad in time. All the others served their sentences. Released from prison in the summer of 1875, they were received in triumph at their homes. With a painful heart the bishop himself

The man who wanted by all means to enforce this “enlightened” church-state policy in Baden, which was more than two thirds Catholic, was Julius Jolly (1823-1891). As an inveterate liberal and a just man, he believed in attaining all these goals “legally.” Thus, the unilateral Baden Church Law of October 9, 1860, was the starting-point for the Baden *Kulturkampf* and a lynchpin for all the other laws with which Jolly sought to demonstrate to the other German states how to attain the liberal’s high goal: subjecting the church to the state in everything.

6.4. *Kulturkampf*minister Julius Jolly came from an old Huguenot family. He was first a private lecturer in Heidelberg till 1861, then councilor at the Department of the Interior, and from 1862, Secretary of the Interior. He practiced an abstract professional liberalism favoring "the principle that the church in the state was simply subject to the state."³ His axiom was: the true conscience of the country is the law of the state. So, during his term of office as Secretary of the Interior (1862-1866) and even more as Secretary of the State in Baden (1866-1876) he led the liberals’ extremely intolerant political attack on the church to the detriment of both the church and the state. Time and again Jolly blocked any peaceful church attempts to find a way out of this basic impasse in the pastoral interests.

The *Kulturkampf* in Baden had its imitators in other Small-German countries. In the years 1874-1875, half a dozen German bishops were in prison as martyrs of the *Kulturkampf*. Great bitterness was also caused by the suppression of all the monasteries, not only the socially active ones. The young Jordan had to go abroad if he wished to acquaint himself with monasteries of men, since this had become impossible in his homeland.

had to advise his young priests to emigrate. It is easy to see why such treatment of chaplains by the liberal government caused growing bitterness among the population.

³ “J. Jolly, Baden Legislators on the Ecclesiastical Situations,” in Kissling I:457.

Such quarrels were, of course, not isolated within the frontiers of their respective countries. Although the *Kulturkampf* in itself was a state matter it was also international. Even Pius IX appealed to the Catholics of Germany to resist this "persecution of the church." That's why Bismark did not succeed in subjecting the church to the state through his notorious May Laws (1873), though he had hoped with the help of the police to be able to force the clergy to yield. In four months of the first half of 1875, he had 241 clerics fined or imprisoned, along with 136 editors and 210 active Catholic citizens. In order to shut down the seminaries he even used military force.

After this, the passive resistance which had been the German Catholics' moderate pre-Vatican I response to "creeping *Kulturkampf*" changed. Increasingly it became an active political struggle against the provocations of the state-sponsored church.⁴ The governments of Baden and Prussia, blindly believing their liberal great moment had arrived, tried to force bishops and clergy to become obedient employees of the state. In their arrogant overestimation of their juridical competence they called the papacy a foreign power. Precisely by such provocations they caused German Catholics to unite (especially after Vatican I) and pushed them to become more staunchly "ultramontane."

It is quite understandable that no university could keep aloof from such burning discussions, and that these issues should also occupy Jordan's mind and heart more than any sober academic lecture.⁵

⁴ Kissling, III, Chapter 59, 370.

⁵ Catholics did not let themselves be ghettoized as it is sometimes said, probably because they understood how to avoid police pressure and because they were in unjust and outrageous ways excluded from leading positions for a long time. The Catholics of Germany courageously faced the challenges of the liberal state. Thus, in regard to Leo XIII's prudent diplomacy of mediation they had become more independent. We should not interpret "ghetto" when applied to Christians as either a synonym for "German circling the wagons" or as an anti-liberal catchword of Catholic inferiority.

6.5. Lothar von Kübel, "Opponent of the State-Church" of Governor Jolly was not acting out of pleasure but out of imperative duty. He had to assume the mantle of his courageous predecessor, Archbishop Hermann von Vicari (1773-1868). Already in 1854, the latter had preferred to be arrested than to make concessions to the state-church of the Karlsruhe Government.

After the exhausted Archbishop von Vicari died at the age of 96, Rome and Karlsruhe could not agree on a successor. They deadlocked over the lists of candidates.⁶ Consequently, suffragan bishop and chapter-vicar Lothar von Kübel had to accept provisionally the direction of the diocese. He remained "provisional administrator" until the end of his life. In this he was like so many of his own priests, who being faithful to Rome could only exercise their pastorates as parish administrators not officially enrolled by the state. In addition, by the Institution Law passed in May 1870, Jolly transferred all the property of the church to the administration of the state.

Lothar Kübel was a highly talented farmer's son from Binsheim in northern Baden. At the Grand Ducal Lyceum in Rastatt, Baden, he was the first among the graduates in 1843. He then studied theology at the Albert-Ludwig University in Freiburg as well as at *Königlich-Bayerische Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* in Munich. His strong point, and hobby, was ancient (Greek, Hebrew, Arabic) and modern languages. Ordained in St. Peter in 1847, after a stint of pastoral work he was engaged as assistant at the seminary. Already in 1852, he was brought to court for reading out a pastoral letter. Other sentences followed without succeeding to intimidate the courageous priest. From 1856 to 1867 he was the director of the archepiscopal seminary for theologians. On December 20, 1867, he was ordained suffragan bishop of Leuka, i.p.i., while serving as Dean of the Cathedral and Vicar General.

⁶ The Cathedral Chapter proposed 8 names. The government nixed all but one: Orbin. Capitulars friendly towards the government (Orbin, F. Schmidt, J. Kössing) wanted to submit a new list. But Rome refused, also because the government was too favorable towards the Cardinal von Hohenlohe.

After the death of Archbishop von Vicari, April 14, 1868, he also became Vicar of the Chapter. After long but fruitless discussions between Karlsruhe and Rome, on January 15, 1871, Bishop Kübel took over the running of the diocese as archepiscopal administrator with all rights and duties of a local bishop. The King of Württemberg, who kept his country prudently out of the *Kulturkampf*, gave him the personal aristocratic title, *Kommenthur* of the Order of the Crown of Württemberg in 1878.⁷

In Baden, Bishop Lothar had to endure the worst of the *Kulturkampf*, which had intensified so much over the years that a quick solution was now impossible. The previously mentioned law integrating the church into the state had authorized Grand Ducal Minister of the Interior Jolly to require the bishops to swear the unconditional state oath, ". . . by the Holy Gospels obedience and fidelity to the laws of the state." Jolly himself gave the explanation: "He who takes the oath obliges himself simply to obey the laws and legally given orders without the possibility of objecting or limiting them on the basis of any other references" (letter to the Bishop of Speyer, September 19, 1874).

It was evident that for the conscientious diocesan administrator there remained no possibility to restore proper relations with such a government. Also Pius IX had no other choice but to defend himself with all the means of the church. In the letter *Quod numquam* of February 5, 1875, he condemned the *Kulturkampf* laws, especially Bismark's May Laws of 1873, and excommunicated their authors and executors.

Bishop Lothar was comforted and encouraged that his priests and the Catholic people stood openly and courageously by him. This way "Old Catholicism" never became a danger for the diocese despite the favor it enjoyed from the state. However, the law of exclusion caused a great shortage of pastoral workers; many parishes stayed unoccupied, popular missions were prevented. Priestly vocations in the country diminished because numerous theologians and new priests left the country. Bishop Lothar asked prayers for vocations.

⁷ The king used the occasion of Bishop Carl Jos. Hefele's (1809-1893) ordination in Rottenburg.

Secretary of State Jolly's removal from office (1876) and the coming of a new pope, Leo XIII (1878), slowly made possible the face-saving understanding the Grand Ducal Government had been searching for after decades of pursuing a bankrupt social policy. Prussia and Baden were the classic cases of *Kulturkampf*. But "1877 made clear in Prussia and Baden that the *Kulturkampf* was wearing thin" (Werber, 34). "Whatever way I may consider it, in our days the only conclusion I can come to is that the true friends of the church are not those who insist on continuous resistance, but those who recommend reconciliation" (Werber, 35). He said this in view of the pastoral need in the local church as the unwavering clergy was about to become extinct, and young clergy were leaving the country). Leo XIII finally reached an agreement through diplomatic channels, primarily through the nuntiature of Munich.

When on March 5, 1880, the *Kulturexam* in Baden was abolished, Bishop Lothar could recall many of his *Sperrlinge* (locked out priests); he installed more than 400 parish priests at once and incorporated 416 priests into normal pastoral work. He, together with his diocese, could revive. But his own energies were exhausted. On August 13, 1881, he died suddenly in his beloved St. Peter. He had fought the good fight indefatigably, and had protected the faith of his flock. The mourning of the people was deep, as was Baptist's who owed so much to the one who had helped him so generously on his proper apostolic way.

6.6. Director Litschgi, Joseph Kamill, born in Strassbourg on February 28, 1833 and ordained priest on August 10, 1857, in St. Peter (Black Forest), succeeded Kübel as director of the seminary (1868-1880).⁸

⁸ 50 years later Baptist's fellow student Kaufmann gave his opinion of his *Konviktsdirektor* of that time: "Dr. Litschgi was a very good and zealous priest, very strict and orderly" (April 26, 1925, G-18.144). Fr. Mohr, SDS, notes a comment from Deggelmann: "Director Litschgi, seminary Freiburg: 'One can't understand Jordan apart from him' (Deggelmann, Constance, August 13, 1924)" G-18.4. It is not possible to detect the source of Deggelmann's judgement since he himself was never in Freiburg, nor was he any longer acquainted or in relation with Baptist Jordan from 1874 to 1877.

Subsequently, he was pastor in Richenau-Münster and died in the monastery of Hegne on March 20, 1906. "Litschgi's external appearance was modest, but in the small frail body there was an important spirit, a strong soul, a remarkably independent, energetic and persevering character." This is how the *Necrologium Friburgense 1915* describes him. To such a priest Baptist Jordan entrusted himself willingly and openly. He felt himself congenial with him.

6.7. *Civis Academicus*: At his matriculation Baptist Jordan received the *Diploma Solemne adscriptionis inter "cives academicos" Academiae Alberto-Ludovicianaе Friburgi Brisینگaviae, die 5 m. Nove. 1874*" (C-25). We still have the "moral certificate of the academic official" which reads:

Grand Ducal University Freiburg, Baden. Moral certificate. To Mr. Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil, student of theology and philology is attested that he was matriculated at the university in autumn 1874 and that he has been here since then. His behavior corresponded to the academic laws.

Then follows the signature of the academic official of discipline with the stamp bearing the circumscription "*Gr. Disciplinaramt, Freiburg.*"

Theologians received support according to their level of need, after applying to the archepiscopal office of the seminary. Support was paid yearly in two installments. A list of grants for the summer term 1876 survives, according to which "Jordan, Joh. Baptist received 30 Mark" (F 12/30). There is also a resolution of the Archepiscopal Chapter-Vicariate of August 8, 1877, also regarding the "support of students of theology." Here "Archep. Administration of the Theological College-Fund is ordered to pass to account . . . 2) for stud. Jordan 54 Mark on April 15, 1877, payable by the *Erzb. Konviktsdirektion* (F 12/31).

Theology professors used printed schedules to record results of studies for their term examinations. Many such certificates of theology student Joh. Baptist Jordan are preserved— almost all 6 terms (C-27-46). The philosophy section used a *Collegienbuch* in which individual professors had to certify attendance and enter results of mid-term exams. Jordan's *Collegienbuch* is still preserved (C-47). Surprisingly, it does not contain any remarks about charges or stipends. We may suppose that the

administration of the university corresponded directly with the archepiscopal administration. In the "*Collegienbuch* for J. B. Jordan from Gurtweil, matriculated on October 23, 1874 of "*Gr. Badische(n) Albert-Ludwig*" University of Freiburg i. Br., it is certified on page 4, that "Jordan during the winter-term 1874-5 attended Analytic Geometry with Prof. Kiepert with excellent assiduity, March 8, 75, L. Kiepert" (C-47).

Jordan didn't attend any special philosophy courses with the exception of history of philosophy in the winter-term 1875-6. He did, however, attend philological lectures in Latin, Greek and German. In the summer term 1876, his only "philologic-philosophic subject" certified at the *Colleg* was history of the church in the modern times by Prof. J. Alzog. Jordan's *Collegienbuch* doesn't show any lectures for the winter term 1876-7, and only one subject for the summer-terms 1876 and 1877.

The selection of the philological subjects was certainly congenial to Jordan's linguistic interests, but it was not determined by him but by the director of the university. At the same time the director of the *Collegium Theologicum*, which determined each theologian's studies had to consider the wishes of the state and exploit every option to bring an end to the *Kulturkampf*. The previously mentioned State-Church Law of February 1874 brought about an unexpected stiffening of the until then easily circumvented Examination Law of 1867. The latter required for the employment of clerics: A-level graduation, a three-year study at a German university, as well as a public state examination in philosophy, history, German and classic literature. The official church, of course, didn't ignore the necessary humanistic formation of its theologians. But it did object to the "supplementary and humiliating public extra exams for theologians," as if they were second-class citizens. The bishops also wanted to prevent opening a back door into the inner space of the church for any state inquisition.

Certainly, especially at the state university, the results of theologians were monitored. Most professors were considered severe and pedantic, especially at the examinations. As a result, other professors who were not so severe really attracted attention and therefore were very well remembered by the students, e.g. Franz Josef Ritter von Buss, of whom Friedrich Werber says with praise: "in the exams he was mild; he

cared little about minor trifles like our ignorance" (Werber, 15). There follows an extract of Jordan's final diploma of the university:

*Grossherzogliche Badische Albert-Ludwig-Universitaet Freiburg i. Br. — Studies and results—of Mr. Cand. Theol. Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil is herewith testified, that after being matriculated in the University he dedicated his study to Theology and attended the indicated lectures during 1874 to 1877 and received the included marks of diligence in the *Collegienbuch* and after the final examination the equally added marks of progress:*

	Effort	Result
Theological Encyclopedia & Methodology	Excellent	Very good to excellent
Introduction to Sacred Scripture: Old Testament	Great	Very good to excellent
New Testament	Extreme	Excellent
Hermeneutic	Steady	Very good to excellent
Exegetical lectures		
a) Genesis	Uninterrupted	Excellent
b) Gospel of Lk I	Extreme	Very good
Lk II & Ephesians	Extreme	Very good
History of the Church, Pt. I:	Distinction	Very good
Pt. II:	Most distinction	Excellent
Theory of religion & revelation	Very diligent	Very good to excellent
Dogmatic and History of Dogma		
Pt. I:	Excellent	Very good to excellent
Pt. II:	Greatest	Very good to excellent
Moral Theology and History		
I	Excellent	Excellent
II	Excellent	Excellent
Pastoral Theo. I & Homiletics	Greatest	Almost excellent
Homiletic themes	Greatest	Very good
Liturgy	Greatest	Excellent
II Theory of Individual		
<i>cura animaurm</i>	Greatest	Excellent
Catechesis	Greatest	Near excellent
Catechetical themes	Greatest	Very good
Canon Law,		
Non-Catholic & Protestant	interrupted	Nearly excellent
Marriage Law & Canon Law of Property	Excellent	Nearly excellent

Doctrine of Education
& Instruction Greatest Excellent

(Following the 15 courses of lectures from the philosophic theological faculty which Jordan attended during these three years with the correspondent marks of diligence.)

The behavior corresponded to the academic prescriptions. Freiburg, August 8, 1877. The Pro-rector: I. A. d. Pr. Kochihing, Exporector. The Discipline-Official: Hense Walther (C-47, cf., semester-certificates C-27-46).

6.8. Arminia: In reaction to the closing of the seminary, ten theologians founded the Theologian Association Arminia.⁹ They chose the German name not because of Hermann the German freedom-fighter, but in memory of their courageous Archbishop Hermann von Vicari, the defender of their local church.

Their purpose was mutual support, and in doing so they were encouraged not only by their professors but also by active Catholic citizens. Jordan joined the Association on December 18, 1875. In the winter of 1876-7 he made a speech there about the "Propaganda Fide in Rome." It is significant for Jordan that he chose such a theme; both Rome and the missions attracted him more and more. Later we find Jordan also on the list of old members (till 1886). The fraternity became superfluous after the re-opening of the seminary. In 1897 it revived as a Fraternity of all Faculties.

Jordan's nickname in the Fraternity of the Arminia was "Frath," a reference of his family name Jordan. "Frath" was intended to allude to a river, like Euphrates (Heinrich Hamm SAC, postcard November 8, 1973).

⁹ The union of students in Freiburg i. Br. had the name Brisgovia. Catholic student unions of that time liked patriotic names. In Bonn there was an Arminia, in Würzburg a Walhalla, in Aachen a Karolingia, in Tübingen an Alamannia, etc. That corresponded exactly to the romantic-patriotic wave which had caught Germany since mid-century. However, early in the new century this spirit deviated more and more from its naive patriotism and let itself be corrupted by arrogant and aggressive forces, which finally drifted towards the World War I.

In April 1925, one member of Baptist's class, Peter Kaufmann from Griesheim, later pastor in Stahringen, left some reminiscences of their time together in Freiburg.¹⁰ Kaufmann was one of the founders of the Arminia and reports about it:

In order to come to a common spirit and attitude a theological association was founded: Arminia, with legal rights and statutes. The first haunt was at Feuerlein's, later, however, they got a comfortable room in the Catholic *Vereinshaus*. At the beginning not all took part because the bishop and the director expected nothing good from it. The colors of the Association were violet, gold, green; they didn't wear caps. Part of the former seminary rules were inserted into the statutes. The night curfew was fixed at 10 o'clock; after 10 o'clock none of them was to be seen in a tavern. Moved by their strict obedience to the statutes the director favored the association. Each week there were two meetings: a serious one with a lecture about scientific and ascetic subjects, and the second one was a social, called *Fidelia*. Jordan didn't join at the beginning, dissuaded by the director, and later he wanted to use his time for studying, and thus he didn't join the association, but without departing from it (G-18.148).

6.9. Jordan's everyday life: Jordan was now no longer the oldest in his class, but the second oldest. His oldest classmate was (like Jordan) born in 1848 and the youngest in 1855.

"Because the seminary was closed by *Kulturkampf* laws Jordan lodged with two elderly pious ladies, who even said later that Jordan studied assiduously," reports his spiritual director Leo Beringer in his short biography, "*Franziskus Maria von Kreuz Jordan*" (Badenia: 1950, 11). The source from which the pastor of Gurtweil took this is unknown.

With all the academic work, Jordan didn't neglect his beloved study of languages. His companion, classmate Peter Kaufmann (1852-1941), remembered this clearly. For Jordan was sitting in the lecture room "mostly near Kaufmann. In their free time students went into the

¹⁰ Peter Kaufmann was born February 22, 1852, in Griesheim, Müllheim and ordained July 13, 1879 in St. Peter. Pastor in Stahringen (1905-1926), he died in Allensbach, November 9, 1941.

garden or walked to and fro in the hall or in the street. Jordan, however, stood at the blackboard and wrote Sanskrit or oriental languages." Kaufmann went on: "Jordan was very ascetic, but also kind, friendly, amusing and very energetic; a little emaciated" (G-18.150).

In his usual report of conduct, the director informed his bishop about the development of each theologian. In the report of November 15, 1876, Dr. Litschgi felt urged to report in particular about Jordan:

Allow me to direct your attention particularly to III Year Theologian, Joh. Bapt. Jordan from Gurtweil. He excels in special devotion and humility and in an unusual talent for learning languages; he speaks some languages, the greater part he has learned so far as to be able to translate them. Jordan has now taken up more than fifty—say fifty foreign languages.

In the margin the instructor notes: "In his outer behavior awkward" (F 12/21).

Life in Freiburg during the university years was very costly; there were no special trips, no taking photographs. Each one had to hold on to his money. The simple fact that the theologians could not live in the seminary made life more expensive. (Kaufmann, memoirs, April 1925, G-18.148-151). His lodging addresses in those days were: 1874-75, Bertholdstraße Nr. 31 with the Merk family; 1875-76, Merianstraße Nr. 35 with the Kreuzwirth widow Disch; from March 1876 on at Friedrchstraße Nr. 5 with Mrs Bisser.

6.10. Teaching staff: After the newly founded archdiocese had received its first bishop in 1827, the Grand Ducal University had to adapt itself to him. The theology faculty was reorganized in a way which did not fulfill all hopes. Soon, however, it began to blossom somewhat when Franz Anton Staudenmaier (1800-1856) transferred his professorship from Tübingen to Freiburg, and when at the same time Johann Baptist Hirscher (1788-1865) followed a call to the improving faculty.

Staudenmaier's "Spirit of Christendom" (1835) had already attracted attention in Tübingen. His "Christian Dogmatic" abandoned the beaten tracks of merely passing on theological results. Staudenmaier stressed God's lively-free operation among men and tried to connect

inner-divine life with redeemed humanity as well as its growing and growing together within the people of God into a fertile unity.

Hirscher renewed moral theology following J.M. Sailer. He was not only interested in the compactness of a system of morality, but equally in the pastoral utility of moral theology. He connected it closely to a catechesis understandable to children and pastorally realistic. His Kingdom-of-God Morality improved on the until then more individualistic and casuistic moral theology through its Pauline-kerygmatic and social-moral imprint. In Freiburg, Hirscher held the professorship of pastoral theology—a new theological discipline (1837-1847). He was replaced by Alban Stolz who, according to his character, popularized rather than deepened what was available to the politically oppressed Catholics in his homeland.

During his 3 years in Freiburg, Jordan always had the same professors in each theological subject. With the exception of his canon law professor, Dr. Jakob Sentis, most were elderly academics, already "Knights of the Zähringer Löwenorden" or even "spiritual directors."

Friedrich Wörter, professor of Dogmatic and Apologetic (1819-1901) had been a disciple of Staudenmaier and Kuhn in Tübingen. An expert on Augustine, he taught dryly and dogmatically (playful students called him *Dogmenfritz*) but he was a most popular teacher.

Adalbert Maier (1811-1889), professor of the New Testament was already "an old gentleman," but still in love with the historical-critical method and philologic hermeneutic. As a Bible scholar he enjoyed a good reputation.

Josef König (1819-1900) professor of Old Testament, was strong in Hebrew and Hermeneutic, a member of the Baden Historical Commission and curator of the precious Freiburg Diocesan Archives.

Moral theology was lectured by Friedrich Kössing (1825-1894), one of the canons friendly towards the government.

Three other men lectured and did special credit to the Freiburg Grand Ducal University, although they were intentionally overlooked by the powerful in Karlsruhe: two priests, Alzog and Stolz as well as the layman von Buss.

Johann Alzog (1808-1878) had been a professor at the seminary in Posen, and canon, director and professor in Hildesheim. In 1853, the pious Selesian came to Freiburg as professor of church history. In 1866, he took part as advisor of the dogmatic section in the preparation of Vatican I. His "Universal History of the Christian Churches" became world-famous. The well known Franz Xavier Kraus,¹¹ Alzog's successor on the chair in Freiburg, not only edited the 10th edition of Alzog's "Handbook of General History of the Church," but he also wrote the biography of the great researcher. Equally epic-making was Alzog's "Compendium of Patrology" (1866). Alzog "could inspire and enrapture the students by his eloquence" (Pastor Kaufmann in his memoirs).

Alban Stolz (1808-1883) was professor of pastoral theology. Almost 70 years old, he had his lecture notes read by one of the students, confining himself to some observations. Being at that time undisputedly the most important Catholic popular author, he was somewhat particular

¹¹ Franz Xavier Kraus (1840-1901) was for a while considered a controversial personality on the Catholic political scene of his time. Only recently did church history grant him a more just judgement. Through his influence on the King of Prussia and on more liberal church political circles, he played a role in mediating the gradual removal of the *Kulturkampf* in Prussia. In doing so Kraus was led by the best intention and did valuable service to the ecclesiastical cause in Germany. He can't be blamed for his desire to be recognized for his service to the church. This honor, however, eluded him.

The King had promised the bishopric of Trier to Dr. F. X. Kraus, professor in Freiburg, a candidacy very little in the interest of the church. Being partial to the bourgeois--people of education and property--he had increasingly lost sight of the real necessities of pastoral care and of the Catholic population. The Holy See rejected Kraus and proposed the pastor of Strassburg Cathedral, M. F. Korum. . . (Kissling, III:269).

Kraus was not only a famous historian, he raised Christian archeology and history of art to the status of independent disciplines. He also acted as a necessary but not always agreeable counterbalance to radical Ultramontaniam, which he denounced sharply and unyielding in his anonymous "*Spektator*" letters (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1895-1899). His "Diaries" (Cologne: 1957, Hubert Schiel, ed.) are indispensable to understand the church and politics of the Baden of his day.

and pedantic as professor. He was never satisfied with the practice sermons. The students all the more esteemed his deep mind, his God-given power of representation, his love for and loyalty to truth and his exceptional frugality. He has not only written many good works (Spanish, Calendar for Time and Eternity, Our Father, etc.), he also did much good. He was an indefatigable culture critic against the progressive, state favored de-Christianization of his homeland. Furthermore, he was a much sought after confessor and helper in spiritual needs, drawing from his own experience. He had, in fact, a melancholic tendency in his character which he brilliantly described in his "Potion against Fear of Death" to the healing help of many.

We mustn't overlook one professor who had a name not only at Freiburg University but in all Germany and Austria. Although he did not belong to the Theology Faculty, every theologian attended his lectures on Canon Law of Catholics and Protestants in Baden as well as Ecclesiastic Marriage Law in Baden. In doing this, they not only satisfied a state order, they also learned from him that the church had her own rights which could not be taken away from her, not even by the state, and which she could not renounce without betraying herself. This professor was the old privy councilor Von Buss; he actually lectured at the Juridic Faculty Encyclopedia and Methodology of Jurisprudence and State-Law as well as Natural and State Right in Baden.

Franz Josef von Buss (1803-1878) had been the leading lay personality of the Catholic renewal since 1848. Nicknamed by historian Franz Schnabel "the most popular man in Catholic Germany," Buss came from modest conditions. His father was the mayor in his native place, Zell am Hammersbach, but he had to care for seven children. Thus, like so many talented and ambitious young men of his time Buss had to go hungry till after his graduation. At the university he had to rely on himself and fought his way through courageously and honestly. At the height of his political career he never forgot "how people feel, who don't know what they shall eat tomorrow" (Otto B. Rögele).

Already at age 34 he fought in the *Badisher Landtag* against abuses in the factories and for a harmonious development of all branches of industry. He turned sharply against the military revolution of 1848:

saying a handful of radicals should not be allowed to use force against the public.

As President of the first *Katholikentag* 1848, he called upon Catholic Germany to take its destiny into its own hands and not let itself be devoured by secularism. Everywhere in the country he tried, with the help of the public media of that time (e.g., press, unions, petitions, etc.), to defend Catholic liberties against political-liberal intransigence. Buss' thought was "Pan-German." He didn't like the idea of handing Catholics over to "small-German" liberal predominance. Emperor Franz Josef ennobled this son of a tailor. But this could not obscure the fact that the defeat of Austria in the German fratricidal war of 1866 was a defeat for the Catholic cause. This wounded him deeply till his death. Buss, who as a young student was a liberal spirit, and who had experienced a painful conversion, had the unmistakable instinct of a political prophet. He saw the approaching danger of an ever more de-Christianized "small-German fanatical power," which later grievously wounded the Christian West and all Europe in two apocalyptic world wars.

Baptist Jordan took from this old fighter not only his prescribed examinations in the *Badishes* Canon Law, but also some of the old man's still fiery prophetic spirit. When death cut him down while on the way to lecture about the rights of cemeteries, Jordan was already in seminary and had been a deacon for two weeks. He will certainly not have forgotten to remember his esteemed teacher in grateful prayers.

6.11. *Katholikentage*: in these Catholic Conventions the Catholic forces of Germany met to confront the usurpations of the state. Already on March 23, 1848, under the leadership of the Mainz canon, A. P. Lenning, Catholic men who foresaw the signs of things to come united in the "Pius Union for Religious Freedom." By that summer this Catholic union had spread through all the German dioceses. From October 3-6, these groups met for their first General Convention—the First German *Katholikentag*. There followed the integration of all "Catholic unions of Germany" in order to confront more effectively the police pressure of the state in the various regions.

Katholikentage were "the Easter Parades of German Catholics" according to Prince Karl von Löwenstein (May, p. 364). By the time of the 1848 Frankfurt National Convention, called to create a modern German legal system, more than one thousand petitions were brought forward from the recently created reservoir of Catholic unions. Above all, Catholics insisted on their fundamental rights in their churches and schools. They demanded true equality with citizens of the intolerant Enlightenment. Thus, they strove to implement fully the "March-Achievements" (freedom of assembly, press, etc.) by creating a united front among Catholics. After the disestablishment of the *Reichskirche*, Catholics insisted patiently and tenaciously on the ecclesiastical and national equality of each Catholic in the Small-German State. They were completely unwilling to yield to the "German-national Unions" who wanted to build a new Germany without the Catholic Church.

The Mainz *Katholikentag* of 1871, convened after the "challenge" (as Vatican I was considered by liberal forces), had already decided not simply to "review the troops" of Catholic unions, but to unite them to engage at objective crucial points. 1872 saw the start of the "General Conventions of the Catholics of Germany." The *Katholikentag* of 1872 was held in Breslau. The 1873 *Katholikentag* had to be canceled because of cholera. In 1874, the *Katholikentag* planned for Munich failed because of political difficulties. So the *Katholikentag* in Freiburg in 1875 was of unique importance.

In fact, the *Kulturkampf* had become almost intolerable. 1873 brought in the Prussian May Laws; by 1874, nine bishops had been arrested and deposed, while only premature death saved two others from being seized by the state. On March 22, 1875, the government decided through the *Sperrgesetz* (lockout law) to renege on the obligations it assumed during the secularization to pay for the property it had confiscated from the church as long as the church on her part would not keep the May Laws.

So the *Katholikentag* of 1875, in contrast to the one which had taken place in Freiburg in 1859, was totally overshadowed by the *Kulturkampf*. When the brutal legislation of the state had reached its peak, the *Katholikentag* was preoccupied with the arbitrary use of power by the

state police, the closing down of seminaries, police surveillance of bishops, and the breaking up of Catholic unions.

Pius IX himself felt the Freiburg *Katholikentag* was a unique challenge to the forces hostile to Rome, and at the same time a convincing invitation to the many peace-loving people who felt it was a scandal that all efforts to come to an understanding so far had been dashed. So the pope did not satisfy himself with a telegram of thanks to the Convention. In addition he sent Msgr. Anton de Waal as his "secret messenger." At the meeting he spoke, of course, about fidelity to the Chair of Peter. He also presented a silver medal to the President of the Convention, Franz von Wamboldt.

At that time Baptist Jordan got probably the best visual instruction on the "church militant" in Germany and its influence beyond the German frontiers. As a student of theology he didn't hide himself in his local "Arminia." He noticed with satisfaction German-speaking theologians beginning to defend themselves in common. On January 24, 1876, the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Catholic layman Joseph Görres, they founded the Görres Society. Count von Hertling was the driving force behind this federation of Catholic thinkers. Their aim was common resistance to the *Kulturkampf* as well as the independence and equal status of Catholics at state universities. (They were prudent enough to leave aside theology proper.)

The Freiburg *Katholikentag* first acquainted Jordan with some men who later had an important spiritual and apostolic influence on his own development. Msgr. Anton de Waal, Director of *Campo Santo Teutonico*, had been his host in Rome the year before and had opened his eyes to the Rome of the Martyrs. Canon Schorderet, Rector of St. Moritz in der Au in Freiburg, Switzerland was already known through his press-apostolate of St. Paul. Now he was trying to get a foothold in Germany as well. There was also a new, grateful meeting with Friedrich Werber, now editor of the "Free Voice" in Radolfzell. Jordan certainly felt proud that so many Catholic personalities from abroad gave strength to his hard-pressed bishop by their participation.

6.12. Schorderet, Josef, was born on March 3, 1840 in Bulle, in the Canton of Fribourg, son of a working-class family. "If God had not called me to become a priest, I would have had to become a farm-laborer," he confessed to his rector (letter, December 16, 1863). On February 24, 1866 he was ordained. Already by August 17, 1869, the zealous priest became honorary canon of the Archbishop of Bordeaux and was entrusted with special tasks in the diocese. Encouraged by Msgr. Mermillod, Apostolic Vicar of Geneva, he primarily dedicated himself, especially as secretary of the Pious Union for Western Switzerland, to the propagation of the Catholic press.

On December 8, 1873, he founded the *Pauluswerk* in Freiburg and in June 1874, the Daughters of St. Paul. The intended group of press-priests and press-brothers failed.¹² At that time the brutal intolerance of the radical-liberals had also reached its peak in Switzerland. The police banished Bishop Mermillod from Geneva to France on February 17, 1872. Bishop Lachal of Basel was driven out of his diocese on April 16, 1873. Finally, on December 12, 1873, Agnozzi the papal nuncio was banished by the *Bundesrat*.

Schorderet's press work became increasingly ultramontane. At the start he had received unusually strong support from Pius IX, who already on February 10, 1875, sent him a fifth *Breve* of acknowledgment. In a private audience with the fiery press apostle on April 25, 1875 (arranged by the banished bishop and later Cardinal Mermillod), Pius IX strongly underlined Schorderet's motto: *Verbum Dei non est alligatum* (2Tim 2:9), "The Word of God is not enchained," repeating *Non, non est alligatum*. Leo XIII was also a friend of the *Pauluswerk*. In a private audience of July 20, 1879 "he blessed his work twice."

When Baptist came to know Schorderet, he was still rector of St. Moritz in the Au, in the lower city of Frieburg (summer 1875 - fall 1882). At that time his zealous vicar was the *Sperrling* from Baden, Johann Evangelist Kleiser, whom Baptist got to know at the same time as he was becoming acquainted with Schorderet.

¹² The male branch of Schorderet's foundation failed already during the "foundation retreats" (cf., Joh. Ev. Kleiser, memoirs).

Schorderet was enthusiastic about his apostolate and could also inspire others. He was convinced that: today the Apostle Paul would be a journalist.¹³ The press was for Schorderet the means to fulfill the Lord's mandate: "*Praedicate super tecta*" (Mt 10:27) "Proclaim from the rooftops." This Pauline bent in Schorderet's spirituality becomes explicit in the rule of life he gave to his cooperators and press-sisters: I Cor 13; II Cor 6. With unbelievable zeal he spread his *Pauluswerk*.

Schorderet came to the *Katholikentag* in Freiburg on August 31, 1875, accompanied by his equally enthusiastic cooperator Kleiser. While the editor from Breslau, Dr. Hager, spoke for the Catholic daily papers (*Germania, Reichszeitung, Volkszeitung*), Schorderet lobbied for an International Catholic Press Agency. His proposal was accepted as modern and worthy of support.

After his return to Freiburg, Schorderet immediately began to establish branches of his *Agence universelle de publicité catholique*. Thus, probably in summer 1876, he sent Baptist Jordan to Paris together with his compatriot from Baden, Cornelius Reichenbach, to explore on the spot the possibilities of a tentative move in this direction.¹⁴ Reichenbach,

¹³ Schorderet was not alone in his view.

In the so-called *Schwarzes Blatt* (Black Paper) the *Freie Stimme* reports in nr. 197 there is a word about the sainted bishop of Mainz (+ Burghausen, July 13, 1877): "I think if St. Paul were living now he would edit a newspaper." Also a consolation for us vexed press chaplains (Werber, 15).

Schorderet knew how to respond successfully to this signs of his times, which, however, were also read and answered strongly in other European Catholic countries. Pius IX was very favorable to such initiatives. He deplored not having had a "press-cardinal" at the start of his pontificate. Cf., also the press congresses in Rome, 1877, 1879, etc.

¹⁴ Pius Philipona writes in his two-volume work "*Le Chanoine Schorderet*" about these initiatives: "*En outre, M. Schorderet avait envoyé dans le sud de l'Allemagne un jeune homme, venu du Grand-Duché de Bade à Paris avec un de ses comptariotes, M. Jordan.*" (I:347). Sadly, we don't know where Philipona, a minor cooperator in *Pauluswerk*, has this information about Jordan's Parisian mandate.

Reichenbach (Halblitzel) Kornelius was born September 15, 1850, in

won over to the *Pauluswerk* by Kleiser, was to have founded a Catholic information center in South Germany. Of course, such tentative efforts of Schorderet's enthusiastic young cooperators remained without success as they lacked means, experience and connections.

But Baptist Jordan was immediately ready, even during the weeks remaining till the beginning of the new term of studies, to win friends, cooperators and means for the *Pauluswerk* in Germany. Schorderet gave him two letters of recommendation, a short one and a detailed one; both bear the date September 8, 1875:

Bureau central de L'Oeuvre de St. Paul, Fribourg, le den 8. Sept. 1875 - Fête der Geburt der Allers. Jungfr. Maria. - Omnia et in omnibus Christus. - Mihi vivere est Christus [St. Paul]. The undersigned Director of the Work of St. Paul recommends Mr. Johann Baptist Jordan, who has received our full trust and our mission in order to interest the Catholics of Germany in the *Pauluswerk* and to accept charitable gifts. He enjoys our full trust, and we ask the Catholics of Germany to receive him as they would receive ourselves. Canon Schorderet, Dir.

The second recommendation with the same date gives a more detailed introduction to the nature and goal of the *Pauluswerk* (H-6/1.2). Both are written by Kleiser and signed by Schorderet.

Muggenbrunn in the Grand Dukedom of Baden; he studied Humaniora in Freiburg i. Br. and philology from 1870 (autumn) till 1874 (Easter); he was a member of Hercynia. Reichenbach went to Paris as a teacher, married there Juliana Bony who bore a daughter Cäcilia on May 26, 1887. At the *Société Bibliographique* of Paris as professor of German poetry he oversaw the bureau for German periodicals, especially Catholic ones. He translated Catholic critics of Goethe's Faust into French. Reichenbach also seems to have been politically active, as his letters to Msgr. Joh. Ev. Kleiser and Prince Max of Saxony show. In April 1920, "Professor Reichenbach, an old gentleman and an acquaintance of the Rev. Father" took lodgings in the *Salvatorkolleg Stalden* in Freiburg, Switzerland, as noted in the House Chronicle. It is not noted how long he enjoyed their hospitality, nor where he moved later. Neither is it known where or when Reichenbach died.

Armed with these documents Jordan made his promotional trip. His compatriot from Baden, Joh. Ev. Kleiser, who outlived Jordan by a year, mentions Jordan's involvement in the obituary of his "friend":

During his studies he came to see us in Frieberg; and then he worked with us in the Apostolate of the Press and made his apostolic trips in Baden to promote pamphlets . . . Out of his great zeal he was about to get seriously ill and had to interrupt his work (*Canisius- und Marienstimme*, 1918, nr. 11; cf., *Voix de Marie*, November 1918).

These obituaries concur that Jordan was in Frieberg with Schorderet and that he publicized the latter's work in his Baden homeland until he had to stop because of illness. The report in the French periodical, *Canisius-stimme*, however, lets us suppose that Jordan also engaged himself for the *Pauluswerk* in the summer-holiday 1876, before and after the Munich *Katholikentag*. Kleiser, in fact, speaks of months and trips (in the plural). Kleiser himself had in the summer of 1875 just returned from a great promotional journey, and was to remain Schorderet's truest cooperator in Frieberg for years to come. Jordan might have become acquainted with Kleiser already at an earlier time, for Kleiser had stayed in Frieberg in Holy Week 1875 and lodged at Bishop Lothar's.

As the press work of Schorderet was totally imbued with a Pauline spirit, it corresponded well with Jordan's spirituality. The Pauline principles printed on the letterheads of the *Pauluswerk* under which Schorderet wrote Jordan's recommendation must have inspired his involvement: "*Omnia et in omnibus Christus. - Mihi vivere est Christus.*"

When after Christmas 1875, he wished his "student-mother" in Constance, Maria Höfler, a blessed new year, he drew at the top of the letter the two abbreviations introduced into the *Pauluswerk* for the two life-norms: OIX (*Omnia et in omnibus Christus*) and MVX (*Mihi vivere est Christus*). The same letter also shows, like the first entry in the Spiritual Diary, how deeply Jordan suffered under the *Kulturkampf*:

Today we see storms and dangers on all sides; it seems as if the forces of the underworld were set loose, fighting among men for their dark empire; it is true each truly Catholic heart is deeply wounded when such a dear jewel, the holy faith, is so derided and scoffed at; but let us not be afraid. If they crucified the Savior they won't treat his followers

any better. The servant needn't be better off than his master. In the other world the crown of life is reserved for us. So let us rejoice when we suffer for Christ's sake, for that is our victory and our gain . . . (A-1).

6.13. Janssen: From September 11-14, 1876, the German *Katholikentag* was held in Munich. Here Jordan experienced Catholic Germany on the offensive. Here he met again with Schorderet, whose apostolate he had tried to enhance through eager participation ever since he had got to know it. Ludwig Auer, the founder of the Cassianeum, was also among the personalities not to be overlooked at this convention. But most of all, it is Jordan's acquaintance with [recently canonized, 2003] Arnold Janssen which influenced his further development. While Schorderet had made him aware of the press apostolate, Janssen opened his view to the foreign mission.

Janssen was born November 5, 1817 in Goch, a little town on the Lower Rhine. On August 15, 1861, he was ordained in Münster. After some quiet years as a high school teacher and religious writer he dared to open a Mission House in Steyl, Netherlands near the German border on September 8, 1875. Already in January 1876 he added a printery. Now he came to the *Katholikentag* to work and find benefactors and cooperators. The Convention did not hesitate to recommend this "German Mission Seminary" to all young people "wishing to dedicate themselves to missionary work." At the same time it warmly recommended the new foundation "to the interest and support of Catholics."

Rector Janssen was visited in those days by the young theologian Jordan for a personal exchange of views, which also seemed promising to Janssen. In fact, he at once noted in his address book: "Freiburg, J. B. Jordan stud. theol. from Gurtweil near Waldshut, Dacahauer Straße 65 a/4."¹⁵ In a written report of September 12, 1876, the day he was allowed to speak so successfully in Munich about his work, Janssen not only informed his confreres in Steyl about the Convention's recommendation but he also mentioned his new acquaintance:

¹⁵ Jordan's Munich lodging-address during *Katholikentag* (today area of Lowenbräu). The street leads from the main station of the Munich-Dachau line.

... after my speech, a stud. of philology and theology from Baden came to see me. He already speaks a part of 5 European languages and is learning still more. He seems to be a real language talent, and at the same time has a quite alert and deep religious orientation.

In his 1899 memoirs, Janssen again returns to his meeting with Jordan. At the occasion of this convention I also got to know Mr. Jordan, the later founder of the Teaching Society. At that time he was a sub-deacon in the seminary of the Archdiocese of Freiburg and showed himself inclined to join the Steyl enterprise. Later he changed his intentions and founded the said congregation in Rome. Being a great language talent and wishing to learn Chinese, he also visited Rev. Fr. Smorenburg.

Actually, Jordan was not yet a sub-deacon. He also informed Janssen of this in a letter: "Next August I will finish the study of theology and the prescribed examination at the university, and then, if it is the will of God, I shall be ordained deacon in March of next year and receive ordination to priesthood in July." (Letter from Freiburg i. Br., June 27, 1877). Janssen has mixed these up in his memories.

Doubtless Jordan felt attracted by Janssen's personality as well as by his hopeful mission work. Nor did he hesitate to propagate Janssen's work as far as his studies allowed. In Janssen's March 1877 *Little Heart of Jesus Messenger*, there is a note of thanks for a gift "from a man- and a maid-servant from Gurtweil" Valentin Maier, sawyer, and Amalie Wunderle, solicited by Jordan. A letter to Janssen of March 15, 1877, and another of June 27, show how Jordan cultivated connections with Steyl after the Munich *Katholikentag*. But already in a letter of June 27, 1877, he explained to Janssen that he didn't feel called to join his mission work:

... at present it is very improbable, because I intend to join Propaganda [Fide], if it is God's will, after being ordained a priest. Nevertheless, I ask you to turn to me whenever I can be of service to you. You certainly know how I like mission work (A-SVD; cf., DSS X, 2.3).

These apostolic men never interrupted their good relations when both stood under the burden of their apostolic works. Their souls remained united and each felt attached to the work of the other.

6.14. Smorenburg: Jordan didn't use his summer holidays 1877 to promote the Catholic press. Instead he used them to improve his Chinese.¹⁶ Already on June 27, 1877, he wrote to Janssen: "Beginning at the end of August I still have some weeks of holiday when I intend to learn some Chinese with Rev. Smorenburg in Bredevoort, as I was dissuaded to do so in Paris . . ." (A-SVD; cf., DSS X, 3). It must have been Arnold Janssen, who called his attention to this old China missionary.

Anton Everhard Smorenburg, born January 14, 1827, in Soest, was ordained August 17, 1851. After a short stint as vicar he became a Lazarist in 1852, and joined the Scheudfelders in Peking in 1867. After the expiration of his vows and after having returned home from China, he worked as a diocesan priest in Breveeroort in the Diocese of Groningen (formerly Utrecht) beginning December 8, 1870. Parish priest at Dijk-bij-Duurstede starting from January 1879, he retired from pastoral work and died on January 5, 1904, in the Lambertus Institute in Duurstede.

As a China missionary he was a professor at the Imperial College in Peking and at the same time Apostolic Pro-Vicar of Peking (1856-1867) and later of Mongolia (1868-1869). Smorenburg supported the work of Janssen and had the honor of blessing a wing of the Steyl Mission House in August 1878. He was quite willing to give free language lessons to future missionaries. However, he had to do so in his parish of Bredevoort itself. Just as in the fall of 1877 he taught his zealous pupil Baptist Jordan, so in the following year he gave lessons to the first China missionaries from Steyl, the later Bishop Arnzer and his companion, Fr. Freinademetz. Pastor Smorenburg taught a North Chinese dialect.

During those holidays Baptist Jordan also made some trips to Netherlands and Belgium. Before returning home he paid a visit to the mystic Luise Lateau (1850-1883) in Bois d'Haine. During his retreats in preparation for ordination as sub-deacon and deacon he remembered this blessed visit: "Remember what extraordinary graces God gave you

¹⁶ Already in 1876, Baptist had in his private library the Chinese language grammar by Wilhelm Schott, Berlin: 1857.

when visiting the highly-gifted Servant of God, Luise Lateau" (SD 107).¹⁷ Other apostolic men also visited this maid-servant gifted in discernment of spirits, e.g., Schorderet and Kleiser, as well as Arnold Janssen on his first trip to Rome in 1878. Stigmatized persons, mostly from the lower class, were considered prophetic tools of the Holy Spirit. Thus they not only influenced popular devotion deeply, but also had an inspiring and incisive effect on the apostolic works and movements of the church.

Through Arnold Janssen, who tried to learn from the flourishing non-German mission work (e.g., Mill Hill in London, mission seminaries in Paris and Milan, Association for Spreading the Faith and Editing *Les Missions Catholiques* in Lyon, i.e., *Missioni Cattoliche* in Turin), Jordan also heard of the China missionary Timoleone Raimondi (1827-1894). The latter was, after his ordination in 1850, co-founder of the Milan Mission Seminary, and reached across Melanesia and North Borneo, and to Hong Kong in 1858. In 1868 he became Apostolic Perfect and Procurator of Propaganda Fide for the China Mission. During his journey through Europe in 1873-1874 he met Janssen around Pentecost 1874, in the parish house at Neuwerk near Munchengladbach and encouraged him to found a mission house for Germany. At the end of July, Raimondi went on to Rome where he was ordained bishop on November 23, 1874. By the end of the year he was back in Hong Kong. Jordan corresponded with Bishop Raimondi and received missionary encouragement when the China mission was still an important factor in his future planning.

Probably soon after the *Katholikentag* of 1876, Jordan, the apostolic-oriented theologian, began to think about an "institute" to be more comprehensive than the press work of Schorderet or the mission school of Janssen. Toward the end of his Freiburg years of studies, there grew in Baptist an evermore disquieting yet trustful understanding, that such an "Institute" was necessary for his time, and that this might become a challenge of the Holy Spirit for his personal future.

¹⁷ Jordan belonged to the second last of the 6 ordination classes (1874-1879) who in obedience to the church refused the *Kulturexamen* and were therefore forced into exile to find work and bread.

7. At St. Peter Seminary

During final examinations at the university, even before Jordan was able to implement his plans for the summer vacation of 1877, he was called by the archepiscopal director of the *Collegium Theologicum* to the entrance examination for the major seminary. This *conkursus pro seminario* took place from August 14-18. **See, 7.1. *Conkursus pro seminario*.** Having passed these exams, Jordan could now start his vacation with the happy assurance that he could enter the major seminary the coming fall.

During the previous 3 years in Freiburg his director had come to know and to respect him sufficiently, without overlooking his weaknesses. He hinted especially at his nervous anxiety and the awkwardness of his manners.

On October 4, 1877, Jordan received the call to enter St. Peter Seminary in the Black Forest. **See, 7.2. St. Peter Seminary.** The major seminary of the Archdiocese of Freiburg was housed there in a spacious monastery. There future priests lived during the last year of their training, far from the academic activities of the university. That year was dedicated to immediate preparation for ordination. Everything was directed toward the spiritual deepening and pastoral training of these future priests.

For these reasons, the priest supervisors were all carefully selected educators. **See, 7.3. Priest formators.** Moreover, Bishop Lothar himself stayed in St. Peter as often as possible to become personally acquainted with his future cooperators. He would not miss the opportunity to let the young men share his own episcopal experience. They clearly understood that from the beginning they would be "locked out" pastors. But that should not hinder them from discovering all the possibilities for priestly service in their beleaguered home church. It was important for Bishop Lothar to bind his young priests to their home diocese especially since so many priests had been forced to leave the diocese in the previous years.

The *Kulturkampf* in Baden was not any longer the blazing fire of years past, but it continued to smolder. There was hope for an early improvement even though it was evident to the bishop that the ordination class of 1878 would have to face tentative and perhaps troublesome intermediate solutions.

John Baptist Jordan had no doubts about his future in this regard. He was grateful to the bishop for the "title to table" by which the diocese guaranteed appropriate support for its priests. **See, 7.4. *Titulus mensae*.** Jordan had had such good experience with God's fatherly providence so far that he was confident he would find work in the Lord's vineyard somewhere. He was sure he would not become a burden to the diocese in case difficulties arose with regard to priestly assignments at home.

The year at St. Peter did not start slowly or gently. Already on the evening of October 18, the spiritual retreat began in preparation for the reception of tonsure and minor orders. After that the year of pastoral training itself began. **See, 7.5. *Pastoral formation*.** There were twelve men in the course, an intimate group who had known each other already from their days at the university or in the Arminia. But now their academic fellowship was directed toward a spiritual partnership for life under the experienced and capable guidance of the authorities.

Jordan regarded these practical lessons as extremely important and attended them conscientiously. St. Peter was connected with a rural parish and the future priests took turns preaching in the pulpit, at church services, and in the village school.

Jordan had inherited a very lively and communicative character, but also weak nerves. His excessive studies since 1869 had contributed to a further weakening such that he could occasionally be a burden to himself and others. Jordan had had to fight his way to his true vocation against all sorts of hindrances. He had worked so unstintingly to make up for the deficiencies in his education that he permanently damaged his health. Now he was really concentrating on reducing the impact of his

nervous weakness on others by practicing the proper opposing virtues like self-control, patience, silence, and cheerfulness. In this way he succeeded so remarkably well in bearing this cross that he really remained fit for any service which God's providence and will might demand of him.

For Jordan the introduction into the spiritual life was not just one lesson among others. **See, 7.6. Spiritual life.** He opened his heart fully to the work of the Holy Spirit as his Spiritual Diary testifies, immersing himself totally in the world of spirituality. His language talent permitted him to enjoy the spiritual masters in their own languages. But he would not rest content to merely study these authors who had been guardians of generations. They became Jordan's real co-educators in his endeavor to clarify and to deepen his personal relationship with God. In this he did not restrict himself to one particular direction. His character was open to any good spiritual trend and he consistently tried to make them fruitful for his own inner life.

In his book of resolutions from St. Peter we no longer find personal references to events connected with the *Kulturkampf*. Jordan was now very much occupied with himself; his attention was now directed toward wisdom and steadfastness, the requirements for holy priestly activity.

In his spiritual formation he had, of course, a preference for particular authors. Although he kept to the generally recognized, sound, and pious Thomas a Kempis, he also dared to approach the mystical master St. John of the Cross. St. Ignatius of Loyola of course was not neglected either, since three times during one year the Spiritual Exercises were scheduled. Of greatest importance for Jordan's spiritual balance was the attempt to become acquainted with the spirituality of St. Francis de Sales, and with that of St. Sulpice and the French and English Oratorians.

John Baptist had a melancholic streak in his otherwise cheerful character. This had emerged now and then already in his university years, as his Spiritual Diary tells us. The strenuous spiritual training in St. Peter

increased this danger. Especially in the first 6 months there Jordan had to make great efforts not to fall into depression, anxiety or scrupulosity. But the gentle school of St. Francis de Sales and the sound and sober trend of the Oratorian, W. Faber, preserved him from the danger to hide away in a self-absorbed and intensely emotional life. But it was mostly Jordan's powerful charism of active zeal for souls and his apostolic sense that helped him ward off such threatening shadows in his soul. Nevertheless, the cross of his weak nerves and the anxiety arising from conscientiously listening to his scruples remained. They could not prevail, however, against the forces which his apostolic heart embraced. The chance to realize his apostolic longings was restricted at St. Peter's due to the seminarians' limited opportunities for pastoral ministry. For Jordan a further hindrance lay in his secret, yet sketchy ideas about a "Catholic Society." **See, 7.7. "A Catholic Society."**

The days of preparation for the reception of the two major orders prior to ordination to priesthood began on March 11, 1878. On March 15, Jordan and his classmates were ordained subdeacons and on March 16, deacons. Now what John Baptist Jordan had written in his personal books and in his Spiritual Diary had become final: "I must become holy, before everything be holy—you must come out from these retreats as a holy priest" (SD 105, March 11, 1878).

Another retreat was scheduled for July 17, in preparation for ordination to priesthood. For Jordan those days did not mean a last reconsideration of his resolution. That was already final for him. Now his only concern was to do justice to this choice. He knew himself to be chosen by God's unfathomable loving Providence and now he attempted to offer his "yes" on the altar with as much conviction as he could give.

Right at the start of these retreats he wrote prominently in his book of resolutions the word "*Sacerdos*." **See, 7.8. Priest.** Then he tried to unfold in stammering words what this title should mean for his personal life: *sacer! sacra das! sacer es! sacro fungeris! sacra sunt in te omnia! sacrum facis! sacrum fac!* "Priest. Sacred! You give the sacred! You are consecrated! You

deal with the sacred! Everything within you is sacred! Do the sacred!" (SD 133). Then followed the clear, uncompromising program for the remainder of his life: *Ideo esto sanctus totus!* "Thus, be completely holy!"

On the eve of ordination Jordan asked his confessor for assurance that he was advancing to ordination in obedience to the divine call. He wanted to be reassured that in taking this most important step in his life he was not following his own or any ambitious desire, but that he was answering the call of God in the obedience of faith. From his pious spiritual director Jordan never kept any secrets, and since he knew Jordan, this man's judgement carried authority.

July 21 found John Baptist Jordan ready to bind himself totally as a priest to the Lord with open mind and willing heart. On the morning of his ordination he wrote with his typical urgency:

July 21. Lord Jesus Christ! I desire, I state and intend to receive today the holy order of the priesthood for your glory and for the salvation of souls. Take and accept me as a perpetual holocaust for you. Amen (SD 141).

In the evening of that same day there flowed from his happy and at the same time deeply touched heart:

Unending thanks to God for all eternity for having on this day deigned to elevate his unworthy servant to the holy priesthood. Amen (July 21, 1878; SD 142).

How happy his greying mother was on this blessed day! The Lord had laid so much sorrow and suffering on her life. But John Baptist had now turned all this for her into a blessing. The son, home now from St. Peter, surely went with her to the grave of his father. Both thought the same thing: if only he had lived to see this day. The two brothers, both still single, basked in the honor their priest-brother had brought into the village. Above all John Baptist had reasons to thank his magnanimous godmother Theresa and good Valentin. From the beginning they had helped him decisively to reach his high goal.

How much he would have liked to offer his first Holy Mass in the parish where he had been baptized! But against that stood the Examination Law to which Jordan neither could nor would submit. So he chose the parish of Döttingen just across the Swiss-German border to offer the Lord a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving on July 25. His fellow citizens followed him there with proud joy. During the remainder of his vacation Jordan celebrated Mass in the chapel of the castle "behind closed doors." The few sisters remaining there until they could find a solution for their property were happy to shelter a new priest occasionally.

Of course, Baptist did not remain secluded in his home village during the long weeks of vacation. But we have no knowledge of any travels during that time. First he had to transport his voluminous library from St. Peter to Gurtweil. **See, 7.9. Jordan's student library.** The part that is preserved is eloquent proof of his multifaceted language interests.

Jordan had no intention to settle down in his home country as a pastor. In some way his home was now the whole world, not only on account of languages but more so due to his apostolic openness. Not that he was looking for missionary adventures, but he simply wanted to help in announcing Christ. So the Propaganda Fide was the right employer and Rome was the proper ground for his apostolic plans to sprout and breathe Catholic freedom. Of course Jordan could not set off without the blessing of his bishop who willingly assented and at the same time set him a practical goal corresponding to his special talents: Jordan should continue to study oriental languages. Such an offer was more than welcome! Thus the vacation after his First Mass was totally devoted to preparing for his call to Rome. **See, 7.10. Call to Rome.**

September 20, 1878, found Jordan still at home since his mother Notburga wanted to regulate family affairs before his departure for Rome. **See, 7.11. Family matters.** His two brothers were in the midst of preparing to set up their own households. John Baptist's home was now the vineyard of the Lord.

7. At St. Peter Seminary. A Closer Look

7.1. *Concursus pro seminario*: When Baptist Jordan arrived in St. Peter at the end of October 1877, the results of the examinations for admission to the seminary had already arrived. The examinations had taken place from August 14-20. As the practical year at St. Peter was considered decisive not only for the individual candidate but also for the future of the entire archdiocese, the *conkursus* was correspondingly carefully administered. The theologians could not simply present themselves and then have a happy bishop give his consent to each one. The selection process was more strict. The director of the seminary had to present each candidate to the bishop and thus offer a certain guarantee that each applicant for holy orders was reliable.

The list of applicants for the ordination class of August 7, 1877 is still preserved. For each theologian who wanted to take part in the *conkursus pro seminario* two things were submitted: the results of all former examinations about theological subjects, and also a judgment of the seminary rector about the character of each one. Baptist Jordan was described to Bishop Lothar as follows:

6) Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil graduated at the Lyceum in Constance. He had been a painter before and dedicated himself to studies later. He has a quite unusual talent and great diligence for learning foreign languages, and at the same time he possesses an equally unusual modesty. In his behavior he shows awkwardness and scrupulosity; his health is in an excited and nervous state caused by the fatiguing and varied studies. Jordan possesses a very deep piety, a quite unconditioned and moving dedication to the church and to the clerical state, for which alone he wants to work and live. He deserves this page to be completely dedicated to him (F 12/32).

This reference from the "Archepiscopal Director of Superintendence of the *Collegium theologicum*," i.e., seminary rector, bears the bishop's handwritten note: "*Archiep. Capitlesvicariate, Freiburg, August 8, 1877 - Resolve: Ad circulandum, + Lothar Kübel.*" It was confirmed by the six archepiscopal consultors with their *vidit* and their signatures.

The examinations for the *conkursus* themselves were to be done orally and in writing. An ad hoc archepiscopal commission was presided over by Bishop Lothar himself. He held the examination in catechetics and canon law. Then he presided over the oral examinations, which were taken in addition to the seven written examinations in dogmatic, moral, canon law and homiletics. Jordan's marks lay all near "good or very good" to "very good." Only in pedagogy and catechetics did he received the mark "good."

Of the 14 participants, 12 theologians were called in through the parish offices by the Archepiscopal Chapter-Vicariate on October 4, "for October 18, at 11 o'clock a.m. into the Seminary of St. Peter" (F 12/50). When the day of ordination came there were only eleven.

The certificate of conduct from the candidate's local parish priest, which the director of the seminary requested for the admission of each candidate as a matter of form, could only be favorable for the theologian from Gurtweil:

Certificate of the parish office: this certifies that the candidate of theology Jordan, Joh. Baptist, during his holidays here distinguished himself through a religious-moral life. Gurtweil, October 8, 1877, the archepiscopal parish office: Fortenbacher (Archives St. Peter, F 12/1a).

7.2. St. Peter Seminary in the Black Forest had once been the Zähringer "house monastery." Berthold II, Duke of Zähringen, founded it before 1100. The monastery had seen a colorful history without succumbing. Two war-like lootings and pillages were followed each time by the reconstruction of the monastery. Today's buildings date from the middle of the 18th century. In 1806 the newly founded Grand Dukedom of Baden dissolved the monastery. Already in 1840 the archdiocese succeeded in securing the building for its seminary. Since 1842 the priest-aspirants of the archdiocese of Freiburg have passed their year of preparation for ordination in the quiet, remote St. Peter in the Black Forest. Since 1842 the priests of the Archdiocese of Freiburg have been ordained in the baroque church of the monastery, which was constructed by the Vorarlberger Peter Thumb, the "Constance baroque architect" (as an inscription in Constance says).

As the monastery was dedicated to St. Peter, the church ceiling has frescos in the central and side naves depicting events in the life of the first bearer of the keys. In the lateral spandrels of the main bay of the central nave there are pictures of Peter's apostle-companions. The main altar depicts the Assumption of Mary into heaven, a popular motif at that time; in the lower part of the picture the apostles are gathered around the empty tomb of the Mother of the Lord.

Of course on the baroque altar one also finds St. Michael the Archangel, defender of the ecclesial faith and life. One also finds the great counter-reformation emblem of faith: the IHS. At that time this wasn't just read as the Greek initials for the name of Jesus. Especially after the terror of the plague and of the following Thirty Years War it was read as *Jesus Hominum Salvator*. "Jesus, Savior of Mankind." On both sides of the main altar there are the imposing statues of the Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. The back wall of the pulpit shows the Lord giving the mission mandate to his apostles: *Docete omnes gentes* (Mt. 28:19) "Teach all nations." The monastery's baroque staircase doesn't sport fanciful mythological images, but the sending out of the apostles with the inscription "*Euntes in universum mundum praedicate*" (Mk 17:15) "Go out, preach to all the world." Again the Lord's commission, but this time according to another evangelist.

Baptist Jordan's enjoyment of such apostolic creations in the monastery in honor of St. Peter was not merely aesthetic. Repeatedly he let himself be carried away in his innermost thoughts by the force of their meaning. They responded exactly to the apostolic impulses, which for some time now had disquieted his heart insistently yet beneficially.

7.3. Priest formators: St. Peter seminarians were entrusted to a group of selected priests to care for their spiritual and pastoral formation. Among them Timotheus Knittel, pastor of St. Peter and sub-regent, two tutors Jakob Schmitt and Augustin Maier, as well as the spiritual Nikolaus Gühr. Spiritual director Theodor Lender (1813-1887) was as such regent of the seminary, but because of illness he was on leave during that school term. He was replaced by sub-regent Timotheus Knittel, who had been called to the seminary together with him on June 2, 1862. Both were in

the same ordination class (September 9, 1837). Dr. Knittel was a truly caring pastor and helped the seminarians become quite firm in pastoral liturgy as well as in marriage counseling, and in finding their way among the important laws of the state.

Dr. Jakob Schmitt (1834-1915), a priest since March 7, 1857, became tutor in the seminary of St. Peter just one year later (May 7, 1858). He exercised the most decisive influence in the instruction of the future priests. As *spiritus rectus* of the house, Schmitt was strict and sometimes a bit pedantic. But all esteemed and loved him because he was a blameless, even exemplary priest filled with holy zeal for his task. Indefatigable in the confessional, an excellent preacher, he offered the seminarians most for their pastoral instruction, especially through his catechetical talent. His catechism also appeared as a book and was a valuable tool in helping in their training.

Co-tutor Augustin Maier was the same age as Schmitt (1834-1888), a priest since August 2, 1859, and engaged at the seminary since April 1, 1862. His task was primarily introduction to the administration of the Sacrament of Penance. Through 25 years he helped the alumni with great love and sympathetic understanding to learn pastoral confession. He taught them not to use the confessional to apply theological solutions to cases of conscience, but to help the lives of their fellow Christians who again and again desired to free themselves from their faults and weaknesses.

Maier took utmost care to impress on future priests the necessary service of pastors to simple people. He himself had made new editions of some Catholic family books, e.g., the "Sick-book" of Fr. Martin Cochem, the *Goffiné*, and the weekly *Handposille*.¹ He also edited "Conversations about the Popular Method of Preaching" of the great catechist Felix Dupanloup (1802-76), who at that time was better known in Germany as an educator than as the influential but controversial

¹ Leonhard Goffiné from Cologne, Praemonstratensian and pastor in Oberstein, Nahe (+ 1719) composed an explanation of the Sunday readings in question and answer form, which still in the 19th century was the most popular book in Catholic families (new editions also by Joachim, Allioli and Hattler).

bishop of Orléans, whether for his irenic interpretation of the Syllabus of Errors (1865) or his promotion of the minority opinion at Vatican I.

From such teachers Baptist Jordan received his appreciation for catechetical instruction. At that time he noted: "It will be aimed especially at popularizing theological truths and so making them accessible to the people" (SD 118). A fruit of catching the catechetical enthusiasm of these two tutors might also be his emphasis on pastoral ministry to children, which Jordan noted on the last page of his Spiritual Diary and which is still relevant today:

- 1) As a pastor of souls call the attention of the children with all strictness to the obligation of making restitution, so that they are kept from actions that require a fulfillment of this duty.
- 2) Teach the children in such a way with all morally allowed means of instruction, that they never fall into wrong-doing out of ignorance.
- 3) Impress deeply on them the importance of forming the habit of doing good spiritual reading regularly and of receiving the holy sacraments of Penance and Eucharist every month.
- 4) A pastor of souls should also try to keep in contact with the young people after they have left school (SD 213).

Already then, this clear understanding impressed itself in Baptist's soul: the divine truths are not announced often enough, not understandably enough, not insistently enough. He experienced this lack as a personal call and challenge: "Instruction— instruction, do what you have in mind, do it if it is God's will! February 14, 1875" (SD 79). He was convinced:

God will support you, even if your undertaking seems impossible. Oh, how many children become the prey of ignorance, become devoured as it were by the hellish spirits, [destroyed] like blossoms during a frosty night in May. Lord Jesus, have mercy on them (SD 58).

Already at an earlier time he had made up his mind:

When you have the chance, draw up a book of meditations for children up to about 14 years old, in as an attractive and beautiful a form as possible. Include in it a most urgent warning about sin. Introduce it with a short instruction on meditation (SD 61).

When Baptist Jordan began "his work," to which he felt himself urged, from the very beginning he kept sight of the pastoral care of children.² He couldn't forget it and had to read again and again what he had committed himself to in St. Peter:

Press on with indefatigable strength and vigor, so the youth of every nation possible receive a good Christian upbringing, even if you must pour out the last drop of your blood for it for the honor of God (SD 58).

His spiritual director was Nikolaus Gehr (1839-1924). A priest since May 26, 1866, Gehr was most of all a teacher of liturgy and dogmatics. His book "The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass" (1877) remained for decades the reliable introduction into this central mystery of the church. It is to be supposed that when the regent fell ill Dr. Gehr took over introducing the students to ascetics. That Baptist had excellent guidance in this subject is to be seen from the entries in his Spiritual Diary.

7.4. *Titulus mensae* [condensed]. The administration of the archdiocese obliged itself to sustain its priests in case of need, disability, illness or age. Until 1895, Baptist Jordan was listed in the *schematismus* of the Archdiocese of Freiburg as having the right of such *titulus mensae*.

Health examinations and health care were not overlooked. In fact the theologians had to pass a medical examination before being admitted to orders. We still have the results of the physician's examination of that ordination class from March 6, 1878. Dr. Wanker's certificate for all of them is short and definite: "healthy" (F 12/52). This certificate was a prerequisite for orders and the *titulus mensae* connected

² When Jordan began his work he was very concerned to help children catechetically. Having too few collaborators he at once dared, without money but also with debts, to build a small print shop to make his catechism pulpit more effective. While Schorderet dedicated his press efforts mainly to church-politics and Auer to Christian pedagogy, Jordan remained completely in the catechetical sphere. In doing so he did not simply turn to the Christian family in *Il Monitore Romano* (1881) or in *Der Missionär*. He also addressed children directly, gathering them in the *Engelbündnis* (Angel League) creating special publications: *L'Amico dei Fanciulli* (1881) and *Manna für die Kinder* (1884).

to it. To the latter the Chapter-Vicariate agreed on March 12, 1878. On the same day Bishop Lothar issued the document which guaranteed future support for the ordinandi from the common church fund:

Dr. Lothar von Kübel, by God's mercy and the grace of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Lueka, i.p.i., *Domdekan* and *Capelsvicar*. With this we acknowledge that the following: . . . Jordan Joh. Baptist from Gurtweil . . . have conveniently let us know that they with the help of divine grace want to join the clerical state and to receive holy ordination to the priesthood, but that according to the holy church law of Trent they must be provided for with the *titulus mensae* because they lack sufficient proper means. To foster their well-being, and especially their priestly dignity, we have agreed to their corresponding petitions. In force of this document we comply herewith if the above-said after the first [sub-diaconate] ordination they can no longer perform the duties of the clerical state because of physical disability or because of lack of means of sustenance before being invested with a legal benefice, that we as well as our successors will provide them with food and drink, clothing and other necessities corresponding to their needs, out of the common means of the church. All these according to the above indicated canon law and its execution with regard to its contents. In witness thereof, we had the present document issued and affixed our greater seal and signed it with our own hand. Thus done Freiburg March 12, 1879. Lothar von Kübel" (F 12/52).

The sustenance of its priests caused several difficulties to the diocesan administration. This was due to the fact that the State was administering the property of the church since the *Sperrgesetz* of April 22, 1875, and had made the obligatory contribution of money to the bishops and clergy dependent on their written agreement to forego church laws in favor of state laws. With this "breadbasket" law the state could arbitrarily decide whether and how far the clergy would be provided for according to the *titulus mensae*. Baptist Jordan, however, never claimed his *titulus mensae* although he was registered in the personnel register of the archdiocese as entitled to it till after 1890: "Jordan, Johann Baptist, born June 16, 1848 in Gurtweil, priest July 21, 1878 (Rome)" (*Schematismus* of 1883, p. 95; cf., "Jordan, Johann Baptist, superior of the Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome, born Gurtweil June 16, 1848, priest July 21, 1878," *Schematismus* of

1891, p. 157). Together with Jordan, under the category "priests abroad" was also registered his friend "Kleiser, Johann, apostolic missionary in Freiburg, Switzerland." Only in the *Schematismus* of 1895 was neither mentioned any more.

7.5. Pastoral formation: Before ordination the seminary Board of Directors had again to inform the bishop about individual candidates. For Jordan there is the following:

4. Jordan Joh. Bapt. from Gurtweil, born June 16, 1848

Pastoral: Confessional - g v sg	Homiletic: theory - sg
Marriage Law - sg	Composition - g v sg
	Lecture - sg v g
Catechesis: Composition - g v sg	Dogmatic:
Lecture - g	Repetit - sg v g
Liturgy - g	Choral - sg v g
(Abilities - g v sg; Diligence - sg; Behavior - sg.) ³	

Characteristics: unfavorable appearance but very courteous, a bit awkward, clumsy, impractical, very pious, well-meaning and zealous, inclined to scrupulosity. Works diligently but less practical. (Wants to dedicate himself to language studies.)

Proposition pro Cura: 2 ½ J
St. Peter, July 11, 1878

The Seminary Conference:
T. Knittel, Sub regent
T. Schmitt, Tutor
A. Maier, Tutor (F 12/20)

The day before the ordination retreats began, the physician of the seminary had to submit another health certificate. His "result of the physical examination of the alumni pro 1877-8" was like this for "Joh. Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil: nervous sensitivity, but capable for any service." The certificate was signed, "St. Peter, July 16, 1878, Dr. Wanker - I. Knittel, Sub-regent" (F 12/54).

Generally, the year in St. Peter was fertile for Baptist's inner life, a year undisturbed by political turmoil or school exams, nor aggravated by anxiety for daily bread. It was a year rich in inner experiences.

³ Abbreviations: g v sg = good to very good; sg v g = rather good to good.

"In the seminary in St. Peter he was a little isolated and liked to be by himself; a queer fellow," judges pastor Seidler from Horn on January 3, 1926 (G-18.177). Fr. Mohr records the comments of the pastor of Geisslingen, a study companion: "In the seminary he was rather zealous and quiet, but a little stubborn" (December 1924, G-18.54). This seems to be the same priest Fr. Mohr knew: Gustav Seiter, born on March 25, 1852 in Rastatt, ordained July 19, 1877 at St. Peter, died March 23, 1941 in Gurtweil. Seiter was pastor in Geisslingen in the Klettgau from August 4, 1911 till April 30, 1925. Afterwards he served in Horn above Radolfzell. He is buried in Geisslingen. It is not known, where Pastor Seiter got his opinion. He himself was in St. Peter's a year before Baptist Jordan, but he had known him from his university days in Freiburg.

Certainly Jordan was tempted to isolate himself from others because he wanted to dedicate all his available time to his beloved study of languages. In addition his absolute ascetic determination might have seemed stubborn to some. Baptist Jordan was not the jokester among his companions. To them he seemed rather too serious, although they all liked him because of his inner goodness, kind modesty and charming friendliness.

Nothing is known about Jordan having any special friends in his years of theology. His academic and spiritual motivations were recognized and admired. But no one wanted to keep pace with him. Jordan himself was not dependent on any "friend" of his own, but was open and communicative towards all. His age and life experience created an additional distance between him and his colleagues, to whom he was always a helpful and selfless companion.⁴

⁴ This letter shows Jordan's relations with St. Peter in the Black Forest remained uninterrupted.

L. J. Ch. St. Peter, July 11, 1898.

Reverend venerable Father!

On July 5, there was priestly ordination here. 52 new priests left the quiet rooms of the seminary to go as laborers into the vineyard of the Lord. Now I enjoy some peace, and can at last answer unanswered letters and finish other matters. For your Society, which is growing so favorably, I send you per post 50 M in order to participate in the spiritual fruits of your apostolic work. At the

7.6. Spiritual life: The Spiritual Diary kept by Jordan during his time at St. Peter gives us plentiful information about his personal aspirations and his spiritual life. In the space of about 120 pages he wrote what moved him during that period. Although his notes are not always in chronological order, and he sometimes leaves part of a page blank for later annotation, and although he often fails to be exact regarding times and dates, all of the events given on these pages happened within the year in seminary. In fact the exact times and dates of the entries within that year are unimportant since the main events, his ordination and the retreats preceding it are exactly recorded.

While Jordan's earlier personal notes (July 1875 - summer 1877) were infrequent, his Spiritual Diary for the year in St. Peter is filled with memoranda, proposals and hints. They help us grasp how seriously the 30 year-old seminarian took his ascetic-spiritual formation. Even if it were a problem in pastoral formation to move from purely academic knowledge to practical know-how, ascetic formation for Jordan was never simply theoretical. It had to be lived and experienced. His Spiritual Diary was intended to help him control himself so that his inner life wouldn't get bogged down in unconventional pious feelings. Instead, led by a zealot will in patient discipline, a diary was meant to preserve in a priest God's corresponding rich fullness and depth: "for better orderliness keep a diary!" (SD 67).

In his year at St Peter, Jordan also found a healthier relation to his studies. He had never been dedicated to academics out of pure ambition. He valued knowledge for its contribution to his vocation. Now he felt well enough caught up to be able to distance himself from his studies. His measure was now exclusively the will of God according to the fundamental rule of the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius: *tantum* -

same time I ask you to forward the included lists to the corresponding addresses in Rome. Here in St. Peter almost everything goes as before, the number of seminarians is encouragingly great, so that lack of priests will be almost overcome in a few years. Young forces are now working at my side and with me--sometimes I feel like an old ruin. I would like to get a short note telling whether the mail has arrived. May the Holy Spirit abundantly bless you and your work and your collaborators! This wishes you, yours faithfully Dr. N. Gühr, Sub-regens. (D-1116)

quantum, “completely and more.” Already during his first retreats after entering St. Peter, Baptist wrote:

Always be indifferent regarding health and sickness, to consolations and sadness and difficulties, provided that God’s will is done (SD 91).

Soon after, he applied the same measure to the studies he had formerly loved so much:

Moderate your studies, especially those which are not urgently necessary. What would it profit you if on that account you would love God even one slight degree less in eternity; consider well, that if you do not conform your will completely to the Divine Will in this, you could deprive yourself of very much grace (SD 30-31).

Some weeks later he asked himself again about the sense of pursuing knowledge:

Of what use would all knowledge be to you if you cannot apply it to your highest goal, but it has to lie there like a closed library? (SD 54).

Of course, Baptist did not simply want to bury his language talent. No, he wanted to use it according to the fundamental law to which he had already completely surrendered his future when he entered St. Peter: “Never seek yourself, but God alone, your supreme Creator and Lord” (SD 93). Even as a student Baptist got into the habit of reading Scripture or other valuable spiritual books in their original languages to perfect himself in those languages. During his seminary year he made full use of this opportunity within the spiritual regimen, e.g., meditation, spiritual reading, ascetic-spiritual ongoing formation. He also used to write down the fruits of his readings for his inner life in their original languages.

It is astonishing what good taste Jordan showed in selecting spiritual authors.⁵ Certainly, the learned spiritual director of St. Peter gave him helpful hints. For a book of meditation Jordan chose the old

⁵ Of the books Jordan added to his private library at St. Peter we still have: Puente’s, *Meditationes espirituales*, Barcelona: 1856, Vol. III, *Nascimento*; Francisco’s, *Manoel do Vida Jesu Christo*, Paris: 1854; Hamon, M., *Meditationes*, Paris-Lyon: 1876, Vol. I, and others.

master of spiritual life, Luis de la Purente (1554-1624), and later another Jesuit, the older Paolo Segneri (1673-1713). Of course, Jordan read the former in Spanish (*Meditaciones de los Mesterios de nuestra S. Fe - Da la perfeccion de Christiano*), the latter in Italian (*La Manna dell'anima*). For his spiritual reading Jordan preferred an English author, the convert and Oratorian Frederick William Faber's (1814-1863) *All for Jesus*, and *The Blessed Sacrament*. In regard to French he kept to the Sulpician André-Jean-Marie Hamon (1795-1874), who above all had rediscovered the spiritual doctrine of the kind expert of the human heart, Francis de Sales, missionary and bishop of Geneva (1567-1620), and who had won so many good followers for this doctrine, to mention just Mgr. Louis Gaston Adrien de Ségur (1820-1881) and St. John Bosco (1815-1888). Apostolically stamped saints attracted Jordan very much in his seminary year. He felt it was recreation to read lives of the saints in his free time.

Just as Jordan was in no way critical of the theology of his time, as long as it was approved by the church, the same was true regarding the doctrine of spiritual life. Unlike some others, he never devoted himself to one certain direction or expected everything to come from particular devotions. The devotions of that time were more emotional than critical. They urged the frequent reception of sacraments. They gave rather much weight to external exercises of devotion. Jordan agreed with all that, but it was surely not everything for him.

In the devotions of his day, religious piety was decidedly Eucharistic. Connected with that the devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus had a significant influence. To that was added an affective love of the Blessed Virgin and a struggling love for the persecuted church and the pope—the "Prisoner in the Vatican." Jordan was open to these currents. His diary, however, does not show any pious narrow-mindedness, although he once notes briefly;

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. <i>SS. Sacramentum</i> | [Most Blessed Sacrament] |
| II. <i>Quinque Vulnera D.N.J. Chr.</i> | [Five wounds of our Lord J.C.] |
| III. <i>Beatiss. V. Maria Mater mea.</i> | [Most Blessed Virgin Mary, my Mother] (SD 126). |

But he saw and practiced Eucharistic adoration, expiatory veneration of the Heart of Jesus and trustful recommendation to the Immaculate

Mother of the Lord in well balanced mutuality. This did not endanger but rather enriched the style of his prayer life which had up till then grown in a very healthy way. It is remarkable that Jordan's prayer was not one-sided. It was always oriented towards the Holy Trinity. Respectful love of God was the fundamental attitude determining all his prayers and giving them substance and direction.

In Jordan's Spiritual Diary we find scripture texts. In fact, the paper book of life was for him the Holy Scripture.

Always read sacred scripture with great reverence and kneeling, at least, when you are alone (SD 68).

In doing so he was well aware that not everything is easy to understand, and that only priests should endeavor to come to a deeper understanding of scripture.

Put a lot of effort into meditating on sacred scripture, into learning it, into contemplating it, using a good commentary . . . (SD 139).

This proposal shows clearly that Jordan was not so much attracted by scientific explanations of scripture, but by the interpretations that offered something to the heart and that were useful to popular preaching. For him, becoming absorbed through meditating and praying the scripture was more important than mere study.

If your confessor gives you permission, meditate often, that is daily on the sacred scriptures (SD 140, during his ordination retreat).

Most of all, Jordan was attracted by prayer itself:

Carry on your spiritual conversation with the Savior. — Sit humbly and docilely at His feet and listen attentively to His words (SD 65).

Every activity not founded in prayer was a priori suspect, and he himself was not sure of its supernatural value. Already by this time prayer alone was decisive for him.

Whenever you take upon yourself a significant work, something which seems most useful and good to you, withdraw if possible for at least a few hours of recollection with God to examine it further before you dedicate your complete strength to it.

However much you work for good, withdraw every day for a few hours with God in recollected prayer and meditation, or when possible, in contemplation, to preserve true recollection and peace, or to restore it (SD 66).

The Savior's nightly prayer with the Father (SD 52-64) had touched the seminarian in a special way:

As far as you can, spend some time in prayer during the night (SD 66).

If your health permits it and your confessor allows it, imitate the dear Savior often in this, that you spend at least a part of the night alone in prayer (SD 135).

Just as when he was a student Jordan was never satisfied unless he could sit daily for hours in front of his beloved language studies, so the future priest now felt the urge to dedicate hours to spiritual reading and prayer.

Dedicate at least three hours a day to prayer (SD 85).

Though your work be ever so much, still spend an hour a day in meditation, if your health allows it. January 17, 1878 (SD 48).

Pray much—pray much—pray much also for the poor souls. Prayer is especially needed in our indifferent times (SD 85).

Jordan felt at home in prayer, in his real world. Here he experienced the full reality of creation and redemption. Here the world was not just the world. Here he traversed heaven and hell. Here he knew himself protected against the devil and could converse with angels and saints.

What is more consoling in this valley of tears than to be permitted to enter into such deep relationship with God through meditation and contemplation. Oh man, when meditating on and contemplating divine things, you perform the functions of the angels (SD 61).

Most of all, in his prayers he met again and again with the Lord, whose holy will alone should lead him.

At a suitable time each day take counsel with God. Beg him for enlightenment so that you fulfill his all-holy will and that he becomes known and loved by all (SD 59).

[For] this is eternal life, that they may know you, the one true God, and Jesus Christ, whom you have sent (SD 83; cf., Jn 17:3).

Jordan's personal notes reveal a spiritual life impressive in its depth and simplicity of faith as well as in its spiritual emotion. This is all the more clear as it is void of any cleverly constructed linguistic expressions. Much light of grace must have penetrated into his soul in order to have thrown such deep shadows of spiritual experience into his diary. Some are quite personal, not unlike those in St. Ignatius' spiritual diary.

It is also striking that Jordan's prayers penetrated into his dreams. He lived united with God even in his subconscious. He was not an ivory-towered dreamer, no more than was St. Joseph. But he was convinced that God's provident and helping grace let him experience "true dreams." And he didn't forget such secret pledges of the Lord.

Jordan was already a deacon, when he made a supplementary entry to two dream-experiences written earlier in his diary, just because they were still valid for him. He speaks of one dream in which Mary with the Child Jesus in her arms assisted him in such a kind way, when he saw himself pursued by a great number of people,
... that I sank onto my knees, ready to let that persecution break out over me (SD 121).

In another dream he experienced his life like someone crossing a deep abyss, spanned by only a narrow plank. But Baptist was carried safely over the abyss without effort by someone like a guardian angel. How valid these two dreams were for Jordan is proved by the fact that he later added a date, albeit rather inexact:

The first one mentioned happened at the beginning of my studies, and the last before that (SD 121).

In his inmost feelings Jordan experienced God guiding him out of an almost senseless drudgery and into his apostolic vocation, just as in his dream God's angels had carried him over this abyss, something he could never have traversed with his own energy. Equally, the motherly help of Mary with her child was to him so sure, that he felt ready to confront all future apostolic struggles. Thus Jordan applied to himself the experience

of St. Paul: "God has chosen what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are" (1Cor 1:27).

Jordan became a man of prayer, connected to God already in St. Peter Seminary. He was convinced,

Of yourself you can do nothing, but *omnia possum in eo qui me confortat* (I can do all things in him who strengthens me) (SD 127; cf., Phil 4:13).

Prayer was his source of strength and solace to overcome his often grueling everyday life.

In fact, the year in St. Peter was also a year of hard personal struggles. Jordan had his weaknesses and had to deal with them. Putting up with the difficulties stemming from his character during this externally heavy year in the seminary was not his only problem. He also had to become conscious that he, like every Christian, had to carry his personal cross of life, but that as a priest he also had to be at the complete disposal to the people of God and to their needs. He had soberly to evaluate whether he could trust himself to do so.

Jordan was an open-minded and honest man, and he naturally and without guile expected to find such honest and open natures in his fellow men. He could not live amid mistrust. He was bitterly hurt by disappointments caused by people he had confided in. At those times he sought help through forgiving and forgetting:

If you are insulted do not move from the spot nor look where the insult is coming from (SD 75).

As soon as a severe, aggressive offense or upset occurs, do not think about it for long, but pray with the Savior on the cross, "Father, forgive . . ." or with St. Stephen, "Lord, do not hold . . .". If in spite of it, the interior turmoil and emotion does not diminish then kneel down before God, the all-meek one, imagine Jesus Christ before you in the moment in which He received the blow on the cheek, and if possible, make at least 1/4 hour meditation (SD 30).

Jordan wanted to be good and do good. He strove to shape his character accordingly. In so doing he hated any mediocrity. His efforts are impressive for their extraordinary growth and strength. He was deeply moved by St. Ignatius' dictum: "completely and more:"

Encore plus, Seigneur, encore plus! Amplius, Domine, amplius (SD 26).

Beg God daily for the grace to suffer very much for his glory and for your eternal salvation. More, Lord! (SD 52).

His pursuit of holiness was deep and uncompromising.
Never permit yourself to be led by any passion (SD 92).

Oh, how passion blinded the Jews as they condemned Jesus to the cross.
Passion -- ignorance (SD II, 4).

Jordan saw in this the twin forces which prevented the arrival of the Kingdom of God: he fought against ignorance among the holy, and against passion among the evil. This was for him the mandate of the hour to help the Kingdom of God break through. It was quite evident to him that he above all was challenged.

The first and most important thing for you at all times is and should be to be holy, pleasing to God, so to live and so to die; whatever in any way does not lead to this goal or hinders you from attaining it, remove it with God's grace. Become great before God and not before the world! (SD 31).

The more difficulty he encountered with his own shadow of human failure the more he cried:

Lord, have mercy on me, a most wicked and worthless servant (SD 70).

His weakened nerves caused by hard studies contributed their part. Already at that time Jordan fell prey to a certain anxiety and his melancholy mood also showed up externally.

As far as possible avoid moods of anxiety, because the Lord is powerful and he can save you. Endeavor to serve God full of love and joy and, above all, lay aside any kind of exaggerated anxiety, which displeases God, for he is not a tyrant. Give more attention at your post to do everything well and to accomplish much good, rather than fretting over your past failures (SD 62).

Jordan's inner life, marked simultaneously by a strong will and deep emotion, distorted personal moral shadows into giants and he could be deeply agitated by physical struggles.

Oh my soul, throw yourself completely into the arms of God; do not lose heart, even if snares are set for you on all sides; rise up to God, especially in these terrible and indescribable hours of affliction. Know that God loves you, even if he strikes you hard and heavy. Still, never lose courage, and in more peaceful days, prepare yourself for such violent suffering (SD 37).

As soon as you notice a severe storm approaching you set everything aside, if it is possible, and throw yourself down before the All Holy Trinity, so that through intimate meditation and prayer for assistance you may obtain a happy outcome. January 7, 1878 (SD 38).

Never lose heart or be cowardly, but have confidence in God even if the devil makes trials and dangers appear insurmountably difficult; the Lord with one word can calm the storm and dispel the darkness. February 27, 1878 (SD 94, 95).

During the retreat prior to diaconate ordination Jordan went through Gethsemani hours. He wrote in his diary:

Oh my Jesus, trials and temptations have come upon me excessively. My God, my God, why have you abandoned me? Why do you not relieve your oppressed servant and sheep? My soul is sorrowful even unto death. Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me, but let your will, not mine be done! (SD 105).

Jordan knows only one remedy. He continually returns there to find the way out of his depression:

. . . pray often for great confidence in God and for unrestrained joy (SD 62).

He did not, of course, underestimate the place of his own efforts in healing.

As far as possible, put all your effort into being serene, cheerful and friendly; such [dispositions] promote the well-being of body and soul. Avoid and despise every melancholic and gloomy mood which by

chance comes over you. Oh, how weak and miserable man is! For you, spiritual, innocent joy is most necessary for spiritual progress; do not underrate it, but be grateful to God, when he grants it to you (SD 131).

Even on the day of his ordination he assures himself:

Note well, that any kind of restlessness does not come from God, no matter how good its end may be. Try as far as possible to get and keep a cheerful, happy disposition (SD 141).⁶

It is difficult to give a valid medical evaluation for this nervous-depressive suffering which tormented Jordan at that time.⁷ He felt it as an ordeal and, at the same time, as something God permitted, which confirmed him even more in his limitless confidence in God.

I have no other claim to be heard than out of my profound misery (SD 41).

Already at the end of January 1878, he noted in his diary:

Consider it a very important matter to care for the recovery of your physical health, so that you may serve God better and do something for his glory and for the salvation of others (SD 53).

At the same time he noted for himself a text from the Old Testament: "A living dog is able to do more than a dead lion" (SD 54; cf., Qoh 9:4). At

⁶ Jordan learned this fundamental spiritual rule from reading St. Alphonsus Ligouri (cf., SD 22).

⁷ There exists no proof that the illness Jordan caught while promoting the *Pauluswerk* in autumn 1876 was a nervous illness. Kleiser, who is the only one to touch this, reports what he remembers as an old man almost 40 years later. Also a personal remembrance of the old Fr. Tharsicius Wolff, SDS of November 12, 1966, that Jordan had told him once that he had ruined his nerves while on begging-trips for Canon Schorderet, must not be overrated. It is certain that Jordan damaged his naturally weak nerves through his intense studies. But being by nature rather more weak than strong also saved the young man from the draft and service in the war.

the same time, Jordan learned from such sufferings to have a true understanding for people tormented in a similar way.

Console those, especially who are afflicted with profound spiritual suffering (SD 130).

Comfort the afflicted, especially those who endure grave spiritual suffering. Never forget that you are performing a work very pleasing to God. The Eternal Father sent an angel from heaven to his divine Son in the Garden of Olives to console the Savior sorrowing unto death, and you want to deny the same to your suffering neighbor. When you hear confessions, be especially compassionate and comforting to the sorely tried (SD II, 5).

In such melancholic hours the sound and plain spiritual directives of François Fénelon (1651-1715) or Francis de Sales gave Jordan real spiritual stability and consolation.

Avoid long and useless dwelling on your mistakes; because it is a waste of your time, it discourages you and confuses your mind and heart. Humble yourself and regret your mistakes as soon as you notice them. Having done this, leave them aside and continue on your way. Fénelon. *Lehen*, 15 (SD 46).

It is not the person who makes the least mistakes who is the holiest, but the one who possesses more courage, more magnanimity and more love; the one who overcomes himself the most and is not afraid to stumble or fall along the way and even to dirty himself a little, just as long as he makes progress . . . St. Fr. de Sales (SD 46-47).

After this year, so rich with inner struggles, Jordan is convinced that his healing consists just in this: that he engage in spending himself completely for the Lord's honor and kingdom.

[For] "grace is not given according to the capacity of natural powers" (Aquinas) because we find saints with a weak and delicate physical constitution who, with the help of grace became giants in mortification; among others there are Pope Gregory and Benedict Labre (SD 77).

Jordan accepted this for himself from Grundkötter's *Ascetic as Consoling Understanding* for his own personal situation. So during the ordination retreats he assails the Lord with prayers:

Oh Jesus, in order that you will deliver me from all my anxieties, my miseries and weaknesses, and give me back my joy of your salvation, I hope that I may work for your glory and for the salvation of souls, even to the shedding of my blood, and that I may really do it! (SD 136-137).

I hope to be freed from temptations when zeal for souls and for God's glory consumes me! (SD 137).

Jordan's hope was not frustrated. Although he remained weak in regard to nerves and conscience, he was (not counting small relapses in times of almost super-human emotional stress) generally seen as freed from this burden of melancholy.

But Jordan was not only tormented by inner suffering. His diary also shows us that sometimes inner consolation overflowed. During just such dark times it was important for Jordan to remember such spiritual hay days. Thus, he savored his visit to the stigmatic Louise Lateau and to the Roman catacombs, noting during the retreat of March 1878:

Think what extraordinary graces God granted you when you visited the highly graced servant of God, Louise Lateau. What longing for the supernatural, what disinterest in earthly and transitory things. How willingly you meditated on the holy wounds of Jesus or how you prayed! Never forget that time and the encouragement you experienced in the catacombs of Rome! (SD 107).

In addition to the catacombs, the *Scala Sancta* remained unforgettable to the Rome pilgrim of 1874.

As far as possible, try everywhere to refer everything to God and to the suffering Son of God, for example, when you go up the stairs, think of the holy stairs, and so forth (SD 110).

Of course, here the confessor or spiritual director in the seminary played a decisive role. He guarded the residents against being over-zealous and helped render their discernment of spirits fruitful for their own inner lives before allowing others to entrust themselves to them. Jordan

maintained an open relationship with his spiritual director and was glad to be able to strive forward in obedience. These good experiences with his spiritual guide in St. Peter found expression in his diary:

Do not pass over the opportunity of looking for a capable and experienced spiritual director if the choice of place is up to you. If God does not want you in a place where you could have access to such a person, he himself will be your guide (SD 60).

Excitable people who let themselves be so deeply touched by grace and who orient themselves so ruthlessly to the will of God as Jordan dared to in the year in St. Peter, are already as human beings inclined to be plagued by scruples. Jordan certainly was susceptible to this danger but he willingly accepted Dr. Gihl's help.

The result of such prudent direction and obedient consent was the extraordinary sensible conscience in Jordan. This conscience urged him on one hand to an absolute, strict self-control. On the other hand it led him to conscientious and well-considered decisions. There are examples of both in his diary, most of all in his notes during the three pre-ordination retreats (October 1877; March and July 1878). He couldn't simply live out his piety in those days.

Before every important action, renew the good intention . . . (SD 108; cf., 22).

Certainly, making spiritual retreats three times during the one seminary year contributed to Jordan's being tempted to overstress his feelings of the contrast between the all-holy God and his personal misery.

Be completely convinced that of yourself you are only evil and indeed worse than your fellow men, and that therefore all the good which God has bestowed on you or which he works through you are, in a high degree, gifts or grace from God for which countless other persons would be more worthy than you. Live especially in this conviction, because God bestows His grace on you so that you undertake and accomplish great things for his glory (SD 80; cf., SD 50, 57, and many others).

Reflect often on this passage from the holy gospel: They have received their reward (SD 80).

Together with this black-and-white way of seeing things, Jordan continued to strive steadily for Christian humility.

Each day humble yourself voluntarily to honor the Crucified and to obtain humility (SD 68).

Seek humiliation in everything. Wherever it can be done without detracting from the honor of God and the salvation of your neighbor, choose for yourself those things which humble you most. Oh Lord, give your unworthy servant grace to carry out this resolution! Amen (SD 108).

Jordan himself comprehended quite well his desired orientation:

Whatever the hour, pour out prayer to the Lord. Always be content with whatever God may prepare for you and however he does it. Prefer to be humbled by people and to be exalted before the face of God. Talk unceasing with God, i.e., in all your works look to God. Never say anything about yourself without grave reasons (SD 72; cf., SD 12).

As much as Jordan endeavored to be unobtrusively content with the "last place" and not to be a burden to others, so much he kept his eyes open for the needs of his fellow men.

Furthermore, be especially attentive to the physical needs of others. Do not shy away from any inconvenience when it is a question of helping another or of doing a work of mercy. Take care that stinginess and self-interest never reign in you (SD 56).

It was also clear to him that being good to one another should not be limited to glib friendliness, but that mutual love should be realized through good deeds.

Make your acts of love of neighbor real through personal deprivation and sacrifice!! (SD 49).

But what appeared so special in Jordan's priestly disposition was what at that time was expressed with the pale word "zeal for souls." Baptist recognized this apostolic élan as almost the hallmark of his vocation, his personal charism.

Oh Jesus, you have called me to work and to labor untiringly for your glory and for the salvation of souls, [he penned beneath it a convincing] *Deo Gratias* (SD 136).

Has God not given you a clear sign of what he has called you to when in the practice of zeal for souls he grants you the greatest spiritual joy, consolation and peace of heart?

In the practice of zeal for souls remain at all times in closest union and communion with Jesus, without whom you can do nothing (SD 134).

Jordan is so carried away by this desire to live only for God and his neighbor that he can't return often enough to this point in his diary. He knows his future life will be most intimately determined by this apostolic imperative. Over and over he wants to present it to himself in its full importance.

If you want to die peacefully, then toil and work for the glory of God and the salvation of souls even unto [shedding] blood (SD 132).

Survey the individual nations, countries and languages of the globe and see how much there is to do for the honor of God and the salvation of people! (SD 63).

In all your actions and behavior, significant and insignificant, let your guiding motto be: All for the greater glory of God (to God alone be honor and glory) and for the salvation of souls (SD 67).

Jordan's apostolic zeal was aroused the most and was always renewed when he considered the passion of the Lord.

Let the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ be a continual motive to love to suffer with Jesus Christ (SD 123).

Through him, the Crucified, in him, the Crucified, with him, the Crucified, begin, proceed, persevere in working for the glory of God and for the salvation of souls. Amen (SD 118).

One look at the Lord sacrificing himself was enough for Jordan to reproach himself with lack of involvement.

You, oh good Jesus, have redeemed souls with your Precious Blood, and should I, upon whom you have lavished so many favors, stand idly by? (SD 137).

At the same time he needed this apostolic zeal to better find himself:
Oh Jesus, oh how sweet it is to work and to labor untiringly for your glory and for the salvation of souls! (SD 138).

He again asked himself before his ordination to the priesthood:
Is not the only remedy whereby God wants to heal you a fervent holy zeal, which consumes you as you work indefatigably for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, directed by good intention and impelled and driven by the love of God? (SD 138).

That the Mother of the Lord had her proper place in Jordan's spiritual life was quite obvious.
Never neglect to cherish and to foster a childlike devotion to Mary at all times, let her be your advocate in all things. Oh Mary, take and accept me as your unworthy servant for all eternity! (SD 120).

Jordan also spoke of the church as a mother to whom he wanted to belong completely:
Always love holy church more; shun no pains or sufferings for this beloved mother (SD 70).

About the then quite modern veneration of the Sacred Heart, Jordan spoke only once and this in a rather indirect manner:
Always have a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus set up in your room for veneration (SD 81).

Jordan's later life cannot be understood apart from his experiences in the seminary year. They gave the 30 year-old the characteristics and priestly features out of which grew the later shape of his life—as the tree grows from its root. In the seminary there were no provisional decisions. There Jordan made his fundamental decision, from which nothing could deter him. He had discovered his proper "face" and it bore apostolic features.

7.7. "A Catholic Society": The inner life of Jordan during his seminary years not only grew and matured, it required him to define his priestly vocation. In January 1878 at the latest, we find in Jordan's diary traces of a still undetermined plan for the future which occupied him thoroughly and which pursued him relentlessly. His inner disposition may sometimes have attracted him to the possibility of a strictly contemplative life.

Continue to consider well and to pray for enlightenment, whether you could not perhaps give greater glory to God and do what is of greater advantage to your poor soul and to your neighbor, if far from the world, alone and unknown, you would serve God in prayer, in contemplation and in works of penance? (SD 38).

But Jordan soon perceived, that such a life could not satisfy his apostolic vivacity, and he never returned to this possibility.

The inner apostolic urge, which had shown up in him already when he was a theologian in Freiburg broke through ever more at St. Peter. Jordan's meeting with Schorderet and Janssen during the Freiburg and Munich *Katholikentage* meant more for him than just an invitation for collaboration. Just after meeting Janssen, Jordan began to devise "plans of his own" and coaxed them into shape. Years later, Jordan comes back to this early grace-filled inspiration in the draft of a letter in which he tries to give the pope an account of his plans and efforts up to that time.⁸ But only at St. Peter did Jordan find the mental and spiritual free space which allowed him to grapple with his apostolic vocation.⁹ Already at the end of January, Jordan notes in his diary:

The members of the I. cl. [first class] spend an hour a day in meditation (SD 50).

⁸ "Che ebbe l'ispirazione di formare la medesima per cinque anni mentre era studente di Filosofia e Teologia . . ." Jordan to Leo XIII, March 10, 1882 (E-25).

⁹ Thus he is not compressing events when much later Fr. Claver Hassler, SDS writes in *Die Welt*, 1900, nr. 11: "Already at St. Peter, Jordan came to the idea to found a new religious congregation."

For himself he continues:

Pray daily that your intention be purified, especially with regard to that undertaking (SD 50).

A little later he spoke of an "undertaking" which he considered necessary to help eliminate the religious ignorance of children and to engage himself in the good Christian education of youth wherever or in whatever nation (SD 58). An encouragement Jordan addresses to himself points in the same direction:

Instruction – instruction, do what you have in mind. Do it, if it is God's will! Feb. 14, 1878 (SD 79).

Some pages later he considers what such planning might mean for him.

"Prepare yourself for contradictions of every kind, for whatever physical and spiritual suffering may befall you in carrying out the work. However, trust in God for whom and through whom alone you should and can do it. Never be cowardly about it. Rather be glad if you may suffer much for your Savior." February 18, 1878 (SD 84).

Elsewhere in his diary where he had organized his daily schedule of oral prayers for various intentions, he began meaningfully:

Three or 5 x 5 Our Fathers that I may become holy and pleasing to God, do much for God and for the salvation of souls, and especially, that I may successfully begin that undertaking (but may God help you) and that I may be completely consecrated and dedicated to him; and finally, holy and pleasing (to God) that I may surrender my life for my Beloved, who is Jesus Christ, and that, holy, I may depart from this life a martyr of Christ (SD 89)

The change here from "I" to "you" should be noted, as well as Jordan's attempt to stammer his apostolic charism in words, which should not omit anything of what he desired for his further life.

After being ordained deacon, Jordan's vague urge to undertake something great for the honor of God and the salvation of his neighbor began a new phase. The new deacon dared to sketch out a first rough draft of his planned "Institute." He then outlined what seemed to be essential for his work (SD 112-116). It should be noted here that this first

draft of the foundation of an "Institute" has not been preserved. Jordan himself destroyed it years later, probably during the Advent season 1894.

But this apostolic plan dominated Jordan's thinking and, most of all, his prayers during the months between ordination to diaconate and priesthood.

Carry out that good work for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, even if you have to spend your whole life for its realization. God, for whom alone you should undertake it, will reward you in the next world. Guard yourself carefully from vanity, from self-seeking, self-complacency and the like (SD II, 4) . . . because without God, remember, you can do nothing. Recommend yourself, especially in this, to the dear Mother of God, your powerful protectress and helper (SD 117).

A few days later he again felt urged to express himself in his diary.

Oh, carry out the planned work, with the help of God and Mary's intercession, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls; even if you will be despised, persecuted, calumniated, misunderstood and ill treated by all because of it; and even if you have to shed the last drop of your blood. You have not yet done by any means what Christ did for you. Often contemplate him dying on the cross, and at the same time, consider his holy will so solemnly expressed in his high-priestly prayer before his death. Only the express command of ecclesiastical authority should be a barrier to you. --- Amen (SD 119).

In the days when Jordan penned the first draft of his "undertaking," he also thought about where he should begin it after his ordination.

To Rome for half a year and then to Vienna? Lord, enlighten your unworthy servant! (SD 111).

Could Vienna perhaps be the suitable place to undertake your work? The Emperor (SD 112).

It is not clear, why Jordan put such questions to himself.

On February 7 of that year, Pius IX had died, and on February 20, Leo XIII was elected to succeed him. But there was turmoil in Italy which struggled for unification at the expense of the out-dated Papal States. Emperor Franz Joseph of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on the

contrary, was still considered to be the monarch in whose realm the church enjoyed the greatest freedom. It is, at least, significant, that Jordan saw the undertaking to which he felt himself called as important enough not to start it in the "provinces."

About Whitsunday 1878, Jordan started again to draw up a new sketch of his planned undertaking. Again he began with his broad vision which referred everything to God and conceived everything from God's point of view.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.
In God, through God, with God, for Almighty God.

I. The Catholic Society of clerics and co-workers in the vineyard of the Lord among all peoples (SD 124).

Again, not knowing how to go on, Baptist broke off in mid-sentence. However, in the beginning of this sentence he had succeeded to articulate the essence of his plan—the seed of what later came to light after painful maturing, the "original inspiration" from which the institute was to take root and to grow.¹⁰

In the few weeks between this retreat and his ordination he repeatedly returned to his "work." He was so captivated by it that there was no room for dreary thoughts. Jordan felt in grateful joy, that this special call of the Lord had a healing effect on him. He increasingly admonished himself not to give up. He prayed more and more fervently for clarity about his further endeavor:

Don't neglect to carry out that planned undertaking, because it was decided and settled, remember, on frequent occasions— (SD 127). [We lack the key to unlock this cryptic remark.]

Certainly, Jordan also consulted his spiritual guide, who probably told him to wait and see and encouraged him first to utilize the opportunity offered by the bishop to study languages in Rome. On the one hand, Jordan was looking forward to staying in the Holy City again, this time for a longer period.

¹⁰ "Primigenia instituti inspiratio," cf., Vatican II's, "Perfectae Caritatis" no. 2.

When you are in Rome, if it can be done, visit the stational churches.
June 8, 1878 (SD 129).

On the other hand he might have feared abandoning his proper calling.
Weigh it over well before you abandon that work. Think of the time
when you felt yourself especially impelled to it! (SD 129).

So he renewed his earlier decision.
Carry out that planned work for the glory of God and for the salvation
of souls (SD 130).

Before beginning his last retreat at St. Peter he returned to what had
dominated his prayers and plans for months.
Remember, with what consolation and joy your planned undertaking
has already filled you. If you want to die peacefully, then toil and work
for the glory of God and the salvation of souls even unto blood. Do not
neglect often to consult the Savior over it (SD 132).

Also during this retreat Jordan in his heart of hearts could not free
himself from his "undertaking."
Get on with that work soon, because it is your nourishment which
refreshes you in body and soul (SD 134-135).

Nevertheless, sometimes he doubted whether he could at all justify the
language studies while there was something more important to do.
Examine yourself well, whether it is the will of God that you still
dedicate a long time principally to study. Would it not be more
acceptable and pleasing to him, if you immediately set to work and, in
addition, studied only that which is necessary for you? (SD 135).

So ever more often he prayed:
Lord, give me, I beg you, the moment and the opportunity to begin!
Oh Lord, how long will you wait?
Oh Lord, I am coming to life again, I am coming to life again!
Oh Lord, what else could console me truly and perfectly, but to
live completely for you and to spend all my strength to pro-
mote your glory and the salvation of souls, and to die for you?
Accomplish the proposed work with the help of God! (SD 137-138).

At that time Jordan complained about the fact that in schools of his day on all levels, from elementary up to high school, too little was said about zeal for souls. He already envisioned holy apostles hurrying across the whole world taking the Good News to all:

Zeal is given too little attention in the schools! Oh, that there were holy apostles hastening throughout the world evangelizing all! (SD 138).

He was also sorry for not being ready to bring help to all, immediately and everywhere. On the Feast of Vincent de Paul he felt how necessary it was to continue that saint's work in his own time.

A Society to help the sick and the poor, the lapsed and the like of a particular parish or of the whole world! (SD 140).

But for him the most urgent thing was an apostolically orientated foundation.

With the help of God and the assistance of the Blessed Virgin Mary and under her protection, lay the foundation for the S.C. [Catholic Society] as soon as possible; delay no longer than is necessary! (SD 141).

Celebrating his First Mass Jordan was completely captivated by this unique divine call.

Establish the apostolic society and always be of good heart in difficulties. September 11, 1879 (SD 145).

Here for the first time Jordan called his plan "apostolic." This should be its peculiar feature (*indoles*). Apostolic people should gather in it to engage and consume themselves in proclaiming the Good News.

Later on many will refuse Jordan's invitations—saying they aim too high! But doesn't the Lord continuously urge people to reach beyond themselves in order to show those of us who are mediocre that our love for the Lord can never reach too high? After all the Lord's love knew no measure or limit! For Jordan, at any rate, what the Lord had intended for our salvation and what he himself still intended could never be too high. His prayer was only that the Lord would include him.

Lord, would that! – Jesus, you know. – Surrender. Give yourself over totally to God; Oh Lord, what do you want me to do; speak, Lord, your servant is listening. Here I am, send me as soon as possible! (SD 144).

7.8. Priest: On July 16, 1878, the Sunday before Jordan's ordination, the pastor in Gurtweil announced the great upcoming event at St. Peter:

Next Sunday, the Most Reverend Bishop will celebrate ordination to priesthood, and the citizen's son from here, the Rev. Jordan, will offer solemnly his first holy sacrifice on the 25th of this month in the parish church in Döttingen, to which he invites all Roman Catholics from here to whom he has not sent a special invitation. Before the holy Mass, the newly ordained priest will distribute Holy Communion. I commend this small, zealous and enthusiastic, courageous group of priests to your pious prayer; for, as always, the Divine Savior says to them especially in our days: "Look, I am sending you into this God-forsaken world like sheep among wolves, and as they have persecuted me, so they will persecute you! But rejoice and exalt, your reward will be great in heaven." (Book of Announcements, Parish of Gurtweil, 1878, p. 84).¹¹

When on the evening of their ordination day, Bishop Lothar said goodbye to the new priests, he said: "It is good that you don't know what awaits you!" (Franz Dor, "Franz Xaver Mutz, Vicar General and Dean of the Cathedral." Freiburg i. Br: 1929.) We may suppose that Jordan's godmother went to St. Peter to witness the ordination.

Jordan knew that he was bound to the Mother of the Lord already from childhood. He called her simply "my mother" (SD 126). He felt it as a special providence to be ordained a priest on her feast day. He also planned to celebrate his First Mass at her shrine in Maria Einsiedeln,

¹¹ On the First Sunday of Lent (March 10, 1878), Jordan's home pastor had called the attention of his parishioner to the two major orders Jordan would receive in mid-March 1878.

Wednesday, Friday and Saturday are *Quatembertage*. On Friday and Saturday our Rev. Bishop will administer to the theologians at St. Peter the[minor] orders preceding their ordination to the priesthood. As among the small number of ordinandi is also Baptist Jordan, citizen's son from here, I ask you to remember them particularly in your prayers during these days.

Switzerland. But two others had applied there before him. So probably following the advice of his local pastor, Jordan opted for nearby Döttingen. On the remembrance cards Jordan changed with his own hand Einsiedeln to Döttingen (Edward Jordan, January 1925, G-18.130).¹²

Even though on ordination day Pastor Michael Fortenbacher himself was invited to the First Mass in Döttingen, in the announcement to the parish he made a mistake regarding the date. "For the first holy Mass of the newly ordained Rev. Jordan taking place next Sunday in Döttingen, I want to invite the girls to wear wreaths." (6th Sunday after Pentecost, 1878, Book of Announcements of the Parish of Gurtweil, 85). But the First Mass actually took place on Thursday, July 25.¹³

The Pastor of Döttingen also invited his parish community to take part at the First Mass of the new priest (Book of Announcements, Parish of Döttingen, July 25, 1878). Under "July 21, 1878, *Dom. VI. post. Pent.* 'Scapular Sunday,'" the pastor of Döttingen noted in the Book of Announcements: "Next Thursday in this parish church at 9 a.m. solemn First Mass and Blessing of the newly ordained Rev. Joh. B. Jordan from Gurtweil, in the Grand Dukedom of Baden, to which all faithful parish members are heartily invited."

At the First Mass of this Gurtweiler priest in nearby Döttingen the Gurtweilers participated with pride, and it was remembered for a long time. Widow Schlosser-Vonderach recalls:

He celebrated his first holy Mass in Döttingen in Switzerland, because it was in the time of the *Kulturkampf* when all new priests were expelled from home. But a great many parishioners assisted at his first holy Mass. Afterwards he remained in Gurtweil for a fortnight, but he could celebrate only behind closed doors. Before his First Mass he went to his

¹² A few souvenir cards of the First Mass survive (C-53) on which Jordan with his own hand entered the exact date and changed the place of his First Mass. The multi-colored little images are in the "sweet fashion" and thus were somewhat expensive. This explains why Jordan had to choose to whom to send a personal invitation and then ask his pastor to invite all others from the pulpit.

¹³ The original parish church in Döttingen gave way to traffic in 1970. It was demolished in the summer and replaced by another modern church.

school fellows asking them to forgive him everything and to forget his youthful pranks (I-23).

Even the liberal newspaper *Albbote* could not ignore the new priests from Waldshut and Gurtweil. But neither could it abstain from tweaking the Freiburg Curia, that these two First Masses had to take place outside the country in Klingnau and Döttingen instead of in Waldshut and Gurtweil.

Waldshut, July 29. Yesterday the new priest Roth, son of the assessor Roth from here, celebrated his First Mass in the parish church of Klingnau, at which solemn act assisted a great number of girls dressed in white and many local residents. At noon a great number of visitors participated at the dinner in the Rebstock restaurant. Another newly ordained priest, Jordan from Gurtweil, said his First Mass last Thursday in the parish church of Döttingen. Thanks to the stubbornness of the Freiburg Curia, these two as well as nine other new priests cannot perform ecclesiastical functions in Baden and are, sad to say, forced by the stubbornness of the church administration to look for employment abroad (*Albbote*, July 30, 1878).

The ultramontane "*Freie Stimme*" carried not only a short notice about the new priests, but wrote in an especially detailed manner about Jordan. The reader had almost to feel that the editor, Chaplain Werber, was not only personally related to him, but that he was also well initiated into his future plans.

From Lake, July 25. (Our New Priests.) The harvest is great but there are few laborers—that is what we thought when we heard that 11 new priests had been ordained in St. Peter. Yes, there are few laborers, and these few cannot find employment in our midst. One of them, e.g., Mr. Weiss from Ettenheim, has found a place in the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Charity in Ingenbohl Canton, Switzerland. Another will become a tutor with an aristocratic family in our region, a third one goes to Zurich, a fourth one becomes German pastor at Campo Santo in Rome; others emigrate into the Diocese of Regensburg, and one of them is going to the Propaganda in Rome. The latter deserves a special mention. He is Mr. Jordan from Gurtweil. We knew him when as a 20 year-old painter he walked from Gurtweil to Waldshut in the winter of 1869-70 for lessons in Latin, History, Greek, etc., with Chaplain Werber in Waldshut. Through his iron diligence and as a real language talent,

the impoverished student, who had nothing but his confidence in God and the wish to become a priest, through rare strength of will succeeded to enter the *Unterquinta* in Constance as a guest student. Since then, with the help of God and good people, he has succeeded to celebrate his First Mass in Döttingen, Canton Aargau. During his holidays he made journeys all over Europe and he speaks various languages: English, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and several other languages, which he has learned by himself or in the corresponding countries. Now he is going to Rome to continue his formation and to become eventually a missionary. Such talents are rare. When we hear and see how these new priests set out, the wish becomes ever more intense: You Catholics, elect Catholics so that the *Kulturkampf* may come to an end soon! (*Freie Stimme*, July 27, 1878).

7.9. Jordan's student library: Since beginning his studies, Jordan as a poor student had set up an astonishingly voluminous library. How much he must have had to renounce all other pleasures to acquire a desirable book! But that didn't oppress him at all. He had to forego many things in order to be able to buy this or that book which seemed to him important or useful at the moment. His brother Edward remembers especially his language library, which he had collected during his study years. "Later on he had quite a pile of little booklets (about 100) for the various languages" (August 1924, G-18.22).

When he later returned home from Rome he tore and burnt some of his booklets and writings. A whole chest of drawers full of writings and booklets (written by himself) were still there later. After his mother's death everything got slowly lost. He practiced various languages, mostly oriental, and he even practiced Chinese characters (January 3, 1926, G-18.183).

Already in the spring of 1881, Baptist had sent his most important books to Rome (without the book cases, as he notes in a related letter to Auer on March 27, 1881).

What still remains of the library, (much of which was later given away by Jordan or lost) gives us good information about Jordan's

studies.¹⁴ From the Constance years we still have “humanistic” authors. Together with the Family Library of German Classics (116 volumes) there are about 40 classics in old and modern languages. Then there are 23 grammar books, mostly of European languages. There are also 18 theological authors, mostly of a pastoral-homiletic character. Jordan was also interested in Sailer's Pastoral and Staudenmaier's "The Task of the Church in the Present Time." The Rule of St. Benedict is also among the approximately 200 volumes from his time at the gymnasium.

From his time at the Constance gymnasium (1870-1874) there are grammars and poetic works in Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, Russian, Flemish, Swedish, Danish and English, in addition to works in Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old-German and Hebrew languages. During his theological years (1874-1878) there are added Eastern and oriental languages like Arabic, Sanskrit, Aramaic, Syrian, Chinese, Chaldaic, Romanian, Japanese, Ethiopian and Persian. Already this "rest" amounts to 25 foreign languages.

During his study years in Freiburg and at St. Peter the composition of the library changed radically. There are only about 15 classics and other books among the nearly 110 volumes from those four years. But there are still grammar books, almost all of them of oriental languages (1874, Arabic and Sanskrit; 1876, Aramaic, Syrian, Hebrew and Chaldaic; 1877, Ethiopian). In Freiburg, Jordan bought the book of moral theology by Hirscher, and Möhler's "Symbolic." At the time, both books, together with the works of Sailer and Staudenmaier, were real breakthroughs of theological renewal, at least in the realm of moral and pastoral theology. The favorable influence of Prof. Alzog found its expression in the 19 volumes of Patrology which Jordan had acquired with his savings. Three other books dealt with the *Kulturkampf* and local church politics. These Jordan took with him to Rome.

Jordan's student library is clear proof of how open-minded he was to formation in the humanities, and how much he appreciated ancient and modern classics. It also shows his thirst for theological

¹⁴ Cf., catalogue of Jordan's library with notes of Frs. Horn and Mayer, Rome: September 1961.

knowledge, with special interest in pastoral currents and church political discussions of his time. The ancient oriental languages exercised a growing attraction for the theologian; after his ordination they tempted him to go to Rome for special studies and then to the Orient itself.

7.10. Call to Rome: Already after his return from Chinese studies in Bredevoort, Jordan had contacted Bishop Jean Raimondi, Apostolic Vicar of Hong Kong, probably encouraged by his tutor, Pastor Smorenburg. Of this correspondence only one letter survives. Raimondi, in fact, sent him a package of Chinese schoolbooks on May 10, 1878, giving him further advice for his study of Chinese. At the same time, Raimondi thanked him for a service Jordan had done for him through the magazine *Les Missions Catholiques* in Lyon. Raimondi closed his letter, written in French,

Whatever we can do for you here we are at your disposal. How nice it is to help one another! Our hearts become larger when we form new friendships. We breathe the Catholicism of the church. In China, 4,000 miles away, we are united with our Catholic brethren in Germany, who know so well how to suffer for the honor of our God (D-920).

Already on March 21, Jordan had written to the Rector of Campo Santo in Rome, Msgr. Anton de Waal, whose acquaintance he had already made during his trip to Rome in 1874, and again at the *Katholikentag* in Freiburg. Jordan asked de Waal to help him find lodging as a priest-student in Rome beginning in the fall of 1878,

Because I intend after my ordination to go to Rome to the Propaganda Fide for some time, at least until next spring in order to improve myself in languages, especially in oriental languages . . . (CS, F 46/4).

In the meantime, Jordan had also asked for and received permission from his local ordinary. Bishop Lothar himself introduced Jordan to de Waal, July 28, 1878, together with a classmate, Franz Mutz, who was sent to broaden his theological studies in Rome. The bishop wrote:

Another priest will also come to Rome, Jordan, who is a real language talent, whom I recommend already now to your kindness. I beg you to let me know the further conditions . . . (CS, F 46/5).

We also have a June 12, 1878 offer from the superior of a minor seminary in the diocese of Bordeaux. He would have liked to employ the newly ordained Jordan as language teacher for German and English. Superior A. Desclaux described the small wine-town of Ste. Foy-la-Grande in Gironde, in the most pleasant colors to woo Jordan to agree for the beginning of October. He also says that Canon Beutter from Freiburg had recommended Jordan to him. (Beutter got to know Jordan while working in Freiburg for Schorderet and Kleiser's press work the summer of 1875 and 1876.) Baptist seems to have offered, either at that time or later through correspondence with Abbé Beutter, that as a *Sperrling* he could join the collegium of priests in the minor seminary in Ste. Foy. But in the meantime the die was cast for Rome, where he was attracted by language study in the service of Propaganda Fide and where he hoped God might arrange that he "would soon be able to do more for the honor of God and the benefit of his fellow beings," as he expressed himself hopefully in his curriculum vitae (Rome, Campo Santo, October 26, 1878, F 46/1).

Thus during his holidays Jordan was not troubled by the usual worry of a new priest wondering about his first appointment. He relaxed and studied languages. His holiday readings were Fénelon's letters. He probably did not stay in the cramped Jordan house, but rather in the Castle where he could study quietly. "By the side of the Castle which now is the priest's house he always said the holy Mass" (G-18.65).

Furthermore, Jordan, following a tip from his benevolent bishop, had applied for a subsidy for his studies.

The Reverend Archbishop Chapter Vicariate.

Humblest prayer of Fr. Joh. Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil for receiving a subsidy. The undersigned intends to continue his studies in Rome for further academic formation. Therefore, he asks humbly the Most Rev. Archbishop Chapter Vicariate to grant him a subsidy for this purpose. The petitioner promises at the same time to show himself worthy of such a benefit as much as he can. Awaiting a benevolent consideration, signs . . . J. B. Jordan (F 12/2).

The application Jordan made soon after his First Mass, bears the note of receipt of August 1, 1878, along with the note of the official in charge: "He has been promised the Häussl. Stipd. and goes to Rome for further

language training." August 22, 1878, Jordan received the written grant from the Chapter Vicariate, signed personally by Archbishop Lothar.

The Administration of the Pastor Columban Häußler Foundation is ordered to remit for the year October 1, 1878-79 a scholarship of 800 M. –Eight hundred Mark– one half before his departure, the other half for April 1, 1879, to the priest Joh. Bapt. Jordan, whom we have permitted to go to Rome for his further academic formation. The recipient of the scholarship will inform the administration of his address. . . .

At the same time the local parish priest was informed, and the recipient of the scholarship is ordered to account to his bishop "on the result of his studies, as the foundation document request" (C-55). For Jordan this was a visible sign of trust on the part of his bishop. It made him happy and motivated him at the same time to show himself worthy of this privilege.

September 11, Jordan asked for a celebret [proof of ordination and faculties]. The following day his letter was already at the Freiburg Vicariate, and on the same day the Chapter-Vicariate sent him the requested document and noted: "Freiburg, September 12, 1878. The requested celebret sent off" (F 12/4).

7.11. Family matters [condensed by translator].¹⁵ On September 21, 1878, Baptist's mother Notburga made a *Leibgedingsvertrag* with her three sons. Already the day before, she had transferred all her property together with debts to Martin, her oldest son. Each of the three brothers received his part of the inheritance as a "donation of their mother," i.e., 1,714 M and 29 Pfennig. Baptist renounced his "right of home" keeping only the right of his bed. On the following day he departed for Rome, where he was expected at the beginning of October. As long as his mother was alive, he made short visits home whenever he journeyed in South

¹⁵ Anton Frässle was superior of the Monastery Gurtweil and at the same time pastor of Gurtweil (July 1873 to October 1875, as parish administrator succeeding the unforgettable Cajetan Gessler, then pastor again from January 1882 -1893 with Grand Ducal enfeoffment). [The remainder of this footnote has been omitted since the person it refers to has been edited out of the text by translator.]

Germany and continued to keep good relations with his relatives.¹⁶ He

¹⁶ Emil Jordan remembers a meeting with his priest-uncle:

Once he [Fr. Jordan] came from Waldshut to Gurtweil. On his way he met [Emil] the eldest son of his brother Edward and asked him who he belonged to. "I belong to Edward Jordan." "So to my brother," he said and went on (December 1924, G-18.52).

The fact that even when he was old Jordan still cared for his relatives at home is proved by their uninterrupted correspondence—most of which has sadly been lost. But the little preserved to us by a happy chance speaks clearly enough for sound family relations.

A postcard of Baptist's to his brother Edward from Rome on October 17, 1917 reads: "Dear Brother! These days I received a letter from Emil from the theater of war. May God preserve him healthy in body and soul. I greet and bless you and all relatives and friends. Rev. Fr. M. Jordan." (F 50/2a. The original is possessed by Franz Vonderach, Gurtweil). Emil's letter referred to by Jordan has also been preserved.

Chivre, October 2, 1914. With deeply moved heart I allow myself to ask you, Reverend, how are you. Most of all I wish you to be always healthy and well at your high age. Thanks be to God, I have always been healthy since entering the war, and I hear from home that my family is also well. Since the outbreak of the war I have been at the front as a cannoneer and have already endured severe hardships. But with God's will it will pass again, and end with victory in order to make our dear people at home happy again. For if we lose, how would our children and grandchildren [fare]. Also you, not only we, would have to suffer under the pressure of the enemy's hand. But it will happen according the will of God to punish the wicked hand that has provoked the war. So we will leave it to Him. We were on the train for many days and nights and have advanced rather far into France and [we] fight to our last breath, always with God and Jesus Christ. Now I will close my letter, hoping that this letter will reach you healthy and well as it leaves me, and should it not be any more so on this earth, then with the help of God in the other [world]. Now be heartily greeted from your nephew Emil Jordan, 3. Inf. Ammunition koll. XV. Army Corps Art. Regt 66. - Sorry, there's no ink in the war (D-1202. The letter is written in pencil and signed *Enkel* (grandson). Jordan in ink wrote precisely: "nephew.")

From nephew Emil Jordan more correspondence of earlier years is preserved. On May 3, 1896, he wrote from Gurtweil that he was attending secondary school and he asked for stamps for his collection "from foreign countries like Assam,

was friendly to everyone. They remembered him as the kind priest, who brought so much credit to his home village that they were proud of him.

Egypt, Ecuador, etc." He adds greetings "from my dear parents and grandmother and brothers and sisters as well as from your devoted cousin Emil Jordan." According to local usage, Emil was not so exact in indicating the grade of relationship. Already at the beginning he writes "Reverend Mister Cousin!" (The archivist put this in brackets with a pencil and wrote "uncle" beside it. (D-1108)

In a letter of August 15, 1907, Emil communicates that "tomorrow August 16, [he] would be celebrating his marriage in Maria Einsiedeln with a daughter of the tanner Flum in Gurtweil." Also this letter is addressed to his "cousin" and changed to "uncle" by the archivist. (D-1178) Equally from Emil's sister Sophie, who had married Todtmoos a letter of March 30, 1911, to her uncle is preserved in Rome (D-1184). Her salutation is "Dear Cousin!" Also Emil's sister Mary writes on June 23, 1910 to her "Reverend Mr. Cousin" that she was going to be married on June 27 "with a railway employee in Offenburg" (D-1186).

Some letters are also preserved from Edward to his priest-brother in Rome. In a letter of December 30, 1909, he sends him good wishes for the new year. He also adds greetings from acquaintances and "your earlier comrades" as well as "from my family" and concludes: "Greets you your brother Edward Jordan" (D-1182). In a letter of December 5, 1913, Edward reports:

Dear brother! For a long time I have wanted to write you that I was very ill—an inflammation of the bowels. Senior Officer of Health Bär looked after me each day as well as a professor from Zurich—had quite good treatment. Now I have handed over my business to Emil, and live quietly by myself." [He had by now remodeled his house and] did a little fishing [and] hunting together with some gentlemen from Zurich who have rented Gurtweil and Waldshut (D-1200).

In a letter of October 29, 1914, Edward asks his brother to lend him 100 M at 5% interest for a short time because the local banks had no money. With a certain pride he mentions his own "beautiful house and 12 acres of beautiful forest" (D-1204). The letter bears the note (in blue letters): "*Soli - neg.*" Jordan had at that time more pressing concerns than his brother, so efficient in business.

We have another letter from Emil of December 31, 1909, wishing his "Rev. Mr. Uncle" all the best for the new year. He adds: "We would be glad if you could visit us, because already some years have passed since you have been here in Gurtweil." Then he asks his uncle for his prayer concluding with "many hearty greetings, your nephew Emil Jordan and wife" (D-1183).

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN

known in religious life as

FRANCIS MARY OF THE CROSS JORDAN

The Young Founder

1878 - 1886

DSS XIV

A Biographical Study by
Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

1983

English Edition, 2005



Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross, 1881

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Here is another historico-critical study in what I hope will be the complete biography of the Servant of God, Francis Mary of the Cross–Johann Baptist–Jordan. It covers the years 1878-1886, what I call the early foundation years. Due to the fundamental importance of this period for Jordan's life and work I have tried to analyze it as thoroughly as possible. At the same time it closes some gaps in the Salvatorian historiography. Within the *Documenta at Studia Salvatoriana* the present study bears the number *DSS XIV*.

Because the historical narrative must stand in the foreground, the *Vita* section is presented first and follows a strict chronology. The Excursus material which follows [in this English edition called "A Closer Look"], gives a cross-sectional view where necessary. Instead of following *DSS XIII* and dividing the material into Book I and Book II, this volume employs another order to give greater freedom in determining the best approach to the final edition. Some readers found it difficult to trace the marginal numbers in Book I back to their corresponding excursus in Book II of *DSS XIII*. Now the *Vita*--the basic biographical material-- is immediately followed by the historical excursus and annotations. The same letters have been used for longer excursus and for short annotations.* Excursus about generally known saints or ecclesiastics are limited

* Editor's note. In the English edition short entries of less than one page in the original German excursus section are treated here as footnotes and appear at the bottom of the respective page. Entries of more than one page are found in the "Closer Look" material. The original German text footnote/excursus numbers remain constant between the two editions.

to these people's relations with Jordan since their biographies are easily accessible to anybody who would like to know more about them.

Since beginning with this period of Jordan's life the available documentation becomes increasingly extensive, only the documents meaningful for the Vita are considered. A proper collection of sources and documents is found in the DSS. On the other hand, many documents used here have already appeared in the DSS, particularly in the collection of letters, DSS X. To be concise, these letters bear only the archive number. But they are easily found in DSS X which retains the temporal sequence, so that the date of the letter is sufficient to find the letter in DSS.

Obviously, this history reflects my personal research and makes no claim to being "official" as some confreres had feared. However, it is founded on conscientious studies of all available documents. No result was aimed at or presupposed. Of course, I could not remain untouched by the extraordinary personality or the growing saintliness Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross demonstrated in just in the eight years covered by this history. But I do not intend to impose "my prejudice" on any reader. That's why I am grateful for any well founded correction to this presentation.

It should also be expressly pointed out that other Salvatorian studies have appeared in regard to the events presented in this volume. The serious reader should certainly consult these. At the Salvatorian International Historical Commission there are also corresponding catalogues for further information. Intentionally I did not use those studies in order to keep my own research unbiased. This study in no way minimizes the value of those earlier historical studies.

Special thanks are due the two ex-postlators who were my predecessors. Without the research of Fr. Michael Dürr, SDS and the chronological work of Fr. Alois Filthaut, SDS the present study could never have been prepared so quickly. The conscientious work of typing was taken over again by Sr. Loiba Rieth, for which special thanks are due to her and to the Generalate of the Salvatorian Sisters. For "skeptics" let it be noted that

no available "witnesses" have been omitted. There are no secret documents in the SDS Postulation Archives. Documents regarding the *Vita* or *Causa* of Father Jordan are accessible to every legitimate researcher. Documents belonging to outside archives remain the property of their proper owners.

It should also be pointed out that no attempt is made in the present work explicitly to correct earlier Salvatorian historical writings. The presence of many previously unknown documents does that by itself. However, it should be mentioned particularly that the book by the Most Reverend Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS, *Jordan and his Foundations* (Rome: 1930) was a jubilee-book composed for the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Salvatorians. As such the author quite fully admitted its rather rough historical presentation. The late Fr. Pancratius noted without hesitation that he could be neither an historian nor a biographer; that the problem he faced was not lack of desire but lack of time to get more deeply into Salvatorian history (quite apart from the fact that in his day the general archive was only partially organized). His book, however, remains irreplaceable for two reasons. First, it presents in a concise format what the Society knew about its own history at that time. Second and more important it comprises the personal witness of someone who had been a cooperator and close confidant of the Venerable Founder for many long years. This is something no amount of careful research can replace.

Fr. Timotheus Edwein, S.D.S.
Rome, 16 June, 1983

EDITOR'S PREFACE

Due to its size, DSS XIV has here been divided into three parts. Part 1 comprises chapters 1-3, and Parts 2 and 3 contain chapters 4 and 5 respectively. More than any other section of this broad study, Chapter 5 entitled, ". . . of the Cross," presents the most difficulties. This chapter represents the first Salvatorian attempt to analyze the painful episode involving Mother Streitel and the fortunes of the first women's congregation founded by Fr. Jordan.

Specialists are well aware that the sources available to Fr. Edwein have happily been augmented. And through painstaking efforts these events have been contextualized much better in recent years. In addition, passions have cooled considerably. Seen from this new vantage point, even a casual reader must admit that some of Fr. Edwein's work on Mother Streitel suffers from a certain lack of objectivity.

In keeping with the editorial principles laid out for this task, no attempt has been made here to correct or to amend the original work. But this in no way implies official recognition or approval of Fr. Edwin's point of view on these matters. His work represents a certain stage in historical research and therefore merits being presented in its original form, with this apology to anyone whose sensitivities may be injured by his portrayal of events. Readers are urged to exercise their critical judgment here and to supplement this reading with more recently published materials.

In these and subsequent volumes in this edition, the excursus material is treated differently than in the German edition. Shorter excurses have been integrated into the text as footnotes. Only the longer excurses now appear in sections entitled, "A Closer Look." Each is prefaced by a 3-part number (e.g., 1.23.15). It identifies chapter, excursus number in order of appearance, and the footnote number in the German text. This change was made to avoid introducing too many distractions into the text itself.

Fr. Daniel Pekarske, SDS
Morogoro, January 1, 2005

SHORT CHRONOLOGY
(1878-1886)

1878	October 4	Arrival in Rome (to study at San Apollinare)
1880	January 21	Journey to the Near Orient
	January 29	Arrival in Egypt
	February 29	Arrival in Palestine
	April 19	Arrival in Lebanon - Ain Warqa
	July 13	Return to Italy
	August 14	Arrival in Rome
	September 6	Private audience with Leo XIII
	September 13	<i>Katholikentage</i> in Constance
	October	With Auer, Director of the Cassianeum
	October 21	Return to Rome, "Now the Work Begins!"
	December	Jordan meets with Baron von Leonhardi
1881	February	Jordan meets Bernhard Lüthen
	July 11	Meeting in Ottobeuren
	July 22	Lüthen leaves the Cassianeum
	November	Rule for the First Grade
	December 8	Foundation of the Apostolic Teaching Society
1882	March 10	Pro memoria to Leo XIII
	June 14	Separation from the Cassianeum
	June 6	Opinion of Fr. Bianchi
	July 4	Jordan meets Baroness von Wüllenweber
	August 3	Lüthen founds Johannesbrunn
	August 26	"Conference of the Four" in Munich
	September 6	Wüllenweber donates her Barbarastift
	September 25	Title "Apostolic" forbidden by the Holy See
	October 24	The "Five Questions" of the Cardinal Vicar
	November	New name: "Catholic Teaching Society" (CTS)

1883	January 17	Fr. Cirino becomes ecclesiastic counselor
	January 30	Exit of von Leonhardi
	February 26	Arrival of Amalie Streitel in Rome
	March	Transformation into a religious congregation
	March 11	Jordan professes vows in First Order in St Peter's
	March 18	Francisca Streitel first novice Second Order CTS
	July 18	Jordan writes rule for First & Second Orders in Einsiedeln
	October 4	Jordan promulgates Rule of the Second Order
1885	September 17	Jacquemin assumes guidance of Second Order
	October 13	Jordan renounces direction of Second Order
1886	February 27	Rule of Jacquemin for the First Order refused
	June 5	Jordan's short-rule approved for the First Order
	August 16	Ecclesiastical approval of the Angels' League
	December 18	Thomas Weigang ordained first priest of CTS

JORDAN'S LODGINGS IN ROME

1878, October 4,	Campo Santo
1879, April 10	Largo dell'Impresa
1880, December	Santa Birgitta
1882, November	Borgo Vecchio

THE SOCIETY'S PERIODICALS

1880, December	<i>Piccolo Monitore</i> (after 30/06/81 <i>L'Amico dei fanciulli</i>)
1881, April- September	<i>Il Monitore Romano</i> <i>Der Missionär</i> ("for the people")
1882, March	<i>Nuntius Romanus</i>
1884, January 1	<i>Manna</i> (for children)
1886	<i>Apostelkalender</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

Research Sites

AA	Archive of the Diocese of Augsburg
AC	Archive of Cassianum, File: <i>Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft</i>
ACap	Archive OFMCap, Rome, File: "Massaja"
ACSC	Archive of the Cong. <i>Sanctae Crucis</i> , Rome
AEins	Archive Einsiedeln, Switzerland
AF	Archive of the Archdiocese of Freiburg i. Br.
AFH	Archive of the Diocese of Freiburg, Switzerland
AGS	Salvatorian General Archive, Rome
AM	Archive of the Archdiocese of Munich
AMSt	Archive of Maria Stern, Augsburg
AOCD	Archive of the Order of Carmelites Discalced
A PA	Archive of the Austrian Province, SDS
API	Archive of the <i>Pauluswerk</i> , Fribourg
APS	Salvatorian Postulation Archive (before 1983 AGS. Cf., SD and DSS XIII)
AR	Archive of the Diocese of Regensburg
ARC	Archive of the Resurrectionists, Rome
ARCRel	Archive of the Congregation for Religious, Vatican
AScol	Archive of Piarists (Scolpi)
ASDS	Archive of Salvatorian Sisters, Rome
ASSM	Archive of Addolorata Sisters (Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother), Rome
A StN	Archive at St. Nazianz (now Provincial Archive USA, APUSA)
ASV	Secret Vatican Archive, Vatican
ASVD	Archive of the SVD (Divine Word), Rome
CS	Archive of Campo Santo Teutonico, Rome
SP	Archive of the Lateran Pontifical Seminary, Rome
TVU	<i>Tabularium Vicariatus Urbis, Rome</i>

Sources

An	<i>"Annales, SDS"</i>
Beringer	<i>Geschichte des Dorfes Gurtweil (History of the Village of Gurtweil) Selbstverlag der Gemeinde Gurtweil, 1960.</i>
DSS	<i>Documenta et Studia Salvatoriana (series)</i>
Jedin	Hubert Jedin, <i>Handbook of Church History</i> , Freiburg, 1971.
l.d.	<i>liber documentorum</i> of Msgr. Jacquemin
MA	<i>"Manna für Kinder"</i>
MI	<i>"Der Missionär"</i>
MMChr	Mother Mary Chronicle
MR	<i>"Il Monitore Romano"</i>
NR	<i>"Nuntius Romanus"</i>
PPP	P. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS, <i>Jordan and his Foundations</i> , Rome: 1930.
RB	Travel reports (Reisebericht)
RN	Travel notes (Reisenotizen)
SD	Spiritual Diary
Sum	Summarium
Werber	<i>"Ein Ultramontaner diesseit der Alpen"</i> in <i>Freie Stimme</i> , August, 1920.

Proper Names

ALG	<i>Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft</i>
BL	Bonaventura Lüthen (documents in APS)
CTS	Catholic Teaching Society
HK	<i>Humaniora-Kommission</i>
MR	<i>"Il Monitore Romano"</i>
SAI	<i>Societas Apostolica Instructiva</i>
SC	<i>Societas Catholica</i>
SCI	<i>Societas Catholica Instructiva</i>

Note: Other alphabetic citations found here often presume AGS.

1. Priest-student in Rome

On October 4, 1878, the newly ordained Fr. Jordan together arrived in Rome with his classmate Franz Mutz.¹ Jordan desired to devote himself to the study of oriental languages in keeping with the wishes of his local bishop.² In previous years Jordan had acquired enough fundamental knowledge to be able to move directly into proper language studies.

Jordan took lodgings in Campo Santo Teutonico³ where his bishop had enrolled him well in advance. **See, 1.1. Campo Santo.**⁴ According to the custom for newcomers, the rector made Jordan write a short résumé of his life. **See, 1.2. Jordan's arrival.** This Jordan did in sober Latin on October 26, 1878. **See, 1.3. Anton de Waal.**⁵ He closed with a clear, if brief, glimpse into his future plans: "I hope that it will happen that the

¹ Franz Xavier Mutz (1854-1925) was ordained a priest on the same day as Jordan in St. Peter in the Black Forest. He too was sent to Rome for further studies by his bishop, Lothar, who arranged lodgings in Campo Santo for both young priests. Mutz studied canon law at the Gregoriana from 1878 to 1880. Home again he held responsible positions: regent at the seminary in St. Peter (1894), then *Domkapitular* (1912), finally *Domdekan* and Vicar General (1921). The development of Caritas in the Archdiocese of Freiburg i. Br. is largely his work.

² Bishop von Kübel had had the opportunity to study ancient and modern oriental languages in Munich after his own priestly ordination.

³ See, A Closer Look: 1.1. Campo Santo. (These "dummy footnotes" refer the reader to the "Closer Look" section. They are inserted here to retain the footnote numbering found in DSS XIV to help one compare the German and English texts. In the "Closer Look" section each excursus has two numbers: the larger size number indicates the excursus' position in the narrative sequence; the smaller size number indicates the original footnote number in the German text.

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.2. Jordan's arrival.

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.3. Anton de Waal.

Almighty will grant his unworthy servant to do more for the honor of God and the salvation of souls" (CS). Before lectures started he found enough time to get better acquainted with his fellow priests living with him in Campo Santo. **See, 1.4. Fellow residents.**⁶

Above all he used those days to tour the "Rome of the Martyrs" more thoroughly than had been possible during his 1874.⁷ In these days the eyes of the whole Catholic world were turned to the "Eternal City" due to new archaeological discoveries of Christian antiquity. **See, 1.5. Rossi.**⁸

On All Saints Day zealous Rector de Waal received the pious priest-student into the Arch-confraternity of Campo Santo.⁹ Jordan's book of resolutions for December 2 reads: "Today I was in the Vatican with His Holiness Pope Leo XIII" (SD 150).¹⁰

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.4. Fellow residents.

⁷ In his Spiritual Diary the student-priest noted some Roman places of worship which particularly impressed and strengthened him: the shrine of Rome's beloved St. Cecilia, the church of the Roman Proto-Martyr Laurentius, the Pantheon (*St. Maria ad Martyres*) to name just a few (SD 146-149).

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.5. Rossi.

⁹ The Arch-confraternity *Santa Maria della Pietà* was one of the oldest fraternities of Rome. Its members had the right to be buried at Campo Santo.

¹⁰ During this audience Jordan had a crucifix and a statue of St. Peter blessed and endowed with indulgences. Jordan donated this small statue to his home church in Gurtweil: "In the church there is still a memento of his from Rome: a small statue of St. Peter. It remained unburned in spite of a fire in the sacristy," reports pastor Siebold as late as June, 1925 (G-18.86).

As a *Missionsstudent* at Propaganda Fide, Jordan could enroll at the Papal Institute for Modern Oriental Languages, which belonged to the Pontifical Seminary at St. Apollinaris. **See, 1.6. St. Apollinaris.**¹¹

With his usual ardor Jordan plunged into his studies. Happily, this talented language student had excellent teachers. **See, 1.7. Professors of St. Apollinaris.**¹² He attended the Institute from October 1878 until January 1880, and his teachers were not sparing in their praise. The registers of those days also remark that Jordan "attended the course in Armenian, Syrian and Coptic languages regularly and with praise."¹³ His teacher of Armenian gave him, probably on his request, a testimonial which could identify him on his oriental journeys:

The Reverend John Baptist Jordan who during the school year 1879 devoted himself with fervor and dedication to the study of Armenian, proved himself in the examination directed by me, worthy of the testimonial which I herewith issue: that he made great progress in the study of the Armenian language.

Rome, January 13, 1880.

Alexander Balgy, Archbishop of Acrida (C-57).¹⁴

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.6. St. Apollinaris.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 1.7. Professors of St. Apollinaris.

¹³ Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS (1872-1945), Jordan's successor as superior general of the Society of the Divine Savior (1915-1945), immediately after Jordan's death took care to procure the necessary documents for a special biography. In response to his inquiry the then academic dean of *Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore* answered with this letter on November 25, 1918. Surprisingly he does not mention Jordan's study of Arabic, although Jordan worked hard to learn it. Quite a number of Jordan's exercise books in oriental languages still exist.

¹⁴ Balgy remained in contact with Jordan (cf., obituary in *Monitore Romano* 3, 1883, 48).

February 3, 1879, saw a hearty reunion with Rev. Friedrich Werber. Jordan's one-time private tutor in Waldshut arrived in Rome and found lodging in Campo Santo. Jordan was only too glad to guide his great benefactor through the City.¹⁵ Werber had come to Rome to attend an international meeting of journalists on the first anniversary of the election of Leo XIII. **See, 1.8. International meeting of journalists.**¹⁶ Jordan too attended this important audience which gave new impetus to his interest in the ecclesiastical press: "I was admitted to an audience with His Holiness Leo XIII on February 22, representing the journal *Schwarze Blatt*, 1879" (SD 154).¹⁷ And again: "On March 2, 1879, I was admitted to an audience with His Holiness Leo XIII with representative members of the Arch-confraternity of St. Peter" (SD 154).

After the first semester Jordan moved out of Campo Santo where his rent had been 100 Marks a month for board and lodging in the chaplain's quarters. On Holy Thursday, April 10, 1879, he moved into modest

¹⁵ "On February 10, we arrived in Rome via Civit  Vecchia. We lodged in Campo Santo with the current *Domkapitular* Mutz and Fr. Jordan who died in 1919 [sic]" (Werber, 36). Werber then describes the conference of journalists with Leo XIII on February 22, 1879, as well as a private audience the pope granted to the extremely happy journalists on February 24, 1879 (Carnival-Monday).

During the absence of Rector de Waal who was lecturing in Germany on Christian antiquity, his representative, Dr. Kreuzwal, noted in the Chronicle of Campo Santo, February 24, 1879: "At the occasion of the election-anniversary of Pope Leo XIII (February 22) we had four pilgrims (editor Werber, merchant Streicher from Radolfzell [Baden] and District Vicar Nock from Silesia)."

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.8. International meeting of journalists.

¹⁷ At this meeting Ludwig von Pastor represented the *Schwarze Blatt*. "February 22: I took part at the audience of the German Catholic editors. Pastor Dr. Werber, editor of the *Freie Stimmen* of Radolfzell took me with him; I served as representative of *Schwarze Blatt* of Berlin. Pope Leo XIII made a beautiful speech" (Diaries, Heidelberg: 23-4). "*Schwarze Blatt*, a weekly paper for the Catholic people" was since 1876 the organ of the Center Party of Berlin.

rented rooms at Largo dell' Impresa, nr. 2. The change was certainly less expensive for him, for he was satisfied now with small student's "digs."¹⁸ But he did not live like a hermit there. He established good relations with the nearby Austrian-German National Foundation of the Anima. He was accepted by the rector there as well as by the students as one of their own. **See, 1.9. The Anima.**¹⁹ Here he also met his later pilgrim-comrade for his oriental voyage, Ferdinand Börger, doctor of theology.

During the hot summer months Jordan did not stay in Rome. He spent these days in the more pleasant climate of Freiburg in the Üchtland. His Freiburger friends Schorderet and Kleiser received him gladly into their rectory at St. Moritz in the Au. They were glad for his pastoral help.²⁰ Naturally he also made a side trip to Freiburg in Baden to visit his ecclesiastical superior, and to Gurtweil to see his dear mother.²¹ In the

¹⁸ Vice-Director Dr. Kreuzwald, noted in the Chronicle of Campo Santo, April 10: "Today R. Chaplain Jordan left Campo Santo and took lodging in the City in order to live nearer to the college and to learn Italian better." Later on Jordan also had to live extremely economically. How he paid his private tutors is not known. They certainly gave their lectures cheaply, but hardly gratis.

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.9. The Anima.

²⁰ On July 10, 1879, Kleiser wrote to Schorderet: "*Jordan, prêtre m'a écrit qu'il aimerait passer ses vacances à Fribourg, pour étudier et, en même temps, pour aider dans la paroisse*" (Archives of Pauluswerk).

²¹ Jordan still remained a *Sperrling*, a locked out priest, so that when he wanted to go home as in previous years, he could celebrate Mass only "behind closed doors;" and could not perform any other pastoral services. We have a letter of a certain priest from the Lower Rhine who wrote on June 25, 1879, from Gurtweil to Msgr. de Waal thanking him for his hospitality. Then he notes: "Mr. Jordan isn't here at present but in Freiburg." He certainly meant Freiburg of his homeland Baden. Jordan never missed the opportunity to visit his superior in the episcopal city. It was probably on that occasion that Bishop Lothar expressed his wish for Jordan to study in Rome for another year

fall of 1879, he was in Rome again in time to devote another year to studies at San Apollinaris, according to the wishes of his local bishop.

Under the conditions of his stipend the archdiocese had granted for the first year of studies, Jordan was obliged to give an account of his results. It was not until November 25, 1879, that he found time to fulfill this condition. **See, 1.10. The Columban-Häußler'schen Stipend.**²² He used this opportunity to ask his bishop to renew his stipend for a second year of studies from the same fund. His petition to "Reverend Archepiscopal Chapter in Freiburg i. Br., November 22, 1879"²³ was granted on December 4, 1879.²⁴

Bishop von Kübel planned to use Jordan's extraordinary language talents to train theologians of his diocese. It was not so easy to find professors of ancient and modern oriental languages. The bishop, therefore, would have liked Jordan to obtain his doctorate in Rome. But in those times relations between the lords in the Quirinal, the seat of the new secular government of Italy, and ecclesiastical Rome were more than tense. The renewed occupation of Rome in 1870 affected relations with all the papal institutes of higher studies. As a result, in the Major Roman Seminary no official grades were given at the close of this school year, while the papal university, Sapiientia, was simply confiscated by the "Piemontese." Thus, Jordan could only submit his own report for 1878-79 to the Freiburg Archepiscopal Vicariate. **See, 1.11. Language studies report.**²⁵ But it provides a good view of the astonishing breadth of the oriental languages to which Jordan, with his usual energy and above-average results, devoted himself. In this report he restricted himself, with due modesty and love

²² See, A Closer Look: 1.10. The Columban-Häußler'schen Stipend.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 1.10. The Columban-Häußler'schen Stipend.

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.10. The Columban-Häußler'schen Stipend.

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.11. Language studies report.

of truth, to a brief, matter-of-fact listing of subjects. Bishop Lothar, an orientalist himself, understood the great merit of the report and agreed to recommend Jordan's request for another stipend to the committee.

Jordan was fortunate to have two excellent private tutors who helped develop his God-given talent: the Coptic bishop A. Baciai²⁶ and the procurator general of the Mechitarists. **See, 1.12. Archbishop Balgy and the Mechitarists.**²⁷ Jordan also reported to his bishop on his theological studies that were generally prescribed for priests studying in Rome.²⁸

The second year of his studies at San Apollinaris did not in any way go according to Jordan's plans. Already by mid-January 1880, he took his examinations in the oriental languages for which he was registered. The reason for this hurry was an offer by the Propaganda Fide of the opportunity to intensify and to round out his studies through a practical course in the Near East itself.

However, his broadly diversified language studies did not so completely occupy him that he forget his "plans." On the contrary, it was precisely

²⁶ Agapius Abraham Baciai (1831-1887) came from Hammas in Upper Egypt. He studied at the Papal College of the Propaganda in Rome, and the *Pontificio Collegio Urbano*. Since 1860 he was Bishop of Cariopoli, i.p.i. and Apostolic Vicar for the Copts in Egypt. He represented his homeland at Vatican I. In 1878 he had to withdraw from Cairo due to difficulties (above all from certain groups of Coptic clergy). He went to Rome where he worked, at among other places, the *Propaganda per gli Affari del Rito Orientale*. Two weeks before his death he returned home where he died in peace.

²⁷ See, A Closer look: 1.12. Archbishop Balgy and the Mechitarists.

²⁸ Jordan also mentions ongoing theological formation ordered by the Cardinal Vicar. At Campo Santo ongoing theological formation was taken care of in the so-called Sabbatins. In their register (I Vol. 1878-79) we find the titles of two papers delivered there by Jordan: December 14, 1878: "Jordan: *De fructibus Missae*;" March 23, 1879; *De indulgentiis - Jordan*" (CS - lib. 84).

his Roman experience that repeatedly roused the young priest. For there he saw firsthand the church in dire straits; he sensed almost physically the powers hostile to the church and it pained him as a pupil of Propaganda Fide to imagine so many good people who did not know Jesus Christ just because too few priests were available. It was precisely this apostolic responsibility that could not let him forget his "plans." It became clearer to him that he was being urged by the Lord to do something so that more apostolic Christians would increasingly apply themselves fully to spread the gospel. He suffered from the thought that if only Catholic forces were better organized they would serve the sake of Christ all over the world with greater unity and strength.

At that time Jordan was preoccupied with how to express clearly his basic ideas about a "Catholic Society" (B-103). With his native openness he talked about this with Rector de Waal of Campo Santo who, however, was not in favor of such plans. Straight away he informed Bishop von Kübel about Jordan's "founding ideas." The bishop in turn expressed his surprise and answered of course in the negative. On December 21, 1878, he wrote de Waal: "Agreeing with the reasons you gave, I too cannot approve of Jordan's ideas to found a new religious community" (CS, 15100). De Waal certainly passed this judgement on to his priest-student. So Jordan had to bow to the will of his fatherly superior for the time being. But his inner voice gave him no rest. Again and again he sent his prophetic prayer to the Lord:

Lord Jesus Christ, here I am, send me! May your will be done! Speak, your servant is listening! (SD 146, October 18, 1878).

But Jordan also definitely fought against the very thought of setting his own will against that of his superior:

Oh Lord, I suppress and set aside these thoughts regarding what I would gladly do for your glory, so that I may know your will more surely. Do what you will, only let your will be done. Here I am, Lord, [do] whatever you will (SD 147, October 23, 1878).

It is more accurate to say that Jordan "endured" the growth of his vocation than that he "fought for" it. But he always retained the kind of

broad, deep desire that can drive and torment an apostolic soul: "Oh, that I could save all" (SD 149, November 3, 1878). He fought hard to recognize the will of God for certain and not to be fooled by his own dreams and desires: "Carry out what you have in mind if it is the will of God!" (SD 151, November 2, 1878). At the end of 1878, he repeated the fundamental law that alone had value for his future and he underlined it heavily: "Honor and glory to God alone!" (SD 152).

We may mention here a document, unfortunately undated, which fits very well into the Roman autumn of 1879. It is the outline, in Latin, of statutes for the movement which Jordan wanted to start. This outline shows nothing less than Jordan's earliest attempts to articulate his goal, although it still betrays a great deal of uncertainty regarding what means to choose. It contains 20 points corresponding fully to the Roman-Catholic-Apostolic convictions of his enthusiastic heart. The outline is somewhat of a dream, yet the basic intention is clearly the same one Jordan had already had in mind as a deacon: "The Catholic Society of clerics and co-workers in the vineyard of the Lord among all peoples" (SD 124). But even here the whole idea is still very romantic and somehow unrealistic. In the first point Jordan put forward his plan:

Found a Society uniting men and youths. Fired and led by love for God and for the souls of their neighbors, and leaving the world and all its attractions and adhering to God alone, they will teach innocent and highly moral pupils of all peoples, nations and languages in sacred and secular subjects and lead them on the way to perfection, so that they may be salt of the earth which will salt well.

Jordan imagined that centers should arise throughout the world for training and forming pastors who were needed so urgently.

In point two Jordan indicated the goal which justified such a Society:

Goal: the honor of God and the salvation of souls: thereby sanctifying themselves, and spreading, strengthening, defending and protecting the Roman Catholic faith amongst all the peoples of the earth.

This threefold aim is of course common in some manner to all apostolic communities.²⁹ But above all, the third element pointed to the political crisis of the papacy of the time.

The next three points in the schema refer back to ultramontanist which, like a Catholic groundswell, defended the imperiled the pope– “the Prisoner in the Vatican.” Jordan determined that all future property of his “Catholic Society” should belong to the pope. Jordan also dreamed of immediately sending well-trained members, especially priests, into the whole world, and he states:

The Roman Pontiff, the pope, the most faithful and beloved Father and Protector and Rector of the Society and its members can dispose of this mission according to the needs of the holy Roman Catholic Church.

The next point relates to the connection between those missionaries and the core of the Society. About superiors: “A superior elected by the brethren is to be approved by the pope, the highest rector.” A council of 12 priests is to assist the Director of the Society; they shall be elected by all the brethren who shall belong to different nationalities and language groups. The list of academic subjects of main importance to their training is similar to the program of San Apollinaris (Lyceum).

Then Jordan speaks specifically of the spirit of charity which must inure superiors and teachers towards their pupils. Genuinely Roman is the ruling that Latin is to be the colloquial speech of the Society. Anyone who wants to join the Society,

. . . should make a vow to persevere until death in this his vocation, to observe faithfully the common rules of the Society and the special instructions and tasks of his mission, and be ready, if need be, to shed his blood for God, for the salvation of souls and for the Catholic Church.

²⁹ Cf., Jesuit Rule: *Sum. const. n.2, resp. Examen gen. c.1, nr. 2; Form. Just. Pauli III et Julii III, n.1.*

Jordan, therefore, did not aim at religious vows as a bond of union, but he did emphasize already in the third point: "Humility, love, chastity, poverty and obedience shall be practiced very much." Rather he demanded that, like some other missionary societies of the time, the members of his Society oblige themselves by a vow to the aim of the Society as such.

The next points govern the religious lifestyle meant to support and assure a spiritual (and material) home in the Society. The last point, which appears only in parenthesis, is interesting for revealing Jordan's views. He refers to the 397 Council of Carthage whose Canon 51 and 52 ordered that a cleric should earn his living by working, and that manual or agricultural work is not dishonorable.

To this most original outline of a projected Catholic Society Jordan added a sort of logo. This signet expresses eloquently the basic apostolic concept which had prompted him so resolutely since his year at the Seminary of St. Peter. The design shows the two letters SC (Catholic Society) in the center of a double circumscription. The inner one reads: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations. And know that I am with you always." The outer one speaks of the threefold goal: "For God, for the salvation of souls, for the Catholic Church." Atop this symbol is the logo of Jesus, IHS . . . and on the bottom the symbol of the Holy Family. Jordan wrote about the design, humbly and honestly: without God we can do nothing (cf., Jn 15:5). Later Jordan will form his rules more realistically. But he will never hide his manifest apostolic charism "under a bushel." **See, 1.13. Draft of "A Catholic Society."**³⁰

Incidentally, Jordan never hid his plans bashfully. He revealed them to his co-chaplains in Campo Santo. They, however, had other interests and did not become enthused by his still immature ideas. Their author was simply one like them, so far without any ecclesiastical authorization, without means, without friends, but with an apostolic spirit. Jordan was

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.12. Draft of "A Catholic Society."

open but never obstinate. He was easily led back to student-reality by the rector. Bishop Lothar thanked the rector for this service:

I thank you for dissuading him. Truly, we have sent the priest Jordan to Rome for further studies of oriental languages, but not that he would lose much time with other modern languages.

De Waal had reported to the bishop not only Jordan's founding plans but also his manifold language studies which occupied him beyond the scheduled academic program. Jordan did this, not only as a hobby and to remain in practice, but also from missionary motives. The bishop found it praiseworthy that Jordan applied himself to the study of dogmatics, . . . for the theologians in Baden are not so deeply, so clearly and firmly introduced to dogmatics. . . . But he should make the study of oriental languages his principle object just because God has given him special talents for it and because we [the diocese] don't really have an abundance of such talents.³¹

But how would Jordan have been judged by his good bishop if the prelate had become aware of the young priest's constant struggle over his true vocation? We find many traces of this struggle in his book of resolutions especially during 1879. In this respect it is not only typical but also proof of spiritual honesty that Jordan did not want to settle his interior fight by clever deliberations, but only through intense prayer, mostly on his knees before his Eucharistic Lord:

Oh Lord, grant that supported by your grace I may carry out [my plan] for your glory; come to my assistance, since I am most unworthy and weak. Oh Lord, when shall I establish it all for you, my Beloved? (SD 153).

After Holy Mass I experienced great consolation on account of the planned work. March 25, 1879 (SD 154).

He also experienced consolation for his own vocation on the solemn Feast of Mary's Annunciation, when she was called to be the Mother of

³¹ Letter of von Kübel to de Waal, December 21, 1878 (CS, 15,000).

the Lord. But often enough he already sensed that his work would be under the shadow of the cross:

Do not lose heart in your undertaking even if obstacles and persecutions, suspicion, derision, contempt and all possible sufferings break out over you. Live only in intimate union with God and meditate often on the examples of the saints; trust in God and give glory to him alone; you have merited still much more persecution (SD 151).

At year's end Jordan could state with certainty and without arrogance:

It is God's will that you carry out this work. December 27, 1879, after Holy Mass, and think as you did another time after Holy Communion (SD 151).

On Friday, January 9, 1880, he says that he knew himself bound in conscience to what he must recognize as the will of God. It had become clear to him that he had no choice but to give his unconditional yes.

Your vocation to found . . . is morally certain, January 9, 1880. But pray very much—very much, and meditate; and never become attached to anything earthly or be influenced by the judgment of the talk of men; follow the advice of only a few devout servants of God, turn to God alone and to his saints. Contempt, ridicule and the like will rise up against you but be courageous and cling firmly to God (SD 151).

Thus, the result of Jordan's Roman study years was to be seen not only in his good grades in oriental studies. Without doubt his time in Roman was for him an important crossroad to which God's gracious providence had led him. Here his spiritual Catholic horizon widened. He was no longer satisfied with his limited and familiar homeland. Even before his ordination he had often and as far as possible ventured beyond the borders of Baden. In Rome he realized deeply that here beat the Catholic heart of the whole world. At the same time he experienced political conditions there which, even to outside observers, would have looked like a repetition on a world-wide scale of Baden's cultural struggle during his school years. Thus, the bigger picture with all its complex interrelations became clear to him and his universal ecclesiastical thinking was strengthened.

Also very valuable for Jordan were his contacts with so many ecclesiastical personalities, especially scholars.³² His native rustic manners were refined to conform to the new environment. He was no longer afraid to approach any ecclesiastical personages when he felt it to be necessary or useful in the interest of his desires and plans. And everywhere he was taken seriously, even esteemed, especially by superiors and teachers. Being entrusted with his ecclesiastical mission to the Near East at the end of this period was a recognition of his personality and a proof of his trustworthiness: this young priest could be relied upon.

³² From 1878 on, the *Augustinusverein* in Düsseldorf served the Catholic Center Party working to unite the Catholic German-Language Press. As internal ecclesiastic press services arose the diocesan papers, because of the Catholic dailies, had to dedicate themselves mostly to political controversies, e.g., the *Berliner Germania* against the forces of the *Kulturkampf*. The no less important *Kölner Volkszeitung* 1869 (since editor Bachem) served the more moderate circles and was more inclined to compromise.

1. Priest-student in Rome. A Closer Look

1.1/3. Campo Santo as its name indicates, was an early Christian cemetery for the poor and for pilgrims from all over the world. Located on Vatican Hill quite near the tomb of St. Peter, it was the custom for Holy Land pilgrims making their way home via Rome to bring earth from Jerusalem to Camp Santo. This custom is said to date back to St. Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine. In the early Middle Ages, Germans and Flemings erected a house for pilgrims there. They also started a school for Langobards. Campo Santo later became a German-Flemish Archconfraternity. The church, built under Leo IV (847-855) received the title Santa Maria della Pieta in Campo Santo.

Monsignor de Waal was rector of the German National Foundation from 1873 till 1917. In 1876 he added to the foundation (together with Fr. Philip Müller from Limburg) the *Collegium Pium* for German priests. This met a real need and complemented the Austrian-German national foundation in Rome: The Anima. At the same time, de Waal ministered to Germans living around Rome. In Camp Santo journeymen, maid-servants and sailors as well as pilgrims from the German-speaking countries met and found there a kind of Roman home. In 1884 he gave lodging to the *Görres-Gesellschaft*, an historical institute.

1.2/4. Jordan's arrival. In the Chronicle of Camp Santo then rector Anton de Waal noted on October 4, 1878:

From Freiburg have arrived two new chaplains: Mr. Franz Mutz and Mr. Jordan. The latter was not announced; but as he is an unusual language talent, I think that sooner or later he will certainly be an honor to our foundation and that I must support him as much as I can because he has a stipend of only 800 Marks. Therefore, I gave him a *Stübchen*, the two small rooms in front and above the library (CS-Lib. 69).

Regarding Jordan's late enrollment, the reason for the problem was forgetfulness. Already on March 21, 1878, Jordan had asked the rector of Campo Santo for lodging (CS, 15100). On July 28, 1878, Bishop Lothar himself had asked Msgr. de Waal for lodgings for the two new priests whom he had given permission for two-year special studies in Rome

(CS, 15100). On the right margin of the Chronicle of October 4, 1878, de Waal later added: *Fundator Congr. Ssmi Salvatoris*.

1.3/5. Anton de Waal (1837-1917) came from a middle-class family from Emmerich on the Lower Rhine. Ordained in 1862, he first worked as a secondary school teacher in Gaesdonck near Goch. From 1868 till 1871 he lodged at the Anima as a student chaplain. In 1871, he transferred to Campo Santo as a chaplain, and by 1873, became "Rector of the German Campo Santo and of the Arch-confraternity *di Santa Maria della Pieta in Campo Santo dei Teutoni e Giamminghi*," to which he already in 1876 had affiliated the seminary for academic studies, particularly history.

Anton de Waal was a "German-Roman." He was an exemplary priest who dedicated himself completely to the service of the church and to care for the ecclesiastical sciences whose results he communicated in popular books. He was fully loyal to the popes. As if to give external proof of his dedication to Christ's representative, he fearlessly engaged in the transfer of the mortal remains of Pius IX to San Lorenzo under cover of darkness (July 13, 1881). Together with his chaplains he guarded the coffin against the excited populace who would have liked to throw the corpse into the Tiber. De Waal died of a heart attack kneeling at his bed with his hands folded in prayer. Now he rests in Campo Santo, whose Institute he had awakened to new life.

1.4/6. Fellow residents in Campo Santo with Jordan at that time were the famous Dutch church historian, Andreas Johannes Heinrich Jansen (1849-1916), the future Vicar General of Cologne, Karl Kreuzwald (1850-1918), and the well-known historiographer of the popes Ludwig Pastor (1854-1926), who was later made a baron by the Austrian Emperor.

Other priests lodging at Campo Santo at the same time as Jordan were the canon lawyer Steinmetz from Trier, the social politician Hitze from Üaderborn, who since November 1882 was deputy and later a member of the Reichstag, as well as the Silesian archeologist Adolf Hytrak (1853-1899). Like Jordan in Baden so Hytrak in Prussia had been a victim of the *Kulturkampf*. In Rome he was a highly regarded guide in

the catacombs. The same year Jordan traveled to the Near East, Hytrak went to Sicily and North Africa for archeological studies.

1.5/8. Rossi. The founder of Christian Archeology, Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1899), found in the rector of Campo Santo a zealous and enthusiastic cooperater. His popular articles never tired of pointing out to German Catholics oppressed by the *Kulturkampf* the fountain of strength which gushed forth for them in holy Rome. In so doing he attracted many German-speaking pilgrims to Rome. For Rome itself, with its newly discovered Church of the Holy Martyrs and with "The Prince of the Apostle Peter's Sepulcher" at its center, was the necessary counterbalance for an oppressed papacy deprived of its temporal political power by the young national-liberal Italy (1871) and struggling to defend itself against a decidedly anti-clerical tide.

1.6/11. St. Apollinaris (San Apollinare) situated in a corner of Piazza Navona, the Circo Agonale, could be reached through the narrow Via Agonale. (The circus had been used by Emperor Domitian for sport contests and flooded for boat contest.) Julius III gave San Apollinare to the small *Collegium Germanicum* (Bull *Dum sollicita*, 1552), for which St. Ignatius had engaged himself since 1545, in order to support Rome against the doctrines of Lutheranism. Soon afterwards, Pius IV created a proper *Seminarium Romanum* for the Roman clergy (Breve of August 18, 1563). By then Urban VIII had already created the Congregation Propaganda Fide which erected a *Collegium* of the same name. The *Seminarium Romanum* was directed by the Jesuits until their suppression in 1773.

In 1824, Leo XII gave the church and palace of San Apollinare to the Roman Seminary. In the fall of 1824 the *Collegium Germanicum* was supplanted by the *Seminarium Romanum*. Leo XII also gave the *Collegio Romano* the right to confer doctorates in theology. Apart from the usual faculties, the *Seminarium Romanum Maius* also ran an institute for oriental languages, which competed with the one at the University Sapienza founded in 1303 by Boniface VIII. The Propaganda Fide had a voice in the oriental institute (cf., the list: *Linguae orientali stabilite dalla SC do Prop.*

Fide, Nov.1876, as well as the list of professors recognized for the various languages in the Arch. Sem. Rom.).

1.7/12. Professors at St. Apollinaris who taught Jordan were scholars of international repute. Johann Bollig (Kels, Rhineland, 1821-1895, Rome) completed higher studies at the Roman College. He studied later in Gazir, Syria for two years, and for the next 24 years was a recognized teacher in Oriental Studies at the Roman College. For some years he also lectured at San Apollinare as well as at the *Collegium Urbanum* of the Propaganda Fide. At the First Vatican Council, Bollig was the expert on questions about the Uniate Orientals. His Arabic *Chrestomathie* was well known, as well as his Ethiopian version of the creed. Fr. Bollig became Prefect of the Vatican Library.

Agostino Ciasca (baptized Pasachalis Raphael) was an Augustinian priest who also studied in Rome, especially at the papal Sapienza. In 1866, he became professor of Hebrew and Coptic at the College of the Propaganda, and in about 1880 also at the San Apollinare for some years. He was considered an authority in Semitic languages, and as such he worked for a long time as *scriptor* at the Vatican Library. In 1891, Ciasca became Archbishop of Larissa, i.p.i. and Prefect of the Vatican Archives as well as Secretary of Propaganda Fide in 1893. In 1899, Leo XIII created him a cardinal.

Alexander Balgy (Constantinople, 1814-1884, Rome) was a Melkite. He was ordained priest in Vienna in 1834, and from 1856 till 1884 worked in Rome as a teacher of Armenian. From 1861 to 1877 he worked as procurator general of his congregation. In 1876, Balgy became Titular Archbishop of Acrida in Macedonia and was responsible for Catholics who emigrated to Italy. He was also a consultor to Propaganda congregations (cf., NR, 1885, V).

1.8/16. International meeting of journalists was organized by Msgr. Luigi Tripepi (1836-1906). After studies at the Roman College, Tripepi himself became a church journalist and edited the periodical *Il Papato*. The clever writer and priest from Cardeto (Archdiocese of Reggio in Calabria) became famous later as a consultor in various Roman Congre-

gations (e.g., of the Index). Leo XIII nominated him cardinal in 1901 and Prefect of the not especially important Congregation for Indulgences and Relics. About the journalists' meeting itself Werber reports:

From public newspapers I take the information that Europe was represented by 1,299 newspapers and periodicals: Italy 227, France 202, Belgium 167, Holland 60, Spain 130, Portugal 26, Austria/Hungary 93, Bavaria 76, Prussia, Baden, Saxony, Hesse, Württemberg and other German states 186, Poland (Austria, Prussia and Russia) 30, Switzerland 53, Denmark 1, England 15, Ireland 30, European Turkey 3, Asia 12, Africa 6, America 184 and USA 113, Canada 13, Mexico 3, The Antilles 12, . . . Chile 16, . . . Brazil 14, Oceania 2, all together 1,503; to these are added some others which are not indicated by name, but just represented summarily. These papers employ about 18,000 writers. I suppose the real number of participants was 1,000-1,200. . . .

Leo XIII was accompanied by "many bishops [among them Mermillod, of Geneva and the old blind French writer Abbé Ségur] and 9 cardinals [Ledochowski, Archbishop Manning of London, Nina, the Secretary of State, Franzelin, Pacca di Pietro, Gianelli, Sacconi, Mertel]. . . ."

The pope began his address "*Ingenti sane laetitia suaviq̄ue animi iucunditate hodie perfundimur ex conspectu frequentiaq̄ue vestra, filii dilectissimi.*" He asked the press to support his apostolic activity, to engage themselves for the truth and for the rights of the holy church, as well as for the secular power the pope needed to exercise his office fully and freely—an office which he, like his predecessors, had assumed not out of greed or thirst for power but in order to better serve the welfare and salvation of the peoples.

The German group presented an address inspired by the *Augustinsverein* (cf., fn. 32) and prepared by the *Kunst-Verlag Kühlen in M.-Gladbach* and signed by 84 newspapers through their representatives. In addition to the address, two gentlemen Nöddinghaus and Immelin presented 23,000 M for Peter's Pence, Miarka 4,000; "almost nobody came with empty hands" (cf., Werber, 246-253).

1.9/19. The Anima: The "*Pontificium Institutum Teutonicum Sanctae Mariae de Anima*," the Austrian-German National Foundation, was just at this

time in noble competition with Campo Santo. Santa Maria de Anima was founded as a hospice in 1350. At that time the bubonic plague, the Black Death, was raging in Rome. So this "shelter of the German nation" served "to benefit Christ's poor and other persons living in misery," and it was a true necessity. When Imperial Austria took over the protectorate of Rome in the second half of the 19th century, the hospice flourished anew. At the time of Jordan's studies, Karl Jänig was its rector; he had also been rector of Campo Santo for a short time before de Waal. In Msgr. Jänig, Jordan found a reliable and benevolent counselor and helper. Thus for Jordan the Anima displaced Campo Santo where he, however, continued to pay frequent visits.

Karl Jänig (1835-1914) knew the Anima already as a student (1858-1862). After a short period as rector there he became pro-rector of the Anima in 1872, and rector the following year. He improved the priest hostel leading it to blossom anew. In 1887, he resigned and in the later years of his priestly life he worked as administrator of the Nepomuk Church in Prague. He was also a Papal Proto-notary.

1.10/22, 23, 24. The Columban-Häußler'schen Stipend

Rome, November 25, 1879

Most Reverend Archbishop Administrator!

Again through a petition to the Archiepiscopal Chapter I have dared to ask for a grant: the Columban-Häußler'sche Stipend. To the petition I have added a report about the language studies made through October of this year.

According to your Episcopal Grace's wish I shall make still more thorough studies in oriental languages during the current year.

-In regard to the doctorate in orientals, this has not been possible until now because the *Seminarium Pontificium* has not yet received this authority from the Holy See since the Sapienza has been taken away by the Piemontese. The matter has been initiated, but it is uncertain whether a conclusion can be reached this year. However, his Eminence, Cardinal Hergenröther, has said there was hope.

-In regard to public lectures, Professor Fr. Bollig himself has dissuaded me repeatedly from attending them. On the other hand, I have enjoyed private lessons for some time with his Excellency the Coptic Bishop Paschai of Egypt and with the Procurator General of the Melchitarists, and I shall be able to continue doing so. However, the

main task in studying languages as well as other sciences is a personal effort.

-Regarding theological studies the priests of the various parishes must, according to a decree of the Holy See, take part at a weekly conference, furthermore liturgical and moral-academic themes are dealt with every week for the clergy in Rome in the mission house of the Lazarists.

While thanking your Episcopal Grace for the benevolent grant of last year's stipend and looking forward to a gracious consideration for the present year, I am, Your Episcopal Grace's unworthy servant,

J.B. Jordan

Largo dell'Impresa nr. 2 (AF).

From the letter we can see that the bishop counted on Jordan to take a doctorate in "Orientals." Jordan was sorry that presently there were difficulties between the new rulers in the Quirinal (December 31, 1870) and the Holy See. Since the conquest of Rome by the Piemontese there were continuous altercations with the "robber of the church-state" greedy for possession and power. At that time Pius IX had to "adjourn" the First Vatican Council. To prevent bloodshed, at the first canon shots he surrendered under protest to the Piemontese on September 20, 1870. But the new rulers were not satisfied with surrender. In the name of national right, in 1871 they secularized University Sapienza, shut down the Jesuit College, and infringed or abrogated other rights and freedoms. In 1872, the Roman monasteries were confiscated, church properties were nationalized (including the properties of the Propaganda Fide, which then were sold at auction by the young Italian state in 1880-1881).

In 1878, Leo XIII reformed the schools of the *Pontificio Seminario Romano Maggiore* (at that time located only in St. Apollinaris). But in the meantime the papal school was unable to confer degrees. The same was true for the *Pontificia Universitas Urbana* (founded by Urban VIII in 1627), while the Sapienza was nationalized and kept its university rights. Pius IX (1792-1878) as well as his successor, Leo XIII (1810-1903), defended themselves against these "nationalistic" violations, above all through their secretaries of state. For a long time these "Prisoners in the Vatican" could not withstand the pillaging of the Papal State. Pius IX remained at the tomb of St. Peter; Leo XIII repeatedly made plans to flee. But with

Crispi's hostile anti-church laws and the continuous hostilities of the mob, Leo never found the strength to treat the "Roman Question" in a conciliatory enough diplomatic way to end the *Kulturkampf*.

This is Jordan's petition for a one-year renewal of his stipend:

Rome, November 22, 1879.

Petition of the priest John Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil to the Most Rev. Archbishop Chapter Vicariate to receive the Pastor Columban Häußler stipend.

The undersigned priest from Gurtweil asks you to be so good as to grant him the Pastor Columban Häußler stipend for another year. The petitioner includes an account of his studies in the elapsed year 1878-79. Looking forward to a gracious consideration, the most obedient petitioner John Baptist Jordan signs and sends this to the Most Rev. Archbishop Chapter Vicariate. Largo dell'Impresa nr. 2 Roma (AF).

Here follows an extract of the affirmative decision of the stipend office:

Archepiscopal Chapter Vicariate.

Freiburg, December 1879.

Petition of the priest John the Baptist Jordan d.d. Rome 22. c.m. (November) to receive the Pastor Columban Häußler stipend for another year.

Decision

The administration of the Pastor Columban Häußler stipend endowment is ordered to give the priest John Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil, now in Rome—Largo dell'Impresa nr. 2, another stipend of 800 Marks—Eight hundred Marks—for the year 1879-80 and to pass to account and document. One half is to be paid out at once, the other on April 1, 1880.

II. (*Expediatur* on reverse side). Information of this to Rev. Fr. J.B. Jordan, presently in Rome, Largo dell'Impresa nr. 2, with the addendum that according to Section 10 paragraph 10 of the document of the endowment the holder of a stipend who has enjoyed the Häußler Stipend for four semesters of academic formation, when the stipend is finished, shall give a thanksgiving to the acts in which he promises that if he should get profitable placement as a consequence of the higher

formation received, he shall give a corresponding contribution to increase the beneficial endowment. This promise, however, should not be followed up juridically. . . (AF).

On December 23, 1879, Jordan warmly thanked his local bishop for the financial help (Fasc. 85: Columban Häußler Endowment 1865-1920). Of course Jordan was not obliged to pay anything back later because he declined every profitable ecclesiastical office.

The endowment bore the name of the pastor and rector of Sasbach who in spring 1818 willed his property to the Archepiscopal Chapter, which administered and enlarged the fund for poor student priests. To this petition for material support and to the account of his studies, Jordan as a recipient of this stipend added a personal letter to his local bishop describing clearly and soberly the Roman situations as they affected him (see, above).

1.11/25. Language studies report of Jordan the stipendiate in the school year 1878-79, was submitted to the Columban Häußler Endowment. Jordan had enrolled for four modern oriental languages and was careful at the same time not to get out of practice in Hebrew or Greek. His language studies at the Oriental Institute are surprising in that wherever possible he practiced his studies with texts of the Holy Scripture at hand. So the Word of God always remained present, and his language study remained within his ongoing theological formation.

The undersigned gives herewith personally, as requested, an account of his language studies made in the year 1878-79, because no certificates have been executed by the Institute.

I. At the *Seminarium Pontificium ad St. Apollinarem* the stipendiate attended the following oriental languages:

- a) Armenian with his Excellence Archbishop of Acrida, Monsignor Balgy: Grammatical exercises, translations from Armenian into Italian and vice versa.

- b) Syrian with Rev. Fr. Scapatini: Grammatical exercises and translations from the New Testament into the Syrian Chrestomatie by Zingerle.*
- c) Coptic with Fr. Ciasca. Coptic grammar with translation of the Chrestomathie by Uhleman and from the *Diurnum Alexandrinum* Copto-Arabic by some others (Coptic part).
- d) Arabic by Fr. Bollig. Language exercises and translations from part two of the Arabic Chrestomathie, published by the Jesuits in Beirut.

II. Furthermore, the stipendiate studied privately:

- a) Armenian: read the four Holy Gospels, the Armenian Liturgy, Book I of the Imitation of Christ, a selection of Marian hymns.
- b) Syrian: read more than one Gospel of the Peschito in connection with parts from Zingerle's Syrian Chrestomathie.
- c) Coptic: read the *Rituale Copticum* (Coptic part) completely and the *Diurnum Alexandrinum* (Coptic part).
- d) Arabic: read Gospels sections of Saints Matthew and Mark completely and sections of Luke chapters 1-8, and others.
- e) Hebrew: read from the Old Testament more than 100 chapters, some of each book and about one third of the Psalms.
- f) Greek: book Xenophon Anab. Thucydides, Bk. I, c.1-110, and the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, and others.

J. Baptist Jordan (AF)

1.12/27. Archbishop Balgy and the Mechitarists. Probably through the intervention of Archbishop Balgy, Jordan won Fr. Duha, the former's successor as procurator general of the Mechitarists (Viennese branch) as his next Armenian teacher. Duha (Szamosn joàr-Carmenopolis, Siebenbürgen, 1848-1913, Neusatz-Novizad) was ordained priest in 1869, with the Mechitarists in Vienna. He took over the post of procurator general from Fr. Balgy and was his loyal assistant also in other matters. The Mechitarists had their house in St. Lorenzo in Piazza Lucina nr. 36A (opposite the parish). Jordan had belonged to the same parish since his move to Largo dell'Impresa nr. 2.

The Mechitarists, Armenian Benedictines, were founded in Istanbul in 1701 by Mechitar (Siwas, Sebaste, 7 February, 1676-1749,

* Pius Zingerle, OSB (1801-1881) was a famous orientalist. In 1862 he was professor at Sapienza and *scriptor* at Vatican Library where he researched handwritten Syriac. By 1865 he had returned to his native Tyrol.

April 27, Venice). In 1717, Mechitar's monks were expelled by the Turks and the seat of the order was transferred to the Island of S. Lazzaro near Venice. Abbot Mechitar was a poet and theologian. He studied indefatigably the Holy Scripture and the Armenian Fathers of the Church. Above all he looked for ways to lead the people of his homeland back to the Catholic Church. In doing so Mechitar also had to defend himself against Latinization and to defend the Armenian Rite. After his death the order split into the Venetian and Viennese branches. The order cares especially for the religious and cultural unity of the United Armenians, sorely afflicted under the "barbaric Turkish dominion."

We still have two letters written in Armenian by a relatively unknown monk or priest Tavitian H. In them he encourages Jordan to spare no effort in learning Armenian so that he might soon be able to work in the Armenian Mission "for the salvation of souls" (D-925, November 4, 1879). The very next day Jordan answered that he would be quite willing "to bring the truth of Christ as a missionary to the brothers gone astray." Tavitian shows himself delighted by Jordan's generous mind (letter in Armenian, November 7, 1879, D-924).

1.13/30. Draft of "A Catholic Society" bears no date. However its somewhat aggressive, ultramontane openness, which certainly captivated Jordan at the beginning of his Roman studies when he experienced the tension between ecclesiastical and secular Rome, points to this period. Also the prescriptions about clothing reminiscent of the students of the *Germanicum*, presupposes knowledge of the Roman situation. (Jordan's idea was a black cassock with red cincture and "red piping and buttons" (pt. xiii). The red color "shall remind each member of his continuous readiness to shed his blood for the above described aim." In addition it demanded the wide "Roman mantle.") Also the academic program presupposes Roman experience (pt. ix). The Draft of an SC is written on the first two pages of a folio sheet. Later Jordan canceled point xv adding point iii: "All shall have everything in common" (E-1201; cf., DSS II, 11ff).

The number twelve was for Jordan a holy number on account of the twelve apostles. In July 1879, he wrote: "Begin in such a way that you feed about twelve poor people at noon, at the same time joining some

instruction to it" (SD 156). On another occasion Jordan saw in his home village a great number of storks migrating south. People said that they counted between forty to seventy in half an hour. Twelve storks passed the night on the roof of the castle in which the Sisters of the Precious Blood were still living. The sisters at that time were debating whether to join Jordan's foundation in Tivoli. Jordan noted with surprise "12 storks settled down in the evening, flown off in the morning. Preciesy twelve. Really!" (G-7.1,11). After returniing to Rome he reported this "omen" with great delight (cf., note of Lüthen (G-14); MMCh, August 26, 1889).

In the early tradition of the Society the apostolic interpretation of the meaning of the number twelve remained alive. Thus it was not overlooked that there were twelve members with perpetual vows who intervened for their Founder with the Cardinal Vicar in March 1886, and also that the female branch counted twelve sisters when the Founder relinquished his directorship (G-14.12, 13).

On page three of "The Draft of an S.C.," Jordan noted selected scripture texts, which show the spirit of the draft better:

-Lk 10:2, And he said to them, "The harvest is rich but the laborers are few, so ask the Lord of the harvest to send laborers to do his harvesting."

-Lk 10:16, Anyone who listens to you listens to me; anyone who rejects you rejects me, and those who reject me reject the one who sent me.

-Lk 11:13, If you then, evil as you are, know how to give your children what is good, how much more will the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him!

-Js 5:19-20, My brothers, if one of you strays from the truth, and another brings him back to it, he may be sure that anyone who can bring back a sinner from his erring ways will be saving his soul from death and covering over many sins.

-Mtt 5:10, Blessed are those who are persecuted in the cause of uprightness: the kingdom of heaven is theirs.

-Mtt 10:16-20, In the same way your light must shine in people's sight, so that, seeing your good works, they may give praise to your Father in heaven. Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them. In truth I tell you, till heaven and earth disappear, not one dot, not one little stroke, is to disappear from the Law until all its purpose is achieved. Therefore, anyone who infringes even one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be

considered least in the kingdom of heaven; but the person who keeps them and teaches them will be considered great in the kingdom of heaven.

-Mtt 20:28-29, For I tell you, if your uprightness does not surpass that of the scribes and Pharisees you will never get into the kingdom of heaven. But I say this to you, if a man looks at a woman lustfully, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart. If your right eye should be your downfall, tear it out and throw it away; for it will do you less harm to lose one part of yourself than to have your whole body thrown into hell.

-Mtt 18:19, In truth I tell you once again, if two of you on earth agree to ask anything at all, it will be granted to you by my Father in heaven.

-Mtt 25:34, Then the King will say to those on his right, Come, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world.

-Jn 13:20, In all truth I tell you, whoever welcomes the one I send, welcomes me, and whoever welcomes me, welcomes the one who sent me.

-Jn 16:33, I have told you all this so that you may find peace in me. In the world you will have hardship, but be courageous: I have conquered the world.

-Rm 10:15, And how will there be preachers if they are not sent? As scripture says: "How beautiful are the feet of the messenger of good news."

-Nahum 2:1, See on the mountains the feet of the herald! "Peace!" he proclaims.

-Phil 4:13, There is nothing I cannot do in the One who strengthens me.

-Is 52:7, How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger announcing peace, the messenger of good news proclaiming salvation and says to Zion, "Your God is king."

These words of the Lord show scripturally Jordan's apostolic outlook.

On page four, Jordan noted what was to rend his own heart and the hearts of those who wanted to join him:

Remember how many who were saved through the precious blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ, are still sitting in the shadow of the death. Four-fifths of the inhabitants of Asia are still heathens. China has more inhabitants than Europe, and most of them don't even know Christ. China 477 million; Europe 285!

There follow far reaching schematic outlines of the organization of the planned work: people who pray, teachers, workers. The latter 2 groups are subdivided in imitation of the group initiatives which we also meet in other foundations of that time, although less expressly. It remains an

open question whether the last two pages of the sheet were written at a later date. But if so, it was certainly not much later. It is also surprising that terms like "work," "institute," which are otherwise so common to Jordan, are missing in this draft. Nor did Jordan ever refer back to this sketchy draft of a "Catholic Society." His guiding ideas were living in him; they arose from his vocation. But their realization demanded other measures.

Jordan later confessed that he had written the first *Leitlinien* (sketches) for his intended Institute in Jerusalem and that he had laid them on the Holy Sepulcher. Just this fact presupposes that he already earlier thought about his apostolic plan as his Spiritual Diary proves (SD 112, 124). This was valid for the period of his studies in St. Peter in the Black Forest as well as in Rome. Quite evidently all the "first drafts" known to us are informed by the same basic apostolic orientation, which was precisely Jordan's charism.

2. To the Holy Land

When as an exiled priest-student of Propaganda Fide in the fall of 1878, Jordan began his oriental language studies, he never dreamed of perfecting them on location. The very fact that the possibility of a trip to the Near East was soon to become a reality (for one who was without means and had to rely on outside help) he could only explain as a special favor of Divine Providence. Especially in this decisive period of his life, the deep apostolic conviction by which Jordan lived is manifested in his prayer from about January 1880:

Lord Jesus Christ, I intend to make this trip for your glory, for you, for your sake, for your Holy Catholic Church. I am ready to receive from your hands whatever you send me, be it joy or sorrow, life or death. All for you Lord Jesus Christ, and that the purpose and desire not hidden from you may be accomplished. Amen (SD 152).

This journey lasted from January 21 until August 14, 1880. **See, 2.1. Itinerary.** On the way, Jordan noted dates and experiences that seemed important to him (RN). In his later report on his travels he made use of these notes, shortening or expanding them corresponding to his highly apostolic feelings. So we find in this second set of notes (RB) very interesting details which supplement his travel report in many ways.²

In both accounts Jordan says he ventured on this journey upon the orders of Propaganda Fide and with the blessing of Cardinal Simeoni, to serve the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation as a messenger.³ It is not

² Jordan called his travel notes appropriately "Pilgrim Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land" (RN G-5.1), while he entitled his travel report quite inaccurately "Journey to Africa and Asia in the Year 1880" (RB G-5.2).

³ The Secretary of Propaganda Fide was then Mariano del Tindaro Rampolla (1843-1913), later Cardinal Secretary of State to Leo XIII. How well disposed Rampolla was toward Jordan is confirmed by Börger's remark in his letter to Jordan from Beirut (May 1881, D-931).

Giovanni Simeoni (1816-1892) was since 1876, Cardinal Secretary of

known how the cardinal or his secretary, Rampolla, came to engage the young priest and to entrust him with important messages to the Apostolic Delegate for Egypt and Arabia, Luigi Ciurcia.⁴ It could well be that Jordan's private tutor in Coptic, Msgr. Agapio Bacini who worked for Propaganda had recommended Jordan to the judicious secretary. In any case the priest-student felt it was a great honor to be trusted by church authority. To give this task in the service of the Propaganda its proper weight, Jordan would call himself "Apostolic Missionary."⁵ In addition he was glad to have this unique opportunity to see the holy places and to perfect his studies in oriental languages on site. Jordan never mentions who provided the necessary funds. The Propaganda may have contributed some; Jordan had probably saved the rest, especially because the second half of his stipend from Freiburg was due by April 1, 1880.

State to Pius IX, succeeding Antonelli (+ November 6, 1876). They both defended themselves energetically against the violation of the papacy and its rights by the liberals. In 1878, Leo XIII nominated Simeoni as Prefect of Congregation Propaganda Fide (today *Pro Gentium Evangelizatione*) and *Propaganda degli affari per il Rito Orientale*; both departments had just then united in the Near East to eliminate tensions between Uniates and Orthodox, while enhancing the mission among local Moslems and non-Christians.

⁴ Luigi Ciurcia (Alessio, December 8, 1818-1881), a Franciscan of the *Minori Osservanti*, became Archbishop of Irenopoli, i.p.i. on September 24, 1866. Already on February 27, 1866, Msgr. Ciurcia was nominated Vicar Apostolic for the Latins and Apostolic Delegate for Egypt and Arabia. As such he had his seat in Egyptian Alexandria.

⁵ "*Titulus et facultates Missionarii Apostolici ad honorem*" was given personally to individual missionaries by the congregation of the faith. There exists no document which would have allowed Jordan to use this title. But from the solemnly important words with which Jordan begins his travel report this permission may be supposed. Jordan writes: "Provided with recommendation, mandate of the Propaganda and the blessing of the church" (G-5.1). In his ecclesiastic conscientiousness Jordan would hardly have dared to assume any such title on his own.

In Dr. Börger,⁶ Jordan had a dear companion with whom he got along well. **See, 2.2. Börger.** The two priests shared the pleasures and the sacrifices of their journey and were not only colleagues and comrades, they were friends. On the evening of January 21, Jordan went to the German College of the Anima where the community of the house held a farewell meal with the two pilgrims. They prayed the traditional traveler's prayer, the *Itinerarium*, to ask God's protection and blessing on the somewhat risky journey.

Jordan informed his local bishop of the journey to the Near East only after everything had been decided and arranged. He added his address in Cairo and even predated the letter January 22, 1880, the day after his departure from Rome. He tells Bishop Lothar he went on this journey not only for practical training, but also "to learn about missionary conditions, and also for a religious reason."⁷ In his travel notes and in his journey report we find sufficient indications of these two goals.

It is striking, however, how much Jordan allowed himself to be taken up by the manifold impressions of the journey. The first night he passed aboard ship, with a calm sea, under a starry sky, he noted with deep

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.2. Börger.

⁷ Rome, January 22, 1880.

Most Reverend Archdiocese Administrator!

I have already made the exams in oriental languages and shall now go to Egypt for practical formation, for knowledge of the missionary situations and at the same time for a religious reason. I have been sent by the Propaganda. After some stay there I intend to spend more time for study and after several months I shall return to Rome.

As the aim will be reached better in this way and the ecclesiastical authority approves of it, I hope that it will also please your Grace. Therefore, I ask most humbly for the sovereign Episcopal blessing for the rather troublesome journey, and I am in deepest reverence,

Your Episcopal Grace's most unworthy servant J.B. Jordan.

Convento Grande dei Padri Francescani., Cairo, Egitto" (AF F 12/8).

emotion: "Distance - Stars - Fate - Life." Nor could he ever forget a storm on the high seas:

The waves rose up and broke over the mighty ship which turned into a hospital. It was pitiful to see the sufferings of the passengers (RN). . . . Great were the sufferings, we were laying there not knowing whether we would ever see Africa. (RB)

In Corfu he was impressed by the cultural mix of Greeks and Orientals. The spiritual conditions and the liturgical characteristics also interested him. Corresponding to the theological horizon of the time, Jordan spoke of "Catholics and schismatics," of "Latins and Greeks."

Arriving at Alexandria, Jordan opened all his senses to experience the exotic Arabian world and compare it with the European way of life. In Egypt there were besides Latins and Greeks also Coptic schismatics and Moslems, and there were diverse people: white, brown, and black. Jordan was interested in the Bedouins of the desert, the monuments of the pharaohs, the spell of the mosques, the religious customs of the Moslems, even in their worldly entertainments, the colorful life of the Old Town of Cairo, the Arabic school system and gardens, and the Egyptian starry sky. But he was also interested in the influential French cultural center of the School Brothers and the German schools of the "Württemberg Chiliasta." Of course, he never neglected learning languages and noting down his discoveries along this line. Nor did he omit visiting the legendary holy places connected with the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.

The pilgrim's deep religious experience at the holy places of Palestine also found expression in his report.

Now we went up to the Holy City, and towards evening saw the City of Sion with the Mount of Olives in the background. Oh what feelings, I wept. And what thoughts well up in Christian hearts. We dismounted and went on foot into the Holy City. (RB)

In Jerusalem, Jordan was rather astounded and saddened by the way the various rites lived cheek to jowl, and often in conflict.⁸ Turkey was then the protector in the Holy City and watched that inter-Christian tensions remained tolerable and did not become an impediment to pilgrims.

Jordan and his companion Börger remained four weeks in the Holy City. Jordan was preoccupied with venerating the holy places where the Divine Savior had suffered. He noted exactly where he had been allowed to celebrate Mass. His deep emotion surrounding the passion of the Lord betrays itself in every line. On March 9, Jordan celebrated Mass in the Chapel of the Agony. "The Mount of Olives, the very Garden of Gethsemani is my favorite spot for long periods." March 10 and 14 he read Mass on Mount Calvary, where according to tradition the cross had stood. Naturally, he also visited other neighboring holy places, especially Bethlehem. Easter Sunday the two pilgrims made their way to Emmaus.

On the last day of March, they took leave of the City of Sion in order to start their arduous trip across Palestine to Galilee by donkey. Their goal was Sichem and above all Nazareth, the "lovely place," and "home of the Savior of the World," in addition to places on the Sea of Galilee and its nearby mountains. At the conclusion of this pilgrimage the two Orientalists spent a few days on Mount Carmel.

Then the third leg of the journey began. On April 20, they went from Haiffa to Beirut and on April 26 to the Study Center of the Maronites at Ain Warqa. Jordan wanted to perfect his Arabic there and to become acquainted with the different rites, whereas his friend Börger went on to Beirut to continue his studies.

⁸ In Jerusalem, above all in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jordan experienced the scandal of a divided church. The individual rites allowed to work there observed jealously the limits of their rights in mutual combative tension. This disappointed him. "How bitter and sad to see so many Greeks, Russians, Copts, Armenians who are not in the Catholic Church!" (SD 154).

In Lebanon,⁹ Jordan again found Christian groups. These, however, lived in peaceful harmony and were not influenced by the French style of Christian culture. **See, 2.3. Christian Lebanon.** Starting from Ain Warqa, in spite of the often unbearable heat, Jordan undertook outings to other monasteries and church centers: Biblos, Bzommar, Cherfey, Ain Traz, and to the Cedars of Lebanon. **See, 2.4. Cedars of Lebanon.**¹⁰

On July 19, Jordan left Lebanon. From Beirut he began the journey home by way of Smyrna, where he accepted pastoral supply work for two weeks and where he experienced a violent sea- and earthquake followed by several lighter tremors until his departure on August 7. Needless to say, the local people were very nervous. Jordan wrote: "Dog - Sea - Corpses." Between Corfu and Brindisi there was again a severe storm." Later he wrote: "Not knowing whether we would see Italy again we entered the skiff which brought us to the ship" (RB).

When before his departure to the Holy Land, Jordan had informed his bishop of his study trip, he gave as the last reason for the journey: "a religious reason." Bishop Lothar could certainly guess the meaning of this remark since Msgr. de Waal had already mentioned Jordan's plans to him. At that time the bishop still disapproved of Jordan's apostolic ambitions. Since now the laws of the Baden cultural struggle had become less rigid and especially because the "lock-out laws" had been annulled, the bishop wanted his "lock-out priests" back in order to fill the orphaned positions in his parishes. But Jordan hoped by his expedition to the Holy Land to clarify his personal vocation.

In his report and notes Jordan does not describe any inner feelings about this. But he was very exact concerning all the ecclesiastical personalities to whom he presented his plans. Just as from his youth Jordan had the courage and ambition to travel, not being afraid of any hardships, so he

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.3. Christian Lebanon.

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.4. Cedars of Lebanon.

now had the courage, even the urge, to approach frankly and unpolitically those who could advise and help him. Already in Corfu he had visited Archbishop Maddelena,¹¹ but he does not mention whether he spoke to him about his plans. The day after his arrival in Alexandria he carried out his orders to the Apostolic Delegate and took leave before going to Cairo, without however, having discussed his inner troubles with the kind gentleman. On February 9, Jordan had his first meeting with the sorely tried missionary, Bishop Massaia. **See, 2.5. Massaia.**¹²

Since the Apostolic Vicar of the Galls was resting up in the Convento Grande from the strains of his forced departure from Abyssinia, Jordan was able to use this stop-over for conversations. The experienced Capuchin was very open to Jordan's plan and he remained his influential helper and promotor. This meeting with Massaia probably constituted a decisive breakthrough in Jordan's trial and hesitation. Jordan met Massaia again in Port-Said, in Jerusalem, and in Beirut. In Jerusalem "our undertaking received the first ecclesiastical blessing from Bishop Massaia and the Latin Patriarch." Jordan now speaks always of "our undertaking," indicating that Dr. Börger was in full agreement with him. Jordan had visited the Latin Patriarch¹³ the first day after arriving in Jerusalem and discussed his plan with him. **See, 2.6. Lodgings in Jerusalem.**¹⁴

¹¹ Spiridione Maddalena (Corfu, 3 November, 1824-1884, Corfu) studied at the papal college of the Propaganda (1844-1850). He became Archbishop of Corfu for the Greek Catholics. At the First Vatican Council he was one of the most active defenders of the doctrine of papal infallibility. The patron saint of Corfu was St. Spiridion. Jordan visited his tomb.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 2.5. Massaia.

¹³ Vincenzo Braco (Torrzaao, Diocese of Albenga, 14 September, 1835-1889, Jerusalem) was nominated Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem on March 11, 1873.

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.6. Lodgings in Jerusalem.

Jordan's Spiritual Diary contains only hints of his inner debate over his vocation. On March 13 he noted at one holy place:

Carry out that work which God wills as soon as possible. Have profound confidence and a joyful heart in spite of the greatest sufferings. Don't give up, and whatever you do, don't lose heart. Use every lawful means at your disposal; renew the good intention three times each day with special reference to this undertaking, and invoke daily the Most Blessed Virgin, patroness of the Society. Begin with the instruction of capable boys, who show sure signs of a vocation to the priesthood, and begin in addition a printing office as soon as possible. Try to go ahead, as soon as you can, under the special protection of Propaganda and of the Holy See. Be cheerful and amiable at all times— do not neglect the means to do this (for the devil comes in the form of an angel of light)— mortify your self-will; this is more pleasing to God than something which deprives you of your strength, which you should use for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Jerusalem on the Holy Sepulcher. March 13, 1880 (SD 152-153).

In later years Jordan wrote: "In Jerusalem I wrote down certain outlines of the Institute to be founded and laid them on the Holy Sepulcher" (G-7.1,11). Unfortunately, this sketch has been lost. But it certainly was in line with his previous attempts and designs.

Two days later on Passion Sunday 1880, at Holy Mass in the Holy Sepulcher he was filled with certainty from above. He writes:

Even if you have to circle the globe fifty times over, carry out your undertaking with all your strength! After Mass on the hill of Calvary where the sorrowful Mother of God stood (SD 154).

A few days later Jordan stayed the whole day at the Lord's tomb. His diary reports "On March 12, 13, 14, I stayed at the Holy Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ near Calvary" (SD 155). He laid his book of resolutions on the Holy Sepulcher; wanting to take it home as a special personal relic from the holy places:

This book was placed on the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the hill of Calvary, on the altars of the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ and on the altar of Our Lady, Mother of Sorrows, and on the place where

the Holy Cross stood and the Redeemer of the world died (SD 155).
[Both entries dated Saturday before Passion Sunday.]

On Mount Carmel, the holy mountain of the Prophet Elijah and the Madonna, he renewed his resolution to say "yes" to his apostolic calling: Carry out the work with all your strength; let nothing discourage you; do it solely for the glory of God and seek consolation in him alone. Pray much, converse with the saints, never look for consolation in anything earthly; even if everything seems lost God will not abandon you nor will his dear Mother. (SD 155). [About the site he notes:] On the Carmel I prayed also for this (G-7.1,11).

A few days after his arrival at Ain Warqa, "A blessed oasis in the barren desert" (SD 156) Jordan writes:

When the hour appointed by God comes, carry out the work but always keep your peace of heart; it is like a ray of heavenly light, renewing and sanctifying, and something of which you should always be aware (SD 156).

In Lebanon, Jordan again used every opportunity to confer with churchmen about his plans.¹⁵ In Sibda he visited Maronite Bishop Hanna¹⁶ whom he had met in Ain Warqa and who "had already blessed our undertaking earlier" (RB). In Dunöm he met next patriarch, Petrus Paulus

¹⁵ Josef Debs (1833-1907), from February 11, 1875, Archbishop of Beirut for the Maronite Rite, gave Jordan a letter of recommendation to the superior of Ain Warqa.

¹⁶ Hanna Haij (Giovanni Pietro Hagg) born in Delepte in the Diocese of Delepte was since 1861, Maronite bishop of Baalbek (Eliopoli). He resided in nearby Sibda. Jordan was allowed to spend a night in the summer villa of the bishop on the property in Watal Gantz. In 1890, Bishop Hanna became patriarch and successor of Patriarch Boutros Boulous Masshad (+ 1898).

Masard¹⁷ who gave his blessing to the planned "Society" and encouraged Jordan: "Just continue (RN). Blessing and encouragement on the part of the Patriarch for our undertaking, July 3," Jordan says in his report.

On July 4, Jordan set off to the great Cedars of Lebanon, already in the Bible the symbol of vitality (Jer 22:7; Jes 2:13; Ps 28:5, etc.). He was amazed at their age "from the days of Solomon" (RN). He spent the night with the Marobit priest who had care of the "Chapel of the Cedars." It was probably during this trip into Lebanon that Jordan had the real experience of his calling which was for him like a revelation and the Holy Spirit's confirmation of his plans! As he,

. . . had passed his eyes over the Holy Land and viewed the ever present religious needs, the word of the Savior had come to his mind clearer than ever before: "Eternal life is this: to know you, the only true God, and Him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ" (Jn 17:3). [And Jordan told himself:] Yes [the Society to be founded] shall preach you, Oh God, and your only begotten Son.

Years later Jordan confided this highpoint to Fr. Pancratius his cooperator and successor. He did not conceal how little his own person would count, even being absorbed by his calling: "In Lebanon I had the impression that the planned foundation would come to life, even if I myself should no longer return to Europe" (I-237).

In all humility he was conscious of the fact that the Lord would forever give people instructions and the grace to read and to interpret the signs of the times and to fight and to sacrifice themselves for the vital Christian answer. But that their numbers and their calling would be exclusively up to the Lord. This blessed experience of his own apostolic calling, the

¹⁷ Petrus Paulus (Boutros Boulos) Masshad (Masád), born Lebanese 1806-1890, studied at the papal college of Propaganda. He was nominated Archbishop of Tarsus i.p.i. (March 13, 1855) and was patriarch for the Syro-Maronite Rite of Antiochia (Antakia in Syria). The Patriarch received Jordan in his residence in Dunöm.

formula for which the Lord himself had given in his High Priestly Prayer (Jn 17:3) was to remain the foundation and basis of his work.¹⁸

On July 6, Jordan traveled to St. John Maroni to see Maronite Archbishop Foreifer¹⁹ who "blessed our undertaking" (RB). On the 11th, he visited the Armenian College in Bzommar. **See, 2.7. Bzommar.**²⁰ Bishop "Basilius received me lovingly, blessed our undertaking and declared himself to be a member" (RB). In the Franciscan house in Marissa near Bzommar, he visited the "Latin Bishop and Delegate of Syria" (RB).²¹

¹⁸ Around 1896-97 Jordan revealed this experience to the newly ordained Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, SDS who, immediately after the death of the Founder, communicated the secret of his vocation to his spiritual sons and daughters (An, May 1, 1919, 212).

Again and again, Jn 17:3 will surface in Jordan's praying and planning. Here it should not be overlooked that this passage had attracted Jordan even before it concentrated on his call experience in Lebanon. In fact, he stressed that at that time "it presented itself more strongly than ever to his soul" so that setting the aim of his projected Society became a clear certainty: it "shall proclaim you, my God, and your only begotten Son."

¹⁹ Josef Foreifer was Maronite Rite Archbishop of Laodicea from February 11, 1872. He resided in St. Johann Maroni (San Juan Maron). In regard to the same visit Jordan remembered: "In the evening I sat together with the bishop on the floor; [we ate] with our hands" (RB).

²⁰ See, A Closer Look, 2.7. Bzommar.

²¹ In Harissa near Ain Warqa was a Franciscan convent. There the Latin Bishop, the Delegate of Syria lived, who Jordan also visited. Jordan returned several times to the sons of St. Francis finding there kind acceptance and encouragement for his plans. "The confessor of Lebanon encouraged me to go on" (G-7.1,11). The Right Reverend Superior at Harissa "attached the indulgence of the Way of the Cross to my crucifix" (SD 156).

Lodovico Piavi of the Observant Franciscans was born in Ravenna on March 17, 1833. On November 18, 1876, he became Apostolic Delegate of Syria

In Beirut he did not miss seeing Greek-Melchite Bishop Malathios Fakak: "He blessed our plans" (RB).²² He also saw Greek Melchite Patriarch Joseph in Ain Traz and told him "of our plans." He has "given his blessing for our undertaking" (RB). **See, 2.8. The Melchites and Sajide Monastery.**²³ He also won the superior of the college to his side, and Jordan "went his way encouraged" (RB). On the journey home he also presented his plan to Archbishop Timoni,²⁴ "He gave his blessing" (RB).

His stay with the Capuchins in Turkish Smyrna (July 23 - August 7, 1880) gave Jordan the chance to organize and arrange the manifold events of the past months, and at the same time to help the fathers there in pastoral work. Mostly, however, he struggled with the formulation of his work. In Fr. Fortunato Petaccia de Manopello, OFM, Jordan found a priestly friend who always found time for his ideas. On July 31, he sent an outline of his plan, grown in prayer, to his old protector Bishop Massaia. This sketch, in good Latin, started with the expressive dedication: "To the honor of the Almighty God." Then follow two texts from Holy Scripture presenting the soul and spirit of his work. From the Old Testament there was one text used in liturgies honoring doctors of the church: "But the wise shall shine brightly like the splendor of the firmament, and those who lead the many to justice shall be like the stars forever" (Dan 12:3). The New Testament text is from the prayer of the Lord on which

for the Orientals and Vicar Apostolic of Siunia, i.p.i. The Apostolic Delegate lodged in the convent of his confreres.

²² Melezio (Malathios) Fakak was born 1829 in Damascus. He was ordained Bishop of Zahale and Farzul for the Greek Melchite Rite and he resided in Beirut e Gibal. On August 9, 1881, his episcopal title was transferred to Beirut.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 2.8. The Melchites and Sajide Monastery.

²⁴ Andreas Polycarp Timoni (Smyrna, 1833-1904) was Apostolic Administrator of Asia Minor. Jordan never forgot his encouraging "*Se persevera, riesce*" (G-7.1,11; cf., SD 4/9).

Jordan's calling was founded: "Eternal life is this: to know You, the only true God, and Him whom You have sent, Jesus Christ" (Jn 17:3). Now comes the name of the planned work: "Apostolic Teaching Society under the protection of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Queen of Heaven." Next Jordan sets the goal:

The purpose of this Society is, with divine grace, to care not only for personal salvation, but by the same grace, all over the world where the greater glory of God demands it, to follow the command of Our Lord Jesus Christ: "Go forth and teach all nations." That demands, by teaching and education, by instruction in word and print, to be engaged even to the point of being worn out [literally, "breaking into a sweat] so every intelligent creature will increasingly know the true God and the one he has sent, Jesus Christ, and that he will live a holy life and save his soul.

Jordan then explains briefly and concisely his thoughts on the structure of the Society: "The Society is tripartite," and he gives the three grades' apostolic characteristics. **See, 2.9. The Three Grades.** Unfortunately, the answer of Massaia is not preserved. On September 11, Fr. Fortunato wrote to the bishop that Jordan had already departed when his esteemed reply had arrived. Jordan would be able to meet Bishop Massaia after a few weeks in Rome once he had returned to his rooms and Bishop Massaia had taken lodgings with his confreres in the Convent of the Immaculata at the Piazza Barbarini. In his letter from Smyrna, Jordan had already given his Roman address.²⁵

In Corfu on his way back home, Jordan revisited Archbishop Maddalena: "He blessed our plans and said he would be a member" (RB). When on August 11, he once again set foot on Italian soil Jordan had every reason to be thankful. Not only for having been protected in so many dangers (storms, earthquakes, etc.) but above all for the fact that his vocation now had fully ripened and had also found ecclesiastical approval. So he went by way of Loreto, thanking the Mother of God there and asking her help before returning to Rome to go to work.

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.9. The Three Grades.

It is astonishing that during his stay in the Near East, Jordan was never handicapped by sickness or nervous stress. In his report he only speaks of dangers at sea and strains on land. He was sea sick just like other passengers. It is noticeable how sensitive he was to climatic changes. In Corfu he praised the mild climate, in Cairo he found it definitely "hot, even in winter sunstroke, at night cold" (RN). In Old Cairo he suffered severely from the "great heat," also in Ain Warqa, Beirut, and Smyrna.

In the Holy Land he experienced already what he had expected from the Lord in St. Peter Seminary and what had already showed itself in Rome: that his nervous condition would improve just by engaging and spending himself fully for the honor and the kingdom of the Lord (cf., SD 77; 136; 137). The high-minded "Apostolic Missionary" felt himself ready for any strain in the Holy Land.

Aboard ship Jordan had tried to become acquainted with fellow passengers. Now and then he mentions personalities he met, e.g., the Counts of Loë and of Spee. So we see how he cultivated good human relationships on his travels in Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon. He did this of course to progress in languages. But just as important for him were the cultural and religious advantages of such meetings. Subsequently the inner urge came more and more to the fore, which he had called in his letter to his local bishop, his "religious reason." His struggle to clarify his vocation urged him on every occasion to discuss his plans with experienced churchmen. And he was impressed by his priestly humility and his apostolic openness. The result was that nearly all his highly placed interlocutors let themselves be convinced and even enthused.

The impression Jordan made on men much more experienced in life was stressed by the superior of the Academy of Ain Warqa, speaking also for others, in the Aramaic diploma which he issued to Jordan at the end of his language studies: "We observed his virtues, his knowledge, his fervor in learning languages, his carefulness in doing good, in his piety, in his

manners. . . . We wish him success in his efforts to attain what he aspires to." **See, 2.10. Diploma.**²⁶

The adventures in the Near East, especially in the Holy Land definitively furthered and in a way completed Jordan's spiritual growth. He felt the Catholic Church was challenged by demands greater than the cultural struggle in Baden and Prussia, or by the immature policies of nationalistic Italy against papal Rome. Jordan remained grateful to Divine Providence for providing him in such an irreplaceable manner the best possible training for the international dimension of his real vocation. Jordan's personality was now firmly Catholic-Apostolic. **See, 2.11. Jordan's travel report.**²⁷

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.10. Diploma.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.11. Jordan's travel report.

2. To the Holy Land. A Closer Look

2.1/1. Itinerary: Jordan's 1880 Trip to the Near East

- Jan. 21 -On the "Feast of the Holy Virgin Agnes" by train from Rome to Brindisi; arrival there 22 Jan., 6:00 p.m. In South Italy there was snow and the two of them (Jordan and Börger) felt very cold.
- Jan. 22 -Mass in the cathedral. "My companion told me that during Holy Communion he made the intention as if it were his Viaticum." Towards midnight, departure from Brindisi on the Italian ship *Aquila Imperialis*.
- Jan. 23 -Arrival in Corfu.
- Jan. 24 -"Visit to Archbishop Maddalena." In the evening departure on the *Ceres*, a Greek sailing steamer.
- Jan. 26 -Heavy storm, sea sickness; the steamer had to stop and wait for better weather.
- Jan. 27 -The storm died down in the afternoon. On we went in the evening after the sails were lowered in order to go faster using our engines.
- Jan. 29 -Lading in Alexandria. Lodgings in the Franciscan Monastery of St. Katherine.
- Jan. 30 -Received in audience by the Apostolic Delegate, where Jordan discharged his mandate.
- Feb. 4 -On by train to Cairo, lodgings in the *Convento Grande* of the Franciscans. Visit to the Pyramids and the Citadel of Old Cairo (Mosque El Omar) as well as Arabic and Christian schools.
- Feb. 9 -Jordan meets for the first time the "Venerable Aged" Bishop Massaia.
- Feb. 27 -Journey continued by train to Ismailia, from there through the Suez Canal to Port Said on a small Greek steamer.
- Feb. 28 -Meeting again Bishop Massaia in Port Said. Journey continued by ship to Gaffe.
- March 3 -On to Jerusalem. Lodgings in Casa Nova (RB) as well as in the Austrian pilgrims' hostel. Visit to the holy places. Most of all and repeatedly Jordan stayed on the Mount of Olives and on Mount Calvary.
- March 10-Visit to the Omar (and El Acqsa) Mosque.
- March 26-Good Friday.
- March 30-"In Jerusalem our project received for the first time the blessing of the church by Bishop Massaia and the Latin Patriarch."

- April 1 -On to Sichem (Nablus).
- April 2 -On to Genin (109 km north of Jerusalem; here the ten lepers were said to be healed by the Lord: (Lk 17:11-19).
- April 3 -Arrival in Nazareth.
- April 6 -To Mount Tabor on horseback.
- April 7 -To Tiberias; bathing in Lake Genesareth.
- April 8 -Caparnaum.
- April 9 -Cana. During all these days the two priest traveled by used donkey.
- April 10 -Travel to Haifa (with a cart)
- April 10-19 -On Mount Carmel
- April 19 -Traveling to Beirut; lodgings at the Capuchin Fathers. Meet again Bishop Massaia.
- April 26 -Donkey ride to Ain Warqa. Jordan remains for some months in the local Maronite College to study Arabic. Dr. Börger remains in Beirut.
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- July 1 -Visit to Bishop Hanna whom Jordan had met previously in Ain Warqa.
- July 2 -Visit to the Sheik in Akura. Over night in Dunöm; visited patriarch and his two bishops. (Jordan had met the patriarch already in Ain Warqa).
- July 4 -Ride to the Cedars of Lebanon; over night at the Lazarists' in Ehden.
- July 6 -Visit to Bishop Foreifer in St. Johann-Maroni.
- July 7 -Traveling to Biblos.
- July 8 -Return to Ain Warqa.
- July 11 -Visit the Armenian College in Bzommar as well as Bishop Basilius. Then visiting the Syrian College in Cherfey (Syrian Office).
- July 12 -Visit in Harissa, meet with Latin Delegate of Syria, return to Ain Warqa.
- July 13 -Goodbye to Ain Warqa. Ride to Beirut. Lodgings at the Capuchin's, where also Jordan's companion had found shelter.
- July 15 -Ride to Greek Melchite Bishop Malathios Fakak. "He blessed our project."
- July 16 -Visit to Greek Melchite Patriarch, Gregor Jussuf Sayur in College Ain Traz (fall from the mule). Return to Beirut; meeting Börger again.
- July 19 -Departure by ship from Beirut. Dr. Börger remains in Beirut.
- July 23 -Arrival in Smyrna (Turkey). Lodged at the Capuchins'. For a fortnight Jordan took over pastoral care for the local superior, so he could holiday in Scio during the great summer heat. Visit to Archbishop Timoni.
- July 29 -Heavy earthquake in Smyrna.

- Aug. 7 -Return journey on an Austrian steamer. Stop in Syria.
 Aug. 10 -Travel to Corfu. Renewed visit to Bishop Maddalena. Once again on an Italian steamer. Again thunderstorm and strong wind, and consequently sea sickness. Jordan "doubted" he would reach home safely.
 Aug. 11 -Arrival in Brindisi. Traveling on by train to Loreto.
 Aug. 14 -Arrival in Rome. Report to Msgr. Rampolla and Cardinal Simeoni.

2.2/5. Börger, Johann Ferdinand, was born December 9, 1853 in Elspe im Kreis Olpe "on the castle" albeit in Elspe there was no castle. Castle was the name of a field or house ("*Johan auff der Borg oder Börgers in Elspe*" we read already on an account of 1742). Ferdinand was the fourth of seven children of Ferdinand Börger and Theresia Sömmer. His four year older brother Eberhard became a priest. But compelled by the Prussian *Kulturkampf* he remained "outside the country" doing pastoral work in Bavaria. Ferdinand chose the same route as Eberhard. He made his studies at the gymnasium in Paderborn. Then he went to Rome for higher studies. As *Germaniker* he took his degree of Doctor in Theology and was ordained in June, 1878. Börger then dedicated himself to the study of oriental languages at Propaganda Fide. Here Jordan and Börger first met. They undertook the pilgrimage to the Holy Land together.

Jordan and Börger were companions in the best sense. Once Jordan returned to Rome, he still remained in frequent correspondence with his faithful traveling companion. Börger addresses him in a letter of January 30, 1881, as "dear journeyman," tells him about his successes in oriental languages and asks him about the progress of his work. How intimate they became during their common pilgrimage can be seen from this letter: "If you love me, write a long letter to me again soon . . . God bless you, old house . . ." (D-930). In another letter written in Arabic and without date, Börger addresses Jordan "dearest friend" and asks whether the new secretary at Propaganda, Msgr. Cretoni, treated him well or if Msgr. Rampolla had been better. He adds greetings to Archbishop Agapitus Bsciai and wishes the latter a speedy return to his beloved Copts in Egypt (without date, D-931). From this we can conclude that Archbishop Bsciai gave them both private Arabic lessons.

For the Holy Land pilgrims, "Rev. Börger, Doctor of Theology" as well as Jordan, we still have the ornate document signed by "Fr. Franz

Josef Costa-Maior," Rector of the Austrian Hospice: On "March 18, 1880," happily arrived at the Austrian pilgrim house of the Holy Family . . . Jordan and Börger stayed in Jerusalem from March 3 to 31, 1880.

Both remained together until April 26, 1880. Then Jordan went to Ain Warqa while Börger stayed in Beirut where he had found lodgings with the Capuchins, and attended the Jesuit University of St. Joseph. Both met again in Beirut when Jordan returned there from Ain Warqa on July 16, 1880, to take the ship to Smyrna on July 19. Jordan also handed Börger Mass stipends which had been sent to him from St. Peter in the Black Forest (cf., letter of Börger to Jordan in Arabic of April 28, 1880, D-926, which Börger wrote from Beirut to Jordan in Ain Warqa). In the summer of 1881, Börger returned to the Holy Land. On August 29, 1881, he joined a group of pilgrims of the Beirut Laborer Congregation returning that day from Jerusalem to Beirut. August was unusually hot in Beirut that year. Börger celebrated Mass at the Capuchins and then went for a stroll through the city.

On August 30, together with an English Lord Strickland from Malta, he traveled to the College of Lazarists in Antoura, to the seminary and then to the Patriarch of Syrian Catholics in Churfey. On their way home they both suffered sunstroke near the Beirut waterworks at Nahral-Kelb. The English engineer of the place at once fetched help from the Jesuit college in Beirut. Fr. Habib administered the last sacraments to Börger. His body was taken home, while his companion was saved. On the following day Börger was buried in the cemetery of the Jesuits in Beirut. On the tombstone was written: "*Ferdinandus Börger, sac. Alumn. Prop. Fide, aetatis 27, obiit August 30, 1881.*" Later the cemetery was transferred to Jamhour a few kilometers outside Beirut. On that memorial stone is written: "P. F. Börger, P. F. 1881" (Pater Ferdinand Börger, Propaganda Fide. Cf., *Diarium*, Saint Joseph University, 1872-1882).

Börger's tragic death provoked profound mourning in his native place, although the cause was variously reported. In the Baptism Register the pastor noted: "died in Beirut in Lebanon through fall from horse." (In reality the rescue group took him on horseback from the waterworks to Beirut.) The local history notes: "Dr. Ferdinand Börger, who as professor of theology at the Jesuits' in Beirut in Syria 1881, while on a tour of

Lebanon together with Strickland, a young English Lord from Malta, died of heart attack" (Prof. Dr. Robert Börger, *Historicals from Elspe im Kreis Olpe*, 19). The news of the death together with Börger's assets (documents, 320 fr. and personal effects) were sent to Elspe by the chancellor of the German Consulate.

This is the only case in Jordan's life a true and deep friendship between two like-minded men. Dr. Börger shared not only the passion for language studies of his six year older friend, but he was also attracted by Jordan's plans.* Thus for Jordan the premature death of his friend and first companion was a hard blow. It upset him as if he had experienced it himself. Jordan was by nature extremely sensitive in regard to weather. Sunstrokes remained for him true dangers, which he later feared for his missionaries. Likewise, lightning and thunderstorms weighed so heavily on his nerves as to provoke the sincere sympathy of others. He never forgot the two sea storms or the several days of sea- and earthquakes he had experienced in Smyrna.

2.3/8. Christian Lebanon. Historically, the land between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea was a perpetual a battleground of political and religious differences. In modern times it suffered especially under the Turkish yoke—in 1516 the Ottoman Turks displaced the Egyptian Mameluks. "The barbaric Turkish tyranny and the cruel persecution by oriental heretics" have been deplored since the 16th century in almost all appeals for help in the Holy Land and its northern neighbor. In Jordan's day Lebanon still belonged to Syria and was from 1516-1918 part of the Ottoman Empire with its center in (Vilayet) Damascus. Only after World War I did it become independent from Turkish rule. Beginning in 1912, Syria became a French Mandate. In 1926, Lebanon was separated from Syria; it became autonomous in 1944. At the time of Jordan's journey to the Near East the iron fist of Turkish occupation was felt everywhere.

* *Il Monitore Romano*, October 15, 1881, asks for prayers for "the zealous Rev. Ferdinand Börger, member of the Second Grade, died in Syria."

Under Pius IX and Leo XIII, the Near East received special attention for two reasons. One was to lessen the tension among the oriental Uniate churches which were insisting on their apostolic rights against the ever more centralized post-Vatican I, Latin-Roman ecclesiastic leadership and threatening a schism. Secondly, the mission among non-Christian inhabitants in the Near East had to be enhanced. Thus, close cooperation between the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and the Congregation for Matters of Oriental Rite was vital for *le Proche Orient*.

In the second half of the 19th century, the missions in the Near East revived in a promising way. Above all, the French and the Italians of the great missionary orders were successful, especially through their solid work in education. Jordan met with them repeatedly everywhere on his journey. With his language knowledge, there were no difficulties in communication.

The Vatican's political interest in the Near East demanded prudent and cautious firmness. On the one hand, the cooperation between Rome and various Uniate churches—who had found refuge here from Islamic persecutions, but who as martyr churches were also more sensitive about Rome—was to be handled delicately. Papal legates served as mediators in this regard. The local clergy were to be academically formed in Roman seminaries and at the same time to become rooted in their homeland. The mission regions were handed over to religious orders (Jesuits, Assumptionists, Oblates, Capuchins, etc.).

The French protectorate (barely tolerated by the Turks) was quite helpful to the church (in spite of certain rivalries between German King Wilhelm II and Austria-Hungary). A certain tension remained between the Papal Delegate and the Patriarch. In 1879, the Jesuits inaugurated a seminary in Cairo (from 1884 on, German Borromaeus Sisters worked beside School Brothers, Lyon Missionaries, White Father, Ursula Sisters, etc.). Jordan fully understood the missionary importance of this apostolate. "It is precisely the schools which today are the means of spreading the faith" (SD 154).

Jordan's experiences in Lebanon remained limited to Eastern Uniate churches. Between them and the separated churches of their own rites there were no ecumenically oriented relations at that time. Today's

Orthodox were at that time still considered schismatics. Thus, Jordan's experiences in the Near East remained ecumenically without influence.

Maronites are all Catholics. The Maronite Church of 1880 numbered about 1,000 secular priests as well as 45 monasteries of men with about 800 monks, and seven monasteries of women. Their spiritual leaders came above all from the Maronite Order of Our Lady of Lebanon. This order also taught Catholic monasticism to the refugees of the Uniate Melchites, Armenians and Chaldaeans who had fled to Lebanon. Their monks accepted the Maronite Rule. Maronites trace themselves back to the Holy Hermit Maron (Maroun), who died c. 410.

In the turbulent times of persecution about seventeen religious communities found refuge in remote Lebanon (11 Christian, 5 Moslem, 1 Jewish). The Turkish massacres of Armenians (1895) and most of all the Druses massacres of Maronites (1845-1860; 1891-92) left raw wounds in the various Uniate religious groups. (The Druses are a Moslem sect persecuted by their own co-religionists, who sought refuge in Lebanon. The sect developed there into a tribal community. They devoted themselves to a kind of Platonism since the 12th century and were feared for their intolerant violence.)

After the farmers' rebellion against the sheiks and after the Druses massacres, the Maronite Patriarch became the most important stabilizing force in the country, particularly under the qualified leadership of Paul Māsad (1854-1890). The National Council of 1856 in Bkerki under the presidency of the Apostolic Delegate and with the participation of the superiors of the three Maronite Orders (which at that time boasted 1,800 members, of whom 800 were priests) was showing the way to the future. Their slight relations with France also helped unite Maronites and Latins. French schools set the tone of cultural development.

The academic center of the Maronites was their academy at Ain Warqa. For a long time it was the best college in Lebanon. It is situated in the mountains 30 kilometers north of Beirut. In 1950, the seminary was dissolved and transformed into an orphanage for about 150 children cared for by a Maronite congregation: Sisters of the Holy Charbel Makhlouf. The important archives of Ain Warqa are now in Bkerki, home of the Maronite Patriarch. The Maronites also took great care for elemen-

tary school instruction. The liturgy of the Maronites is in Aramaic, the language spoken by Our Lord, which today is spoken in only a few remote valleys. Most people have adopted Arabic since the 17th century.

The other rites Jordan encountered in the Near East were the Armenian, the Chaldaic (East Syrian), the Antiochean (West Syrian) as well as the Alexandrian (Coptic) and finally the Byzantine. There were four Patriarchs united with Rome—the threefold Maronite one of the Armenians; one of Kilikien (Constantinople); the Chaldaic (Babylon); and the Coptic from Alexandria. After Vatican I, the non-Uniate Christians were dismissed as "schismatics."

During his studies in Ain Warqa the scrupulous Jordan asked at the Propaganda in Rome whether he might follow the Roman liturgical calendar. On June 22, he received this permission for the time of his language study there: "*quod in Oriente permanserit causa linguarum Orientalium addiscendarum. . . . M. Rampolla Secretarius*" (C-61).*

2.4/9. Cedars of Lebanon. A pilgrim today finds the Cedars of the Lebanon not very different from how Jordan experienced them:

The last cedars which stand in a remote high valley high were saved by their inaccessibility from being burned as temple columns or being broken as ship masts in a storm. Only as a symbol on the flag of Lebanon do the cedars still cross the seas today (Peter Bamm, *Welten des Glaubens*: Zurich: 1959, 73).

The 400 remaining trees thriving under the mountain's crest would no longer exist if inaccessibility had not made harvesting them unfeasible.

. . . each tree stands quite isolated touching its neighbor only here and there with its furthest branches. The last cedars are true aristocrats. The

* Jordan kept up relations with his beloved Ain Warqa after his return to Rome. Evidence is a preserved short letter in Arabic of March 30, 1882, in which a theologian from there, Boulos el curi Mnasa, thanks Jordan for mailing *Il Monitore Romanum* and promises to pray for a favorable growth of Jordan's *Societas Instructiva*. He also asks him to continue sending Mass stipends to the priests Josef and Franz (the best way is through the Lazarists in Beirut), "for they are poor as you know, and you promised me these stipends" (D-967).

largest shades a stone basin of deliciously refreshing well water beside which stands a Maronite chapel. The priest welcomed us in a friendly way. . . . As the trunk of this veteran [tree] at the fountain has a circumference of 16 m, it is possible it began to flourish in King Solomon's time (Peter Bamm, *Frühe Stätten der Christenheit*. Zurich: 1967, I, 134).

2.5/11. Massaia, Guglielmo Lorenzo, was selected by Providence to help Jordan in the decisive early phase of his vocation to clarify and solidify his divine calling. He was the first to give Jordan the blessing of the church—the ecclesiastical “yes” to his special vocation. He remained a fatherly friend and protector of Jordan all during the years he made his first tentative steps on his still dark way.

Massaia was born June 8, 1809, in Piova d'Asti. In 1826, this Piemontese entered the Capuchins, was ordained priest in 1832, and from 1836 on was lecturer of philosophy and theology at Capuchin schools in Moncalieri-Testona and Torino-Monte.

In 1844, he became definitor of the Province of Torino. Gregory XVI nominated him Vicar Apostolic of the Galls in High Abyssinia in 1846. After adventurous difficulties Massaia succeeded in reaching his mission territory in 1852. It was situated 2,500 kilometers inland south of Alexandria in an almost undeveloped region of today's Ethiopia. Massaia founded a mission in Kaffa and Schoa in southern Abyssinia and was indefatigably engaged in mission work. He personally baptized more than 36,000. His human prudence, zealous goodness, and manifold abilities were entwined with apostolic zeal and won him great influence everywhere. In his missionary engagement he never overlooked the social needs of the people and tried to win the Italian and French governments for the vital cultural work in Abyssinia. After such fruitful work this most famous missionary of his day was expelled from the country in October 1879, by Negus Ati Johannes II. When he reached Cairo, February 9, 1880, after his long and worrisome trip from the country of the Galls, he spent a few days at the *Convento Grande* of the Franciscans. There Jordan had been receiving kind hospitality since February 7. He immediately felt the urge to open his heart to the aged missionary and to explain to him the struggle for his vocation. Massaia not only understood and strengthened Jordan with his blessing, but he

also remained his caring and loving father (cf., letter of congratulations to the newly nominated Cardinal Massaia, August 18, 1884, A Cap).

On January 24, 1884, Massaia wrote to Jordan from Villa Rufinella in Frascati, where Leo XIII had granted him lodging together with Cardinals Mertgel and Melchers: "I have always considered your efforts like my own" (*Lettere e scritti minori di Guglielmo Massaia*, ed. Rossi, Roma: 1978, V, 212, nr. 1014).

While Jordan stayed with the Capuchins in Smyrna (July 23 - August 7, 1880) and through his pastoral supply work which gave the local superior the opportunity to refresh himself on the Island of Scio, Fr. Fortunato Petaccia, OFM Cap. wrote to Bishop Massaia:

We have here the priest Johann Baptist Jordan, whose acquaintance His Eminence made in Cairo; we have had many and long conversations with this good priest and hope heaven will give success to his projects. I have heard with satisfaction that His Eminence approves of the work of this priest; this bolsters my confidence of staying in contact with him. [Letter is undated, but was sent to Massaia via Marseille, where he stayed July 6-12 before beginning his cure in France, *Ibid.*, 34, n. 812.]

From March 3, 1880, Massaia lodged in Jerusalem with the Franciscans. After retreat in Holy Sepulcher Monastery he also assisted in celebrating Triduum in Jerusalem. Thus Jordan could again talk with this "unbloody martyr" and venerated missionary. March 3, 1880, Massaia was already in Haifa, while Jordan and his companion had departed to Galilee. 1886 *Apostelkalender* reported that Jordan had met one other time with Bishop Massaia in Beirut. This could only have happened when Jordan was in Beirut the first time, i.e., from April 19 - 26, 1880. Massaia traveled by ship from Haifa via Beirut to Smyrna on April 3. On May 23, in Smyrna he gave up the Office of Vicar Apostolic of the Galls. He stayed at the local convent of the Capuchins for a full month. At the beginning of June we meet the mission bishop in Constantinople with the Vicar Apostolic of Bulgaria, Msgr. Rainand. On June 10, 1880, Massaia took the ship back to Europe; on July 8, he landed safely in Marseille.

By August 2, 1881, Massaia was nominated Archbishop of Stauropoli, i.p.i. Leo XIII urged him to write about his mission activity. At first he resisted. His great age and apostolic hardships made him feel

unequal to the task. But coerced by "papal amiability" Massaia composed his twelve volumes, "My Thirty-five Years of Mission in High Ethiopia" (*I miei 35 anni di missione nell 'Alta Etiopia, R.-Mi. 1885-1895*) which still today is an indispensable source for the history, culture and mission of the Galls and of Ethiopia. Massaia dedicated his work to his patron:

Pope Leo XIII, who from the Chair of Peter lovingly embraces the world and gives the Catholic apostolate impulse, fire and life: to you I dedicate these pages, true witnesses of my apostolic efforts.

On August 10, 1884, Leo XIII nominated the world-renown mission Capuchin as a cardinal. Massaia died *improvvisamente* at his confreres' in St. Giorgio da Cremna (near Naples) on August 6, 1889, at the age of 80. His process of beatification has been initiated.

Jordan also remembered thankfully the helpful and friendly companion of the Vicar Apostolic of Galla, the "Apostolic Missionary" Fr. Luigi Gonzaga Lasserre da Morestel, OFM Cap. He was born Calixte Germain Claude in Morestel (near Vézeronce, Isère) on April 6, 1804. From 1839 he was a Capuchin of the Lyon Province. In 1869, he was sent to the mission among the Galls. Together with his superior he was expelled from the country. He was cooperator, not just "secretary" of Massaia, as Jordan calls him in his travel report. In 1881, he became Bishop of Morocco, i.p.i. and as Massaia's coadjutor, successor to the Galls, Vicar Apostolic Taurin Cahagne. Already in 1886, we find him as Apostolic Administrator in Aden, which became the seat of the Apostolic Vicariate of Arabia. He died in Lyon, August 22, 1903, released from his mission activity.

Fr. Fortunato Rosmini Petaccia, who befriended Jordan in Smyrna, was born April 17, 1840, in Manoppello (Pescara). He made his first vows as a Capuchin on November 11, 1858 and was ordained in 1863. In 1866, he was sent to the Capuchin mission of Mesopotamia and was Secretary to Apostolic Delegate Nicola Castella, OFM Cap., Archbishop of Marzanopoli, i.p.i. (+ 1873). On January 20, 1880 he was transferred to the Turkish mission of the Capuchins in Smyrna, where Jordan was a guest in the convent from July 23 to August 7. Petaccia was superior of the convent from 1885 and mission-superior of Smyrna from

1889. Fr. Fortunato Petaccia died there on November 28, 1892. His perfect command of French and Arabic helped to bind him to Jordan.

2.6/13. Lodgings in Jerusalem were found by the two pilgrims in the Pilgrims' Home of the Observant Franciscans, the Casa Nova (RB), where Cardinal Massaia had been in residence since March 3. On March 17, they transferred to the Austrian Hospice, where on March 18 they entered their names in the Pilgrims' Book: "Joh. Baptist Jordan, Baden" and below that, "Dr. Th. Ferdinando Joh. Börger v. der Burg bei Elspe, Westfalen, 1880" (C-60).*

The day before their departure the rector of the Austrian Pilgrims Hospice, "P. Franz Josef Costa-Maior" gave them their Pilgrim Certificates—beautifully printed documents sealed with "Austrian Pilgrims House," the "Jerusalem Cross" and "Holy Family." Four items are entered by hand: the bearer's name: "The Rev. Joh. Jordan, Miss.(rius) apost.(cus);" the date of arrival, for which the rector used the date from the Pilgrims' Book, "March 18, 1880;" the date of the issue of the document "March 30, 1880;" the rector's (C-60). The rector must have taken the title *Missionarius Apostolicus* from Jordan's Propaganda identity card, and where he also got the entry for Börger: "Doctor of Holy Theology."

2.7/19. Bzommar. In 1749, Armenian Catholics received the Village of Bzommar as a gift from Sheik Mochref-El-Khazem. There they founded the convent Notre Dame de Bzommar. It became seat of the Armenian Patriarch. Since 1740 the Armenian Patriarch had been a guest of the Maronite Patriarch and of the Maronite Sheik Abi Nader El Khazen.

* In the guest book these two are entered from March 6-17, but they had probably arrived already on March 3. Just before them a Polish pilgrim had signed in who Jordan later won as a member of the Apostolic Teaching Society: "1880, Florian Kurdÿś, Pauliner Father from Krakow lodged in this hospice from March 17 till April 2." He thanked them for their hospitality and added that as an Austrian subject he would always remember in his prayers the founder of the Hospice, the Illustrious Emperor Franz Josef, King of Galizia.

Basilus Nasser, born in Damascus (March 3, 1839), was ordained bishop of Baalbek (October 7, 1861) for the Greek Melchite Rite. He resided in the Armenian College in Bzommar not far from Ain Warqa and Harissa. Since the reorganization of the Uniate churches by Pius IX (Bull *Reversurus*, July 12, 1867) Bzommar became the residence of the Kilikien Patriarch. In spite of a schism (following Vatican I) Patriarch Hassun could return there.

From Bzommar, Jordan made an excursion to nearby Cherfey where he attended a Syrian divine liturgy at the college. The Syrian Catholics, since the 17th century more and more harassed by their separated brothers of faith, fled to Lebanon. There they enjoyed the protection of the Maronites, who granted them a new home where they founded the convent *Notre Dame de la Délivrance*. The monastery became at the same time the seat of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch.

2.8/22. The Melchites and Sajide Monastery. The Melchites (Greek Uniate Catholics) fled from Syrian towns to the Maronites in Lebanon. In 1811 their first patriarch was assigned the residence of Ain Traz by the Maronite Sheik Sád El Khoury. Ain Traz became the residence of the Uniate Melchite Patriarch and the seminary as well.

Gregory II Joussef (Jussuf, Joseph) Sayur, born on October 17, 1823, in Alexandria, Egypt was a Basilian monk of the Congregation of the Most Holy Savior (*del Ss. Salvatore*). He made his studies at the Papal Greek Rhutenic College in Rome. In 1854, he was ordained Bishop of Tolemaide (Ptolemais i.p.i.). As successor of Patriarch Clemens Bahuta (1856-1864) he ran the Patriarchate from 1864 to 1897. Pius IX confirmed his election as Patriarch of Antioch (in Syria for the Melchite Rite) and sent him the pallium. Jussuf resided in the Melchite College in Ain Traz, 40 kilometers east of Beirut. Under his jurisdiction were also the Melchite Catholics of Jerusalem and Alexandria. His ancestral residence was Damascus.

The monastery of Sajide was the center of Greek Melchite Catholics of Syria under the Patriarch of Damascus. (The synod held there from 1888-1890 contributed to reconciliation and internal unity.) Patriarch Sayur caused a stir at Vatican I, leaving Rome before voting on

the dogmatic constitution *Pastor aeternus* (July 18, 1870) together with the Chaldaic and Syrian Patriarchs. They later ratified the constitution, but tension remained with Rome over its failure to consider their rights and privileges as patriarchs. With Leo XIII began a fruitful program of reconciliation in faith and obedience. Leo recognized in 1894 the jurisdiction of Patriarch Gregory II over all Uniate Melchites.

The resentment some Uniate bishops felt toward Rome was a consequence of the imprudence of the Neo-ultramontanes at Vatican I. Angered by Rome's abolition of the old patriarchal privileges, Jussuf opposed the reorganization of the Melchite Church which had been initiated under Melchite Patriarch Mazlum (+1855) through the Council of Jerusalem. He renewed his local church by educating the clergy, countering Protestant schools with schools of their own, as well as refusing the imprudent efforts of schools of Latin missionaries. Patriarch Joseph died in his residence in Damascus in 1897 (cf., MI 15, 238).

2.9/24. The Three Grades. The draft outlining the tasks of the "Three Grades" is very general and basic. The First Grade was to be comprised of priests from all Catholic rites as well as laymen who, following the example of the apostles, leave everything to dedicate themselves completely to proclaiming the Good News. As the means, Jordan indicates above all "preaching and writing as well as schools and seminaries for natives in their home-lands." For the education of girls he envisioned a congregation of sisters of the same kind.

The Second Grade was to unite only scholars and academics, priests as well as lay people. They shall, as far as their professional duties permit, dedicate themselves to resisting anti-Catholic propaganda and promulgating Catholic doctrines. A Latin periodical shall be their organ.

The Third Grade was to bring together lay people who in their professions and at home oppose all anti-Catholic influences and educate their children and those subject to them to be good Catholics. They too shall have their own periodical.

In his Italian letter to Bishop Massaia, Jordan points to their conversations in Jerusalem and Beirut in regard to the planned Society. He is eager now to send a concise prospectus (*prospetto conciso*):

I feel urged to turn to your Excellency. God has blessed our undertaking. It has already various members, among them bishops and patriarchs of different rites, who encourage us. Now we intend to found our first house in Rome or somewhere else in Italy, the center of Catholicism.

Then Jordan refers to the great influence Bishop Massaia has with the Holy Father and asks him to use it on his behalf. Because, "in a week I will return to Rome, where I shall present our project in an audience and ask for the blessing and some words of encouragement from the Vicar of Christ" (A Cap.). Massaia, however, first arrived in Rome only three weeks later.

2.10/25. Diploma.

The excellent and respectable Father, the bearer of this script, endowed with extraordinary virtues, the venerable Rev. Father Johann Baptist the German, has honored our college with his kindness since April 26, 1880, with the wish to consolidate what he had learned in the Arabic language. He reached this, supported by esteemed scholars, excelling in eloquence as well as such who possessed the reins of science, with the help of God in the short time [of his study] what others failed to reach, and this by accustoming his ear to understand and to acquire the current pronunciation. And this is to be ascribed to nothing else but to his good memory, the exactness of his thinking, to diligence and perseverance, his carefulness and effort, by not interrupting his study except when he lay down to rest or to fulfill his religious duties. . . . And as he is conscious of all that moved us deeply and what his personality, deserving esteem, impressed into our heart, we wanted to express it.

July 20, 1880

Fr. Don Paolo Stefano,
Superior, University of Ain Warqa.

Jordan translated the certificate into Italian and had it verified by his Archepiscopal private tutor: "The undersigned certifies to have compared this script with the Arabic original and to have found that the translation corresponds to the respective contents. September 24, 1880, A. Bsciai, Coptic Archbishop" (C-59).

2.11/26. Jordan's Travel Report. Jordan never published his travel report. He hadn't enough time to bring it into the desired form: "Description of the Holy Land Similar to Kuhn," SD 173. (Albert Kuhn (1839-1929) Benedictine of Einsiedeln had described "a journey to the Orient" in the *St. Meinradsknaben*, which met with great acclaim.) In his work Jordan often wrote the Arabic names as they sounded to his ear. Furthermore, he simplified the usual French transcription of the spelling of names of places and persons. Nevertheless, Jordan's travel report played quite a role in his young Society in regard to its growing self-understanding. Through the promotional brochure of Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller, "The Catholic Teaching Society, its Aim and Development, Edited 1888 in Braunau am Inn" it entered the early tradition of the Society. It also served as a basic text in forming novices.

From the very beginning Hopfenmüller points to Jn 17:3 as the answer to the question "What do we want?" (Chapter I, 12). In Chapter 3, "How did the Society come into being?" Jordan's journey to the Orient and its importance for the birth of the Society is fully appreciated.

The then Secretary of the Propaganda, now Secretary of State Rampolla, gave him the mandate to deliver a special document to the Apostolic Delegate of Egypt. . . . Jordan laid his plan [for a Society] on the Holy Sepulcher of Christ. And as if Christ the Lord wanted to give His agreement, it happened that two bishops in Jerusalem greeted the plan with joy, giving their blessing. [These two are] the learned as well as saintly Capuchin bishop, now Cardinal Massaia, and the Catholic Patriarch of Jerusalem, Vincent Braco.

Hopfenmüller also mentions Jordan's visit to Carmel and to the Cedars of Lebanon. The so-called "Lebanon experience" itself was not known to him, otherwise he would never have omitted it. The "congratulatory certificate" from the rector of Ain Warqa University is not only given fully in the German translation but its Arabic original is also printed in facsimile. Among church leaders with whom Jordan spoke in Lebanon, Hopfenmüller especially mentioned "Syro-Maronite Patriarch Putrus" and his auxiliary, Bishop Hanna, the Greek Melchite Patriarch Gregor Jussuf, the Archbishop of Smyrna Timoni as well as Maddalena of Corfu. He emphasized the encouragement of the Archbishop of Smyrna: "If you

persevere, it will succeed." Of course, the agreement to Jordan's plans by Cardinals Simeoni and Bilio, as well as the private audience with Leo XIII, who "sent Jordan forth with the consolation of a papal blessing and thus with a certain anticipated consecration by the church" were also mentioned (E-304. 5; cf., DSS IV, 123 ff). Hopfenmüller's Brochure appeared before Easter 1888, for under section "5th Social Needs" he refers to the "recently deceased" Don Bosco (+ January 31, 1888).

Scholasticus 1898-99 (Freiburg, Switzerland) presents a short biography of Jordan, which returns literally to the historical statements in Hopfenmüller's Brochure. About the diploma of Ain Warqa it says:

In the dignitaries Jordan visited on his return journey, this congratulatory certificate must certainly have inspired enthusiasm toward this priest who trusted so much in God. This can clearly be seen from the encouraging words with which they sent forth this man of God, burning with thirst for souls: "Go on, God will help you."

To this interpretation by *Scholasticus* it is to be noticed that Jordan's diploma bears the date July 20, 1880. It was therefore forwarded to him so that could show it on his later visits to churchmen like Fakak, Jussef and Timoni; the rector of Ain Warqa had himself corrected the date.

The novitiate tradition in *Scholasticus* notes as well (in connection with Hoppfenmuller) both the travel report and also the encouragements from church dignitaries. Jordan's travel report merely says Patriarch Masshad had encouraged him: "Carry on bravely;" and about Archbishop Tiomoni, "he gave his blessing." His encouragement: "*Se persevera, riesce*" is found in an undated paper of Jordan's (G-7.1, 11). On November 29, 1915, already in exile and freed from the burden of managing the Society, Jordan noted in a grateful backward gaze in his notebook that the prophetic saying of the Archbishop of Smyrna had come true.

An important sign Jordan's call was real was seen in his safe escape from all the dangers of the trip, the storms at sea tossing to and fro, as well as the sea- and earthquakes in Smyrna. *Scholasticus* writes:

After discovering the protection of heaven already on the way to the Greek Melchite Jussef, it was especially meaningful for him that he luckily escaped another threatening danger in the fall from his mount.

It discusses the earthquake in Smyrna along with its impending dangers. Jordan notes twice that he fell from a donkey and also from a mule, the first time on the way from Biblos from Ain Warqa on July 8, the second time on his ride to Beyruth from Ain Traz, luckily without injury. Jordan had already noted Dr. Börger's fall from the stubborn Somarello at the start of the pilgrimage on a ride through the surroundings of Cairo, something that left the traveling company amused.

3. "Now We Get to Work"

Hardly back in Rome from his Near Eastern journey, Jordan again felt urged to ask his fatherly protector, Bishop Massaia, to smooth the way he wanted to follow. On August 13, 1880,¹ he wrote:

Again I dare to bother you, Monsignor, with my petition. I have returned to Rome to obtain the blessing of the Holy Father. Before I address His Holiness with my concern I want to ask you again most sincerely to send me your apostolic blessing² as well as some encouraging and strengthening words. I mean thereby the recommendation of our undertaking for the greater honor of God and for the good of the souls redeemed by the Precious Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ. The benefits which you will grant our Society by your apostolic zeal will be indelible. It shall have as our goal the salvation of souls and the renewal of our present society. Ardently I await the receipt of your apostolic blessing and your kind recommendation (ACap).

In the Near East it had been relatively easy to collect ecclesiastical recommendations. But the Roman counsels Jordan approached were more reticent. The stormy young founder had to pass the school of purifying patience in which such vocations must ripen. Nevertheless, Jordan dared without delay to trouble Roman church dignitaries to open the way to the Holy Father by their influence, to enable him to present his important request personally as soon as possible. As he later remarked definitively and bravely at the end of his travel report, "Now we get to work."

He discussed "his plan" first with Msgr. Rampolla who "liked the plan" (RB). The then Secretary of Propaganda smoothed Jordan's path to his superior, Cardinal Simeoni, "who considered the thing not very enthusi-

¹ Between the date of the letter and the travel report of Jordan there is a small contradiction: Jordan's letter is dated August 13, while it says "where I arrived on August 14."

² It is surprising that Jordan confers "apostolic" quality not only on the bishop himself as representative of Christ but also on the episcopal blessing.

astically" (RB). The next to be visited was Cardinal Bilio,³ as pious as he was open to everything good. He was at once receptive to Jordan's plans, even declaring himself "*protettore di fatto*" (RB). Next Jordan went to Cardinal Franzelin,⁴ "who received me very amiably and after a lengthy discussion gave his blessing for the Society" (RB), a Society which really only existed in Jordan's own heart and head. Encouraged by these results he dared now to approach the Holy Father himself. He again saw Cardinal Bilio who presented Jordan's desire to Leo XIII. **See, 3.1. Leo XIII.**⁵ After overcoming some obstacles, which the anticamera dutifully put up for everyone (as it was well known Leo XIII did not like to grant audiences) Jordan was received in private audience "where His Holiness spoke with me about the undertaking and gave his blessing." The

³ Luigi Mario Bilio of Alessandria (Piemont, 1826-1884) became a Barnabite at the age of fourteen and cardinal at the age of forty. He was responsible for the Syllabus of Errors (1864), which he compiled from earlier papal statements. But he pleaded for a moderate explanation of the same. As a theologian Bilio was Prefect of the Dogmatic Commission of Vatican I. As one of the five Council presidents he had great regard for the Council minority. Pius IX, however, urged Bilio to a stricter formulation of the decree on infallibility. From 1877, Bilio was Grand-Penitentiary. In the conclave of 1878, out of true humility, he renounced from the very beginning to be elected pope and thus facilitated the election of Cardinal Pecci. The sober, modest and generous Piemontese enjoyed great authority with Italian King Victor Immanuel. Bilio's advice was highly esteemed by Leo XIII, and his requests met with consideration.

⁴ Johann Baptist Franzelin (Altino, Tyrol, 1816-1886) lectured as a Jesuit at the Roman College first in oriental languages, then in dogmatics (1858-1876). At Vatican I he was adviser for dogmatic questions and "papal theologian." Nominated cardinal by Pius IX in 1878, Franzelin was faithful to the church and did not fully agree to Leo XIII's politics of reconciliation with Prussia.

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.1. Leo XIII.

following day Jordan noted: "Monsignor Boccali⁶ informed me again that His Holiness upheld the blessing." In his diary he says: "On September 6, 1880, I was received alone in a private audience with His Holiness Leo XIII regarding founding the Society" (SD 157). On the same page Jordan had shortly before written down very clearly his all-embracing intention: Orientation of the Society. That it prosper greatly and spread everywhere and accomplish much for the honor of Almighty God and for the salvation of souls, and that it be without blemish or wrinkle, pleasing to God and serving Him alone (SD 157).

Jordan always persisted in this basic apostolic orientation for which he fought and suffered until the end of his life.

Jordan was extremely happy he had been able to receive "the supreme ecclesiastic antecedent blessing for his plans so quickly."⁷ Yet this blessing of the representative of Christ bound him all the more to his

⁶ Gabriele Boccali (1843-1892) was called to Rome by Leo XIII in 1878 as one of the *Perugini*. He was his closest private secretary, "*SS.D.N.Cubicularius intimus*" as he may once have signed himself. Without him nobody reached the pope. Thus he was one of the most courted persons at the Vatican. Those who envied him quipped: "without Boccali no salvation." Physically weak, he succumbed early to the overstrain caused by his demanding position.

Jordan felt delighted surprise when the very busy private secretary presented himself at his apartment and communicated to him that "the Holy Father maintained the blessing for his project." This can only be connected to the fact that Bishop Massaia had arrived in Rome on September 4 and asked for an audience, getting it the very next day, September 7. Bishop Massaia may also have discussed with Leo XIII the plans Jordan had presented to the Holy Father the previous day and into which Bishop Massaia was very well initiated.

⁷ This unusual wording is probably Lüthen's. We find it already in his brochure about the ATS which he composed while still in the Cassianum and which he presented at the meeting in Ottobeuren in July 1881 (Brochure, 9, E-304.1; cf., DSS IV, 27). It clearly expresses how Jordan experienced and valued this audience with Leo XIII.

calling. Amid all the unavoidable inner and outer difficulties he had to stay faithful to his vocation in the church. It was all too clear to Jordan that he had to fight great obstacles because such work "could flourish only in the shadow of the cross," as he often expressed it (SD 163; 2/73).

In these late August days of 1880, Jordan was doing more than winning ecclesiastical patrons for his plans. He was endeavoring above all to find in the very Word of God clear guidance for his undertaking. He listed in these days clear citations from scripture where he found the spirit of his calling and of his planned work expressed most significantly:

- “Come after me and I will make you fishers of men.” They immediately abandoned their nets and became his followers (Matt 4:19-20).
- Everyone who has given up home brothers or sisters, father or mother, wife or children or property for my sake will receive many times as much and inherit everlasting life (Matt 19:28).
- Go out now and take your place in the temple and preach to the people all about this new life (Acts 5:20).
- But the wise shall shine brightly like the splendor of the heavens, and those who lead many to justice shall be like the stars forever (Dan 12:3).
- Fight bravely; do battle with the ancient serpent and you will discover eternal life (cf., Hb 11:34; Rev 12:7-9; 2Pt 1:11)
- If one takes part in an athletic contest, he cannot receive the winner's crown unless he has kept the rules (2 Tim 2:4).
- Obedience is better than sacrifice, and submission than the fat of rams (1 Sam 15:22).
- Obedience is the highest freedom, if man has reached it he can hardly sin any more (St. Jerome).
- Christ humbled himself, obediently accepting death, death on a cross! (Phil 2:8).

These citations in Jordan's Book of Resolutions show clearly the spirit which was to imbue his future foundation. The characteristic of his work, his special charism, had to be the closest and most complete following of the Lord in the footsteps of the apostles. This style of discipleship meant for Jordan a clear “yes” to the ready commitment to the Kingdom of

God: by honest proclamation, without encumbrances,⁸ in true ecclesial obedience (SD 157-159). Jordan loved the fact that this point was stressed by Holy Scripture and that he found his aim grounded there. Another list of scriptural quotations is preserved which he compiled, probably at the same time, under the demanding title: "Legacy out of the Mouth of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (B-102). Here he chose expressions mostly from Matthew's Gospel, which had apostolic meaning. (Later Jordan will have great difficulties drawing up a "rule" acceptable to canon law. Again and again he would refer to scripture texts concerning apostolic life. He would simply copy canonical matters in his rule from others who had a better understanding of them.)

In the next days and weeks his spirit glowed with Pauline ardor. He felt himself driven by all his upcoming plans. As far as possible he was determined to make use of the "papal green light" to realize his ideas. But he had first to find the right co-workers—men and women motivated like he was by apostolic enthusiasm—to join him to realize the great plan in joint action.

Jordan tried to woo supporters for his endeavor from among the young priests of the two German foundations in Rome: Anima and Campo Santo. He hoped one or the other would warm up to his undertaking. But they all turned him down, openly or silently. **See, 3.2. Prill.**⁹ Those young men were so engrossed in their own academic studies that Jordan's apostolic fervor seemed to them obtrusive and extravagant, and they closed their hearts to his entreaties.

⁸ Inspired by the words of St. Peter: "Lo, Lord, we have left everything to get free for you" (Matt 19:27), "leaving everything" was for Jordan a basic apostolic requirement of his foundation, more than just an ascetic value. He already stressed this in his first sketch of a rule, which he sent to Massaia from Smyrna (ACap).

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.2. Prill.

Soon after his return from Lebanon, Jordan was enticed to return to his German homeland, as Constance was the location of the 27th German Catholic Convention,¹⁰ September 13-16, 1880. **See, 3.3. Katholikentage in Constance.** There in the midst of so many leading personalities he intended to make some preliminary hopeful connections. Jordan found many old friends like Schorderet and Kleiser, the two patrons of the *Pauluswerk*, and his first Latin teacher, the editor Friedrich Werber. Of special importance for him was the meeting with Ludwig Auer,¹¹ the Catholic educator and founder of Cassianeum (**see, 3.4. Auer**), who now invited Jordan to Donauwörth for further joint planning and actions.

But first he longed to greet his elderly mother and to report on his Holy Land journey to his compatriots.¹² He was also eager to share with them his grand plans for the future. In Freiburg¹³ he also met his local bishop¹⁴

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.3. *Katholikentage* in Constance.

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.4. Auer.

¹² On September 19, 1880, Jordan lectured about his journey to Palestine in the Hirschen in Thiengen (cf., *Säckinger Volksblatt*, September 25, 1880).

¹³ Jordan always received hospitality from Dr. Stefan Braun (Hofsteinbach, 22 May, 1832-1899, July 25, Freiburg). After his ordination, August 5, 1856, Braun became a tutor at the seminary (1857-1874). He was also editor of *Konradsblatt*, the Sunday paper of the Archdiocese of Freiburg (1859-1888). He was allowed to retain his lodgings in the seminary, which at that time was in Burgstraße 1. From this much older priest-friend Jordan received not only advice about the Catholic press, he also discussed his new foundation, which could not take root in his homeland. Jordan found here precious support through priestly friends whose position and personality were not without influence (cf., letter to Auer, August 16, 1881).

¹⁴ Bishop Lothar only took part at the opening session. Thus Jordan had to travel to Freiburg to talk matters over with him. To receive his consent for his project, Jordan had already taken the first steps during his stay in the Near East.

without whose agreement he would not be able to proceed. For the time being, Bishop Lothar remained reticent. His urgent concern was his own diocese which suffered exceedingly from lack of priests. Since a mutual agreement between the state and the archdiocese of March 5, 1880, had abolished the examination laws, the bishop immediately recalled his "exiled" priests. Again Jordan found himself in a dilemma. On the one hand it would grieve Bishop Lothar to lose such a good worker; on the other hand Jordan wished to remain under the guidance of Propaganda Fide to be less hindered "in working on his planned endeavor." His Book of Resolutions touches on this problem:

Oh, do not neglect to carry out your intention which God has indicated to you [by giving you] so much dedication and love for the supernatural, and so forth. Do not delay, as soon as obedience no longer holds you back (SD 163).

Bishop Lothar gave Jordan his blessing, but the would-be founder hoped for his active support in order to realize his ideas all the quicker.

Jordan traveled next from Freiburg to Donauwörth to consult with Auer, the director of the Cassianum, as they had arranged.¹⁵ He hoped Auer's

He was convinced that he had to insist on his apostolic vocation especially towards his local bishop. In his petition to Leo XIII (March 10, 1882) Jordan pointed out that his local bishop had given his blessing for his undertaking. He also mentioned that he had for the sake of his work renounced ecclesiastical positions in his own diocese, to which there would have been connected significant material advantages and honors (E-25.2; cf., DSS X nr. 76). Such a confession of the truthful priest presupposed that his bishop would have preferred to have him at home and that he kept all doors open for his return.

¹⁵ Already on September 27 from Freiburg i. Br., Jordan had announced his visit to the director of the Cassianeum to discuss "the important matters which you already know." Jordan couldn't but be surprised as he learned more about Auer's flourishing work in Donauwörth. By early October, Jordan was Auer's guest. They worked together on the statutes of a future Teaching Society, by which each tried to bind the other to himself. The result was, of course, a still

energetic support would help him work out his plans more quickly. Jordan was searching for a solid base in Catholic Germany, while at the same time establishing one in Catholic Italy. October 1880 found Jordan and Auer in hopeful harmony and in untiring efforts to formulate the statutes necessary for a public announcement of their planned joint undertaking. **See, 3.5. Statutes.**¹⁶ At the same time the partners tried hard to lay down a balanced contract settling rights and duties that would both guarantee necessary mutual help, and yet insure their indispensable autonomy. **See, 3.6. Contract.**¹⁷ Jordan only found time to sketch rough outlines of the statutes with Auer. Individual points were to be settled by correspondence and with a future meeting. Jordan was urged to hurry back to Rome as his protracted absence from there would endanger the seedlings. Steps were necessary in the field of canonical and civil rights to validate their contract; these were to be taken by Auer. Both men were to remain in close brotherly contact and agree on further steps and developments, and coordinate their actions on both sides of the Alps. Auer expected very much from realizing Jordan's plans, hoping to extend the influence of the Cassianum far across national and linguistic borders.

Jordan returned to Rome by way of Baden and Freiburg, Switzerland. There he stayed again in the parish house of St. Moritz and was able to consult with Canon Schorderet and especially with Schorderet's "right hand," Jordan's fellow countryman and friend Chaplain Kleiser. **See, 3.7.**

immature compromise of the rather autonomous visions of the partners. To both men it was evident their union could only be provisional, one which was still waiting for its realization by trial in everyday life. Correspondingly, the final draft was completely unsatisfactory to Jordan in several aspects. Already after his departure Jordan was occupied with examining the Donauwörth paper and winning Auer for his own proposals. About Jordan's negotiations with Auer we are quite well informed thanks to the Donauwörth archives (AC).

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.5. Statutes.

¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.6. Contract.

Kleiser.¹⁸ Schorderet declared himself ready to print Jordan's French press releases, but he never kept his promise.

In the *Pauluswerk* Jordan became acquainted with the parish priest of Zwolle, G. Roelofs, who liked to write and sought to connect with the *Pauluswerk*. **See. 3.8 Roelofs.**¹⁹ Jordan persuaded him also to contact the Cassianeum. In a long letter he informed Auer of Roelofs' arrival and recommended that Auer "co-operate with him,"

. . . [who] has already joined our Society as a member and is ready to take over the Dutch direction and the founding of the Society in Netherlands. I am asking you to receive the dear and zealous confrere with all your love in the spirit of our Society (October 17, 1880).

Sad to say, Jordan's hopes in Roelofs were not fulfilled as he lacked the stability and staying power necessary for such a beginning.

On his journey from Donauwörth to Freiburg, Jordan reconsidered the agreement made at the Cassianeum. The fact was that everything was still forming up and every improvement had to be prepared before the statutes were finalized.

Two aspects of the statutes were not cleared to Jordan's satisfaction: finances and governance. With regard to the first, Jordan intended that any assets should remain in the country and should, according to local laws, be assigned to members of the First Grade. The respective local directors should contribute to missionary activities and to the support of the superior director. Jordan wanted to omit altogether one paragraph about abstaining from politics, which he feared would cause mistrust in liberal circles. With regard to Auer's last will and testament, Jordan requested clarification on two points: one, that Director Auer had to care first of all for his family; second, that in spite of this, the property of the

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.7. Kleiser.

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.8. Roelofs.

Cassianeum should also in the future be assigned to the common good cause. Notwithstanding, he concluded this letter to Auer (Freiburg, Switzerland, October 17, 1880) with extreme enthusiasm: "Fight with unbroken courage for the divine work" (AC, Fasc. I).

Jordan wanted to go from Freiburg to Paris where his fellow countryman, Cornelius Reichenbach, worked for *Pauluswerk*. France had from the beginning a privileged place in Jordan's international plans. But then he changed his itinerary, heading directly to Rome, his new ecclesiastical homeland: "Someone desires to have me soon in Rome, from where I received consoling news. Perhaps we shall also get a church there" (October 17, 1880). The identity of this "someone" is not known.

On his way to Rome Jordan made a stop in Turin on October 20, 1880. There he conferred with Don Bosco. The charismatic "Apostle of Youth" was already 60 and had enough experience to be useful to Jordan. He showed himself very receptive to Jordan's plans and gave him valuable tips for his start. He also warned Jordan against the "resistance of lower and higher clerics" which would spare Jordan no less than they had spared him. Don Bosco admonished Jordan also to proceed in the best understanding with bishops and pastors with regard to the Second and Third Grades of his foundation. He himself would give his support to the best of his ability (cf., letters of Jordan, October 5 and 11, 1880).

October 22, 1880, found Jordan again in Rome starting with untiring effort to till the soil for the seed. He saw the Cassianeum as a support given by Divine Providence to bolster all his further plans. Jordan remained in frequent communication with Auer. The Director of the Cassianeum, loaded with his own burdens, was less ready to write. But Jordan was untiring in addressing his "friend and confrere in Christ," and to spur him on to cooperation. He was convinced that Auer had already completely joined him in his work and so he asked him urgently not to be discouraged by any difficulties, for the cause of God deserved every effort: "Think, we have not by a long shot suffered what the apostles suffered!" (letter, October 25, 1880). Jordan referred once more

to Auer's will and proposed again a form which would correspond to German laws. He thought of assigning the Cassianeum to the Apostolic Teaching Society in such a way that the property (with debts) would be ascribed to a community of 3 priests with the fundamental condition that Auer, in case of a later purchase by the Society, would retain directorship (letter, October 25, 1880). We do not know how or whether at all Auer reacted to Jordan's financial proposals. Neither did Auer win the consent of the Bishop of Augsburg,²⁰ something Jordan had expected (cf., Jordan to Auer, November 11, 1880). Though open to apostolic undertakings, the bishop was a prudent brakeman.

Meanwhile, Jordan had moved from his small room in the *Via Largo dell'Impresa* into the house of Santa Birgitta on Piazza Farnese²¹ in the first week of December. **See, 3.9. St. Bridget.** He was no longer a student but had to follow his divine call, and this move was the first step. In November the rector of the Anima had recommended to him a priest-student whom Jordan gladly accepted. For a few weeks Josef Hartmann²² lived with Jordan in the small room Jordan had rented while still a student. **See, 3.10. Hartmann.** Then they moved together into the new apartment

²⁰ Pancratius (von) Dinkel (Staffelstein, 1811-1894, Augsburg) was ordained in 1834 in Bamberg. Already in 1843, he became a pastor in Erlangen and in 1858 bishop of Augsburg. At Vatican I he was among the minority together with the Bavarian bishops like Gregor v. Scherr (1829-1877) Archbishop of München, and his predecessor Michael von Deinlein (1800-1875) study companion of Döllinger and Archbishop of Bamberg. As Bishop of Augsburg, Dinkel was the ecclesiastical superior of the Cassianeum. He remained reserved towards the partnership between Auer and Jordan, whose contacts were more through correspondence than personal. His concern was to be prudent so as not to irritate the Bavarian *Josefinismus* of Minister Lutz or his king, Ludwig I. A few years later Jordan found in him a helpful mediator in a matter involving Amalie Streitel that was awkward for both of them.

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.9. St. Bridget.

²² See, A Closer Look: 3.10. Hartmann.

where Jordan had temporarily rented two rooms. The landlord was Fr. Ferd Pietrobattista²³ of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. The new apartment had the great advantage that Jordan found an attractive baroque church close by, which spared him the long walk to the parish church, San Lorenzo in Lucina, to offer Mass as he had been doing. Jordan had immediately informed Hartmann of his apostolic plans and invited him to join. The student was of course in no situation to decide yes or no. He was glad to be under Jordan's good care, but with regard to Jordan's plans the student-priest was reluctant. Jordan saw in him a possible cooperator and wanted to tie him closely to himself from the start. So he went with him on December 8, 1880 (or the day before) to the church of the Redemptorists where they celebrated Mass before the icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Hartmann receiving Holy Communion, and in this way both "inaugurated" a community of two "for the purpose of later founding a religious society." But Hartmann emphasized that this compact was "only temporary and without bilateral obligations" (H-15).

The new residence was also appealing to Jordan insofar as there were always rooms available for priests passing through. He liked to preach to the people who came for parish Mass on Sundays, mostly women and children. (This was greatly appreciated by the superior who was often away.) Jordan chose for himself one of the German-speaking confessors

²³ Ferdinando Pietrobattista was General Procurator of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (1868-1883), which had its principle seat in Neuilly-sur-Seine near Paris. In St. Bridget also resided Bishop Dufal, a member of the same congregation. Born in Saint Gervais (Diocese of Clermont) on November 8, 1822, he became auxiliary bishop with the right of succession in Galveston, Texas (Bishop Deacon in Thracis, i.p.i. on May 14, 1878). By 1880 Dufal resigned and was then General Procurator (1883-1888) replacing Fr. Pietrobattista. He died in the generalate house on March 14, 1898. The priests at Piazza Farnese were called *Padri Francesi* by the people. In his memoirs Lüthen mentions Bishop Dufal as the silent spectator at the official foundation of the Apostolic Teaching Society (First Grade) in St. Bridget on December 8, 1881 (BL-1378; cf., fnt. 77).

in St. Peter's, the Silesian, G. Bauer.²⁴ Together Jordan and Hartmann cared for the kitchen. Jordan insisted on sufficient and good food so that Hartmann felt well provided for. Jordan always kept Hartmann informed of his plans and doings. Hartmann remembered this all his life long. In no way was the time he lived together with Jordan boring. He never forgot several references Jordan made to a vision he had had of the apostles, to found "an international college for mission-minded priests." He knew the esteemed teacher Fr. Bolig approved of Jordan's plans; he knew Jordan's extraordinary talents, his enlightened enthusiasm for spreading the faith, and last but not least the practical experience of the former artisan. On the other hand, Cardinal Steinhuber²⁵ and Fr. Schroeder²⁶ rector of the Gregoriana, had been against Jordan's ideas, "although they appreciated with high praise Jordan's excellent gifts of mind and heart" (Hartmann's reminiscences, September 20, 1930, H-15).

²⁴ Fr. German Bauer, Conventual Franciscan (Silesia, 1814-1881, August 18) was German confessor in St. Peter's from July 23, 1854 till his death. From 1861 he was also a member of the Arch-confraternity at Campo Santo.

²⁵ Andreas Karl Steinhuber (Uttlau, Bavaria, 1825-1907, Rome) attended the Lyceum in Passau, did higher studies at the Roman College (1845-1852), was ordained in 1851, worked at first as a teacher of religion at the Maximilaneum, Munich and was pastor in Passau for three years. In 1857 he became a Jesuit, lectured first in Innsbruck, then at the Roman College. From 1867 to 1880 he was rector of the Germanicum, then consultor in various Congregations. Leo XIII nominated him cardinal on January 16, 1893 (against the will of the Jesuit Superior General, therefore only *in petto* at first, on May 18, 1894 *in publico*). In 1896 he became Prefect of the Congregation for the Index.

²⁶ Friedrich Schröder was born 1837 in Vechta, Oldenburg; he became a Jesuit in 1876, and was at the Germanicum (1872-1899). He was twice rector of the Roman College, the first time as successor of Steinhuber (1881-1888) and then a second time (1892-1899). During his last years he lived in the Jesuit College Weijnadsrad, Netherlands. Prill interpreted the negative attitude of the two rectors of the Roman College towards Jordan's undertaking as a certain rivalry (cf., letter, March 3, 1929).

Jordan was eager to begin publishing a modest newspaper in Rome without delay. He intended to enter families through their children, and thus to draw attention to his work. He thought of a kind of Guardian Angel Letter such as Auer edited (letter, October 21, 1880). He also wanted it to have the blessing of the Holy Father. He asked Auer for an appropriate emblem. Auer suggested a picture of the Blessed Virgin with the two Princes of the Apostles: Peter and Paul.

Thus he started the apostolate of the press with a modest paper for children, and this outside his own country. See, 3.11. *Piccolo Monitore Cattolico*.²⁷ But he also fought with Auer to use the Director's *Monika* as an organ for the Third Grade of his own Society, according to their agreement (cf., letter, November 11, 1880). For Italy too he planned an Italian edition of *Monika*, an *Apostolo Istruttivo* (cf., letter to Auer, November 19, 1880).

The desired emblem ran into trouble in the Congregation of Rites, since the symbol of the Sacred Heart appeared twice in the picture: once on the breast of the Divine Child, and again as a sign by itself. Jordan had taken the emblem of the Divine Child with the Sacred Heart from the *Kanisius-stimmen*. Now the second "heart" was replaced by a picture of a dove (letters, November 19, 22, 23, 1880).

Jordan also hoped Auer could provide him with some start up capital—3,000 M. Auer remained silent. In the meantime Msgr. Paolo Fortini,²⁸ a

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.11. *Piccolo Monitore Cattolico*.

²⁸ Jordan called Paolo Fortini "*stimatissimo amico*." He had a certain influence in Rome through his conservative periodical *La Fiaccola*. He became known through his booklet *Leone XIII e gli Intransigenti* (Rome: 1885), a booklet about the Catholic liberals' struggle against intransigent newspapers. The point of contention was primarily papal politics which he saw as pro-German and anti-French (*Causa Pietra*). Using selected statement of Leo XIII he turned sharply against liberal Catholics. From 1882 to 1884, Fortini was Apostolic Pro-Vicar of

reliable journalist, had joined Jordan and offered his cooperation. With him Jordan would travel to France, Netherlands, England and America trying to get support for his future Society. So from the start we see his aims were not limited to Rome and Italy. He also put out feelers to Galizia through Msgr. Stanislaus Stojalowski in Lemberg (letter, October 25, 1880). See, 3.12 Stojalowski.²⁹ Since Auer could not give him the desired 3,000 M, Jordan asked him to secure for him a loan of 4,000 M. (letter, November 12, 1880). Thus, we see that from the outset Jordan was not afraid to incur debts for his apostolic work. Providence would provide. And the value of Divine Providence was incalculable.

The statutes were an important item in the correspondence between Jordan and Auer. Jordan wanted them in order to secure ecclesiastical permission to start and also as something to help in raising funds for the Roman foundation: "We must now beg for our home in Rome, for activity in Rome is very good and also desired" (letter, October 25, 1880). But there were difficulties in securing the coveted ecclesiastical permission. It is true Jordan was always visiting churchmen and spiritual personalities, especially in the late afternoons. Such meetings were mostly encouraging but of little help for his practical needs. Nobody was ready to give this young German priest a *carte blanche*. Jordan shared this new Roman experience with Auer: "Courage and perseverance in this undertaking so great and so very important." But "we shall proceed slowly and with great carefulness" (November 11, 1880). Therefore, Auer was not to publish the statutes themselves in German papers for the time being. Instead he was to add to the preparatory statutes the fact that the work had already received the blessing of the Holy Father, as well as of several cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops and bishops of various rites. For

Queensland, Australia residing in Cooktown. From there he kept up his good relations with Jordan. Jordan published Forini's pastoral letter of May 28, 1882 in *Monitore Romano* of September 1, 1882, along with a letter of Fortini expressing his concerns for the Australian mission.

²⁹ See. A Closer Look: 3.12. Stojalowski.

further steps in Rome he desired to have as soon as possible printed excerpts of the statutes which he wanted to submit to the Holy See. Jordan had won in these months a sufficient number of influential patrons—Massaia, Bilio, the brothers Hergenröther, Rampolla, Howard,³⁰ de Montel, de Waal, Jänig—all of whom took his concerns seriously. **See, 3.13. De Montel.**³¹ But he also met other personalities who opposed his apostolic zeal with ecclesiastical prudence. Jordan was counseled to slow down: "It is better to build long and well, than fast and without a good foundation, *andare piano*" (go slowly)" he wrote to Auer as if to apologize for himself for charging ahead so stormily up to now.

November 2, 1880, Jordan handed the Cardinal Vicar³² his statutes (in Italian and much shortened) since this office was now Jordan's proper ecclesiastical authority. The Vicariate presented them to the Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for examination.³³ Informed about

³⁰ Edward Howard (Haiton, Diocese of Nottingham, 1929-1892, Brighton) after a career as a soldier he found acceptance in the Institute of *Nobili Ecclesiastici*, studied at the Roman College (1854-1858) and entered ecclesiastical service. In 1872 he became Titular Archbishop of Neo-Caesarea and on March 12, 1877, cardinal and bishop of Frascati. He returned to England for health reasons.

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.13. De Montel.

³² The Cardinal Vicar was Raffaele Monaco La Valletta, born in 1827 in L'Aquila, descended from an old aristocratic family. A cardinal since 1868, he was Cardinal Vicar from 1876 to 1884, then Grand Penitentiary and Secretary of the Holy Office. He died after a long illness in 1896. La Valletta was strict in his religious views. When he had to deal with women his secretary was always present, and during his conversations the door of the room was always ajar. He led a blameless life keeping a strictly religious attitude. In his tasks he showed great diligence and good administration. Politically he was more intransigent than liberal. Jordan could expect fair treatment from him.

³³ Innocenzo Gerrieri (Fano, 1810-1887, Rome) cardinal since 1896, was made Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious around 1880. He

this by the Secretary of the Vicariate, Jordan submitted a further request to this Congregation (November 27, 1880):

The undersigned, priest of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, explained that he had been received in private audience by the Holy Father, September 6, with whom I discussed my plans for the foundation of a Society, and from whom I received his blessing. Since I wish to go ahead as fast as possible with the founding of this Society, I ask in all humility, Your Eminence, to grant the *nihil obstat*, so to enable me to submit the respective statutes for printing as soon as possible.

Jordan gave as his address "San Lorenzo in Luncino, Via Largo dell' Impresa, nr. 2A. Giovanni Battista Jordan." The Congregation decided on November 30: "The petitioner is asked to refer to the appropriate bishop. J.B. Agnozzi,³⁴ Secretary." Jordan received the statutes back, he even had to give a receipt for them (ACRel, Prot 3682/12). This happened probably at the beginning of December 1880. In his letter to Arnold Janssen, December 12, 1880, he did not mention this disappointment. But in a letter to Auer of December 19, 1880, he says:

First let me tell you that the Holy Congregation of Bishops has referred the affair to the proper bishop. At the Cardinal Vicariate, i.e. the local ordinary, I met great difficulties; he grants us no approval for the statutes you drew up. (I had made some changes and shortened them a bit) insofar as they were too extensive, almost a second Catholic Church; and there were no funds. With other bishops we shall meet the same difficulties.

was a serious man, in no way craving honor; he led a retired life dedicating himself fully to his work. In spite of his sharp tongue he was highly esteemed by Leo XIII who allowed him to visit him each Sunday for conversation.

³⁴ Giovanni Battista Agnozzi (Mogliano, Fermo, 1821-1888, Bogotà) was then Secretary of the Congregation for Religious. He worked as nuncio in Luzern from 1868, but was expelled by the *Schweizer Bundesart* at the end of 1873, under pressure from the Radical Liberals. In Rome he became Secretary at Propaganda, then at the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. Because of an unhappy financial matter he was exiled as Delegate to Bogotà from where he was able to pay back to Propaganda the money he had lent to a friend.

Jordan was advised to submit more modest statutes. But he decided first to set up something in Rome: "We will start humbly and in small way our activities for God and the welfare of our neighbor." Jordan would submit statutes only after that, based on practical experience. He pointed to St. Vincent de Paul who had done the same.

Jordan was troubled very much about how to organize the First Grade. He was advised to form a union of secular priests—Hartmann reminded him of the Institute of Bartholomäus Holzhauser.³⁵ But that was for him "too little;" his idea was not priestly sanctification, but *Apostolisten* "new apostles" as he expressed himself to Hartmann. In addition he could not decide on founding a society of priests with vows. He felt himself to be too "small" to demand something like this from priests. Hartmann remembered that Capuchin bishop Massaia had already urged simple vows as a binding force, and this was finally accepted; "Priests and laymen of the First Grade make simple vows, members of the Second and Third Grade remain in their previous avocations" (Jordan to Janssen, December 5, 1880, ASVD).

³⁵ Bartholomäus Holzhauser (Laugna, Sweden, 24 August, 1613-1658, May 20, Bingen, Rhine) was the son of a poor shoemaker who had to fight hard to become a priest. After his studies in Ingolstadt he was finally ordained. Influenced by visions, he planned to found an institute of priests living in community with the aim of renewing priestly life. As a canon in Tittmoning (1640-1642) and Dean in St. Johann, Tyrol (1642-1659) he realized his plan. His work met with the acknowledging support of the bishops of Mainz and Würzburg. Through his ascetic works written in Latin, Holzhauser decidedly influenced the formation of priests in Europe. His cooperators were often entrusted with the direction of seminaries. His foundation of the "Bartholomäers" came to a close toward the end of the 18th century.

A hundred years later, the memory of the Priest Association of Blessed Bartholomäus Holzhauser revived. The editor of *Ambrosius*, Bernhard Lüthen also presented Holzhauser's concern to his priest-readers. His supplements to *Ambrosius* 1880-1881 were ample proof that Lüthen's concern was also personal.

Jordan's "humility and conscientiousness, his trust in God, his generosity towards the needs of the Kingdom of God," Hartmann remembered forever, although he lived together with Jordan for hardly 8 months. On his side, Jordan had grown fond of the student who had accompanied him on his first steps as founder. Even shortly before his ordination Jordan tempted Hartmann back with the remark: "Since in December 1880, we have already bound ourselves, praying to God and the Blessed Virgin before the altar of 'Perpetual Help' at the Redemptorist chapel for the founding" (H-15). But the deacon declined, a choice he later regretted.

Jordan was constantly attempting to win good cooperators so that slowly his undertaking could be realized. At the same time he searched for the means to establish his own printery, an idea Msgr. Fortini also pressed. Jordan dreamed of a press which would enable him to spread his nets in all European languages in order to win helpers for the Kingdom of God according to his plans. But he could not free himself for the great promotional tour he intended to make.

By the end of 1880, Jordan had made every effort but had still not managed the real breakthrough. This despite the fact that "he was a well known personality among all German and Roman prelates, associating with all" (Hartmann). Neither had he come to a real agreement with Auer, so that they could have a real "topping-out" ceremony for Christmas as they had planned. In a letter to Auer he wrote:

Great things must begin with cross and sufferings, humility and abasement. If not, I don't know whether they will succeed. With many difficulties the hand of God will again reveal itself. Every-thing need not happen at once. We may also leave something for our successors. Let's do what is possible for God and for poor souls, and God will do his part (December 19, 1880).

For the time being Jordan had to leave his statutes in the drawer. Auer was not to publish them "so as to avoid new complications" (December 19, 1880). At the year's end Jordan invited Auer to continue along with him, and recalled their mutual friendship "which we formed and sealed last October" (December 28, 1880).

Before going to Germany to meet again with Auer, he took leave of the Cardinal Vicar³⁶ who encouraged him in his paternal way: "I shall praise you if you do some good." This was for Jordan a sort of basic permission to start. Due to a Roman objection Jordan had to change one word in the motto of the Cassianeum for Italian usage from "humanity" (*umanità*) to "neighborhood" (*prossimo*). This he told Auer while announcing his impending arrival (January 11, 1881). Originally he had not wanted to go to Donauwörth before the summer of 1881.

God willing, I shall permit myself to visit you next summer, when we can talk about local conditions. It has pained me somewhat that you gave me no news in these stormy times. But the Lord, having tested it, will repay suffering with his rich goodness (December 28, 1880).

Auer's reluctance forced Jordan to go north as soon as possible. Many things had to be cleared up after the fast start of the previous autumn (January 11, 1881).

Before leaving for Donauwörth, Jordan also asked advice from experienced founders of other orders like Don Bosco and Semenenko. **See, 3.14. Semenenko.**³⁷ He was careful not to receive mere verbal approval; he also tried to get real recommendations in writing from important clerics. In January 1881, he convinced cardinals Hergenröther³⁸

³⁶ That Jordan at his first tentative steps in Rome may have bypassed the responsible Cardinal Vicariate out of ignorance of canon law as Pancratius Pfeiffer assumed does not correspond to reality (cf., PPP, 112f., Sum. § 36).

³⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.14. Semenenko.

³⁸ Josef Hergenröther, born November 15, 1824 in Würzburg, studied at the Roman College and in Munich. He became a professor of Church History and Canon Law in Würzburg under Bishop Stahl. He worked as a consultant in the preparatory commission for Vatican I where he was known as a harsh adversary of Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890). In 1879 he became a cardinal. In Rome he worked as Prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives and was engaged in various special commissions (Index, Studies, History, etc.). He died in the

and Parocchi to give clear recommendations of his undertaking (see, **3.15. Parocchi**³⁹), as well as two high ranking teachers of San Apollinare: archbishops Bsciai and Balgy. **See, 3.16. The Four Letters of Recommendation.**⁴⁰ Jordan certainly showed these precious documents to Arnold Janssen⁴¹ who visited him in February, 1881. **See, 3.17. Janssen.**

Soon after Janssen's visit Jordan set out for Donauwörth traveling through his home country. First he saw his mother and his brothers to regulate inheritance affairs according to his mother's wishes.⁴² During these days the diocesan authorities sent Jordan's study reports to the Baden Interior Ministry asking them to admit him to priestly functions in his home diocese. This was promptly granted on February 15, 1881. **See,**

Cistercian Abbey in Mehrerau. Hergenröther had excellent knowledge of the Bavarian and Roman situations and thus he was a qualified adviser to Jordan.

³⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.15. Parocchi.

⁴⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.16. The four Letters of Recommendation.

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.17. Janssen.

⁴² Jordan also paid a short visit to his sponsor Fr. Werber in Radolfzell. Without delay the pastor made Jordan's concerns his own, promoting them in his *Freie Stimme* of February 8, 1881:

The so-called Apostolic Teaching Society, which the Badish priest Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil intends to found, has not only received the blessing of the Holy Father, but also the approval of many cardinals, e.g., Cardinal Hergenröther. We continue to accept gratefully gifts for this purpose. In these last days we handed to him personally the money collected so far.

Pastor Nägele, Jordan's second private teacher from Waldshut, was informed probably by letter of his undertaking and was successfully convinced by Jordan to cooperate. The pastor of Waltersrein sent him 100 Marks on November 12, 1881 (D-956) and continued to help him financially (cf., letters of thanks, February 24, 1882; March 1882. Jordan signed each with "your unworthy pupil").

3.18. Reinstatement.⁴³ From Gurtweil he went to Freiburg, Switzerland to discuss with Schorderet and Kleiser the possibilities of cooperating. There he also got acquainted with Adam Francois Nicolas Wittmann,⁴⁴ the assistant at the Cathedral of St. Nikolaus. **See, 3.19 Wittmann.** He was a zealous co-worker in the press apostolate and was considered an ascetical priest and a highly moral pastor. Jordan would have liked to have him as a committed co-worker.

By February 16, 1881, Jordan had returned home to renounce his inheritance in favor of his older brother. With his mother and two brothers he appeared at the Notary Public's office⁴⁵ on February 17, 1881. **See, 3.20. Debt cancellation.** The same day he went to Constance by way of Reichenau to visit some dear friends, especially Simon Deggelmann.⁴⁶

⁴³ See, A Closer Look: 3.18. Reinstatement.

⁴⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.19. Wittmann.

⁴⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.20. Debt cancellation.

⁴⁶ Simon Deggelmann born April 27, 1858, on the Reichenau, Oberzell was a farmer's son. From 1871 till 1875 he attended the Lyceum in Constance. From 1875 to 1878 he trained as a businessman in Geneva. In two musterings (1878 and 1879) he was declared unfit for military service. For some months he worked in London (1879). At the *Katholikentage* in Constance he was listed as a collaborator of the *Pauluswerk* (through his compatriot Johann Ev. Kleiser). Deggelmann remained single and grew as a constant promoter of the Catholic Press. As such Jordan won him over for his cause and he remained a true cooperator of the Salvatorian Press in the area of his home, as well as a supporter of Bishop Kleiser (*Kanisiusstimmen*). His capabilities as a trained businessman helped him as cashier of the Constance Press Union and as administrator of the club house, St. Johann. Deggelmann was a selfless and capable administrator.

After that he finally arrived in Donauwörth where he announced himself as having come from Gurtweil.⁴⁷

In the Cassianeum he reported to Auer what he had already achieved in Rome. They discussed the statutes again, as well as questions of finances important to both. There Jordan also met for the first time the editor of *Ambrosius*, a magazine for priests, Bernhard Lüthen. **See, 3.21. Lüthen.**⁴⁸ He had already worked there four years with much success and was highly esteemed by all. His confessional in Holy Cross Church was frequented by many in spiritual trouble. He liked to visit the hidden poor in the town, and was always ready to give away even necessities from his own wardrobe too help those in need. In retrospect, both Jordan and Lüthen considered it providential that their paths had crossed in Donauwörth. Soon after, Providence would unite them as brothers in a common apostolic track. By March 27, 1881, Jordan informed Auer that he was back again in Rome, without indicating his return route.

When the rector of the Anima, Janig, was looking to fill the vacant position of catechist⁴⁹ with another German priest he thought of Jordan.

⁴⁷ In Gurtweil Jordan had also packed his library and sent it to Donauwörth. From there he had his books forwarded to Rome (letter to Auer, March 27, 1881). In Reichenau, Jordan met with Deggelmann who took over for him the promotion and delivery of periodicals as he had done for Kleiser. In Constance, Jordan visited his benefactors from student days, above all Martha Höfler and Adolf Settele. A few months later Settele communicate to him full of joy from Constance to Rome that he had been promoted to school administrator in Bambergen near Überlingen (letter, October 10, 1881, D-952).

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.21. Lüthen.

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.22. Post for converts.

See, 3.22. Post for converts. In this he had the support of Dr. Jansen⁵⁰ who was friends with Jordan and well disposed towards him. Both appealed to Cardinal Bilio and asked his help to persuade the pope's major-domo⁵¹ who preferred an Italian priest. Cardinal Franzelin and the procurator of the Anima, G. Jacquemin, were on Jänig's side. They all thought highly of Jordan and wanted to provide him with a position which would give him a modest but secure livelihood. Hartmann as well as Jänig himself wrote Jordan in Donauwörth, appealing to him not to miss this good opportunity and immediately to apply for this position. But Jordan was so fully preoccupied with efforts for his undertaking that he had no intention to bind himself to a steady job. So he had willy-nilly to disappoint his benevolent friends in Rome.⁵²

⁵⁰ Andreas Jansen was born on January 3, 1849, in Zwolle. At first he studied philosophy and theology in Münster. He then worked as a teacher there and in Amsterdam. After the sudden death of his parents and a brother, he switched to theological studies. From October 24, 1878 till June 25, 1882, Dr. Jansen lodged at Campo Santo. On June 19, 1882, he graduated as Doctor of Theology in Church History. Already on June 8, 1879, he was ordained at the Lateran (cf., CS). Jansen was very well disposed towards Jordan; they behaved like friends (cf., letter of Jordan, March 14, 1882, G-4.1; Jansen's postcard D-934). As church historian he was friends with von Pastor, who also lodged at Campo Santo that same time. He first became a professor in the seminary in Utrecht, then in Tynsburg. As a speaker at the *Katholikentage* the Dutchman was famous. His "History of the German People" was a bestseller at that time among German Catholics. Jansen died in his homeland in 1916.

⁵¹ Francesco Ricci Paracciani (1830-1894) was a native of Rome and active in church administration. From 1875 till 1882 he was invested with the office of *Maggior domo* under Pius IX and Leo XIII. At the same time he was Secretary of Memorials. Already in 1880, a cardinal *in petto*, he became so *in publico* in 1882. In church politics he lacked influence and was considered Rome's *cardinal de gala*.

⁵² From Germany Jordan returned to Rome and turned to the Index Congregation for permission to read and keep prohibited books. It was granted

Precisely what Jordan thought about forming a loose association of priests of all grades similar to the priestly unions of Bartholomäus Holzhauser remains unclear. In any case he seems to have toyed with this possibility as a way to priestly spiritual progress, as Hartmann recalls in his memoirs. He adds, however, that Cardinal Massaia already in the spring of 1881 had dissuaded him from such ideas (H-15.9).

In Rome, Jordan proceeded again with Pauline zeal to make his plans known and to win friends and co-workers. Before Easter 1881 (April 17), he established a small printery at St. Bridget. By Easter the first issue of *Monitore Romano* appeared. Together with a pamphlet it was distributed widely and gratis to bishops and pastors. At the same time Jordan presented his work in Catholic papers in Italy and Germany and invited co-workers. **See, 3.23. Success of publications.**⁵¹ In Archbishop Rota⁵² he won a valuable co-worker who liked to treat religious topics in the Italian organ of the ATS, Third Grade. **See, 3.24. Rota.** Like Massaia, he sided fully with Jordan's plans and promoted his work, standing up for him against setbacks arising from misunderstandings.

Jordan also sought more backing in German-speaking regions, reckoning above all on the cooperation of the Cassianeum. Auer, however, was not as enthused about Jordan's work as Jordan had wished. All the same, at his second visit to Donauwörth, Jordan had found well disposed helpers in Frs. Lüthen and Praxmarer.⁵³ His main concern at that time was to

to Johann Baptist Jordan, "priest of the Diocese of Freiburg" on March 18, 1881, under the usual conditions (C-62).

⁵¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.23. Success of publications.

⁵² See, A Closer Look: 3.24. Rota.

⁵³ Johannes Praxmarer, born May 16, 1853 in Bingen, studied at the Jesuit College in Innsbruck and was ordained there on July 12, 1879. He

establish the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society, without losing sight of the other possibilities for the First and Second Grades. **See, 3.25. The Second Grade.**⁵⁴ Jordan's objectives are clearly explained in *Monitore Romano* and also in a pamphlet and other publicity leaflets for the Catholic press. Through them many were convinced of the need of such an undertaking and were won as cooperators.

The biblical citations on the magazine's masthead reveal the pulse of the young Roman enterprise which presented itself as "Apostolic Teaching Society," a not very modest name! "Go into the whole world and proclaim the good news to all creation" (Mk 16:15). "Eternal life is this: to know you, the only true God, and him whom you have sent, Jesus Christ" (Jn 17:3). On the reverse of the medal (as it were) the quotation from the Book of Wisdom was added: "For all men were by nature foolish who were in ignorance of God" (Wis 13:5). The motto of the Cassianum (the Italian version) was also included: "Everything with God and through God for your neighbor!" The paper itself offered instructive articles for the Christian family.⁵⁵

concluded his studies graduating as Doctor in Theology. From June 1880 till August 1884 he was active at the Cassianum. He replaced Lüthen as house spiritual advisor and editor of *Ambrosius* (February, 1882-1884). [Condensed by translator.] He died in Mainz in 1934 (cf., Schematism of Würzburg and Mainz). Praxmarer liked to write for youth (*Stern der Jugend*, 1893-1915). At the beginning of his connection with Auer, Jordan asked for Praxmarer's cooperation several times until the bridge to the Cassianum was torn down.

⁵⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.25. The Second Grade.

⁵⁵ Jordan didn't name his Italian periodical for adults *Apostolo Istruttivo* as he at first intended in strict connection to the name he had chosen for his foundation (cf., letter to Auer, November 19, 1880). Instead he called it *Il Monitore Romano*. He had announced the periodical already in the *Piccolo Monitore* at the beginning of January 1881. It was ready to be printed soon after Christmas 1880. The reason for this change of name was certainly not just to show the spiritual connection of the two papers. In the time between the first

The Latin pamphlet directed to bishops and priests kept close, almost literally, to the sketch Jordan had sent from Smyrna to his spiritual father, Bishop Massaia. In the "divine dedication" we now read: "In honor to God who possesses all knowledge" (formerly, "In honor to God Almighty"). The inspirational texts (Dan 12:3; Jn 17:3) as a motto are not repeated in the pamphlet. "The Apostolic Teaching Society under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles" conveys exactly the intention. It takes up the "prayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ which before his suffering he addressed to his eternal Father." In keeping with the times, the intention is broadened, pointing to Rome: "The Society is totally obligated to the Supreme Pastor of the Apostles and is resolved to defend his rights in a special manner." As for the most proper and necessary means, the Society considers Christian schools of all ranks and emphasizes the weapon of the press. On a special page in large letters Jordan also pointed to the fact that the Holy Father as well as cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops and bishops of several rites, had already given their blessing to this Society (E-106).⁵⁶

A shorter more restrained Easter letter in Italian was added to the Latin document. Addressed to the ecclesiastical superiors, it asked for their recommendations, and again referred to the recognition given already by higher authorities. Some copies of the *Monitore Romano* were added for pastors, referring to the program of the Third Grade sent previously (E-107). Pamphlet and petition were produced in the Society's print shop.

announcement and publication Jordan had noticed that the name he had chosen was simply not accepted in Roman circles. In the *Sacro Palazzo Apostolico* he had already been prohibited from officially using the word "apostolic" for his growing Society (cf., letter to Auer, December 19, 1880). In the eyes of the church, whatever Jordan undertook at this time had to be considered purely private.

⁵⁶ Jordan also sent the leaflet to Auer (AC Fasc. VIIIa, 1; German in Fasc. IVk; cf., DSS II, 91ff). With sincere joy he noted on a visiting card that Greek Melchite Patriarch Gregor II Jussef Sayur had promised to send the leaflet to his bishops. Jordan noted: "he has blessed me sincerely and encouraged me" (B-4).

Indeed, Jordan constantly found new allies and co-workers. This was for him a confirmation that his work was God-given, willed by God, and answering the signs of the times. Such experiences reminded him yet again of his duties and gave wings to his enterprising spirit. He felt the good breeze in his sails, but remained just a tactful helmsman.

Initially parish groups⁵⁷ were to be a rough form of the Third Grade. Jordan had great hope for them and already in May 1881, he published their proper statutes. **See, 3.26. Statutes of 1881.**⁵⁸ But he was unable to find an Italian National Director to take charge of the development of the Third Grade in an informed and energetic way. He had to take over the Directorate himself, temporarily (*provisoriamente*) as he said in the second issue of *Monitore Romano*. In spite of all troubles Jordan was in good spirits. "We are making progress energetically," he told Lüthen on Holy Thursday. To Auer he wrote: "In Italy things are going along, there are already 4 centers." At the same time he expressed his concern that Auer showed himself so reluctant towards his enterprise: "I must know definitely which position you are taking concerning our Society, and that pretty soon." In June, Jordan wanted to talk with Auer personally, for "the wagon is moving now, there is no stopping it" (letter, May 23, 1881).

But Jordan had to change his travel plans for the summer. He did not go to Donauwörth, but to Ottobeuren. **See, 3.27. Koneberg and the meeting**

⁵⁷ The first parish sections developed in Rome (S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini) and Bagnolo (San Biagio), Diocese of Mantua (cf., MR, June 1881). On May 23, 1881, Jordan informed Auer that already "four directorates" (parish groups) existed (AC). Jordan made every effort to give the movement a clear structure. He called his head office in Rome, *Comitato Generale della Societa Apostolica Istruttiva*. Local directors succeeded mostly in winning local pastors for this position. He asked them for a list of the incorporated members (E-6).

⁵⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.26. Statutes of 1881.

in Ottobeuren. The pastor there, Fr. Koneberg, OSB,⁵⁹ had shown lively interest in Jordan's enterprise; and shortly before, Fr. Friedrich von Leonhardi⁶⁰ had also decided to join the Apostolic Teaching Society. **See, 3.28. Von Leonhardi.** He did this with the good intention of furthering his engagement for the missions in Sweden. **See, 3.29. The Swedish Mission.**⁶¹ Fr. Bernhard Lüthen followed him, and Jordan did not want to be a burden to the hospitality of the Cassianeum. In any case the priory in Ottobeuren was better suited for a meeting.

Fr. Koneberg was already about to establish a parish group of the Third Grade—the first one on German soil. Lüthen had joined Jordan's way so definitively that he presented the Apostolic Teaching Society in a booklet he had prepared while still in the Cassianeum. **See, 3.30. Lüthen's Brochure.**⁶² And Lüthen, being experienced, had ignored neither Auer nor the Bishop of Augsburg. As this booklet was well received, they decided to send it at once to the ecclesiastical authorities.⁶³ Now the

⁵⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.27. Koneberg and the meeting in Ottobeuren.

⁶⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.28. Von Leonhardi.

⁶¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.29. The Swedish Mission.

⁶² See, A Closer Look: 3.30. Lüthen's Brochure.

⁶³ The response was not too encouraging. The diocesan newspaper of Münster printed Lüthen's Brochure in its November issue (21-125). Werber published the entire text in installments only the following year (*Freie Stimme*, August 8 and 15, 1882). Above all, Jordan and Lüthen advertized, the former in *Monitore Romano*, the latter in *Ambrosius* (cf., September, 1881; E-304.1). Other periodicals contended themselves with mentions: *Linzer Theo. praktische Quartalschrift* carries in 1882 (Vol. 35, 231) a summary of Lüthen's Brochure; the *Kölner Pastorallblatt* expressed its opinion in regard to Jordan's foundation in March, 1882. About the response to the start in Ottobeuren, Fr. Koneberg among many other priests informed Jordan in a letter of August 2, 1882: "priests will be the

statutes of the Apostolic Teaching Society were composed and edited (for the Third Grade) as a separate booklet⁶⁴ which was to be distributed free among the Catholic populace. Next the three priests agreed to establish as soon as possible, in some official way, the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society to which they had already dedicated themselves. They charged Jordan to make the necessary preparations, possibly in Rome.

Jordan, of course, invited Auer to come to Ottobeuren to take part "in very important deliberations." He listed as the main point only the magazine *Monika* as organ for the Third Grade as per agreement of October, 1880 (letter from Ottobeuren to Auer, July 11, 1881). But Auer stayed away. He felt growing uneasiness over how Jordan was getting his undertaking on its own feet.

For its part the Ottobeuren group wanted to stay free of any dependence on the work of Auer. They decided therefore to edit, in the place of *Monika*, their own organ for the Third Grade, and told Lüthen to take a hand in its realization. This magazine was called "The Missionary." This

major adversaries of the project. Who has put up these two as directors? . . . What merits can they present?" (D-940).

⁶⁴ Already on July 31, 1881, Jordan had incorporated Deggelmann into the Third Grade. On that occasion he handed him the "Statutes of the Apostolic Teaching Society" composed in Ottobeuren and printed by Ganser, the local printing shop. This booklet displays on the title page a simple picture of the Heart of Jesus, which Lüthen also took over for *Der Missionär*. On the left side of the picture is the text Dan 12:3; on the right side is added Jn 17:3; below is printed the motto of the Cassianum. The certificate of admission was already printed on the last page of the brochure to be used by the admitting pastor. The modest presentation of the brochure, which contained only the statutes for the Third Grade, could thus always be available to the members admitted (E-1228, Fasc. VIIIb; cf., DSS II, 99ff).

name could not have expressed better what was expected from the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society. **See, 3.31. *Der Missionär*.**⁶⁵

This meeting in Ottobeuren in July, 1881, was for Jordan more than the real start of the Apostolic Teaching Society on German soil. Above all it was here that the Lord had brought Lüthen to him as companion for his work. **See, 3.32. *Lüthen decides*.**⁶⁶ It was this good, zealous and gifted priest who enabled Jordan in time to give his enterprise the form in which it could grow and mature successfully.

In Ottobeuren tasks were allotted. Von Leonhardi went fund raising.⁶⁷ Lüthen devoted himself to his editorial work.⁶⁸ Jordan was to go back to

⁶⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.31. *Der Missionär*.

⁶⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.32. *Lüthen decides*.

⁶⁷ Von Leonhardi, the first to leave Ottobeuren, reported on July 21, 1881, from Kipfeldorf near Heilbronn. He informed Jordan, his "confrere in Christ" that he intended to advertize in the Svevian region for the common cause, giving Rottenburg as his new address. Von Leonhardi asks, probably alluding to Auer and Lüthen: "How are matters developing? Maybe many matters will be a hindrance to you. I am always with you in my prayers." Von Leonhardi added greetings to Lüthen and Praxmarer and addressed his postcard "Reverend J.B. Jordan, Founder of the Apostolic Teaching Society, Donauwörth, Cassianeum." The address was changed to Monastery in Ottobeuren (H-19.3).

⁶⁸ Lüthen himself remained in Ottobeuren. He did not return to Donauwörth. "I left the Cassianeum, a place I had loved, in order to follow Reverend Father Jordan. My thoughts are found in *Ambrosius*" (Lüthen in "Contribution to the History of the Teaching Society of the Divine Savior," Hamburg: August 15 and 16, 1910, BL-1378). On the last day of July, Lüthen wrote a postcard to Jordan from Ottobeuren with some brief hints; he addressed it to Jordan c/o pastor Dr. Werber in Radolfzell (BL-2). From Metten, Lüthen informed Jordan that he was planning to arrive in Rome on October 15, that also von Leonhardi would come there (card, October 7, 1881, BL-3).

Rome to prepare the ground for the First Grade as planned. At the same time he remained temporary director, responsible for the two Italian magazines of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Von Leonhardi had departed before July 21. Jordan left Ottobeuren on July 28. By the end of July, Koneberg was alone again and he consolidated his parish groups.

Jordan traveled to Rome through his Baden homeland. July 31 he was in Constance with Deggelmann. Then he went to Radolfzell to see Werber, and to his hometown where Fr. Sträßle welcomed him. Jordan also informed his bishop about his apostolic enterprise and renewed his appeal to free him for his calling. From Freiburg i. Br. he wrote Auer on August 11, and on August 16 he traveled to Freiburg, Switzerland. Just before that he learned of the sudden death of his local bishop from a heart attack. On August 17-18, he took part in the great Canisius⁶⁹ celebrations in the City on the Saane, which his friend Kleiser had organized on the occasion of the 300 year celebration of the arrival of St. Peter Canisius. Jordan, who had not yet definitively decided whether to found and establish his work in Rome, turned his hesitance over to the saint, "Praying at his tomb he received the inspiration to form the Society in Rome, the center of Christianity" (G-14). After discussions at *Paulus-werk* where he also met the Dutch press priest Roelofs he journeyed to Einsiedeln, to plead his cause "before Our Lady of the Dark Woods" (letter to Auer, August 24, 1881). On September 11, we find him again in Munich where he lived with the Franciscans. As his mailing address he gave Ottobeuren where he wanted to meet Lüthen again.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Blessed Peter Canisius (Nijmegen, 1521-1597, Freiburg) was the most famous reformer in the German region and was considered the second Apostle of Germany. His catechism (called Canisi) became the handbook for German-speaking Catholics. In 1581 he received from the pope himself the mandate to found a college in Fribourg, Switzerland, which he began immediately and to whose internal and external completion he dedicated himself up to his death.

⁷⁰ The August issue of *Monitore Romano* calls the membership of the Apostolic Teaching Society (Third Grade) to pray for their zealous director, who

In October 1881, Jordan was back at St. Bridget where the community of his co-workers was growing.⁷¹ Lüthen too came to Rome by the end of October to continue editing. (In the fall he had found lodgings first in the Abbey of Metten, motherhouse of the Bavarian Benedictines, and later with a good woman in the neighborhood of the monastery.)

Jordan was less and less content with the cooperation of Auer. From Rome he sent Auer a letter on October 24, 1881, asking for a definite statement whether the Cassianeum now would transfer the *Ambrosius* to the Apostolic Teaching Society as an organ for the clergy.⁷² Auer felt

had undertaken a long journey abroad in order to expand the Society. At the same time is noted that "in Germany a National Committee of our Society had been established by a pious and zealous priest, who belonged to the First Grade. He has already founded a periodical."

⁷¹ The *Monitore Romano* and *Der Missionär* described in detail in these months the development of the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society. In October, 1881, *Monitore Romano* announced again eight Italian and six German parish sections, among which were one in Ottobeuren (Fr. Koneberg, OSB) and one in Radolfzell (Fr. Werber). By the end of the year the periodical could state that in spite of much resistance "this new Catholic undertaking had to suffer" it had developed well. The Third Grade had been introduced in many parishes of "thirteen dioceses of various nations." In Rome the printery was up and running. In addition to the work of preaching and catechizing, the Society had already distributed about 60,000 copies of periodicals among the Catholic population. "Thus, it had made considerable progress under the weight of the cross." It was just such a cross which the Society accepted as a proof that it was a work willed by God (*una opera voluta da Dio*). By the end of the year it was announced: "On December 8, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, the First Grade of the Society has been established (MR 1881 nr. 9; MI 1881, nr. 4).

⁷² Jordan presented Auer with these two alternatives: either allow editor Lüthen to represent the interests of the Society in *Ambrosius* according to his free discretion, or hand over the periodical to the Society. Otherwise the Society would see itself compelled to found an independent organ for the clergy. Jordan excused his resolution "because just now there are consultations going on

Jordan's frank inquiry was a presumptuous provocation which bothered him greatly. In the outline of his answer one can't miss Auer's deeply felt pain at the prospect that the Cassianeum would have to forego its cooperation with the Apostolic Teaching Society. Auer also urged Jordan to resist any competing undertaking even if it were only through the materials it printed. Although we do not know the final form of Auer's answer, nor how Jordan took it, the sketch which is preserved shows the deep rift between the two partners which had opened up after only six months, and which forecasts the coming break. **See, 3.33. Auer's response.**⁷³ In spite of this Jordan told Auer on November 11, "It was said by certain people that we are on the right track."

Jordan was forced to rent more and more rooms at St. Bridget. In their deliberations in November 1881, Jordan, Lüthen and von Leonhardi agreed to initiate the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society on the Solemnity of the Immaculate Conception. This First Grade was to be the cadre needed to secure the stability and future of the total undertaking. To prepare themselves, they first went to Borgo S. Spirito⁷⁴ (a Jesuit retreat house) for a three-day spiritual retreat. According to Lüthen's memoirs, after that "we professed on December 8, 1881, in the chapel of Santa Brigitta after receiving Holy Communion from the hand of

about important steps in the Society" (letter, October 24, 1881). Jordan could only have been alluding to the consultations with Lüthen and von Leonhardi about founding the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society, which were taken up again after the arrival of these two companions in Rome.

⁷³ See, A Closer Look: 3.33. Auer's response.

⁷⁴ Borgo Santo Spirito 12, was a small Jesuits retreat house. In 1881, it housed three priests and two brothers. At the same time the house was the entrance to the Observatory of the Order of the *Cecchina sul Gianicolo*. Its director was Caspar Stanislaus Ferrari, a pupil of the well known Fr. Angelus Secchi.

Reverend Fr. Jordan privately [professed] our holy vows, myself for 3 years, von Leonhardi forever,". **See, 3.34. December 8, 1881.**⁷⁵

Jordan's heart rejoiced on this day with holy joy. He was overwhelmed by feelings of gratitude because the Lord had granted the desired breakthrough so quickly. The heart of his far reaching work had begun to beat. Their number was small but the future of their whole enterprise now seemed secure to Jordan. **See, 3.35. Emblem.**⁷⁶

Jordan always observed December 8, 1881, as the true founding day of his enterprise. For, "On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Queen of the Apostles, our very small Society (*minima societas*) had its origin" (circular letter on first anniversary, December 8, 1882). "Twelve years ago we three were assembled in the room where St. Brigitta died, and there the work had its concrete start" (Jordan, DSS XXIII, December 8, 1893).

As in Ottobeuren for the Third Grade, so now for the First Grade, Jordan hurried to formulate in writing the necessary rules of life. He succeeded to express in a short version clearly and unequivocally the rule to which members of the First Grade would have to dedicate themselves:

It is the objective of the Apostolic Teaching Society everywhere on earth to spread, to defend and to strengthen the Catholic faith as Divine Providence directs it. It will be devoted to preaching and will be committed in preaching and writing to the goal that all men know the one and true God and the one he has sent, Jesus Christ, that they live a holy life and save souls.

-The life of those who join this work is the apostolic life, that is the imitation of the apostles. They will leave everything and work wherever, in the judgment of their superiors, the greater honor of God and the salvation of souls will demand it.

-The spirit by which they are driven is the love of God and of their neighbor, according to the admonition of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 13.

⁷⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.34. December 8, 1881.

⁷⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.35. Emblem.

Such love is a glowing fire which nourishes so great an apostolic zeal that they spare no effort, yes even risk everything for souls, even to the shedding of blood if it should please God.

Jordan then underscores self-sanctification and demands from everyone observance of the evangelical counsels and above all mutual love.

These "Rules for the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society," formulated in Latin, were meant to commit apostolically-minded priests, as well as lay people of both sexes to the way pointed out by the gospels. For the moment, Jordan envisioned a free union of like-minded people without public vows or regular community life. Therefore, there was no thought of a special garb. Yet he demanded that the members "wear under their clothing the emblem of the Society, the form and color of which would remind them to keep the apostolic spirit alive." Throughout his life Jordan remained committed to this Short Rule, within which he refers back to the rule he had already sent to Bishop Massaia from Smyrna. But Jordan would soon learn that this sketchy structure of his First Grade will have to be defined much more clearly according to canonical norms. **See, 3.36. The Short Rule for the First Grade.**⁷⁷

At that time Archbishop Rota effusively praised Jordan's enterprise. The three priests of Santa Brigitta appeared to him like,

. . . apostles having recently hurried from the North to Rome whose difficulties, zeal and steadfastness emulate the first apostles who brought the Christian faith to Roman ears. That they may erect to Christ similar trophies [as those] is the wish of the expectant-Petrus Rota, Archbishop of Carthage (G-7.1,1).⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.36. The Short Rule for the First Grade.

⁷⁸ Jordan was impressed by such unexpected advanced laurels. Under Rota's wish he noted: "Certainly a consoling voice from the Most Reverend Chaplain of the World Church of St. Peter, which will certainly inspire many to join the holy work of our Society." Even such Roman exuberance is a proof of the deep impression Jordan's personality made on ecclesiastical personalities.

For Jordan it was like an assurance from above that men like Leo XIII, Cardinal Massaia, Patriarch Gregory II, Don Bosco (to mention only the most important) did not discount his vocation or his planning, but recognized them as most timely. They welcomed the fact that once again, someone clearly called by God dared to attack a problem that seemed humanly hopeless: to stir up far flung Catholic forces and to enlist them to orderly action for the sake of Christ. But Jordan never saw this task bound to his person. He was ready to defend it with his life in the conviction that the Lord would again and again call people moved by the Holy Spirit, who would take up the torch of this calling and pass it on, even if they all would fail, judging humanly. [Ftn. Lüthen described at that time: "a work so wonderful, one would almost think it was impossible if such high-ranking and circumspect men had not recognized it as practicable." (privately printed brochure, summer 1881, 11; AGS 304.1; cf., DSS IV, 29).] For this call from above remains for the church as our common heritage until the end of times: Your Kingdom come!

[Ftn. Jordan's physical appearance also made a favorable impression. He had grown a beard while in the Holy Land, which must have suited him well. After his return he kept it for some time. Lüthen remembered in his later years how he met with "the missionary with the long beard" (BL-1378) the first time during Lent 1881 in Donauwörth. Photos show that at "the conference of four" in Munich that summer he appeared without a beard.]

3. "Now We Get to Work." A Closer Look

3.1/5. **Leo XIII**, Joachim Pecci, was born in Carpineto, March 2, 1810 and died in Rome at the age of 93 on July 20, 1903. From 1846, Archbishop of Perugia, since 1853, cardinal (*in petto*), since 1877, camerlengo, he was elected pope February 2, 1878 at the age of 68. As Leo XIII he reigned for over 25 years. He was esteemed as pope of peace and pope of working people. He considered his most urgent task reconciling the spiritual and political powers in Europe. Always looking to strike a balance in the best interest of the hard pressed church, this pope steered a moderate course between the ultramontane bishops and the governments hostile towards the church. In doing so he demanded from several bishops "sacrifices bordering on concession of principles" (Schmidlin, III:588).

One of his favorite ideas was the union of the Eastern Orthodox churches with Rome. Thus he conscientiously cared for the Uniate churches while working for reunification with the "schismatic" sister-churches. Within this politics of reconciliation he urged caution towards the Islamic ruling class in the Near East.

His style of government was monarchical "*Ego sum Petrus!*" Thus he not only asked too much of his collaborators, but when it seemed necessary, he simply replaced them. Like his predecessors he could not get over the loss of the Papal States. Hence the way toward solving the Roman Question remained blocked during his reign. Leo even secretly toyed with plans to flee Rome. His dream was to reconcile the modern world with Christian tradition. But this proved unreachable. "What this Pope accomplished was less than he intended. But this more [for which he strove] was the basis for what he attained" (Oskar Köhler in Jedin VI:2). Leo XIII gave all Catholic Christians a new feeling of their identity in the world. Under his leadership the now stateless church became a world power with a spiritual mandate—a moral authority in the world.

Leo XIII enhanced already strong Roman centralism. He saw this as prerequisite to stopping the fragmentation of Catholic forces and to pave the way to the unity of the churches. With a pope so open to the world, Jordan's universal spiritual plans couldn't but get a hearing.

3.2/9. Prill, Karl Maria Josef (Beuel, Bonn, June 9, 1852-1935, October 8, Lohmar) studied in Bonn and Cologne and was ordained in Cologne in 1875. Barred from pastoral work in his homeland by the *Kulturkampf*, he worked from 1876 till 1880 in Veldvezelt, Diocese of Liège. On December 6, 1880 he received a position as chaplain at Campo Santo and could continue further studies. By November 11, 1881, Prill transferred to the Anima. There Rector Jänig entrusted him with the position of vice-director of his newly founded boys' choir the *Scuola Gregoriana* ("Arrival of New Chaplain Prill," Chronicle CS, December 6, 1880). "R. Chaplain Prill has transferred as vice-director of the Schola Gregoriana" (Ibid., November 11, 1881). In 1883, Prill returned home. At first he was castle chaplain with Count Schönburg in Wechselburg, Saxony. Only in summer of 1886, after the Prussian *Kulturkampf* subsided, could Prill return to his home diocese. He worked as religion teacher at the *Realgymnasium* in Bonn, and from April 1889, at the Royal *Burg-gymnasium* in Essen. From 1906, *Studienprofessor*, and from 1914 Papal Chamberlain of Honor, Prill retired in October 1918. He died as Papal House Prelate (since 1926) at the age of 83. He was famous for his *Roman Vesper Book* (1913) and his *Liturgics* (1921).

Prill met Jordan at Campo Santo, when Jordan after his return from the Holy Land was fully occupied with giving a form to his work. The rector of Campo Santo, de Waal, was on Jordan's side and tried to awaken the interest of the chaplains there to Jordan's undertaking. But Prill was one of the young priests who quite understandably considered the plans of the priest from Baden as superfluous and even unrealistic, although he found Jordan's priestly and human qualities worthy of high esteem. In a letter of March 3, 1929, the aged prelate wrote his remembrances of Jordan and mentioned how the following episode had impressed him in an unforgettable way: when Jordan tried to win the young chaplains for his plans, Prill made towards Jordan

. . . in a light tone of conversation, but rather sharply, the remark that he didn't think him at all to be the man qualified to found and to continue such a work. At this rudeness Jordan showed himself neither excited nor offended, but answered quite calmly and simply: "Well, yes, God often chooses for the execution of his intentions the most unacceptable human beings as his passive agents." This answer hit me deeply

making me completely defenseless . . . I had the clear and determined impression that Rev. Jordan was fully determined to serve God's intentions and was sure about its success by the help of God, while he didn't trust his own strength (Letter of Private Secretary of Archdiocese of Cologne from Lohmar, March 3, 1929, H-17).

3.3/10. The *Katholikentage* in Constance (September 13-16, 1880) had a special meaning for Jordan. He hoped to meet there with personalities open to his plans. His name was listed as Nr. 441 among the 815 enrolled members. Friedrich Werber was also listed, this time as parish administrator of Radolfzell and not chaplain in Waldshut as he had been at the Freiburg *Katholikentage* of 1875. But both times he was listed as esteemed editor of "*Freie Stimme*," which dared to speak an openly Catholic word wherever necessary. Also on the list was businessman Simon Deggelmann, resident in Constance whom Jordan later won as a zealous supporter of his periodicals. There was also a reunion with Schorderet and Kleiser. The former tried to get a foothold on German soil through the *Augustinusverein* in Düsseldorf as well as through advertizing, which was expressly approved by the *Katholikentage*. The latter promoted above all the pilgrimage to Bl. Canisius in Fribourg, which was planned for the following year, and which also received a special recommendation from the convention. At the meeting Jordan also became acquainted with Ludwig Auer, founder of the Cassianeum and esteemed press pedagogue. He warmly commended Jordan's still young work to the Catholics of Germany. Jordan made an appointment for an early meeting with him in Donauwörth.

At the *Katholikentage* in Constance, Jordan succeeded in arousing Auer's interest for his plans so much that once home Auer immediately began to draw up statutes for which Jordan may have given him a written sketch similar to the one he had sent to Massaia. Auer didn't fail to introduce his collaborator Lüthen to the planned undertaking, so that the latter made Jordan's plan known in a summary in the October issue of *Ambrosius*, and at the same time encouraged financial contributions. In a similar way in Constance, Jordan won his friend Werber, so that already on September 30, 1880, he mentioned Jordan's still immature

plans in his local paper and asked for support for Jordan's "Mission Institute to promote education and instruction among all peoples."

3.4/11. Auer, Ludwig (Laaber, Oberpfalz, April 11, 1839-1914, December 28, Donauwörth) learned the profession of his father, a seminary teacher. Already during his studies, but even more as an elementary school teacher, he felt disturbed by the liberal and social crises of his country. Thus he became a revolutionary of Christian pedagogics and family education. His whole work was oriented towards practical, popular education under the motto: Everything with God and for God, for the betterment of youth and of the people.

Together with some like-minded men he founded on July 10, 1867, a "Catholic Association of Educators in Bavaria." The royal government in middle Franconia considered this foundation political, denied its draft statutes, and had Auer's activity put under surveillance. Auer did not give up and turned to the Ministry of the Interior, from which he demanded a free organization and unhindered association activity in the interest of popular education. King Ludwig saw no reason to forbid the association but kept up the surveillance. While still a teacher in Schnufenhofen, Auer published the Catholic school paper and family periodical *Monika*. In order to dedicate himself fully to practical Christian education of the people he gave up his position as a teacher, going first to Regensburg where again his activity was monitored from Munich. At the end of 1872, he bought a house near Neuburg a. S. One year later he founded there the Cassianum. On June 4, 1875, he rented the monastery *Heilig Kreuz* which had been secularized in 1803. At the end of 1877, Auer acquired the monastery building with annexes for 11,000 Marks, which were to be paid at yearly fixed periods.*

* The monastery had been founded in 1029 by Count Mangold I, who as imperial delegate of Constantinople had brought with him a relic of the Holy Cross. His daughter became abbess of the monastery for nuns. In 1101 it was taken over by the Benedictines of St. Blasien, and after the devastations of the Thirty Years War at the turn of the 17th century was rebuilt in its original form.

Auer named his press work Cassianeum after the monastic author Cassian (c. 350-430) and began active and successful activity in Catholic popular education. In a short time his periodicals won over Catholic Bavaria and crossed the borders into neighboring countries: *Monika* (1869 for families), *Ambrosius* (1872 for priests and pastors), *Schutzengel* (Guardian Angel, 1875 for youth), *Notburga* (1877 for domestic servants) and *Raphael* (1878 for young adults). Already by 1878, he added a successful almanac to these various periodicals. Auer saw clearly the real desires of Catholics. They needed spiritual leadership to defend themselves against the assaults of the liberal upper class, which also held most governmental positions. Already Pius IX and even more Leo XIII bestowed praise and blessing on Auer's involvement. Equally at the German *Katholikentage*, Auer was met not only with open ears but also with active support.

Auer was an exemplary husband and father. Sadly, his first wife died in December 1871, leaving four small children. In March 1875, he remarried. This second wife unburdened him of the everyday family cares as much as possible. Auer was strong-willed and energetic. He lived with great confidence in God and was quite conscious of his mission. He succeeded in winning friends and collaborators in his Bavarian home for administering his work, and also for providing economic security. Auer was a highly gifted popular writer and honored as "Uncle Ludwig" by young and old. He intended to work not only for breadth but also for depth. His main interest was defending Christian freedom in surroundings hostile to the church; in his periodicals he fought indefatigably and with success for the necessary cultivation of conscience in family and in public life. In doing this he considered the school as primarily an institution to support the family. Auer stressed the parents' rights and duties. Inside the Cassianeum, Auer cultivated a kind of community life among his collaborators. In 1894, after the Catholic Association of Educators in Bavaria became independent, Auer led the Cassianeum as an "independent private undertaking." In 1910, he changed it into endowment and thus could grant security to his wife and children out of the property now at his disposal (1,400,00 Marks).

3.5/16. Statutes. In "Statutes of the Apostolic Association," i.e., "The Apostolic Society," Auer tried to meld his and Jordan's ideas for a new Society. In doing so he didn't forget the political difficulties he had had in Bavaria with his Catholic Educators Association. The key words on the provisional draft (AC Fasc. Vd) show this: "The Law of the Association and of the Apostolic Association. The aim quite religious: to recognize, love, and serve God. Not a public matter in the civil sense." Its principles came from scripture, selected according to Jordan's viewpoint:

- Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things will be yours as well (Matt. 6:32).
- This is eternal life that they know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent (Jn 17:3; 8:32).
- The truth will make you free (Jn 8:32).
- Those who are wise. . . Dan (12:3).

Additional points appear in no given order. This came later in a proper draft (AC, Fasc. Ve) written by Auer. As the first principle he put the motto of the Cassianum: "All with God and for God to the betterment of mankind." Next came Jordan's scripture texts, again Dan 12:3; then a saying so dear to him because of its apostolic frankness: "Go and stand up" (Acts 5:20); finally, "Seek first the Kingdom of God" (Matt 6:33). Both references to John (17:3; 8:32) are omitted here.

Both drafts bear the pattern intended by Jordan and which he had presented to Auer already in Constance. The first three grades remain rather unclear. As a Fourth Grade of active members Auer added benefactors who "support the Apostolic Teaching Society with material contributions." Auer considered his readers as passive members. In addition, he didn't want to limit himself to education and instruction. He wanted to include the social area with "workers associations."

The purpose of the apostolic association "is the promotion of the honor of God [underlined twice] in all areas of human life." The supernatural means indicated are humility, trust in God, a Christian outlook and true piety; the natural means are associated with work, press, etc. Then follow special guidelines for the "educational section" in which Auer felt himself at home, and working for which he considered his special "duty" (AC Fasc. Vd).

In the final draft under "internal organization" Auer cites first of all his concern that the "Apostolic Association" should be concerned with theoretical and practical pedagogy. Then Auer refers in particular to Christian education in the family. In the "external organization" he cites Jordan's plan for the three grades, and as Fourth Grade he added benefactors. In this draft Auer chooses as patrons "the Apostles and the first messengers of the faith" and he stresses: "Political aspirations remain completely excluded."

Auer revised his draft later and had three fair copies made (AC Fasc. Va,b,c). These he corrected in a final discussion with collaborators at the Cassianeum. It is remarkable that compared with the earlier draft he added "cultivation of learning"—a special concern of Jordan. Furthermore, above the motto of the Cassianeum Jordan's favorite passage from the high priestly prayer of the Lord was reinserted. The other three scripture passages (Dan 12:3; Acts 5:20; Matt 6:33) remained. "Patrons" remain determined as Jordan had proposed: "The Catholic Teaching Society is dedicated to the Sacred Heart and puts itself under the special protection of the Queen of the Apostles and of these first messengers of the faith." Internal organization is subdivided in "comprehensive area of science" and "comprehensive area of instruction and education." From the pre-draft is taken over the idea that profane knowledge shall not be underrated. This point was aimed at the *Kultur-Examen* which by now had been abolished in Baden, as well as at the struggle of Catholic academics for equal rights not only in Bavaria but also in the other lay-oriented areas of Germany. For state recognition the anti-political statute remains important: "All political aspirations are excluded." The title "Apostolic Association" is eliminated and replaced by Jordan's "Apostolic Teaching Society." Fourth Grade is also canceled, probably based on advice Jordan received from Don Bosco who suffered so much on this very point (cf., Jordan's letter to Auer, November 11, 1880). The list of means is shortened and thereby clarified. Special means no longer lists "the international unification of all Catholic forces of the whole world." For clarification is added: "The Catholic Teaching Society tries to prevent the fragmenting of Catholic aspirations and to concentrate on already existing undertakings." (The corrector of the second fair copy has

inserted a prudent question mark.) In regard to the press a further concern of Jordan is added: "All books and scripts edited by the Catholic Teaching Society bear the seal and approval of the Apostolic Teaching Society and, where necessary, ecclesiastic approbation" (the corrector of fair copy nr. 3 has not indicated this addition, maybe just overheard; also missing is the prayer Jordan expressly composed for the Catholic Teaching Society).

Auer's limitation "according to the laws of the country" is explained and widened: "According to the prescription of the church and the state." The chapter on government is thoroughly rewritten. Finally it is decided: "The present statutes are valid temporarily as provisional." As a reason is added: "until approved by the church and accepted by the first general conference." The founding of the Apostolic Teaching Society is set for Christmas: "The Apostolic Teaching Society celebrates Christmas of 1880 as its feast of foundation" was appended by Auer to his fair copy. The very important prayer for the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society written by Jordan himself concludes the statutes (cf., AC Fasc. I, November 11, 1880)

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who have descended from heaven to redeem mankind from sin and error and to teach the heavenly truth, through your bitter suffering and death, we ask you to illuminate all those gone astray and ignorant and to teach them the knowledge of the saints.

Heavenly Father, you have promised through the Holy Spirit that those who instruct many in justice will shine like the stars always and forever, gracefully grant that we, tied with the cord of holy unity, may instruct many in the Catholic religion and receive the promised glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Holy Mary, Queen of the Apostles, our dearest Mother, pray for us! Don't abandon us! Pray for all children and for their teachers, pray for our Society, for the superiors, for all its members and their relatives; pray for all benefactors of the Society, for its friends and enemies. All you holy apostles, pray for us!

Auer later passed on the fair copy he composed (AC Fasc. Va) to the printery with the order: "Apostolic in the title of the Society always to be written with capital letters." On an accompanying sheet he gives the

order: "These statutes are in the meantime to be put on galley proofs." It is not known when Jordan had these galley proofs in hand for further study (E-1202); however, it might have been only in summer 1881.

The correctors of the second and third fair copies are unknown. But the corrections reveal that Jordan did not directly take part in this work. However, his ideas were considered as he gave them each time by letter to Auer, and as they discussed them personally in February 1881.

On October 4, 1880, Jordan returned to the Cassianeum. There Auer drew up a petition to the competent bishop of Augsburg to obtain his approval. In it he explained that the "projected" Apostolic Teaching Society of the Rev. J.B. Jordan in Rome intended for the whole world what the Cassianeum intended for the German-speaking regions: to serve the Catholic cause through education and instruction. Thus they both wanted "to entreat Your Episcopal Grace for your gracious agreement and for a special blessing for this work." Then Auer stresses:

The accord in regard to aims and means between those of the new Society and those of the Cassianeum has caused the Rev. Jordan to discuss the matter with me. The result of our several days ongoing discussions is: 1) that I gladly joined the Apostolic Teaching Society with my Institute. There followed further extracts of the drafted statutes. In doing so we still use the rough draft, which in regard to time, is prior to the fair copies.

Then Auer noted that Jordan's undertaking, which Auer at first calls "order," but then corrects to "religious society, [had] already been blessed by the Holy Father and approved by three patriarchs and by many bishops in Europe, Asia and Africa" (AC Fasc. VI).

Auer also mentions in a draft of his letter (October 4, 1880, AC Fasc. VI) how the Apostolic Teaching Society plans a Latin periodical for its Second Grade, a handbook, as well as "an organ of instruction for the people in each country." His own periodical *Monika* (including the periodical *Raphael*) would serve the German-speaking area for the Third Grade (as well as the Fourth Grade of benefactors). The draft of Auer's letter shows clearly what great expectations both partners nurtured for their common undertaking. Jordan agreed fully with the contents of the letter sent to the responsible bishop. Already at this first occasion Jordan

succumbed to the temptation to explain the blessing of the Holy Father and of other church dignitaries "extensively for the foundation of his Apostolic Teaching Society" (Oskar Köhler in Jedin, VI:2, 289). On a sheet of paper with the heading "still to do" Auer noted under the item of publicity: "Private audience with the Holy Father, cardinals, 3 patriarchs Jerusalem, the Greek-Catholic (Melchite) in Asia, archbishops and bishops of 5 different rites of 7 different nations" (AC Fasc. VII). Unfortunately, the answer of the bishop of Augsburg has not been preserved.

Jordan saw a difficulty in the fact that in spite of the waning *Kulturkampf*, new associations had to comply with the association-laws of their respective countries. In order to get more clarity, after returning to Rome he solicited the opinion of two lawyers. These men were known and esteemed as energetically and prudently committed to seeing the Catholic cause win out against the liberals who wanted to extend their predominance at the expense of the Catholics. However, their answers could not fully satisfy Jordan.

Both lawyers had answered immediately on November 1, 1880. Josef Lingens (1818-1902) from Aachen was known for his courageous involvement in Catholic issues. He fought on the front line, trying most of all with the *Katholikentage* to overturn the *Kulturkampf* and its effects. He later became an influential politician of the Center Party in the Prussian House of Deputies (1852) and in the German Reichstag (1870). Lingens demanded unswervingly the return of the Jesuits and all the other orders to Germany, and above all a free Catholic university in Frankfurt a. M. Jordan may have met Lingens at the *Katholikentage*.

Lingens' answer was cautious. He doubted whether the time for such a foundation was favorable, and he advised Jordan to ask for the opinion of Cardinal Hergenröther. He called attention to the fact that the association-laws were different in the various countries and added some changes in the draft presented to him. He concluded with the wish: "May the Holy Spirit enlighten and guide you" (D-927).

The other lawyer Jordan consulted was royal Bavarian lawyer Karl Barth (1811-1886), who was active for the good cause in Augsburg. His answer was more optimistic, but limited to the situations in his home country. He assured Jordan that the responsible departments were above

all interested in monitoring political associations, and that the statutes presented to him could not cause offense in this regard (D-928).

3.6/17. Contract. Ludwig Auer wanted a contract to safeguard the planned co-operation with Jordan, who agreed at once to the proposal of the business-savvy director. A contract was made "between Rev. J.B. Jordan and Mr. Ludwig Auer, Director of the Cassianeum in Donauwörth, signed by both and exchanged between them" (AC Fasc. III).

The contract stated the Cassianeum and the ATS essentially pursue the same aims with the same means. Thus Auer stresses that he, founder and leader of the Cassianeum in Donauwörth, gladly joined the Apostolic Teaching Society with his whole institution and all its efforts. They both promised to fully support each other. There follow some items already agreed to in the statutes, particularly:

The Cassianeum retains for now its full independence and is and remains the property of the undersigned Director Auer. [In this connection Auer promises] to change his legal last will, that in case of his death the Cassianeum shall devolve upon Apostolic Teaching Society as its property. In case the Apostolic Teaching Society would not be able to assume this bequest, the Cassianeum would be given to the Most Reverend Bishop of Augsburg.

It also contains this somewhat dubious statement:

By this contract the Cassianeum is already in a certain sense to be considered property of the Apostolic Teaching Society, therefore Director Auer has the right to use resources coming in for the Apostolic Teaching Society for the Cassianeum in agreement with the General Directory of the Apostolic Teaching Society.

It concludes that the present contract "is conscientiously founded in every detail on the Statutes of the Apostolic Teaching Society." Auer added at the end of the contract the motto of the Cassianeum: "All with God and for God to the betterment of mankind."

The contract is signed but not notarized. Furthermore, there is no indication that Auer ever altered his last will, made in favor of his own family. The statutes on which the contract should have been based had not at all been elaborated or approved either ecclesiastically by the

bishop of Augsburg or by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. Also missing was a list of the Cassianeum property, which was still heavily burdened with debts, a circumstance which greatly concerned the capable director. At that time it would have been impossible for Jordan to take over the encumbered Cassianeum. In the meantime, the contract's stipulation that the *Monika* (fused with the periodical *Raphael*) should now serve the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society, remained unfulfilled. Auer was remarkably patient, because to him the Apostolic Teaching Society was just beginning. With similar reserve Jordan didn't sign as future General Director, but only in personal form as "sole director."

In a further contract, Auer thought about handing over to the Apostolic Teaching Society the good but not especially fertile periodical *Ambrosius*. In return the Apostolic Teaching Society would bind itself to take over and promote *Monika* for its Third Grade, "while the same fully remains property of Mr. Auer." Auer expressly requested that the editor of *Ambrosius*, Fr. Lüthen, sign the contract as co-responsible and personally liable. In addition, the Apostolic Teaching Society was to bind itself to assist the Cassianeum fully and "not to create any competition." On the draft Auer noted by way of addition: "Liable, Mr. Lüthen and Mr. Jordan. Notice of termination of the contract, if unilateral, then 9,600 Marks" for indemnity (AC, Facs. III). The draft of the contract was transcribed into fair copy, but neither settled nor signed.

Although all arrangements between Auer and Jordan remained incomplete, Jordan returned to Rome excited. He was fully preoccupied with how to promote the start up in Germany to which the Cassianeum had offered its hand. Already he counted on the active assistance of the editor of *Ambrosius*, Fr. Lüthen, who in the contract between *Ambrosius* and *Monika* (probably proposed by Auer) was already called National Director.

Auer and Jordan occupied themselves zealously with other work that seemed important for the success of their undertaking. Thus we have rough drafts of articles in which the Apostolic Teaching Society was to be presented to the adult readers of the various periodicals of the Cassianeum. However, Auer let only one article appear in his *Monika* (February-March 1882; cf., AC Fasc. II & IV). Jordan sketched a kind of

seal of the Apostolic Teaching Society as well as a certificate of admission, never printed in this form (AC Fasc. II). On some papers there was stated without order and sketchily, "what was still to do" and "what to do first" (AC Fasc. VII). The practical and visionary points of this list of *tractanda* remained mostly on paper because of later developments.

3.7/18. **Kleiser**, Johannes Evangelist, was a *Sperrlinge* who after the abolition of the law mandating the *Badish Kulturexamen* (March 5, 1880) did not return to his home diocese. Up until 1891, the schematismus of the Archdiocese of Freiburg listed: "IV. Priests living in foreign countries: Kleiser, Johann, apostolic missionary in Fribourg, Switzerland, born Schollach October 30, 1845, priest July 18, 1871."^{*}

Schollach is a hamlet of the parish of Urach (Neustadt, Black Forest). After his ordination, Kleiser worked as Vicar in Bühl, home of Alban Stolz. On December 8, 1873, the "agitator-chaplain" escaped while being arrested; he fell victim to the notorious *Kanzel-paragraphen*. Kleiser visited Bishop Marilley and Canon Schorderet in Freiburg, Switzerland. The latter had founded his press work on the day of Kleiser's escape. On February 17, 1873, Kleiser visited the Vicar Apostolic of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, Casper Mermillod (born in Carouge, September 22, 1824, expelled by the Dunesrat, cardinal 1890, died in Rome, February 23, 1892).

Kleiser was then for a short time tutor for two boys of the family of Count Romanet in Versailles. After a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial in the summer 1874, where in front of the altar of the Sacred Heart he dedicated himself to Schorderet's press work, he made a journey to England to the tomb of the Oratorian, Frederick William Faber (1814-1863) and to see Henry Cardinal Edward Manning (1808-1892) of Westminster. He paid visits to other bishops and monasteries in England, Ireland and France, collecting money and speaking in meetings in favor of the press work. He also paid a visit to the stigmatic Louise Lateau (1850-1883) in

* Just above was listed: "Jordan, Johann Baptist, Superior of the Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome born Gurtweil June 16, 1848, priest July 21, 1878 (cf., Schematismus 1883 and 1887).

the Belgian Bois d'Haine. Then he traveled once more to England and Ireland, Netherlands and Germany on behalf of the press work. In Aachen, Kleiser met with the Catholic lawyer and politician Josef Lingens. During Lent 1875, he lodged with Bishop Lothar von Kübel (on Good Friday he was clandestinely at home with his mother). Afterwards he paid further visits to German bishops and religious superiors. After a visit in Constance, where his brother was a vicar, he met in St. Gallen "in disguise" and later in Munich with Catholic politicians and editors, then with the bishops of Regensburg and Würzburg. In spring 1875, he went to Rome with a pilgrim group from Stuttgart. He found lodgings in Campo Santo and received the blessing for the press apostolate from Pius IX. There followed further journeys to fund raise for Schorderet's press work through Italy, Tyrol and Austria. Then Kleiser worked at Schorderet's side in Fribourg as a vicar in St. Moritz in the Au (1875-1895) and as vice-president of the *Pauluswerk*. Kleiser was a pastor to the poor, to workers, domestic servants, and prisoners in Freiburg.

In 1887, he founded the *Kanisius-Stimmen* in preparation for the canonization of Peter Canisius (1521-1610, beatified 1864). Pius IX confirmed the *Kanisius-Stimmen* through his blessing on January 19, 1878. This periodical became at the same time the organ for the Work of St. Francis de Sales, the confraternity for propagating good literature.* Its founder, Msgr. Louis Gaston Adrien de Ségur (1820-1881) gave Kleiser authority (February 2, 1878) to introduce the work in German-speaking countries. Other purposes of the *Kanisius-Stimmen* were the veneration of Mary by Blessed Grignon de Montford (1687-1716) and the support of the *Pauluswerk*. In 1881, Kleiser organized the Canisius-year in Freiburg on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the arrival of the saint, where he had been sent by Gregory XIII in 1580 to found a college. In 1888, Kleiser was dismissed by Schorderet with whose shift into regional politics he disagreed. He earned his bread as "house-teacher" (letter to his bishop, November 27, 1888) and received board with the Capuchins.

* And after the great Canisius pilgrimage of 1881, through the influence of Count von Löe he also organized the "German Canisius Association for the Education of Youth."

In 1895, Bishop Dernuaz nominated him canon at the *Liebfrauenkirche* and gave him this church for his apostolic purpose.

In 1897, Kleiser founded the Canisius Press Sisters in Stalden 145, and on Candlemas 1898, the *Marienheim* with Canisius Press across the way at Stalden 2. Leo XIII named this zealous priest Apostolic Pro-notary on March 18, 1898. Kleiser organized pilgrimages and congresses as important means for reviving Catholic self-consciousness (from 1877 on, yearly pilgrimage to Maria Einsiedeln; from August 18-21, 1902 a great National Marian Congress in Freiburg to which he also urgently invited his friend Jordan (cf., letter, July 1, 1902, H-55.1). Kleiser died September 17, 1919.

Kleiser came from a well-to-do family, from which he sometimes received considerable sums of money to help Schorderet establish and conduct his work. At the same time he engaged in extensive fund raising trips through European countries to provide finances for the *Pauluswerk*. He also helped Schorderet decisively in overcoming the difficulties between the central office and the French branch offices in Paris and Bar le Duc, which from the very start seriously endangered the unity of the *Pauluswerk*. Under the explosive, now haughty now humbly contrite character of Schorderet, Kleiser suffered much. However, according to his promise at Paray-le-Monial he stayed with him as press-apostle while other collaborators very soon distanced themselves from Schorderet.

Kleiser was a pious, selfless, poor priest, a restless curate profoundly dedicated to the Holy Father and quite enthusiastic for the veneration of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. In order to fulfill truly the tasks given to him by the Lord he never avoided any cross, and preferred to suffer injustice and often to renounce his legitimate rights out of love of the Lord. Thus between the two compatriots, Jordan and Kleiser, there existed a deep spiritual relationship. True friendship bound them together.

3.8/19. Roelofs, Gerald, was born November 4, 1821, in Groesbeek, Nijmegen. After studies at Haarlem and Rome he was ordained at the Lateran in 1847. First he worked as chaplain in Nijmegen (St. Augustine's); then from 1857 as chaplain in Utrecht (St. Martin's); and from

1860 as parish administrator in Brunnen (St. Andrew's). Since the beginning of 1866, he was pastor of St. Martin's in Zwolle where he died on March 2, 1885.

Roelofs was energetic and zealous. Coming from a rich family he made many contacts at the international meetings he liked to attend. In Zwolle he had a printery and edited the weekly *I Isselbode*. His relationship with *Pauluswerk* in Freiburg brought Roelofs in contact with Jordan (cf., Jordan's letter to Auer, October 17, 1880). Roelofs was approaching 60 when Jordan tried to win him. He made common cause with Jordan's foundation and promised to put his press at his disposal. Jordan urged him also to connect with Auer. Roelofs seems to have been dissatisfied with his expectations of the Cassianeum. To the contrary, he felt attracted to Freiburg, Switzerland. There we meet him also at the great Canisius celebrations on August 17-18, 1881, where he again met with Jordan. Roelofs had been connected with Schorderet in Freiburg since 1877. After coming to an agreement, Schorderet sent four sisters of the *Pauluswerk* to the branch settlement in Zwolle (cf., letter of Roelofs to Schorderet, January 3, 1881, that the "4 *petites Soeurs*" work well). Also in Maastricht, Roelofs had tried something but it all broke down. In 1884, he broke off his relations with Schorderet. Roelofs was not the man of perseverance Jordan intended for Netherlands. Thus the acquaintance between them remained just one episode during Jordan's rather restless start up time.

3.9/21. St. Bridget is at Piazza Farnese, 96. When St. Bridget (Finstad near Upsala, c. 1302-1373, July 23, Rome) made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1349, she as well as her daughter Catherina lodged in what was at that time a modest house. According to tradition it was donated to them by the Roman widow Francesca Papazuri. In 1382, Bridget founded the double order of the Most Holy Savior (*Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris*). She was a visionary and pilgrim (1343 Compostela; 1349 Rome; 1372-3 Holy Land). Boniface IX canonized her in 1391. Her daughter Catharina (1331-1380, Vadstena) was married like her mother but already in 1350 she followed her mother to Rome. She later became the second mother general of the Brigittines and is regarded as a saint though never formally canonized. From 1435 till 1523 monks from Vadstena maintained the house in Rome.

In 1523 the last of these monks died. Pius IV (1559-1565) transferred the house to the Vicar General. In 1673, Christina of Sweden (+1689), daughter of King Adolf, bought it without ever living there. In 1692, the house was inhabited by monks of Altmünster (Birgits), who enlarged it and built a church. Expelled by Napoleon they left the house to the Holy See. In 1828, Leo XII handed it over to the canons of St. Maria in Trastevere, his titular church; but they didn't care to maintain it. On June 5, 1855, the Fathers of the Holy Cross bought it in a kind of hereditary tenancy. They accepted the condition to remodel it, which they did, as well as to pay yearly rent to the canons. They commissioned a French painter to decorate the three rooms in which the two women saints had lived. On November 15, 1892, Carmelite nuns of perpetual adoration expelled from Poland bought the house. They restored the church to its present appearance.

Jordan, ever in need of more living space, wanted to lease the house permanently already in 1882. He proposed to take over St. Bridget as a whole or partly in *emphitéosis perpetuelle* as soon as the contracts of the actual tenants expired. At the same time Jordan inquired whether the Holy Cross Fathers had any intention of maintaining the place; everybody could see its bad condition from the yard or the garden. He himself would not be able to assume the necessary expenses without securing a more favorable lease or permanent tenancy (letter in French to the Superior General, March 27, 1882, ACSC; cf., G-4.1). The priests themselves were facing great financial difficulties and were waiting for a financially strong buyer. Jordan, of course, could not compete with them. He belonged to those about whom "le Père Fernando" (Pietrobattista) wrote to his major superior: "*ils ont plus d'envie que de moyens*" (letter, April 18, 1882, ACSC). [The final paragraph covering the house's modern history is not translated here.]

3.10/22. Hartmann, Josef, was born December 4, 1854, in Dingolstadt, Saxony. He studied in Brixen and Innsbruck (philosophy and theology), and consequently stayed outside his home diocese of Paderborn. This caused difficulties for his later return. At the end of November 1880, he came to Rome to continue his studies at the Gregoriana. For a few days

Rector Jänig granted him lodging in the Anima and then asked Jordan to receive him (either because of lack of space or because Hartmann studied independently, i.e., without the necessary links to his bishop). Jordan briefly shared with him the small rented room in Largo dell'Impresa. In the meantime, Jordan procured a larger home, where he rented two rooms and where he moved with Hartmann the beginning of December. During Jordan's journey in Germany in Lent 1881, Hartmann moved to Campo Santo for a short time, feeling too lonely in St. Bridget. "Mr. Hartmann, student of theology from the Diocese of Paderborn has taken lodging in the Campo Santo two days ago" (CS Chronicle, March 9, 1881). There he attended the Minerva of the Dominicans together with the other chaplains. When Jordan returned in mid-March, Hartmann returned to St. Bridget. Jordan hoped he would join him fully. From Easter 1881 on Jordan had also received an Italian cleric who cooked there in return for evening classes. The young "tonsurist" remained only briefly and sought a *titulus mensae* that summer.

Hartmann, whose health never fully acclimated to Rome, returned to Innsbruck for ongoing studies. He took with him a conduct certificate from the local superior. Dated June 28, it shows Hartmann had lodged in St. Bridget for about seven months. A copy of this certificate of "*Ferd. Pierbattista, Superior domus Sae Brigittae*" was verified on July 8, 1881 by "*Friedricus Schroeder, SJ, Rector Collegii Germanici et Hungarici*" (probably to hand to the Jesuits of Innsbruck). In 1884, J. Hartmann was accepted in the Diocese of Eichstätt after having received the *Exeat* of the Bishop of Paderborn as well as the "State Ordination Title in Bavaria" which he requested at that time. The next year Hartmann was ordained subdeacon on March 22, 1885, then priest in the Cathedral of Eichstätt on July 19, 1885.

Hartmann continued his good relations with Jordan, who tried to win him again in the spring of 1885. While Hartmann was preparing for ordination Jordan asked him to come back. Hartmann answered that now he had been incardinated in Eichstätt and wished to continue on this way. Hartmann became chaplain in Hiltpoldstein in 1885. With permission of the bishop he could resume his former studies and conclude them as Dr. Philosophy *summa cum laude* in Würzburg. From May 1912

till March 1923, Hartmann worked as pastor in the large farmers' cooperative of Lenting near Ingolstadt. The relationship between pastor and parishioners is said to have been cool. He loved his studies more than the hard pastoral work. Later Hartmann lived in Würzburg (at first in Erthalstraße, then in the Galgenberg settlement) as retired pastor. He took up his studies again working at a translation of St. Thomas, which he intended to edit at Pustet's, but which remained unfinished. From 1935, Hartmann lived as "voluntarily resigned pastor of Lenting" in the environs of St. Jakob in Dachau. He lived in the southern part of the town (at the time Moorstraße, now Himmelreich-weg) where he died at the age of almost 83 on October 23, 1937.

Hartmann was a pious priest, more at home with Aquinas than St. Paul. Nevertheless, Jordan nourished great hopes to win him as a collaborator. At first Hartmann had fully agreed as far as his studies allowed (cf., letter to Jordan, February 22, 1881, D-933). Jordan allowed Hartmann to study moral and pastoral at Gregoriana but opposed Hartmann's dedicating himself to St. Thomas during his (Jordan's) absence. The Dominicans in Rome were too speculative for Jordan; by contrast the Jesuits of Gregoriana were oriented to practical pastoral. Jordan urged Hartmann to teach catechism to children in the little Church of St. Bridget, and now and then to talk to pious visitors to the church.

Pastor Hartmann's memories are trustworthy. He conscientiously reported only what he himself experienced. Where his remembrances are no longer clear he admits it straight away. However, his report about their third companion, the Italian cleric, is less clear in regard to time insofar as he had joined them on Easter, while Hartmann had moved to Campo Santo already during Lent because he felt lonely, but not because the "tonsurist" had also looked for a bishop already during Lent.

3.11/27. *Piccolo Monitore Cattolico*. By year's end 1880 Jordan had produced a limited number of copies of the first issue in the printing shop of the Propaganda. But Jordan planned to start his own small printery as soon as possible. An offer to assume full responsibility for "The Angel" seemed (from a financial view point) too risky to Jordan (cf., letter to Auer, November 5, 1880). For Vatican approval "*con licenza*

dell'Autorita Ecclesiastica," the restriction was imposed on Jordan that he could not mention his planned community; "in order to avoid the appearance that you are already approved, which is not the case" (Jordan to Auer, December 19, 1880).

Piccolo Monitore Cattolico (nr. 4) explained to children the extraordinary Jubilee Year, which Leo XIII had promulgated for the period from the Feast of St. Joseph till All Saints Day 1881. At that time Lüthen sent his jubilee book for the clergy (BL-1) from the Cassianum for Jordan to hand to the Holy Father. This Jordan did through Secretary of State Lodovico Jacobini (1832-1887) (cf., Jordan's letter to *Praxmarer*, May 18, 188; letter to Auer, May 31, 1881). In late June 1881, after only five numbers, *Piccolo Monitore Cattolico* was replaced by *L'Amico dei Franciulli*.

3.12/29. Stojalowski, Stanislaus (1845-1911) one of the most outstanding Catholic personalities of his time in Galizia, was "the Polish Piemont" of Austria. The Papal House Prelate (already in 1882) distributed his periodicals and books from Lemberg primarily to working people and farmers. Jordan's collaboration with him remained tentative because their aims were too different: Stojalowski fought in the Polish Farmers' Party for its social concerns and thus butted heads with the mostly conservative episcopate, whose "Leonian" People's Party he considered anti-social and anti-national (i.e., pro- Austrian). As a result he was dismissed as pastor, suspended, and in 1896, even excommunicated. Both verdicts were soon (1897) overturned and replaced by a papal order of silence. Stojalowski fought till his death for social justice and against the misery of the working population and of farmers (cf., Jedin VI:2, 182).

His collaborator in the Prussian part of Poland was Karl Miarka (1825-1882). As "editor and publisher in St. Nicolai" he endeavored to provide good literature to the Poles of Upper Silesia. In doing this he borrowed heavily from the periodicals of the Cassianum. Jordan continued cooperating with Miarka, from whose region many young men came to the Society, as well as with his son Karol Miarka (1856-1919) (cf., Fr. Anton Kilbasa, SDS, "Salvatorians in Rome," 1981, 52f). Jordan had already met these two press-priests at the journalist meeting in Rome, February 22, 1879.

3.13/31. De Montel, Johannes, nobleman of Treuenfest, was born June 13, 1831 in Rovereto. His father was Imperial Counselor in Tyrol. After his studies in Trent he came for further studies to the Anima (1854-1856) in whose church he was ordained on January 1, 1855. According to the wish of his local bishop, Tschiderer Johann Nepomuc (1777-1860) de Montel studied cannon law at San Apollinare. Montel lived in the Anima till 1866. He entered church service, became Papal House Prelate in 1877, and Dean of the Rota from 1889 to 1908, where since 1877 he had the position of Austrian Uditore. De Montel as Austrian Embassy Counselor for ecclesiastical questions was much involved in the church politics of Leo XIII. He enjoyed the full trust of the pope and was entrusted with delicate tasks of Austrian as well as Prussian church politics. De Montel was a prudent and successful mediator of the conciliatory politics of the pope. He refused the cardinalate in order not to be hindered in his work for the church, which was more important than that of most cardinals. He didn't want to get involved in the passionate discussions between papal integralists and liberal Catholics, preferring the sound middle position. De Montel was close friends with de Waal, through whom Jordan found access to this influential prelate. He died on November 24, 1910 in his apartment (Palazzo Gabriele, Via Panico, 85). In keeping with his will de Montel was buried in Campo Santo. The "Jordanists" sang his Requiem in sincere gratefulness. De Waal dedicated a biography to him (Christoph Weber, ed., *Sources and Studies on the Curia and Vatican Politics under Pope Leo XIII*, Tübingen: 1973).

3.14/37. Semenenko, Petrus (Pietro), was born June 29, 1814, in Rutenia Bianca. He lived a very turbulent youth, took part at the age of 17 in the political rebellion against Russia (1831) escaping after its failure across Prussia to France. There Semenenko became such a controversial political journalist that he had to flee from the police into the underground. At the beginning of 1835, he changed his lifestyle, surrendered to the police, began his studies and became a fiery missionary. Together with Bogdan Janski and his companion Kajsiewiez he founded in Paris on February 17, 1836, a kind of religious union. Semenenko began his theological studies at the Stanislaus College in Paris, continued them in the Roman

College, and was ordained in Rome, December 5, 1841. Despite many difficulties the foundation of 1836 grew slowly to become Congregation of the Resurrectionists. Semenenko himself was passed over as superior for a long time and only in the summer 1873, did he become superior general of his own foundation. Soon he also became a consultor to the Holy Office and to the Congregation for the Index. He died in Paris and was buried in the Polish College, Rome. His foundation dedicated itself especially to the many Polish emigrants in Europe and North America, and struggled to form priests for the schismatic Slavic Ruthenian Russian mission. Under Leo XIII, Semenenko gained considerable influence in Rome. In his diary we read under January 18, 1881:

After midday there was a visits from Fr. Jordan, a young German priest of the diocese of Friburg im Br. (who has studied Polish in his youth). He has in mind to found a new Congregation under the name "*Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft*" (*Apostolic Instructiva Societas*) its purpose is quite similar to ours. Eventually he wants me to advise him. I have given him some suggestions that seemed opportune for now, telling him that for other advice and more details we need to know each other better. Nevertheless, today I have already given him a general prospectus on the Orders, on their history and on the reason for their existence. We parted cordially. In a few days he will return to Germany, but in some months he will have to return and he has promised me to come again, begging me to receive him. I have assured him of my complete good will. (Ladislao Kwiatkowski C.R., *La Vita di P. Pietro Semenenco, C.R.*, Generalate House of the Resurrectionist Fathers, Rome: 1953, 433).

On January 11, 1882, Semenenko writes in his diary: "Letter to Fr. Jordan, Piazza Farnese, 96." On May 17, 1885, Jordan responded to Semenenko asking him to send the "ingenious Constitutions of the *Congregatio a Resurrectione D.N.J.Ch*, at whose head you are." Jordan informed him that he was busy elaborating the statutes for his own foundation, and that for this purpose he would like to consult the Constitutions of the Resurrectionist; they "would be very useful for this difficult task" (ACR).

Arnold Janssen visited Semenenko on February 13, 1881, soon after he had been with Jordan, conferring with him "for more than two hours." During his third journey to Rome in April 1881, Janssen lodged with the Resurrectionists; Semenenko stayed in Steyl, September 16-26.

3.15/39. Parocchi, Lucido Maria (Mantua, August 13, 1833-1903, January 15, Rome) studied at the Roman Seminary and was ordained priest in 1856. First he was professor of pastoral theology and pastor in Mantua (San Gervasio e Protasio). In 1871, he founded the periodical *La Scuola Cattolica*. That same year Pius IX nominated him bishop of Pavia, and in 1877, archbishop of Mantua and cardinal. Parocchi was at that time the driving force promoting the *Movimento cattolico* in Italy. In retaliation the Italian government removed him as executor and deprived him of his civil rights for five years. For the sake of peace, Leo XIII called him to Rome in 1882, and nominated him Cardinal Vicar of Rome in February 1884 (succeeding Cardinal Monaco La Valletta). In 1896, he became Secretary of the Holy Office. In 1899, he resigned as Cardinal Vicar and became Vice Chancellor of the Roman Church. He died in Rome before Leo XIII, and consequently before his protégé, Guiseppe Sarto, whom he had ordained bishop (1804) in San Apollinare, became Pius X.

At that time, Parocchi was considered the most learned of the cardinals. He composed numerous philosophic-theological publications. Von Pastor gave this opinion about "his friend": "he was an absolutely self-reliant, excellent character. In him sharp intelligence combined with great force of activity and winning kindness" (Diary, 400). Parocchi's political altitude was deemed pro-French and mistrustful of Germany and Austria. His friends are said to have had considerable influence on his decisions. He was an adversary of Rampolla when the latter extended his power as Cardinal Secretary of State. Some accused Parocchi of neglecting his proper duties as Cardinal Vicar tending more to his scholarly inclinations. To many he was an impractical theorist and thus politically unreliable. Sadly we have no trustworthy biography.

As Cardinal Vicar, Parocchi had considerable influence on the growth of Jordan's foundations. As "soul of the *movimento cattolico italiano*" he was quite open to Jordan's plans (cf., his commendation to the archbishop of Bologna, January 1881, which he as cardinal underlined in 1883). As Cardinal Vicar his intervention in 1885, to resolve the difficulties of the first foundation of sisters was rather incomprehensible and was viewed (probably not without reason) as unjustifiably hard. The next year he showed himself more inclined towards Jordan. In spite of further

difficulties Jordan's foundation experienced from church authorities in the following years, Parocchi never withdrew his confidence in Jordan, although he often gave it only with restraint. On one of his visits to the Motherhouse, Jordan presented to him the older members of the Society with the words: "*Hi sunt seniores in societate*," to which Parocchi jokingly replied: "*Et ego sum consenior*" And I am one of your elders . (Cf., Obituary in *Salvatorianische Mitteilungen*, 1903, nr. 2, 24ff).

3.16/40. The four letters of recommendation Jordan not only carried with him on his journey to Germany, but as was the custom and even the necessity of that time, he also used them to promote his own press as well as other friendly presses. On January 17, 1881, Jordan collected the letters of commendation from Josef Cardinal Hergenröther and Archbishop Bsciai; the next day the one of Archbishop Alessandro Balgy. At the same time he requested a letter from the archbishop of Bologna, who was open to giving such commendations. Cardinal Parocchi sent him the desired and precious document. Comparing the four Latin letters reveals certain slight differences. They show three things: that Jordan did not conceal that he was just starting; that those churchmen were confident his start would succeed; and above all that they considered what Jordan was planning to be of great use to the church.

However, there are also differences. Hergenröther, Balgy and Parocchi speak of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Bsciai speaks of the Society of Teaching Apostolate. To Hergenröther the Society has already been founded by the "mission priest" Jordan. Bsciai leaves this still open and only says that such an Institute "with the aim of Catholic Teaching" would be extremely useful, and he hoped it might succeed. Balgy praises the program, which his pupil as founder wants to use as the foundation of his Institute, and judges it as "very promising for Catholic instruction and Catholic moral education of youth and of the people." Parocchi welcomes that "Jordan, a priest of the Diocese of Freiburg," wants to call to life the threefold Institute of the Catholic Teaching Society, after his undertaking had already received recommendations by outstanding men of the church. He recommends the undertaking "to all faithful Christians as useful to the Catholic cause." Archbishop Bsciai considers the work as

very helpful not only for the West but for the East as well. The two cardinals refer to Mary under the title "Queen of the Apostles" as its protectress (cf., *An SCI*, Rome, 1894, n.1, 48). The recommendations of the two cardinals read:

I sincerely recommend to the clergy and educated lay people the Apostolic Teaching Society under the protection of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles, founded in Rome, and at the same time [I recommend] the Rev. missionary J.B. Jordan, who cares so much for the propagation and promotion of the same. Rome, January 17, 1881. J. Hergenröther, Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church (cf., *PPP*, 49).

With this we certify that all of three grades the Apostolic Teaching Society, which under the protection of Mary, Mother of God, Queen of the Apostles, [intended] to spread the Catholic faith] through writing and living word shall be founded by Rev. John Baptist Jordan, priest of the Diocese of Freiburg, who has been recommended by excellent personalities, is worthy to be recommended to all faithful as beneficial to the Catholic cause; at the same time we implore the blessing of God for the Society. Bologna, January 22, 1881. Lucidus Maria Parocchi, Cardinal and Archbishop (cf., *PPP*, 49f).

3.17/41. Janssen, Arnold (Goch, November 5, 1839-1909, January 15, Steyl), the founder of the Steyler Mission Work (later Society of the Divine Word, SVD) had turned to Jordan by letter in November 1880, with the request to mediate between the Minister General of the Observant Franciscans, Fr. Bernardino da Portogruaro, and Bishop Eligio Cosi (1819-1885) of the same order, who since 1865, was Apostolic Vicar of Shantung, China (Titular Bishop of Priene). Janssen strove to receive a mission area for his congregation previously entrusted to the Franciscans. Jordan answered Janssen in a long letter of December 5, 1880, that the Minister General was ready for an agreement, but that he had to await Msgr. Cosi's answer. In the same letter Jordan gave the rector of Steyl a short but expressive report of his journey to the Near East, of the decisive audience with Leo XIII, his efforts to come to a consensus with the Cassianeum, and to get Rome's permission to start. He also sent confidentially to Janssen the draft statutes and invited him to join him in a free manner and to let him know the conditions for a form of co-

operation. Thus Janssen, even before his visit to St. Bridget, was quite well informed about what Jordan had achieved till then (ASVD). Janssen met with Don Bosco in Turin on January 30, 1881 and arrived in Rome on February 1, 1881. He lodged in the Anima.

Jordan and Janssen exchanged more than their experiences. The latter wanted to win Jordan for his foundation, maybe as a Roman outpost, insofar as Jordan had earlier wished for a loose affiliation between his foundation and Steyl. Hartmann remembered well this inconclusive visit. Jordan remarked to him afterwards, pointing to his vision of the apostles:

I have received from God a vocation of my own to plan a foundation suggested to me from above—a congregation meeting all the needs of holy church, although at first [composed] of only a few priests connected through the bond of the love of God and of all men with each other; and this is why I cannot suddenly adapt myself to a plan thought out by men whose fundamental view I don't know (letter, September 20, 1880, H-15).

Both founders continued their good relations. Jordan provided lodgings in Rome for missionaries of Steyl (cf., the admonition to Jordan through his "friend", Vice Director Andreas Jansen on behalf of de Waal, not to make further use of the hospitality of Campo Santo for the two transient missionaries, Fr. Anton Wewel and the deacon Gottfried Riem) (from an undated calling card, D-934). Janssen in turn helped students from the North German region who wished to join Jordan's foundation (letter of March 12, 1884, D-1003).

On May 9, 1882, Jordan informed Janssen that Msgr. Cosi was coming to Rome from China (Janssen had already made an arrangement regarding a mission territory of their own on February 11, 1881, G-4.1). Jordan was prompted to do this by the missionary Fr. J. Hendriks, who "in the interest of the mission" thought that Msgr. Cosi and the Founder of Steyl should meet (letter to Jordan, May 9, 1882, D-972). Consequently, Jordan passed this hint on to Janssen the same day.*

* Janssen was beatified October 19, 1975 and canonized in October 2003.

At the start of his founding activities Jordan was still clinging to an elusive dream: that "all in Steyl can be our collaborators" as well. (He thought they were free to join his ecclesiastically still quite loose association.) But this was never taken seriously, and Jordan himself soon stifled any such well intended cooperation by giving more definite structure to his own foundation (cf., letter to Auer, November 11, 1880). It is also remarkable that during his stay in Rome, Janssen worked out plans for a double-church in Steyl together with his compatriot Dr. Prill at Campo Santo. The same gentleman had been reserved towards Jordan's undertaking, although he confessed: "Msgr. de Waal tried also to warm us chaplains to [Jordan's] cause, i.e., for the section of academic cooperators." Probably only after being together with Janssen, who may have spoken with him about his fruitless meeting with Jordan, did Prill speak out so openly in regard to Jordan (letter, March 3, 1929; H-17.1).

3.18/43. Reinstatement. The Archepiscopal Chapter Vicariate was directly responsible for each *Sperrling* priest after abolition of the *Kulturexamen*. Already by June 21, 1880, it requested Jordan's graduation certificate from the pastor of Gurtweil. He in turn had to ask for it from Jordan himself, who was at that time in the Near East. The diocese could procure Jordan's university exams directly. The February 10, 1881 request of the Arch-episcopal Chapter Vicariate to admit Jordan to ecclesiastical function (after finally having all the necessary papers) is followed by the February 15, Grand Ducal Ministry of the Interior consent. At the same time they returned the documents presented:

The Catholic priest Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil based on the provisions of the law of March 5, 1880 regarding general academic formation of clerical candidates, after presenting the corresponding documents has been admitted to permanent execution of ecclesiastical functions, as well as to accepting offices in the church in the *Grossherzogtum* of Baden . . . Karlsruhe, February 15, 1881, *Grossherzogliches Ministerium des Innern*, A.A.d.Pr. - Eléon [?] Paper seal: *Grossherz. Bad. Ministerium des Innern* (C-63).

The ministerial decree was sent to Jordan in Donauwörth on March 9 by the Archepiscopal Chapter Vicariate of Freiburg. The *Freie Stimme*

published in its edition April 21, 1881, that Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil "has graciously been admitted to permanent execution of ecclesiastic functions as well as to obtaining church offices in the Grand Dukedom." Werber had written already after the abolition of the *Kulterexamen* with a sigh of relief, "The year 1880 should at last bring back our old-new-priests and abolish the Jolly-exam."

3.19/44. Wittmann, Johann Baptist, was born February 18, 1842, in Paris and baptized with the name François Nicolas. After his father's death he joined the Canons of Our Lady Immaculate. On March 30, 1872, he was ordained and worked with aggressive zeal in pastoral work, first in the Diocese of Fribourg-Génève-Lausanne. He became a Redemptorist in 1891, was an enthusiastic popular missionary known through his severe and by some accounts exaggerated spirit of penitence. In 1903, expelled from France, he again worked in the French-speaking parts of Switzerland and died on August 14, 1908, in the midst of his confreres in Uvrier near St. Léonard, Diocese of Sion-Sitten.

Jordan became acquainted with Wittmann in early February 1880, when the latter was assistant at the Cathedral of St. Nikolaus in Freiburg (1880-1884). Initially, Wittmann had the same enthusiasm as Jordan for Schorderet's press work. But soon there arose difficulties between the ascetic priest and the explosive and mercurial Schorderet. The latter dismissed Wittmann from the *Pauluswerk*. He in turn complained to his bishop, Msgr. Cosandey, about Schorderet and tried also in Rome to diminish Schorderet's authority. Very early Schorderet himself felt mistrust towards his personally overly zealous collaborator.

3.20/45. Debt Cancellation.

Grdbuch. Beilg. ds 247, V

Consent to cancel the pledge made in Gurtweil February 17, 1881. In the presence of notary Glattes, living in Waldshut and employed for the District of Waldshut have appeared Mr. Johann Baptist Jordan from here, at present living in Rome, whose identity is confirmed by someone known by the town clerk, Ferdinand Walde from here, and declares: "My brother Martin Jordan from here owed me *Gleichstellungsgeld* of 1,714 Marks 29 Pfenning . . . with the right of preference, which

have been paid to me. Therefore, I give my consent that the item in the land register in Gurtweil Volume VII, nr. 32, 150 be canceled for the above amount.

After reading aloud this document it is approved by the involved and signed together with the notary.

Johann Baptist Jordan Walde, Town Clerk L.S. Glattes

Jordan's renunciation of his maternal inheritance was entered February 12, 1881, also in the contract of buying respectively donation and *Leibgeding* of September 29, 1878, in the Land Register, Vol. VII, nr. 32: "The material donation to Johann Baptist Jordan, indicated here aside, equaling 1,714 Marks 29 Pfennig on ground of consent to cancellation and document, is canceled (annex nr. 247, Vol. V to the Land Register).

In the same purchase contract of "Widow Lorenz Jordan Notburga née Peter to her son Martin single and adult" is written under conditions of purchase: "9) The son Johann Baptist Jordan renounces his right of home and retains only the present bed as property." The donation between Notburga and her son Martin is of September 20, 1878, Vol. VII, 138, nr. 28, and confirmed on September 26, 1878 by the competent notary. (NB: On September 21, 1878, only the municipal council signed together with Notburga and Martin Jordan. Cf., DSS XIII, II, 236).

3.21/48. Lüthen, Stephan Bernhard, was born May 5, 1846, in Paderborn, the third of four children of Heinrich Lüthen and Theresa Wünnenberg. Like his older brother Karl he felt inclined to priesthood. They both attended the Theodorianum Gymnasium and the Episcopal Academy in Paderborn. Due to excessive study Bernhard weakened his health so much that he was later dispensed from military service, and in addition his bishop, Konrad Martin (1812-1879), hesitated to ordain the pious student of theology because of his chronic gastric trouble. Baron von und zu Brenken from Wewer near Paderborn declared himself ready to engage Lüthen as castle chaplain. Based on this he was ordained May 15, 1872. After self-sacrificing activity in Wewer (castle and parish) Lüthen accepted the position to edit the periodical for priests *Ambrosius* published by the Cassianeum. On October 7, 1877, Lüthen left Wewer and presented himself at the Cassianeum on October 9. Without a diocesan

titulus mensae Lüthen had to earn his own bread. Before departing to Bavaria he participated with 40 other priests at the first course of retreats preached in the two days before the inauguration of the newly erected mission house in Steyl (September 10-14, 1887) by Ignatius Jeiler, OFM.

Lüthen had a skillful pen. At the same time he took over the task of curate at the shrine of the Holy Cross belonging to the Cassianeum. He wanted to be a "victim priest" as he noted in his *Spiritual Diary*, and he was one in the full sense of the word. His work day began before 5:00 a.m. and ended only after 9:00 p.m. However, one could also find him before the Blessed Sacrament at 11:00 p.m. or even 3:00 a.m. Children, apprentices, engaged couples and pilgrims flocked to his confessional, as well as many who had avoided confession in their own parish for too long. For the sick and poor he did whatever his means allowed. He made himself as poor as possible in order to help especially the bashful poor. Quite conscientiously he fulfilled his duties at the Cassianeum.

When Lüthen left the Cassianeum to join Jordan, this saintly priest took this step fully conscious that the Lord was calling him to take an even greater share in his cross. "The idea to leave the Cassianeum came so suddenly, as if from above. It was on July 22, 1881, when I took leave from Donauwörth" (BL-1378).^{*} Without Lüthen, Jordan would hardly have been able to realize his fledgling undertaking. He always remained thankful to the Lord for having given him such a priest as a companion.

Sadly, a well deserved biography has not yet been written, but there are two commendable booklets: Fr. Willibrord Menke, SDS, *Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen, ein Apostel der Priesterheiligung*, Berlin: Salvatorverlag, 1936, 173 pages; S. Mariam Cerletty, SDS, *Eldest Son: The Life of Father Bonaventure Lüthen 1846-1911*, Milwaukee, WI: 1998, 184 pages.

3.22/49. Post for converts. Regarding this *Konvertitenstelle*, Msgr. Jänig wrote in February 27, 1881, "to Reverend Dr. Johann Jordan at Auer's in Donauwörth." Jordan received this letter by March 1, 1881. His answer is

^{*} Cf., Lüthen's declaration to join the Apostolic Teaching Society, July 19, 1881, is announced in the August number of *Ambrosius* 1881.

not known. At any rate, Jordan did not apply for this good post. Jordan's first companion in St. Brigida, Josef Hartmann, wrote a Latin letter to him February 22, 1881, informing Jordan that Dr. Jansen had disclosed to him that Jänig had interceded in his favor with Msgr. Ricci, and that the latter was inclined to give Jordan the position of the priest responsible for instructing converts in Rome. Encouraged by Jansen, Hartmann also pointed to Jordan's language skills and he considered this position advantageous for their common aim (D-933). Jänig wrote:

Dear friend!

Our *Scola Gregoriana* [the Anima boys' choir] seems to have become rather interested in you and your undertaking. When they lately sang a Requiem, an Italian priest asked me whether the celebration had been for the catechist of the House of Converts, of whose death he otherwise would not have been informed. Before the deceased took this position, I had repeatedly asked Msgr. Ricci to give it to a German again, [the prior chaplain] had been Fr. Dahmen from Cologne, who had died in the *fama sanctitatis* after holding the position for half a century. Msgr. Ricci, however, preferred an Italian and explained to me that the Germans had no right because the foundation was made by an Italian. When I, therefore, came to know of the latest vacancy, I had to look for other ways to reach my aim. I discussed the matter with Dr. [Andreas] Jansen, with whom I went to Cardinal Bilio asking his Eminence urgently to propose your Reverence. The cardinal promised to do so at a regular meeting with Msgr. Ricci. Thus, I was not very hopeful. The greater is my joy today that Cardinal Bilio invited me to come to him and said he had spoken with Msgr. Ricci, so that there was hardly any doubt that the position would be given to you at the next meeting of the Administration Council of the Foundation, if either you or I myself petitioned Msgr. Ricci, major-domo of His Holiness, indicating name, age, native place, years of ordination, studies, etc. and as it is the custom in such petitions a short curriculum vitae. Please, send this by post directly to Msgr. Ricci in the Vatican; as a precaution I shall hand him a warm petition for your Reverence on the day after tomorrow. I don't know many details about this position. The salary will probably be very small, but certainly offer "food and clothing;" the work is not too much, as conversions for sincere reasons are rather rare; but just this sad circumstance will offer your Reverence the best occasion to be active for your undertaking and for the purposes of Mr. Jansen in the

center of the New Testament elect [in Rome]. Rev. Jacquemin believes your Reverence to be quite suitable for it, as well as Cardinal Franzelin, as Cardinal Bilio told me. Nobody else will be happier than your obliging,

Karl Jänig

Rome, February 27, 1881(H-54.1)

3.23/53. Success of publications. How far Jordan's advertizing in Catholic periodicals succeeded is preserved only in part. In Italy, Jordan's short report about his foundation followed by an invitation to cooperate could be found in the following papers: *La Buona Stampa* (Turin, May 22, 1881); *Unità Cattolica* (Florence, April 27, 1881); *La Frusta* (Salerno, April 1881); *La Discussione* (Naples, April 1881), *Eco Catolico di Napoli* (May 1881); *Civiltà Cattolica* (June 4, 1881). With the exception of the latter, only unimportant small papers accepted Jordan's request despite the fact that Catholic Italy boasted over 200 periodicals at that time. The competition was so heavy these papers rarely met Jordan's hopes by obliging him. Of course, *Monitore Romano* itself, which was printed in his own printing shop from April 17 onwards, continuously reported on the development, especially of the Third Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society. *Civiltà Cattolica* called the attention of quite a number of priests and academics, mostly conservative, to Jordan's foundation. They asked for information about the Apostolic Teaching Society and its program; a good number showed interest in the Third Grade in the form of parish sections and in connection with the *Monitore Romano*. Only a portion of the probably once voluminous correspondence has been preserved (E-3).

Jordan's advertizing efforts also met with great reserve in the German press. February 8, 1881, Friedrich Werber had already reported in his local paper the blessing of the pope and the commendation of Cardinal Hergenröther as a way to make Jordan's *Missionsanstalt* (mission institute) known. A few months later, Werber's *Freie Stimme* published a report about the purpose and development of "Jordan's Teaching Society" and asked for contributions (May 27, 1881). In the summer of 1881, the Catholic daily *Vaterland* (Lucern) printed a long informative article about Jordan's "universally acting Society" mentioning particularly parish groups (August 4, 1881); the article might have

been written by Koneberg. The rest of the German Catholic Press, which also counted over 200 papers, was rather reserved. Even the April 1881 *Ambrosius* mentions just the request for a memorial in favor of the expansion of Jordan's Society.

3.24/54. Rota, Petrus, was born January 30, 1805, in Villa San Prospero near Correggio. He studied with the Jesuits in Reggio, Calabria and was ordained September 1827. In 1834, he became dean at Correggio and soon after rector of the seminary. In March 1855, he was ordained Bishop of Quastalla, but was expelled from his diocese in 1859, finding refuge in Modena. Put under house arrest by the Italian authorities in Turin in 1866, he found hospitality with Don Bosco for six months in 1867. Nominated bishop of Mantua in December 1871, the government denied him access to its funds. In Mantua he founded the periodical *Vessillo catolico* and directed it from 1871 to 1876. In 1874, authorities hostile to the church threw him in prison. In 1878, Rota abdicated his diocese. Leo XIII nominated him archbishop of Carthage, i.p.i. and called him to Rome. In order to assure him a modest income the pope nominated him canon of St. Peter's. By Easter, Jordan had found in Rota an active and influential helper. Rota wrote in the *Monitore Romano* (articles about catechetical principles already from the first number of April 1881 onwards). His biographer, Massimiliano Franzini, notes inexactly: Rota "encouraged in the best possible manner the Catholic Teaching Society, founded by Jordan. . . . He was an animator and wrote articles for *Nuntius* and *Katechismus für die Kinder*, both edited by the Teaching Society (*Memoria raccolte*, Roma: 1893, 506). In the summer of 1889, Rota suffered an accident: near Marino he ran into a tree and had a heavy fall. On Candlemas 1890 he died in Rome and was buried in *San Lorenzo fuori le Mura*. Jordan lost in Bishop Rota not only a valuable cooperator from the first hour, but also a fatherly protector, who had assisted him, counseling and helping in various ecclesiastical difficulties and ordeals.*

Together with Archbishop Rota, Vincenzo Anivitti, suffragan bishop of Sabina, (Bishop of Caristo, i.p.i.) also assisted Jordan's press

* Rota's beatification process has been initiated.

apostolate. The old gentleman died July 15 of the same year (cf., Jordan's letter to Lüthen, April 14, 1881 [sic], A-2; MR nr. 3, 24; MI nr. 4, 27). Thus this priest left no further traces on Jordan's germinating work.

3.25/56. The Second Grade. About the Second Grade we have only one incomplete list in which Jordan registered by name the members from the first period. Indeed, he doesn't speak expressly of a Second Grade but only of "members or collaborators and sponsors" of the ATS. But the circle of those he lists (among other academics von Pastor, Bickel and many university lecturers) leads one to conclude that this was the Second Grade. In the list he also inserts his friend "Dr. F. Börger, professor in Beirut;" a number of editors like Dr. Fr. Werber in Radolfzell, Miarka in St. Nicolai, Färber in St. Louis, U.S.A; some brave pastors are also included: Roelofs and Schleier (Litzelstetten near Constance).

It is worth noticing that Jordan does not forget his friends from Ain Warqa, like the prefect of studies Estfan Josef, or Estfan Paul Simeon, or a certain Paolo Mnâsa (cf., his letter, March 30, 1882, D-967). Other acquaintances from Lebanon and the Holy Land we find on the list are the superior of Harissa, Fr. Michael, the superior of Ain Traz, Fr. Ignatius Homsy, the superior of the Bishops' Seminary, Feiferi, the Maronist Fr. Basbus (in Jerusalem), the prefect of the Capuchins in Beirut, the secretary of the Maronite Patriarch Fr. Churí Elias Heltewi. Ecclesiastical personalities abound, from bishops on up: Bsciai, Maddalena, Basilius of Bzommar, Balgy and Cardinal Hergenröther (B-2).

3.26/60. Statutes of 1881. Jordan's *Regolamenti della Societa Apostolica Istruttiva* had already appeared as an off-print in the *Topografia della Pace* in St. Brigida (E-1203; cf., DSS II, 117ff) before being sent to parish groups (MR, May 1881). The brochure showed on the first page the Virgin Immaculate with the invocation, "Queen of the Apostles, pray for us." On the second page followed the "ecclesiastical imprimatur" the two letters of commendation of Parocchi and Hergenröther. Before this, it was stated that the Apostolic Teaching Society had been blessed by the Holy Father and commended and encouraged by cardinals and bishops of the East as well, and that also various Catholic papers had said

"beautiful things" about the work. As examples of the latter he printed the commendation as it had appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, April 27, 1881, which Jordan had previously sent to the Catholic editors in Italy. Then came the statutes themselves insofar as they should be valid for the Third Grade. "General aim of the Society is the propagation, defense and animation of the Catholic faith through religious and civil formation and instruction." The three groups of members were designated "*attivi, aderenti e cooperativi*." After brief details about the parish groups, the general and specific obligations of the members (according to position and profession) were enumerated. The last page showed a picture of a guardian angel with the words of Psalm 90:11.

Already in the second issue of his Italian periodical for the people (May 1881) Jordan dares to publish the Statutes of the Apostolic Teaching Society. In the July issue Jordan again presents the aim of the Society in the words so dear to his heart from the Areopagite: "The most divine of all divine is [for the Christian] to cooperate with God in the salvation of mankind." Jordan emphasizes: "The noblest aim of our Society is precisely "what the Areopagite states. The Society, "invites all the faithful to make themselves heralds and apostles." The individual apostolate is praised. But Jordan sees that we accomplish more through force in a unified movement (*movimento uniforme*): "By this our members become cooperators of Jesus Christ and the apostles in leading souls home" (MR).

On May 23, 1881, Jordan sent the German translation of his *Regolamenti* to Auer with the request to print them (AC Fasc. VIIIa, 2); already in his next letter of May 31, 1881, Jordan halted the printing. He had in fact the intention to travel personally to Donauwörth to clear up the uncertainty in his relations with Auer (AC). After *Corpus Christi* (June 16, 1881) Jordan wanted to begin his journey north.

3.27/61. Koneberg and the Meeting in Ottobeuren. The meeting in Ottobeuren was probably suggested by Koneberg, a member of the Second Grade. Von Leonhardi had been with Koneberg since early July. On July 7, he wrote Jordan:

Come here as soon as your activities in Lichtenstein allow, for here you will easily and quickly get to know the solution to various practical

doubts in regard to the *Societa Apostolica Instructiva* and thus save much time, effort and money.

Von Leonhardi then alludes to an earlier meeting with Jordan, calling it "quite providential." He writes further:

Lüthen has had to change the brochure at the insistence of the bishop of Augsburg. How far, I shall hear on Sunday when he comes to the *Patrocinium Ecclesiae*. [The patron of the church as well as of the monastery was St. Benedict. The *Dedicatio Ecclesiae* was celebrated on his feastday, July 11, 1881, a Monday.]

Von Leonhardi sent the letter to Jordan's Roman address. There the postcard was forwarded to the Cassianeum, where it arrived on July 13, 1881. Jordan had reached Ottobeuren already on July 8, where he together with von Leonhardi and Lüthen, who had arrived on July 10, celebrated the Feast of Holy Father Benedict (H-19.1).

Fr. Hermann Koneberg was born August 14, 1837, in Bedernau, Diocese of Augsburg, and baptized Johann Georg. Priest since August 16, 1860, he entered the Benedictines in 1867, and made religious profession in St. Stephan, Augsburg on October 11, 1868. For a short time he worked as a teacher and novice master. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, he was a military chaplain, and from 1871-1889 pastor of the parish church attached to the priory of Ottobeuren. From 1889 on he was again in his home monastery of St Stephan, Augsburg as novice master and religion teacher. There he died on November 25, 1891.

Koneberg was a good storyteller and composed a series of popular religious writings. From 1881 to 1888, he was also editor of the pastoral periodical of the Diocese of Augsburg. Lüthen and Koneberg knew one another already based on their literary activity, after Lüthen had taken over the editorship of the periodical *Ambrosius* in 1877.

3.28/62. Von Leonhardi, Karl Alban Friedrich, was born February 16, 1847 in Zittau, Saxony. He attended the *Realschule* in Neustadt, Dresden. His graduation certificate showed good marks in French and English. His father, Alban von Leonhardi, was a Protestant. His mother, Ferdinanda von Mengersen, was a Catholic who raised Friedrich strictly

Catholic. According to the will of the father who rose to become Lieutenant General in the Royal Army of Saxony and Commander of the Saxonian fortress of Königstein, the young von Leonhardi did military service already at the age of seventeen. As an officer he participated in the wars of 1866 and 1870-1871. With the rank of captain he left military service after seven years and studied a year of philosophy with the Jesuits in Innsbruck. In March 1872, he passed his exam of admission to the German-Austrian College in Rome. From 1873 to 1877, he dedicated himself to philosophical and theological studies in the Eternal City. At the same time the German-speaking von Leonhardi had to deepen his Latin knowledge. The certificates speak of mediocre talents (*idoneus*) but praise his character and lifestyle. On December 18, 1878, he was ordained in Rome. On April 1, 1877, von Leonhardi returned to his home country.

Animated by the rector of the Germanicum, Fr. Steinhuber, who was very well disposed towards him, and with the permission of his ecclesiastical superior, the Vicar Apostolic of Saxony, Franz Bernert (born in Bohemina Grafenstein, from 1876 titular Bishop of Azot and at the same time Apostolic Prefect of Lausitz), von Leonhardi declared himself available for the Swedish Mission. He also visited his old acquaintances in Rome, particularly the rector of the German-Austrian College. During his stay in Rome, probably at the turn of the year 1880-1881 he met Jordan in St. Brigida and entrusted one Swedish seminarian to him. Von Leonhardi was soon enthusiastic for Jordan's plan, because he hoped in this way to help his beloved Swedish Mission. He continued to be responsible to his ecclesiastical superior, the Vicar Apostolic in Stockholm, Johann Georg Huber (1874-1886). Jordan on his part took it as a special act of Providence that von Leonhardi showed interest in his work. "Maybe God has sent us at this time some brave apostolic priests for the First Grade. One carried a sword as a captain in [18]70 in Paris," Jordan wrote to Auer on February 16, 1881 (AC; cf., MI, December 1881, 27). Meanwhile, however, von Leonhardi had returned to his German home, remaining in contact with Jordan.

3.29/63. The Swedish Mission. An interesting letter of a little known Swedish priest, K. Fr. Karlén, has been preserved, which he wrote to

Jordan on March 25, 1881, from Munich where he stayed for a short time. Karlén declined a contribution, sending the receipt back to show his disappointment that Jordan could do nothing for his beloved Swedish Mission. Karlén argued somehow naively that Jordan as General Director of a mission congregation must certainly be an authority. He should simply turn to Cardinal Jacobini or to the Holy Father himself. [It seemed to him] Jordan must be able immediately to provide two missionaries: Hartmann and the Swedish student Jordan had received. Then Karlén criticizes the Jesuits because they were proceeding awkwardly and he excused himself for not having joined Jordan's Society to work for the St. Brigitta Mission but he had not obtained permission to do so. In his letter, Karlén sent greetings to Hartmann thanking him for his understanding towards the Swedish Mission (D-932). The letter presupposes Karlén and von Leonhardi knew each other and that von Leonhardi had spoken to Karlén about St. Bridget and about the hopes for the Swedish Mission he connected with Jordan's work there. At the same time the letter shows how quickly Jordan's undertaking gained publicity and how it raised hopes in the most various groups, that as a response to the signs of the time it might also meet their own special wishes.*

3.30/64. Lüthen's Brochure was first discussed in common. It bore the title *Die Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft oder Societas Apostolica Instructiva. Ihre Wesen und ihre Bedeutung*. "The Apostolic Teaching Society or *Societas Apostolica Instructiva*. Its essence and its importance" and was prepared by B. Lüthen, editor of *Ambrosius*. He published it on his own "printed as manuscript" and added an accompanying letter "to the honorable editors of Catholic, German-language newspapers and periodicals." In that letter there was also an invitation to join or at least to cooperate and support it. The letter was dated July 17, Feast of St. Henry, and signed by Johann Baptist Jordan, Director General, and Fr. Lüthen, National Director. In an enthusiastic introduction Lüthen expressed his conviction that Jordan's

* Karlén also mentioned in his letter to Jordan, written in English, that he would write regarding the same question to Semenenko, with whom Jordan had spoken already at the beginning of the year.

work "bears the seal of the Holy Spirit visibly on its forehead." Then he explains briefly the "idea and purpose of the Apostolic Teaching Society" and prints the statutes as they had already been published in May by Jordan in *Monitore Romano* in Italian and in a German translation and sent to Auer (May 23, 1881). In concluding, Lüthen presents briefly the Founder of the Apostolic Teaching Society. He spoke of the maturing of Jordan's plan in the Holy Land, about the commendations by ecclesiastic dignitaries, and above all of the blessing of the work by Leo XIII, which for Lüthen contained "the anticipated supreme blessing of the church." The letters of recommendation of the two cardinals, Parocchi and Hergenröther followed. Finally the skillful writer Lüthen enthusiastically lays out a fascinating vision for the infant work. He concludes by inviting cooperation:

As far as possible, let's look at the blessings of the Society, how they must arise from the execution of its higher mission. Thus we can audaciously affirm that the honor of the Trinity in the sense of *Adveniat regnum Tuum* will be excellently enhanced through it.

The brochure, still printed at the Cassianeum, closed with its motto: "All with God and for God for the betterment of one's neighbor!" (Apostolic Teaching Society, E-204,1; cf. DSS IV, 19ff). Lüthen's brochure certainly captured Jordan's sense. Furthermore, it had been reviewed by the bishop of Augsburg and approved without comment.

In his brochure Lüthen already supports Jordan's efforts to free himself from the pedagogic restrictive method Auer had inserted in the statutes. He leaves out "the means of education and instruction, religious and civil" Jordan had retained as a priority in Auer's *Regolamenti* (cf. MR, V. May 15, 1881,13), and accentuated in the jubilee number (MR, V. July 15, 1881, 30: "*invitando tutti i fedeli a rendersi predicatori ed apostoli per mezzo dell'educazione ed istruzione civile e religiosa*"). In regard to patrons of the Apostolic Teaching Society, Lüthen inserts St. Michael. In the list of the groups the Apostolic Teaching Society wants to engage, Lüthen substitutes students for landlords (innkeepers). While Jordan in Italian still retains the word "Grade," Lüthen already speaks of "step" (or level) in his brochure (on the ground of his priestly sensibility against the pseudo-religious terminology of the Freemasons). Neither did Lüthen

seek any advice on the draft, or regarding galley proofs already printed at Auer's (AC Fasc. Va; E-109; cf., DSS IV, 13ff). Lüthen's brochure was probably translated immediately by Jordan himself into Italian and published (MR 1882, 22, 25, 34, 45, 53; cf., DSS II, 131ff).

3.31/67. *Der Missionär* was an organ of the Apostolic Teaching Society for the people. Issue nr. 1 of September, 1881, is still very modest and corresponds more to Lüthen's than to Jordan's taste. It contents itself with a postage stamp-size picture of the Heart of Jesus on the masthead. On the left side there is the ejaculatory: "Sweet Heart of Jesus, make me love you ever more." On the right side is the motto of the Cassianum in the corrected form (instead of "mankind" it now says "neighbor").

The lead article states already the Society's threefold purpose in the classical form: "strengthen, defend and promulgate the Catholic faith." As editor and owner signs: "B. Lüthen, secular priest, at present in Ottobeuren, Bavaria; printed by Ganser printing shop in Ottobeuren." From nr. 2 onward the editor signs, "at present in Metten, Bavaria."

Der Missionär was started in Ottobeuren. The Reverend Father laid the first issue on the tomb of Blessed Canisius in Fribourg. Filled with hope I sent the first number to some dean's offices in Austria. The success was almost zero. I didn't give up, continued to work and print (BL-1378).*

* The church periodical of Jordan's home diocese presented *Der Missionär* as follows:

Der Missionär, organ of the Apostolic Teaching Society for the people. Edited by Lüthen, priest, editor of *Ambrosius*. This monthly, a unique entry among German periodicals, intends to fight against religious indifference, rote religious practice, and the evils of our time by enhancing the spirit of prayer and penitence as well as apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls, for religious reflection and for comprehensible religious practices. Through four months of the current year it can be subscribed to for 40 Pfennig at the editor's of *Der Missionär* in Ottobeuren, Bavaria. Number 1 and 2 have already appeared. May this modern undertaking soon find many friends! (*Freiburger Katholisches Sonntagsblatt*, nr. 42, October 19, 1881, 336).

3.32/68. Lüthen decides. It wasn't easy for Lüthen to give up his beloved work as "curate for the curates" (i.e., as editor of *Ambrosius*) and to free himself for Jordan. In about 1897, Lüthen narrates: "The mission priest with his attractive long beard had troubled him [Lüthen] for a long time. At last during Holy Mass the thought had come up to him [to join Jordan] in spite of the heavy resistance of Mr. Auer" (BL-1378). Lüthen may here have combined his first meeting with Jordan in February in Donauwörth and the meeting in Ottobeuren. At any rate, Lüthen wrote in mid-July from Ottobeuren to Director Auer:

I have decided to leave the Cassianeum. This decision does not come from flesh and blood. I wish to be released at once; as I remember that we have agreed upon a period of notice, I ask you to release me from this condition. This will be easier for you, when Mr. Jordan will come to an agreement with you, whether I shall be entrusted again with editing *Ambrosius*, something I leave to him. As soon as I am released, I will join the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society at present for one year. I do hope that God will lead it all to the best. In the love of the Sacred Heart, Lüthen, priest (letter, July 22, 1881).

Auer must have been hit hard by this loss. True, Lüthen remained editor of *Ambrosius* for a while. But by August 11, he sent the first number of *Der Missionär* to Auer: "Our organ for the people. Without it our cause would hang in the air or at least not have a lasting existence. Therefore I have agreed to Mr. Jordan's wish to make a start" (AC Fasc. I). Auer was justified to feel the periodical of the Teaching Society was a rival. Perhaps now he was sorry for not putting his peri-odical *Monika* at the disposal of the Third Grade of Jordan's foundation. At any rate, the idea of *Der Missionär* was a witness not only to Jordan's apostolic zeal but to his sound thinking as well. Though modest, this periodical in fact later became the material basis for the favorable growth of his work.

At that time Lüthen also fought a spiritual battle with Auer who had not avoided involvement in school politics. Lüthen wanted at least *Ambrosius* kept free from politics. Neither did he agree with Auer's opinion that passionate political instructions about schools and national education had to be given to bishops and priests in *Monika*. Lüthen suffered from Auer's behavior and asked him in a long and moving letter

to examine "once more before God your political mission" (letter, July 27, 1881; September 16, 1881; September 19, 1881, all three from Ottobeuren, AC Fasc. I). We cannot assume that Jordan, as originally planned, met with Auer for a discussion.

3.33/75. Auer's response took the form of a deeply moving letter written on the back of Jordan's letter to him. It follows here with a few omissions. It gives a good insight into Auer's ideal-oriented personality, into the lofty Christian understanding of his mission, into his care as father of a family and director of such a large Catholic undertaking, and last but not least, into the tensions which can arise between men called by God whose vocations are not congruent, especially where class distinction proves to be a hindrance.

In answer to your letter of the 24th: God has founded and promoted an institute in Germany [the Cassienseum] and entrusted it with a great wide sphere of activity. Infinitely much good has already been done and will also be done later on.

Then a gentleman comes from Italy with the intention to join this divinely founded and directed and blessed institution, to work with and support it. This gentleman is received in a friendly way, and he is informed and promised everything with alacrity. Now this gentleman and another gentleman want nothing less than to push aside this tool of God, because he is a layman and has no academic formation. But these two gentlemen know it [the work] better than God and want to correct God's mistake by taking control out of the hands of this layman and putting him to his proper place—into the farthest corner—and want according to their wise idea to put the divinely founded and visibly supported institute on the right path.

However, as the divinely called and appointed director of the Cassianeum does not let himself just be pushed into a corner and does not dance to the tune of the two gentlemen, because he stands his ground and remains loyal to his views and principles concerning school politics, and in his entire activity does not submit obediently with body and soul: therefore, the two gentlemen leave him and want to proceed independently and according to their own wisdom, and in doing so they don't care whether the work, founded by God suffered because of this, whether it would be damaged. Neither do they care whether the man who has already suffered immensely and offered it all, all for the

task entrusted to him by God, who under terrible struggles maintains himself and his institution with great efforts, under terrible struggles with the faithless world, with all hell, with blind Catholics: not caring whether the man with wife and children be ruined. They create competition, found new papers, beg up and down through the whole world for money and good friends and try to conquer hearts, no matter whether the Cassianeum loses by this. And here the Director of the Cassianeum is so malicious as not to cooperate and not to let its periodicals be used for the purpose of alienating his friends and sponsors, and not to help create competition to its own periodicals: this is certainly outrageous.

He wants to see his periodicals used for the clear and specific task given to him by God and does not want to let them stray into the unclear, confused plans of those two gentlemen. Therefore, three traps have been set: either he must put *Ambrosius* (which he founded) at the complete disposal of those two gentlemen according to their wishes and views; or he must hand it over completely to these gentlemen; or they proceed independently against him, attacking him anew.

Oh do that, (dear) if you can. God will know how to protect His institution and His tool. We have finished with one another. I am already disillusioned enough. I know my *Pappenheimer* now, and I am not afraid of them. If it is necessary, I shall confront them publicly and cast full light on their pious procedure. With this I give notice to Mr. L. for editing *Ambrosius* (God has already let me find a suitable man for it). Do what you want "from your viewpoint." Your viewpoint was formerly the right one, when you wanted to join us. But since the two gentlemen request me to join them, things are quite reversed. You owe to God and to the world to support my institute, and it is a flagrant injustice to take any step against it.

If they don't want to work with us, let them stay in Italy. I haven't heard any word for you so far, neither read a line in your favor. Outside the Cassianeum directed by God you will hardly find a blessed little place (AC Fasc. I).

Auer saw himself compelled to take *Ambrosius* away from Lüthen who accepted the notice "in agreement with Jordan," although he was ready to produce the next number while in Rome in order not to make unnecessary difficulties for Auer: "Now I belong to the Society which, especially

in its present seminal stage, needs my strength, which however, is not very remarkable because of my weak health." Lüthen shows himself sorry about the separation from a periodical "born out of the blood and blessing of God," and written by him. Lüthen also confessed that he had suffered much from Auer's unjust treatment. "Tears flow into my eyes when I remember you." He asks Auer to return to the original spirit of the Cassianeum (letter, November 27, 1881).

3.34/77. December 8, 1881. In his "Contributions to the History of the Society of the Divine Savior" of August 15 and 16, 1910, Lüthen describes the events of December 8, 1881.

While receiving Holy Communion at the hand of the Founder, there entered a certain bishop living in the house, Msgr. Duval of the *Congregatio Sae. Crucis*. Thus he became a witness to this remarkable ceremony. It was a beautiful day; for in St. Peter's there was the solemn canonization which gave the church four new saints . . . (BL-1378).

Both Lüthen and von Leonhardi made their vows "internally." This means that their vows were fully their personal decision and had a purely private character. It was not unusual at that time to confirm important decisions for life through private vows. The fact the three priests bound themselves by vows to the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society had not been decided by Jordan alone. This happened in common consent at the latest during the retreats in Borgo Santo Spirito. Although Jordan as well as his two companions strove to live the Evangelical Counsels already as secular priests, they now bound themselves to the new lifestyle by vows. Jordan either did so like Lüthen and von Leonhardi "internally" during the Holy celebration in St. Bridget, or perhaps he had felt obliged to make this "inner commitment" already at an earlier time. He may have done so at the hands of his confessor to whom he was connected in spiritual obedience. At that time this was the young Conventual, Ludwig Steiner (1846-1886), who had replaced his predecessor Fr. Bauer in August 1881.

The three did not speak about their intention to the rest of the community in St. Bridget; neither did they invite them to the celebration in the chapel. Instead they gathered there "secretly" as Lüthen expressed

himself. But the cook's helper at that time, a student Josef Hielscher, noticed their mysterious behavior (letter of congratulation of Hielscher, November 11, 1906 on the 25th anniversary of Jordan's Foundation).*

3.35/78. Emblem. For Christmas, Jordan sent a picture of the emblem of the Society to all members. Jordan had great trouble getting it printed in black and white at the Cassianeum. In the *Monitore Romano* of December 1881, the picture is described in detail: Mary, Queen of the Apostles with the Divine Child on her arm. Above the Holy Spirit, the apostles on both sides "like in the Pentecost room." The child holds the scepter and already has the heart on his breast (as in Kleiser's *Kanisius-Stimmen*, first issue, 1879). Above on the right side of the picture St. Monica implores the conversion of her son, while St. Augustine, above on the left side, is already busy converting others. Below in the picture the foreign mission is squeezed in, on the right side the baptism of a convert, on the left side a Catholic school. Tools of the fine arts (allusions to the Second Grade of the Society) are also found. For Christmas, Jordan wrote to all members:

Best wishes for the New Year: the Reverend Fathers and pupils of the Apostolic Teaching Society in the house of St. Brigida in Rome with thankful hearts wish a happy and blessed New Year to all their benefactors and sponsors. Rome, in the House of St. Bridget on Christmas 1881. In the name of all: The Directorate, J.B. Jordan (E-111).

3.36/79. The Short Rule for the First Grade was presented by Jordan first to Lüthen and von Leonhardi. In early 1882, he had it printed in his own printing shop in St. Bridget. In doing so he chose for the six-page text a small, pocket size format (17 x 11 cm). Jordan still spoke in terms of "grades." Later he accepted Lüthen's proposal to use *Stufe* (level). To Lüthen the word "grade" had (in German at least) tinges of Freemasonry.

* That afternoon the three priests visited Mdonna dei Monti, the tomb of Benedict Labre, canonized that day. Hielscher later became a diocesan priest, then a Franciscan. The cook, the good Giuseppe, had to serve in the Vatican on this day of four canonizations, as he belonged to the Papal Guard. Hielscher himself let the chestnuts burn, so that the banquet was rather poor (D-1171).

Jordan chose the term *kirchliche Verkündigung* (ecclesiastic proclamation) over the unclear Latin expression *magisterium ecclesiasticum*, which the responsible ecclesiastic examination office had immediately rejected (Bianchi Report, June 6, 1882, ACRel, Prot. nr. 9187/17). Jordan's successor, Fr. Pancratius, when speaking once of the permanent validity of the purpose of the "Rule of 1882" for Salvatorian communities said he thought instinctively of the term "*magisterium ecclesiasticum*" and took the edge off Jordan's expression by adding "*per participationem*."

It is remarkable how Jordan could not speak about the aim of the Society without anchoring it in what was for him the fundamental text of Scripture: Jn 17:3. With reference to the "spirituality" of his foundation he recalls the Hymn of Love (I Cor 13), which he had experienced already as a student of theology in the basic rule of the *Pauluswerk*. For the apostolic engagement he required, Jordan willingly took over and applied the same Pauline measure as he expressed it in 2 Corinthians 12:15—a measure without measure. Later Jordan described to the Cardinal Vicar the "emblem of the Society" required in this rule: a scapular (E-25.6).

4. Clarification and Transformation

The three priests of the "first hour" quickly agreed on the first tasks to be tackled. Lüthen went to Munich to consolidate the much needed base north of the Alps.² **See, 4.1. Lüthen's efforts.** Jordan and Baron von Leonhardi remained at St. Bridget where Jordan worked for the spiritual development of his foundation, and von Leonhardi assumed the growing administrative tasks.³ "Our society is developing fittingly" Jordan wrote the end of January in hopeful confidence (January 31, 1882, A-4). In the weeks after Christmas, Jordan hosted his fellow countryman and friend, John Kleiser, who had come to Rome with instruction from Schorderet about affairs of the *Pauluswerk*.⁴ **See, 4.2. Kleiser.**

It was probably winter of 1881-82 that the foundress of the "Daughters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary," Maria Clara Pfänder, sought counsel and help from Jordan. Due to misunderstandings arising within her own community she was expelled from their motherhouse in

² See, A Closer Look: 4.1. Lüthen's efforts.

³ Leonardi's efforts centered on Rome, above all on the administration in St. Bridget. On February 19, 1882, he signed an inventory of furniture separated according to the two proprietors, the *Societas Apostolica Instructiva* and *Congregatio Stae. Crucis*, as "l'Economo, F. de Leonhardi" (G-4.1).

It is not known how far he was involved in the negotiations with the *padri francesi* regarding a hereditary tenancy of St. Bridget (March 1882). In the summer, shortly before the Munich conference of four, von Leonhardi negotiated the long range acquisition (*aliena perpetua*) of a 5-story house in "La Porta San Lorenzo with a debt burden of 4,829.50 Lire (August 23, 1882, E-21). Jordan certainly involved him in the negotiations about the portion of Palazzo Morone to be rented. On December 15, 1882, von Leonhardi negotiated the question of the printery. He signed "*Prefetto della Casa*" calling himself "*proprietario della tipografia esistente nel Palazzo Moroni*" (E-23). It is to be supposed that Jordan's order to secure the Cologne loan played a role in this signature.

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.2. Kleiser.

Salzkotten. She hoped to present her case personally to the Holy Father. The statutes of her community, formulated by her, were found among Jordan's effects.⁵ **See, 4.3. Pfänder.**

Jordan now found time to attend more intensely to building up the Second Grade. Already in March 1882, he had published its organ *Nuntius Romanus*.⁶ **See, 4.4. Nuntius Romanus.** This "Roman Messenger" was to carry the voice of ecclesiastical teaching to the members of the "Academy" of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Meanwhile, the community at St. Bridget received a steady influx. "At present we are 14 persons" Jordan wrote to Fr. Nägele, and added, "It is not easy to maintain such a society in Rome" (February 24, 1882, G-4.1). In addition to the two priests, seminarians⁷ and workers in the printery also belonged to it, and Jordan had to rent more and more rooms in St. Bridget. **See, 4.5. Seminarians.** The small print shop was soon unable to handle the work accumulating since Jordan now began to print religious books in addition to the magazines. He was grateful for the considerable support Lüthen's successful work in Munich brought him. Lüthen was skillful in interesting his readers in St. Bridget: "Think often of our parental home and pray for the father of the house and for his children" (MI, 1882-3).

Jordan still had hopes that other priests from among the "*Sperrlinge*" would join the core of his foundation. At the end of January the curate Friedrich Scheugenpflug,⁸ zealous and enthusiastic for the missions, turned to Jordan. **See, 4.6. Scheugenpflug.** He was attracted by the great aims of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Jordan did not hesitate to include in his First Grade even priests who remained in pastoral work. Every

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.3. Pfänder.

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.4. *Nuntius Romanus*.

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 4.5. Seminarians.

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 4.6. Scheugenpflug.

zealous priest was welcome who would be willing to help spread a web of bases, from which the concerns of the ATS could be brought close to the people. Naturally, Scheugenpflug was not released freely by Bishop Senestrey.⁹ **See, 4.7. Von Senestrey.** One year later Jordan found a way out by admitting the priest to the First Grade by a private, temporary vow of obedience. But this was not a final solution. Jordan had to learn that the jurisdiction of a bishop did not leave him any freedom simply to admit diocesan priests to his undertaking.

Jordan's open and relaxed approach was simply the way his natural obedience to his special vocation expressed itself. But to others this was often not only awkward, but it very soon became a stumbling block, especially for the guardians of Roman privilege. Therefore, the difficulties Jordan met did not really begin with arguments with people outside the church, but precisely within predominantly ecclesiastical circles. His sound attitude was: "Who can hinder us in doing good?" (letter to Lüthen, March 1883, G-4.1). Yet Jordan had to learn that for a priest such a principle had its official limits.

First of all it was held against him that he took the liberty to give his foundation the catchy title Apostolic Teaching Society. The term "apostolic" was especially annoying. For Roman authorities that word was a title of honor which enhanced *their* field of activity in the service of the pope. For Jordan it meant the rightful expression of a special calling to apostolic activities which were again and again entrusted to men and women in the church in answer to the needs of the times. While on March 9, Archbishop Rota warmly recommended Jordan's foundation, "after having read the rules of the Apostolic Teaching Society,"¹⁰ Jordan

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.7. Von Senestrey.

¹⁰ Rota gave Jordan the following commendation:

After I have seen the statutes of this Apostolic Teaching Society and even more after having heard of what apostolic zeal its founder and the others who have joined him animates their undertaking to enhance religious

had already been called to the Cardinal Vicar. There he was informed of misgivings which had arisen in ecclesiastical circles to the name of his society, and these concerns had reached the ear of the pope.

In a petition to the pope, Jordan did not hesitate to explain why he had been moved to give his undertaking such a bold name. He was not willing to give up this characteristic of his foundation with no further ado. In his petition Jordan affirmed his readiness to make any change which the wisdom of the Holy Father desired for his enterprise, founded so far only provisionally and not yet fully ripe for approval. He then spoke briefly about his vocational journey which he had begun already five years earlier. He confessed to have prayed much and struggled spiritually, and that he had not neglected to confer with wise men of the church to be very sure that he was guided only by the "Spirit of the Lord." Jordan did not deny that he was fully conscious of the difficulties and troubles to be expected. But he had to be ready in the Lord to stand up for his vocation, even to giving his life if it should please the Lord. He mentioned also that he had made his foundation with the blessing of his own bishop. He also referred to his decisive experience in the Holy Land which the grace of the Lord had granted him. He had taken steps toward realizing his work only after important ecclesiastical personalities had encouraged him and had given their blessing. Divine Providence had in the meantime led apostolic men to him and had obviously blessed his work at St. Bridget, especially in his printery and his "language school."

Jordan did not deny the universal structure of his undertakings, the Third Grade of which had spread significantly. It was universal precisely because it was apostolic. Then Jordan listed four reasons which had moved him to give his plan the name of Apostolic Teaching Society: the

instruction and to develop in every possible way the works aimed at the salvation of souls, we on our part commend it vividly to all good Catholics, that they may support and carry it whole-heartedly in the way that each finds best.

Rome, March 9, 1882,

Peter Rota, Archbishop of Carthage and Canon in St. Peter's
(Litt. comm. 1904, Bi 1.3; cf., DSS IV, 73).

spirit of sacrifice, of poverty and of burning zeal which was to oppose present day evils; apostolic honesty; the basic duty of all cooperators to spread, defend and deepen the faith; and above all he wanted this name to fix the goal of the Society openly and plainly, without secretiveness.

Jordan also mentioned frankly other organizations which were allowed, with ecclesiastical permission, to use the title apostolic. So he could in no way have imagined that this name could be offensive. With the naming of three such organizations Jordan declared that his foundation simply wanted to unite in one goal the aims of these organizations: the apostolate of prayer, of the press, and of the cooperation of priests and lay people. He emphasized that, through the houses of study which he planned, and the missionary tasks to be assumed, his intention was especially to defend the rights of the Holy See. The last reason in his astonishingly frank defense assured the pope that he had acted in good faith and it had never occurred to him that in choosing the title he would interfere with any rights of others.¹¹

Jordan to Pope Leo XIII (draft)
Holy Father,

March 10, 1882

John Baptist Jordan, a priest of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, Baden, prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, presents, on the basis of instructions received from His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar, the following facts and information on the Apostolic Teaching Society, provisionally founded by him (gladly willing to accept whatever changes the wisdom of the Supreme Pontiff, Leo XIII may decide).

- 1) While still a student of philosophy and theology, he [Jordan] felt for five years an inspiration to found this Society.
- 2) In order to be sure that the inward urge he felt came from God, he did not neglect to pray much and to ask the advice of experienced and wise men of God.

¹¹ The Italian text can be found in DSS XIV, 285-289. Translation from *Mailing II A-2*, Rome: *Salvator Mundi*, 1980, 1-4. Original text in APS, F-4 206, published in DSS XX.II, 43-47.

- 3) After long prayer and the approval of various venerable priests, prelates and cardinals, the urge to begin the work became so insistent and irresistible that he could find no peace of mind.
- 4) Although he knew how many difficulties, how much contradiction and persecution he would meet with on account of this holy undertaking, he felt such willingness in his heart that he feared no manner of adversities, but [was willing] to sacrifice himself fully, indeed his very life, for this cause if God wishes.
- 5) For this reason he renounced any ecclesiastical appointment in his own diocese, which would have meant appreciable income and honor.
- 6) To prepare himself for the divine calling he studied various languages at the University of N.N. and with the help of God's grace soon learned 12 languages sufficiently well to be able to write exercises and to pass the examinations in various other Oriental languages.
- 7) In order to obtain more and more strength for his holy plan, he visited the holy places, and this visit wonderfully helped to strengthen his will.
- 8) Having informed their excellencies, Bishop Massaia and the Patriarch of Jerusalem of his intention, he received from them a special blessing to begin the Society.
- 9) Other reverend cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops and bishops including their eminences Cardinal Bilio, Cardinal Parocchi and Cardinal Hergenröther, when informed by the humble writer of these lines of his plan, encouraged him with the most heartening words. Some of them deigned to give written testimonies, which are hereby submitted to Your Holiness.
- 10) The bishop of his own diocese [Kübel] also gave the work his blessing.
- 11) Divine Providence sent him the necessary help to keep the Society going, both in the form of priests and laity inspired by the same spirit and in the form of financial means, so that today the Apostolic Society numbers . . . members, priests and laity.
- 12) A priest of the Society in Munich directs a branch office with great zeal. By his piety and learning he has been able to arouse

- among both clergy and laity a great interest in the Society, which is to be introduced in the different regions of Germany.
- 13) The Society has set up a printing press in Rome to publish and distribute good literature. This press is doing much work for the holy cause. Every month it publishes various bulletins in Latin, Italian and German; the humble writer encloses a copy of each for your Holiness; his collaborators are the very worthy Msgrs. Rota, Grimaldi, Forlini, Teloni, etc., and Bishop Quiritti.
 - 14) He has set up a private school for language teaching.
 - 15) The program and the relevant statutes, a copy of which is hereby submitted, were drawn up by the writer and examined by Archbishop Rota, who added words of encouragement. The Society is divided into three different classes, as in our enemies' ranks [Freemansons], in addition different degrees exist (see leaflet 2, paragraph XX).
 - 16) The Third Class of the institute has already been introduced into many dioceses in Italy and abroad and has hundreds of members.
 - 17) The humble writer gave the Society the name "Apostolic Teaching Society":
 1. to express the spirit by which it is inspired and which its members must possess, namely, the spirit of poverty, burning zeal and willingness for sacrifice, in contrast to the spirit of our age: egoism and sensuality;
 2. to express boldness in working for the holy faith;
 3. to express that the first duty of all who wish to belong is to work with us to spread, defend and revitalize religion and for the salvation of their neighbors' souls;
 4. to express by this title "Apostolic Society" the purpose of his society without any circumlocution or secretiveness.
 - 18) It was not thought that the use of this particular title "Apostolic Society" could lead to difficulties, as the writer knows that there already exist other associations, such as the Apostolate of Prayer, the Apostolate of the Press, and an Apostolic Union of Belgian and French priests that is today flourishing and enjoys the approbation of Your Holiness, given in the letter of May 31, 1881, addressed to the "Superior General of the Apostolic Union." It therefore seemed to the writer that he could give the title "apostolic" to his own Society, which combines the aposto-

late of prayer, of the press, of priests and of laity. The name "apostolic" seemed all the more appropriate to the writer, as his Society with its work, communities and future missions is utterly committed to defend the Holy See and its sacred rights.

- 19) A final reason why the writer was convinced in good faith that no difficulties could arise from the title "apostolic" was that this appellation does not simply qualify the Society as such, as though he were abusing the rights of other societies that bear the same name, for this Society bears the further name "*Instructiva*" (Teaching Society). This appellation [apostolic] serves, therefore, only to specify the type of instruction the Society wishes to impart.

I therefore remain, Holy Father, etc. (E-25, 2)

The position which Jordan addressed to Leo XIII is more than instructive as to how clearly, firmly and conscience-bound he had seen and lived his vocation. He handed his request to the Cardinal Vicar on March 10, 1882, after having the Italian in the document checked by his good friend Msgr. Teloni.¹² Cardinal Monaco La Valetta immediately notified the Holy Father, and on March 12, at his instruction, passed Jordan's declaration to the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, Cardinal Innocenzo Ferrieri (ACRel Prot 9187). In the session of this Congregation on March 16, the "Society which calls itself 'Apostolic Teaching Society' was discussed and a consultor of the Congregation, Fr.

¹² Teloni like many talented priests of that time, was actively writing in order to earn his bread. He met Jordan and von Leonhardi in St. Bridget through the press. He must have made an extraordinarily good impression. "Next week a famous writer is coming to us, Reverend Monsignor Teloni, a saintly man" (letter to pastor Nägele of February 24, 1882, G-4.1). Teloni remained Jordan's helpful friend even after receiving a position in the Archdiocese of Florence. Jordan did not miss the occasion to say goodbye to him at the station before his departure to Florence (April 1882). From Florence Teloni remained loyal to Jordan's press (cf., letter of von Leonhardi, August 20, 1882, G-4.1).

Raymund Bianchi¹³ was assigned to work out a statement." **See, 4.8. Bianchi.**

Jordan urged his partner von Leonhardi to submit his own petition to the Roman authorities. He agreed at once, drafting a very enthusiastic declaration in favor of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Jordan translated it into Italian and gave it to Msgr. Teloni to check and correct. It was then given to the Cardinal Vicar, but only after March 6 after Jordan's petition had already been decided upon. Jordan himself was not immediately informed of the Congregation's decision. As late as March 12 he wrote to Teloni: "His Holiness has given our case to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious for judgment. Let's ask the Lord with all our heart (*caldamente*) that His will alone be done for the good of souls" (G-4.1).

Von Leonhardi's petition¹⁴ shows no less than Jordan's how the First Grade, which had come to life officially on December 8, 1881, was understood by the three priests involved. The members of the First Grade, priests and laity, bind themselves through simple private vows, so as to be fully free for their apostolic tasks. **See, 4.9. Von Leonhardi's petition.** Monastic community life was not at all considered for a group which wanted to be absolutely free for its apostolic engagements. Where a group of cooperators lived together as in St. Bridget, the community developed naturally a homey atmosphere. That the head of the house was responsible was something recognized and respected by all.

In the first half of March, Consultor Bianchi met with Jordan and von Leonhardi to learn about the enterprise they had set up at St. Bridget. In the discussion Jordan was soon to learn what the canon lawyer found most displeasing in Jordan's ambitious plans. First the word "apostolic" in the title was cause for complaint. Then the First Grade as Jordan had understood it since December 8, was for Bianchi a hodgepodge, a riddle,

¹³ See, A Closer Look: 4.8. Bianchi.

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.9. Von Leonhardi's petition.

which could scarcely be adapted to the strictly uniform new discipline for Religious Orders as it had been established since mid-century. Also in his earlier declarations Jordan had not spoken of vows. He did explain to Bianchi now that he and his first co-workers had joined the First Grade by simple private vows. For Bianchi this meant the inner circle of the Apostolic Teaching Society was now a society under the canon law for religious, but in no way did it satisfy the official criterion.

Bianchi accepted from Jordan the documents containing the best information concerning his foundation. Jordan also gave him the rules for the First Grade (E-1204) and his Italian pamphlet *Societa Apostolica Istruttiva incoraggiata* (E-1231). He had high hopes and no doubt that an ecclesiastical examination would justify his cause, just as he had always taken seriously the "supreme pre-blessing" and the encouragement and recommendation of pious and experienced "Princes of the Church."

For Easter (April 2, 1882) Jordan again sent out an appeal advertizing his work: "Rome is its cradle, Rome is its center." He also included the recommendations of the two cardinals of January, 1881, and that of Archbishop Rota of September 3, 1882. He specifically mentioned his co-worker von Leonhardi who had at the end of March had gone on a recruiting trip.¹⁵ **See, 4.10. Von Leonhardi's promotional trip; and Bernhard Hermes.** This appeal appeared in the *Freie Stimme* rather belatedly (July 1 and 4, 1882).

How up-to-date, even necessary Jordan's undertaking was considered even in his home country is proved by an article in the *Freiburger Katholischen Kirchenblatt* of April 12 and 19, 1882. It drew attention to the fact that in Rome a number of divinely gifted men of both clerical and lay status had joined in a society called Apostolic Teaching Society under the leadership of a Baden priest, Father Jordan. It is said to be approved, because blessed by the pope and recommended and praised by Princes

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.10. Von Leonhardi's promotional trip; and Bernhard Hermes.

of the Church. It aims to help the ordinary organs of the church by finding new ways and means in extraordinary activities.¹⁶ **See, 4.11. The Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome.**

Jordan had not neglected in these days to inform his high ecclesiastical friends, e.g., archbishops Massaia and Rota, about the new events: his discussion with the Cardinal Vicar, his appeal to the Holy Father, and the expected judgment of the Congregation for Religious. There was no need to ask these men to intercede for him when the occasion would arise. They were already on his side.

Jordan kept to his mission with unshakable devotion, not sitting back waiting but pushing himself to resolute action for the reign of God. What he wrote to a confrere then sounds like an unconscious self-portrait.

A man full of apostolic spirit does much good wherever he is; one could say of him: "He went about doing good" [Acts 10:38]. Oh if we all had the spirit of the Holy Apostles—soon the world would be changed—let's pray for it! (letter, April 5, 1882, G-4.2).

On April 25, Jordan was invited by Rota to dine at his home along with Don Bosco. That was a good opportunity for a meeting of the two founders of religious communities, "the one already grown up, the other still developing."¹⁷ Jordan accepted this invitation in happy expectation. Don Bosco no less than Massaia had certainly warned Jordan that

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.11. The Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome.

¹⁷ Rota wrote to Jordan:
Rome, April 25, 1882.
Very Reverend Father,

On Friday afternoon, at one o'clock, the 28th of this month, your presence is requested in my home to have lunch with Don Bosco, and to speak together about the two religious congregations, one already founded and the other one being founded. I expect a simple "yes" by means of a message and in the meanwhile, I say with highest esteem in my heart. Yours most affectionately,
Pietro, Archbishop of Carthage (cf., An 1895, 32).

ecclesiastical "domestication" could not hinder the real apostle in following his true vocation in which he had to prove himself in every situation and despite many difficulties.¹⁸ **See, 4.12. Bosco and Bizzarri.**

While Bianchi worked in his office on his report about the Apostolic Teaching Society, Jordan wrote to a theologian:

We hope that the Lord will give His blessing also in the future for the case undertaken for him. The first foundation is laid by the fact that His Holiness Leo XIII had already given instructions to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious; therefore the silent approbation is already given (letter, May 23, 1882, G-4.1).

In June, Jordan was with Lüthen in Munich. Von Leonhardi had returned to St. Bridget to replace Jordan there (MR, June 15, 1882). Jordan and Lüthen had much to discuss and decide.

First of all the "paper relationship" with Cassianeum had to be cleared up. Lüthen had with Jordan's approval suggested canceling their mutual obligations with Auer (May 4, 1882). Auer's answer was more than bitter. To him the Apostolic Teaching Society had committed itself to the full support of the Cassianeum. Instead it was now in competition through its own magazine *Der Missionär* (May 8, 1882). Lüthen tried in vain to calm Auer and to explain to him that their differences simply would not conflict. Auer was to remain in the field of education; the interests of the Apostolic Teaching Society however were much more extensive. They included "missions at home and abroad" which would of course include education (May 16, 1882). Jordan now put an end to this unsuccessful attempt at a merger. He notified Auer on June 14, 1882, that he "after long deliberation had come to the conclusion that our Society, yet in infancy is not in the position to unite with the Cassianeum." Auer's

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 4.12. Bosco and Bizzarri. In DSS XIV this footnote comprises 17a & 17b.

reply is not known, but given his violent nature it was probably not very friendly.¹⁹ **See, 4.13. The break with Auer.**

Lüthen not only introduced his co-workers to Jordan, he also reported on their successful work. Both appreciated that through *Der Missionär*, Lüthen not only found promoters and benefactors, but he had also been able to make promising contacts with so many personalities with apostolic interests. Among his Munich acquaintances he pointed especially to Miss Thekla Bayer. She told Jordan that she was impressed by Lüthen's deep inner life, and that he thought that her aim to call to life an "Order of Adoration" was genuine, or at any rate good. Jordan on his part assessed the pious lady and came quickly to the same conclusion. With his resolute and daring ways he gave into her wish (after a short preparation) to bind herself to the Lord by private vows. On the Feast of the Sacred Heart, June 16, Thekla Bayer was able to fulfill her desire and make perpetual vows at the hands of Jordan.

It must not be overlooked that Jordan, as a priest inexperienced in religious life, considered such vows as purely personal and not binding under canon law. Prudently he added the condition that he could also cancel any vows he had received, partially or totally, as circumstances arose. A vow was for him a special act of devotion to God, but not by itself already subject to consequences of a religious nature.

The following Sunday, June 18, Lüthen also made his perpetual vows at the hands of Jordan. His vow too was of a purely private nature, but at the same time it signaled his enduring and firm bond to the Apostolic Teaching Society along with his complete submission to Jordan, like his vow of December 8, 1881.²⁰ **See, 4.14. Lüthen's vows.**

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.13. The break with Auer.

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.14. Lüthen's vows.

While Jordan was with Lüthen, Bianchi had completed his report (June 6, 1882). On June 23 it was presented by the Cardinal Prefect to the Holy Father. He, however, did not want to decide at once but gave orders to Cardinal Ferrieri to hand over the whole case, together with Bianchi's report to the Cardinal Vicar who was responsible. He would take corresponding measures. The relevant acts were given to Cardinal Monaco La Valletta on June 30. It was good that Jordan had no knowledge of these procedures so that they could not now burden him.²¹ **See, 4.15. Bianchi's expert opinion.**

By month's end Jordan went to Freiburg i. Br. by way of Constance, visiting his mother and probably also Fr. Werber in Radolfzell. Lüthen had also informed him that Baroness von Wüllenweber,²² (**see, 4.16. Von Wüllenweber, I**) together with her guide, Pastor Ludwig von Essen of Neuwerk, had shown interest in the Apostolic Teaching Society and that she would eventually be ready to put her "home" the Barbarastift at his disposal for a foundation. Jordan took this as a special sign of Divine Providence to gain a foothold just in Prussia during the cultural struggle. So he did not hesitate to travel to Neuwerk himself. He announced his coming to the "esteemed lady" and left Freiburg i. Br. on July 2, 1882. On July 4 he was in Neuwerk.

The three (Jordan, von Wüllenweber, von Essen) easily found common ground in their apostolic convictions. Therese von Wüllenweber later wrote how she experienced this first meeting with Jordan.

A greater joy I could never have experienced! [Jordan] gave me the impression of a humble, zealous, true apostle! (MMCh)

He appeared to me like a saint sent by God (CV 2).

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 4.15. Bianchi's expert opinion.

²² See, A Closer Look: 4.16. Von Wüllenweber (I).

Zeal for souls, love of holy poverty, the simplicity shown in his whole character, as well as his high regard for crosses on earth urged her to take vows for a year; in his blessed hands (CV 3).²³

To the pastor of Neuwerk whose hospitality Jordan enjoyed for three days, he also explained his plans. Von Essen too was won by Jordan's personality. On July 7, 1882, he bound himself by vows for three years to the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society.²⁴ **See, 4.17. Von Essen.** With grateful heart Jordan took leave of the Barbarastift the next day in the glad conviction that here the Lord had opened a new door for him. Where else Jordan visited this summer is not known.

Jordan and Lüthen at their meeting in Munich also agreed to call a sisters community to life soon. This would entail a further clarification of the First Grade, and would have been the simplest way to engage women actively in the apostolate in those days. In this regard Jordan encouraged Von Wüllenweber. He said: ". . . he intended to found also a female commun-ity" (CV 2). Meanwhile, Lüthen had decided to attempt starting a women's branch with Thekla Bayer and some other girls whose confessor he had been in Donauwörth. In Johannesbrunn there was a very excellent opportunity at least for a beginning, and so Lüthen had no time to loose. Jordan gave him a free hand, and by August 3, 1882, Lüthen

²³ Therese took these vows as a promise on September 5, 1882, at the hands of von Leonhardi. Thus she became a member of the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Until then she had belonged to the Third Grade (through Lüthen on April 20, 1882). Even at that time Therese would have liked to join the First Grade. Lüthen, however, had to explain to her: "For the First Grade is required a complete changing-over to us. Until now there doesn't exist any organization for women: probably later. Pray and keep your interest!" (letter, May 10, 1882). When Jordan was in Neuwerk in early July 1882, he didn't change anything in his foundation in regard to this very loose association. Looking back, Mary of the Apostles noted: "Put herself under Reverend Father: July 7, 1882."

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.17. Von Essen.

brought Thekla Bayer to the newly restored little convent.²⁵ **See, 4.18. Johannesbrunn.** Jordan and Lüthen thought at that time also of a Third Order of the ATS and Lüthen started at once to propagate the idea.²⁶

In Rome, von Leonhardi represented Jordan splendidly during his absence in the best way. With the community in St. Bridget constantly growing he negotiated the purchase of a 5-story house at Via Porta San Lorenzo 22 for the Apostolic Teaching Society. He came to an agreement with the owner, but the approval and the signature of Jordan was still missing for validity. Von Leonhardi succeeded also in passing to the Holy Father the writings of the Apostolic Teaching Society and in receiving the desired blessing for further beneficent activity.²⁷

On August 26 and 27, 1882, the four priests who now formed the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society met in Lüthen's apartment in Munich. In this conference current problems were discussed and necessary decisions passed, valid until the next meeting.²⁸ **See, 4.19. The**

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.18. Johannesbrunn.

²⁶ Already in June 1882, Lüthen enlists people for the Third Order of Jordan's Apostolic Teaching Society.
... to expand the apostolic spirit of his Society ever more in the world and to kindle it to gleaming ardor. ... Our time needs indeed "Apostles in the World." The curate in the pulpit, in the confessional, at the altar is not sufficient any longer; we must have lay curates, who also in the great "pulpit of the world" teach and defend the gospel by word and life, by their actions and behavior (MI, June 11, 1882; cf., MR, March 1, 1883).

²⁷ Rome, August 25. The Holy Father has received through Reverend von Leonhardi the periodicals for the people and for youth edited by the Apostolic Teaching Society. The Holy Father showed great satisfaction in this Society founded by the Badish priest Johann Baptist Jordan from Gurtweil. He encouraged it to continue its beneficial activity giving the asked for papal blessing (*Freie Stimme*, August 29, 1882, 101).

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 4.19. The Conference of the Four.

Conference of the Four. Then Jordan returned to Rome, and von Leonhardi went on another recruiting trip.

By now Jordan and his companions had come to the conclusion that they were hoping in vain for other priests to free themselves to join their undertaking. Therefore, Jordan had already begun a sort of seminary in Rome. He also saw that his dream of increasing the efficiency of the Catholic press internationally by uniting it in determined and selfless cooperation had also come to naught due to competing individual interests. Neither the Cassianeum nor the *Pauluswerk*,²⁹ nor Zwolle nor Lemberg were ready to join Jordan and thereby be subordinated to him. **See, 4.20. *Voix Apostolique* and Wittmann.** Thus, Jordan had to increase the capacity of his own printery all the more. Lüthen was a good model for him. So he ordered von Leonhardi (who was himself interested in the press to help his Swedish Mission) to solicit money to purchase a larger printing press; Jordan had long been dreaming of a high-speed machine.

Von Leonhardi traveled again through the region between Saxony and Belgium, where he already had been able to make some contacts. On September 2, 1882, he was a guest of the pastor of Neuwerk. The latter, just back from Munich, had informed Baroness von Wüllenweber about the decisions made there, and he did not withhold what hopes were riding on her Barbarastift as the possible site to erect a base in the North German region. Therefore, the field was well prepared for von Leonhardi. On September 5, 1882, Therese von Wüllenweber made the promise, for one year, to live according to the evangelical counsels, and above all to be obedient to the founder of the Apostolic Teaching Society in everything lawful. At that von Leonhardi accepted her into the First Grade as the first and only woman. He did this not simply because joining the First Grade was in principle open also to women.³⁰ **See, 4.21. Von Wüllenweber, (II).** What was decisive for him was probably the fact

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.20. *Voix Apostolique* and Wittmann.

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.21. Von Wüllenweber, (II).

that the Baroness was the owner of a small "home" offering the proper qualities for a foundation of the Society which she herself welcomed so much. The very next day, Therese von Wüllenweber took what was in her opinion the decisive step to prepare the way for the Apostolic Teaching Society in Neuwerk:

On the 6th, we acted consequently . . . God alone and the salvation of souls . . . Donated, attested by notary, my home with the three buildings to the First Grade: Rev. Jordan, Lüthen and von Leonhardi—the three founders (MMChr).

Von Leonhardi signed for the Society. Jordan was highly delighted by the Baroness's generous and quick decision to turn her buildings over to the Society. He clearly knew the value of what had devolved upon his Society. But von Wüllenweber, now 50, was glad she could hand over a responsibility which increasingly burdened her, and at the same time she was glad for the promise to be taken care of in a manner corresponding to her status.³¹ **See, 4.22. The von Wüllenweber donation.**

By the end of September, Jordan felt the first repercussions of Bianchi's report. The Cardinal Vicar passed to him the definite prohibition henceforth to use the title "apostolic" in the name of his foundation. At the same time Jordan was informed that his foundation, being only a trial, was completely under the jurisdiction of the local bishop, that is the Cardinal Vicar. He was also advised that he would soon have to answer in writing certain pointed questions from the ecclesiastical office so that a better judgment of his work would be possible.³² Jordan was hard hit

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 4.22. The von Wüllenweber donation.

³² The ban on using "apostolic" had a very sharp tenor:

[I have] the duty to inform Mr. Jordan, the promotor of the Teaching Society, which is called apostolic, that the Holy Father does not at all permit the future use of the title "apostolic" to this Society. He prohibits this expressly and has ordered that the documents related to this Society be handed over by the Congregation for Bishops and Religious to the Cardinal Vicar and writer of these lines to take any necessary measures, because here the question is an untried and

by this severely worded decision. What for the Roman office was only a long overdue regularization of a case under its authority, had to hit the sprouting community like a hoarfrost. They were supposed to be apostles but were not allowed to call themselves apostolic! Jordan had to take refuge in fervent prayer. But another thing was also clear to him: his work could only prosper in obedience to the church.

First of all Jordan had to withdraw from circulation or cease printing all publications which went under the title Apostolic Teaching Society. From October 1, 1882 onward, *Il Monitore Romano* simply went back to the name *Società istruttiva*. For Jordan this title must have seemed like a Christian without a baptismal name. Lüthen informed his readers in *Der Missionär* of October 8, 1882:

In obedience to higher orders our Society shall omit the title "apostolic" in future, with the reservation to use a definite title when the Holy See, as is hoped, will approve its Constitutions.

Jordan was now seeking a good substitute name. He had been advised earlier to replace the word "apostolic" with "Catholic." But he first had to free himself from the narrow meaning of the term Catholic as it was understood in his home place, i.e., as the opposite of Protestant or even Old-Catholic. He had to rediscover its original and comprehensive meaning and to grow fond of it.

Lüthen consented more readily to this change of name, as did Jordan's superior, the Cardinal Vicar. In the issue of All Saints Day 1882, *Il Monitore Romano* speaks for the first time of the "Catholic Teaching Society which had been instituted lately." Lüthen also told his readers:

From now on our Society will be called the Catholic Teaching Society. Naturally nothing is changed with regard to the work itself, its ideas, its goals, etc. Neither does taking away the name Apostolic mean even the slightest disapproval of the thing itself, but has a totally different reason. The Founder wanted to indicate with this name nothing but the spirit which should fill the members, the word could, however, be used

thus exclusively new diocesan foundation (September 25, 1882, E-25).

in a very different sense. As much as we loved this name, so willingly are we giving it up, as we have thereby the opportunity to express our respectful submission to church authorities. May the Lord give us all the more apostolic spirit (MI, November, 11, 1882).

For Lüthen only the name changed. Till now his writings about Jordan's work had emphasized: "It has the characteristic name Apostolic Teaching Society" (DSS IV, 22). Now he simply changed that to: "The Society has the characteristic name Catholic Teaching Society" (DSS IV, 349).

But Lüthen also had bad news for Jordan. On October 9, the bishop of Regensburg had expelled Jordan's sister's convent from Johannesbrunn. Lüthen found a temporary home for them in Altötting where Thekla Bayer and the two remaining sisters moved on October 30, 1882.

Von Leonhardi, who had made a short visit to Neuwerk on September 25 on his way from Belgium, was there again October 14-18. He succeeded in obtaining from the *Rheinischen Volksbank* in Cologne a loan guarantee for 6,000 Marks, provided he would find one other guarantor acceptable to the bank. Von Leonhardi asked the Baroness to stand security and she gladly agreed.³³ **See, 4.23. Loan guarantee.** Now on October 17 he was able to borrow the money needed for a new printing press.

On October 24, Jordan received the anticipated list of questions from the secretary of the Cardinal Vicar along with a request for precise answers. As Jordan examined the questions he could see at once that more than the Bianchi Report had been considered. Bianchi had achieved his main goal: Jordan had replaced the word Apostolic with Catholic. Jordan had also been made to understand that the Holy See did not want to create a precedent, and that the decision of the Holy Father was in the interest of the Roman situation. But in no way did it mean disapproval of his person or plans.

³³ See, A Closer Look: 4.23. Loan guarantee.

But the questions now being asked presupposed the Cardinal Vicar had had Jordan's documents reexamined carefully and fairly, especially his rule. This expert did not share Bianchi's prejudice, who as a religious saw already in purely private vows the elements which would determine the essentials of a religious society. The Cardinal Vicar's office also disputed Bianchi's claims that Jordan's plans in St. Bridget were "irregular," since Jordan had sought his prior consent. (Bianchi's ambiguous comparison of Jordan's work with a heretical foundation in the Diocese of Soissons the Cardinal Vicar could only pass over with a smile.)

On the other hand, the appropriate ecclesiastical authority now asked Jordan new pointed questions which had never occurred to him, and which he could not answer. So now Jordan received from his proper superior, in a prudent way, the help he needed to give life to his foundation according to canon law. Jordan had to answer five questions. He did this in humble honesty within the boundaries of his knowledge at this time. Jordan knew all too well that his answers could never be satisfactory, and he also felt very clearly his human limitations.

1) The first questions, about the priestly members, their office and position and their commitment he could answer easily. Jordan confined himself to naming the four members of the First Grade and kept to himself the prepared list of applicants who were still under scrutiny.

2) The second question concerned the canonical relevance of the undertaking. Being asked about the obedience to the General Director demanded in the rules and its practical consequences, Jordan explained that such obedience remained within the justified interests of the Society.

3) The next question was how to explain the demand made on diocesan priests of the First Grade that: "everything they acquire goes to the Society." Jordan's answer was again very general: these priests are "religious in the world." What they earned, therefore, belonged to the Society. Asked how he understood their relationship to their blood-relations he simply referred to the Lord's demand to leave everything,

even father and mother for His sake. To the question how he as superior could decide on the assignment of diocesan priests of the First Grade, Jordan did not notice the real point of concern, namely the conflict with the primary local bishop. Another point in this main article concerned the monthly report on spiritual exercises and practices, as well as income and expenses. Another question was the design of the emblem members of the First Grade had to wear under their clothing.

4) The fourth question wanted an explanation of the cooperation of priests and lay people, of men and women. Here the questioner added his own opinion: how to practice poverty and obedience in the individual groups? At any rate, the apostolate of women seemed to him to be overrated. It recommended distinguishing exactly between male and female religious in the world as in other religious communities with their First, Second, and Third Orders. Jordan's answer was evasive. He had already seriously considered this possibility with Lüthen, as well as with Massaia and Don Bosco. But he did not yet clearly see how his apostolic zeal could insure his undisputed priorities.

5) The last question sought details about the purpose of the Second and Third Grades (particularly the parish sections). Here too, Jordan's response is very brief: the members in the Third Grade are our co-workers and friends, without, however holding any offices in the Society itself.

Jordan himself could not yet clearly see that his "First Grade" was creating canonical difficulties. He wanted diocesan priests, even those in high positions, even bishops, to vow evangelical poverty and apostolic obedience. But such requirements necessarily raised problems. How can diocesan priests, who are still bound by the vows of their offices and often as well to the care of their family members, commit themselves to Jordan's enterprise in the way he required? Not to mention the total binding in obedience to the person of the Director General who wanted to send them wherever apostolic men were especially needed? Such regulations could really be effective only in the case of priests who were no longer under episcopal jurisdiction.

The question of becoming a "Noah's Ark," mixing together in one place men and women, religious and lay, and the one about the bond of the Second and Third Grade to the First were really of a secondary nature, arising from the total design. The answers expected by the canonists were in reality already contained in the questions. But in his apostolic lack of concern Jordan jumped the canonical hurdles without being quite aware of them. Instead he offered, as "evidence from his life" a survey of what had already been achieved through his foundation. Of course he was well aware that he was temporarily stumped. Thus, he admitted at the end that he was unable in so short a time to give the kind of answers expected from him since his Society was still in formation. But he declared his complete readiness to submit himself in everything to ecclesiastical authority.³⁴ **See, 4.24. The Rule of 1882.**

Jordan's answer is undated, but was probably given before All Saints, 1882. The Cardinal Vicar probably took it all in with mixed feelings. At any rate he felt that here something was growing which did not deserve simply to be suppressed. On the other hand, he was determined to keep an eye on Jordan's foundation and in due time to offer prudently and attentively the church support he thought necessary for it to mature.

In the meantime on another front Jordan was able to ease the housing problems of his growing community. Lüthen informed his readers:

Rome. Thanks be to God! Our project there is advancing tremendously. The Catholic Teaching Society has left the narrow quarters on Piazza Farnese and rented a part of the big Palazzo Morone.³⁵ **See, 4.25. Palazzo Morone.**

³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.24. The Rule of 1882.

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.25. Palazzo Morone.

The old printing press at St. Bridget was sold and through the loan from Cologne (4,625 Lire) a larger press was installed at Borgo Vecchio. **See, 4.26. Kastner and Schlüter, printers.**³⁶

On November 13, Archbishop Rota presented Leo XIII with a gift from Jordan who then obtained from the pope permission to keep the Blessed Sacrament in the new dwelling and also for the community to satisfy its Sunday obligation there.³⁷ Jordan was grateful for the blessing of Leo XIII and saw therein a new sign of papal goodwill and encouragement. Above all he valued highly "that the Holy Father presented the altar for the chapel, one of those on which the cardinals assembled for his election had celebrated" (MI, November 26, 1882).

Lüthen convinced Baroness von Wüllenweber to house the displaced community of Johannesbrunn temporarily in the Barbarastift. Lüthen informed those three exiled ladies of the new arrangement on November 21, 1882. But the Bavarians did not travel to the Prussian North with a light heart. Thekla Baker, as the superior, went already on November 25, and after some personal stops along the way arrived in Neuwerk on December 12. The other two followed, setting out on December 6. Therese von Wüllenweber tried to begin a religious community life with them under the supervision of the Pastor von Essen.

For the 8th of December, Jordan distributed a circular letter looking back with thanks on the first year of his foundation:

Divine mercy has been granted to us again and again, especially in recent times. . . . It is therefore our calling to devote ourselves, with the divine grace, to the salvation of souls by following the example of the apostles by all available means even to giving our lives (A-4).

³⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.26. Kastner and Schlüter, printers.

³⁷ Letter in Italian, DSS XIV, 407-408.

For Christmas Jordan sent a hearty thank you to all co-workers, since, . . . to build a house many hands are required! And yet we are working with many cares, hindrances and labors so far only at the foundations of our work, a labor which is as necessary as it seems dull in the eyes of the world (MI, December 24, 1882).

Right after Christmas, Jordan asked von Leonhardi to address the bishops of German-speaking regions requesting recommendations of the Catholic Teaching Society saying: "Fr. Jordan intends to use it [your recommendation] towards a quick ecclesiastic recognition of his undertaking" (E-24). After New Year's Day 1883, Jordan was again busy in Rome obtaining recommendations. Cardinal Hergenröther was the first to respond on January 31, 1883, entering his recommendation in a booklet especially prepared (G-13). On the 18th, Cardinal Parocchi followed. Cardinal Chigi was the third. Cardinal Parocchi renewed his commendation of February 1. The first one he addressed to the bishops, the second one to the Catholic press in Germany.

In a stylish note in Latin, Archbishop Rota also attested to how much the Catholic Teaching Society was engaged in preaching the word of God, that he had known the Badish priest John Baptist Jordan already for three years, and that in nearly intimate discussion with him he had recognized Jordan's zeal for souls, prudence and other virtues. This letter of Rota is dated January 18, 1883.

Of the responses to von Leonhardi's request of December 26, 1882, only the recommendations of the bishops of Salzburg (January 6, 1883), Fraunburg (January 11) and Luxemburg (January 1883) are preserved (G-13).³⁸ Before he was able to use these recommendations Jordan was

³⁸ The archbishop of Salzburg was at that time Franz von Paul Albert Eder, OSB (1818-1890), since 1876 Prince-Archbishop and Primate of Germany. In his commendation to his faithful he praises the pastoral engagement of the missionaries and wishes the Catholic Teaching Society "most flourishing success" (cf., DSS IV, 75).

notified by the Cardinal Vicar that he had studied the answers to the questions presented in October 1882, and had concluded that a competent person should follow up Jordan's plan to give appropriate suggestions. La Valletta, with the approval of the Holy Father, had chosen the General Vicar of the Theatines, Fr. Francesco Cirino³⁹ (**see, 4.27. Cirino**) and advised Jordan to contact him and to cooperate with him (January 17, 1883).⁴⁰ The helpful and discreet activity of "ecclesiastical guardians of the Society" (MI, April 27, 1884) has left no discernable traces. Yet Jordan probably enjoyed conversing with this experienced religious, especially in the coming years so marked by sufferings.

For the Motherhouse on Borgo Vecchio, which was to provide Jordan with more trouble than joy, he chose the awkward name "Missionary Institute of Divine Providence."

Jordan soon realized more clearly that a proper religious community would provide women with a better solution than integrating them into the present First Grade. He wanted to make a trial right in Rome. Lüthen proposed Thekla Bayer and Jordan called her to Rome. She left Neuwerk

Bishop of Ermland was at that time Philipp Krementz (1819-1890), a native Rhinelander. After brief pastoral work in Koblenz he became the bishop of Frauenburg (1867). Shortly after the Prussian *Kulturkampf* imposed the "blocking of *temporalia*" (1872-1883), Krementz succeeded Archbishop Melchers in Cologne (1885), when the latter at the ending of the *Kulturkampf* became Curia Cardinal in Rome in 1883. Krementz recommended to the faithful in East Prussia the Catholic Teaching Society and its German organ, *Der Missionär* (cf., DSS IV, 75).

Bishop Nikolaus Adames (1813-1887), Vicar Apostolic since 1863 and Bishop of Luxemburg since 1870 had also given a loan of 1,000 Marks to the Catholic Teaching Society through von Leonhardi. When he retired in 1883, he asked Jordan to take over 500 Mass stipends, an obligation the latter fulfilled conscientiously (letter, December 7, 1883, D-1009).

³⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.27. Cirino.

⁴⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.27. Cirino.

on January 24 and met Lüthen on January 26. Meanwhile the confessor at Himmelspforten had recommended a certain Amalie Streitel who had left their novitiate; she also met with Lüthen. Having been convinced by Streitel that Thekla Bayer was not fit for religious life, Lüthen dismissed her and recommended Amalie Streitel as superior of the Roman house. She arrived there on February 16, and was hopefully received by Jordan who relied completely on Lüthen's judgement.

Jordan had passed on the recommendations he had received from the Cardinal Vicar in January to Archbishop Massaia who lived in the Convent of the Immaculate Conception asking for his own opinion. Massaia answered his "Much beloved Giordano" in an extensive letter. He pointed to the other side of the miracle of Pentecost, namely that it had caused a miraculous increase of apostles: "Apostolic preaching has converted the world. You know that better than I." The archbishop did not hesitate to encourage Jordan in his undertaking to which he was attached since they had first become acquainted in Egypt and which had since developed so fruitfully. He wished him courage, humility, and above full trust in the Divine Master who had inspired him.⁴¹ **See, 4.28. Massaia's letter.**

By late January 1883, von Leonhardi had traveled from Rome to Germany. Jordan appreciated the fact this able cooperator would be defending the CTS at home. But instead von Leonhardi sent from Munich notice of his resignation. He gave no concrete reasons for this step, which was for Jordan totally unexpected. But Jordan felt painfully that von Leonhardi's desire to help the Swedish Mission could not find the consideration the Baron had hoped for. Von Leonhardi may also have suffered from the uncertainty generated by Rome's attitude toward the Catholic Teaching Society. His farewell letter is astoundingly frank.⁴² **See, 4.29. Von Leonhardi's resignation.** Now Jordan was alone with

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 4.28. Massaia's letter.

⁴² See, A Closer Look: 4.29 Von Leonardi's resignation.

Lüthen. He could not count on other priests of the First Grade like von Essen, as he could not pry them away from their local bishops.

Jordan asked Lüthen to come to Rome for a discussion. These two formed now the core of the Catholic Teaching Society. Since his meeting with Bianchi, Jordan had sensed something. The lack of clarity in his plans, as apostolic and thereby as truly Catholic as they were, raised more obstacles than incentives. In the Cardinal Vicar's reminder to Jordan about the First, Second, and Third Orders of other religious communities (in response to his questionnaire) Jordan could see a helpful hint of ecclesiastical goodwill. He and Lüthen had agreed a year before to bind the lay people more closely to the Society through a Third Order and they had decided to found a Second Order with some pious girls. This demanded of course a First Order as the spiritual center. Jordan knew that Massaia and Don Bosco supported such a change, and he certainly conferred discreetly with Fr. Cirino and with his confessor. Above all he sought in prayer the inner certainty required for such a decisive step, which certainly only the Holy Spirit could grant.

At the hands of Fr. Ludwig Steiner, his confessor, Jordan made his religious vows on March 11, 1883. He chose a form reminiscent of St. Francis of Assisi's vows:

I promise to our Lord Pope Leo XIII and his rightful successor
obedience, poverty and chastity and I promise with the help of divine
grace to devote and offer myself totally to the honor of God and the
salvation of souls. Rome, on Passion Sunday 1883.
John Mary Frances of the Cross. (SD 167f)

I took the habit and the religious name Francis of the Cross and
dedicated myself to God on the tombs of the holy apostles Peter and
Paul (Jordan to Cardinal Vicar, March 1886, A-21).

With this Jordan "had changed the Society into a proper religious order (or rather into a religious congregation) with a habit; I also really began a novitiate in Holy Week 1883" wrote Lüthen in his memoirs (BL-1378).
See, 4.30. Jordan's vows. His diary states: "I thank God for his grace to

have called me to such an undertaking. May the first ones become saints. (I offer myself totally to you), Holy Week, 1883, March 21. Habit" (G-21).⁴³ Lüthen made a retreat in Holy Week (March 18-25) and at his investiture received the religious name Bonaventura, intentionally chosen by Jordan. In the list of members Jordan "deleted" the names of the other First Grade members by tearing out the pages (G-3.1).⁴⁴

Jordan himself chose the religious name Francis. For to be a true apostle meant for him to leave and to let go of everything. And like Francis of Assisi he wanted poverty not as an ascetical sport, but as the basis for apostolic activity. Likewise choosing the tombs of the apostles as the site for his vow had deeply symbolic meaning.

More than four years earlier Jordan had confirmed his vocation in his diary: "Found the Apostolic Society and be of good cheer in all affliction. September 19, 1878" (SD 145). Exactly three years before, on Passion Sunday, March 14, 1880, he had set an outline of his plans, along with his diary on the Lord's tomb and had promised:

Even if you have to circle the globe 50 times, carry out your undertaking with all your energy. After Holy Mass on Mt. Calvary where the Sorrowful Mother of God had stood. Jerusalem, Passion Sunday 1880 (SD 154; 155).

Jordan totally dedicated himself to the crucified Lord. This past year he had to feel how the Lord takes his elect at their word. Now it was

⁴³ See, A Closer Look: 4.30. Jordan's vows.

⁴⁴ Jordan had entered into his booklet eight members of the First Grade: Bernhard Lüthen. Fr. von Leonhardi (both of them under December 8, 1881 with nrs. I and II), then Lud. von Essen (under July 7, 1882 with nr. IV) and Bernhard Hermes (under October 28, 1882 with nr. V). There followed Fr. Scheugenpflug (under January 13, 1881 with nr. VII) and Voit, cooperator (on the same page also under January 13, 1881, but without a number). The number III and VI were torn out by Jordan. They might have referred to Giov. Batt. Dibona and Baroness von Wüllenweber (G-3.1).

Passion Sunday again, the day of his investiture and profession, March 11. So it was no presumption to add to his religious name "of the Cross" to remind him always that the Cross of the Lord shadows an apostle.

On Good Friday, Jordan sent his Easter wishes to Therese von Wüllener and the two sisters from Johannesbrunn. He informed Therese that he would invest the first sisters here on Easter. "We must, if at all possible have our Motherhouse here in Rome, the center of Christendom." He admonished her to strive for apostolic poverty, but he did not mention changing the First Grade into the First Order, and he signed with John Francis of the Cross (ASDS, 23 March, 1883). The Baroness got his letter on Easter Day and noted specially: "The Director General signed with John Francis of the Cross, which is his religious name" (MMChr). Thus it seems Jordan had already instructed her about the new ruling in reference to the First and Second Order of the CTS. At the same time he had to make it clear to her that her beloved Barbarastift could not be the future Motherhouse of the sisters.

Why did Jordan change his foundation to a religious community? He has left nothing in writing about his motive. Of course there were several reasons. Above all, none of his earlier ambitious expectations had been fulfilled. Sobered, he was soon to realize that the apostolic fervor which had possessed him could not be passed on as he had imagined. To know the Lord does not automatically mean committing oneself totally to Him. Apostolic souls are certainly admired, but only a few would share their apostolic troubles so absolutely and unconditionally. But Jordan had based the first structures of his "undertaking" precisely on this notion.

The departure of Baron von Leonhardi showed Jordan that the core of the whole effort needed stricter cohesion. Enthusiasm could not replace the discipline of commitment. Nor was cooperation with women as simple as Jordan and Lüthen had imagined. The female soul remained an enduring mystery to them.

In the absence of leaders the lay movement never asserted itself. Parish groups were restricted to their local spheres. Instead of spreading apostolic fire, these members stayed home and were satisfied to support Jordan's press apostolate and to help his work materially as benefactors and promoters. Jordan was to realize that he would have to advance his calling by small steps: vocation is grace and daring, but not yet success and harvest: "so mankind can do no boasting before God" (1Cor 1:29).

In a comparatively short time Jordan had decisively crossed the line from a free and independent start to a war zone under ecclesiastical discipline.⁴⁵ **See, 4.31. Transformation into a religious community.** It is pointless to ask how far outside pressure had forced Jordan of necessity (like Ignatius, Don Bosco and others) to accept the stricter form of religious life as a structure for his work. It was the form offered to him by the church and divinely inspired for "apostles *in* the world but not *of* the world." "If you belonged to the world, it would love you as its own; the reason it hates you is that you do not belong to the world" (Jn 15:19).

Even with all these external changes, Jordan's spirituality remained deeply apostolic-prophetic. "I will show the church that the work is mine' says the Almighty," he wrote in these decisive days (SD 166). And directly before his vows of March 11, 1883, we find the remark of exegete Cornelius a Lapide on Acts 9:15-16: "It is Roman to act courageously; it is Christian, yes indeed, apostolic, to suffer courageously" (SD 167).

Jordan wanted more than just a certain limited teaching apostolate (e.g., popular catechetics or parish missions). He wanted apostleship as such: full, active engagement for the growth of the Kingdom of God in the world. Therefore, his undertaking was not simply universal in an international sense or in a generalization of its means. It was foremost and most deeply, fully Catholic-universal.

⁴⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.31. Transformation into a religious community.

Jordan had neither the time nor the talent to act as the theologian for his foundation. Otherwise he might have built the spirituality of his extensive planning on a theology of being apostolic. For him it was understood that every Christian was an apostle through baptism, and that by the same token every Christian shares the common priesthood. And just as the general priesthood needs the special priesthood, so in his mind, common apostleship is supported by special apostleship implanted in the church. This special apostolate pressed him into the center, Rome, to start from there. For the sake of the common apostleship he was urged to send his co-workers out as far as the poles, to the ends of the earth, to fulfill John 17:3. Both forces belonged inseparably together for Jordan: the apostolic ground and the Catholic scope: the *ratio essendi apostolica et catholica*. These two basic values cannot be emphasized sufficiently in his charism as founder.

4. Clarification and Transformation. A Closer Look

4.1/1. Lüthen's efforts began soon after December 8, 1881, when he left for Munich to spread the Apostolic Teaching Society in Germany. "Only for a short time I remained in Rome. I returned to Germany, at first to Munich, where I found hospitality with the Franciscans (BL-1378)."

I am in Munich now, where I myself founded the Society. In Rome it is blooming up to now, thanks be to God. Do something for *Der Missionär*, please! (letter to Deggelmann, January 9, 1882).

Lüthen immediately began to transfer *Der Missionär* from Ottobeuren to Munich. From the southern capital he hoped the work would be easier and more successful. He found a trustworthy printing shop, Ernst Stahl, founded about 1750, which completed the first issue of Volume 2 already on January 3, 1882. He was fortunate in renting a suitable home for himself and for his publishing work at *Untere Angergasse 17¹* (at Widow Flossmann's). He could also count on the help of a young man who joined him and bravely collaborated with him. For "we did the mailing by ourselves." From Munich, Lüthen went,

. . . to Gars to see the provincial of the Redemptorists to get permission for the well known Fr. Max Schnabel to draw the cover picture for *Der Missionär*, because the first one seemed too primitive. After some hesitation the provincial agreed and Schnabel provided the picture adorning page one of *Der Missionär* from January 1882 onwards The small bimonthly periodical soon took an upswing; we circulated it especially in Munich, I went around visiting various casinos [i.e., men's associations] trying to introduce the paper. In this I was helped by a Mr. Schnabel, beneficiary in St. Anna's (BL-1378).

At the same time Lüthen didn't forget to canvass for the Third Grade. The booklets of the Statutes of 1881 had already run out. Pustet Publishers helped Lüthen out of this predicament by furnishing 1,500 copies free. Pustet also reassured him regarding the permit for printing the booklet which had lapsed. The agreement given by the bishop of Augsburg also remained valid for this unchanged reprint (D-958).

Considering his conscientiousness, Lüthen had certainly asked for and renewed the permit for residence and pastoral faculties from the archdiocese before beginning his activity in the service of the ATS in Munich, although we have no corresponding document. On April 30, 1882, Jordan sent him a certificate to prove he was National Director of the *Societas Apostolica Instructiva* for German-speaking countries. Lüthen probably requested this for his activity in any diocese in which he was only a guest priest.

Lüthen had already informed the police on January 11, 1882, that he had started a "branch office of Catholic writings and sales depot" at "Unteranger 17" and that he had received the appropriate license (E-9). Lüthen had kept the first edition of *Der Missionär* limited to 1,000 copies (although for nr. 1 he had an additional 2,000 promotional copies printed). This number quickly rose (with the added 4,000 promotional copies) to 5,000 in August 1882. In addition there were thousands of pictures, prospectus and circulars. Furthermore, 2,000 booklets of the Statutes were reprinted for the Third Grade as well as 2,000 "Hour Watches of the Bitter Sufferings of Christ" (*Horologium Passionis*, E-8). Earlier Jordan had these printed and disseminated in Italian (cf., his letter to C. Serpione in Turin, March 10, 1882; G-4.1). In his *supplica* of March 10, 1882, to Leo XIII, Jordan evaluated Lüthen's involvement in Germany as quite successful:

One priest of our Society with great zeal runs a branch office in Munich. With his piety and erudition he has already succeeded in awakening much interest among the clergy and laity to introduce our Society in various regions of Germany (E-25, 2 & 12).

Lüthen did not reconnect with the Cassianeum. Since February, Auer had requested and immediately received the "clichés" (photo negatives) he had lent to Rome (letter of Jordan to Auer, February 20, 1882; the letter is purely businesslike. G-4.1). Lüthen, however, had asked Jordan how the relations with Auer (and probably with the *Pauluswerk* as well) were to be handled. Jordan answered:

Towards Auer there exists no obligation not to compete if he has not commended our cause; don't invite him to do so either. In regard to

Fribourg, Switzerland, we can establish a printing shop as we like. *Quis potest impedire bene facere* (March 1882, G-4.1).

Lüthen remained in close touch with "St. Bridgets, the birthplace of the Apostolic Teaching Society." In *Der Missionär* of February 12, 1882, he writes that "living in the house were priests, teachers, and workers." He reports about their daily life and thanks all the benefactors for watering "the tender seedling of our Society."

4.2/3. Kleiser, Johannes Evangelist, came to Rome at the turn of the year. He found hospitality at his friend's in St. Bridget. Kleiser had been sent to Rome by the founder of *Pauluswerk* to strengthen its bonds with Rome. At the same time Kleiser tried to campaign for his heart's desire: the veneration of Bl. Peter Canisius and the revival of the Marian Congregation. In mid-January, Kleiser moved, probably for practical reasons, to Campo Santo. Rector de Waal noted in his chronicle: "January 22, 1882: With Reverend Kleiser, the vice-president of the Union of St. Paul who has been living with us for some days, I have repeatedly discussed establishing a branch office in the area between our church and the Colonnades" (CS). The negotiations remained without result. On January 19, 1882, Schorderet wrote to his "*Bien cher Vater Kleiser*,

On me dit que Donauwerth pourrait être acheté-Écrire de Rome à Loë et Löwenstein qui m'envoie ce petit billet. Oh profète de votre temps de Rome! Je vous écrivai et au besoin on trouvera encore quelque sous. (Archive of the Canisius Sisters, Fribourg).

Schorderet turned first to Keiser whenever he was in financial need. Von Löwenstein knew that Schorderet would have liked to gain a foothold on German soil. Already at the 1880 *Katholikentage* in Constance, Schoderet had put out feelers in this regard. It is not known what Auer's plans were at that time. But also for his work, von Löwenstein intervened strongly during that *Katholikentage*. Jordan may have been surprised when Kleiser reported to him about this matter. In fact, he still held himself bound to the unfinished agreements with Auer, hoping to bring them to a good end. Nevertheless, such news will have made him attentive and cooled the optimism he had nourished until then in regard to the Cassianeum.

On January 23, Schorderet sent his Roman "delegate" the mandate to try to get a private papal audience in favor of the *Pauluswerk* through Cardinal Secretary of State Lodovico Jacobini or through Msgr. Boccali. This was granted to Kleiser on February 5, 1882. He used it above all to report to Leo XIII on the great pilgrimage to the tomb of Blessed Peter Canisius. Kleiser also handed over an address of those "co-responsible ones." On it we find names like Löwenstein,* von Loë, pastor Roelofs. Although Kleiser could not accomplish all he had been entrusted with, he returned happy from Rome (Archive of the Canisius Sisters, Fribourg).

4.3/4. Pfänder, Maria Clara, born December 12, 1827, in Hallenberg, Diocese of Paderborn, July 4, 1850, joined the Sisters of Christian Charity founded by Paula von Malinckrodt. Bishop Konrad (1812-1879) gave her permission to begin a foundation of her own in her home country. The sisters were connected with the Third Order and were intended to pray for the suffering church. Pfänder began a small prayer community with two friends in Olpe. They called themselves "Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (of the Third Order of St. Francis)." With the permission of her bishop she had invested the sisters secretly because of the *Kulturkampf*. After that their superior, Pastor Klein, excommunicated

* Prince Karl zu Löwenstein (1834-1921) was President of the *Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands*, which consisted of 4 aristocrats and 3 priests (1868, 1872-1898). In 1883 the Prince founded the *Freie Vereinigung Katholischer Sozialpolitiker*. Löwenstein was also president of the *Komitees für römische Angelegenheiten*, whose aim was to fight Freemasonry. Löwenstein was fully for communal and social politics in the sense of Leo XIII and took care that the Catholic high aristocracy maintained their political influence.

Baron Felix von Loë (1825-1896) founded in 1872 in Mainz *Verein Deutscher Katholiken* to counter the liberal state-church system. He was a conservative agrarian politician and fought for the Catholic working class. He wielded considerable influence as an imperial general aide.

Had Kleiser turned to these Catholic leaders in Germany on behalf of the Cassianeum, they would have preferred to care for Auer's difficulties than to let such a hopeful undertaking slide into "Welsh hands."

her saying she had arrogated to herself priestly authority. He then had her removed from office by the superior of the congregation, whom he had met for this purpose. The nuncio confirmed the procedure of Klein and the superiors. Thus, on June 16, 1880, Clara Pfänder had to leave the Motherhouse in Salzkotten. She went to Metz. Driven away from there she turned to Rome. Klein had allowed one sister to accompany her. On February 10, 1881, they arrived in Rome. Probably through Msgr. de Waal, at first they were received by the Holy Cross Sisters (Via dei Chiaveri, 6). Since Salzkotten only paid a part of her annual pension, the two sisters had to live a very poor life. The Holy Cross Sisters housed them for only three months. Clara had to find modest lodgings privately (Via del Quirinale and later Via Sistina). She tried to get help from the Cardinal Vicar; planning to make a new start in Rome with the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. But then the weakened woman fell ill and died on October 5, 1882, looked after solicitously by her fellow sister. Whether Clara Pfänder handed her statutes over to Jordan herself when she informed him about her difficult position, or whether her fellow sister deposited them with Jordan after her death remains open.

4.4/5. *Nuntius Romanus* was the organ of the Second Grade (Academy) of the Apostolic Teaching Society. It was written in Latin and appeared monthly. On the masthead the periodical bore the papal emblem. As its first item the paper published the letter of Leo XIII to the Italian bishops of February 15, 1882, "*Etsi nos.*" "Joseph Tosti" (a collaborator about whom no more is known) signed as responsible. Jordan announced *Nuntius Romanus* in the *Il Monitore Romano* of March 1, and in *Der Missionär* of February 26, 1882. In February, Jordan started a widespread publicity campaign for the *Nuntius Romanus* (cf., G-4.1).

Starting in 1899, the front page carried beside the *stemma papale* the words of St. Ambrose: *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia* (Ps. XI, 57; cf., Leo XIII's letter of introduction to Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore about Americanism, January 12, 1899, in *Nuntius Romanus* 1899, 351). With the beginning of May 1906, *Nuntius Romanus* (Vol. 25) united with *Acta Pontificia seu Decreta SS.RR. Congregationum* (Vol. 6) of the *Libreria Pontificia Frederici Pustet* in Rome to avoid duplication (circular letter of Jordan to the

readers of the *Nuntius Romanus*, December 23, 1905).^{*} For Jordan this solution was a lucky way out of his dwindling "Academy." He had never found a personality able to bring together successfully the scholars-individualists by their own interests-to the necessary common and united engagement for the cause of the church.

4.5/6. Seminarians were gathered by Jordan from the beginning of his foundation. For the new year 1882, "The alumni in the House of St. Bridget with lively thankfulness wished blessings and happiness to all benefactors for the New Year" (MR, January 1, 1882). With a solemn service Jordan inaugurated a small school in February 1882. As the priests he had hoped for failed to come, Jordan didn't wait in choosing a hopeful new approach. He began with a few candidates. He called his small "education institute" (really a boarding house for students) "College of the Apostolic Teaching Society of Divine Providence," because he had to count on the special assistance of Divine Providence from the very start.

It is a fact confirmed and always repeated from the beginning of Christendom, that the gospel is not only proclaimed to the poor, but that it is also preferentially proclaimed by the poor. (Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller in his short historical outlines of the young Society, "The Catholic Teaching Society, 1888, 19-20; E-304.5).

Already in the second edition of his manuscript "The Apostolic Teaching Society" (Pustet, 1882, at the beginning of the year!) Lüthen canvassed for the study house in St. Bridget:

Our house in Rome also accepts candidates attending lectures of philosophy and theology. The thoroughness of the free lectures, the holy air of the Eternal City, the environs of the center of church authority, the opportunity to learn languages of other nations in this

^{*} The *Acta Sanctae Sedis* became through Pius X from May 23, 1904 the official paper of the Holy See. In 1909, it was replaced by *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (AAS, Vol 1, 1909).

metropolis,* the central position of Rome, the character of universality thus manifested, etc., justify the selection of the Eternal City . . . (E-304.2, 15; DSS IV, 51).

Lüthen reports that in St. Bridget are living "students, teachers and workers" (MI, February 12, 1882). The students attended the *Collegius Germanicum*; some received instruction in the house. In his *supplica* to Leo XIII of March 10, 1883, Jordan mentions expressly his "language school." It received continuous new arrivals, above all from the north, and brought young life to St. Bridget. Lüthen notes in his memories:

When I came to Rome in 1883, there were gathered quite a number of alumni around the Reverend Father, dedicating themselves to study. However, most of them had no intention to join the Society forever; they just wanted to use the Society to become priests (BL-1378).

Jordan considered the formation of priests for the vineyard of the Lord one of the most important tasks of his undertaking. Above all he wanted to promote spiritually and materially priestly vocations from the poorer classes. However, his sound practical outlook helped him from the start to begin work cautiously. To him God's Providence was active above all through good people. He made his procedures of that time clear to the coadjutor at Regensburg Cathedral, Andreas Koller, who asked admission for an 18 year-old student already attending the Gymnasium in Passau. Jordan's conditions were both simple and prudent. The young man was to be good and healthy. As the yearly Roman pension was 500 Marks, the student's sponsor, Mr. Joseph Burger,** had to oblige himself

* Rome counted about 280,000 inhabitants at that time.

** Jordan was also sought by Burger to be the Roman advocate for an Africa mission, a kind of covert colony. Through Koller, Jordan answered: "The matter must be studied well, for in certain matters piety and good will are not enough, and great enthusiasm rarely reveals the difficulties" (G-4.1). Koller himself, who at first had tried to join the CTS, became a missionary in Lower Congo (Landana) and kept good relation with Jordan (D-1068).

to raise this amount through benefactors, in as far as the boy's family was not able to do so (letter, late November 1882, G-4.1; cf., D-979, 980).

As a kind of *quid pro quo* to Divine Providence, Jordan planned to open homes (*ricoveri*) for orphans and neglected boys. He wrote to Msgr. Teloni that he felt "obliged by Providence" to do so (letter, March 16, 1882). He tried to enlist French sisters: "there is also an institution in the process of development for neglected youths for which I am supposed to take responsibility; the house is ready and French sisters give care *sub obedientia erga*" (letter to Lüthen, March 1882, G-4.1). Jordan didn't say which church authority had invested him with this task. On April 13, 1882, he sent the boys to the Mother General who led the Patronato di San Giuseppe, asking her to receive them temporarily for love of Christ and "to give them the love which we have given them until now" (G-4.1).

On September 20, however, he had to send the boys back to the priest who had committed them to the home. "The sisters are not willing to keep them any longer, not even over night." He wrote that he had tried in vain to find a place for these children and that he had to send them back to him. He could not receive them on orders of the authorities. He asks the priest (pastor) to look for a shelter for the poor "*ragazzo Leonardì*", as Jordan didn't know his mother's address (G-4.1). We may suppose that this burden of Jordan as father of orphans was soon lifted, at the latest when he had to undertake longer journeys. At any rate, no further correspondence has been preserved.

4.6/7. Scheugenpflug, Friedrich, born in Hohentan July 18, 1849, was ordained less than a year after Jordan on June 7, 1874, and worked as assistant in various parishes of his home diocese of Regensburg. On February 5, 1882, Scheugenpflug turned to the German National Director of the Apostolic Teaching Society, Bernhard Lüthen in Munich, asking to be admitted to the Society. The cooperator from Landshut considered it as a "gift of the merciful God, if He in His love let you participate in the work which you undertake only to His honor." But three things held him back from entering the new Society. First his physical strengths were limited. Secondly, his bishop wouldn't release him as the lack of priests in the diocese was great and would soon increase when all the priests

coming from Prussia would be allowed to return home as soon as the *Kulturkampf* would be abolished. Finally, Scheugenpflug didn't feel up to any special task in the Society. Even before this priest had turned to Lüthen, he had written to Jordan and said as much. Jordan, however, didn't even respond to the priest's reasons. He simply explained to Scheugenpflug that a priest could quite well join the Society and still continue his usual pastoral work (D-959). Lüthen probably encouraged the good priest to dare stepping into the Apostolic Teaching Society. In fact, when Bishop Senestrey nominated Scheugenpflug administrator of the Monastery of St. Clara in Regensburg, the priest immediately went to his bishop and explained to him that he intended to join Jordan's Society. Bishop Senestrey, however, stuck to his decision, which Scheugenpflug passed on to Lüthen the same day (letter, February 12, 1882, D-961).

Nevertheless, the bonds between Scheugenpflug and Jordan didn't break. At any rate, Jordan noted in his first list of members that the confessor of St. Clara had made the vow of obedience there after a time of reflecting and after retreats on January 13, 1883. That is how he had joined the Apostolic Teaching Society (G-3.1).*

Already as a young priest in Landshut, Scheugenpflug had cared for poor students drawn to priesthood. He procured board and lodging with good families, caring personally for them spiritually. Jordan promised to find places for 10 more students interested in the Apostolic Teaching Society. Scheugenpflug himself wanted to set aside 600 to 800

* It is noticeable that Scheugenpflug was one of the two priests who were not bound by Jordan to his work through the usual three vows but only through obedience. This vow was of course subject to the priest's promise of obedience to his bishop. Already the previous fall, Jordan had informed the Cardinal Vicar that priests would join the CTS only through the vow of obedience. Soon after, he worked out his *Regulae pro Sacerdotibus Dioecesis Societas Catholica Instructiva* and had them printed at the beginning of 1883 (E-1205; DSS II, 195ff).

At the same time another priest of the Diocese of Regensburg, Fr. Voit, was received into the Apostolic Teaching Society under the same presuppositions and conditions of the vow of obedience (G-3.1). Neither of these priests renewed their bond to the First Grade of the ATS after the lapse of the year.

Marks monthly for Jordan's work as soon as he got an independent position, which would happen soon (D-959). Scheugenpflug was active as parish curate from 1885 to 1892 in Ramspau and Alteglofsheim; in 1892 he became pastor of Geisling, and in 1905 of Geiselhöring. There he died on October 2, 1920, as Dean and spiritual director.

Scheugenpflug's thoughts were always directed beyond local pastoral care. Not unjustly he got the honorary title "Mission Pastor." His ideals were praying for the proclamation of the faith and promoting mission vocations. For the sake of the missions he remained without any property, living in Franciscan poverty. Scheugenpflug is representative of many priests, who at that time hoped for a new religious and missionary awakening through the Apostolic Teaching Society. They were disposed to join it but were not released by their bishops, not only due to lack of priests, but also because they were counted among those priests the bishops did not want to or could not do without.

4.7/8. Von Senestrey, Ignaz, was born in Bärnau, Oberpfalz, July 13, 1818. After his studies in Rome he was ordained, became Domkapitular in Eichstätt in 1853, and bishop of Regensburg in 1858. There he died August 16, 1906.

Senestrey was militant and authoritarian. His role in Vatican I remains controversial. Together with the English Cardinal Manning he was fully convinced of the necessity just then to define clearly and powerfully papal infallibility in its strictest sense. Senestrey could not understand Bilio's concern for the conciliar minority nor for a conciliatory balancing of viewpoints. His exaggeratedly limiting concept of infallibility extended beyond solemn definitions of articles of faith to practically all decisions affecting faith and morals. His fight with Döllinger can only be understood against this backdrop. His ambitious fidelity towards the pope went so far that after the Council he asked Pius IX to condemn as a matter of "infallible judgement" the writings of the bishop who had preceded him in Regensberg, the famous moral theologian Johann Michael Sailer (March 19, 1873). His behavior cannot be excused as having been urged by over zealous Redemptorists.

Just as von Senestrey had been avoided by most Bavarian bishops at Vatican I because of his intransigence, so too at home he had no colleagues in office as friends. Based on his service to the Council he dreamed of seeing himself made archbishop of Munich. But his fellow bishops didn't want the domineering and unpleasant bishop as cardinal. The conciliatory Leo XIII yielded to their wish. In his own diocese von Senestrey was a strict lord, feared by his clergy. His tough character was only ecclesiastically justifiable through his conviction that the local bishop is the only legal representative of the pope and in dependence on him he has quasi-papal authority in his diocese. Jordan and Lüthen, like all strictly Roman priests, were not scandalized at his attitude but found it correct and bowed in deep humility and almost blind obedience.

4.8/12. Bianchi, Raimondo, was born in Chiusanico, Province of Imperia in 1831. He entered the Dominicans in Perugia and made his vows in 1847. Already in 1867 he became Procurator General of his order under Minister General Landel (1855-1872) and held this office until his death. During the absence of Superior General Lassoca (1879-1891) he had to represent him (*vicaria potestate*). Before his election as Procurator General, Bianchi had been lecturer at the Thomas College in Rome as well as at the Roman Arch-gymnasium of the Sapienza. As Procurator General, Bianchi came into contact with the cardinals and prelates of the Roman Curia as well as with Pius IX and Leo XIII. His capabilities and virtues were esteemed. Bianchi became a consultor to various Roman Congregations: to Propaganda Fide *pro utroque ritu*; to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious; to the Congregation for *Disciplina regularis*; and to the Council.*

* Bianchi also delivered an opinion on the Constitutions of Don Bosco (May 9, 1873). He found fault with the leadership as "*troppo centralizzato ed aristocratica*"; he demanded more consideration of the "*doveri e diritti reciproci*" as well as a "*struttura realistica della Societa Salesiana*" (cf., Stella, 158). Don Bosco's group received approbation in 1874 (however only after answering various "objections" and making the requested adaptations).

Bianchi was both a Thomist and a canonist. His literary activity was remarkable. He was known as a preacher and confessor as well as through his sermons to the Holy Father. Outstanding was his sincere veneration of the Queen of the Rosary and of St. Catherine of Siena. For his writing on "infallibility according to St. Thomas" he received personal congratulations of Pius IX. His necrology records that Fr. Bianchi became famous for his prudence and experience in canon law, for his love of his Order, his humanity (*humanitas*) and his helpful availability. When he was laying ill because of "water in the leg" his physician prescribed a cure. Before Bianchi could begin it, he died of a stroke (after dinner during siesta) on June 25, 1885, at the age of only 54. His death was a heavy loss for the Order and for the Roman offices.

4.9/13. Von Leonhardi's petition. In his petition to Leo XIII, Friedrich von Leonhardi spoke first about his family with visible pride, then he touched briefly on his life and described his three-year involvement in the Swedish Mission. He confessed that Providence introduced him to Jordan: he had welcomed "the plan he [Jordan] submitted to me to found a Society of clergy and laity in three-fold structure." He himself had thought of a similar plan "in regard to the mission work in Sweden and of the Scandinavian northern region generally in his head and heart." It is revealing that by the expression "*magisterium ecclesiasticum*," which Jordan used in his rule for the First Grade (Rome, St. Bridget, 1882) von Leonhardi understood "religious instructional press" and explained in this regard, "of course under continuous dependence on the decision of the Apostolic See." Then von Leonhardi mentions what happened December 8, 1881, in St. Bridget and confessed: "In truly following the power of the same obligation I assumed (without, however, ceasing to be a diocesan priest), I believe I recognize the mandate of my life." Von Leonhardi recalled that he had hoped to get much help for the Scandinavian Mission from Jordan's foundation (E-25, 3). Jordan urged Teloni on March 17, to check the Italian of von Leonhardi's petition immediately and send it back, because this matter was very urgent (G-4.1).

4.10/14. Von Leonhardi's promotional trip; and Bernhard Hermes. Von Leonhardi's promotional trip took place before Easter 1883. He was able to take with him the Statues for the Third Grade in German and the French edition as well (E-1229; cf., DSS II, 107ff). Von Leonhardi made a first stop in Fribourg, where according to Jordan's wish he met with the coadjutor of the Cathedral, Wittmann (cf., Jordan's letter to Wittmann of April 24, 1882). In Easter Week he was in Enghien, Belgium, where he won three priests for the First Grade. They wrote immediately to Jordan:
A.M.D.G. & B.V.M.

The undersigned three diocesan priests herewith give joyous expression to their heart's desire, as after mature deliberation they declare their joining the First Grade to the Reverend General Director of the Apostolic Teaching Society and promise to this end not only to live according to its rules but also to submit the monthly report requested for the First Grade.

Entered into in the Diocese of Tournai
Tuesday in Holy Week of 1882 (April 4).

-B. Hermes, curé de Gondregnies.
-Fr. Liessem, Recteur des Ursuline (Enghien, Belgium)
-Dr. Felix B. Fels, priest of the Archdiocese of Cologne, Professor in this College. Next address:
Essen Kastanienallee 72, Rheinpreußen.

Reverend Director General,
I ask your Reverence in the name of the three new confreres to send them immediately three copies of the printed reports of activities. *Deo Gratias!* We have won three brave champions.
L.J. Chr! Fr. Leonhardi.

Of these "three brave champions" only Bernard Hermes joined the First Grade; he had been in correspondence with Jordan before. Born in Trier, February 27, 1841, Hermes was ordained priest on Christmas 1865. Because of the Prussian *Kulturkampf* he worked in the diocese of Tournai, Belgium, 1876-1882. Returned home he edited the *Eucharistusblatt*, the Sunday paper of the Diocese of Trier. There he died on May 10, 1891.

Already on March 17, 1882, Hermes had asked Jordan what he should do to be received in the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching

Society. He had still to care for his two sisters. Jordan answered that he should provide lodging and boarding for his sisters. Jordan would soon send von Leonhardi with whom he could discuss the matter in detail.

Presently you can only work in the spirit of the Society until you join fully our brotherly mission, which I wish sincerely. I consider you now as a member of the Second and Third Grade and as an aspirant for the First Grade. May God hurry the moment when we can consider ourselves intimately united as spiritual fighters, which we ask in ardent prayer from the Father and Giver of all goodness. Finally, I want to note that we don't exclude any occupation from our Society, if it aims at the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls; thus our members can also be pastors . . . (Rome, March 24, 1882, G-4.1).

Hermes remained faithful to his decision and after a period of trial he made vows in the First Grade of the Catholic Teaching Society each year for five years on the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude, 1882 (G-3.1).^{*} Since Hermes could not be released by his bishop, by Easter 1883, Jordan no longer counted on him.

Von Leonhardi had also visited Bishop Nicolaus Adams (1813-1887) in Luxemburg. In April, von Leonhardi was probably at home in Königstein. In Bauzen he didn't neglect to report on the new Society to Franz Bernert (1811-1890), the Vicar Apostolic of Saxony since 1876. He sent an encouraging letter to Jordan on April 18, 1882 (DSS IV, 76). During the spring, von Leonhardi remained in northern Germany canvassing for the Apostolic Teaching Society, but at the same time also

^{*} We still have a very complicated and unfinished formula of vows in Latin for diocesan priests of the First Grade from the earliest time.

I [name], priest of the diocese [name] vow to the honor of the Most Holy Trinity, for my own and my neighbor's salvation and to the exaltation of Holy Mother Church, of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles, the whole choir of the heavenly hosts, forever [for years] to persevere and to observe poverty, chastity and obedience toward the Director General of this Society as well as to this Director's successor (E-4).

At that time the vow of obedience was considered bound to the person: superiors were looked upon as representatives and thus the responsible mediators of the will of God for the individual within his community and in his apostolate.

for his beloved Swedish Mission.* In early June he was to be in Rome again as Jordan wanted to travel to Germany, above all to meet Lüthen.

4.11/15. "The Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome and its publication."

Now and then Divine Providence has called men in whose breast Christian love of neighbor burns in so high a degree as to make them capable even to carry them away to the best of mankind . . . Such a group of enthusiastic men, clerics and lay, burning to aid people, have united in Rome half a year ago with a priest from Baden at the head. They have come together in the "Apostolic Teaching Society" praised by the pope, and warmly recommended by our German Cardinal Hergenröther to all educated and church oriented men. It would lead too far afield if we were to indicate all the aims intended by this Society. However, whoever reads its statutes feels animated by the spirit of love which is capable of creativity, which according to the expression of the Apostle is inventive–inventive in finding new means and ways to heal and repair the damages of human society and of individuals and to assist the agents set up by God in the church (and in the state) through extraordinary activity. . . .

Next Lüthen's *Der Missionär* is lavishly praised.

It was only possible to write this "young religious paper" because we ourselves lived and experienced the facts it recommended and urged, because self-abnegation was lived to a high degree. It draws from the overflowing treasure of having experienced a religion of the living love of God and one's neighbor! Yet with all this zeal there is not to be found any excess zeal or irksome rigorism. For example, how consoling and refreshing for the heart is the article "With St. Benedict Labre, a Little Contribution to Solving the Social Question!" It bears the right name. He who tries to teach the poor working class the spirit of abnegation and love for work, who understands how to imbue them with tolerance–

* Von Leonhardi may also have attracted the student Bernhard Schmittgen to St. Bridget. He had already studied in Sweden and wrote on April 13, 1882, from Rome to the Sisters in Dresden asking them to send his belongings which he had sent to them from Malmö via Lübeck on March 27. They should be sent to the Apostolic Teaching Society in Piazza Farnese 96 (G-4.1).

patiently, joyously and openly out of higher motives and makes efforts in this sense, he disperses *eo ipso* the dark clouds of socialistic mentalities and desires from their heads, where such may have set in, and gives the society and the state equally highly valuable services like a victorious general on the battlefield! But this can only happen on the basis of a Christian faith-oriented world view, precisely what *Der Missionär* endeavors to propagate with fiery zeal and to consolidate, where it exists, to fill with active love. "Such a religious paper, such a bothersome journal" someone may think in taking it up. But not when laying it down after reading it. This is our firm conviction, because it is written in a heartfelt manner! May many, many lay people subscribe to this paper (which is also cheap)! We invite all the reverend pastors whole heartedly "Open the doors to your vineyards to *Der Missionär*, he is a good and excellent cooperater; spread it among your parishioners! (*Freiburger Katholische Kirchenblatt* 1882, nr. 15 and 16).

4.12/17a,17b. Bosco and Bizzarri. The good relationship between Don Bosco and Jordan was not improbable despite the generation gap between them. Already their early years show surprising similarities. Johannes Melchior Bosco, born September 16, 1815 in Becchi, came like Jordan from a poor family. He lost his father even earlier than Jordan, when he was only two years old. He, too, had two brothers who were of a rougher nature and gave him quite a lot to suffer. To this was added a "hungry childhood," late study, as well as rather unfriendly seminary years. Like Jordan he experienced the special help of Divine Providence but more from its darker side. Don Bosco's talents were of a different kind than Jordan's. While Jordan was a language genius destined to sharpen the sense of Catholic universality, Don Bosco was specialized as a pedagogic genius to engage Christians in their duty toward neglected youth. Neither of them was a preacher of the kind admired at that time. They loved simple catechetics, and even in front of academics did not forego this style of proclaiming the faith. What both of them loved they carried out by trust in God, love of Mary and dedication to the Holy See.

Jordan met this Founder of the Salesians, this experienced apostolic fighter, for the first time on October 20-21, 1880. This meeting was not one of veneration on one side and priestly condescension on the other. Don Bosco was quite open to what the priest from Baden

presented to him. The motto of the priestly life "*da mihi animas, caetera tolle*" (in the formula of St. Alphonsus Liguori, 1694-1787) corresponded fully with the prayer of Jordan's heart: "Oh that I could save all!" (SD 149). Above all, Don Bosco had an attentive ear for the comprehensive structure which Jordan thought necessary to help the sorely oppressed church. It reminded the old warrior for God of his own plans in search of shaping his ideas, when he on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception 1841, began his mission to working class youth. He too wanted to unite the clergy to his work in a pious union (*pia unio*) bound by private vows or by the vow of charity while remaining diocesan priests. He, too, wanted to gather a large group of lay people in a kind of anticipated secular institute. These should not only support his Salesian Society materially as benefactors but also make a promise as "*salesiani nel secolo*" to oblige themselves and to engage fully for the cause of Christ as it was carried on in the *opere salesiane*. (In that chaotic time, *religiosi nel secolo*, "religious in the world" were seen as the practical Catholic response to the needs of the time, not only in Italy but also in Germany and France.)

From the very start Don Bosco felt strong ecclesiastical resistance from the side of the clergy from whom he "abducted the youth," as well as from the side of his bishop who defended himself against the successful rival who "alienated his priests" from him. When Don Bosco turned to Rome for help he found it. This help meant liberation from disagreeable interference on the level of the local Church, but it forced him simultaneously under the yoke of Roman patronage, above all canon lawyers like Bizzarri and Bianchi. (Jordan also had to endure this later.) Bosco's constitutions were returned to him several times. Only on March 1, 1869, did he receive his definitive acknowledgment, and on April 3, 1874, the approval of his constitutions. In return he had to change the inner circle of his cooperators to a religious institute and to renounce completely the *religiosi salesiani in saeculo*, who were particularly close to his heart. His "Third Order" (with private vows) became voluntary collaborators (*collaboratori dei salesiani*).

Don Bosco, too, had to go begging on behalf of his working youth, just as Jordan would have to beg to support his seminarians. Also Don Bosco was not for ostracizing but for solidarity, exactly like Jordan's

attitude would be later. His lodgings were poor, his kitchen "rough" the bread for his youngsters often too little. They slept on straw on the floor. But they all stuck together. Don Bosco could look back on a tenacious fight for the survival of his oratories according to his vocation. Precisely through this fight he matured to become the recognized apostle to youth. But also he confessed in his old age: "I had in mind to establish something quite different from what it is now; but they forced me to do so, and so be it" ("*S'introdussero i voti triennali quand'io aveva un'altra idea della Congregazione. Avevo in animo di stabilire una cosa ben diversa da quello che è, ma ci costrinsero a far così, sia*"; February 7, 1879 in Alassio).

Thus, Don Bosco not only gave Jordan his advice in Turin sincerely and out of sad experience, but he also remained at his disposal later. He hoped and prayed that even his least important input would not be about this young priest's ecclesiastic success, but only about the salvation of souls. He believed Jordan capable of this and was always ready for a helpful meeting. When Don Bosco was called home by the Lord on January 31, 1888 in Turin, this was a true loss for Jordan (cf., obituary in *Der Missionär*, February 26, 1888). The reverence Jordan had for Don Bosco was taken over and propagated by his spiritual sons (cf., MR 1888, nr. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10; MI 1884 the series of articles: "On the Life of Don Bosco", nr. 16-21).

The "meeting of three" (Don Bosco, Archbishop Rota and Jordan) certainly took place although nothing written has been handed down to us. Otherwise "Annales" of 1895 would not return to that event, although they only reprint Rota's letter of invitation. To Rota it was also a duty of gratitude to invite Don Bosco whenever he came to Rome, since in 1867 he had given Rota hospitality as a refugee in Turin. It was an important tradition in Jordan's young Society that Don Bosco had taken seriously Jordan's plans. The fact considerably strengthened the confreres' self-understanding and confidence.

In Rome the *Servus Dei* [Jordan] was often visited by St. Johannes Bosco as the *Servus Dei* [Jordan] told me several times. I was also told that Don Bosco on the occasion of one such visit told the brother door keeper: "you don't have a saint yet, but they will come" (Fr. Bonifatius Brenning, SDS, testified by oath, Proc. Rog. Vindob., cf., Sum 1405).

(17b) Giuseppe Andrea Bizzarri (1803-1877) was Secretary of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. Pius IX relied on this energetic and learned canonist to renew the life of religious orders generally and to unify their discipline. Bizzarri also soon became the indispensable and driving force in the ad hoc commission responsible for congregations established for this purpose, and this above all in the Congregation for Orders (*super statu regularium*) established in 1847. It had the duty to watch over the reforms requested by Pius IX, which between 1857 and 1888 he promulgated in at least 24 declarations. In 1848, precautionary measures were given for the admission of novices. On March 19, 1857, all male orders were obliged to require at least three years of temporary vows before final profession; previously this was done only by the Jesuits. Religious life which until then was controlled in ever stricter dependence on the Roman authorities, received a uniform basic law in 1862: "*Methodus quae a S. Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium servatur in approbandis novis institutis votorum simplicium.*" This had no legal force, but still it blocked the ideas Don Bosco and later Jordan wanted to realize. In 1863, Bizzarri became Cardinal and President of Vatican I's Preparatory Commission on religious life. The 18 schemata worked out for the Council Fathers could never be put to them due to political events. However, they remained the basis of the law for religious and were inserted in the new Canon Law of 1917. Thus Bizzarri was the clever and authoritarian pioneer of an all too uniform law for religious.

4.13/18. The break with Auer was above all connected with Lüthen being Jordan's authorized representative in Germany. Already Jordan's letter of March 1882, which told Lüthen not to worry whether our *Missionär* was competing with the Cassianeum, hints at the growing tension (G-4.1) and begs clarification. On May 4, 1882, Lüthen wrote Auer from Munich:

Things are like this now that we are separated: Cassianeum and Apostolic Teaching Society. So I would like our relationship to be clear and open on both sides. I think like this: whatever from our side and whatever from your side has been stated—in writing or orally regarding promises or obligations—is declared null and void. Each [of us] is therefore completely free. We leave the rest to God whom we both

serve. This is my viewpoint. So I ask you for a reply, and in case of agreement everything will be resolved.

On the right margin Lüthen notes: "From Reverend Jordan I received authority for this." Lüthen would have preferred to clear everything face-to-face with Auer. But he feared a certain agitation in Donauwörth if he appeared there, especially by those whose confessor he had been.

Auer answered immediately. The draft (on the blank pages of Lüthen's letter, AC Fasc. I) is like the bitter outcry of a painfully disappointed man armed with strong arguments who feels his work is endangered and wants to defend it. Certainly it is unjust that Auer pins the blame for the break on Lüthen. His letter is a revealing document without which the "Cassianum and Apostolic Teaching Society Period" could not be justly evaluated:

May 8, 1882.

Reverend!

Your letter of the 4th of this month is quite unclear to me. "All reciprocal promises and obligations shall be nullified. You and I shall have full freedom." I didn't understand this! Shall I be so stupid as to release you from what you owe to my institute before God and the world? Respect, recognition, support, promotion? Shall I authorize you to be allowed to compete against my institution as you like? To alienate its subscribers, to deprive it of such things as editors and printers as you like? To divert the Catholic willingness to sacrifice to your own purse? Shall I brew a sleeping potion for your conscience by declaring "Do what you want, it's all right with me?"

No, no, respectable sir! Even if I could nullify your obligations and those of the Apostolic Teaching Society towards my institute, my . . . duty would forbid me. I know my duty and I will fulfill it, namely the duty to insist on and to require perseverance, steadfastness and an energetic defense (also publicly if necessary) of what the Apostolic Teaching Society owes to the Cassianum before God and the world.

On the other side I will also truly keep my eyes to my duty "to support the Apostolic Teaching Society when it truly enhances the promotion of the honor of God." For the present I shall continue to study the work of the Apostolic Teaching Society and look for proofs that my opinion about the nebulous aim and mistaken way of your undertaking is incorrect. If I don't succeed in finding enough proofs for

this, still I will not neglect to call the attention of our Catholic brothers and sisters to your vain efforts when the time comes.

In spite of my being a layman and a mere school teacher, I foresee how my ways and your ways will separate more and more. In the meantime the Apostolic Teaching Society may provide other tranquilizers elsewhere if it continues here and there to compete and suck the lifeblood from my indisputably and doubtlessly divinely-willed and supported institute. It may look for tranquilizers elsewhere when it gets scruples about making it more difficult and raiding other Catholic undertakings in this most favorable time for Catholic undertakings. It may look elsewhere for sedatives against the accusation of impairing an institution, together with a family of seven, which has given all its property for this institution and which is closely connected with the existence of many other families, when it estranges its friends under-mining the sources of their daily bread and others' . . . I have no such tranquilizers for the conscience or for sleep! On the contrary, when the time comes I shall throw light onto the Apostolic Teaching Society with a magnifying glass if necessary and if my duty requires it.

Besides, I put the decision quietly into the hand of God. May he enlighten our good will so that you may not continue to misinterpret and damage the Cassianeum because of some eccentric and obstinate opinions of yours. I have certainly been quite ready and friendly to cooperate with the Apostolic Teaching Society. But I have been ordered by my intelligence and duty not to make myself a slave of it by betraying and repelling my institution.

I am quite sure that I would have come to an agreement with Mr. Jordan. Except for you [Lüthen] . . . And "you" have the distinction of having enlightened Mr. Jordan and led him to better, more dignified and higher ideas than to unite with a schoolmaster who lacks even academic formation.

You have the honor (??) of having prevented the connection of the Apostolic Teaching Society with the Cassianeum.

Rejoice in this honor. Calm yourself about it as you like and as you can. Try to gather all pious reasons for consolation; your honor will at once become clear and rewarded; paint my intention in the question about schools, about religious instruction, etc. completely black.

Respectfully (Your Reverend) Ludwig Auer.

Lüthen answered Auer on May 16, 1882, truly as a priest and in a conciliatory manner, but nevertheless with the clear decision of a guiltless conscience.

Munich, 16/V 82

Most honorable Mr. Director!

You wrote me a bitter letter. I accept it. Later God will prove my innocence. You overlook in my letter the words "written" and "oral." From this [distinction] arise quite different consequences. Neither you nor anyone else can release me from duties the greater honor of God imposes on me in my profession. I could not and I did not want this.

Sincerely! I don't need a sedative for my past steps. I know my conscience to be free; for I only wanted to do the will of God. The purpose of our Society is clear; internal and foreign mission. It is evident that education belongs to it; but you overlook that it is only a part of our task. Consequently, our task doesn't coincide with the aim which you spelled out for the Cassianeum when you founded it. In this is the central point of our position. May God lead everything to the best.

You, like me, your cause like our cause, lies in God's hands. Let us fear everything out of our misery, let us hope for everything from Him. Nothing can damage us without His permission; and what He allows is good for us! I have always served you with zeal and subjection and would today wherever possible be your servant again, if God manifests this as His will. You don't know my heart, or you wouldn't heap such bitterness on me. I do hope to be able to appear before you always openly and sincerely; I have never done any injustice to you.

Yours sincerely, Lüthen.

When Jordan met with Lüthen during his trip to Germany in June, Lüthen had already moved to Wasserstraße 8. Jordan sent an explanatory letter to Auer giving full cover to Lüthen, whom Auer had used as a scapegoat in their bilateral discussions. Jordan wrote:

Munich, 14.6.82.

Most honorable Mr. Director!

In answer to your esteemed letter of last month, I must inform you that after long reflecting I have come to the decision that our Society still being in its infancy is not in the position to unite now with the Cassianeum; what will happen later we will leave to Providence. At present we will each according to his forces and in his position, where

Divine Providence has put each, work indefatigably for the salvation of souls to the honor of the Almighty. For even if we both add all our strength, there will still remain much to do. Where it is a question of souls and the honor of God, competition should not be spoken of. I must also note that you have done much injustice to Reverend Lüthen in accusing him of preventing a union with the Cassianeum. His heart beat for the Cassianeum even after leaving you. With my weak prayers I will pray to God for Cassianeum and recommend it to His goodness. With the expression of my esteem and with friendly greetings,
I am yours sincerely, J.B. Jordan, Wasserstraße 8.
Kind regards from Reverend Lüthen.

With this declaration ends the revealing correspondence between these two men who in October 1880, wanted to unite in best harmony, but were forced to conclude that on grounds of their differing mandates they could not work together. Jordan, accepting the will of God, buried his apostolic dream of integrating the Catholic press. He had to understand that a certain independence is necessary for the development of individual works, and thus even limited cooperation may not be best for the whole. Consequently he was not resentful towards the Cassianeum and sincerely wished it continuing blessing and success.

How greatly Lüthen esteemed Auer's work, he also proved by the fact that in *Der Missionär*, nr. 3 of February 11, 1882, he rated *Monika* as the best family magazine: "Commendable Catholic Magazines for Catholic families: 1st) *Monika* periodical for family-education." Lüthen did not forget to indicate the publishing house: 'Library of the Catholic *Erziehungsverein* (L. Auer) Donauwörth."

Auer, on the contrary, could not get over the experience so quickly, in part because *Der Missionär* under Lüthen's good editorship met with ever more popular acclaim and, in Auer's opinion, took away more and more readers from him.

Even after Lüthen had already transferred printing and publishing to Braunau am Inn (from October 1883), Auer still planned a public protest against the Catholic Teaching Society. The notes Auer wrote for his protest give testimony that the wound caused by the separation in May 1882, was not yet healed completely, even worse, that it had

ruptured anew due to the inauguration of Lüthen's children's magazine *Manna* in January 1884. In one draft of the protest we read:

To all true friends of the Catholic Auer-Institute, to the Fighters for Christ, Public Declaration. Since January this year the Catholic Teaching Society also edits a magazine for children, which in various ways is similar to our *Schutzengel*, as well as *Der Missionär* which directly competes with our *Monika*. This induces me to report the following about my position towards the Apostolic (now Catholic) Teaching Society.

There following some sketch words:

Sad experiences, envy, mistrust. Very heavy attacks for nothing. Sacrifice and suffering for 15 years, and as compensation ungratefulness and obstinacies and competition—for 15 years I have been working, sacrificing and suffering for the Catholic cause (AC Fasc. VII, 2).

While Lüthen's letter shows a clear, calm hand, Auer's script testifies to intense emotion.

4.14/19. Lüthen's vows were presented in writing:

To the honor of the Most Holy Trinity, based on the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, to the benefit of Holy Mother Church, I vow to God and to you, Father, before the Blessed Immaculately Conceived Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, Protector of the Church, St. Michael, all Apostles and Guardian Angels to persevere in the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society and to observe poverty, chastity and obedience to you and to your successors forever and ever. I hand over to you the right to dissolve my vow or to dispense me from it whenever this appears necessary to you or to your successors for the benefit of the Society. I do not include the mission vow. You, however, Lord, help my frailty (BL-1171).

Just before this Lüthen had noted in his Spiritual Diary: "Vows: 1) always to observe poverty; 2) always be under obedience (when nobody is present, keep to a schedule or similar) but fearlessly." The bracketed section was added by Lüthen in consideration of his independence in Munich. Lüthen loved and practiced poverty, and for him imitating Christ meant living under obedience.

4.15/20. Bianchi's expert opinion had been commissioned by the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, March 16, 1882. It was finished by this very busy man on June 6 and submitted June 8. It influenced Jordan's foundation, which until then was rather under- than overvalued. That's why consultant Bianchi had wanted to look at it more closely.

Bianchi's opinion runs to sixteen folio pages. He had met with Jordan earlier to hear his views on the situation he had to judge. Jordan had assured Bianchi quite clearly that he had begun his work inspired by the Spirit of the Lord. Bianchi had questioned von Leonhardi before he had departed for his fund raising trip to the north in early April. Jordan handed over to the consultant the two manuscripts which in his opinion illustrated in the best possible way the sense and aim of his foundation: his Short Rule for the Third Grade of 1881-1882 (E-1204) as well as his *Societa Apostolica Istruttiva incoraggiata . . .* (E-1231; cf., DSS II, 129ff). Jordan incorporates in it first the papal blessing and the four letters of recommendation he had received in 1881. Then he speaks about the necessity, purpose and divisions of his foundation, adding the Statutes of the Third Grade. This manuscript was printed in the Society's own printery in St. Bridgets in early 1882. Jordan published it at the same time in five installments in *Il Monitore Romano* (1882, 22, 25, 34, 45, 53). From the Congregation itself Bianchi had received Jordan's *pro-memoria* to the Cardinal Vicar requested by the latter in early March, as well as Jordan's *supplica* to Leo XIII of March 10, 1882. Both had been handed over by the Cardinal Vicar to the Congregation for Religious, March 12, 1882.

Bianchi studied quite carefully all these documents and based his report on them. In the first of three parts he describes the Apostolic Teaching Society as it presents itself in these documents and at the same time he points out those statements of Jordan which seem objectionable to him. In the second part the consultant summarizes his observations and objections (*animadversioni*). Finally he presents his opinion briefly and strictly into the hands of the ecclesiastic authority. 888

As the four respective documents are known to us, here it should be especially pointed out how the responsible ecclesiastic authority (i.e., Bianchi) judged Jordan's undertaking. It should also be noted that he had just passed his 50th year, being 17 years older than

Jordan. His judgment carried considerable weight in Roman circles. At the very beginning of his opinion, Bianchi points out that the promoter of the Apostolic Teaching Society had been working at his undertaking not yet two full years, so that there were no obstacles to necessary changes in this young foundation. Then Bianchi at once criticizes how Jordan presents the aim of the First Grade in his Rule: "that he wants to propagate, defend and strengthen the Catholic faith everywhere in the world as it is entrusted to him by Divine Providence." To the consultor this made it seem that Jordan might be affirming that Divine Providence had in quite a special way intervened in his foundation through inspiration.

In regard to the description of means, the canonist Bianchi dislikes of course the expression "through exercising ecclesiastical teaching (*magisterium ecclesiasticum*) in word and writing." In regard to the name, which both Jordan and von Leonhardi had considered perfectly apt for their work, Bianchi presents briefly the reasons which Jordan explained extensively in his petition to the Holy Father. In addition, he emphasized two more points, which clearly seem to him to explain that Jordan applies the word "apostolic"

... in its proper and purest meaning to his Society. For in his *pro-memoria* Jordan calls himself "apostolic missionary" and in the Statutes for the Second Grade he speaks of the apostles as "our predecessors" (*nostrī predecessori*).

Next Bianchi finds it more than unusual that all Christians can operate in the Society, "priests and lay people, even women of any rank ("a kind of Noah's Ark"). Bianchi finds it rather unclearly expressed that the members are classified in sections: "*attivi, aderenti e cooperatori*." He said Jordan expressed himself more clearly in his petition of March 10, 1882 to the Holy Father, where he explains that the Society was subdivided in three different Grades just as the enemies of the church (Freemasons) used various Grades. The exact reason for the Grades was to be seen from a comprehensive view of the four documents the consultor had in hand. To the First Grade were admitted priests, lay people and also women. For the latter as well as for men the word of the Apostle was declared valid: "We are collaborators and helpers of God himself" (cf., 1

Cor 3:9; Jordan apparently cited the quotation from memory). Bianchi asserts then that Jordan's First Grade was consequently a mixed religious Society with simple vows, which was unacceptable of course. The Second Grade in which academics unite for the Catholic cause, and the Third Grade which had already been introduced in many diocese of Italy and abroad and counted hundreds of members, were just briefly mentioned.

Then the consultor turns to the duties of the various groups. The Second Grade still lacks a proper rule of life. The First Grade has one, which however, was not valid for an institute with simple vows, but was valid for any priest or good Christian. This was also in reality Jordan's first idea. Bianchi, however, as a strict religious, sees the difficulty just in this point, because all institutes with simple vows had to adhere to Vatican prescriptions. As a proof he presents rather trivial matters, e.g., that Jordan contended himself with yearly three-day retreats while ten days were prescribed; that quite often Jordan prayed Matins and Lauds on the prior evening without a proof of the necessary ecclesiastic permission, while every institute was required to have corresponding permission of the church authority. Then the consultor speaks of the obligations of members of the First Grade to wear beneath their clothing the sign of the Society, whose "aspect, form and color shall animate the renewal of the apostolic spirit." This sign was not described. Bianchi didn't find fault with this sign, because for a religious community, which is how he saw the First Grade of Jordan's Foundation, a religious habit was required. What bothered Bianchi in light of his mandate was the fact that Jordan addresses here his fundamental concern, the apostolic spirit.

Bianchi concludes the first part of his report with the prudent warning that the Apostolic Teaching Society was just an embryo of a Society, as Jordan himself stressed: "These are the first outlines, the draft of a great plan" (E-1231,17). Of course, he finds Jordan's hopes for the future very exaggerated and says: "These words explain it all."

In the second part of his report the consultor presents his objections. They are honestly stated here. But he also added Jordan's view where his own views didn't correspond fully. Jordan himself could

not express his opinion on the report directly as the Roman dicasteries would have seen this as superfluous or even arrogant.

The first point with which Bianchi found fault was Jordan's starting his house and printing shop in St. Bridget without informing the responsible ecclesiastic authority. This was illegal and not to be simply excused with reference to the blessing of the Holy Father and with the recommendations of ecclesiastic dignitaries. Blessing and commendations were only meant to spread good publicity, which in itself was quite right. But here blessing and commendations had led to the supposition that the Society was allowed to found a house with printery in full agreement with the Cardinal Vicar.

This is a purely personal explanation of the consultor. Jordan had always presented his complete plan of a three-fold apostolic undertaking to the Holy Father and to church leaders as well. From the fact that the Cardinal Vicar had urged Jordan in early March to give an account of his undertaking in St. Bridget's, it can only be conjectured that someone's accusations against Jordan had been presented to the Cardinal Vicar. It would be surprising if this had not happened in the ecclesiastical circles of Rome in that time. From the letter of the Cardinal Vicar to the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious of March 12, 1882, in which the former handed to the latter Jordan's report as well as his petition to Leo XIII for his opinion (according to the wish of the Holy Father), it cannot be concluded that the Cardinal Vicar was completely uninformed about St. Bridget. Already in November 1880, Jordan spoke personally with the Cardinal Vicar and handed over to him his provisional statutes. They were officially passed on to the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious for examination (cf., Jordan's letter to Auer, November 23 and 29, 1880). In January 1881, Jordan met again with the Cardinal Vicar in his capacity as Jordan's competent ecclesiastic superior. In this regard Jordan also wrote Auer: "The matter is now proceeding better again. I spoke with the Cardinal Vicar personally and he told me, I shall praise you if you do good" (January 11, 1881).

Next Bianchi judges the purpose of the Society as too general, and common to all religious congregations. Most of all, however, he objects to the fact that Jordan put his own mission in place of the

approval by the Holy See which had to precede a foundation. Jordan behaved with his Society as if he had received a mandate directly from Divine Providence.

Then the consultor rejects the way Jordan refers to his means as "the ecclesiastic teaching office" (*magisterium ecclesiasticum*). This term is reserved to the Holy See in conjunction with the bishops. Bianchi seizes here the doctrine of Vatican I in its strict sense. But Jordan too fully recognized and lived this Roman interpretation. In his Rule for the First Grade and later too, Jordan speaks, albeit vaguely, of the teaching church (*magisterium ecclesiasticum tum verbis tum scriptis*). He never presumed for himself the proper ecclesiastical magisterium, but spoke of himself and of his collaborators as "modest cooperators of the teaching office of the church" (cf., E-304.5; DSS IV, 126). Precisely in the texts censured by Bianchi, Jordan describes the member of his Society as simple reserve troops for the church: "Like simple foot soldiers doing their duty together with professional soldiers and their captains . . . so we mix like this with our Apostolic Teaching Society for now, for we have at this time (at least) set its basic principles" (E-1231, 6; cf., DSS II, 136).

Bianchi's position toward the press apostolate is peculiar for one who is himself a clever writer. He devalues it as "journalism." He didn't see it as a full priestly occupation, but rather as a lesser evil necessary for that time in order to counteract the influences hostile to Christianity. Therefore, the press (*tum scriptis*) cannot be one of the principal means of a religious institute, especially not as von Leonhardi had considered it. A truly religious institute had to select better means for its apostolate.

Another means Jordan nourished in his heart was the establishment of "missionary institutes" where young missionaries should be formed. Here Bianchi asks whether Jordan had come to an understanding with the Propaganda Fide on whether such foundations were useful or not.

Bianchi rejected the subdivision into three Grades: The Catholic Church didn't need to imitate the Freemasons. Then Bianchi gives his opinion on the individual Grades and attempts a canonical "consolidation of farmland" (above all for the First Grade). Since Jordan considers vows necessary for full apostolic engagement and therefore requires

them (in a purely private manner), Bianchi declares that such a community is a real religious congregation. But each religious community must have statutes, novitiate, etc. Jordan's undertaking had nothing of this kind. It was all in Jordan's head, and as such would not be approved by the Holy See. In regard to the Second and Third Grades, when Bianchi considered them more carefully he came to regard them as no more than benevolent cooperators with no juridical connection. How could they belong to a Society with simple vows? Any Society needed laws for its membership and had to require certain bonds of conscience to this Society.

Then follows what was for Bianchi a quite understandable question: what to say of this mixture of men and women? The consultor speaks about the position Jordan gives women in the apostolate: Jordan attributes to them equal rights with men in regard to their apostolic obligations; he even tries to apply to women as well as to the men the saying of the Apostle: We are cooperators of the same God. It is also noteworthy that Jordan inserts the appeal to women in the section concerning the structure of the Society. He places his explanations before the proper three-fold division, somewhere they are not at all expected, making them appear even more surprising. Jordan also published what must have sounded to Roman ears a most unusual appeal in *Monitore Romano*, March 15, 1882. Today Jordan's explanations would be quite understandable. To Bianchi, however, Jordan's position on women was scandalous. By the way, Lüthen too always omitted Jordan's "appeal to apostolic women" in German texts (cf., Jordan's use of 1Cor 3:9 is confirmed by post-conciliar popes, e.g. Paul VI, November 11, 1970).

Bianchi, however, points out that the proper apostolate of women is the family. The holy women to whom Jordan referred were God's quite rare exceptions. Also there were enough religious congregations of women. But nowhere were men and women "mixed." Bianchi refers here to Jordan's explanations in his manuscript *Società Apostolica Istruttiva incoraggiata . . .*, which in fact is one of the main sources for his expert opinion. There Jordan turns with enthusiastic words to women to take seriously their call as God's cooperators. Among other things he writes:

Also woman created by God to do great things for themselves and for others, can with equal value like man belong to the Apostolic Society. To her, too, were directed the words of the Apostle: "We are cooperators and co-workers of God Himself."

Jordan translates Paul to say "co-workers of God Himself," "*di Dio stesso*." Bianchi, on the contrary, translates the Apostle "as saying "co-workers of the same God," "*dello stesso Dio*." This shows quite clearly their different basic views.

So great is the goodness of the Lord that He binds Himself to make use of us so, as if He needed us to fulfill in the world His great plans of mercy! And the woman, more than others, can and must call herself helper of God (*ausiliatrice di Dio*) (E-1231, 8).

It is clear, and Bianchi cannot be blamed for it, that between such an apostolically based understanding of women and the canonically restrictive position of women at that time, there was an abyss which could not be bridged by a consultor of the Congregation for Religious. Jordan's position on women, for which by the way he also gives church historical as well as theologically convincing reasons in his manuscript, were for that time a rather prophetic risk.

At the end of the second part of his opinion Bianchi comes to his main objection. It had to be raised and was the main reason why a clear opinion had been requested from him in the first place. The consultor discharged his mandate with canonical exactness and personal conscientiousness. The title "Apostolic Teaching Society" could not be approved. In fact, each apostolate assumed a juridical mission. Jordan used the term not just as a decorative byword (e.g., "Prayer Apostolate," "Apostolic Schools"). According to Bianchi, here it is a question of Jordan's institute with simple vows wanting as its proper aim to be approved by the Holy See for the apostolate as such, and therefore asks to call itself "apostolic."

The consultor points out that for centuries there had existed orders and congregations approved by the Holy See, which were doing what the ATS was aiming at. But none of these had ever thought to assume the title "apostolic," which in its proper sense belongs only to the church founded by the apostles and especially to the Roman Church.

Bianchi cites Eph 2:20: "built on the foundation of the apostles . . ." Then he states that Jordan had given himself a mission and a title, calling himself an "apostolic missionary." Jordan claimed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit. But until now there is not enough proof and the church has not (yet) recognized these inspirations as true. Consequently, says the consultor, one can still doubt them without doing Jordan any injustice.

Then Bianchi deals with the reasons Jordan gives in almost naive candor in his petition to the Holy Father defending the title apostolic as really corresponding to his foundation. Bianchi's opinion is that using the title "apostolic" is basically a Roman question. Thus a name change would be appropriate. Then he asks why Jordan had not asked the Holy See about it beforehand. Why had he waited two years? So one was tempted to say that he wanted to confront the Holy See with a fait accompli.

By changing the name of his young institute at the request of the Holy See itself, the Founder could not be accused of inconstancy. At the most one could say the Holy See understands more than the founders of orders, so that no injustice would be done to anyone. When Jordan says that he might be accused of lack of prudence in choosing the name, this report was already proof that this had happened. Furthermore, a change of name would not be the first one in the history of the church, and no founder had lost face for this reason. Jordan was opposed to the title "Catholic" recommended to him because he thought the title "Catholic" might cause difficulties in Protestant and Old Catholic regions. Against this Bianchi answered downright colorfully out of his own limited view:

Good God! Since when did missionaries, especially apostolic ones (*apostolici*) hide their Catholic character as if it were a sect which had to operate in the dark and hide the Catholic name? (F 15, 16).

After this thorough investigation of Jordan's plans with the help of the four above mentioned documents by the recognized canonist and Roman consultor there follow Bianchi's three conclusions. First: the name "Apostolic" is to be changed. The title "Catholic" is proposed. This would be fitting and would include "apostolic." Never could the title "Catholic" be interpreted in a bad or ambiguous sense. Bianchi cites as argument Rm 1:16: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel" underlining this

saying of the Apostle. But just such argumentation is quite misplaced towards Jordan. Second, Bianchi declares the Society could not be approved in any way. Indeed, the Society had itself confessed that there existed only "the first lines, the draft of a great work" (E-1231, 17; this expression is Lüthen's). Consequently it was still missing all that belonged to an institute with simple vows. The third conclusion is "widow dressing" for the consultor. However, it is understandable for an official of the church who is proud to be allowed to contribute his part to the regulation of ecclesiastic questions about religious orders. To Bianchi it seemed to be almost certain that Jordan's Society had nothing to do with the already condemned Society of M. Julien, about which the Bishop of Soissons had reported grave things.

As it was an expert opinion, not a visitation, Bianchi didn't need to inform Jordan of his conclusions. The Congregation treated the opinion in mid-June while Jordan was in Germany. The Secretary of the Congregation presented the matter to the Holy Father on June 23. He decided to hand it all over to the responsible Cardinal Vicar since it was only about the attempt at a foundation on a purely diocesan level. Cardinal Ferrieri should provide for everything necessary. The Cardinal Prefect passed this order together with Bianchi's opinion to the Cardinal Vicar (letter, June 28, 1882, ACRel, Prot. 9187/12, submitted there on June 30 by the porter Braco. Jordan's *pro-memoria* and *supplica* remained in the Congregation for Bishops and Religious).

Jordan was not appraised of these events. So he had no presentiment how Divine Providence through church authorities would set the future course of his foundation. In his heart he remained free and easy, steaming ahead with his absolute confidence in his former plans.

4.16/21. Therese Von Wüllenweber (I) was already 50 years old when the Providence of God brought her together with Jordan. About her earlier life we really know only what she herself related. We have three short autobiographies. The first was requested by Jordan before her investiture in Tivoli. It bears the date February 7, 1888, and in its sober, short format it is the most informative and reliable one. In the second biography certain events of her life are extensively described from the

retrospective view of a woman in her 60th year who has finally reached the goal given to her by God. To this she also added her photos. She wrote it "out of gratitude towards God's providence" on April 25, 1892. The third *Lebensbeschreibung* presents a modest gleanings. It was written on May 16, 1900, with an eye towards a future history of the congregation of her sisters, as Therese herself writes. In addition, beginning November 2, 1875, the Baroness wrote a kind of diary of the daily events (generally referred to as Mother Mary Chronicle, MMChr). They offer now and then a valuable insight into the thinking and feeling of a personality who was led by the Lord on a roundabout way—a path she walked in grace and fidelity.

These *curricula vitae* (hereafter CV 1, 2, 3) allow us imagine how difficult it was for Therese von Wüllenweber because of her origin, her character and partly also the political situations in her homeland, to shape her life according to her pious wishes. Thus for almost too long she couldn't decide on a firm commitment. "I didn't want to get married, neither to enter a monastery, really" (CV 2). Therese preferred "a kind of monastery with mission purposes. This I couldn't find anywhere" (CV 2). She tried here and there hoping "these ladies would help me to the right way" (CV 2). The Lord led her on a long path of waiting. This humiliating and wearying searching and waiting came to an end only when Jordan entered her life on July 4, 1882. "He seemed to me like a saint sent by God" (CV 2). What Therese didn't dare alone she succeeded to do because, matured in long years of patience, she obediently gave herself completely over to Jordan's leadership. United with him she reached the goal set by the Lord: the foundation of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Divine Savior on December 8, 1888.

Therese was born on February 19, 1833, at her parents' castle Myllendonk, the first of five girls. Her parents were Baron Joseph Theodor von Wüllenweber (1806-1894) and Elizabeth le Fort (1806-1857). Therese's grandfather, Joseph (Heinrich Hermann) von Wüllenweber, as Imperial *Reichspostmeister* in Münster, was ennobled *Reichsfreiherr* (Baron) by the Austrian Emperor Josef II. This nobility was then recognized for his son and his brother Franz through royal letter patent (Prussia-Poland, resp. Hannover-England).

Her mother's father, Justin Leopold, was a tax collector from Viersen. J. Leopold was the son of Jean Baptist le Foort and of his wife Anna Thirion from Château Salins in the Département de la Meurthe, where Jean Baptist was village blacksmith. Justin Leopold emigrated as a young man to Mönchen-Gladbach. His son Leopold married in 1804 Konstantia Wilhelmine von Märken, daughter of the senior bailiff of Myllendonk, Franz Anton (1700-1786) and of Baroness Margaret Elizabeth von Wüllenweber (1744-1819), consequently a great aunt of Therese.* Therese's mother lost her father at the age of 2 and her mother at the age of 10. Though she found good foster parents, such a difficult childhood imprinted on her character seriousness and sympathy. Her father Theodor had a younger brother Franz Josef. He lost his father when he was 4 years old. His relations with his stepfather are not known. He studied law and dedicated himself above all to the administration of the property of Myllendonk. Therese notes about her father:

My good father, Theodor Baron von Wüllenweber is strictly Catholic, a real man of honor and much liked by the people because of his friendliness (CV 2).

Her father was generally loved and esteemed through his great kindness and condescension, a zealous representative of the *Zentrum* [Party] and of all interests of the Roman Catholic Holy Church; youthfully vigorous up to his old age (CV 3).

* After her husband's death Margaret Elizabeth married his successor in office, Josef Lichtschlag. During a hunt he accidentally shot and killed his son-in-law Justin Leopold (1808). His daughter received the two daughters of the unfortunate relative, the two year-old Elizabeth and the one year-old Mimi, into the family Lichtschlag von Märken. Both daughters received their part of the heritage of Castle Myllendonk, which the family had bought in 1803. When Elizabeth le Fort married Baron Theodor von Wüllenweber he brought her part of the heritage into the marriage. The other parts of the castle were later acquired by them both in common. Castle Myllendonk (mill on the hill) is a 12th century moated castle and was for centuries ancestral castle of the Myllendonk.

Therese looked up to her father with proud devotion. Already as a girl she was attached to him with special love. It is typical of her family (an attitude she carried into old age) that she characterizes the relationship between the Baron and "the people" as "kind condescension."

About her "pious mother" Therese stresses: "she was particularly dedicated to acts of charity and devotion, and had rare spiritual gifts" (CV 1). "Her mother, was a particularly spiritually talented lady fully living for works of devotion" (CV 2). While her father defended above all the political interests of his Catholic fellow citizens, her mother helped the needy. For Theresa her parents were the best teachers for life.

The girls were tutored by a governess at the castle itself under the supervision of their talented mother. Thus they remained segregated from the village children as the prestige of even the lower nobility of that time demanded. However, on Sundays the castle family went together to their parish church of Korschenbroich. For religious instruction the pastor probably came to the castle.* Therese mentions her First Communion as an especially interior experience (May 10, 1846, CV 2). She also stresses: "I learned quite well" (CV 2).

On September 29, 1848, at the age of sixteen, Therese was sent to the boarding school of the Benedictine nuns in Liège, "where Bishop van Bommel was another father to me" (CV 1). Therese remained there until summer 1850. In that period she was also confirmed (May 2, 1849) by Bishop van Bommel.** More than her life in the boarding school, Therese

* "I received the first Christian instruction by my devoted mother, by governesses, and by the brave pastor of the place" (CV 1).

** Corneille-Richard-Antoine van Bommel was born April 5, 1790, in Leyden. When only thirteen years old he lost his father and two years later his mother. The orphan was sent to college Willingshegge bei Münster, run by French priests escaped from the revolution. Against the will of his relatives he entered the seminary in Münster unter Overberg and was ordained priest in 1816 by Bishop Caspar Droste von Vischering. He founded, together with other courageous priests like von Wykerslooth and van Niel, the study-college of Hageveld bei Harlem. After the suppression of the college by the Liberal

remembered the free Sundays she was allowed to spend together with the bishop's niece in his palace.

From summer 1850 on, she stayed about seven years at her parents' castle: "1850-1857 at home" (CV 2), she notes briefly. She seems not to have been very happy about these uneventful years. Therese had decided not to marry. Already early on she was inclined towards religious life and works of zeal for souls, with a preference for the Sisters of the Sacred Heart" (CV 3). On June 13, 1857, she began her novitiate in Blumenthal near Aachen. There she was invested August 30, 1857. On July 5, 1857, her "pious mother" died quite unexpectedly of a stroke. "I never saw her again; what a grief at home" (CV 2).

Therese professed first vows June 29, 1859. Now she was an "aspirant" (a religious of the Sacred Heart with temporary vows). First she was stationed in Warendorf, Westphalia; and then at her own request she was sent to the community at Orléans. "So I left again after five and a half years, because I couldn't come to a final decision for final vows" (CV 1). Her father, who in contrast to her mother, had not fully agreed to her entering the monastery, fetched her from Orléans in March 1863. "Stayed at home for just one day" (CV 2). Then her father took her to Castle Mühlheim (Congregation of the Visitation). But the seclusion in the enclosure was unbearable to Therese. She returned home again and soon after accompanied her younger sisters to Bad Ems where they were to convalesce. In regard to leaving the Sacred Heart Sisters, Therese wrote: "In the end my highest superior (in Paris) was also convinced that I could not make perpetual vows, that I had not found the right order" (CV 2).

government, Bommel worked among Catholic circles who defended their rights. With the support of these influential forces, Leo XII concluded a concordat by which the three southern provinces became dioceses.

Van Bommel became on November 15, 1829, the first Bishop of Liège. During the Belgian Revolution, which separated this territory from Netherlands, he remained at his post as the shepherd of his diocese. Van Bommel dedicated himself zealously to consolidating his diocese. Some suspended priests, helped by Freemasons, made a calumnious press war against him, which pained him and wasted much energy. He died, resigned to God, in Liège, April 7, 1852.

This retrospective judgment of an almost 60 year-old woman must be supplemented by Sacré Coeur's superior, Mother Sophie Barat:*

* Magdalena Sophie Barat was born December 12, 1779, in Weinort Joigny an der Jonne. She had the benefit of excellent academic and theological formation through her brother Ludwig, eleven years her senior. He had become a priest but had to work in the underground during the turmoil of the revolution. Sophie wanted to go to the mission in Madagascar. But her spiritual guide, the well-known popular missionary Joseph Varin d'Ainville urged her to dedicate herself to Christian youth education and to found for this purpose a congregation in France (November 21, 1800). On Pentecost Monday, 1802, he received her vows (together with those of a companion, Loquet). At the age of 23 Sophie Barat had to take over the direction of the young foundation. Fr. Varin who in 1804 became superior general of the French branch of the Fathers of Faith remained her spiritual director in the meantime. Mother Barat, of weak health, was indefatigably on journeys to control the new foundations.

In dense succession there arose higher institutes of education for girls, free schools for poor children, retreat houses for women. The draft of the Rule composed by Fr. Varin was completed by Mother Barat with a memoir and approved on November 21, 1805, by the bishop of Grenoble. On January 18, 1806, Mother Barat was elected Superior General for life; she received, however, only one vote more than the opposition candidate Anna Baudemont, superior of the house in Amiens. Fr. Varin renounced his "office as superior," but remained counseling and helping at the side of the young superior. Immediately after her election Mother Barat began the "apostolate in far countries," first in Louisiana, USA. In 1807 the "Madams of Christian Education" received state recognition through Napoleon I, while the "Fathers of the Faith" (as presumed royalists) were outlawed. Fr. Varin was sent into exile to Besangon. After the restoration of the Society of Jesus by Pius VII on August 7, 1814, he and most of his companions joined the Jesuits.

In the following period Mother Barat had much to suffer from initially successful intrigues against her foundation fomented by her sisters from Amiens defeated in the election. The perfidious machinations were finally discovered. At that time Bishop de Pressigny, royal ambassador to the Holy See, wrote the bon mot: "In Rome one doesn't proceed so quickly; religious congregations are first examined before being acknowledged," "*prouvées - approuvées.*"

On November 1, 1815, the General Congregation held a decisive meeting. It was opened by the aged Father de Clorivière. The Statutes, "In the

I, the undersigned Superior General of the Congregation of Sacré Coeur, confirm that the behavior of Miss Therese von Wüllenweber has always

name and to the honor of the Most Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary" were discussed and passed. This time Mother Barat was unanimously elected Superior General for life, while she herself had hoped to be alleviated of this burden. Pius VII sealed it all with his blessing on June 15, 1816, and condemned the temporary disturbances which had unwittingly endangered the work and wished a blessed harmonious development of the congregation.

Then followed foundation after foundation. During the turmoil of the Revolution of July 1830, Mother Barat moved the novitiate temporarily to Middelburg, and in November 1831 to Montet in the Swiss Canton of Fribourg. The Congregation now expanded into Italy, England, Ireland, Poland, Chile and United States. Once more inner difficulties arose, when Fr. De Ravignan wanted to replace Fr. Varin's Rule with those of the Jesuits. The Superior General of the Jesuits, Fr. Roothaan, however, prohibited any interference. During the Revolution of 1848, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were often attacked "politically" as Jesuits, aristocrats, etc. On the ground of the disturbances in Switzerland (Sonderbund 1847, *Kulturkampf* 1848) the novitiate was transferred in 1848 from Montet to Kienzheim in Alsatia. Mother Barat loved attaching orphanages to her residential houses. The foundation of Blumenthal (1844) quite near the Prussian border served the Prussian aristocracy. In Warendorf the sisters began in 1851 with an orphanage to which soon was added a girls' boarding school and a novitiate. Also the house in Orléans was opened in 1851 at the suggestion of Bishop Dupanloup.

Mother Barat's foundation was soon seen as a great blessing in ecclesiastical circles. Fr. Varin, the co-founder, had died already on April 30, 1840. When Mother Barat stayed with her sisters in Rome, she was each time received with great kindness by Gregory XVI. The aged pope even visited her on May 31, 1845, in Villa Lante, where the Sisters of the Sacred Heart had found a home. Garibaldi, the father of modern Italy on the contrary, had the house plundered and the sisters driven off. Therese von Wüllenweber felt it as a special favor having been able to greet personally the saintly woman a few years before her death. In spite of her indefatigable apostolic engagement Mother Barat reached the age of 85. On the Feast of Ascension 1865, she died in the Mother-house in Paris. On May 24, 1908, she was beatified and canonized on May 24, 1925 (each time on the anniversary of her death). Mother Barat's attitude in her life was: "To me work and fatigue. Honor alone to the Sacred Heart."

been according to religious life (*conduite régulière*), that she is pious, has a good character and has never given cause for discontent which would have led to her leaving. Since she began the novitiate she has not been judged to have ability for education, which is the special aim of our mission; but her attachment to Sacré Coeur, her desire to persevere in it [*dem Institut*] have repeatedly postponed a decision which one knew would cause affliction to her, while hoping she would acquire what was still missing in her to become successful. However, the various means applied remained without success; so one had to come to the conviction that she was not called to a life of which she cannot fulfill the most important obligations.*

* Here are added the statutes which prevented the admission of Baroness von Wüllenweber.

- The Congregation is composed of canonesses dedicating themselves to instruction and auxiliaries working in housekeeping (art. 7).
- The sisters destined to instruction make furthermore the vow to dedicate themselves to educating youth (art. 9).
- The right to dismissal belongs only to the Superior General in agreement with her council . . . As there is requested much circumspection and prudence already for admission, this is the case in an even higher degree when it is about a dismissal. She shall take refuge in prayer and ponder the necessity of such a severe procedure with tears before God (art. 36).
- Dismissal can be required by the common will of the congregation or by the will of the person concerned or of outsiders (art. 37).
- The second cause would be, if the person concerned could become harmful or irksome to the congregation, because of defects of character she wouldn't be willing to correct and which annoy the sisters, or because of recognized inability to meet the aim of the congregation or, finally, because of considerable infirmity she had concealed at the preliminary examination (art. 39).

The Baroness was not deemed capable of teaching. Prudent statutes for dismissals were also given:

[The superior] shall take her decision after having well pondered the reasons for and against, with all prudence Christian love inspires, after having asked the Lord humbly and zealously manifest His Holy Will and after coming to the full persuasion that the dismissal is really the will of God (art. 43).

With the person to be dismissed the superior shall proceed prudently, so that her exit could happen without creating a stir, not damaging her reputation; with

Paris, February 15, 1863.
Barat, Superior General of the Congregation of Sacré Coeur.
(City Archives Mönchen-Gladbach, file 47)

To Therese von Wüllenweber this decision brought the long expected solution which she herself couldn't find the courage to make. It seems she understood from the very start that the apostolate of education asked too much from her abilities: "but [I] already had an inner persuasion when I began that it wouldn't be forever" (CV 1). Even during novitiate Therese had looked for a way out, but shuffled off the decision to her superiors: "On June 29, 1859, I made a promise to leave to my superiors [the decision of] my joining another congregation" (CV 2).

For her family Therese's failed attempt in Sacré Coeur was a disappointment and consequently for Therese herself a considerable humiliation. She would certainly not have become happy in Sacré Coeur. But this was an important element for a woman whose growth and maturity are marked by accepting again and again the limitations of her character, and by continuous subjection to spiritual guidance. Thus Therese experienced that the Lord's ways are not always ways of success.

Being the eldest, it wasn't good for Therese to remain at home beside her younger married sister Fanny. She didn't hide the inner unrest which beset her during the almost five years she spent at home again.

[I] searched and searched. I was advised to wait (CV 2).

I myself always felt driven to the missions before God (CV 1).

I always felt the same desire, especially at Holy Communion (CV 2).

I searched, however, only for my goal, but now slowly (CV 2).

From 1868 to the beginning of 1871, Therese was with the *Dames du S. Sacrament* helping them in their establishments in Brussels, Liège and

love and gentleness, so that she might not take with her bad prejudices against the congregation, but on the contrary, she may always remain devoted to it with great love . . . (art. 44).

Gent as catechist, organist and language teacher, however, without ever joining this new foundation. Therese also broke off this unsatisfying effort. Home again, following the advice of her confessor in Liège, the Minorite Fr. Laurents,* she contacted the new pastor of Neuwerk, Dr. Ludwig von Essen. She chose him as her spiritual guide and helped him actively as she had helped the *Dames du S. Sacrament* before.

While on Sundays the family went from the castle to the parish church of Korschenbroich, Therese walked to Neuwerk where since secularization the church of the medieval monastery of Benedictine nuns *Novum Opus Mariae* served as parish church. Pastor von Essen was happy not to be preoccupied about playing the organ on Sundays and also that the girls, especially those who had left school, were cared for although only in a loose manner.

Very soon after having taken over the parish, von Essen devoted himself also to other plans. Imitating Catholic aspirations in other European countries, he wanted also to establish a mission seminary in Prussia. He soon succeeded in getting the necessary agreement and commendation of church authorities. Above all, he found in the Baroness an ally ready for any sacrifice because she was fully and "completely captured for the missions" (CV 2). Having been disqualified from involvement in the Sacré Coeur missions, which was strictly limited to the special task of educating girls (a task for which Therese had no aptitude), she was all the more open to the plans of her confessor. She quite agreed to his perception: "just now at the start of the *Kulturkampf*, he said, new foundations were necessary. Talk of mission-Brothers and Sisters" (CV 2). Around Pentecost the pastor gave lodgings to the Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong. On Pentecost, Therese spoke with Msgr. Raimondi himself: he "encouraged me much to the foundation, he even

* Joseph Maria Laurent (Wychem, July 30, 1826-1895, Urmundia) became a conventual Franciscan in Würzburg and was ordained in 1849. Therese became acquainted with the Minorite in Brussels where he cared for the German community. From 1872 to 1874 this Dutchman was the Commissar of the Belgian Custodie, then guardian in the convent of Urmundia, Netherlands.

prophesied [May 24, 1874] one soon. This animated me and I saw the fulfillment of my first desire approaching" (CV 2).

In the meantime Therese did what seemed possible and useful to her to further the aims for which the pastor of Neuwerk had won her: "the foundation of German Mission-Sisters" (CV 3). "On December 17, 1874, I deposited at the notary Lanser in Gladbach a mystic testament in which I left my whole property to Fr. von Essen to found a congregation of Mission-Sisters" (CV 2).*

In November 1875, a part of the Neuwerk Monastery was "leased for nine years" (MMChr). In this Therese saw a possibility to prepare a material base for the start of the desired mission house. She quickly came to an agreement with the pastor of Neuwerk, with her father, and with the local mayor. "On March 24, 1876, the lease could be legally concluded" (MMChr). The Baroness rented the still unoccupied part of the east wing (about 20 rooms, three "houses," and farm buildings) with about "75 acres of orchard and farmland" for 513 Marks annually (Contract, Parish Archives of Neuwerk). The west wing was the home of the pastor, and a part of the east wing was home for the two chaplains. The buildings were already the property of the Neuwerk parish.

Therese began the inner restoration work with great zeal; she bought the necessary furniture and equipment for the household and moved into the first home of her own on November 13, 1876, together with a young maid servant from her home castle. The transfer was made

* The now unfamiliar expression "mystic" was used for a will kept secret up to the time of one's death and therefore deposited with a trusted notary. In this testament the Baroness also thought of her "favorite relatives" and added other conditions. Therese kept her generous "mission testament" secret probably because in an earlier testament she had left everything to her family. She feared to disappoint her father if she informed him about her new will: "Otherwise papa would have another one, which gives the family everything (don't know whether it has been torn up). (A later mystic will [1874] is at the notary's: to Dr. von Essen: everything to the women's mission house in Neuwerk; therefore null now)" (Lüthen's notes, February 16, 1880, E-604).

without any sensation "little by little, item by item" (CV 1). The distance from castle to monastery was hardly half-an-hour walk.

Pastor von Essen named the rented part of the monastery *Barbarastift*. On December 3, 1878, this *Barbarastift* was offered to the Baroness for purchase. Therese immediately accepted the offer.

On 18th, I already received the agreement of all the proprietors [there were eight of them]. Then I fixed the 7th of the new year for the private act (MMChr).

I bought the monastery with garden, orchard and land, and the three buildings on the street. (Thanks be to God!) May he give his blessing, with trust in Him I have bought the old abbey (MMChr).

On October 2, 1879, I paid the first 4,000 Thaler of the 12,000 Thaler price for the monastery (MMChr).

Before that, the Baroness needed official approval for a title of her "monastery" acceptable to the government. She petitioned to "establish a secular institute for orphans," and on November 10, 1877, received permission from the royal government through the responsible Landrat. The required state supervision was entrusted to the mayor of Neuwerk, who was well-disposed toward the Baroness. In her petition to the "Royal Government, section of church-administration and school matters Düsseldorf" of October 24, 1877, the Baroness asks for permission to start an orphanage in the *Barbarastift* as well as to install a domestic school for "older girls" and to form educators for orphan girls. In this manner she hoped to find not only corresponding personnel but also to keep open every possibility for the planned mission house under the restrictive *Kulturkampf* laws (Acts, Orphanage Neuwerk, E-781-794).

It was a pity the Baroness didn't get the help she hoped for from her confessor to begin a proper mission house. "It was always hard for me that Steyl and Dr. von Essen were no longer friends and that I had no obedience, no work, and no support from them" (CV 1). The *Kulturkampf* was equally hostile to her original mission plans. Therefore, von Essen and Baroness von Wüllenweber tried to change their "orphanage" and *Damenstift* into a religious house without causing any stir or objection on

the part of the public, by joining with a charitable-oriented religious community. Therese contacted the Sisters of Ilanz. This foundation of Fr. Johann Fidel Depuoz from Graubünden, Switzerland (1865) at first showed some interest in Neuwerk. In August 1878 negotiations took place about cooperation through its director Wilhelm Cramer, and a corresponding contract was drafted. In November 1878, Therese went to Ilanz for eight days to the "Daughters of Divine Charity" [since 1919 the Dominican Sisters of the Third Order].

In early July 1879, two Ilanz sisters came to Barbarastift. These "pious and diligent" sisters didn't feel at home there in part because the pastor had added new prescriptions to their usual statutes. Nor could Therese come to an accord with them. "Because of the trouble and the fear of a strange spirit trying to invade here, I was quite unwell for some weeks" (MMChr). Already on July 13, 1897, the two sisters were suddenly recalled. The Baroness retracted the "notarized contract of my union with the congregation" (MMChr) made on November 30, 1878. She informed the Director of Ilanz: "that because of many important reasons which I reconsidered before God, I find it convenient to dissolve our reciprocal connection" (MMChr).

After the separation from Ilanz, Therese returned to her original plan "to keep my monastery to its first purpose" (CV 2). She remembered her hope of 1875, when she was advised "to begin by herself something for the missions, together with Steyl: mission sisters corresponded exactly to my inclination—less, however, the beginning itself" (CV 1). So she tried again to knock at Arnold Janssen's door.

On November 21, 1879, I was for one day in the mission house in Steyl, of which Dr. von Essen is the proper and first founder. What is more glorious than working for the salvation of souls with sacrifice and even with the spirit of a martyr. Oh, how happy I was in that house which strives for this spirit! (MMChr).

Arnold Janssen, of course, saw neither a possibility nor a reason to begin in Neuwerk with "mission sisters." Neither did he want to adjust himself from the very start to the owner of that place.

Inspired by her former superior in Sacré Coeur in Warendorf, Anna von Lommessem, she took up relations with the "Daughters of the Heart of Mary," equally in vain.*

Therese continued her efforts to give her Barbarastift a religious or missionary future. "So I hoped and always prayed until on Easter 1882, April 12, I read an advertisement of the Apostolic Teaching Society in Munich" (CV 2). After three failed attempts at religious life Therese now put all her hope in this foundation.

Of course the Baroness didn't limit herself to looking for help for her *Stift*. She opened a kind of free Sunday needlework school for the girls of Neuwerk. In spring 1877, she often had up to 50 girls there on Sunday afternoons. On May 1, 1877, she received for half a year three orphans (sisters). On April 11, 1878, 3 more orphans were accepted, again blood sisters. But this state-approved orphanage community was rather meager and ceased to grow. In addition, Therese took in some women pensioners, trying to lead a kind of monastic life with them. Nevertheless, in the beginning the *Stift* remained stuck. Truly, there were repeatedly lonely ladies interested in the Barbarastift. But there soon arose difficulties on both sides, so that Therese in her notices about the Barbarastift (1875-1888) had to list an ever-changing cast of pensionaries. On one hand she depended on the income from the two or three *Stifts-damen*, on the other, she was rigorous regarding the religious demands she thought suitable for her *Stift*, and in this point she was fully supported by the pastor.

Therese loved her Barbarastift. It was her work, and she was not willing to give it up. The fact that her efforts to bring it to a modest blooming failed was to the almost 50 year-old a hard and humiliating experience which she accepted, resigned to the will of God. Thus encountering Jordan's foundation through Lüthen meant more to her than just a new glimmer of hope.

* Founded in 1790 by Pierre Josef de Clorivière, SJ in Paris and papally approved in 1853.

4.17/23. Von Essen, Anton Ludwig, was born in Krefeld, November 3, 1830 (grandfather Philipp Kosman descended from an influential Jewish banking family; he converted and changed his name to "von Essen"). Ludwig von Essen made his theological studies in Münster and Bonn (1851-1852; in 1853 he graduated from Tübingen in Old Testament Studies and was ordained priest on April 24, 1854 in Cologne. Von Essen was active as rector at the secondary schools of Jülich and Kespen (1854-1862). From 1862 to 1864 he was in Rome as tutor of the three sons of Prince Rospigliosi. From 1864-1871 he was active as pastor (Afden and Malmedy). After a short stay with the Premonstratensians in Tongerlo, von Essen assumed the pastorate of Neuwerk near Mönchen-Gladbach on January 10, 1872. In the meantime he had been nominated Papal Chamberlain. Loved and esteemed by his parishioners, he died unexpectedly of a pleurisy on January 6, 1886.

Starting from 1873 at the latest, von Essen occupied himself with plans to found a German mission seminary. He took up relations with the Belgian mission seminary in Scheut (Superior General Vrank) and asked for a commendation from Propaganda Fide, which he received on April 8, 1874. He invited the Apostolic Prefect of Hong Kong, Msgr. Timoleoni Raimondi (Milan, May 5, 1827-1894, September 27, Hong Kong), the co-founder of the Milanese Mission Seminary, while the latter was on a fund raising journey on the Lower Rhine in the spring of 1874. During the week of Pentecost, Raimondi visited von Essen, the editor of the *Kleiner Herz-Jesu-Bote* (Little Messenger of the Sacred Heart), and the chaplain of the Ursuline Sisters in Kempen, Arnold Janssen, who also thought about working for a German mission seminary. Raimondi tried to unite the two mission-minded priests. Janssen and von Essen, however, were too different to cooperate successfully with each other.

Janssen was a sharply calculating planner. The older von Essen was waiting and hoping for the *Kulturkampf* to wane. Janssen was a go-getting fighter, who considered the *Kulturkampf* an indirect help to his holy undertaking, and he wanted to capitalize on it. Von Essen intended to start a mission house in Neuwerk itself, being bound to the place as pastor. He also hoped that the waning *Kulturkampf* would tolerate priests destined for foreign countries to be formed in their homeland. Janssen,

on the contrary, remained mistrustful in regard to the Prussian *Kulturkampf* and planned to found a mission seminary just outside the German border. In this he succeeded in Steyl on September 8, 1875.

Janssen and von Essen quarreled over the first candidates, Pastor Bill and Mr. Reichart. They had first applied to Janssen. But differences soon arose. Rector Janssen dismissed them for "disobedience." They turned to von Essen, who received them willingly, forming together with them a "mission society." But as he could not guarantee them a secure future they went back to their apostolic wanderings after a few weeks. How far von Essen fought against Janssen or only for "our mission congregation" in Neuwerk remains unclear due to insufficient sources.* But when Janssen's work began to become steady, von Essen put at his disposal all the recommendations he had already collected, most importantly the Propaganda Fide recommendation for a "mission house." The academically trained and well traveled von Essen and the simple stay-at-home Janssen began to understand one another after some rivalrous skirmishes. Janssen took offence at the Pastor of Neuwerk whenever the latter found it useful or necessary to made use of his doctorate in theology or his prelature. Von Essen accused the Rector of Steyl of lacking humility in regard to the manner of beginning his work. But both priests were of deep faith and missionary selflessness which again and again led them together in brotherly love.

Von Essen was an exemplary priest and a careful pastor of his flock. His parish numbered more than 5,000 souls, and the *Kulturkampf* rendered pastoral work more difficult, above all because priest were refused admittance to schools. From 1875 on, the state-stipend to pastors was canceled. Von Essen continued his care for the poor where and whenever he could. He knew each house and its inhabitants. The people didn't need to come to him, he went to them, for he wanted to be for all a "fatherly friend and selfless helper." Despite this rich, full daily life, concern for the foreign missions kept him restless.

* Whatever von Essen left after his death is said to have been destroyed as a precaution in consideration of his Jewish origins.

When Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber of the nearby Castle Myllendonk (von Essen's parishioner and helper) was alerted to the Apostolic Teaching Society through Lüthen's advertisement for *Der Missionär* in the *Kölner Volkszeitung* of April 12, 1882, she at once informed her confessor of her discovery. They both saw in the hint of the paper a sign from God and straight away asked to join Jordan's Society. Jordan gladly accepted them and didn't hesitate to go personally to Neuwerk in early July. Von Essen and the Baroness presented their hearts' desire to him to open a mission seminary in Neuwerk in the old monastery. Jordan was not disinclined, but didn't yet see a clear way to realize this.

Von Essen himself didn't hesitate to join the ATS. On July 7, 1882, Jordan received the pastor of Neuwerk to the First Grade. His vow formula has been preserved: (translated from Latin)

Neuwerk, July 7, 1882.

To the honor of the Holy Trinity and with confidence in the mercy of the Most Holy Sacred Heart of Jesus, to the benefit of Holy Mother Church, I vow to God and to you, Reverend Father, in front of the Most Blessed and Immaculately Conceived Virgin Mary, of St. Joseph, patron of the church, of the Holy Archangel Michael, of all the apostles, of St. Anthony of Padua, of St. Barbara, of St. Francis de Sales, of the Holy Guardian Angels to join the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society and to observe poverty, chastity, and obedience towards you and your successors, while giving you the right to dissolve my vows or to dispense me insofar as the benefit of the Society seems to require it according to you or your successors. I retain, however, the right to remain as pastor of my parish. And You, Lord, assist me in my weakness.

Ludwig von Essen, Dr. Theology,

Papal Prelate and pastor in Neuwerk, Diocese of Cologne.

This is eloquent testimony of the quickly won mutual understanding and the great expectations of both von Essen and Jordan, but also of the reservation arising from religious prudence and the priority of duties. On July 26 and 27, 1882, von Essen came to Munich to the "Conference of Four" in which the members of the First Grade of the ATS discussed their further plans. When on Passion Sunday 1883, Jordan gave his First Grade the form of a regular order, von Essen had to be absolved from his

obligations of the First Grade because as pastor he was bound to his bishop. He then transferred to the Second Grade.

In May and June of 1883, von Essen traveled to Italy. During that time only Lüthen stayed in Rome. Jordan was traveling in Germany, and from May 29 to June 1 was with the Baroness in Neuwerk. Von Essen visited the old acquaintances of his Roman times with the Rospigliosi family. Of course, he also looked with interest at the "Mission Institute of Divine Providence" in the Palazzo Morone as well as at Jordan's small group of sisters in Borgo Nuovo 15, probably also in order to report on it to the Baroness. We may suppose that he also spoke with Lüthen about his release from the vows of the First Grade and his transfer to the Second Grade. Von Essen, who was quite ultramontane in regard to priestly morale and oriented to Trent, must certainly have enjoyed the Rome of Leo XIII!

Von Essen felt inclined to spend his old age as a religious. On the day of his death, permission arrived from the archbishop of Cologne, Philipp Krementz, accepting the pastor's resignation from his parish for this reason. Had this happened, von Essen would have been even less at the disposition of the ATS than heretofore.*

Von Essen remained sincerely connected with Jordan up to the time of his sudden death. *Der Missionär* of January 31 - February 14, 1886, commended to the prayers of its readers, "the soul of the dear deceased pastor of Neuwerk and member of the academy of our Society." Arnold Janssen also commended the deceased in *Sacred Heart Messenger* of March 1886 to the prayers of its readers and remembered his importance for the foundation of Steyl in very careful chosen words: "At the foundation of the mission house in 1875 till March 1876 (from which he voluntarily retired) he was somewhat involved, though rather reserved."

Ludwig von Essen drew more attention to himself at Jordan's foundation than at Janssen's. He worked for both. The Baroness, on the contrary, put herself completely at Jordan's disposal after Janssen

* Von Essen had not said anything to the Baroness about his later plans for monastic life.

rebuffed her efforts to get some possible missionary cooperation at Styel as late as the Feast of the Presentation of Mary, February 2, 1879.

4.18/24. Johannesbrunn and Thelka Bayer. This sisters' foundation has left no trace among Jordan's foundations. It was a failed attempt and at the same time a hard but necessary experience for Jordan and Lüthen who were still themselves neophytes regarding religious institutes.

Lüthen as editor of *Ambrosius* became acquainted with many priests in Bavaria. Among them was also the Expositus Dichtl* of Johannesbrunn, which is a part of Holsbrunn Parish in the Diocese of Regensburg. Dichtl had been working there since 1856. With the permission of his bishop (May 1, 1860) he was allowed to accept the donation of two women (Agnes Thanner and Mary Nagel), "because expedient and sufficient." The two had put their small farm at the disposal of the Franciscan Sisters of Pirmasens to erect a branch foundation (February 15, 1860). The Expositus and the community agreed to erect on the donated land a small monastery which included Expositur Church. After overcoming various difficulties (construction plans, financial means, etc.) and after receiving approval of the bishop, Dichtl completed the monastery with the church. As the sisters from Pirmasens didn't accept the donation, the Expositus had to look elsewhere for tenants. After receiving permission of the Royal Bavarian Government (petition of March 28, 1870) and with the consent of the bishop (letter of May 6, 1870), Dichtl negotiated with the Servite Sisters in Munich. Further difficulties with ecclesiastic and secular authorities delayed their arrival. In the summer of 1877, the Motherhouse in Munich sent four sisters to Johannesbrunn, probably those they could easily do without in their own community. Later these wanted to become independent or change over to another order. The Bishop of Regensburg didn't consent to this plan. The Archbishop of Munich demanded the sisters return to

* Georg Dichtl, born February 5, 1820 in Viechtach; ordained June 10, 1842; assistant in Geiselhöring (August 26, 1842); Rottenburg (August 18, 1845); Oberschneiding (August 10, 1851); from June 15, 1856, Expositus in Johannesbrunn where he died July 12, 1889.

their Motherhouse (threatening them with excommunication in case of disobedience, May 2, 1879). The four obstinate sisters turned to Rome. But the Congregation for Bishops and Religious forbade a proper religious foundation in Johannesbrunn (too few sisters, too little income, difficulties with the secular authorities, March 18, 1880; AR). The sisters left. Negotiations with the Cistercian Sisters of Seligenthal near Lands- hut (letter, August 15, 1888) failed, although Dichtl had offered 80 acres of land and 30,000 Marks. Hence, Dichtl was again looking for sisters for his little monastery, especially since by becoming superior of a monastery he would secure his own position more than by being a simple assistant priest in Johannesbrunn.

Lüthen was untiring in developing his apostolate in Munich. He welcomed any person interested in helping him sincerely and zealously in this purpose. Among others he made the acquaintance of a Miss Thekla Bayer. She lived with the Sisters of Charity in Blumenstraße and was a subscriber to *Der Missionär* (cf., Lüthen account book, April 11, 1882). Subsequently Bayer desired a closer connection with Lüthen to make use of his spiritual guidance. Thekla (Maria Emma) Bayer had been born on June 1, 1847 in Haltenbergstetten, Württemberg (MMChr, December 2, 1882). Nothing more is known about her youth. After a vain attempt as a novice with the Mary Ward Sisters in Aschaffenburg (in 1870 she is said to have been dismissed due to weak health), she joined the Franciscan Sisters in Mallendorf and was invested in November 1871, as Sr. Enkratis. However, on June 19, 1879 she asked for dispensation from her temporary vows. The Bishop of Regensburg willingly gave his consent because Sr. Enkratia had been making an unfavorable impression on her superiors for some time due to her religious peculiarities and her selfishness. However, Bayer changed her mind and decided to remain in Mallersdorf. The bishop, however, remained firm, despite her personal visit. To him the judgement of the superiors of the diocesan congregation was sufficient. Thus on December 16, 1879, Bayer was dismissed from Mallersdorf. She tried subsequently to find acceptance in two other monasteries. However, the report from the superior in Malles- dorf was enough for them to refuse her. She objected to such discrimina-

tion and complained about it in Regensburg, but she wasn't given a hearing by the Ordinariate.

In Munich, Miss Bayer gained the full confidence of unsuspecting Lüthen after he had received a very good recommendation of her from a trusted Jesuit priest. Thus she won him for her pious plan to found an order of perpetual adoration (cf., letter of Lüthen to Bishop Ignaz von Senestrey, September 27, 1882). Lüthen agreed with Jordan about also starting something for women corresponding to the aims of the Apostolic Teaching Society. So he introduced Jordan to the possibilities arising from meeting Miss Bayer. Jordan agreed basically to the plan and wanted to discuss everything with Lüthen in summer when he was due to begin his journey to Germany. Jordan arrived in Munich before mid 1882. Miss Bayer must have made the best impression on Jordan, not less than on Lüthen. Jordan in the aggressive manner of a young founder whose zeal substituted for experience, invited Miss Bayer to join his foundation. She gladly accepted this new chance to restore her languishing religious life. Whether Miss Bayer persuaded Jordan or whether he had invited her, he received her perpetual vows just a few days after his arrival in Munich, on June 16, 1882, Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Here it must not be overlooked that Jordan understood these vows as purely private and without any canonical consequence, adding to them the right to dissolve them at any time. For all that, Miss Bayer was the first woman to be received in Jordan's foundation in this full manner.

Lüthen, in the meantime, had found two more young ladies for his plan. He had known them since his work at the Cassianeum. One was Barbara (Babette) Mayr, born June 3, 1835, in Günzburg and an employee at the Cassianeum at that time. She lived together with her mother in Donauwörth. She gave notice at the Cassianeum on September 1, 1881, and became a member in Johannesbrunn. The other young lady was Ursula Rabis, born October 31, 1834, in Stillnau, Dillingen. Rabis was probably an orphan and lived with relatives in Donauwörth where she died on April 25, 1889 (cf., in regard to both, MMChr December 6, 1882).

Knowing about Dichtl's difficulty to staff his small monastery, Lüthen asked him to accommodate his three pious ladies, sure that

others would follow. Dichtl agreed with Lüthen on a temporary limited lease, presupposing the permission of the bishop. So Jordan went to Bishop von Senestrey at the end of July. The prelate gave his consent orally and provisionally under the condition that these ladies lived together there only as private persons. On August 3, 1882, Thekla Bayer and Ursula Rabis moved into Johannesbrunn and began their community life according to the agreed on purpose of perpetual adoration and making liturgical vestments. On September 1, 1882, Miss Barbara Mayr joined them. Already on July 17, Miss Bayer had deposited her savings account book and documents with Lüthen. She was nominated "head" by Lüthen, which she thought to be quite natural for a person who had already experienced religious life.

That Lüthen considered Johannesbrunn as only a seedling for the later development of Jordan's comprehensive foundation, he expressed a sincerely zealous letter of thanks to the Bishop of Augsburg:

Your Grace was so good as to give Mr. Jordan, Director of our Society, permission to assign a quiet little place to our Sisters of the Veneration of the Holy Sacrament in Johannesbrunn. This has been realized now, and we have succeeded in persuading at least Reverend Expositus Dichtl to receive sisters temporarily for one and a half years for payment of a pension. There are three, others will follow, among them also a Baroness from Prussia who has donated to us another monastery in her homeland, which we will staff later on if it is the will of God. As our sisters avoid strictly monastic forms, we hope to make them active also in the countries of the *Kulturkampf*.

Then Lüthen makes a request on behalf of his priest-brother living in Westphalia to be permitted to send boys with priestly vocation gratis to the hostel in Regensburg (letter of Rev. Bernhard Lüthen, *Societas Apostolica Instructiva* to Very Reverend Ignatius von Senestrey, Bishop in Regensburg, September 8, 1882, AR). Two days later Lüthen asked for an exchange of views with von Senestrey (September 10, 1882) the next day or the following. It was granted by telegraph on the same day (September 10). After their discussions the bishop noted in regard to Lüthen's letter of September 10, 1882: "Lüthen came to me and confessed to me that he had convinced himself that the spirit guiding Bayer was not a good one,

which contradicted what he had told me before as his letters show" (underlined with red ink). The bishop requested from Lüthen a written report on Johannesbrunn. Somehow, they must have misunderstood one another, for Lüthen even later was convinced of the vocation of Thekla Bayer. In answer to her first letters from Johannesbrunn, Lüthen wrote he was glad that God has given her "such a dear little church and home."

Lüthen explained to her that now it was "your main care to write down the nature and purpose of your order and what else God—as always—has previously inspired in you regarding adoration, etc." Lüthen asked the sisters to use the German Office of the BVM and not the Latin Breviary as Bayer had wished. All this should remain quite private; for the present all depended on the Spirit, not on Roman approval. It would also be the best to call herself just "Miss Superintendent." He had already forwarded a letter of hers to her mother (August 8, 1882, E-521).

On September 17, 1882, two more ladies (Bernardine Varot and Anna Welter) joined the three already in Johannesbrunn. On September 27, Lüthen reported to the bishop of Regensburg on Johannesbrunn, i.e., the new female congregation of the Apostolic Teaching Society. At the same time, urged by Thekla Bayer, Lüthen asked for the religious habit for the sisters there, "these, like all the other concerns we consider as purely private, without intending to saddle the bishop with any responsibility towards the state." In an added report Lüthen explains: "The plan for this congregation comes from a virgin whose name is Thekla Bayer" who had based her plan of founding an Order of Perpetual Adoration "on a higher inspiration." She had entrusted herself to Lüthen because "she recognized a great similarity between her ideals and ours." Lüthen then stresses that based on her character and the virtues and behavior of this virgin, he had "no doubt about the authenticity of this divine vocation" but that, of course, the church would have the last word. At any rate, Lüthen thought this plan to be good in itself and up-to-date, "so that it retains its value even without its supernatural origin." Then Lüthen discusses briefly the course of the foundation up to that time, which now counted two sisters with vows and three novices; that Miss Bayer was superior and Dichtl confessor: "A proper rule is in process."

Lüthen gave a short description of how a proper foundation was planned by him and Jordan. It would have three grades and would be composed of Sisters of Adoration and some apostolic members (above all teachers) and working sisters.

They bind themselves to the superior, temporarily and perpetually, but with the addition that the Director General could at any time dispense fully or partly. The responsibility for the whole undertaking and its development rests with our Society, which will give further information about it later to the church authority (September 27, 1882, AR).

Bishop Senestrey received this report with visible annoyance, for, what Lüthen presented to him here exceeded by far the limits he had allowed orally at the end of July. As usual, he underlined strongly with a red pencil the points in the report he disagreed with. One of them was that Lüthen let himself be blinded by the personality and vocation of Miss Bayer according to the opinion of the bishop, and that Jordan and Lüthen were intending a female congregation with vows. At the very beginning of his report Bishop von Senestrey remarked: "This Bayer was once in Mellersdorf and left because they didn't believe in her 'higher inspirations.'" In regard to the "Director General" mentioned at the end of the report he asks, "from which authority has the General Director his competence?" (AR).

Thekla Bayer immediately behaved as the competent superior and considered herself backed by Lüthen, who took her vocation so seriously, and thus also by Jordan. On the Feast of St. Francis she received the vows of Ursula Rabis and invested the other three virgins. On the same day the Expositus wrote to his bishop asking him to intervene: to expel the pious ladies from the little monastery still during this winter. He excused his former attitude by the fact that the bishop had "spoken in favor of the congregation to be founded, the so-called Apostolic Teaching Society." Thekla Bayer, described to him by Lüthen as a saintly person, ". . . [is] very irritable and would like to dominate everywhere, and that she was quite spoiled by the fact that her ideas had been accepted as the immediate inspirations of our Lord during Holy Communion." All members claimed for themselves the right to daily Holy Communion, even on the day of confession. Then Dichtl mentioned

the profession and the investiture by the "female superior authorized by Mr. Jordan" (October 4, 1882, AR).

The bishop's answer arrived soon and was more than clear: he had never spoken, either to Jordan or to Lüthen, "favorably" about the so-called Apostolic Teaching Society, which he himself considered too many-sided. He protested against Thekla Bayer being considered a "superior" in his diocese. Daily Communion was not to be permitted as a rule; above all "a group of bigots" could not a priori presume the right to daily Communion. He prohibited them wearing a religious habit. Lüthen himself needed his written permission if he wanted to give spiritual exercises or administer sacraments in his diocese. The Expositus should do everything in his power "to get rid of these people, *ne novissima fiant pejora prioribus*" (October 9, 1882, AR).

On October 12, 1882, Bernardine Verot also wrote to the bishop in very clumsy German. She repeated what the bishop already knew from the letter of the Expositus. Adding however that Thekla Bayer was now writing a rule. She herself doubted whether Bayer's revelations were genuine because of the ecclesiastical violations, and that she was sorry for Lüthen who had been so taken in. Then Verot comes to her real problem: she had handed her savings account book with 1,900 Marks over to Bayer. It was now administered by Lüthen. She was already 58 years old and without her savings she would have to go begging; the bishop might help to "get return" of her little property. The bishop's response to this request was cool: "This is only the business of the duped." The bishop sent the matron's letter to the Expositus for his information and opinion.

In the meantime, Lüthen was in Johannesbrunn in order to put things right. He immediately made Thekla Bayer write to ask the bishop "most humbly for forgiveness." She excused herself for the following reasons: only Lüthen had called her attention to her mistaken attitude; had the Expositus denied her investiture she would of course have omitted it; but he had simply excused himself as being indisposed and

asked the assistant pastor to assist.* Bayer then asks the bishop to grant as soon as possible "the desired permission to wear the religious habit" and to grant them daily Communion (letter, October 13, 1882, which Bayer dictated to Mayr and only signed it, AR).

Bishop Senestrey was outraged at the events in Johannesbrunn. He also sent this letter back to Dichtl demanding his answer and above all an explanation of the role of the assistant at the investiture. Irritated, he remarks with a red pencil in regard to wearing the habit, that he be told "the habit of which order does this company asks to wear!"

Dichtl answered his bishop that he had let himself be deluded by Jordan and Lüthen and that now he was surprised to learn the bishop's real opinion. He would have the monastery vacated soon. He only asked that the two ladies, Verot and Welter, be allowed to lodge in the monastery because they had left "already before the declaration of Your Grace and have made many sacrifices at the Moldau for the cause of the church" (October 17, 1882, AR). The answer of the bishop is not known.

Returned to Munich, Lüthen wrote to the bishop of Regensburg that Dichtl had informed him on October 13, "that Your Episcopal Grace had taken a position against this congregation" simply on the grounds of the report of the Expositus.

I respectfully submit myself to this decision, but ask Your Grace heartily and obediently also to accept the statements of Miss Thekla Bayer, which I will induce her to write down, for I have assumed responsibility to preserve the honor of the congregation. With this request I hope to comply with my duty (October 16, 1882, AR).

A week later, Lüthen again wrote to Regensburg. He asked the bishop not to get angry if he bothered him once more with "Johannesbrunn."

The sad catastrophe, which has hit our work in Johannesbrunn is known to me. I humbly submit to the hand of Divine Providence. The Lord has permitted it to happen like this.

* Simon Strasser, born October 7, 1850, Strass, Herbetsfelder, ordained June 7, 1874, assistant curate in Johannesbrunn.

Then Lüthen stated his conviction that the devil had played his game,
... through lies, calumny, hatred and malice. . . What might have been
mistaken from our side in regard to order and direction of a congrega-
tion which was still of a private nature, you may be convinced that
everything has happened bona fide, and I revoke and curse any action
by which we might have or have given offence to church authority.
[Then he points to] all the prayers, cares and troubles which the now
perishing work has cost. [Then he asks] on his knees [once more for an
investigation] so that this stain may not be attached to our work forever.

In the last section he speaks of himself as a quite sober man who had
always to fight more the head than against the heart. Then he expresses
once more his conviction that Thekla Bayer was misunderstood, that in
her one could see "the signs of divine election: graces as well as suffer-
ings" (October 24, 1882, AR). The bishop will not have replied to such a
sincere letter, which he must have felt was conflicted.

On October 31, 1882, Bayer, Rabis and Mayr left Johannesbrunn.
Lüthen succeeded in finding temporary lodgings for them in Altötting.
In the meantime he persuaded Baroness von Wüllenweber in Neuwerk
to receive the three pious ladies. Lüthen went to Altötting to explain the
situation of the three. Thekla Bayer, who had new hopes for the realiza-
tion of her very personal plans, preceded on November 25, making a
stop in Munich (at Lüthen's and at her mother's) and in Würzburg (at
Schlosser's Julianeum) and arrived in Neuwerk on December 2. Miss
Rabis and Miss Mayr left Altötting on December 5, and reached their
new "monastery" in Neuwerk on December 6. While these two adapted
themselves quite well, it was difficult for Thekla Bayer not to be able to
activate her natural inclination to leadership while living in the
Barbarastift under the Baroness.

At any rate, she was soon recalled by Jordan. Prompted by
Lüthen, he wanted to make an attempt in Rome with the still esteemed
Thekla Bayer. Thus on January 24, 1883, she left Neuwerk and first
traveled to Lüthen in Munich (cf., notes of Babette Mayr; MMChr
December 2, 1882). On her way, instructed by Lüthen, she paid a visit to
Amalie Streitel in Bamberg on January 26, 1883. The latter had connected
with Jordan through her confessor. Lüthen was advised by Jordan to take

care of them both and to send them on to Rome. Jordan now wanted to attempt a sisters' foundation (MMChr, January 24, 1883). The two women stayed with Lüthen for some time. This is how Lüthen in retrospect judged these events in his memories in November 1910 (BL-1378-9).*

* According to the rather fantastically illustrated remembrances of the later Sr. Scholastica Demer, Miss Bayer had been destined by God to be just a guide to Miss Streitel. She separated from Streitel "because the Miss fell suddenly ill" (Remembrances from 1927, ASSM). In Munich "she was dismissed from the Society," Mayr reports in her notes (MMChr).

Lüthen does not say which "discoveries" Streitel made about Bayer. However, the dismissal must have happened shortly before their planned common departure to Rome, for the "effects of Miss Bayer" had already been sent to Rome and had arrived at the lodging of the first sisters in Borgo Nuovo (cf., letter of Streitel to Jordan, February 26, 1883).

Thekla Bayer appears once more about 1897, in the acts of the Cardinal Vicariate in Rome. After a sentence by the city court of justice and after two of her co-sisters had been recalled to Germany (probably by the responsible priest), disappointed and weary after so long and pious a struggle, she asked to be released from her vows. The further destiny of Thekla Bayer is lost in obscurity. On January 1, 1900, she turned once more to the bishop of Regensburg. When and where she died is not known.

Therese von Wüllenweber was never in Johannesbrunn. Nevertheless, she was vividly interested in its happenings. She had notes made by the clever Barbara Mayr, adding them to her own notes about the Barbarastift. About Johannesbrunn she just states: "But this foundation could not last" (MMChr). That she was glad when the "Directress of Johannesbrunn" had left the house, is shown by her note: "Miss Thekla Bayer left January 24, 1883 for Munich to make soon a new foundation where possible according to her spirituality" (MMChr).

Therese evaluated the two co-sisters of Thekla Bayer favorably: "The two other sisters seem to be fit for here and willing to work apostolically according to the spirit of the Apostolic Teaching Society in all humility" (MMChr). The modest and unpretentious Ursula Rabis found a new home in Neuwerk and took over the household with the Baroness. Babette Mayr joined Jordan's new foundation of sisters in Rome on July 22, 1884. Already on December 3, 1884, she made her vows for three years. As administrator after the separation of the Streitel sisters from Jordan, she took over the sisters' money and the documents "with sincere thanks" toward Jordan (October 15, 1885, E-547). On March 21, 1889, she

Now the new foundation materialized, and the above mentioned Miss Bayer was chosen to direct the work in Rome. Now when [the future] "Sister Francisca" was together with the lady in Munich to depart to Rome, she made such discoveries in Miss Bayer that she made me aware that the same [Bayer] was not fit for a foundation in Rome. I became convinced and let her go, while on the contrary Sr. Francisca Streitel, who had excellent qualities, rose more and more in my respect and esteem, so much that I decided to put her at the head of the foundation and to send her to Rome as "superior." I hoped to have found the right one and wrote in this sense to Rome to our Venerable Founder.

In mid-March 1883, Lüthen, forced by the negative attitude of the archbishop of Munich toward his promotional activity, went to Rome. There during Holy Week he began his religious life with Jordan. Although according to ecclesiastic norms the Bayer affair had been a private affair, he felt compelled to bring the matter to a conciliatory conclusion with the bishop of Regensburg. On April 8, 1883, he wrote from Rome:

Most Reverend Bishop.

Gracious Lord!

Several times have I bothered your Episcopal Grace with a matter which has come to an end now. It is the matter of Miss Bayer, in whose vocation of founding a congregation I met with such doubts that I separated her completely from our Society. God has led me through a good school for the future. As I intended only the best, Your Grace will hopefully be satisfied with this confession of mine.

With due reverence I remain,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

Lüthen, at the time being in Rome (AR).

The bishop underlines with his customary red pencil what seems important to him, like "now . . . Bayer . . . such doubts . . . completely separated from our Society . . . satisfied with this confession." In the margin he notes: "These Jordan & Co. *abundant in sensu suo*."

left that congregation.

Johannesbrunn was never mentioned in *Der Missionär*, indicating perhaps that Lüthen was never fully sure about this tentative foundation.

It is difficult to judge or even to condemn the attitude of those who took part in the failed foundation of sisters in Johannesbrunn. Surely, Jordan and Lüthen themselves had been carried away by their apostolic zeal to such a degree that they with all their good will didn't judge the matter soberly enough. In the end they became prudent through their mistakes which they sincerely admitted and confessed quite humbly.

Lüthen, however, did not give up after the failure in Johannesbrunn.* Jordan gave him a free hand in the meantime. But to Jordan in particular, Johannesbrunn, Altötting and Neuwerk were merely stages, just patchwork solutions. In his view "all paths led first of all to Rome." At the same time inabilities, even personal failures were to him no reason to give up the apostolic cause itself.

4.19/27. The Conference of the Four, or *Viererkonferenz* as it is called, gathered all the four members who up to then had joined the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society in order to discuss certain questions. We have a short agenda of this meeting written by Lüthen. In the first

* Georg Dichtl remained unsuccessful in founding a monastery. The Carmelite Sisters of Himmelspforten (Würzburg) wanted to begin a branch settlement with nine sisters. Their petition to the Royal Bavarian Government of April 28, 1883, was refused. The government was not favorable to contemplative congregations. It preferred those active in the education of girls and care for the sick. Dichtl too declined the Carmelite Sisters, because a Carmelite Father would contend with him for his Expositur (AR). On July 26, 1884, the Sisters of the Precious Blood from Nazareth near Banjaluca (Bosnia) asked to be allowed to open an institute for poor and neglected children. This was declined by the ordinariate in Regensburg because the Mallesdorfer Sisters (Franciscans) were already dedicated to this task (AR July 15, 1884). Dichtl transferred the monastery "by will" to the Sisters of Ronnig as heirs. They, however, could not get permission for a settlement. Another heir was Dean Buchauer, a Gerzen (born in Johannesbrunn). He succeeded in winning the Brothers of Mercy of St. John of God of the Bavarian Province of St. Charles Borromeo. On November 12, 1891, they moved into Johannesbrunn. Due to lack of personnel in 1967 they gave up the home for the aged they had established there.

session, August 26, 1882, the government of the Society as a whole was discussed. Basically it stated: "The Apostolic Teaching Society puts itself completely at the disposal of the Apostolic See and of the episcopate with love and veneration." The first *Stufe* (level) was a free union of priests and lay people. Individual priests remained under the jurisdiction of their responsible bishops. On the other hand, there were many priests compelled by *Kulturkampf* laws or by the tensions between church and state to look for work outside their homelands. Jordan as well as Janssen hoped such *Sperrlinge* would join them.

Then decisions were taken about the supreme government. The seat of the general directory shall remain in Rome. As soon as the circle of the First Level widens the directory shall be composed of the director general, his representative and two assistants. The director general is elected for five years by the other members of the general directory and the national directors. Each nation is provided one main seat with a national director. A meeting of the general directory shall take place annually; whether with or without the national directors was not decided because it was not urgent for the time being. These decisions were valid only until the next meeting.

In the second session on August 27, Jordan was elected director general, von Leonhardi his vicar, and the other two assistants. Lüthen became the director for German-speaking countries with the exception of Prussia for which von Essen was nominated. Von Leonhardi reserved the Scandinavian countries for himself. The ascetic Lüthen remarks in addition that consequent to the vow of poverty there should be no smoking or taking snuff, and that restaurants should be used only on journeys or for official reasons (cf., SD 135-6).

As a working paper the four priests had the proofs of the "Donauwörth Statutes" (E-1202; AC Fasc. Va; cf., DSS II, 67ff). They had been brought from the Cassianeum by Lüthen or Jordan; Lüthen had already corrected them. Above all he had changed "Grade" to "*Stufe*" (level) adding the reason: "Grades are used by the Freemasons; let us

avoid anything which recalls the synagogue of the devil."* In Chapter XII the word "provisionally" was added. It now read:

The Apostolic Teaching Society shall provisionally be considered a private undertaking of the director general, and he administers the entire property of the union according to the statutes.

This double security at the beginning of this free society was meant to protect it against civil as well as canonical interference. The decisions of the first session were hastily written on these proofs on the blank page opposite "Chapter VII, Directory." Some corrections and additions in violet ink and with red pencil might have been made later in Rome where Jordan used violet ink now and then. These proofs which Jordan took with him to Rome remained strictly working papers. They were never printed, and never implemented.

The statutes remained as they had been worked out in Otto-beuren, to which Lüthen very soon added seven excellent reflections. The title page of this new edition was kept quite simple: "Statute-booklet for the Membership of the Apostolic Teaching Society, by Fr. B. Lüthen,

* The word "*Grad*" was used by Jordan in the drafts and proofs of the Cassianeum. Jordan used this expression in his Latin (and Italian) texts from the beginning and also after the "Meeting of Four" (cf., his Latin leaflet of 1880 "*Societas in tres gradus est divisa*" as well as his Latin rule for the First Grade, or his article "*Società Apostolica Istruttiva incoraggiata . . .*"). Lüthen, too, used in his formula of vows "*primus gradus*." In his booklet of statutes, on the contrary, Lüthen used the word "*Klase*" (cf., Booklet of Statutes of Otto-beuren and the larger new edition of Munich, 1881 and 1882).

The word *Stufe* is proposed by Lüthen in the corrected proofs (Statutes for the 3rd *Stufe* of the Apostolic Teaching Society," MI, May 28, 1882). Lüthen called Jordan's attention to the use of the word "Grade" by the Freemasons. In his *supplica* to the pope, Jordan had defended his threefold partition (also) as aimed against the hierarchy of the Freemasons. The argument is not really convincing. Maybe Bianchi has exaggerated this point. The linguistic use remained different: in Latin it was *gradus* (in Italian *grado*); German changed "*Klase*" to "*Stufe*." Finally, after the change of Grade into "Order" the language became uniform.

Munich. Printed by Earnst Stahl." The small image of the Sacred Heart and the scripture texts Dan 12:3 and Jn 17:3 which had appeared in the first edition were dropped (E-1230; cf., DSS II, 151ff).

Of course, other items were discussed in Munich different from those of the working paper or those noted down by Lüthen in his agenda. The report on the development of the Society until then and further planning were certainly central topics. Jordan's difficulties in Rome connected to the word "apostolic" as applied to the Society, the separation of the Society from the Cassianeum, the possibilities resulting from Neuwerk, all offered plenty of material for serious discussions and reflections. The position of women in the First Order as it arose because of the petition of Baroness von Wüllenweber was also discussed and again accepted according to the Rule for the First Grade (1882).

The importance the four priests attributed to their meeting in Munich is also shown by the photo they took at that time: Jordan and von Essen are seated, von Leonhardi and Lüthen are standing behind them. All are wearing cassocks. Jordan looks quite young in comparison with the others. Significantly, he is holding a book in his hands.

After the meeting Jordan and von Leonhardi returned to Rome, whence they had been absent for too long. Von Essen went home to his parish, while Lüthen, in whose lodging the meeting had taken place, returned to his task of the press and of enrolling new members, especially in the South German region.

4.20/28. *Voix Apostolique* and Wittmann. With Lüthen's help Jordan had been able to get a foothold in Germany. Now he wanted one in a French-speaking area. He planned to begin with a publication for the Third Level. He intended to give it the title *Voix Apostolique*. Early on Jordan had been acquainted with French language and culture because of Baden's proximity to France. He deepened his knowledge of French during his journeys there, and his experiences in Lebanon had called his attention especially to the missionary influence of Catholic France.

But as he was not yet able to knit reliable connections in France, he turned to the assistant priest of St. Nikolaus in Fribourg, J.A. Wittmann to ask for help. Already in early April, von Leonhardi had paid a

visit to Wittmann. According to Jordan's wish and with the commendation of the "director general," as Jordan presented himself officially at that time, von Leonhardi was enlisting cooperators and members for the Apostolic Teaching Society mostly up and down the Rhine. He informed Jordan that Wittmann was willing to support the cause of the ATS. Jordan, much delighted, invited Wittmann by letter to take over editing the "*Französichen Missionärs*" for which he could take ample material from the German and Italian editions. Jordan stressed, as he had to Auer before, that the periodical was to remain the property of the ATS and that his aim was to establish a branch office in Paris itself or in another suitable French town, so that Fribourg would just be a temporary solution (letter, April 24, 1882, G-4.1).

It is not known how far Wittmann agreed to this proposal. For when Jordan risked asking Wittmann to persuade Schorderet to print the *Voix apostolique* for the Apostolic Teaching Society, the answer from Fribourg was a clear no! Wittmann had fallen out with Schorderet some time before. "*Quel péril*", the latter wrote to Kleisser on February 15, 1881. In his letters to Kleisser on November 17 and 22, 1880, Schorderet could not hide his ill feelings toward Wittmann, or that he was even afraid of him. On the other hand, Wittmann complained to Roelofs about Schorderet's attitude toward him, which he considered wrong. In his letter to Jordan, Wittmann touched this bitter matter.

When Kleisser stayed in Rome at the beginning of the year, Schorderet warned him most urgently about Wittmann who had already presented his complaints against him in Rome. At any rate, Wittmann made it clear to Jordan, that Schorderet did not tolerate any press beside his own, and that without Schorderet's agreement Jordan would not be able to accomplish anything in Fribourg (D-935). Wittmann's letter, written in Latin, is without a date, but it can have been composed at the earliest in early 1883, for it supposes that Kleiser was in Rome with Jordan a year before and that Schorderet had already been replaced by Léon Esseiva as rector of St. Maurice.* In October 1882 Schorderet

* Léon Esseiva (1854-1925) ordained after studies in the French College in Rome, succeeded Schorderet and worked 18 years in St. Maurice. His

resigned as rector (and thus as a canon of St. Nikolaus) in order to devote himself more completely to his press work.

On February 21, 1886, the "apostolic missionary" J. A. Wittmann answered Jordan from Progens, Canton of Fribourg, regarding his request that he take over the edition of the French press of the Catholic Teaching Society. (Jordan intended to edit the *Der Missionär* and the *Kinderfreund* (Children's Friend) in French.) Wittmann, who was very involved in his pastoral work, above all as preacher, preferred an almanac (D-1020). Thus this attempt of Jordan's also remained blocked at the very start.

4.21/29. Von Wüllenweber, (II). Jordan won over the Baroness by the boldness of his ideas and plans which would take a lifetime to fulfill entirely, but which could never succeed to fully involve all Christians. Therese von Wüllenweber noted down the events from her point of view, never completely but rather sketchily.

I have let myself be received in the new Apostolic Teaching Society approved by the Holy Father, April 20, 1882. Oh, whatever refers to the missions already attracts me so much. If I could do something here for them with the help of this monastery! (MMChr).

Based on an advertisement for the Apostolic Teaching Society published by Lüthen in the *Kölner Vokszeitung* on Easter Tuesday (April 12, 1882), she contacted Lüthen on April 18 and was received as "promotress" into the Apostolic Teaching Society, which of course was not yet approved but had only obtained the "highest ecclesiastical preliminary blessing."

I wrote to the present Reverend Fr. Bonaventura [Lüthen] (April 25, 1882) offering him my monastery with the intention to lead the household for the future missionaries with my sisters; [I] wanted to put aside the thought of a sisters congregation (CV 2).

influence in the *Pauluswerk* was important and decisive. On November 20, 1902, the High Council of the Canton nominated him Probst of St. Nikolaus. However, on February 1, 1925, Esseiva died the day before he was to take possession of the cathedral from the local bishop an assignment he had resisted for a long time.

The plan for a sisters congregation was not really the idea of the Baroness, but of her confessor, pastor von Essen, to whom she bequeathed her "whole property" as the material basis for this purpose (CV 2), as well as of the spiritual obligation she had assumed through Msgr. Raimondi on the Monday of Pentecost 1874, when she vowed to dedicate herself totally to the missions and deposited her "Mystic Testament" at her notary's (Lanser's) on December 17, 1874.

At that time she didn't have to consider the question of securing her subsistence as she was still at home at Castle Myllendonk. When the Apostolic Teaching Society came into her sights, the situation changed completely. After the failure to cooperate with Steyl, Ilanz or Paris (Daughters of Mary), and after her attempt at a *Damenstift* with an attached institution for orphans remained stunted, von Essen hoped to start a new future at the Barbarastift with Jordan's help. Therese agreed at once, because remaining on her own she couldn't insure a future for the Barbarastift, neither did she feel the strength of a vocation on her own in spite of the "prophesy" of the bishop of Hong Kong, which meant hardly more than increased encouragement (CV 2).

The Baroness, like von Essen, put all her hope on the Apostolic Teaching Society to enable her to fulfill her pledge made seven years before to dedicate herself completely to the missions (April 25, 1875) as far as it was still within her power.

Happy I shall be when the Lord finally would accept this pledge, and I hope, I am even sure, he will give me the grace to donate this house; monastery with everything to the missions (letter to von Essen, April 25, 1882).

However, she always fully inserted the proviso that, being almost 50 years old herself, her cooperation would depend on being personally provided for. To this end she already had her plans: receive missionaries and keep their household, later build "a house for us" through the Apostolic Teaching Society.

By all means I would insist to keep for myself a pension corresponding to my rank, while I, however, would give all the surplus according to need especially to the missionaries as necessary gifts (Ibid.).

Therese wanted at last to give her life the meaning she desired and to engage herself entirely for the missions (in the widest sense) without however, losing sight of her own security according to her rank. "What I shall do next, I am waiting for your answer in this regard, Reverend." She herself tells her spiritual director the order: first missionaries who will manage everything so the Barbarastift will not continue to dwindle away, then a congregation of sisters at their side to assist them (Ibid.).

On May 27, Therese in a long letter offers her convent to Lüthen with von Essen's permission (not on April 25, as stated in CV 2). She asks: Reverend, is there hope that through your congregation my well situated monastery might become a mission house = for missionaries at first with the condition that I would keep the direction of the household in a sisterly spirit = the monastery is large enough to be divided. With the hope, if it is God's will, to found later a congregation of Sisters of the Apostolic Teaching Society? As far as I know the matter, I would donate the monastery completely for this purpose = In this manner I could certainly materially support this highest ideal. But also my inner being is, certainly through the will of God, always particularly attracted by whatever is called "apostolic."

Therese signed "*Vorst. [Vorsteherin, superintendent] St. Barbarastift.*" In the same note she indicated the best way to reach Neuwerk. But Lüthen, never visited Neuwerk, just as Jordan had never been to Johannesbrunn. The Baroness added at the end the entire correspondence regarding this matter up to her personal meeting with Jordan. Regarding this matter, on April 29, 1882 she made a pilgrimage to the Mother of God in Kevelaer. On May 31, Lüthen gave her a preliminary most favorable answer.

Your first letter caused great joy to me. The idea of a seminary as well as a *Stift* for ladies is quite the same as our founder's. We will soon be able to consider the matter, as Reverend Jordan will soon come here from Rome. Only a short time ago he asked me about the foundation of a seminary. He might come to you and will then be able to consider it together with you on the spot. It is God who sends with you a zealous friend for our aspirations, for which I must thank you (ASDS).

At the same time he had informed Jordan in Rome about it all. On June 8, Lüthen informed the Baroness that Jordan himself would soon come to Neuwerk to discuss the matter.

On July 4, 1882, Jordan arrived in Neuwerk and thus everything could be discussed. He judged the Baroness' offer very favorably. At the same time he won her heart completely for his plans: "My best and only wish is to belong ever more firmly to this Society up to my death. Good God, thanks to You forever!" she wrote happily in her diary (MMChr). In these three days Jordan also paid attention to her spiritual life, giving her a short instruction on how to behave in regard to confession and communion (July 6, 1882). Jordan let the Baroness also know that he intended to found a female congregation (CV 2). But at that time he was thinking about Lüthen's plans for Johannesbrunn. This, however, reawakened hopes in Therese to have mission sisters in Neuwerk itself, an idea which had been buried after her previous vain attempts.

After the matter of Neuwerk had been thoroughly discussed as well with pastor von Essen at the meeting of Munich, Jordan sent von Leonhardi to look at Neuwerk. Therese met him on September 2, 1882 and was immediately well disposed toward him: "Also he belonged entirely to it [ATS]" (MMChr). Von Leonhardi received her on September 5, 1882, by a promise "to the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society." The "act of acceptance" reads:

With this I promise, fully conscious of what I am doing, to the Reverend J.B. Jordan, priest and founder of the Apostolic Teaching Society to obey in all that is lawful and to live in the spirit of poverty as well as in holy chastity in the way I have done so far. By this my promise I intend to oblige myself to the Reverend J.B. Jordan for one year from today on.
Therese von Wüllenweber.

"Friedrich von Leonhardi, priest of the said Society" signs the acceptance of the Baroness to the First Grade of the ATS "based on the present written promise" (ASDS). Therese later saw in this promise a kind of vow: "So September 5, 1882, I made the three vows at first for one year to him [Jordan] (into the hands of a mission priest of the Society von Leonhardi)" (CV 2). Although the act of acceptance signed by Therese is a clear

promise to join the ATS for one year, the words, As I have done so far." indicate it is a continuation of her Third Order vows of June 8, 1873.*

4.22/30. The Von Wüllenweber donation. "Made a notarized donation of the monastery to the Society, September 6, 1882, with the condition that it should become a house of our Order" (CV 2); "on 6th was done consequently . . . Certified by a notary I donated my monastery with three houses to the First Order" (MMChr). Of course, the donation had been carefully discussed with Pastor von Essen. Her testament in favor of a mission congregation of sisters of December 17, 1874 had become invalid after her hopes and those of her spiritual director to collaborate with Steyl were not realized and after her other attempts had failed.

Von Essen had in the meantime become a full member of the ATS and had buried his own plans to found something himself. Already before or at the latest after the Munich meeting he had discussed the new possibilities for the Barbarastift with the Baroness and had advised her to donate it to Jordan's foundation. The subsequent further inquiries from Jordan and Lüthen were answered positively. But it is also possible that at the Munich conference the whole plan had already been decided on—a plan presented by von Essen who had already been received (July 7, 1882) to the First Level of the ATS through three-year vows. The notarized contract of donation only had to be signed on September 6, 1882, by the Baroness and von Leonhardi. It reads (E-782):

Nr. 3659 Rept:

Today, September 6, 1882, before royal Prussian notary, Carl Wimar Lückerrath, living in München-Gladbach in the *Landgerichts*district of Düsseldorf. . . appeared Maria Therese Baroness von Wüllenweber, directress of the Barbarastift, living in Neuwerk and declares: I donate and herewith hand over through donation while living, to Reverends:

a) Friedrich von Leonhardi, mission priest residing at Fort Königstein in Saxony;

* During his fund raising journey in autumn 1882, von Leonhardi lodged with the pastor of St. Jean in Liège. He got this address through Baroness von Wüllenweber, who went for confession each year to the "saintly pastor, who almost does miracles" (cf., MMChr, passim 82, 83, 84).

b) Johann Baptist Jordan, mission priest, born in Gurtweil, in the Grand Dukedom of Baden, at present resident in Rome, &
c) Bernhard Lüthen, mission priest residing in Munich, to their full and immediate property:

There followed the conditions covered by the donation.

As basis of this donation I indicated the following conditions:

- I. . . . with all correspondent rights and services, active and passive, visible and invisible servitudes . . .
- II. The receivers of the donation become immediately proprietors of the donated real estate taking over all relative taxes and burdens beginning today.
- III. On the donated real estate there is an outstanding debt of 3,800 Marks in favor of Dapper my juridical predecessor's heir, bearing a yearly fixed rate of 4½% on October 1 (not subject to call until October 1, 1887. . .).
- IV. The receivers of the donation are expressly obliged to grant me for life free lodgings and sustenance, service and care, especially also in days of sickness, not only in the above named donated real estate, but also in each of the houses destined to mission purposes of the receivers of the donation, so that I can live up to my vocation; equally I shall be granted lodging and sustenance to the level I am accustomed and corresponding to my rank.
- V. I intend the present donation solely for the support of mission purposes and have only these objectives and this is to be used quite alone for this.
- VI. In regard to the stam-account the value of the donated real estate is estimated at twenty thousand Marks yearly.

At this act was also present the above mentioned Mr. Friedrich von Leonhardi, mission priest, residing at Fort Königstein in the Kingdom of Saxony, at present staying in Neuwerk, District of Gladbach. The same declared to accept the above donation for himself under the given conditions . . . signed: Therese von Wüllenweber, Friedrich von Leonhardi, Jose. Peters, Klasen, Lückerath. . . .

The prepared contract became legally valid once it was signed. When Therese speaks of the "monastery with the three houses" she means the

part acquired by her. Though the monastery as a whole needed urgent repairs, the proprietors had limited themselves to the upkeep of their own living rooms, leaving the other buildings to their fate. It is to be noticed that the condition with which the Baroness secured her sustenance and the debt still pending on the neglected buildings taken as a whole surpassed the proper value of the "donated real estate" the more for a buyer who had no money to put into the urgent work of repair. Jordan was made aware by von Essen's successor at the parish that what he had been given was not a light burden. In the meantime, neither Jordan nor the Baroness concerned themselves with that. They kept silent hoping that the donation would prove to be the basis on which with united forces the mission work they desired and dreamed of could be built. On January 1, 1883 Therese made another will.

My testament made in honor of God and for the salvation of souls, particularly for my own soul. Praised be Jesus Christ.

- 1) Herewith I revoke my earlier determinations in regard to my last will.
- 2) As universal heirs of my movable and immovable property I nominate herewith, however, with reservation to the following legacies, the Reverend Gentlemen Johann Baptist Jordan, Bernhard Lüthen and Friedrich von Leonhardi, all of them members of the Catholic Teaching Society, which has its main seat in Rome.
- 3) To the Roman Catholic Church in Neuwerk I leave 500 Marks the interest of which shall be used for the celebration of a yearly solemn Mass for my soul.
- 4) To the Roman Catholic Church of Korschenbroich I leave 300 Marks, the interest of which shall be used for yearly solemn Mass for my soul.
- 5) The three children Anna, Christine and Elizabeth Frischgens I leave 200 Marks each to be put into the savings bank, so that they shall receive them free together with interest after reaching the age of 21.
- 6) To my cousin Hugo von Wüllenweber I leave my little golden lamb [art work], supposing that I haven't given it away already; for I intend to send it to Osnabrück at the earliest.
- 7) To my sisters, nieces and nephews I leave each a book, which my universal heirs shall select according to their discretion.

Therese von Wüllenweber,
Neuwerk, St. Barbarastift,
January 11, 1883 (ASDS).

On the copy of the testament which she kept, Therese also noted down the high mood which filled her heart after having concluded this matter:

Oh God, how thankful I am to you for having been able to make this testament. In the year 1874, when I deposited my testament at notary Lanser's, I could only have little hope for the fulfillment of my desire; but now I have a strong, a sure hope. The Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, the dear Mother of God, the Holy Apostles will now help to let bloom what I have always desired to live for through the grace of God. Through the mercy of God I have been able to dedicate myself fully to this aim. Oh! If only I had more to offer Him. Certainly, my whole soul was required— my all. I had to depend on it more than anyone must depend on his own family. But I love this too with all my heart, and may thus, if I have been able to make some sacrifices for it, be also to the benefit of their souls, and that we may all meet again at the throne of the everlasting Mercy. Praised be Jesus Christ!!!

January 1, 1883.

Therese von Wüllenweber,
St. Barbarastift, Neuwerk (ASDS).

This *cri du coeur* which Therese added to the copy of her second mission testament on New Years Day, 1883, is touching. It reveals the pain of the troubled years during which missionary success had eluded her. Now she is jubilant about all the hopes reawakened by her joining Jordan's foundation. The 50 year-old woman could not but praise from the bottom of her heart the mercy of God at this turning point of her life.

The generous will, however, remained without its important effect. In the meantime, Therese was without property, having pumped all her inheritance and savings (about 28,000 Marks) into her beloved Barbarastift. The part of her inheritance which would devolve upon her after her father's death out of the family property, was still open. Therese knew only that it was her father's wish that the castle estate should not be dismembered. And there were five persons to satisfy. So this will remained on paper, like the two earlier ones, both for herself and for the

"universal heirs" she had nominated. True, Therese's sustenance was secured, first by the yearly pension of 1,200 Marks, and then through the condition of sustenance according to her rank in the contract of donation of September 6, 1882. In this way the Baroness was also independent of her relatives. To Jordan and Lüthen it was for the time being evident that they could not transplant Therese from her "monastery." But the foundation in Neuwerk they all desired remained impossible because of the Prussian *Kulturkampf*. Some details about the Barbarastift, Neuwerk:

- Purchased by Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber on January 7, 1879 for 12,000 Thaler (36,000 Marks).
- The mortgage of 7,000 Thaler (21,000 Marks) was rolled into a new mortgage to the debit of the buyer.
- Payment on account on October 1, 1878 by the Baroness 12,000 Marks.
- New mortgage at 4½% terminable for October 1, 1887: 24,000 Marks.
- Payments:

October 29, 1880:	6,000 Marks
January 9, 1881:	3,000 Marks
November 8, 1881:	1,200 Marks
- Rest mortgage on November 8, 1881: 13,800 Marks
- Payment on October 30, 1881: 3,430 Marks
- Rest mortgage on sale of *Barbarastift*,

January 25, 1889:	10,350 Marks.
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- Cost of repairs paid by the Baroness: 3,000 Marks
- Interest service by Baroness:

1879-1882:	2,400 Marks
1882-1888:	4,050 Marks
- Total expenditures of Therese von Wüllenweber till end of September 1882: 22,600 Marks.
- Expenditures of Therese von Wüllenweber after the donation to the Catholic Teaching Society (September 6, 1882) 7,500 Marks.

NB: The Baroness' payment of 12,000 Marks became possible through the inheritance from a grand uncle, Karl Krey (+ January 8, 1858). For repairs and further payments on account Therese could dispose of two pensions, one from her mother of 900 Marks annually (since 1875) and another from an uncle of 300 Marks annually. To this modest income from the pensions add the lease of the garden of the Barbarastift. In her property notes handed to Lüthen, Therese notes 28,650 Marks in all, which she had paid up to the sale of Neuwerk (January 25, 1889)

(February 16, 1889, ASDS). [here a small section has been omitted by the translator, DSS XIV, 391f.]

In February 1883, I was invited to sell the house to the government at a high price, because they wanted to use it for a state institute = for neglected children. This was refused of course" (MMChr).

The offer of the government was at that time almost double the purchase price and the expenses for repairs. But it must be seen in connection with the whole complex. In fact, the part of the east wing belonging to Therese taken as such was much too small for such an institute. The parish as the owner of the other monastery buildings would have had to sell too and provide other lodgings for its three priests. Also consider the activities of such a governmental institute next to the church. Further-more, the Barbarastift had at that time already been donated to the CTS for its purposes. Consequently, the governmental offer was not accepted either by the CTS or by the parish.

4.23/32. Loan Guarantee. Von Leonhardi had deposited his own will for security reasons at notary Lückerrath's (cf., his letter to Jordan, January 21, 1886, H-19.14). But the guarantee it provided was insufficient to secure the bank loan needed to purchase the new printing press. They required the additional guarantee of the Baroness, in case von Leonhardi would not be reachable, as he wasn't living in the District of Cologne. Therese von Wüllenweber trustfully granted the requested guarantee.

After von Leonhardi left the Catholic Teaching Society on January 30, 1883, the bank turned to Baroness von Wüllenweber:
In October 17 of last year you took over the guarantee for 5,000.00 Marks for Baron von Leonhardi. As the present residence of Mr. von Leonhardi is unknown to us, and as the same owes to us 4,199.15 Marks plus 6% interest etc. since July 1, and [as he] promised the gradual repayment of this amount, we ask you respectfully to induce Baron von Leonhardi to do so, while we otherwise shall be forced to give you notice for the guarantee and shall have to request from you the amount together with accessories.

Respectfully, The Volksbank, Cöln. (E-601a).

At first Therese paid the outstanding interests and, as she usually did, she engaged the von Wüllenweber family notary. Notary Lückerrath was

above all unhappy that the debt had not been secured through the Barbarastift. Now he could take "not even one penny from it." In the meantime the bank was able to contact von Leonhardi. He, of course, pointed out that he had just represented the Catholic Teaching Society, which was consequently liable for it. As the address of the second guarantor he had indicated Borgo Vecchio, Rome.

On December 1, 1883, the bank sent notice to the Baroness to fulfill the obligations or they would have to engage the bailiff. Therese immediately sent 125 Thaler to the bank. She wanted above all to spare von Leonhardi. She then turned to her father. He declared himself ready to take over the final responsibility for repaying the debt. This got everyone off the hook.

The Baroness, despite the rainy December weather, went straight to the notary after having received the note from the bank. She did not want to deal directly with the bank anymore. Notary Lückcrath himself assumed "the debt without mortgage and without guarantee to 5% etc."

In her letter of December 14, 1883, the Baroness explained everything to Lüthen in detail and asked him to send available money to her notary or to herself in order to help settle the debt. She herself promised to discharge the debt down to 1,000 Thaler by Easter.

You certainly know that I live and save only for the Society, so that everything remains the same. To the Reverend von Leonhardi I intend to write some lines as soon as possible, so that he may be at peace. And please, Reverend, inform our dear Reverend Father in Rome about this letter. [She signs] Maria Theresia v.d. Apostle (E-601b).

The repayment of the loan received from the *Rheinische Volksbank* through von Leonhardi on October 17, 1882, (for the acquisition of the printing press for the CTS in Rome) could only be concluded in 1889 by the sale of the Barbarastift.* Without this loan the Catholic Teaching

* October 14, 1882, von Leonhardi repaid 900 Marks; von Wüllenweber repaid 100 Marks for a total 1,000 Marks. On December 13, 1888, Therese repaid 160 Marks. Until August 18, 1883, repayment by Therese von Wüllenweber 287 Marks. On March 5, 1889, the rest of the debt was paid from the proceeds of the

Society would not have been able to realize its extensive press apostolate. That this large debt did not endanger the Catholic Teaching Society in the first years of its growth was due to the generous help of Mother Mary of the Apostles, Therese von Wüllenweber.

4.24/33. The Rule of 1882 for the First Grade was examined by canonical experts. This led the Cardinal Vicar to ask Jordan for more exact information as to how he understood and implemented his Rule. On October 24, the Cardinal Vicar's secretary presented five questions for the *Promotor della Società Istruttiva* to answer for his ecclesiastical superior. Jordan must have felt the very address as painful, to be spoken to as Founder of simply the "Teaching Society." For Jordan, the omission of the word "Apostolic" reduced his Society to a neutral matter and thus rendered the title an empty shell.

First, he is required to list the priests who have joined the First Grade, indicating the offices they have in their dioceses. In regard to this item reference is made to *Monitore Romano* of August 1, 1882, where under the rubric "progress in the Society" information is given that in Germany a considerable number of very zealous priests have joined the First Grade. The next question is whether these priests have already made vows, and if so whether a time of preparation and retreats had preceded, and whether their vows are temporary or perpetual.

In his answer Jordan first stressed that the members of the First Grade shall increasingly be provided with the virtues and with greater knowledge required by the Society in order to be more fit for the aims it had set for itself. Lüthen, von Leonhardi, von Essen and Hermes are listed as full members along with their offices, and a statement their vows had been preceded by a period of examination. Jordan then lists nine priests preparing themselves for the First Grade, but had not yet made vows. Then he replaced this list with the simple remark that some more were preparing themselves for the First Grade, and again points to the notice in the *Monitore Romano* already referred to in the question.

sale of the Barbarastift: 3,553 Marks. In addition the Baroness assumed the interest service of 1,180 Marks.

The second point asks Jordan how he understood his rule practically. For example, what does it mean to say: "Obedience is due not only to the director general of the Society, but equally to those receiving his authority?" Or what does the vow or promise of poverty intend for those member priests who hold a distinguished office in their diocese. What is really meant with the arrangement: "They keep the direct disposal of their property, but without special or general permission of the director they cannot dispose of it"? Then information is asked in regard to: "Whatever they acquire, they acquire for the Society." And it is asked: "Do these priests of the First Grade who are entrusted with various offices of their diocese acquire like religious in the world (*religiosi nel secolo*) whatever they acquire for the Society"? Equally unclear appears the statement in regard to relatives in the section about poverty: "Blood relatives shall suppress the purely physical attachment (*affectus carnalis*) and love one another in the Sacred Heart of Jesus in no way letting themselves be hindered to serve the Society with their hearts and through their activity." Then is asked what it meant by the more general statement: "The life of those joining this work is the apostolic life or the imitation of the holy apostles. They abandon everything and work where, according to the judgment of the superiors, the greater honor of God and the salvation of souls requires it." It is also noted that this requirement is equally to be found in the French edition of statutes for the Third Level (E-1229, 3; cf., DSS II, 111) as well as in Jordan's *pro-memoria* to the Holy Father of March 10, 1882.

To the very hard questions touching everyday life Jordan gives the answers available at the time, probably with a presentiment that the answers taken from the Gospel were not easily convertible to canonical norms. To the first part of the question Jordan says quite generally that the members owed obedience to the superior of the Society when he gives orders in the interest of the Society. Later, once the Society had expanded, the superior general would give clearly limited competence to delegates of the individual provinces, who will have to be obeyed in the same way.

In regard to the poverty required by priests holding important positions in their diocese Jordan says too simply that these priests are

religious in the world. Consequently whatever they earn, they earn for the Society. The Society on the other hand obliges itself to provide all means so that these priests can live according to their status and fulfill their tasks fully. To the questionable spiritualization of the love of one's relatives, Jordan points to the advice of the Lord (cf., Luke 14:26 "Anyone who comes to me without hating father, mother, wife, children, brothers, sisters, yes and his own life too, cannot be my disciple;" and Matthew 10:37 "No one who prefers father or mother to me is worthy of me. No one who prefers son or daughter to me is worthy of me.") He waxes eloquent that "such ordered love required that we live dead to the world and to egotism [and live] only for our Lord and supreme guide and that for us and for all He replaces parents and brothers and sisters and all." Then, Jordan adds that with this was also given the answer to the "apostolic life or the imitation of the apostles" required in his rule. How he understood the request "to leave everything . . ." He explains at once in equally light-hearted simplicity: "As our quite small Society must be the most obedient and zealous servant of Holy Mother Church and the Roman head, the membership must go into whatever corner of the earth the superior will send them (except when a candidate with the agreement of the same voices a reservation)."

The ecclesiastical authority was certainly not satisfied with Jordan's argument in as much as it sounded fundamentally evangelical. Neither did Jordan take into consideration sufficiently the competence of the bishops nor the real circumstances of the priest-members. Equally he had centered all authority on the pope, to whom the Director General was completely submissive. Thus Jordan's explanations only confirmed what the ecclesiastical authority suspected, that in his planning much was still to be clarified before it could be realized, and that this ecclesial authority had been called in to help, to intervene so that Jordan himself should not hinder his own work by his evangelical excess.

The third question is about accountability and its distinguishing features. Regarding monthly accounting, Jordan says it was for those who could not live in community. For their accounts they used assumed names which were known only to the Director General. The emblem

shall consist of a white scapular with a two-colored cross (red and blue) and on it the signets of the Heart of Jesus and of the Holy Virgin.

The fourth question asks about the "Noah's Ark." Jordan answers according to his ideas that laity are considered in the same way as priests in regard to the rule. Then he cites Johann Baptist Dibona as a lay member of the First Grade adding that many other lay people were preparing themselves to be admitted. Jordan prudently sidesteps the question of women. At that point he could not say anything exact because there was still no rule for women. Indeed, some very pious ladies having a great desire to join the Society as a kind of "religious women" had already applied. Among them there was also the noble and very rich Baroness von Wüllenweber. When the rules for these women would be drafted, they would of course be submitted for examination by church authority.

Finally the Cardinal Vicar requests exact information about the other two Grades in order to get an idea of their "aim and utility." Jordan describes briefly the task of the Third Grade: that these co-operators and friends of the Society contribute their part to the flourishing of the Society, while they remain free in their positions where above all they live exemplary lives. Then Jordan points to the activity of pastoral work and the press. He details the four periodicals of the Society, mentioning that *Der Missionär* had already about 5,000 subscribers. From their printery good books had already appeared in ten different languages. To these were added many free leaflets and other publications. The Roman community in St. Bridget numbered about twenty clerics and lay people who mostly aspire to join the First Grade. In the Archdiocese of Cologne the Society owned a house with annexes. Also several personal and pastoral letters of bishops directed to the Society, as well as to the clergy and the faithful, proved the good activity of the Society. Jordan does not neglect to express his expectations that the Society would in the future have even more aspirants. Many priests and lay people would like to join the Society, but were still waiting for the approbation of the Holy See. Even a few bishops had declared that they would join the Society. The reason the number of those having definitely decided to join the First Grade was so small was on one hand the short time of its existence, and on the other hand the still missing ecclesiastical approbation.

Beyond the requested clarifications, Jordan dares to point out that others also join the Society binding themselves only by the vow of obedience,* and that the Society distinguishes itself in various respects from other communities (congregations!) because it intends insofar as possible to replace congregations oppressed by governments.

The draft as well as the fair copy of Jordan's answer to the Cardinal Vicar are preserved, but both without date. Jordan will have handed over the requested "clarification" to his Rule for the First Grade without delay, that is before All Saints Day, November 1. Neither are we told whether Jordan gave the name "Catholic Teaching Society" to his foundation at this time or only with the approval of the Cardinal Vicar, against whom he defended himself "from the German view" in his *supplica* to the Holy Father of March 10, 1882. It was evident to him that the new name would not have the force of attraction expressed in the old

* Jordan immediately began to draft a "Rule for Diocesan Priests of the Catholic Teaching Society." This rule remains tethered to the Rule for the First Grade 1882, but tries to point out clearly for diocesan priest joining the Society the predominance of his obedience toward his bishop. Equally it expressly mentions that priests owe honor and obedience to the Holy See and to its Congregations. It recommended that priests care for the Third Order of the CTS. They shall actively assist the Director General to reach the aim of the CTS. Then follow instructions for a stricter priestly way of life. As commitment it proposes a vow of obedience to be renewed annually. A corresponding formula is given by Jordan at the end of his rule. Scheugenpflug and Voit might have used this formula (E-1205; cf., DSS III, 195ff).

Also in this Rule, Jordan speaks of the "*magisterium ecclesiasticum et verbis et scriptis*" as principle means to reach the aim of the Catholic Teaching Society, as he did in his Rule for the First Grade (1881-1882). So he might not have been informed at all about Bianchi's salient objection. At any rate, it is omitted in the five questions submitted. Jordan brings this same vague formulation into his "Statutes for Cooperators Male and Female of the Catholic Teaching Society, Rome 1883" in German translation. From this can be seen that with this he means nothing else but the proclamation of the Gospel through the living word and through the press (E-1232; cf., DSS II, 177).

title. From the ecclesiastical side the new name was accepted at once and soon became customary in the Society itself (E-25, 5.6).

4.25/34. Palazzo Morone at 165 Borgo Vecchio, a narrow street leading from the Tiber River to St. Peter's Square, received its name from Count Morone, who had this splendid building restored, but sold it later to Duke Francesco Caffarelli.

In fact, in its long history the building changed hands several times. Cardinal Francesco Armellino had a first house built for himself there in 1411. About 1500 it passed to the famous family Cesi. Their ancestor Pietro di Antonio Chitania di Cesi, an Umbrian knight, became a Roman Senator (1442-1477). His sons became the heads of the three branches of the Cesi Family, who enjoyed great influence from the 15th to the 17th century, providing politicians and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Among the latter there were numerous bishops and five Cardinals. Pietrodonato I (1521-1586) replaced the modest house of Cardinal Armellini with a sizeable palace: Palazzo Cesi. After him it was used by Cardinal Pietrodonato II (1585-1656). No less important were the three cardinals of another family branch, Paolo Emilio (1481-1537), Federico (+1565), and Bartolomeo (1568-1621). They built Villa Cesi at Porta Cavalleggeri far from Palazzo Cesi. It became famous for its collection of ancient art treasures. (Pietrodonato Cesi I was, like his cousin Federico, a much courted patron of the arts.) The emblem of the Cesi, found often in the palace of Pietrodonato, shows a St. John's bread tree on six hills; it points to the feudal governments of the Cesi in Umbria, Sabina and Lazio. The motto on the emblem "*omnibus ideam*" (to all the same) was understood by them in a paternal feudalistic way. The most famous of the Cesi is the most important botanist of his time, Federico il Linceo, the founder of the Roman Academia Lincea for natural sciences (1603); he descended from Angelo degli Aquasparta, the third branch of the Cesi.

Probably through the cardinals of the branch of Pietrodonato, Palazzo Cesi was put at the disposal of the apostolic palace and of the

Chapter of St. Peter's.* Between 1862 and 1869 one section after another was bought and restored by Conte Gustavo Candelori Morone di Francesco. From that time on it was called Palazzo Morone. The much indebted Conte was glad when he could sell the building on July 17, 1879 to the Duca Giuseppe Caffarelli-Negrone. It was inherited on December 12, 1882, by his son Francesco di Paolo Caffarelli-Negrone. He lived in his own palace in Via Condotti and rented out the Palazzo Morone, keeping for himself only the gorgeous first floor. Jordan could rent the plain fourth floor quite reasonably and house there his ever-growing number of students and cooperators. Already three years later he had to take over a part of the third floor. His house-community counted over 70 persons by that time (1886).

On July 20, 1895, Jordan dared to buy the whole building, although he had almost no money at all. But the offer of the Duke was too favorable to pass up such benevolence. Palazzo Cesi was transferred to Jordan for 400,000 Lire. He had to pay 50,000 Lire at once. 200,000 burdened the house as rest-mortgage owed to the family of the Duke. The rest-amount of 150,000 Lire was paid off by Jordan in the course of the following ten years (at 4½% interest rate). It was a clever, courageous and responsible purchase. For more than a hundred years the male branch of Jordan's foundation has kept this house as its center (MI, November 11, 1882; cf., MR, November 1, 1882).

4.26/35. Kastner and Schlüter, printers. Already on March 14, 1882, Jordan asked the firm of König & Bauer in Klosterzell near Würzburg the price of a high-speed press and what preferential price he might expect (G-4.1). When in Borgo Vecchio 165 the urgently needed larger printing machine was installed, Lüthen immediately sent two technically experienced men from his own enterprise to Rome. These were Josef Kastner and Theodor Schlüter.

Kastner had been a typesetter at the Cassianum. On May 1, 1882, he was hired by Lüthen in Munich. Schlüter came as a cooperator

* Pius IX temporarily installed an orphanage there. But the better rooms were inhabited by cardinals and monsignori.

to the Society from Lüthen's homeland. Both workmen traveled to Rome on November 12, 1882. Already on March 8, 1883, Kastner had left Rome again, while Schlüter stayed on. Kastner returned to Rome on July 17, 1883, and worked there in the publishing house. He still did not feel at home in his situation, and on August 19, 1883, he asked Auer to rehire him at the Cassianeum. Auer refused. Kastner left Rome again on June 8, 1884, and was entrusted by Lüthen with responsible tasks on June 21, 1884, in Braunau am Inn in the publishing house which had been transferred there. Kastner worked in printing, expediting and administration. He remained at his post until the transfer of the publishing house to Herbesthal in the summer of 1904. As he did not want to transfer to the north where he would not have been the independent manager-director as he had been until then, he found a new position in administration at the Norbertus Printery in Vienna. For his 20+ years of faithful service in Braunau he received 1,000 Marks, with which he was quite satisfied. Kastner was esteemed for his practical capabilities. However, he also needed constant affirmation as he was rather egotistical; he was easily irritated and had an inflated sense of himself.

Little has been handed down about Theodor Schlüter from Paderborn. Like Kastner he joined the Society on probation. He must have been a pious and helpful man. When Jordan called the first women to Rome to found the female branch, Schlüter was an indispensable assistant to them also because they still did not understand Italian. The superior of the sisters, A. Streitl, was so captivated by him that she suggested Jordan let him study because he certainly had a priestly vocation. She declared herself ready to contribute 200 Lire annually (including other necessary services) for his studies (letters, March 9 and 14, 1883; cf., letters 7 and 83). Whether Schlüter himself agreed to these plans and how Jordan thought about them is not known. Schlüter worked above all in the accounting department. He left the Catholic Teaching Society in the summer of 1886, "to serve his Eminence Cardinal Melchers" (A-17; BL-1378).

4.27/38,39. Cirino, Francesco M. (February 1813-1892, August 3) from Nicosia, Sicily, entered the Order of the Theatins (solemn profession,

January 15, 1832). Cirino soon became also a member of the Academy of Arcadia (with the pastoral name Jerocle Cassiopeo). The Pope himself was the *Pastore massimo* of this most important circle of literati in Italy, which had "branches" in numerous towns. This circle advanced both poetry and church politics. The meeting of the Arcadia in the *Bosco Parrasio* on the hillside of the Gianicolo, June 18, 1878, is well know. At this celebration of the coronation of Leo XIII, his "electors" (all of them Arcades) met and followed up with an audience. (Giuseppe Pecci, now Leo XIII had been an Arcadian since 1832 under the name Neandro Ecateo Arcade).

Already as a member of the Arcadia, Cirino had contacts with the most important personalities in Rome. He soon became a consultor to various congregations like the Congregation of the Council, Propaganda Fide, and the Index. Also important was his position as Secretary of the Pontifical Academy of Catholic Religion which Leo XIII promoted hard. In 1859, he was elected general superior by his order (*Praepositus generalis*). In this position Cirino remained a humble religious. Pius IX wanted to name him Archbishop of Girgenti but he declined this "honor." When the new Italian government in Rome proceeded insolently and violently against religious, Cirino retired to Frascati (*Santa Maria a Capocroce*). From there he fulfilled his tasks with diligence and constancy, at that time as consultor to the Congregation of Rites. When Cirino was "approved as examiner of our cause" (MI, IV, n. 8, April 27, 1884) he had to travel from Frascati to Rome whenever he wanted to meet with Jordan, or he had to ask the latter to come to him. The "ecclesiastic custodian for the development of [Jordan's] congregation" (April 27, 1884) helped the founder not only to survive but also to get a firmer foothold, even though Cirino was not a consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. Fr. Cirino remained in Frascati until a few months before his death. In May 1892, he paid a visit to his relatives in Palermo, and there he died in as saintly a way as he had lived.

(39) The Cardinal Vicar's letter informing Jordan of Cirino's appointment, January 17, 1883, was the indulgent and helpful answer of a

superior who must have felt more was at work in this German priest than mere pious enthusiasm. Cardinal Monaco La Valetta wrote Jordan:

After having received your answer to my questions about the Catholic Teaching Society, whose promoter you are, I have recognized the necessity that a competent person examine the intentions and planning (program) of this Society, and that he supervise the development of this house and the activity exercised by its members in Rome so that I might give appropriate indications to the Cardinal Vicariate. For this task I have chosen very Reverend Vicar General of the Theatins, Francesco Cirino, and the Holy Father has approved it. Consequently it is necessary that you come to an understanding with him giving him every possible help so that he can fulfill his mandate. In the meantime I wish you all the best from God . . . (E-25).

No documents have survived concerning the contacts between Cirino and Jordan. Just five of Cirino's undated calling cards have been preserved, with which he announced his visits from Frascati. On one of them is noted: "In veneration and gratefulness to the Very Reverend Father Jordan." The others bear just a few indecipherable letters.

4.28/40. Massaia's letter.

Most Reverend Jordan,
Dearest in the Lord!

I join the recommendations of the most Reverend gentlemen in every regard to commend your institute in all its branches to the people, and I pray for God's rich blessing on you and your institute.

God has done two great miracles with his apostles who proclaimed the Gospel.

The first and most striking was the miracle on the first Christian Pentecost in Jerusalem, when the Lord gave the apostles the power to be understood in all languages without multiplying their words, as St. Luke relates in Acts of the Apostles: "We are Parthians and Medes and Elamites, etc. . . . heard them speaking our own languages."

The second miracle, although less noticed by us, was the increasing number of the apostles themselves by his making out of 12 soon 12 thousand with the force of the twelve. To indicate an example, St. Paul did not teach alone, but made use of Timothy, Titus, Apollo and maybe thousands more, so that while Paul was resting, the others

preached for him, and the apostolic word converted the world, as you know even better than I do. But all this was not sufficient to make known the impetus of your work.

When you spoke with me in Jerusalem about your plans, they were just seeds, but fertile ones to which then I had the fortune and the honor to add my seed of encouragement. How great must therefore be my joy to see today how that seed has developed already producing magnificent fruit. You have already a group speaking for you to the people, and you have found a way to proclaim the divine word also with the help of the press and to make it a means of apostolate, while the press on the other side in the hands of the godless serves to ruin society and propagate heathendom. Therefore, take courage, my dear, and armed with apostolic zeal encourage also all your cooperators, priests and laity, who through instruction and also through their manual work bring blessing into the world.

Humility and trust, my dear, towards the divine master who has led you! Until now you have nothing completed, for it was Jesus who has worked so far. Let Him go on working, but in order that he may not stop working, you must collaborate and suffer. I am convinced that you have intensively studied also this side, and that you have spoken like this also to all your cooperators.

I add nothing more, for I believe I know you, and I have for a long time now been commending you to the Lord. Thus receive my blessing, my good wishes for what has already been done and what we hope from God out of love for His Church.

Yours . . . etc.

Fr. B. Massaia

Archbishop and Capuchin

From Convent of Immaculate Conception, January 23, 1883.

(D-986; cf., MI, February 25, 1883; DSS IV, 77).

4.29/41. Von Leonhardi's Resignation. The cooperation between Jordan and von Leonhardi did not last even one year when Jordan received the following letter:

L.J.Chr.! On the journey from Rome to Munich, January 30, 1883.

Dear and venerable Mr. Jordan!

It is hard for me to write to you today, for I must suppose that the contents of these lines might make you very sad. But anyone like you who has founded his trust without reserve on God and is

determined to carry any cross out of love of Him cannot be shaken by any news, not even the apparently worst. Further, I must not hesitate to tell you what I recognize to be my duty to tell you. In fact, it has become clear to me that I am not called to continue together with you and your apostolic work which the three of us have begun. Your reverence should not search for the reason of this conviction that the esteem I owe to you personally might have diminished. On the contrary, it has increased as a consequence of our intimate communion which I enjoyed so long with you. Neither shall I express any disapproval of your work which it seems God has entrusted to your reverence.

However, in the course of time I have sufficiently been convinced that I have been mistaken in regard to the idea I had about the Society. What I was looking for I have not found. That's why it is not possible for me to find inner satisfaction in it, that is: true happiness of vocation. When I obliged myself through certain promises to God, to you and to the Society, they were based on certain presuppositions whose correctness I did not doubt when I assumed those obligations. But when in the course of time, I got to know and became convinced that those presuppositions were not given, that I had acted under the influence of error, it follows that also those obligations based on erroneous presuppositions were also invalid. They just do not exist and consequently have no binding force. For this reason I feel myself in my conscience free towards you. I ask you sincerely, dear Mr. Jordan, to consider these lines not as a letter of goodbye to our personal friendship. This would be very painful to me, and I wish nothing more than to remain in best relation with you. However, I feel it my duty to act according to the more perfect realization I have come to, even with the risk of saddening you or causing difficulties to your work with my exit. But the latter cannot be the case, as I was nothing but a useless tool, which was not really good for anything. God will send you men in my place, men much more qualified than I could ever have been. When I chose to disclose this decision by letter and only after my departure, I do so with the best intention. This in fact seems to me the simplest way to avoid any sensation be it in the house or in public, and nobody needs to know about it. I leave the red booklet* with commendations into the

* By "red booklet" von Leonhardi meant the booklet (*Litterae commendatitiae in favorem Societatis Catholicae Instructivae*) into which Jordan personally

hands of Mr. Lüthen, leaving you [to decide] what shall be done with it. Maybe Mr. Lüthen can use it for his journey in Germany.

I shall, unless you yourself wish it expressly, not say to anyone that I do not belong to your Society anymore. Neither would that be basically true, for I shall and will belong forever to the Second, i.e., Third Level. From Königstein I shall immediately send the account of the money for the travel expenses borrowed from you. Of course I shall send back the money I spent as soon as possible. I also ask to have all publications of the Society sent to me to Königstein. I subscribe to all of them. They will always reach me under this address wherever I may be. I will not speak to Mr. Lüthen about my decision. Goodbye, dearest Mr. Jordan; I will always remember you and the Society in my prayers. May God grant us a happy reunion, if not here on the earth, certainly in heaven. Please, forgive me all the trouble I have caused you by my impatience, vehemence, rashness. The patience with which you have tolerated all my miseries will bring you a beautiful reward in heaven. In the love of the Lord I remain yours sincerely loving and venerating,

Friedrich von Leonhardi.

Please, [give] kind regards to all in the house.

P.S. I have deposited the letter of order in regard to the loan of the last 1,000 Marks from the *Rhein. Volksbank* with Mr. Lüthen, leaving you [to decide] what to do next (H-19.5).

Von Leonhardi first traveled from Munich home to his family at Fort Königstein. His father, fortress commandant, in 1873 had installed a house chapel for his Catholic wife, Countess Ferdinande von Mengersen. The chapel was also open for Catholics of the surroundings. Since the

wrote the commendations of church dignitaries well disposed to him. The booklet (11½ by 16½ cm) is reddish-brown with gilt edge and golden decorations. The first entry is the one of Parocchi on Sexagesima Sunday, 1883. Those of the bishops of Salzburg and Frauenburg are entered as copies, as well as the commendation of Rota of November 13, 1882. The last one to enter his name together with a commendation was the Bishop of Eichstätt on September 8, 1885. The recommendations were later collected and printed for use by the members raising funds for the Society (G-13).

summer of 1878, with papal permission the Blessed Sacrament could also be reserved there. Von Leonhardi intended to return to the Swedish Mission. Before that he connected with Jordan regarding "settling the account in regard to the Swedish monies" (letter of March 2, 1883). With Jordan's consent, von Leonhardi had in his successful collections (autumn 1881, spring and autumn 1882) always collected at the same time for the Catholic Teaching Society and for the Swedish Mission. Now von Leonhardi urged the return of the money meant for the "missionary from Sweden." At the same time he drew up a list of the money he had collected, and he proposed the return of half the money collected for Sweden, as he could not return to Sweden empty handed. The sum of the income he calculated was 5,611.32 Marks. So he asked Jordan for the repayment of half: 2,805.66 Marks. As Jordan's previous administrator he knew "the delicate point of the financial situation in the house in Rome," and therefore he proposed repayment in installments. In this matter the brave and conscientious calculator Lüthen made a control account of his own totaling 2,831.03 Marks (with the immediate repayment of 200 Marks, which had been given on January 14, 1881, from Ravensburg to build a Church in Jefle (H-19.6). In a letter to Jordan of March 22, 1883, von Leonhardi excused himself once more for his behavior, because he had chosen so hard a way:

But now I must fear to have hurt you much and caused you a far more painful surprise than had been absolutely necessary. I ask you therefore to forgive me this insult done to you by looking at Jesus, the crucified Savior. Pull out, I beg you sincerely, the thorn which my behavior must have left in your heart, and forgive me. Your love experienced by me so often may be a testimony to me, that you give me also an external expression of this pardon by dispensing me formally from the obligation taken over by me toward Your Reverence. Then I may hope that the band of true brotherly love will bind us further on, although our ways of life take different paths from now on (H-19.7).

Jordan answered von Leonhardi in a sincere Easter letter, which crossed with a letter written by von Leonhardi on April 4, 1883, in which he once more asks for pardon, because it all had happened "with the most

benevolent intention towards you." Then he returned to the matter of the "Swedish money."

Jordan had basically acknowledged this request of his former cooperator. But he was greatly embarrassed as to how to make the money available, for it had immediately been invested in the Roman enterprise. Jordan was also thinking of a more favorable form of repayment in kind: through free education of priest-students for the Swedish Mission and by printing catechisms and prayer books and similar things for the northern mission. Von Leonhardi did not consent to such a solution, refusing it with a certain vehemence. He claimed his right, as he himself was planning a printery as well as a community of Swedish sisters for charitable purposes, and he wanted to acquire land belonging to a dissolved monastery (H-17.8). In a letter of March 6, 1883, he accepts Jordan's demand for him to renounce his rights in Neuwerk.

In regard to the cession of my part in Neuwerk, I am quite prepared to fulfill this wish as soon as I shall have received from your Reverence the sum of 3,000 Marks* of mission money for Sweden due to me, about which I wrote in detail in my letter of yesterday (H-19.9).

Jordan wrote from Munich on April 28, 1883, to his confessor Fr. Steiner in Rome asking advice: "We shall try to comply with the duty towards Sweden, but shall not hand over the money to Mr. von Leonhardi. He collected it *post vota emissa*" (after taking vows). Jordan asked whether he should pay back the sum requested by von Leonhardi in cash or whether he could insist on his view as Lüthen had explained to von Leonhardi (A-4): to use the money collected in favor of Sweden through a priest of our Society either by sending a priest of our Society there or "in another manner." Fr. Steiner's answer might have agreed with Jordan's opinion.

On March 3, 1884, the painful matter was taken up by the Vicar Apostolic of Sweden (1874-1886) Georg Huber. He asked Jordan for exact information as he himself intended to have the Swedish translation

* Consequently von Leonhardi has recognized the supplementary accounting of Lüthen in his favor; in the 3,000 Marks he still included the 200 Marks from Ravensburg.

of a book by Ségur printed (H-19.10). Jordan answered him on March 26, 1884. He stressed that the Society would comply with its obligations toward the Swedish Mission, but in the way it had been agreed on between himself and von Leonhardi in regard to the collection of money for Sweden: i.e. that von Leonhardi himself should use it in the Swedish Mission "as a priest of our Society and for the purpose of our Society." Now, after he has left, "we must wait until we can send another priest to Sweden" (H-19.11). In the meantime Jordan had passed the financial matter on to Lüthen to settle. He connected with von Leonhardi who asked how Jordan had settled the matter with the Vicar Apostolic of Sweden (letter, April 18, 1884, H-19.12). At that time von Leonhardi was in Rome again like Lüthen. Their relation remained by letter (cf., April 20, 1884) as von Leonhardi preferred not to meet with Lüthen personally.

January 21, 1886, Jordan received a letter from von Leonhardi, now in London. He expressed to Jordan his sympathy at von Essen's death, who had been closer to Jordan than a brother. Then von Leonhardi spoke about the Barbarastift: "So herewith I declare to you in order to give you fully free hand, that I do not lay any claim on the Barbarastift property either now or in future." Then von Leonhardi remarked that his will which he had drawn up with the Baroness on the 6th of September 1882, in front of the notary Lückcrath in M. Gladbach was no longer binding. In the same manner he expressed his conviction that the CTS has no claim "in regard to my inheritance." He signs himself, "Yours in the love of the Lord truly, F. von Leonhardi, apostolic missionary in England and Italy (H-19.14).

After his departure from Rome, von Leonhardi seems not to have returned to the Swedish Mission, although he corresponded with his responsible superior. In 1885, he was already employed in a parish "Our Lady Immaculate" in Cambs Newmarket, Northampton, Great Brittan. From 1887 till 1890, "Frederick Baron von Leonhardi worked" in St. Joseph's Parish in Epsom, Surrey. From there he answered Jordan's New Year letter on February 16, 1888. In this letter he returned to the still unfinished matter of the Swedish funds. He declared himself ready to mail the requested *cessio* in regard to the Barbarastift, if Jordan would deposit 2,000 Marks "for printing and propagating a book approved by

the church" with one of the three priests they knew in the Anima (Jacquemin, Wingerath or Doppelbauer) (H-19.15). On March 13, 1888, von Leonhardi asked notary Lückenrath what legal steps he needed from him according to German law to proceed in regard to Neuwerk. On January 8, 1889, he signed his declaration of renunciation of Neuwerk at the Imperial German General Consulate in London. A further letter with the demand to transfer royalties (320 Marks) to Baron von Nieroth for the translation of a catechism into Swedish, which Jordan immediately fulfilled, is dated from Epsom on March 30, 1888. On April 18, 1888, the Apostolic Prefect of Norway, Johann Baptist Fallize (a born Luxemburger assigned to Oslo since 1887) intervened. He wrote to his confrere Albert Bitter, successor of Georg Huber as Apostolic Prefect of Sweden (since July 27, 1886) that he well remembered the fruitful collecting activity of Fr. von Leonhardi, when he was still a pastor. He had "without any doubt collected for the interests of the Swedish Mission" (H-19.18). Albert Bitter sent this letter to Jordan on June 22, 1888, and renewed his predecessor's request regarding repayment of the money collected. He needed it just now, because he had erected an oratory in Wadstena with his own means and now he needed more to construct a church to the honor of St. Birgitta in Stockholm itself (H-19.17).

Now Jordan knew "in what different way" he had to make his repayment, and he was ready for it. But he left Lüthen to take care of the repayment by installments directly to the Vicar Apostolic. On December 16, 1891, Jordan wrote to von Leonhardi again pointing to a letter regarding printing a book for the translation of which he had already paid: "Will you particularly inform me whether the Vicar Apostolic was satisfied with the book" (A-54). On January 26, 1892, Jordan explained to the Apostolic Vicar, Albert Bitter, how he personally looked at the matter and how he intended to bring it to an end. The Vicar Apostolic answered February 19, 1892, that he fully agreed with Jordan. He could not allow von Leonhardi to give him orders in regard to catechisms, etc. also that he (Leonhardi) in Sweden "had hardly acclimated himself, nor grasped the language of the country" (H-19.20). In the end regular deposits were made to the Vicar Apostolic in Stockholm through the publishing house of the Catholic Teaching Society in Simbach. From February 1892 to June

1893, 2,863.53 Marks were repaid. In this manner this business was concluded completely bypassing von Leonhardi. This way the various material matters still pending after Baron von Leonhardi's departure were finally cleared: the Swedish collection, his will in favor of the CTS, his share in Barbarastift, and finally his guarantee for the Cologne loan.

The Saxonian priest's later life is lost in obscurity. Lüthen wrote very imprecisely: "Mr. von Leonhardi, a convert, later left and returned to Sweden as a missionary; his further life was not a happy one and was not to the edification of the Holy Church" (BL-1378); Lüthen calls von Leonhardi unjustly (out of ignorance) a convert. Pfeiffer might have referred to this remark when he concludes his chapter about von Leonhardi: "His further course of life unfortunately did not develop favorably. Jordan, however, never spoke of it" (PPP, 93).

Von Leonhardi returned to Germany on September 1, 1890. It has not been established when he gave up the priesthood.* He was employed as a private teacher at Castle Altshausen belonging to the Württembergish royal family, and he spent his last years (from September 14, 1921) in the local home for the aged. There he died of senile decay a few weeks before his 77th birthday, after receiving the Holy Sacraments, January 22, 1924.

4.30/42. Jordan's vows. Francis of Assisi had chosen for his ecclesiastical commitment this formula:

Brother Francis promises obedience and subjection to Pope Honorius and his legal successors as well as to the Roman Church. And the other brothers shall be obliged to obey Brother Francis and his successors (Definitive Rule of the Minor Brothers, November 29, 1223, art. 2).**

It belonged, of course, to the Franciscan fundamental rule: "The life rule of the Minor Brothers is this, namely to observe the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, through a life in obedience, without property and in

* In the death register is the only remark: S.I. (*Sacerdos Interdictus*).

** Promise was understood in the sense of a vow.

chastity" (Rule, art. 1). Jordan was invested in the house chapel at the hands of his confessor, Fr. Steiner (I-237). Lüthen left Munich, March 17 and arrived via Innsbruck-Verona in Rome, March 18 (G-22).

On the day of Lüthen's vows in St. Peter's, Jordan wrote to Joseph Müller his true helper and one-time sacristan in his home village of Gurtweil (1846-1854). In this letter there is no trace of Jordan's plan for the following day. But the lines show clearly that Jordan understood his mission no differently than in the past years. Religious commitment should just give more stability and strength to his mission. Jordan writes:

Oh, how much God has laid into our hands by making us collaborators in the salvation of souls. How those souls will pray for us in heaven who after God owe their eternal salvation to us. That is why I have decided to offer my whole life to God for the salvation of souls, and with the help of God I have already found priests and lay people from various countries and nations who are helping me in this work willed by God. Our voice already goes out into the whole world and has thousands of listeners. My innermost wish is to proclaim the heavenly truths to the farthest boundaries of the earth and to send the printed word where I cannot go personally (letter March 10, 1883, A-5).

4.31/44. Transformation into a religious community. In the young Society, changing the Apostolic Teaching Society into a religious community was considered as willed by God: "The year 1883 was a meaningful year insofar as in this year took place the formal change into a religious congregation with three vows," Hopfenmüller wrote in his article about the purpose and development of the Catholic Teaching Society (Braunau: 1888, 20).

Arnold Janssen, who for some time had been considering a religious strengthening of his association of mission priests (*sacerdotes in saeculo*) and brothers, was drawn to Jordan's procedure and animated by it. He wrote to the superior of his mission in Shantung, China:

The most necessary thing is only: determining the statutes. Of course, there is still missing the basis, namely the decision about the question whether one or three vows. The Teaching Society in Rome (Fr. Jordan) has now also decided to abandon its wide and bulgy program and to establish itself as a religious community with three vows and even with a religious habit. At any rate, in the education of the candidates I feel it

as a necessity not to admit phrases arising from a worldly mentality like: "We are not religious, but secular priests," because solid virtues of humble, renouncing obedience must in any case be taken care of, unless after the first zeal vanishes it all shall break to pieces. Also Vincent de Paul and St. Alphonsus [Ligouri] wanted at first to be just secular priests together with their companions. But in doing so they did not stop themselves from introducing religious forms and vows. . . . In any case, the vow of poverty would have to be observed by us with a certain respect to the mission . . . (letter to Anzer, June 8, 1883, ASVD).*

* Johann Baptist Anzer, SVD (May 16, 1851-1904, August 5) Vicar Apostolic of Shantung, China, January 4, 1886 Titular Bishop of Telopete.

5. "... of the Cross"

After March 1883, Jordan and Lüthen no longer considered themselves free secular priests called to a special apostolic activity. They now saw it as God's will to integrate their undertaking into a stricter form of following Christ. Thus they organized their lifestyle as apostolic religious. Jordan's favorite picture, the Mother of God with the apostles and pious women assembled for Pentecost, assumed even more meaning. Pentecost remained the principal feast of the Catholic Teaching Society to which the Holy Spirit had now given a tighter and clearer way of being.

Jordan and Lüthen could not in any way neglect their work of writing. **See, 5.1. *Der Missionär*.**¹ Their new intellectual and spiritual life which now assumed a more communal character immediately showed itself in the publications of the Catholic Teaching Society. What was urgently needed now was to convert the hitherto free living and working group into a proper religious community. Instinctively, both priests strove to bring this about firmly but gently. They had to accept the fact that at the beginning their group would shrink. **See, 5.2. Religious discipline.**² But "He who would build his house high is asking for ruin, and he who refuses to learn ends up badly" (SD 178). Jordan was now ready to learn and to let himself be helped by men of God: "Be wise and careful in everything and confide your spiritual matters only to those whom God wills" (SD 180). More than ever before he now wanted to leave his own personality in the background: "Without important reasons do not speak of yourself, either good or evil" (SD 173). With that Jordan remained true to his calling which he also had to follow as a religious. The words of St. Bernard: "Feed them by mouth, feed by work, feed by mind" he underlined three times in his diary (SD 180). He never concealed the fact that success in the service of the gospel, which remained his vocation and always dear to his heart, came only from the cross: "Preaching always

¹ See, A Closer Look: 5.1. *Der Missionär*.

² See, A Closer Look: 5.2. Religious discipline.

bears fruit when it has as its minister a man who is truly crucified, who finds his happiness in suffering" (SD 177). He also wrote:

Johann Mary Francis of the Cross:

that means:

The Cross is your life

The Cross is your salvation

The Cross is your crown

The Cross is your glory

The Cross is your hope

The Cross is your shield

The Cross is your shelter

The Cross is your sympathy

The Cross is your friend.^{2a}

The apostolic impulse, being his charism, left him no rest. He was always a man of unlimited apostolic yearning.

Be a true apostle of Jesus Christ. Do not rest until you have carried the word of God to the four corners of the earth. Be a true herald of the Most High! (SD 182).

Lüthen stood faithfully at Jordan's side. His task above was to weld the diminished community together. Jordan invested him with the offices of Novice Master and Spiritual Director of students and employees. By Pentecost 1883, Lüthen was able to invest one cleric and one brother. For both Jordan and Lüthen this meant a truly hopeful beginning.

Meanwhile, Lüthen was untiring in begging for help for the "Missionary Institute of Divine Providence."³ In March 1883, *Der Missionär* brought a

^{2a} Cf., Galatians 6:14 "But as for me, it is out of the question that I should boast at all, except of the cross of our Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world." He also entered the text from the Liturgy of the Triumph of the Cross (SD 179f).

³ Lüthen felt engaged heart and soul in assisting the first members of the Society mentally and spiritually. Now he really experienced his priestly fulfillment and did not shrink from any sacrifice to secure the young under-

fiery appeal to the members of the Third Grade; this being now a separate "pious union, remaining dependent on the Society." In this connection he also felt induced to say a clarifying word about the home of the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome:

I am asking you not to use the name "Palazzo Morone" any more. The kind readers may know that a sort of necessity forced the temporary rental of this palace, that this name however, stands in sharp contradiction with our spirit and the spirit of the Society. The founder, as well as the whole Society have written poverty on its banner, and whoever looks around here will soon see that the name Palazzo Morone seems to be a big lie. May the Lord make it possible, soon to bring our holy bride, poverty, into a poor home, possibly our own (MI, June 10, 1883).

A bit later Lüthen again recommended Jordan's work in rather aggressive language, referring to Jordan as "crusader of the 19th century." He recalled how the Catholic Teaching Society two years ago had presented itself "on the battlefield with a divinely gifted priest at its head."

Many scorned the man with his big plans, others shook their heads in doubt, but many consented, supported his plans, assembled confederates. And many spiritual leaders of holy church blessed and approved his efforts and his way of battling; many priests took his battle cry to heart and many would have followed his banner if the shortage of priests in their home country would not have held them back. So the vanguard is yet small and the commander must train his fighters slowly and painfully. This spiritual recruiting house is in Rome . . .

taking and enhance its growth. So he took the trouble of the fatiguing and humiliating fund raising trip in summer 1884, as he had accepted the interruption of his Roman task with his stay in Braunau (October 21, 1883 to early March, 1884) obediently and in a spirit of resignation, to "bring order to the budget from there" (G-21). For the fund raising trip Jordan asked his confessor for a recommendation, which he gave willingly:

The Reverend Father Bonaventura (Bernhard Lüthen), priest of the Catholic Teaching Society, is traveling in the interests of the same to Germany and Austria and is here with very much recommended. Rome, June 13, 1884, Fr. Ludwig Steiner, Apostolic Penitentiary in St. Peter's" (E-37).

Lüthen encouraged especially young people to join (MI, July 29, 1883). Jordan, on his part, requested good Christians to sponsor students for the priesthood and called such patronage "an institution of pressing relevance" (MR, May, 1883, "*una istituzione palpitante di attualità*"). Lüthen was for Jordan a heaven-sent assistant, and for his spiritual sons (and daughters) a convincing ideal of an apostle, and therefore of a poor, humble and obedient religious. Meeting this priest was for many the decisive encounter of their lives.⁴

Jordan devoted himself now more intensively to the Second Order. Through her confessor, Fr. Cyprian (**see, 5.3. Reichenlechner**).⁵ Amalie Streitl who's parents lived in Bamberg, connected with Lüthen and offered herself to the new undertaking. **See, 5.4. Streitl**.⁶ Lüthen, at that time in Munich, invited there the lady who just a few months earlier had for health reasons voluntarily left the Carmel⁷ as a novice. **See, 5.5.**

⁴ After retreat (October 13-17, 1884) Lüthen formally made perpetual vows in the CTS. His attitude towards Jordan he noted in his diary: "March 6, 1885. Always have great reverence internally and externally towards Reverend Father." Immediately after this he describes his attitude towards those entrusted to him: "Receive all with greatest obligingness and kindness whenever they come, even at the most inconvenient time; particularly the two . . . touchy ones" (G-21). His resolution for Holy Thursday 1885, was *Omnibus omnis esse!* To be all things to all people. (G-21; Lüthen underlined this twice).

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.3. Reichenlechner.

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.4. Streitl.

⁷ Himmelsporten (*Coeli Porta*) was founded in 1252 as an abbey of Cistercian Sisters in the "*Schottenhaue*" *am Main* at the entrance to the town of Würzburg. The abbey was under the protection of the bishop of Würzburg and received numerous endowments from Franconian aristocratic families. In 1354, the "episcopal" monastery was set on fire by citizens quarreling with the bishop. It was again destroyed in the Farmers' War (1525). After renewed blooming under the Würzburg Prince-bishop Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn (1573-1617) the

Streitel's departure from Himmelspforten.⁸ Neither Jordan nor Lüthen was aware this Carmelite novice Sr. Petra, as Franciscan Sr. Angela, was still bound by vows to Maria Stern in Augsburg, (**see, 5.6. The Stern Monastery**).⁹ **See, 5.7. Streitel at Stern.**¹⁰ Streitel had won the full confidence of Lüthen who advised Jordan to start the Second Order of the CTS with this nearly 40 year-old teacher. **See, 5.8. Streitel in Rome.**¹¹ Jordan invested her on Passion Sunday, 1883, and 3 more girls on Easter Sunday. These had arrived in Rome, March 7, having been recommended to Jordan by Lüthen. **See, 5.9. The first three Sisters.**¹² For these four novices of the Second Order of the Catholic Teaching Society, Jordan had rented four rooms on Borgo Nuovo near the Motherhouse.

The sisters competed with the confreres in striving for a communal style of life, and Jordan must have been pleased with such fervor. He was always concerned that the spirit of both communities be based on the

monastery fell victim to secularization. On May 5, 1804, the last 35 nuns left Himmelspforten. On May 4, 1844, two brother and sister couples, Röhl and Götz, bought the abandoned monastery and made it a monastery for Carmelite Sisters. The first nuns came from Gmunden on Lake Traun. Already in 1847, the priory received papal confirmation for housing 21 nuns. This full number (prescribed by the rule of the order) was soon reached. The small convent utilized only the inner circle of the earlier monastery together with the gothic church and the Kruezzgang (cross-arcade). The other buildings were at first used as tobacco and dye factories. In 1926, the Diocese of Würzburg established a retreat house there called "door to grace and heaven."

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 5.5. Streitel's departure from Himmelspforten.

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 5.6. The Stern Monastery.

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 5.7. Streitel at Stern.

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 5.8. Streitel in Rome.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 5.9. The first three Sisters.

same fundamental values. That meant for him absolute apostolic involvement for the sake of Jesus Christ, and having as their basic motive leaving all for Christ's sake in the strict form of Franciscan poverty. For the same reason he dared to give the new mother superior of the small group the same religious name he had chosen for himself: Sr. Francisca of the Cross. Sr. Petra, at first still favoring the name she had used in the Carmel, gladly accepted this unhopd for favor and until her death kept this new name as the best expression of her own vocation.

Soon after the investiture of Sr. Francisca, Jordan must have heard of her ties to the Franciscan nuns of Maria Stern which had not been absolved. She herself alluded to this earlier in one of her sentimental and often effusive confession-letters concerning her ideas for Franciscan reforms (see, 5.10. **Jordan/Streitl correspondence (I)**)¹³ but without ever explicitly mentioning Maria Stern in Augsburg. She often spoke of the Carmel in a way that Jordan could feel her trying to reappraise this short stretch of her life. Jordan who was deeply devoted to his female foundation¹⁴ and was concerned about it no less than about the First Order, decided to go to the source for information. As the father responsible for the house he

¹³ See, A Closer Look: 5.10. Jordan/Streitl correspondence (I).

¹⁴ On Good Friday Jordan reported to von Wüllenweber and her sisters (i.e., the two ladies from Johannesbrunn) what had happened in Rome:
I often remember you and I have not forgotten Neuwerk. It is possible that you with the two sisters will have to come to Rome next fall for some time. It is going well here and it seems that the Lord wants to have the Motherhouse near the founder of the Society. The sisters here receive many graces and are very happy. On Easter three receive the holy religious habit. I have also called Mr. Lüthen to come here for some time. If it is possible we must have our Motherhouse here in Rome, the center of Christianity, from where also sisters will be sent to the missions (March 23, 1883).

Jordan not only wanted to keep the Baroness current on the Roman foundation, but also to win her to his understanding, that a house in Rome took priority over the Barbarastift. She understood Jordan's hint in his letter well, which she received by Easter and wrote it down correspondingly in her notes (MMChr).

wanted at any rate to go north to get help from his friends and from promoters for his Roman foundation for which poverty was not only a virtue but also a necessity.

Jordan first went to Munich where he stayed as usual with Capuchins. He looked in at the editorial office of *Der Missionär* on Wasserstraße where good Alfred Paul took charge after Lüthen had gone to Rome. Very soon he hurried to his Baden home wanting to inform his local bishop, the mild and aging John Baptist Orbin (1806-1886) about his work. Then he hastened to see his aged mother and his friends around Constance. There he persuaded the selfless Simon Deggelmann to establish a sales department for literature of the Catholic Teaching Society. Back in Munich he wrote to his confessor at St. Peter's asking about the financial claims of Baron von Leonhardi which he wanted to satisfy in the best possible manner (cf., letter to Fr. Steiner, OFM Conv., April 28, 1883).

Jordan then visited Fr. Bernhard Hermes who had joined him on October 28, 1882, for five years. He had returned to his home country to edit the diocesan paper there. Jordan hoped to be able to collect the essential money for the Roman foundation in the good Catholic territory around Trier but with little result. From the Moselle Valley he traveled to the Rhineland and came to Neuwerk to visit the sisters community, the development of which was hindered by the *Kulturkampf* in Prussia.

On the evening of May 29, our Reverend Founder Jordan arrived here coming from Rome. He remained here until the 1st of June and has encouraged us truly to virtue and apostolate.

On May 31, the Baroness bound herself by perpetual vows, privately of course, to the CTS. Jordan gave her the religious name "Maria Theresia of the Apostles" (MMChr). Pastor von Essen was at the time on a journey through Italy. Jordan left the Barbarastift by June 1.

In Koblenz and Mainz too the "Beggar of God" in his ash grey¹⁵ habit tried his luck (G-14). **See, 5.11. The habit.** In Würzburg he met with Fr. Cyprian regarding the status of the vows of Sr. Francisca. There it happened that a large sum was handed to him which enabled him to meet his Roman debts. Joyfully, Jordan told his helper Deggelmann: "A few days ago, God worked a miracle in our favor by sending us the sum of 4,500 Marks, when we were in great need" (letter, June 11, 1883). *Monitore Romano* too published this story of unexpected support by Divine Providence: "In Würzburg where he was in June, a priest handed him after Holy Mass the sum of 5,000 Lire" (MR, July 1, 1883). Jordan experienced again that Divine Providence watched over his work, and he felt moved to encourage his readers to trust in God's help. On June 15, Jordan was again in Munich from whence on June 10 printing and editing of the *Der Missionär* had been transferred to Rome. Now he hurried back to Rome where Lüthen expected him urgently.

It was now a pressing need to compose a rule of life for both branches of the CTS. For the male branch he could rely on Lüthen's proven support. In addition he conferred with Steiner and Cirino. For the female branch he consulted with Sr. Francisca who seemingly had sufficient experience with religious life. He expected her help in bringing into the rules the specific character of the female soul, but the suggestions of Sr. Francisca left him unsatisfied. **See, 5.12. Streitl and the Rule of 1883.**¹⁶ She showed little desire to adapt herself to Jordan's apostolic conviction. On the contrary, she soon knew very well how to push her own opinions forward and to defend them, humbly but stubbornly. She gave them an original "Franciscan-Carmelite" character, an ascetical rigor which impressed Jordan, but which at the same time made him uneasy due to her one-sided emphasis. At any rate Jordan never succeeded in connecting his Franciscan, poor, apostolic life with the Franciscan-Carmelite, penitential life to which Sr. Francisca felt obliged.

¹⁵ See, A Closer look: 5.11. The habit.

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.12. Streitl and the Rule of 1883.

Jordan found it good to retire into solitude to shape what had been outlined so far, to at least rough out a communal style of apostolic life in the following of Christ. On July 17, 1883, accompanied by his confessor he went to Maria Einsiedeln to compose his first religious rule at the feet of Our Lady. In the monastery he found hospitality and remained until the end of the month. The rule he wrote there "In the name of Jesus" for the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society is surprising in its simplicity. Without any personal eloquence, but in simple and clear language backed by the Word of God, the basic values of religious life are set down: the following of Christ and apostolic service, which were for Jordan inseparable. Here he cannot conceal his conviction to integrate and subordinate religious life to apostolic life. The basis of his order had to be Franciscan, or rather apostolic poverty for the sake of Christ. Regarding chastity dedicated to God, a short eschatological reason and justification suffices for him; obedience means for him an absolute yes to Providence and beyond that the acceptance of every cross, reasonable and valuable from the apostolic point of view.

In the chapter on admission, the call to follow Christ is emphasized clearly as a divine gift and a task. In the great rule about the apostolate Jordan cannot hold back the Pauline fire the Lord had kindled in his soul. It remains for him, and for all who will follow him a must, never to be attained and always to be sought "that all may know the one true God and the one he has sent, Jesus Christ." At the end, Jordan exhorts all to strive for a humble and mild brotherly love as the true sign of their style of life. Jordan certainly thanked Our Lady of Einsiedeln for her perceptible help in working out his rule. He added a number of norms, only a few of which were original. The common rules for religious life he took from St. Ignatius; but those he added on his own are second to none in inspiration and creativity. **See, 5.13. The Rule of Einsiedeln.**¹⁷

On July 31, he left the monastery at Einsiedlen in high spirits. In the "thirteen days and thirteen nights," which he was privileged to spend

¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 5.13. The Rule of Einsiedeln.

with "Our Dear Lady of the Dark Woods," he was granted a deeper appreciation of his calling. He went to Munich where the Society, after the transfer of the *Der Missionär* to Rome, still had an office at Dienerstraße 5. To this address Lüthen had sent him, on July 29, a letter to be handed to the Bishop of Augsburg. In it Lüthen had written the dates requested by the diocesan office concerning Sr. Angela Streitl, who by October 17, 1866 in Maria Stern, had switched "with legitimate permission," to Himmelspforten. On December 13, 1882, she left there on her own accord. She had given as the reason for her exit that she had seen it as the will of God not to make profession in the Carmel, because her nature was otherwise liable to suffer, nearly to succumb to physical suffering. Jordan added a short note in which he recommended "the present affair to the fatherly benevolence of Your Grace" (Munich, August 6, 1883, AA). **See, 5.14. Declaration regarding Streitl.**¹⁸ Sr. Francisca herself added to the report of Lüthen a personal letter to Jordan saying:

I am standing fast, God led me to Rome. The Lord allowed that Rev. Fr. Cyprian never thought to tell me that I would have to break my connection with Maria Stern; and you too, Rev. Father, thought that the affair was more or less settled. I do not believe I have to return to the Stern Convent (letter, July 29, 1883, ASSM).

Augsburg found this meager explanation unsatisfactory, and so the case remained pending. But for now Jordan was at ease and Sr. Francisca dreamed of melding Carmel and Alverno. **See. 5.15. Streitl's dream.**¹⁹ Although Jordan had the gift of unusually deep and sincere prayer, he had no understanding of egocentric pious dreams, especially when they encouraged him to stray from his God-given course. Toward Sr. Francisca, too, he kept to his principle: "In your orders, especially to sisters, be fatherly, but decisive and firm" (SD 182).

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 5.14. Declaration regarding Streitl.

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 5.15. Streitl's dream.

By the end of August Jordan was in Salzburg. From there he wrote on August 26, to his "Venerable spiritual daughter in Christ" in Neuwerk: "With full confidence, dearest in Christ, I can tell you that we shall erect a mission house as a center for Germany, probably in Salzburg." Jordan had already negotiated about renting a house cheaply which had room for fifty people. Within a year he also wanted to start "a house for our good sisters. Have patience, I have not forgotten the Neuwerkers." And he added the encouraging admonition:

What is more beautiful than to suffer for Jesus, to sacrifice, and to suffer. For with Jesus we must also go the way of the cross. [And in closing he says,] May God bless, console and strengthen you. Pray also for me, who must bear so many problems.

The hopes Jordan had for Salzburg never materialized. Instead, a few weeks later the Bishop of Linz (very close to the German border) gave permission to locate *Der Missionär*, a periodical so essential for the existence of the Society, in his diocese.

Jordan was back in Rome by September. He did not find time to adapt the rules for the First Order he had composed in Einsiedlen to the Second Order of sisters. With only a few changes he handed the same rule to the three female novices in Borgo Nuovo on the Feast of St. Francis, October 4. Sr. Francisca was not fully satisfied with Jordan's rule but gladly accepted it. Nevertheless, she insisted on including her own "insights." **See, 5.16. Streitl/Jordan correspondence (II).**²⁰ The previous day, Miss Johanna Ankenbrand had arrived in Rome. By October 6, Jordan had invested her, counting her long waiting at home as preparation, especially since Lüthen had a very high opinion of her. **See, 5.17. Ankenbrand.**²¹ On the same day he allowed the two novices, Katherine and Scholastica, to make private vows for three years. That very day also, three more girls from Franconia arrived whom he invested

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 5.16. Streitl/Jordan correspondence (II).

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 5.17. Ankenbrand.

on November 21. So the sisters community now numbered three professed sisters and three novices.

On October 21, 1883, Lüthen went to Braunau am Inn, where the CTS's German-language press had found a new home. Jordan now had to shoulder the burdens in Rome alone. On October 14, Jordan had congratulated "M. Theresia of the Apostles" on her name day, mentioning again the house planned for Austria. He also had to tell her that the Neuwerk Sisters, "cannot yet come here, and there is now no prospect." Jordan assured her, somewhat puzzlingly: "Our work goes on by the help of God, yet we shall have to build up spiritually. . . . Our novices give me much joy, today two more have been invested." So their number was now four. Before year's end Jordan was to invest five more male candidates, among them Edward Weigang as Frater Thomas, a widower and five years older than Jordan. He was to be, next to Lüthen, the other mainstay of the young community.

Probably at the same time Jordan gave his rule to the First and Second Orders, he applied to the Minister General of the Franciscans, Fr. Bernardino da Portogruaro, for himself and Lüthen to be allowed to receive all members of the Catholic Teaching Society into the Third Order of St. Francis. On October 7, 1883, the Director of the CTS received permission "to affiliate all members of the Society, also those outside" with the Third Order, while Lüthen got this permission only for the members of the Third Grade of the CTS (Arch. OFM).

Ever since Leo XIII reformed the statutes of the Third Order of Penance of St. Francis (1883) it had taken a great upswing. The pope moderated prayer and fasting and had prescribed monthly confession (it had been three times a year). Jordan and Lüthen both tried to enlist their readers. At the turn of the century the Third Order of St. Francis had reached a membership of 2.5 million (MI, May 27 and July 8, 1883). By November 16, 1883, Jordan received Sr. Francisca into the Third Order and did the same with the other sisters of the Roman community. Already on May 26, 1873, Sr. Theresia of the Apostles had been received by her confessor

von Essen, a zealous promoter of the Third Order. On June 8, 1873, she made profession and took the name Sr. Rosa. That the sisters of the Roman community, in addition to investiture and profession in the Second Order of the Catholic Teaching Society were also invested and professed in the Third Order of St. Francis may be explained by Jordan's desire to provide some way for the sisters of his own Society (which still had only a private character) to anticipate the necessary canonical status. For members of the First Grade he could adopt the conventional apostolic title of clerics.

Jordan had perhaps hoped by this step to neutralize the self-willed misinterpretation of Sr. Francisca's Franciscan ideal. But she badgered him more and more with her demands for a total reform of religious life with a Franciscan orientation. Her appeal to Jordan to accept as his God-given calling the original spirit of St. Francis, and above all the asceticism that was its logical consequence, caused him to grow defensive. He had to defend his own apostolic calling against Sr. Francisca's provocation to live the "religious spirit in its prototype" (Streitel's letter #52, *passim*). He had even to withstand her pious threats. The fact that she "knew" it to be the will of God that there should be only one great "Order," and that Jordan, as a second Francis, was elected to carry out this "new work" (52, 54, etc.) made Sr. Francisca a spiritual "riddle" to Jordan. He tried his best to make it perfectly clear to her that Sisters of the CTS had to cultivate an apostolic spirituality, and that it was not his vocation to reactivate any prototypic religious life, even if she reproached him for it, "that my spiritual father is wavering and inclines to uncertainty" (54). In this way Sr. Francisca got herself into a murky contest between her "higher knowledge" and her obedience to her "superior and founder" who distrusted her pious insights, and thus stood (in her opinion) against the will of God. She finally made up her mind, however, to promise "to educate the daughters according to the rules and statutes which the founder had given to the Catholic Teaching Society" (letter, October 20, 1883). During this time of spiritual tension Jordan had only written contact with Lüthen.

From the middle of November to the end of December, Sr. Johanna was taken seriously ill. Jordan feared for the life of this good sister whose deep inwardness and firm character he valued and who he did not want to lose from his foundation. Sr. Francisca, however, took it as the will of God that: "He takes Sr. Johanna," thereby demanding of her even the supreme sacrifice. She was, therefore, not in favor of calling the doctor (41). Jordan was even more bewildered by a mysterious odor of violets in her sick-room which agitated the pious sisters so much that they also disturbed Jordan. **See, 5.18. Aroma of violets.**²² On December 3, Jordan let the mortally ill sister profess vows and received her into the Third Order of St. Francis. But her condition improved slowly. "On December 26, 1883, I ordered this sick sister to get up by virtue of obedience and she was miraculously cured" Jordan remarked in his Sisters Catalogue (G-3.1).

Shortly before Christmas, the first Italian girl joined the sisters and was invested on New Year's Day 1884, as Sr. Veronica (in the Second Order of the Catholic Teaching Society and the Third Order of St. Francis). Sadly, this good sister died on October 8, 1885. In the middle of January 1884, Jordan with the consent of the Cardinal Vicar, sent the two professed sisters, Scholastica and Katherine, to raise funds in Franconia and Swabia where they could also win good candidates for the Roman community. Their nearly 5-month absence also meant a most agreeable easing of tensions in the house. **See, 5.19. Collecting alms.**²³

On January 24, 1884, Archbishop Massaia had sent a very friendly letter to "his beloved Jordan" thanking him for the honor of being admitted to the Second Grade of the "Academy." Massaia assured Jordan that he would not fail to show his most sincere interest in his apostolic activities:

For we know each other already for some years and you have always wanted to honor me as a father and have asked my advice before you

²² See, A Closer Look: 5.18. Aroma of violets.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 5.19. Collecting alms.

went to work. I have always considered your work my own. Considering my age and subsequent frailty I am sorry that I am not able to help you much in advancing the work of God, but what I cannot do by cooperating I am sure I can do by prayer.

Massaia again encouraged and blessed Jordan and all his co-workers. He adds that as soon as the opportunity occurred to meet him in Frascati or Rome, he would discuss with him an idea about a subject which might interest Jordan (D-996). On March 10, 1884, he answered Jordan's note of March 3, indicating he had to be in Rome on March 12, and would visit him then. At any rate Jordan met him at the Propaganda Fide where he had to stay a few days (D-1002).

Jordan and Sr. Francisca now devoted themselves harmoniously to consolidating the sisters community, which was of great concern to Jordan. Nevertheless, the dispute between the two about Francesca's reform ideas continued. **See, 5.20. Prototype.**²⁴ As Jordan stood firm, soon after finishing her novitiate Sr. Francisca broke off the fruitless exchange of letters with the founder. **See, 5.21. Novitiate letters.**²⁵ But she kept looking for a way to put her stamp on the sisters community. For that she needed a spiritual guide more willing than the two priests of the First Order. She found him in the person of Rev. George Jacquemin whom Jordan had engaged at the very beginning as a confessor for the sisters of the Second Order of the Catholic Teaching Society. **See, 5.22. Jacquemin.**²⁶

In February 1884, Sr. Francisca also went home, wanting to win her parents for the work to which she was now fully dedicated. Now they should again be proud of their daughter. After meeting the two sisters

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 5.20. Prototype.

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.21. Novitiate letters.

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.22. Jacquemin.

who were out collecting funds she returned to Rome on March 1, 1884, together with two girls from Franconia whom Jordan invested on Palm Sunday. In April, four more candidates from there followed. They received the habit May 5. At the end of June the two sisters fund raising in Swabia won five girls for Jordan's sisters community. Thus, their number increased. By the beginning of the year Jordan was looking for a larger dwelling for the sisters. This he found in the Via del Falco where the community moved on Ash Wednesday, February 27, 1883.

The generally negative influence of Sr. Scholastica was somewhat renewed when the traveling sisters completed their assignment which had kept them out of Rome for a long time.

Meanwhile, the three sisters up in Neuwerk lived on the fringe of the Roman development. On New Year's Day, Jordan informed them of his plans. He wanted to have them in Rome for some time as he thought this was necessary for a creating a uniform spirit. The Baroness would then receive the holy habit in Rome and start her novitiate. He added:

Presently there are eight sisters here who have received the habit, and about seven are ready to enter. God willing we shall this year also [begin] the sisters' apostolate for poor girls. [Jordan asked the Baroness:] Think it over before God who has become poor from the crib to the cross; He will tell you what to do (ASDS).

He did not want to make it too hard for her to leave the Barbarastift.²⁷

²⁷ After consulting von Essen, her spiritual guide, by January 9, 1884, Therese von Wüllenweber answered Jordan's New Year's Day letter. She expresses her joy at being invited to come to Rome. However, she is also afraid of the life in the sisters community, and she is plagued by the question: "Shall I also 'see once more' the Barbarastift?" Then she makes plans for the journey. Jordan could "send some sisters, to take care for the monastery (until I would return, if you find this to be a good thing, or until your Reverence comes here personally in order to organize it all). I could instruct you about the most urgent things." Jordan, however, not only had concerns for a journey, but he also wondered how to cope with the authorities.

For the First Order, 1884 brought a relatively large number of applicants. In his list Jordan noted twenty-five admissions, thirteen of whom stayed only for a short time. These men had to leave the house due to sickness or lack of vocation. Lüthen, otherwise mild, was strict with regard to vocations, and did not allow any false consideration. Thus only sixteen men were invested, while only nine of both years were admitted to vows— some only conditionally, i.e., on their own responsibility. At that time Jordan began, at the suggestion of Fr. Cirino, to invest newcomers as oblates and to admit them to the novitiate only later, after they had finished the necessary basic schooling which would qualify them for a fruitful start in their higher studies.²⁸ On principle Jordan did not want to have seminarians in the young community, that is those who had decided to join only in order to be ordained.

In March, Lüthen returned from Braunau am Inn where the publishing department had taken roots. But in June necessity forced Jordan to send his faithful co-worker on another fund raising trip. So Lüthen wandered through Southern Germany and Austria again with a recommendation from Fr. Steiner dated June 13, 1884. Only on the last day of September did he return to Rome, not to leave again until the fall of 1894. Back in Rome he devoted himself untiringly to the apostolate of the press and to consolidating the young foundation inside and out.

²⁸ In late July 1884, the conscientious Jordan asked the Cardinal Vicar as his responsible bishop whether he might use school books compiled by Protestants. He further asked about using school books without knowing whether their authors were Catholics or Protestants, as well as religious moral books without the ecclesiastic imprimatur or which were written by Protestants. As the Council of Trent had published these strict proscriptions, he wanted to calm his conscience. Cardinal Parocchi gave Jordan just the general rules without entering into his question since prohibited books were the responsibility of the Index Congregation. In regard to printing and publishing religious books one had to turn to the *Magister S. Palatii Apostolici* (July 31, 1884, E-38).

The Motherhouse boasted at that time "seventeen residents—priests, students and one brother" (MI, April 1884).²⁹ In its first two months *Manna* had already reached 2,000 subscribers. *Der Missionär* emphasized with convincing insistence the value of religious life, although the Catholic Teaching Society still was only "a religious community of a private character" (MI, March and April 1884). In May, *Der Missionär* appropriately praised the Feast of Pentecost (which this year fell on June 1) as "the main feast of the Catholic Teaching Society." At the same time efforts continued to build up the Second and Third Grades.

Jordan looked untiringly for ways to fulfill his obligations to the Barbara-stift. He wrote to the pastor of Neuwerk on April 7, 1884, asking for his help to get his sisters into Neuwerk, "through a back door," since other avenues were closed to him on account of the *Kulturkampf* in Prussia. He asked: "Could I send sisters, without habit but in vows, to Neuwerk? Can I do that without telling the Archbishop of Cologne anything about it?" The vows were anyway only private until official approbation. "Here things are going on alright, but we must open the doors into Prussia. I hope that we can then send two or three sisters to Neuwerk." Sisters Theresia and Ursula were to be in Rome in the meantime. Pastor von Essen answered Jordan immediately in the negative! He should himself obtain permission from the archbishop, and he should not overlook the

²⁹ Among his cooperators Jordan employed not only good laymen but also priests to help him especially in the Italian press, in the school, and in administration. There were always priests without fixed employment or enough income, who were happy to have temporary board and lodging and to earn their living until getting a better position. All these priests were registered at the Cardinal Vicariate, and from there they were provided with their necessities. By 1883, Jordan had established a so-called *Agenzia Ecclesiastica della Società Cattolica Istruttiva* to help ecclesiastic petitioners meet their specific wants (cf., *Freiburger Kath. Kirchenblatt* insert October 1883, 335). That the employed priests exploited Jordan's kindness and trust, he had to experience painfully above all from his administrator Don Ferrante. He had even dismissed Professor von Brentano and re-hired him under stricter conditions (letter to Lüthen, summer 1886, A-17).

difficulties with the government. (cf., letter of the Pastor, April 23, 1884 to his dean, Ludwig Wiedemann [1824-1900] in Odenkirchen, ASDS).

By Easter 1884, Jordan had seven professed sisters in Rome; two more in Germany fund raising. He was now pressed to find an appropriate apostolate for them, as printery work did not appeal to them (although in case of need, in peak periods, novices could be called in). Lack of space became more noticeable with new admissions. Sr. Francisca turned to the pastor of Neuwerk on May 10, 1884, asking if she could send sisters "in simple dress, without any conspicuous style to Prussia." They could help care for the sick and teach. She could send "three good and well-trained sisters" (ASVD). Von Essen agreed to this offer which would benefit his parish. But he did not want to act without his superior and turned again to his friend Wiedemann (letters, May 20 & 29, 1884, ASVD).

In March, Lüthen explained the Second Grade or Academy of the Society in the German "Organ of the Catholic Teaching Society for the People." In a footnote he pointed out the difference between this Second Grade and the Second Order.

The Society also has in Rome a Motherhouse of the "Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society." They are going to cooperate especially in the task of practicing works of mercy toward young people in such great danger (MI, March 9, 1884).

In June, Lüthen told his readers:

On Pentecost Day the community of the "Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" opened an Institute which, with the help of God, is certainly able to spread much blessing and well-being, the *Asilo infantile della Vergine Immacolata* where girls from the age of two years up are accepted to be protected from the dangers of the world and to be educated in religion and good morals. The community numbers already fourteen sisters, Germans and Italians, and many more will arrive shortly. The love of God is with them! The sisters are ahead of us [men] in their work; understandably, as a missionary [priest] needs more time for his training (MI, June 29, 1884).

Jordan suffered from the fact that the affair with the vows of his sister superior, Sr. Francisca, were not settled; he still had no satisfactory answer to his inquiry of August 6, 1883. So he ventured on March 20, 1884, to approach Bishop von Dinkel again, proposing ecclesiastical dispensation as a possible solution. The bishop's answer on May 4, was very favorable. But he demanded that Sr. Francisca personally submit a petition. The first one had been written by Lüthen. And it was Jordan who had informed the bishop that Miss Streitel had been invested in his sisters' community and that she was to be admitted to profession after her novitiate. (Jordan did not think here of the private profession in his community of March 18, 1883, nor of the canonically non-binding renewal with reservation of July 13, 1883, after it had become clear to him that she was still bound by her vows at Maria Stern. He thought only of the profession in the Third Order of St. Francis into which he had received her on November 26, 1883, in order to be better covered canonically, and which was expiring on November 16, 1884.) In addition, von Dinkel demanded proof that Sr. Francisca had left Himmelspforten in good faith and had entered a sisters community approved by the Holy See. **See, 5.23. Bishop von Dinkel's inquiry.**³⁰

By May 10, Sr. Francisca had written her "respectful petition of the virgin M. Angela Streitel for dispensation from religious vows." As her reason for leaving Himmelspforten she claimed unstable health; the manner of her exit she ascribed to her ignorance of those matters. She asked for her vows to be cancelled, promising to keep "the vow of chastity in any case until the end of life." **See, 5.24. Streitel's petition for dispensation.**³¹ Jordan noted on the bishop's answer from May 4, 1884: "Miss Streitel acted in good faith—Jordan. Answered, May 10, 1884" (E-525).

In the meantime, Jordan was delighted to receive from Archbishop Cölestin Ganglbauer of Vienna (written July 12, 1884) and Bishop Franz

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 5.23. Bishop von Dinkel's inquiry.

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 5.24. Streitel's petition for dispensation.

Joseph Rudigier of Linz (June 22) letters of recommendation for the Catholic Teaching Society (cf., MI, September 14, 1884).

On July 4-5, two sisters from Rome finally arrived in Neuwerk as promised. Sr. M. Theresia introduced them as far as necessary to their work in the Barbarastift, and then on July 22, with her faithful Sr. Ursula she set off for Rome. On account of cholera which appeared intermittently in European countries, they had to stay for a week in quarantine on Lake Como and arrived in "Holy Rome" only on July 29 or 30. But the two remained only three weeks and then returned to Neuwerk. Jordan deemed a separate development of the two groups of sisters advisable. Sr. Francisca had more or less set up her "Order of Penance" which at first could not be strict enough. (Maybe she saw in this the only sensible justification for her life in Maria Stern and Himmelsporten.) The Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome devoted themselves to works of mercy, especially among the poor according to Jordan's plans.

Sr. M. Theresia stressed once again that only the apostolic area of missionary work appealed to her. Jordan thought about a way to make her vocation fruitful in a kind of Third Order in the Barbarastift itself. Lüthen was kept up to date as far as necessary. On the Feast of the Assumption, August 15, Jordan thanked him for a gift of money just received and says he would send the Baroness back to Germany since the austerity of the life of the sisters in Rome could not be demanded of her. He is very happy about the "extraordinary marks of favor toward the Society." Of the sisters he says, "They are nursing the sick day and night. . . . With the children's asylum they are doing alright." The Baroness had hardly left when Jordan sent greetings after her, admonishing her to have patience "until God will soon show his ways" (August 21, 1884, ASDS). See, 5.25. Streitel's evaluation of Mother Mary.³²

Sr. M. Theresia of the Apostles did not accept light heartedly the will of God as it was explained to her by Jordan. She had hoped finally in Rome

³² See, A Closer Look: 5.25. Streitel's evaluation of Mother Mary.

to achieve her desires. She was ready in humility and obedience to suffer the spiritual martyrdom awaiting her in Via del Falco. Strengthened by the grace of God this would have been her heroic contribution in the autumn of her life for the kingdom of God. But Jordan knew well enough that he had no right to ask such a hard apostolate of this woman, who in patience matured. **See, 5.26. Mother Mary's observations.**³³

Jordan was glad that on October 1, Lüthen was again in Rome and not all responsibility for the Motherhouse and the sisters rested on him alone.³⁴ After a three-day retreat Lüthen made his final profession in the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society (October 17, 1884).

In ecclesiastical circles as well as in the German enclave in Rome, both of Jordan's foundations gained increasing attention. In the Corpus Christi procession celebrated by Msgr. de Waal with exceptional solemnity, and to which he invited all "ecclesiastical and secular personalities of rank" within reach. The order of procession assigned the place in front of the Blessed Sacrament to the "nuns of Fr. Jordan" and the place following to the "Jordanites" (CS, June 12, 1884).

³³ See, A Closer Look: 5.26. Mother Mary's observations.

³⁴ Jordan did not stay in Rome through all of 1884. In September he was in Freiburg for the 38th anniversary of the Mother of God at La Salette. September 19, he held a lecture there about the message of the Holy Virgin. The "weeping Virgin" turned particularly against the vices of the time like blasphemy, neglecting prayer and penance, disregarding the Lord's Day, etc. Jordan also reported in his lecture about an officer who had told him that when he was received into the [Masonic] lodge he saw the devil. The existence of the devil had been to him the surest proof of God. He left the lodge and became a religious. In his lecture Jordan pointed to a similar event of that time, the well-known Dr. Recamier. *Freiburger Kirchenblatt* reported Jordan's lecture in detail (1884, 262).

During the summer Jordan's fatherly friend, Archbishop William Massaia was made cardinal. Jordan sent him a hearty letter of thanks in which he could not restrain his joy. The news of his appointment . . . has awakened in me those joyous memories which bind my thinking, my life, the whole Catholic Teaching Society to your Excellency, not as a friend to a friend but far more heartily as a dear son to an solicitous and loving father.³⁴

At this time the dreaded scourge of cholera, "Roman Fever," flared up again in Italy. Leo XIII had, as a precautionary measure, arranged a cholera hospital in St. Marta. The Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society were invited there by the Cardinal Vicar. Jordan saw this invitation "to serve in this hospital in case of an outbreak of the disease . . . a certain recognition of the sisters by the church authorities" (cf., MI, November 9, 1884). His greatest concern was to obtain formal ecclesiastical recognition of his two religious foundations. In October 1884, *Der Missionär* reported on the state of health in the Roman community: "Our Society here in Rome has been spared the Roman Fever this year, God be thanked, both in the male and the female communities" (MI, October 26, 1884).

At the end of November 1884, Jordan took stock of his work:

Three years have gone by since the first foundations were laid for the new work; it was a time of heavy storms, of sorrows, toil and suffering. But everything had to serve that God is with us; for the building is not shaken, rather it will expand, increasingly complete and strong. Everything had to help improve the spirit of poverty and renunciation in our efforts, and to fortify in our hearts firm trust in The Almighty and in the mighty Queen of Heaven. . . . The Society here comprises also a community of sisters who are busy with the care of the sick and of children (*Asilo infantile* . . .) which after only two years existence has about thirty members (MI, November 30, 1884). [The sisters at Neuwerk were not mentioned here although they were always present in Jordan's heart.]

³⁴ Full Italian text, cf., DSS XIV, 613f.

In mid October 1884, Sr. Francisca went to see her parents. She remained several weeks in Bamberg to recruit candidates, and returned to Rome November 15 with five girls. Four more came in December. On November 5, she had written a thank you letter to Srs. Theresia and Ursula in Neuwerk. Regarding her plans for the Barbarastift she says only: "These days I shall travel to Rome and see there what the Lord wills." She added greetings to Pastor von Essen and commended, "sincerely to the Holy Trinity, you, beloved sister in God and good Sister Ursula," signing: "Your devoted co-sister, M. Francisca of the Cross" (E-529).

Both of the sisters who had been sent back to Nancy in mid October to collect funds became severely ill and at the end of November, Jordan sent Sr. Scholastica to them. When Sr. Angela (by virtue of Jordan's blessing, E-535) had recovered sufficiently, both raised funds in the area of Nancy, while the sick Sr. Veronica remained under the care of the good "Sisters of Christian Doctrine." Only by mid February 1885, was the sister well enough to return to the Roman community. **See, 5.27. Fund raising in Nancy.**³⁵ Before that the sisters Roman community had been struck a hard blow: the death of two sisters, Antonia, aged 27, who only a few weeks before had taken "vows in danger of death," and novice Sr. Coletta, 39.³⁶

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.27. Fund raising in Nancy.

³⁶ Sr. Antonia (Babette) Brehm, born February 8, 1858, at Voitmannsdorf, was among the four sisters Jordan had invested on May 4, 1884, and upon whom he had put great hopes. On October 26, he let the sick novice make vows in danger of death. "On December 4, the Feast of St. Barbara, a quarter past midnight Sr. Antonia passed away after a saintly life quite devotedly and peacefully in quite a soft manner in the Lord," Jordan noted with a painful heart. On November 26, 1884, he had also received her into the Third Order (G-3.1).

Sr. Maria Coletta (Theresia) Lautenschlager, born December 19, 1845, at Breitenbrunn, was also invested on May 4, 1884, and died one day after her birthday. "She passed away in the Lord on December 20, 1884 at 6:15 p.m." (G-3.1). They both were buried in Campo Santo: "December 5, 1884, today a sister of the Catholic Teaching Society was buried on our God's acre . . . Barbara Brehm

Before Christmas Sr. Francisca appealed to the King of Bavaria for permission to collect contributions, but she found no hearing from Minister Lutz.³⁷

In his Rule of the Apostolate Jordan had extended Christ's command "Teach all people" in an unexpected mental leap to children, as if they had first claim to the gospel. Prompted by the instruction of St. Ignatius Loyola to his own priests (*Reg. sacerdotum*, 6) Jordan added to his own norms:
Catechesis, above all of children, weighs upon my heart most of all;
they must teach children to become again a child. Snatch the souls of the innocent from the open jaws of the hellish serpent and do not

from Voitmannsdorf, Bavaria. . . . December 23, 1884, today another nun Therese Lautenschlager was buried in our graveyard (nun of Jordan's)" (CS).

³⁷ On December 10, 1884, Sr. Francisca of the Cross Streitl, at present superior of the charitable, "Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society," turned to the King of Bavaria for a permit to collect money for her undertaking of "caring for the sick and needy in Rome." The address given was: "Borgo Vecchio 165, care of Director General Jordan" (B H St A; Baron Anton von Cetto (1835-1906) Bavarian Ambassador to the Holy See since 1883, to von Dr. Karl von Brentano).

On December 12, Brentano, a teacher employed by Jordan who submitted the petition, inquired in Munich what to do in this case concerning "a purely charitable purpose" (B H St A). Prof. von Brentano added a warm, handwritten recommendation of the,

. . . female institute of formation and education of the "Sisters of Christian Love," really "Charitable Sisters" in Via del Falco near St. Peter's, founded by a German priest who endeavors indefatigably to enhance the honor of God and the salvation of mankind: This humane and up-to-date institute of the self-sacrificing sisters has as its aim the care for the sick and needy, for which our sick Germans in the cosmopolitan City of Rome must be thankful (December 3, 1884, B H St A).

On December 30, 1884, the embassy got a negative answer. Baron von Cetto passed it on in a noble form to Jordan through Prof. von Brentano (January 5, 1885, B H St A).

despise even one single one among the little ones. Teaching children should be the joy of the members (Norm 56).

So it was an essential step forward on the road of his calling that on December 8, 1884, the "Angles Union" took hold also in Rome.

In both communities December 8th was celebrated with gratitude. This day was also valued by Sr. Francisca as the day of her calling to the Society (letter, December 7, 1883, 46). "God be thanked we must call out today, for the number of those days [since the foundation in 1881] has increased tenfold" (MI, December 28, 1884). Jordan had given Sr. Francisca permission to make her vow of perfection conditionally until Christmas, a sign of how he esteemed her ascetical fervor.³⁸

On December 3, Jordan invested eight girls, admitted three sisters to final vows, and one to three-years vows. Then on December 8, he enrolled twelve sisters in the Third Order of St. Francis. The community had increased to ten sisters with final, and three with temporary vows, sixteen novices and four candidates. Including little Kunigunde, the community numbered thirty-four by February 1884. By November, Jordan as "General Director of the Catholic Teaching Society" had asked Leo XIII to be allowed to erect a chapel in the dwellings of the sisters and therein to reserve the Blessed Sacrament and to celebrate the Eucharist.

³⁸ JMJ!!!

I, Sr. Maria Francisca of the Cross vow to the most Holy Trinity, to the Immaculate Queen of the Apostles, to the amiable St. Joseph always and in everything [to do] the most perfect, however difficult it may be to corrupted nature. I put this promise into the hands of my spiritual superior and Father Johannes Maria Franciscus of the Cross asking and charging him to keep true watch so that I may live up to this promise in everything. As special patrons I choose St. Francis of Assisi, St. Clara, St. Therese, St. Francisca of Chantal and the Archangel Michael. May the grace and power of the Precious Blood strengthen and enlighten me! Rome, December 8, 1884, M. Francisca of the Cross.

On the reverse side of the letter Jordan wrote: "valid until Christmas 12:00, 1884;" Jordan could dispense it at any time. This was the condition (59).

At the same time he also asked permission for the girls and pupils, like the sisters, to fulfill their Sunday obligation there. The Cardinal Vicar passed the petition to the pope with the reservation that the Sunday obligation could not be satisfied there (November 8, 1884). Leo XIII gave permission November 29, 1884, with the condition proposed by the Cardinal Vicar (TVU).

By February 1884, the men's community in Borgo Vecchio numbered three members in final and six in temporary vows, fourteen novices or oblates, besides students and workers in the printery.

For living quarters the Society uses part of the large Palazzo Morone which on account of the large rooms and the low rent must appear quite acceptable for us for the time being. The somewhat decayed splendor of the rooms we have rented does not hurt the spirit of poverty, it rather strengthens in us the longing by the grace of God soon to obtain a house corresponding to our spirit. But the means?! (MI, December 28, 1884).

It pained Jordan that while the communities in Rome were increasing so promisingly, he could not start anything now to develop the Barbarastift. Already on November 13, he wrote the two sisters in Neuwerk, "to have patience and not tire in their apostolic spirit and their work, in prayer and suffering."³⁹ In January 1885, Jordan asked Sr. M. Theresia to continue as before in running the house, and inquired about the present

³⁹ Rome, November 13, 1884. *Pax Jesu*

In Christo dear sisters!

I have received your letter together with the account. May you now live faithfully according to the Holy Rule and quite seriously strive for perfection. The Lord will reward you. Always wait for the time determined by Providence. The Lord makes everything good and abandons none of those who put their trust in Him. Let us strive to be filled with apostolic spirit, to suffer apostolically, to work apostolically. Let us remain in strict union with the Crucified and let us never be separated from Him. The Lord bless you and draw you ever more to Himself.

Pray and suffer also for your spiritual father, Johann Mary Francis of the Cross.

Membership is greatly increasing; I can't even receive them all. (ASDS).

situation concerning the debts of the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society with the *Rheinischen Volksbank*. He also urged her to spare no efforts in working for the Angel's Union and winning new cooperators. He even expected her to take small trips and justified his insistence based on their common spirit: "Apostolate! Apostolate!"⁴⁰

In addition to worry about the unsettled future of the two sisters in Neuwerk, Jordan was anxious because the mother superior of his sisters congregation was still bound to the Maria Stern Monastery in Augsburg. Thus really he had received and later installed her as superior in violation of canon law. But Sr. Francisca made a genuine effort according to her character, to see to the well-being of the community. Jordan had no other sister able to fill her position. So he turned again to Bishop von Dinkel asking him to clear up the unfortunate affair, now that "Sr. Angela" was since the spring of 1883 a member of the Third Order of the CTS, and having made profession on November 26 in the non-regulated Third Order of St. Francis.

⁴⁰ Rome, January 11, 1885,

Pax Jesu In Christo very Honorable!

To your last letter, which I have received with thanks, the following: for the time being I leave to you the administration of the house, etc. I had quite forgotten your earlier question about leasing. Please, excuse my not giving an answer in this regard. How much remains of the debt you assumed from the Rheinische Bank (for the men's Order)? [Note: Sr. Theresia had proposed to lease the empty part of the Barbarastift in order to help pay off the Cologne loan.] Please, inform me about it. At the same time I ask you insistently, in Christ beloved, to become deeply filled with truly apostolic zeal and spirit and to become as much as possible similar to our divine model. Let us die more and more and let Christ live in us. The Holy Rule will lead you, if you observe it faith-fully. I shall set no limit to your apostolic zeal. Pray and work. The Lord will certainly show you the ways. Ascend to heaven, descend to hell, and you will hear the answer. Oh how large is the field of apostolate everywhere. If one just extends the Angel League and the class of cooperators, Oh how much can happen there, even if you had to make short trips for the sake of God's honor. Apostolate! Apostolate! Let's leave the future to the Lord. Let us press our own striving for holiness and that of our neighbors. Therefore courage and confidence. May the Lord strengthen and bless you and your activity and preserve you from all sin. Greetings and blessings also to Mr. Rosa.

Pray also for yours truly in Christ, Fr. Jordan (ASDS).

After the happy 8th of December 1884, Jordan got the answer of Bishop von Dinkel. Having considered the case of Sr. Angela intensely, he found no way to resolve it by himself according to Jordan's wishes. He proposed Jordan leave Sr. Angela as a member of the Third Order in the CTS. She should through her confessor obtain dispensation from her vows from the Penitentiary. Von Dinkel asked Jordan for his opinion,⁴¹ and Jordan could only consent (February 7, 1885, AA). He added a petition of Sr. M. Fr. Streitel of January 18, 1885, which was a true copy of her petition the very next day. Von Dinkel answered by February 9, 1885, saying he would send the desired petition on February 10, to his

⁴¹ Augsburg, December 12, 1884.

Reverend! In regard to Sr. Angela Streitel I have occupied myself in the meantime. Personally I have concluded that a petition to the Apostolic See would be subject to grave doubts because of the circumstances, which I also discussed with the Reverend Prior of the Carmelites in Würzburg, who agrees with me to leave it all in *statu quo*. The difficulty of making a petition for dispensation is the fact that I would have to present all the real facts of the transfer into the monastery of Himmelsporten in my province; in doing so I would have to touch a series of offenses against ecclesiastic prescriptions committed from this side. In regard to Angela herself, the answer from the Apostolic See would be that she had become liable to punishment, and she would have to be dismissed as punishment. But this discharge would fall into my competence as well as an expulsion per punishment from the order, and here my heart refuses to do so. Therefore, my proposal is as follows: Angela shall remain as a member of the Third Order of St. Francis in your Society and, because she is no longer living in the convent of her earlier monastery, she shall at least consider herself strictly bound by the vow of perpetual chastity. Furthermore, she shall present her situation to her confessor, explain to him that she would continue living according to the Rule of St. Francis, especially in regard to the vow of chastity. At the same time she shall ask her confessor to grant her remission from her former convent, equally emitted under simple vows, but with the intention of finally making vows of poverty and obedience. As a matter to be accomplished *in foro confessionali* the confessor would then have to turn to the *Poenitentiarum tecto nomine* and certainly receive the requested *remissio*. To choose this way is the best one I can think of. If you agree with my counsel, inform me of its success when the time has come. + Pancratius [von Dinkel] (E-536).

agent George Jacquemin for the proper congregation.⁴² This report of the bishop of Augsburg to the Holy Father is also dated February 9, and was sent directly to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, so that Jordan did not get to see it.

In his report the bishop rehearsed the whole story. He first mentioned the praise-worthy engagement of Sr. Angela in the education of girls in Würzburg as a Stern Sister. With his permission she had transferred to the stricter Carmel. But before completing the canonical novitiate year she had left the monastery with the permission of the prioress, but,

... without returning to the Franciscans which would have been her duty, and without giving notice of her step to the superior general of Maria Stern or to me. After some time I learned that Sr. Angela was in Rome devoting herself laudably to the education of girls. At the same time I was asked to do something about a dispensation from her vows as a Franciscan, but I did not think I could respond to this request soon. Since, however, M. Angela Streitl had repeatedly appealed to me and since I had also learned that this young woman deserved praise for her morals, I do not doubt any longer to trust this affair to your Holiness and beg for kindness to her.

Then the bishop mentioned what Sr. Angela in her petition had given as the reason for her exit, namely her unstable health, and that she had gone home in good faith. He added that the vows [to Jordan] had been only temporary, of course with the intention to take perpetual vows, and that the superior general of Maria Stern had agreed that the sister should be

⁴² Augsburg, February 9, 1885,
Reverend honorable Director!

I thank you cordially for the good wishes sent to me. If only the *onus episcopatus* would not become too burdensome with the growing senile years! Recommend me in your prayers. Regarding Sr. Angela I can inform you that my petition report has already been composed by my secretary and tomorrow will be handed over to our agent to be forwarded to the respective Congregation. Our agent is Mr. Jacquemin in the Ospizio dell'Anima. I have no doubt the petition will be granted, although it is an extraordinary case. In the meantime I remain . . . + Pancratius [von Dinkel], B. of A. (E-542).

freed from any bonds to their monastery. The bishop asked the pope to grant forgiveness and to free her from her vows, so that she could return to the world legally, especially since she had promised to keep her vow of chastity for life (AA).⁴³ Probably on the order of the Holy Father, the Cardinal Vicar charged his secretary on February 15, 1885, to carry out a very strict visitation of the sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society.⁴⁴

On January 31, 1885, Jordan wrote Sr. Theresia to plead with Archbishop Melchers of Cologne⁴⁵ to permit some sisters to come to Neuwerk. He also wanted to send professed sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society as soon as possible to relieve overcrowding in the Motherhouse in Rome and to make room for postulants. But the archbishop, on account of state laws, did not give permission. Sr. Theresia herself also desired a genuine solution soon. Jordan came back to his plan which had fallen through a year earlier: "That soon you probably must come to Rome, while some sisters would go to Neuwerk as private persons. The Good Lord shall set everything aright." He told her of his joy at the prospect of investing four more candidates on April 6, also that the habit of the sisters would now

⁴³ The promise to observe chastity once back in the world as demanded by the religious vow was at that time the (facilitating) precondition for an ecclesiastical dissolution of religious vows.

⁴⁴ *Segreteria del Vicariato di Roma: Societas Catholica Instructiva, Rmus Secretarius Vicarii adeat locum, seversissime visitet ac referat. 25/02/1885. L.M. Cardinal Vicarius (TVU, Prot. 2029).*

⁴⁵ Paulus Melchers (Münster, January 6, 1813-1895, December 14, Rome) was a jurist before becoming a priest in 1841. In 1848 he belonged to the *Frankfurter Nationalversammlung*; from 1857 bishop of Osnabrück; 1866 archbishop of Cologne. At Vatican I he sided with the "Inopportunistes." As a victim of the Prussian *Kulturkampf* he was imprisoned in 1874, and fled to Belgium before Christmas 1875. Following the wish of the pope he abdicated the archdiocese in 1885. On August 6, 1885, he came to Rome and became a cardinal July 27. He lived at Frascati. On February 10, 1892, he quietly became a Jesuit and lodged in the Germanicum.

be black, no longer gray, and he admonished her "Take care that in your activities you do not lose sight of the real apostolate. The children, the poor and the sick are the favorites of Jesus!!!" (April 3, 1885).

On April 7, 1885, we find Jordan in his Baden homeland where he hoped to win priests for his house in Rome. On April 14, he wrote again hopefully to Neuwerk: "Probably a friend of the Society will mount the archiepiscopal chair in Cologne!" He was thinking of Bishop Krementz of Ermland.⁴⁶ On the 17th he was at home with his mother and his brothers. From there he gave some directions to Lüthen and closed his letter:

The sufferings are great at times but interior, especially for the sake of our people. My reception here is very good, but I don't enjoy the world any more. I am so glad that you have also written the name "of the Cross" on the address.

Lovingly, Your Fr. Francis of the Cross (A-18).

On May 1, Jordan returned to Rome (G-9.1). Two days later the deeply troubled Sr. Katharina Eck threw herself out a window in a moment of insanity. This attempted suicide by a *suora tedesca* of Jordan's caused a great sensation in church circles as well as among the numerous German pilgrims staying in Rome. For Jordan this event meant a new heavy cross. In Rome too there were adversaries not well disposed toward his work. They took advantage of this hour to show him in bad light to his ecclesiastical superiors up to the Holy Father. Jordan could not defend himself; he could only ask the Lord to assist him in this trial. It was a consolation that Lüthen and most in his male community stood by him and helped him endure these torments in the love of the Lord's cross.

On June 4th, as soon as Sr. Katharina had recovered enough to travel, Jordan had Srs. Johanna and Scholastica take her home, and he applied to the Holy See to dispense her from her vows. During these negotiations with church authorities (who also called on her local bishop without any good reason) Margaret Eck succeeded in committing suicide by hanging

⁴⁶ Philipp Krementz became archbishop of Cologne, April 14, 1885.

herself at home (cf., ASV). Jordan noted in his sisters catalogue in wordless sorrow "she died in her parents home June 13, 1885" (G-3.1).

Sr. Francisca was still plagued with two cares: severing her bonds with Maria Stern, and securing the independence of the sisters community under her own leadership. While Jordan was doing his utmost to resolve her case. She was able to win her confessor's, Dr. George Jacquemin's backing for separating the Second Order; slowly he became convinced that it would be a good thing to relieve the real founder of the sisters congregation.

Immediately after his return from Germany, Jordan undertook through the Cardinal Vicar, to petition the Holy Father to permit him to receive Sr. Francisca Streitel legally into the Sisters of the CTS, provided that His Holiness would free her from her vows and her bonds with Maria Stern. He states that two years before Sr. Angela Streitel had joined the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (TVU, I.d. 2).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ In his *Liber Documentorum* (I.d.) Jacquemin faithfully copied decisions for the Cardinal Vicariate which he considered important, as well as petitions made to the Vicariate by the community of sisters entrusted to him. Thus about 150 documents have been preserved. They cover June 1, 1885 to September 19, 1896; preceding is the document of the bishop of Augsburg of January 17, 1882. Document 2 is Jordan's petition of June 1, 1885 requesting admission of Sr. Streitel to the CTS and dispensation from vows of Maria Stern.

From that date on, the old chronicle (now lost) considered the sisters as separated from Jordan. Although Jacquemin was named the Cardinal Vicar's personal legate for the sisters only on July 24, the old chronicle said "from July 4 of this year this Congregation was under the direction of Reverend Jacquemin."

. . . perlustravi librum Chronicorum, ex quo constat, quod Congregatio a die 19 Martii 1883 sub directione sui fundatoris, Rmi. P. Francisci Jordan, Sup. Gen. Soc. Cath. Instruct., stabat, a die autem 1^o Junii 1885 ab eodem sejuncta fuit, et a die 4 Julii e.a. directioni Rmi. D. Jacquemin suberat. . . . (Relatio de visitatione facta a P. Fulgentio a Gossensass, OFM Cap, Definitor gen. on 17.07. 1894 apud SSM).

The documents in Latin, Italian, French and German demonstrate Jacquemin's mastery of the canonical office style.

Only on May 9, was Cardinal Parocchi able to present the case of "Sr. Francisca and Angela" to the Holy Father. The pope considered the recommendation of the bishop of Augsburg and granted the dispensation asked for "under the condition that she enter the pious house of the Catholic Teaching Society and there lead a religious life."⁴⁸

On June 1, 1885, the Cardinal Vicar issued the relevant procedures from canon law. Their severity deeply affected both Jordan and Streitel. She was first to be freed from her censures by a confessor appointed by the Cardinal Vicar. Next she was obliged to repeat novitiate and to conclude it legally by retaking her vows. A dowry and upkeep were to be provided. The indult had to be accepted within six months, otherwise it would lose its validity (TVU, I.d. 2). It is not improbable that Cardinal Parocchi entrusted his new friend Jacquemin of the Anima with this task. When Jordan received the rescript from the Cardinal Vicar on June 3, 1885, he could only be disappointed. He had hoped so much that the petition of the bishop of Augsburg, whom he had won for his proposal of a quiet settlement of the affair, would have been more helpful.

Now Sr. Francisca was requested to make a fourth novitiate. The immediately previous one (March 1883 to March 1884) had already been somewhat prolonged by her novitiate in the Third Order of St. Francis (November 26, 1883 to November 26, 1884). It had been a burden for both Jordan and Streitel. Jordan succeeded indeed in reducing her exaggerated ideas to a healthy Franciscan level. She had accepted as her own his view of the sisterly apostolate among the poor, the sick and children, and she was successful in keeping the hopeful and quickly growing sister's community fervent, dedicated and united through her understanding experience. Jordan had done everything to bind the

⁴⁸ *Ex Audienza Ssmi, May 9, 1885; SS. Dms noster, attenta Augustani Episcopi commendatione. Oratricis privilegio annuit clementissime ad effectum tantum ingrediendi piam Domum a Societate Catholica Instructiva nuncupatam, et in eo religiose vivendi. L.M. Cardinal Vicar. Vicolo del Falco No. 18, vicino a Borgo Pia (TVU, Prot. 2029).*

sisters in obedience and reverence to their superiors, he demanded they call her "Reverend Mother" and consult her as far as necessary in their requests to him.

About the pending affair with the vows he had kept strict silence. He was glad this was now regulated sacramentally, under the protection of the seal of Confession. On the other hand he wondered how the sisters would take the consequences which could not be kept secret, but which could not actually be explained openly. Sr. Francisca had to step down as superior. Who was to take over? And would the young sisters used to Streitl's guidance accept such a change without bewilderment and grumbling? Srs. Scholastica and Johanna were in Schesslitz, where Jordan planned the first German outpost after he failed to obtain ecclesiastical assent for Neuwerk. Amid all this, Jordan did not neglect to notify the two sisters in Neuwerk of this new plan, which would be another setback for the Barbarastift: ". . . within a short time the permission will come from the Ministry for a foundation in Bavaria" (June 27, 1885).

By necessity Jordan designated as superior the humble Sr. Stanisla Schön (June 13, 1885). But in her helplessness in this new task she was distraught. Sr. Francisca was put back into the ranks of novices. The burden was unbearable for everyone. **See, 5.28. Streitl/Jordan correspondence (III).**⁴⁹ Streitl gave vent to her anguish in a touching letter to de Waal.

JMJ.

Rev. Father!

Why are the plans of God realized in such a terrible manner? I am suffering beyond all measure, you are suffering so much (M. Stanisla totally broken down, unable to teach; M. Johanna sick in Germany). Everyone around me is emotionally distraught, and forced to see how everything that has been built up with pain and grief, with sorrow and prayer is going to ruins. My venerable Father, only by grace can I stand upright. Nothing exists in me anymore that can be called energy or courage to face life. My God do not abandon me, for it is only your hand which, although beating me, still preserves me from the depth of

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 5.28. Streitl/Jordan correspondence (III).

despair. Please let me know even today how you are, Rev. Father, recommending you sincerely to Our Lord, I implore you to forgive me all offenses ever committed against you, I sign in pain and sorrow your spiritual daughter (**see, 5.29. Streitl/de Waal correspondence**).⁵⁰

Rome, July 4, 1885

M. Francisca of the Cross

Jordan could only pray, commiserate and ask for spiritual help. By the end of May four more female candidates accepted by Jordan had arrived. On May 31, he performed what was to be his last investiture for the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society for Sr. Luitgard (Maria) Rauch of Bamberg, aged 30, who had entered May 12.

Jordan tried one last way out in favor of his sisters and Sr. Francisca. In his dogged fight for the threatened community he turned to the Cardinal Vicar as his pastor and thanked him for the rescript of June 3. He then proposed to allow Sr. Francisca to make a secret novitiate while at the same time keeping her office. "Sr. Angela Streitl has been now for more than two years superior of the sisters," and her deposition would be taken by the sisters "with displeasure." If the cardinal would not agree to this plan, Jordan asked for another more favorable solution. However, Cardinal Parocchi did not want to go into that on his own.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See, A Closer Look: 5.29. Streitl/de Waal correspondence.

⁵¹ Most Reverend Eminence,
With your rescript dated the 3rd, your Eminence granted that Angela Streitl could be admitted to the Sisters of the SCI: on condition however that she repeat her novitiate and time of profession. However, these conditions are not so easily met since Sister Angela Streitl has for more than two years been the superior of the sisters, and since in the case that it would be necessary (for her) to step down from that position she now occupies to make her novitiate it would greve the sisters, the undersigned begs your Eminence to condescend to allow that sister to make a secret novitiate while at the same time remaining superior of the house in Rome. Bit if this suggestion does not seem appropriate to your Eminence, the undersigned requests that you suggest something more oportune (E-544).

Sr. Stanisla felt overtaxed as superior, and unaccepted by her sisters. On June 20, she called on the Cardinal Vicar to relieve her of office and to reappoint the former superiors.⁵² Her request, like Jordan's, was not accepted. On July 8, 1885, Sr. Stanisla, totally worn down, turned again to the Cardinal Vicar and renewed her petition of June 20.⁵³ Just the day before, Jordan had again explained to the Cardinal Vicar that deposing

⁵² In my really sad and painful situation I allow myself to turn to your Eminence who alone can deliver me from this important matter; for it is in your power to help me by your grace. Our reverend superior has deposed our venerable Mother Superior who led us so well on the way to perfection. One can truly say that this leadership was from God, because He has given her special graces for this purpose. I, the most unworthy among all sisters, was surprised and compelled by our Fr. Superior to take the post of superior. Since that day I cannot express enough to you my sad situation. Also my dear sisters have to experience severe pains because of the loss of our venerable Mother who has educated all of us in the spiritual life. I feel so intensely how my soul and those of my sisters are suffering injustice; my physical forces are already much weakened by this. Neither have I enough talent to fulfill the task of superior, particularly in a community which is just growing up and exposed to all kinds of difficulties. I would be willing, like all my sisters, to give my life for our deposed venerable Mother in order to get her back again as superior. I have already laid all this out to our reverend superior who himself understands this very well and would be glad if this would be changed. Therefore, I ask Your Eminence to give us back our venerable Mother Superior, for it is the will of God that the sisters serve God in holy joy, and I have no doubt that like the holy church also Your Eminence finds this certainly to be right . . . Rome, June 20, 1885, (in French, TVU, l.d. 3).

⁵³ Eminence, we German Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society have to thank you very much for the great kindness: that Your Eminence received us last Monday and promised to send us a Commission to bring order to the important matter of our Mother Superior. Allow us to push our request which we have presented, to hurry the ruling, so that with the help of Your Grace we may soon be happy again as we were before . . . July 8, 1885, (TVU, l.d. 4, from the French).

Both letters of Sr. Stanisla (ftn. 52, 53 above) are written in good French, a tongue she herself did not know. Thus it seems her wish and the connected wishes of her sisters, including Sr. Francisca, were shaped by a third hand (Msgr. Jacquemin?).

Sr. Francisca had had such a negative impact he felt conscience bound to ask His Eminence to reappoint her as superior. Jordan emphasized that he was moved only by his sisters, and he considered his request not as a presumption but as his most urgent duty. That same day he received another negative answer. **See, 5.30. Another petition.**⁵⁴

Jordan also thought that Lüthen, being the ordinary confessor of the sisters, could also be helpful to calm the muddled situation. On the same unhappy July 7, he appealed again to the Cardinal Vicar to secure confessional faculties for Luthen, and was again refused. The Cardinal's secretary informed "Jourdan" that His Eminence would appoint as confessor a religious from another order, and not from the same religious family (TVU). **See, 5.31. Jordan's last gambit.**⁵⁵

Cardinal Parocchi became increasingly unhappy with this tiresome affair. The disparaging opinions about Jordan which were being spread around did the rest. Some of the sisters turned to their previous confessor Jacquemin and also to Msgr. de Waal, to help them out of the unfortunate situation. On July 24, the Capitular Vicar appointed the vice-rector of the Anima, George Jacquemin as confessor and personal "special delegate" to the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (TVU, l.d. 4). This initiated the final separation of the sisters from their founder.

On July 25, Jordan received the three-year vows of Sr. Elia. This was his last official act as founder and superior of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society.⁵⁶ By the end of July, Jordan recalled Sr. Scholastica

⁵⁴ See, A Closer Look: 5.30. Another petition.

⁵⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.31. Jordan's last gambit.

⁵⁶ In these 2¼ years, Jordan received 46 candidates and invested 40. During this same period he admitted twelve sisters to final vows; one of them died and two of them left. Five sisters took temporary vows, one of them died. Of fifteen novices five left and two died. On May 29, 1885, he received four

from Schesslitz to Rome by telegram, because her co-sisters hoped that she could help disentangle their confused situation. She complied, together with Sr. Francisca, but in her own way. By her open insubordination she worsened the already difficult position of the new superiors, so that Jordan had to threaten her with dismissal. But she knew already that he was no longer "the responsible party."

From August 6 to September 15, Jordan traveled in Germany, feeling he was still responsible for the sisters. He met Sr. Johanna in Schesslitz, where he wanted to open a house as soon as the government permitted. He had contacted the bishop of Bamberg,⁵⁷ and wanted to go to Neuwerk after having met Cardinal Melchers in Rome. (Melchers had excused his own earlier negative reply to Jordan's request for a foundation there as a misunderstanding.⁵⁸) On August 29, 1885, Jordan wrote from Frankfurt

postulants. He received fifteen sisters into the Third Order of St. Francis, three of them died. When the sisters were taken away from Jordan, there were twelve professed sisters, twenty novices and four candidates. Of these, twelve were affiliated with the Third Order of St. Francis.

⁵⁷ Friedrich Joseph Schreiber, (M. Bissingen, 23 May, 1819-1890, May 23, Bamberg) was ordained in Augsburg, June 10, 1843. On May 31, 1875, he was proposed as archbishop of Bamberg by the king. Schreiber led the archdiocese from September 5, 1875 up to his death.

⁵⁸ *Pax Jesu. In Christo* venerable Sisters!

At last some lines from Rome again, you may think! By the way, I have not forgotten you and I am waiting for the day when everything will be put right. In these days I was with Cardinal Melchers, who was very kind and also said that he would visit us. He also spoke about you, and I noticed that he is favorable towards you. He indicated to me the reasons why he did not allow you to make a foundation. It seems to have been a misunderstanding. If it is the will of God, I hope to come to Germany once more this year; then I might be able to come to Neuwerk too. Persevere, good sisters, do not lose courage, have confidence in our mighty patrons. Wrestle to strive for the sublime aim of perfection to which the Lord has called you. God bless you. In deep respect, I remain Yours truly,

Fr. Franciscus of the Cross.

to the sisters in Neuwerk that he was unable to come, but as soon as the new archbishop would be in Cologne he would make his visit "yet this year."⁵⁹ On September 8, he paid a visit to the bishop of Eichstätt.⁶⁰

To this point Parocchi, now Cardinal Vicar for 15 months, knew Jordan only officially.⁶¹ By contrast, the vice-rector of the Anima, Jacquemin, had gained influence with the cardinal who was more open to French culture. Parocchi completely ousted Jordan. He ordered Msgr. Jacquemin to intervene with full consent of the sisters, but without Jordan's. After becoming personal delegate for the "German sisters" Jacquemin's confessional route to the sisters lost its importance.

Jacquemin was told by his superior to deal with Jordan's rule for the sisters. He spent the summer of 1885 on this task. In their uncertainty Sr. Francisca and the sisters also approached Msgr. de Waal, who during Jordan's absence in Germany had been asked to look after their temporal

⁵⁹ *Pax Jesu,*

Frankfurt, Monday, August 29, 1885,

Good sisters in Christ!

I am sorry that again I am not yet in the position to clear up the matter with Neuwerk. But I hope that it will soon happen and if God wills, I can come to Neuwerk this year if the archbishop is in Cologne. Strive zealously for perfection and trust steadfastly in God who does not abandon those who have confidence. At present I am in Frankfurt to gain ground for God's cause. Pray for me, too, and give me the joy to become a good religious in the eyes of God.

The Lord bless you. In Christ. . . . Fr. Franciscus of the Cross.

⁶⁰ Baron von Franz Leopold Leonrod (Ansbach, 26 August, 1817-1905, September 5, Eichstätt). On November 13, 1866, nominated bishop of Eichstätt by Ludwig II, a convinced proponent of infallibility, courageous fighter against Minister Lutz; during the Prussian *Kulturkampf* he granted all possible help to suffering bishops and priests.

⁶¹ It is unlikely that after the replacement of Cardinal Monaco la Valletta as Cardinal Vicar, Fr. Cirino continued his ecclesiastical "guardianship."

concerns and to find larger accommodations for them. **See, 5.32. Jordan and de Waal.**⁶² (Cf., 5.29)

To solve the question of the mother superior, something for which Jordan had labored in vain, Jacquemin was able to find a canonical way out. After asking all the sisters who they wanted as their superior, he sought to pass the result on as a petition to the Holy Father. However, the Cardinal Vicar didn't dare hand this petition to the pope. So Jacquemin proposed an arrangement bypassing the Holy Father. On August 16, he went ahead (in agreement with his superior) with his solution to the affair in Via del Falco. In a legally valid move, Sr. Francisca abdicated her position as superior—something the Holy Father had already ordered as early as June 1. Sr. Stanisla also renounced her office. Jacquemin thereupon appointed Sr. Francisca again as actual superior of the sisters (de facto), whereas he made Sr. Scholastica superior according to law (de jure). With that the will of the Holy Father was satisfied and peace was restored to the troubled community. Sr. Stanisla was glad to be out of the line of fire; and now Srs. Francisca and Scholastica had their way open to their objectives. **See, 5.33. Jacquemin's solution.**⁶³

On September 16, Jordan was back in Rome. He certainly was not against the solution Jacquemin, the canon lawyer, had found. But it was also painful for him not to have been taken into confidence, and that he had found himself intentionally bypassed in the preceding weeks!

On September 17, 1885, the Cardinal Vicar appointed Jacquemin "spiritual director" of the sisters who now bore the name "Sisters of Charity of the Sorrowful Mother" (TVU, l.d. 8). Informed about events.

⁶² See, A Closer Look: 5.32. Jordan and de Waal.

⁶³ See, A Closer Look: 5.33. Jacquemin's solution.

Msgr. de Waal on September 18, relinquished Jordan's mandate to him to take care of sisters during his absence in Germany.⁶⁴

The day after that, Jordan went to the Cardinal Vicar. Nothing is known about their discussion. At any rate it did not result in officially eliminating Jordan. He still had hopes that an understanding might be found. So to Sr. Johanna who from Schesslitz had asked him for some information about events in Rome he could give only a vague explanation. She had become suspicious on account of news she had received from Sr. Scholastica. But the new superior soon made her understand that from now on she had to obey the church and not Jordan. Such a mysterious answer made Sr. Johanna only more confused since she knew Jordan's unshakable ecclesiastical convictions. **See, 5.34. Sr. Johanna and Sr. Scholastica.**⁶⁵

⁶⁴ On September 17, 1885, the Cardinal Vicar ordered the name change. Jordan's foundation from now on was called the Merciful Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, surely a name which pleased Jordan (l.d. 8). The next day Msgr. de Waal sent a letter of resignation.

Since I have engaged in the matters of the sisters only insofar as you had asked me to do during your absence and the Cardinal Vicar gave me the mandate, I now consider my task finished after your return, and I request you to ask his Eminence at your visit today to take back the mandate given to me in regard to the temporal and material matters of the sisters. Consequently you should also take up contacts with the bursar in regard to the rent of the house behind the sacristy of St. Peter's. With all the benevolence which the good sisters earn, I will also in future assist you where I can and whenever you wish it. According to your wishes I celebrated Mass [with the sisters] this morning, but explained afterwards that I would not come anymore (CS, September 18, 1885).

September 20, 1885, the Cardinal Vicar allowed the sisters through Jacquemin to take care of the household of the archpriest of St. Peter's to earn something. The aim of the congregation indicates the exact purpose given to them by Jordan! "the pious education of poor girls and care for the sick" (TVU l.d. 9).

⁶⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.34. Sr. Johanna and Sr. Scholastica.

On October 6, Director Jacquemin was able to present to the sisters the rules he had worked out. They had been approved by Cardinal Parocchi for three years. Now Jordan no longer had admittance to the sisters' house. **See, 5.35. Constitutions.**⁶⁶

A few days later in his diary Jordan noted: "I had the right intention when I resolved to establish and promote the sisters' institute, and Cardinal Rota also desired that I promote it. October 10, 1885" (SD 183). Perhaps by then it had been hinted to him that ecclesiastical authorities would also take measures with regard to the First Order, for he continued: "The same concerning the men's institute" (SD 184).

In the audience of October 12, 1885, the Cardinal Vicar reported to Leo XIII on his previous regulations relating to Jordan's sisters foundation. The pope confirmed the procedure of his Cardinal Vicar (TVU, l.d. 13). By October 10, Leo had accepted Jacquemin's proposal which the Cardinal Vicar had submitted: all sisters were thereby released from their previous vows in the Catholic Teaching Society; they were to join the renamed and ecclesiastically approved community for three years by religious vows (TVU l.d. 14). From the start Jacquemin wanted to regulate everything the best possible way. Sr. Francisca was grateful to God that everything had turned out in her favor and that she could now return to her own plans.

The night before St. Francis Sunday, Jordan had had a consoling dream. He noted in his diary:

On October 12, 1885, when the Feast of St. Francis was celebrated this year in Rome, that night in sleep I saw St. Francis of Assisi, dressed in a tunic, weeping (on our behalf). I was praying that he would bless the Society and he blessed me and the Society, after which I awoke (SD 184).

⁶⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.35. Constitutions.

Jordan now felt encouraged for the coming bitter days "of the cross." **See, 5.36. Jordan's consoling dream.**⁶⁷

October 12 was to be for Jordan a day of hard trial. Archbishop Rota from the Congregation for religious informed him of the decision to take the direction of the sisters away from him. Still Jordan asked permission to pay a visit to the house on Via del Falco, for he was being avoided by the new director, Jacquemin. Jordan knew only too well that the result of any interviews Jacquemin made alone with the sisters would not have been neutral. Most of the sisters were helpless when confronted with the new situation. Perhaps they could find themselves on the street overnight if they didn't give the expected answers. Jordan wanted to give them a third possible way out. They were to know that it was not disobedience to the church if they decided in favor of the Founder, and that they would not have to fear not being cared for as they had been before. Sr. Francisca felt this interference was more than undesired and reported the affair to Msgr. Jacquemin on October 14. **See, 5.37. Jordan rebuffed.**⁶⁸

On the same day, Jordan turned immediately to his ecclesiastical superior, the Cardinal Vicar.

I beg your Eminence not to take it as an act of disobedience that I have not at once given the explanation you demanded, as Msgr. Rota, Archbishop of Theben, has told me nothing about this. Only today he spoke with me of this point, but could not judge the exact content of my explanation. I am asking you humbly to tell me what I have to declare so that I can do it at once. I am ready to accept all directives and orders of your Eminence. In expectation of such special favor I kiss the holy purple and sign with deepest reverence Your Eminence's most devout and humble servant, Fr. Giorano (TVU, l.d. 13).

⁶⁷ See, A Closer Look: 5.36. Jordan's consoling dream.

⁶⁸ See, A Closer Look: 5.37. Jordan rebuffed.

This very day, October 12, Cardinal Parocchi, as previously mentioned, was able to speak to Leo XIII about this matter. Through his secretary, Parocchi let Jordan immediately know the pope's instruction:

It is the will of the Holy Father that the Rev. Jordan in no way should concern himself with the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society. The undersigned adds that it would be better if the priest mentioned would think of regulating the canonical status and the direction of the priests and clerics living with him. He will accept with satisfaction a similar declaration. L.M. Cardinal Vicar. On October 12, 1885, the above decree was handed to Fr. Jourdan [sic] (TVU, l.c.).

Already that day Jordan explained to the Cardinal Vicar in writing: "In fulfillment of your Eminence's orders conveyed to me through the secretary respecting the Merciful Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society I assure you all has been arranged" (TVU, l.c.).⁶⁹

On October 15, the housekeeper collected from Jordan all property the sisters had deposited with him.⁷⁰ The next day, Sr. M. Rosa was killed in

⁶⁹ It is striking that in all documents until mid October the sisters are still called by the name Jordan gave them. This indicates the new name might have been used only within the sisters community. This also explains why on the Constitutions which Jacquemin announced to the sisters on October 4, 1889, the original name is erased and replaced by "Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother."

Msgr. Jacquemin, however, faulted Jordan's declaration not to concern himself at all with the sisters. In it he still called them sisters "of the Catholic Teaching Society," while they had received their new title from the cardinal Vicar, "Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother" already on September 17, 1885. He added his personal remark: "One understands that Fr. Jordan made an effort, especially through the mediation of Archbishop Msgr. Rota, canon of St. Peter's, and that's why the Cardinal Vicar took the entire case to the Holy Father, of which the above was the result" (ASSM).

⁷⁰ The undersigned confirms as *economa* of the Charitable Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother that on October 14, 1885, all money, scripts and books deposited with the Reverend Fr. Jordan have been given back completely, consciously and exactly. Sincere thanks to Fr. Jordan in the name of all the sisters for all the

an accident on her way home from the Anima.⁷¹ The sensitive Jordan was deeply stirred by all these frequent and bitter events, even to the depth of despair. The fact that the flourishing foundation of sisters was taken from him was as if a piece of his apostolic heart had been torn out.⁷²

goodness received, signs most thankfully the obedient servant, Sr. M. Bernarda Mayr, Charitable Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother. Rome, October 15, 1885. (E-547). [Footnote: March 2, 1888, this same *economia*, Barbara Mayr (Sr. Bernarda) was dispensed from the three-year vows made on January 6, 1886. Various reasons were indicated, like age and weak health. Jacquemin supported the petition because the sister had repeatedly committed grave offenses against the Venerable Mother by open disrespect and great disobedience, which was a dangerous scandal above all to the younger sisters (l.d. 69).]

⁷¹ October 16, 1885: returning from the Church of the Anima, where she had made her confession and received Holy Communion, the sixteen year-old Sr. Maria Rosa, born Margarethe Rebhan from Strassgiech, Bavaria, was thrown to the ground by a horse cart through negligence of the driver and by a kick to the heart was killed instantly. May she rest in peace. She is buried today, the 17th, in our graveyard.

[NB: de Waal then crossed out "a kick to the heart" writing instead "run over"] (CS). [Footnote: Margaretha Rebhan born November 11, 1868 in Strassgiech, Diocese of Bamberg, entered November 15, 1884, was invested December 3, 1884. December 8, 1884 she was received into the Third Order of St. Francis (G-3.1). Sr. Rosa died as a novice.]

⁷² Lüthen described this period "Jordan-Streit" in his memoirs (1910). In Rome at first she impressed the Reverend Father too; she particularly loved poverty, had high ideas, etc. She was invested the same time our Venerable Father took the religious habit of ash grey color, which our Order later exchanged for black cloth, because grey seemed less appropriate for our apostolate; the sisters, however, retained the ash-grey cloth up to now . . . Step by step several sisters entered; they were invested and made profession. Until then both institutes, the male as well as the female, were only private foundations, tolerated by the church authorities. The lodgings of the sisters, at first in Borgo Nuovo, were transferred to Vicolo del Falco. With the exception of their household they had no work; they began an *asilo infantile*; they also tried typesetting.

Then came a hard blow from church authority. The Cardinal Vicar had Fr. Jordan informed, his Holiness had prohibited him from occupying him-

Sr. Francisca had weathered the storms of these months better than Jordan. "Since someone [sic!] had regulated the case concerning me such that I should be again Mother to the sisters, though undeservingly" (September 12, 1886, to de Waal) her wish was fulfilled to be sole head of a sisters community. Given her spiritual lights, she interpreted receiving this commission corresponding to her abilities as clearly willed by God. But the struggle and sufferings of everyday life went on even under her new spiritual father. **See, 5.38. Jacquemin's tenure as director.**⁷³

The question of who was to blame for the "separation of the sisters" occupied most of the people who had been heavily involved. But the church avoided comment, and Jordan himself remained silent. **See, 5.39. The blame game.**⁷⁴ In any case, the sad events of 1885 served Jordan and Sr. Francisca, too, in their process of maturing in following the cross.

In concluding this discussion, an attempt at a human judgement of the personality of Sr. Francisca is not out of place. The question of Jordan–Streitel was not: how do these two very different characters fit together? For Jordan the question was: How can I fulfill the plans of God according to my vocation? For Streitel it was: how can I as a woman, with the two experiences in religious life which mark me, call into being my own foundation to which the priest Jordan can provide a "manly support"? Their spiritual sons and daughters have, with misplaced loyalty, sup-

self with the sisters. *Non si occupi in nulla colle donne*. How much this separation must have hurt the founder's heart is difficult to comprehend. The reasons for so hard a measure were not quite clear to us; it had to be interpreted unfavorably for the Venerable Father (BL-1378).

Incidentally, Jordan met the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother on his daily way to St. Peter's and elsewhere "*sempre con straordinario affetto e gentilezza*" (Sum § 771).

⁷³ See, A Closer Look: 5.38. Jacquemin's tenure as director.

⁷⁴ See, A Closer Look: 5.39. The blame game.

pressed nearly or totally this experience which affected both young foundations. Only Lüthen was unable to forget the wrong Jordan had had to suffer and which both of them had accepted as a cross of the Lord.

Streitel did not make life easy for herself or for Jordan. Her Franciscan idea of reform was for Jordan ethereal, with no basis in the ecclesiastical reality of the time since the Franciscan communities were not in fact degenerate. And in the end, Streitel's community did not turn into a penitential order but practiced basically the same apostolate as the Stern Sisters. Coupling Alverno with Carmel was not in fact the need of the moment as Streitel had thought. Jordan wanted apostolic-minded sisters for catechesis, education of children, care of the sick and the poor.

At first Streitel pestered Jordan a great deal with her religious way of thinking. Dreams became as important to her as reality. She saw every happening through a religious lense. Even the most ordinary daily realities fell victim to pious fantasies. Trifles and trivialities were, in her pious egotism considered portents of the future. In her mind there was a bitter struggle between obedience to the relevant superior and "listening to God's personal guidance;" between humble submission and independent action. The result was a strange blend of self-seeking and self-avoidance. Streitel had the courage to separate in order to continue on her own. Jordan tried ever again to build new bridges because he expected everything from God's grace, and because he knew he was responsible for so many young women being called by God.

Sr. Francisca Streitel cultivated a rigorous ascetical way of life. Her strong personal-ity also pushed her co-sisters (on average fifteen years younger) along the same track, often damaging their health. Yet it was not always easy for her to keep her own spiritual balance or to suppress her ideas and "moods." She was overly dependent on affirmation from others and thus became overly dependent on the highly talented Sr. Scholastica Demer who, sorry to say, could or would not distinguish between pious imagination and plain reality. The psychological burden of her profession as a regular Franciscan, which had for so long

remained unrectified by the church must not be overlooked. Perhaps her call to Rome was a "flight to the front." Also at decisive moments in her life Sr. Francisca succumbed to the temptation to use her confessors to reach her goals, which in her mind were willed by God. This detour was for a religious, by reason of the petty ecclesiastical discipline of the times, often the only practical way out. **See, 5.40. Streitl's unexplained past.**⁷⁵

Up till her separation from Jordan, Streitl's life (and only her first forty years can be of interest here) were a hard and not always patient struggle for personal sanctity and also for a position corresponding to her intelligent and strong-willed character. These years more often call to mind Jacob's wrestling with God, than the Lord's agony in the garden, to which Jordan, although younger, was certainly much closer than she.

With regard to the "Jordan–Streitl Period" it would be worth a special study to describe how the community of the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother in a sort of "collective self-deception" consciously and willfully did not see the reality of their early years. The unhistorical reinterpretation which took place among them does not do justice either to the truth or to the mind of their foundress for whom precisely these years in Jordan's school were decisive for her religious maturing, which she (like Jordan) expected and accepted as part "of the cross."

Since Easter 1883, Jordan had devoted every possible care to the promising and flourishing sisters community in Rome. He was grateful that the experienced Sr. Francisca looked after the young sisters, doing her best with great skill. That he, as the founder, had the duty to avoid exaggerated strictness and retained the right to direct the sisters towards his apostolic goals (i.e., the education of girls and care of the sick) cannot in justice be criticized. He never thought of a separation. And he had nobody to replace the superior, even though her self-will made him suffer no less than M. Salesia (superior of Maria Stern) had suffered before him.

⁷⁵ See, A Closer Look: 5.40. Streitl's unexplained past.

The break forced by church authorities wounded Jordan deeply. He knew himself to be free from blame, but he could never get a hearing.

So in prayer he had to struggle for the grace to take in humility the bitter chalice of ecclesiastical obedience. In his diary he wrote down, as a true follower of the cross: "The whole life of Christ was a cross and a martyrdom" (SD 189). With a heavy heart he sent a moving farewell letter to Sr. Francisca and the sisters. The fact that shortly after the forced renunciation one sister died in an accident was to shake him yet more. Jordan, however, avoided everything which could have been interpreted as meddling in the affairs of the sisters. When they met on the way to St. Peter's or Campo Santo on feasts of the expatriate German community he greeted them in a friendly and modest silence. He did not talk with outsiders about this severe trial though he continued to hope justice would be done to him by his superiors in some good manner.

Through the sorry events caused by the separation of the sisters Jordan was brought to the edge of despair, so that he could pray with the Lord: "My heart is filled with sorrow to the point of death" (Mk 14:34). And he learned to understand the Apostle to the Gentiles who confessed: "Brothers . . . we were crushed beyond our strength, even to the point of despairing of life" (2Cor 1:8).

It was a good thing that Lüthen was straining for the well-being of the other concerns of the Society. For the First Order a building fund was set up and bricks collected "for a proper house of the Catholic Teaching Society" (MI, April 12, 1885). An appeal for this mentioned that the attempted suicide of one sister was exploited by a certain press:

Recently our Society was the subject of mean slandering by a bad press. The attacks of those enemies have led us to win the hearts of our friends all the more, and forged closer contact with the ecclesiastical authorities (MI, June 14, 1885).

By now the men's community numbered thirty-two persons, including thirteen professed. (MI, June 14, 1885). Precisely at this time Jordan remembered the urgency and clarity of his God-given vocation:

Work and do good with unbounded trust in God, and always do what you consider to be the best and most useful; go quietly forward trusting in the Lord, but have in mind at all times only God's glory and the salvation of souls (SD 184).

Precisely through the trials the Lord inflicted on him, Jordan felt that his life's task must not suffer from any reservation on his part.

Everyday pray most earnestly to God and the most holy Virgin and do not cease, so that you may offer to your beloved Bridegroom, Jesus Christ, a large family of both sexes, pleasing and acceptable to God, numerous as the sands of the sea and the stars of the sky. So [pray] first: that you may establish a holy family pleasing to God; and second, that you may offer your Spouse in heaven at some future time innumerable spiritual sons and daughters holy and pleasing to God (SD 185).

Jordan liked to put his foundations under the comprehensive blessing of which the Lord assured Abraham when he was still "a stranger in the land" (Gn 26:4). It was his aim to plant widely dispersed branches of his foundations which would then spread the Kingdom of God on their own. Jordan had to strive for the impossible and to dream beyond borders. He saw narrow mindedness as an offence against Divine Providence. So in his dairy, after the dream of his vocation, he wrote in block letters: "DIVINE PROVIDENCE CREATED ME" (SD 185).

After the death of 21 year-old Frater Dominicus Wettstein, August 10, 1885, a still harder blow struck the community. On October 26, Br. Joseph (Alfred) Paul, "distinguished by many virtues" also died. Born in Breslau May 21, 1860, he joined Lüthen in Munich, December 25, 1882. There he oversaw publication and delivery of *Der Missionär* from the time Lüthen went to Rome in March 1883 until the printery was transfer to Braunau am Inn in October. Alfred Paul was invested in Rome on February 24, 1884, and made his final profession on Christmas of the same year. Having inspired the greatest hopes, it was all the more painful for Jordan that the Lord called this twenty-five year-old to

eternity. Paul died of small pox. *Der Missionär* serialized his exemplary life in issues from December 3, 1885 to June 13, 1886.

Jordan now applied himself to extending the male branch of the Catholic Teaching Society, as the Cardinal Vicar in his harsh remarks had demanded. At the same time he and Lüthen succeeded to strengthen their press apostolate. They also gave more attention and care to the important "supporters" of their foundations.

In these days in Germany, Lüthen was able to win 11,000 subscribers for his press. Again this year the men's novitiate saw 11 investitures and 4 new professions. Jordan now started an "*oblatorium*" where students who clearly had religious vocations were invested but did not start novitiate immediately. Instead they first completed their humanistic studies. Since late fall 1885, the first *Apostle Calendar* was in circulation. In its report on the CTS the following units were listed: the First, Second, and Third Orders; the Academy; the Cooperators (male and female) the Angel's Union. In this listing the word "Order" was used in place of "Grades", . . . according to popular language and also to show the founder's intention, who as a matter of fact submits the whole institution to the judgement and approbation of holy church, as it develops under the eyes of ecclesiastical authorities.

The Second Order is devoted to "instruction of children in holy religion and charitable work with the sick and the poor." (The *Apostle Calendar* had already been printed in September 1885, before the separation.)

On All Saints Day 1885, a few weeks after relinquishing the guidance of the sisters as was demanded, the Cardinal Vicar requested Jordan to hand in his rules for the male branch of his foundation so that he could give his first approbation. For Jordan this was a glimmer of hope that now the same approval would be given the First Order which had been granted to Jacquemin when he took over the Second Order, a kind of repayment for his rules for the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother.

Lüthen too took the Cardinal Vicar's inquiry as a good sign and told Sr. Theresia of the Apostles about it immediately. **See, 5.41. Letter to Sr. Theresia of the Apostles.**⁷⁶ Jordan wrote to her in his Christmas letter that he now had good hopes of receiving ecclesiastical approval as soon as the rules were in order. Jordan probably was notified by the Cardinal Vicar that his rules in some way would have to be improved by his own canonists. We do not know whether or how far Jordan had added to the Rule of the First Order of 1884 before submitting it.

However, in the Cardinal Vicariate the rules were not fully approved. Instead Cardinal Parocchi asked his helpful friend Jacquemin to improve Jordan's draft. In his fervor Jacquemin produced an entirely new version which the cardinal at once approved. Jordan who still had connections with Secretary Barbiellini got the news that the statutes for the Catholic Teaching Society had been accepted. **See, 5.42. Premature announcement of approval.**⁷⁷ Relying on this oral assurance Jordan immediately started a building campaign for a proper motherhouse and sent out a leaflet to his German friends. Jacquemin, probably tipped off by one of Jordan's co-workers, immediately informed the Cardinal Vicar of this call "for an international motherhouse for the Catholic Teaching Society in the Holy City of Rome." He thereupon ordered Jacquemin to inform the German bishops about the non-binding, or rather withdrawn permission.

In his leaflet Jordan had declared that several year now had passed since, with the help of God, the Catholic Teaching Society had been founded in the City of Rome. God had guarded it like a tender plant and given it his fatherly blessing. In storms and sorrows it had been purified, it had grown and become strong. Its statutes had been approved by the church, and this large spiritual family had already become universal.

Moved by this motive and encouraged by the blessing of church authorities we wish to establish in Rome an international motherhouse

⁷⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.41. Letter to Sr. Theresia of the Apostles.

⁷⁷ See, A Closer Look: 5.42. Premature announcement of approval.

for our spiritual family, either by buying an older building or erecting a new one.

Jordan then pointed to other orders working universally (Augustinians, Dominicans, Salesians, Franciscans) who were all building on a large scale in spite of the persecution of religious. A fiery appeal for help followed. A good purpose merits support. To pitch one's tent in Rome, on the ground where the blood of martyrs had flowed and where so many saints had lived, Jordan found a holy act in itself. Then he comes to speak of the costs. Since he figured on about two million Lire, many helpers would be needed, for many small gifts would make a large total.

We have already a small start of 8,000 Francs, the remaining 1,992,000 will surely come. Courage and confidence in God! Let everyone give only one Franc and already we have more than our estimate.

Jordan then touched the objection: Why build so big? He reckoned the Lord would send him "several hundred" members and therefore he would need a big house.

See, we have already thirty-three, before having any house. If you have no money [to give] you can pray. [Jordan concludes:] Now courage and go to it in the name of the Lord. Rome, in February, 1886. Fr. Jordan (cf., MI, February 28, 1886).

Beneath Jacquemin's Italian translation of this appeal, Parocchi wrote his directives in dainty letters on February 5, 1886 (E-40). Two responses to Jacquemin's "Corrections" arrived, one from the bishop of Würzburg (April 3), the other from the bishop of Linz (April 7). The latter asked whether any objections would be raised to the publishing department of the CTS, which he had allowed to promote the good arising from it, such that he would have to withdraw the permission he had given Jordan. Jacquemin did not neglect to pass the two replies on to Jordan (E-40).

See, 5.43. Jacquemin's intervention with German bishops.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ See, A Closer Look: 5.43. Jacquemin's intervention with German bishops.

On February 27, 1886, Cardinal Parocchi gave his 3-year approval to the statutes for the Catholic Teaching Society drawn up by Jacquemin. These were handed to Jordan who was rather offended by such a procedure. He could only understand it as a silent questioning of his person and his work. His spiritual sons also found such supervision very unjustifiable. The next day Lüthen wrote in his diary:

Dom. Sexagesima. Loyalty to the Venerable Father! Follow him, as long as he does not sin, in this difficult situation; for I have joined him and no one else! (G-21; February 28, 1886).

The twelve fully professed members of the First Order were not willing simply to accept the action of church authorities, nor would they so willingly accept separation from their founder as the sisters had. To their mind evil slandering was involved. **See, 5.44. Jacquemin's Rule.**⁷⁹ (In the beginning of March, Jordan's good and enlightened advisor Fr. Ludwig Steiner was carried away by a pernicious sickness.)⁸⁰

Jordan even dared to ask for an audience between the Cardinal Vicar and his own spiritual sons! His request is an eloquent witness of his state of mind at the time, as well as of his faithfulness to his vocation as founder within the church, not to be broken by any afflictions.

Rome, March 1886. Most Rev. Eminence!

I, Johannes M. Fr. of the Cross (by civil name Johann Baptist Jordan) as the last son of Your Most Rev. Eminence, ask and implore you, kindly to receive in audience twelve men whom the Lord has given me and to hear them speaking of me. These twelve I have who have made their final profession; exactly thirty-three have received the holy habit of the Society. The Lord gave me twelve sisters who had taken their final vows when they left me, thirty-three had received the holy habit of the Society, one of those twelve has hanged herself, the

⁷⁹ See, A Closer Look: 5.44. Jacquemin's Rule.

⁸⁰ De Waal noted: "March 2, 1886, today died of smallpox Fr. Steiner, confessor in St. Peter's after he had still taken part in the meeting of the board of administrators last Sunday. Rest In Peace. Buried at the Agro Romano" (CS).

one I had appointed superior was called Petra [Streitel]. In this month it is now three years that I took the religious habit and the name Francis of the Cross, and that I have dedicated myself on the tombs of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul. God knows what and how much I have suffered in these three years, so that I was weary of life. All this has happened not through my fault; there were other reasons about which it is no longer necessary to speak. After having turned to God in prayer I resolved to present this to your Most Reverend Eminence for your consideration, and I again beg your Eminence to listen to these twelve men and also interview Sr. Johanna who has been faithful to the last, that is until I was ordered to withdraw from the sisters.

Your Most Reverend's least son, Fr. A Croce. (A-21).

The Cardinal Vicar was certainly surprised by Jordan's frankness, yet he hesitated to go into it at once. During this uneasy time of waiting Jordan sketched a more detailed application to Leo XIII with the renewed petition for a hearing. Jordan added some items of importance for assessing the events so bitter for him. He reminded the pope of the blessing he had given his work. He then remarked he had undertaken the foundation five years ago, and that three years ago "with the increased grace of God" he had turned his foundation into a religious society and had added in Rome a female branch. Since one mentally ill sister had made a suicide attempt, the ecclesiastical authorities which he most humbly venerate, had especially looked after this community. By choosing outside confessors the authorities had caused great difficulties. Additional difficulties had arisen regarding the superior: at first she had in her humility not wanted to accept office, but afterwards had increasingly defended it, and had finally lured the sisters away from their founder. During a necessary journey to Germany he had entrusted two priests to assist the sisters.

Then one of them, without his knowledge, appointed a new superior:

When I was overwhelmed with so much suffering and distress, all [sisters] having left me except one by the name of Johanna who would remain faithful to me until my moral death, until she too was obliged to desert me. Upon my return to Rome I saw with greatest pain the condition of my spiritual daughters. God knows it, I can not speak, God knows it. I wanted to talk to the superior and defend myself, but I found no hearing. But I trust that God Almighty has heard me. This

priest [Jacquemin], acting on orders of the church authorities, composed rules and statutes without having contacted the writer [Jordan] and without showing them to him. The new superior declared he would not hear me until I had promised to withdraw from the sisters. Thus under pressure I gave the declaration and called to God for help. Shortly afterwards one of the best of the sister's community was killed by a cart in the city of Rome. It is no use to say more--God knows all, He will bring it to light.

Jordan then complained that the ecclesiastical authority was now proceeding with the male branch in the same way, but not as severely. The priest who had acted in the manner described above, Jacquemin, had also been engaged to compose statutes for his spiritual sons. Those for the sisters as well as those for the male branch had been made practically without his knowledge. Jordan declared, "that he had been judged in serious matter before the whole world without being heard," and he also begged that Lüthen and others who witnessed what had happened, be heard by the authorities. Finally, Jordan asked that in this case the Rev. Fathers de Waal and Jacquemin be disregarded (A-22). **See, 5.45. Memorandum.**⁸¹ We don't know in which final form Jordan submitted his petition; presumably it stayed with the Cardinal Vicar. In any case, Parocchi granted the audience to the twelve professed members. He may have felt that he had given in too much to Jacquemin's influence. He assured these spiritual sons that Jordan himself would be allowed to present his own rule for approval.

Only on March 13, 1886, did Jordan again send a letter to Neuwerk, admonishing them to be patient and zealous serving God. He confessed, I hope that God who here so obviously is taking a hand, will very soon grant us help. In these days I have suffered much. The Lord will show His ways; just patience and much prayer. [He emphasized prayer] . . . is a mighty means . . . a strong weapon.

⁸¹ See, A Closer Look: 5.45. Memorandum.

We may conclude from these lines that the twelve professed members of the CTS were received by the Cardinal Vicar by the beginning of March.

On Passion Sunday (April 11, 1886, G-14), Jordan submitted an outline of rules in very simple form. **See, 5.46. The Short Rule.**⁸² On June 5, the Cardinal Vicar gave the requested approval, as usual "for three years" (TVU). **See, 5.47. Approbation and testimonials.**⁸³ In the meantime, Jordan worked on an improved rule in which he tried to consider the new regulations for religious communities. In the principle chapter he succeeded in fixing (in an incontestably canonical form) the apostolic goal of his foundation. This he did so clearly that this classical version stood in his foundation until the Second Vatican Council with only minor changes and additions. However, he omitted the gospel texts referring to imitating the apostles.

As the first article Jordan chose literally the article about the double aims which the Cardinal Vicar had approved in his sketch of June 5. In the second article he took up norm two of the rule of 1884:

Following the example of their leader, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the footsteps of the holy apostles faithful and manly, the members must totally and fully devote and consecrate themselves to God and to his cause retaining nothing for themselves.

In the third article he returns to the apostolic nerve of the Rule of 1882.

To save immortal souls, the members shall, with fervor and prudence in the Lord, use their own example, preaching and writing, and any other ways and means the love of God inspires, to reveal and praise God the Father and His Son, Jesus Christ, to everyone everywhere.

In the chapters concerning vows, Jordan considers the canon law for religious but falls back whenever possible upon his Rule of 1883, that is

⁸² See, A Closer Look: 5.46. The Short Rule.

⁸³ See, A Closer Look: 5.47. Approbation and testimonials.

to say upon the wisdom of St. Ignatius. Strangely enough, the chapters on administration, which he had not forgotten in his plan and which were stressed so much by the canon lawyers of that time, he completely omitted. But Jordan could forget them for the time being since Lüthen was the only priest with him. Lacking experience he hesitated to commit himself in this matter. The general directions were enough for him, and as founder he did not want to be limited in his actions (E-1207). **See, 5.48. The Rule of 1886.**⁸⁴

It was a joyful surprise for Jordan, who was especially fond of children, that Parocchi not only gave the customary temporary approval to the simple statutes for the Angel's Union, but by a special decree recommended it warmly (August 16, 1886).⁸⁵ Had the time now come when the church's previous distrust would give way to well-earned goodwill, when slanders would abate and give way to unprejudiced examination by the church? By mid year, applications to the First Order became so numerous that Jordan's heart gratefully rejoiced. At the same time, however, he was challenged as the father of his growing family. One

⁸⁴ See, A Closer Look: 5.48. The Rule of 1886.

⁸⁵ *Manna* published already in the first issue for 1885, a letter of Jordan to children in which he explains to them the meaning and value of the "League of Angels" dedicating their childhood especially to the Queen of the Holy Angels. In summer 1886, he presented to the Cardinal Vicar a brief statute of the Angel's League. Parocchi appended a Latin decree written in his own hand:
Lucidus Maria of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, of the Holy Roman Church
Cardinal priest Parocchi, Vicar General of His Holiness the Pope, for the Roman Curia and its territory appointed judge, etc. So that the new generations may grow up virtuous and God-fearing it is good to put them as soon as possible under the protection of the Mother of God and Virgin Mary and of the Holy Angels. Therefore, we erect the League of Angels created for this purpose by virtue of our office and proclaim it as a canonical institution. At the same time we confirm its constitution which is worded in the above two chapters and twelve articles, as provisionally approved for three years.

Given in Rome in the Cardinal Vicariate on August 16, 1886,
L.M.C.Vic. (TVU).

week before Christ-mas, Fr. Thomas Weigang became the first priest ordained in the CTS. He is one of the many unknown holy men of our Society who merits being remembered in loving devotion. **See, 5.49. Weigang.**⁸⁶ Among the young crowd of those days we also find other names of those who after completing their studies remained unforgettably connected with the rapid and blessed increase of the young Society.

By the end of 1886, a special report was issued expressing joy that a certain breakthrough had occurred. The Society had received the first ecclesiastical recognition. "Thereby a greater guarantee is given to our holy undertaking" (MI, July 13, 1886). The Angel's Union, as an important part of the apostolic engagement of the Catholic Teaching Society had found immediate ecclesiastical approval. The internal structure of the Society had also come to a certain finalization. The Roman College of Divine Providence now housed eighty-five men (professed, novices, oblates, candidates) of whom three were priests and some were lay brothers (E-129) In October there had been seventy-two.⁸⁷ The Third Grade too showed an increase. *Der Missionär* listed 339 members plus thirty-one children in the Angel's Union in the Parish of Marktl alone (MI, January 31, 1886). The fund for the new motherhouse grew steadily. Off and on, Divine Providence gave Jordan a special boost. So he reported in *Der Missionär* under "Thanks to the Patrons" a special help of 2,000 Marks from Germany, "which, after adding up the bills due for payment, came to just this amount" (MI, June 13, 1886).

⁸⁶ See, A Closer Look: 5.49. Weigang.

⁸⁷ Also the *Freiburger Katolische Kirchenblatt* reports at year's end 1886: "The motherhouse of the Catholic Teaching Society founded by Reverend Father Jordan is a nursery of apostolic workers." It stressed: "The international Roman community makes important progress" and therefore deserves any support (390). The paper also carries the annual report of the Society of 1886 as it had been sent by Jordan to the patrons and benefactors (January 26, 1887; cf., E-129).

At that time Jordan also had to refute a "distorted idea" which held that the Society ran a house for seminarians, diocesan or missionary:

We are a religious congregation with perpetual vows, we accept no one who does not feel called to the religious state, and is not firmly resolved to remain in the Society to the end of his life. A candidate must also possess the poverty of St. Francis or the holy apostles, he must be disposed for the sake of Christ, once he is perpetually professed in the Society, to leave everything and to live in the Society completely poor and with no private property. Upon this foundation the Society is built; through this it will be strong and lasting (MI, October 31, 1886).

Monitore Romano started in the fall of 1886, a lengthy series of articles on religious life and the CTS (MR, August 1884). There followed a special edition on the same subject. It closed with the pointed phrase: "The goal the Society is to strive to be totally apostolic" (*è del tutto apostolico*).

Amidst all this Jordan had not forgotten the two sisters in Neuwerk. In summer 1886, he believed he could dare once more to attempt a sisters community of the Catholic Teaching Society. On the Feast of the Assumption he wrote Sr. M. Theresia of the Apostles:

At last I can tell you that I have nearly firmly resolved to found another community of sisters because the others have left us. I intend now, God willing, to make a definite start, to which you and Sr. Ursula would be called in. The community would be called Sisters of Mercy of *Maria Hilf*, that is to stay under the protection of Mary as Help of Christians. But first I shall try to obtain ecclesiastical approval of the constitutions which I am sure will be granted. I would love it if you could find other good and capable young girls who then also would come to Rome, or to a nearby place where we want to lay the foundations. But please do not talk about it where it could do damage, for there will also be opponents.

The experience with his first young women, occasioned a postscript: "But for the beginning they must be especially virtuous" (August 15, 1886).
See, 5.50. 1886, a year of struggle.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ See, A Closer Look: 5.50. 1886, a year of struggle.

Jordan was able to look back with thanks to the last two years. To the sisters who were separated from him he wished every good, and also asked the Lord's guidance and blessing for them. His male foundation had grown in the shadow of the cross and gained strength. He was joyful that the Cardinal Vicar trusted him again and even personally ordained the first priest of the Society. It must have been around this time that the cardinal confessed to him: "An ocean of evil has been reported to the Holy Father about you" and excused himself discretely: "Let that be now; nothing more. You are neither a Jansenist, nor a laxest" (I-237).

Jordan owed special thanks to God that in dire straits Lüthen had stayed faithful at his side. For Lüthen, Jordan was his God-given superior:

In the Venerable Father I will see Jesus Christ, and will accordingly behave toward him helpfully, consolingly, etc., helping him carry his cross (resolution during retreats August 18-28, 1886, G-21).

Precisely in this way Lüthen was an example and support for the young members in these stormy times of the foundation. Both men endeavored especially to deepen the spiritual life of the young, hopeful religious community and to give it a form which was apt to grow into a sound tradition. **See, 5.51. The Society's life of prayer.**⁸⁹

His diary reveals how Jordan himself came through this test when the Lord had dangled him above the abyss:

When evil spirits, anxieties and sufferings encompass you on all sides, just pray to God with trust and work unremittingly for His holy cause. Help will come in His time; do not lose heart but place your whole trust in God. June 11, 1886 (SD 191).

For the glory of God and the salvation of souls, I intend and resolve to make every sacrifice, even of my own life, to promote and further the Society. I will always act in accordance with its purpose in the name of the Lord. Amen. July 30, 1886 (SD 192).

⁸⁹ See, A Closer Look: 5.51. The Society's life of prayer.

Pray most earnestly and always trust God to the utmost. August 7, 1886
(SD 192).

Look, the whole world is found in evil, and what are you doing?
Believe, trust, hope, love, work—you must lead all to Christ; you are a
debtor to all, to whatever nation they belong (SD 192).

NOW to the shedding of blood itself, to the cross—to death! To death on
the cross for Him alone and—and if only to please God (SD 193).

5. "... of the Cross." A Closer Look

5.1/1. *Der Missionär*, a periodical for Catholics edited by Lüthen soon occupied a surprisingly good place among similarly oriented German-language periodicals. In Munich, Lüthen could soon hand over the direction of the publishing house to Alfred Paul (later Br. Joseph of CTS), a pious man sincerely devoted to the Society. Lüthen himself remained not only the editor but also the "proprietor." But already at the beginning of 1883, difficulties with ecclesiastical authority were increasing.

The Archbishop of Munich* was not favorable towards us because of the fund raising in our periodicals, and finally he went so far as to prohibit

* Antonius von Steichele, born January 21, 1816, in Mertingen near Donauwörth, attended the Lyceum in Dillingen and studied theology in Munich, where he received a scholarship to Gregorianum Romanum. Among his professors were Döllinger and Möhler. Ordained in Augsburg, August 28, 1838, he was allowed to dedicate himself to philological studies in Munich. Bishop Peter made him Cathedral Vicar on August 7, 1884, and archivist as well as religion teacher at the local girls' school. On April 24, 1844, the highly talented priest became episcopal secretary, and on December 30, 1847, canon of the cathedral. For his comprehensive studies in church history of the Diocese of Augsburg he received in 1870 a doctorate in theology from the University of Munich. At the proposal of King Ludwig II, Pius IX made him *Domprobst* (as successor of Allioli, + August 9, 1873). On April 30, 1878, Ludwig II nominated him Archbishop of Munich and Freising. Leo XIII confirmed the royal nomination and his own local bishop, Pancratius von Dinkel, consecrated him bishop, assisted by the bishops of Regensburg and Passau. Von Steichele developed above all pastoral, catechetical and social charitable activity in his diocese. Politically, as *Reichsrath der Krone Bayern* he kept strictly to the negotiated concordat, quite in the sense of his Bavarian episcopal colleagues over whom he presided. Bishop von Steichele never went to Rome. Sickness (sufferings in chest and stomach) did not allow such a troublesome journey. The 65th successor of St. Korbinian died October 9, 1889, in Freising. Lüthen did not belong to his diocese. Von Steichele did not like non-diocesan priests "grazing" in his pasture.

me from publishing [lists of] the gifts received in our periodical.* Thus, our undertaking which was fully based on alms, received such a deadly blow we had to leave Munich. We settled the periodical in Rome, where we in the meantime had started our own printery (BL-1378).

Lüthen, who in Holy Week 1883, had been invested with the name of Bonaventura, remained in Rome as the first novice of the Catholic Teaching Society. From there he edited *Der Missionär* in addition to his later demanding tasks as novice master and spiritual director in the Motherhouse and as spiritual assistant to Jordan for the community of sisters founded at the same time. Lüthen had to represent Jordan fully during the founder's journeys and was his constant adviser.

Moving the periodical to Rome was not of course a final solution because the printing shop in the Palazzo Morone was already overloaded, and as a result mailing it became too expensive. Lüthen found a new home for *Der Missionär* in Braunau am Inn in the Diocese of Linz quite near the German border. From October 21, 1883 onward the periodical was printed there and mailed from Simbach on the opposite side of the border. Kastner took over the direction of the press and was proud of this position of trust. In Constance, Simon Deggelmann, sincerely attached to Jordan, established another delivery outlet.

On November 11, 1883, Lüthen himself settled in Braunau. In the meantime *Der Missionär* had reached about 6,500 subscribers. From January 1, 1884, appeared *Manna for Children*. The novice Lüthen found hospitable lodgings with *Benefiziaten* and later city-pastor Probst.

. . . in March, 1884, I returned to Rome, because I could not remain in Braunau because the Reverend Dean was not well minded towards us. But already in June 1884, I had to travel again to Germany and Austria

* In *Der Missionär* Lüthen used to give thanks for each gift, even the smallest, indicating the name of the donor. Jordan himself had a valuable circle of friends who never let him down. Leafing through *Der Missionär* of 1886, we meet names like Josef Spitthöver, Deggelmann, Hugo von Wüllenweber, Rector Lüthen, Johann Müller (Gurtweil), the pastors Werber, Nägele, Kneipp, Hopfenmüller, Fr. Koneberg. Also his mother Notburga, his aunt Elizabeth, the brothers Martin and Edward as well as Theodore sent their often modest gifts to Jordan.

to collect alms. Towards the end of September I came back to Rome where I then remained (BL-1378).

Lüthen was on a promotional trip from June 16 to September 30, 1884. The publishing house held on in Braunau under Kastner's circumspect administration. In the summer of 1904, it was transferred to Herbesthal at the Belgian-German border.

5.2/2. Religious discipline. Lüthen agreed completely when Jordan gave his undertaking the fixed form of a religious congregation. He himself had been bound to the CTS since June 18, 1882, by final vows, although in a purely private form. He welcomed the fact that Jordan aspired to public ecclesiastic acknowledgment of the inner vocation they were both already living. Jordan's giving him the religious name Bonaventura corresponded fully to Lüthen's spiritual attitude. He agreed with Jordan that their undertaking had to be marked by apostolic poverty like the apostolic work begun by St. Francis of Assisi in his day. At the same time his name reminded him that he had received from the Lord the task to be constant-ly at Jordan's side as his faithful companion and fellow sufferer. It was quite obvious that Jordan entrusted him with the spiritual guidance of the young members. This demanded a new arrangement of the house of studies. Lüthen reports in this regard:

When I came to Rome in 1883, a considerable number of men had already gathered around the Rev. Fr. dedicating themselves to studies. The greater part of them didn't have the intention to join the Society forever; they just wanted to use the Society to reach the priesthood. As the financial means of the Society did not allow us to continue this in itself laudable work, and as on the other side the Society had to change over into a religious congregation by accepting the holy habit from the founder, those students were selected who wanted to dedicate themselves to the religious life and to the Society; the others had to look for their sustenance elsewhere. Those members who stayed received the religious habit from Reverend Father and began their novitiate (notes of August 15, 1910, BL-1378).

5.3/5. Reichenlechner, Fr. Cyprianus a *Passione Domini* (Johann Baptist) was born June 3, 1843, in Oberjurbach near Stammham in the Diocese of Passau. Ordained on March 17, 1843, the very talented and pious priest became secretary of his local bishop, Heinrich von Hofstätter (1805-1875). He esteemed Reichenlechner's preaching so much that he allowed only him to preach in the Cathedral of St. Stephan when he himself was unavailable. In his diocese he bishop greatly promoted popular missions given by the Redemptorists from Altötting. Reichenlechner felt very attracted by these zealous sons of St. Alphonsus. He joined the congregation and was invested October 14, 1871 in Altötting, but was dismissed on August 10, 1872. A few years later he joined the Order of Discalced Carmelites and made profession in Reisach, October 29, 1879. Belonging to the Carmelite Monastery in Würzburg, he was confessor in the Carmel of Himmelsporten from May 1882 till May 1885. His predecessor there had been Fr. Dionysius of the *Mater Dolorosa* (January 1877-1892, May). The Prior in Würzburg was at that time Fr. Ambrosius Käß. The Prioress of Himmelsporten was Mother M. Anna a S. Joachim (nee, Margaretha Neuland, Würzburg, 3 December, 1819-1886, May 14, Himmelsporten).

Fr. Cyprian was a successful preacher and spiritual writer (*The Life of St. Luitgard*, 1878; *The History of the Order of the Carthusians in Germany*, 1885). In 1893, he became a Carthusian, "for he was a restless spirit." After five years he returned to the Carmel where he continued his literary activity (*The 16 Blood Brides of Compiègne*, 1906). The last years of his life he had to spend in the mental home in Deggendorf, where he died February 27, 1923. "How happy will he be now, when he enjoys a clear intellect and a quiet mind" (*Necrologia Carmelitarum*, Regensburg, 1934). The spiritual influence of Fr. Cyprian on Sr. Petra Streitl was very great. Jordan made his acquaintance when working on the canonical settlement of her unresolved bonds to the Monastery of Maria Stern.

5.4/6. Streitl, Amalie, was born November 24, 1844, in Mellrichstadt, Lower Franconia. Her parents were Adam Streitl (1808-1894) of a forest guard family and Franziska Hörhammer (1817-1895), daughter of a brewer from Ingolstadt. Both were devoted Catholics. They had married on February 13, 1844, in Mellrichstadt, where Mr. Streitl was a public

official. Mr. Streitl, after concluding his studies, was at first assessor at the district court in Mellrichstadt (1844-1857); he acted as judge in Weyhers near Fulda; from 1862 on he was again in Mellrichstadt as royal Bavarian districtman. Pensionable at the age of 65, Adam Streitl retired together with his wife to Bamberg, where they spent their last years.

After the first born, Amalie, three more children followed: sons Adam (1846-1927) and Hermann (1851-1916) and the youngest daughter Hedwig (1853-1931). The parents educated their four children strictly, giving them a good formation. The sons earned their bread as officials of the Royal Bavarian War Department. Hedwig received her training as a teacher in Maria Stern and then worked as a volunteer teacher with the Mary Ward Sisters in Bamberg. Adam Streitl was a just and conscientious official. He took effective care of the people of his district. He attached great importance to the schooling of youth and tried successfully to assist the Stern Sisters in the education of girls.

Her parents had the very talented Amalie trained as a teacher in Maria Stern in Augsburg. In 1862, she took her diploma and spent four years at home again. Already at that time she thought about religious life. Her parents, however, thought such a step to be premature for their 18 year-old daughter. They demanded a solid maturation of her religious vocation. In the fall of 1866, Amalie, after reaching her majority, entered Maria Stern. On June 8, 1866, she made her first vows, renewing them annually. "Sr. Angela" as she was now called, had probably aspired to "final profession in Maria Stern, but had only been temporarily professed when she transferred to the Carmel in 1882. She received her first assignment as a teacher in Monheim bei Nördlingen. Sr. Angela was a strict teacher. By the fall of 1871, she had become superior in the trade school the sisters had recently assumed in Altomünster. On May 13, 1872, she had to transfer to Würzburg to direct Elizabeth-Institute, an orphanage for about 30 children. As she reported to the bishop of Augsburg (September 1881), she became deathly ill there and experienced her second conversion. In April 1880, urged by ecclesiastical circles favorable to her and following her own wish, she took over the Marienanstalt, which until then had been under secular administration.

When Sr. Angela had first entered the Franciscan community of Maria Stern, with which she had been connected since her school days, she felt no inner difficulties worth mentioning. Her parents also approved her step. The ecclesiastical examination before her investiture was conducted by *Domkapitular* Anton Steichele, later bishop of Munich, in his capacity as episcopal commissar. To his question, since when had Sr. Angela thought about a religious vocation, she answered: "since October 1866." As to her motive Sr. Angela indicated: "to serve God and to secure the salvation of her soul." Then she stressed: "My decision has been made out of my free will and well considered in spite of opposition voiced against it." To the question, whether her parents agreed, Amalie answered with a clear "Yes." Then she added that there were no obstacles to her entering Maria Stern (cf., Protocol of May 15, 1886, AA).

On May 19 1868, the ecclesiastically prescribed examination before first profession was again performed by Canon Anton Steichele. After confirming the date of her investiture (June 3, 1867) Sr. Angela declared: "Yes, I am determined to be able to serve God perfectly," i.e., to profess vows. When asked whether this decision was voluntary, Sr. Angela answered in the affirmative without any reserve: "Yes, out of my free will and well considered!" (AA).

In the course of over thirteen years as a Stern Sister in temporary vows Sr. Angela always worked in houses of the Stern Sisters, which were usually occupied by three to four other sisters. The local tasks corresponding to the aims of the Franciscan Elisabeth Sisters of Maria Stern were charitable ones, taking preferential care of poor and abandoned girls. Sr. Angela worked only three years as a teacher. Then as superior for ten years she had a demanding position of trust as a mother for orphans and poor maidservants.

As superior of the Würzburg Marienanstalt, Sr. Angela was surprised no longer to feel happy in a task which "was quite against her spiritual orientation" (letter to Bishop von Dinkel, September, 1882, AA). She now felt attracted to a severe Order or to the care of the sick. Already on February 23, 1882, she had an exchange of views with the mother general, Sr. Salesia Ellersdorfer, for she felt inclined towards the Carmel in Himmelsporten. Sr. Salesia agreed, of course, but demanded that Sr.

Angela reconsider her step seriously. In any case, her entry to the Carmel was delayed because there was no free place.

Once the mother general of Maria Stern had received the agreement of the prioress of Himmelspforten, Mother Anna (1819-1886) and of the Prior of Würzburg, Fr. Ambrosius Käß, she, herself being ill, had her representative inform the bishop of Augsburg that she had agreed to let Sr. Angela join the Carmel of Himmelspforten:

As the Reverend Mother informed your Episcopal Grace already some time ago, while giving you some relevant letters of Sr. Angela, she just wants to remark that she does not oppose the execution of this wish of Sr. Angela, leaving it all to your Episcopal Grace's decision (letter of January 7, 1882, AA). [NB: Mother Salesia had to stay in bed suffering of a severe cold, but she wanted the request of Sr. Angela passed on and made her vicaress write it.]

Käß also urged von Dinkel to allow the transfer as soon as possible.

[Her] decision grew step by step and she seems to be seriously prepared to dedicate herself to the service of the Lord in the strict Order of the Carmel wishing nothing more than to realize her purpose as soon as possible. I have illustrated to her the whole seriousness of the Order, but she remained steadfast and asks for admission, better today than tomorrow. . .

He asked "urgently and most humbly" for early permission (letter of January 11, 1882, AA).

The mother general of Maria Stern, Sr. Salesia, had then to calm pastor Beckert, saying she would be able to send a new superior to Marienanstalt after receiving permission from the bishop. Then she would at once fill the position soon to be vacated by Sr. Angela:

Trusting in the assistance of God I will try to correspond to your wishes as much as possible. Through Sr. Angela's departure a new sorrow has come up to me in regard to the Marienanstalt, however, I am happy this matter has reached its aim (letter, January 12, 1882, AMSt).

Episcopal permission arrived in Maria Stern a few days later, Mother Salesia passed it on to Sr. Angela:

The convent sister, professed here in the monastery of Maria Stern, M. Angela Streitel, at the time being superior of the Marienanstalt in Würzburg, has made the application to me to allow her to join a severe order: the Monastery of the Carmelite Sisters at Himmlespforten. As the Mother Superior of the Monastery Maria Stern according to the declaration on the 7th of the month has given her agreement to the execution of this wish and as the Reverend Prior of the Discalced Carmelites in Würzburg, Fr. Ambrosius Käß,^{*} and as the vicar of the

^{*} Ferdinand Käß was born October 24, 1815, in Untergünzburg. On October 12, 1841 he took his vows with the Discalced Carmelites in Würzburg and received the name Ambrosius of the Immaculate Conception. On November 20 of the same year he was ordained.

Fr. Ambrosius felt urged to go into the missions. For the sake of this wish he earlier renounced twice (1851 in Würzburg; 1852 in Regensburg) the office of Prior. Cardinal von Hohenlohe pushed his own idea so that the superior general did not send Fr. Ambrosius to the missions but kept him as spiritual director for the Carmelite nuns in Prague (1853-1857 and 1860-1863).

Again and again Fr. Ambrosius assumed offices of responsibility in his order like novice master, province vicar, and province definator. Seven times he was the Prior in Würzburg. He was also a sought-after retreat master, and once he directed the common spiritual retreats of the German and Austrian bishops gathered in Fulda. From April 1882 to April 1885, Fr. Ambrosius was only sub-prior in Würzburg and as such not responsible when "Sr. Petra" Streitel left the Carmel at Himmelspforten or when Jordan endeavored with Bishop von Dinkel to resolve the question of her bonds to the Stern Monastery in Augsburg.

Fr. Ambrosius was the theologian of his Order at Vatican I. However, he thought not yet "opportune" the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility to which he fully agreed, because he feared an exodus from the church of excellent theologians. In September 1876, King Ludwig II appointed him Bishop of Würzburg. Before that Fr. Ambrosius had freely declared to Minister Lutz that he could not be a "court-bishop," but that he would strictly keep to the principles and rights of the church, for he was "Catholic from his head to the soles of his feet." This frankness pleased the king. In the diocese itself the appointment was mostly welcome and Fr. Ambrosius received sincere congratulations. Only a few, but influential clerics protested in Rome and cleverly pointed to the opinion of the Carmelites at Vatican I. Pius IX therefore left Fr. Ambrosius' petition to confirm his election unanswered three years. He finally submitted his renunciation

monastery of Himmelspforten on the 11th of the month has agreed to the pious desire of M. Angela and asks for the release of the same from the Convent of Maria Stern in order to join immediately the Carmelites, therefore, I give herewith the permission to transfer the said convent-sister from the Monastery of Maria Stern . . . Order of St. Francis to the Order, i.e., the Monastery of Himmelspforten in Würzburg. She (the same) has to arrange her transfer in her customary religious habit and accompanied by a trustworthy woman. The Mother Superior has to inform the previously mentioned convent-sister of my permission and must notify me at the given time about the change-over adding a certificate of the Prioress of the Monastery of Himmelspforten.

Augsburg, January 17, 1882. + Pancratius.

Concordat cum originali. In fidem Augustae Vindel. February 4, 1886. L.S. Pancratius, Epps. August. (TVU, l.d. 1).

It is not specifically said why von Dinkel at the beginning of February 1886, sent a copy of this January 17, 1882 decision to Rome. By then the question of the superior, which had so much agitated the flourishing community of sisters already separated from Jordan, had been resolved in favor of Streitl to the satisfaction of the majority of the sisters.

January 21, 1882, Mother Salesia announced the new superior, Sr. Bernarda, to the director of the Marienanstalt and pastor of St. Peter and Paul. She had sent a sister,

. . . who loves the girls and children, and knows how to direct a household. If later a teacher is needed, help can be granted. . . . Mother Salesia had today sent the document of the bishop regarding the transfer to Sr. Angela. On Monday the successor of Sr. Angela would travel to Würzburg from here, and the official transfer of the institute to the same could be made on Thursday if she wishes to do so. May God bless this entry, this is my prayer (AMSt).

to the Bavarian king in humble ecclesiastic obedience. Since April 1879, Prior of Würzburg for the sixth time, Fr. Käß was among the first to render homage to Bishop Franz Steiner nominated in his place, who was consecrated May 18, 1879. Fr. Ambrosius died on September 21, 1890 in the Würzburg Monastery.

Two days later, on January 25, 1882, Sr. Angela entered Himmelspforten. On February 10, 1882, the convent chapter agreed to invest Sr. Angela as a novice. She received the name of Sr. Petra (Alcantara) of St. Josef.

5.5/8. Streitl's deprature from Himmelspforten made Sr. Petra once again a member of the Congregation of the Sisters of Maria Stern. The vows made there had not been abrogated during her novitiate in the Carmel, but continued to be valid. On December 1, 1882, Fr. Cyprian turned to the mother general of Maria Stern, Sr. Salesia, and wrote:

. . . in the name and at the request of Sr. Petra (called Angela by you) who had transferred to the nuns of the said monastery from her congregation and superior of the Marienanstalt [I am] to transmit the following *Privatissimum* to your Reverence: Would you be ready to re-integrate into your province the said nun just as if she had never left?" [Fr. Cyprian gave his opinion]: that the talented and very pious Petra = Angela could do much more good in your congregation than in the monastery of the Carmelite Sisters. I think it is the will of God that she combine the active with the contemplative life, and I would even welcome as a happy thought her returning to the excellently administrated post of superior at the Marienanstalt, from whence she had the courage to be buried for almost eleven months in the deep solitude of the severe life of the Carmelite Sisters. Your Reverence may be sure that Sr. Angela, as she is called by you, has won much in regard to obedience, spirit of prayer, humility and all virtues during these ten months and that she will be of even greater service than until now.

Fr. Cyprian asked for an immediate answer, although "her leaving is not yet definitely decided, but is probably very near." He also requested her Franciscan religious habit to be sent. At the same time he asked Sr. Salesia whether, "if her leaving (i.e., withdrawal) takes place, would she call Sr. Angela to herself in Augsburg or to one of her other religious establish-ments?" Fr. Cyprian underlined that "we all, really all, the nuns as well as the confessor were very satisfied with her." He added: "In case you refuse to re-accept Angela my proposal and the decision of our novice would of course undergo modification." For reasons of secrecy he asked her to send the answer to him in a well-sealed envelope through

the spiritual director Michael Beckert. Fr. Cyprian defended his preceding: as "it is a kind of confessional secret, I chose this falseness" (AMSt).

On the same day pastor Beckert also wrote to Sr. Salesia: "I have just heard Mar[ia] Angela has asked you for her religious habit through her confessor. That it would turn out like this I foresaw and foretold you, and this news has not surprised me." But he said it annoyed him that the correspondence should go through his hands and that Sr. Angela wanted to remain in Würzburg. Fr. Cyprian had "without my knowledge and against my will acted like this." He could not re-accept Sr. Angela into the Marienanstalt. "In God's name I will be the postman!" Beckert probably added his own letter to the one of Fr. Cyprian. Sr. Bernarda, then superior of Marienanstalt, also added a hurriedly written letter:

Poor Reverend Mother! I have cried so much today; but I always had a presentiment that it would happen like this. M. Angela was about to mix up the Himmelsporten, she wanted to found a quite new order. . . . [Then she begs Beckert] with raised arms: fetch M. Angela so that she may not stay in Würzburg not even for one hour. Everything would become mixed up. I don't understand her character, that she would have the least wish to return to the Marienanstalt (AMSt).

Mother Salesia, superior of Maria Stern, replied to Fr. Cyprian at once.

The letter of your Reverence of December 1st has surprised me to the utmost not because of the personality in question, but because of what and how I am called now to say a decisive word in regard to the question put forward. The letter does not express whether Sr. Angela is not inclined to bear the burden which the Order of the Carmelites imposes or whether she has to fear a negative answer in regard to her definitive acceptance. I think the time has not yet come to express my own judgement as I had already formed it by myself.

In this regard I remark that the Reverend Fr. Prior of the Carmelites in Würzburg [Fr. Käß] got in touch with our Reverend Bishop himself, so that no obstacle be made for her to enter the Order of the Carmelites, as he thought he might be convinced that she was quite called to such a severe order.

I must also allow myself to remark that I have no right at all as superior of my congregation to become involved in a correspondence which contradicts the strict prescription of the order.

I completely entrust the matter to God, and if then in an official form, i.e., a petition or whatsoever is made to me by her actual superiors in regard to the dismissal of Sr. Angela, then I shall act according to the ecclesiastic prescriptions. (letter, December 4, 1882, AMSt).

Pastor Beckert conveyed the letter to Fr. Cyprian. Mother Salesia also shared her answer to the spiritual director, Beckert to whom she wrote on December 12, 1882:

As superior of the religious congregation I could not agree to offer my hand for a correspondence which offends the Rule of the order. What the letter of the Reverend Father is about, your Reverence may guess; he has asked me to keep the matter to myself. That you, Reverend Spiritual Director were selected to convey this letter did not at all evoke mistrust in me, oh no! I think if Sr. Angela will not get admittance in the monastery of Himmelspforten, it will be equally unpleasant to you although not so surprising to me. But I have no intention at all to put her back in her earlier position. Sr. Angela has in fact deliberately joined a more severe monastery; may God now grant her perseverance, this my prayer for her. . . . (with Sr. Bernarda and her sisters things surely function well!) (AMSt).

Consequently, it seems Mother Salesia did not know Sr. Angela had already on December 8, 1882, decided to leave the Carmel and that she had informed her family by letter. According to her own statements, Sr. Petra had informed the Prioress of Himmelspforten on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception that she could not remain because of health reasons. But she did not have the courage to take the ordinary way through the prior and the bishop. It is at least strange that neither the Prioress nor Fr. Cyprian insisted on that, or that neither one had alerted Father Prior, Fr. Käß, although Mother Salesia had clearly enough indicated the ordinary way to the confessor.

Sr. Petra had civil clothes brought to her by her brothers on December 13, 1882, and then traveled home to Bamberg. Her parents were not happy with their daughter's latest step, which could be interpreted as inconstancy. In the city of Bamberg it caused less sensation than in Mellrichstadt, where Mr. Streitl enjoyed great notoriety. There

exists no proof as to whether Fr. Cyprian, who remained connected with Streitl, had directed her to Jordan. Of the three prescribed votes for Sr. Petra's admission to profession in the Carmel, the first ballot of June 15, 1882 had brought nine "yes" and six "no" out of fifteen capitulars. The second ballot of October 10, 1882 had resulted in nine "yes" and five "no" out of fourteen capitulars; the third ballot was not necessary, as Sr. Petra had already left the Carmel. For admission a simple majority was sufficient (Archive of Himmelspfort).

5.6/9. The Stern Monastery (Franciscan Sisters of Maria Stern) in Augsburg was founded in 1258, during the lifetime of St. Clare. The monastery had an eventful history. For centuries it was the center of gravity of Franciscan life in Augsburg and a Catholic pillar of strength during the turbulence of the Reformation. Since 1828, the Stern Monastery changed with the times. The secluded Stern nuns became Stern Sisters according to the example of St. Elisabeth of Thüringen, who dedicated herself in Christian charity towards the poor, the sick, and children. The "second foundress," Mother Salesia Ellersdorfer, made the Augsburg monastery the motherhouse of a flourishing congregation over which she presided from 1843 till 1888, with motherly prudence and kindness. Under her direction the traditional limit of 22 nuns able to be housed in Stern-Monastery increased to 400 Stern Sisters with the right to vote. Sr. Salesia sent her sisters with the permission of the bishop of Augsburg first to the poor residents of Rhön-spessart. Under Bishop von Dinkel the Franciscan life and the charitable activity of the Stern Sisters (*Soroes terziariae Francsicanae = Elisabettinae Bavariae*) was in full bloom. Thus they enjoyed a great reputation among the Catholic population. Even today the motherhouse in Augsburg is a center of Franciscan life, and the "perpetual adoration" in the little Stern Church is a place many worshipers meet. The monastery was completely destroyed in WWII and afterwards rebuilt in the same style. The then Patriarch of Venice, Angelo Roncalli (later Bl. John XXIII) came personally to the Stern Monastery and delivered a sermon to the sisters on Dan 12:3: "those who turn many to righteousness shall shine like stars for ever and ever," a text that had also inspired Jordan.

5.7/10. Streitl at Stern. How Sr. Angela Streitl managed her life as a Stern Sister, she herself reported in detail in September 1881, to the bishop of Augsburg. Her otherwise very pious parents "had been against her joining a severe order or one dedicated to the care of the sick" (probably because they also knew too well the still often harsh and vehement character of their daughter). But they gladly agreed to her entering Maria Stern where she had also had her formation as a teacher. Amalie suffered from deep home-sickness during her candidature, because as she put it, she was obliged by superiors "to live a calling which was quite contrary to the orientation of my soul."

As a novice she had to face the "old struggle" again: "You belong in a strict Order" (the purpose of the letter to the bishop was in fact to attain entry into the Carmel): for ten years she had directed a branch foundation. Then she confessed in her request for a transfer to the Carmel: zealous at first, she had become a tepid religious. A "mortal illness" led to her conversion. "I fought a hard struggle with my egotism, with my wrong inclination and with my temper." As superior she had difficulties with the "motherhouse." She had to suffer calumny, sharp reprimands and suspicions. For a year and a half she had been superior of the Marien-anstalt, which "was in great disorder."* Sr. Angela's sense of order was stricter than that of the past administration. Nevertheless, she reported that, "In the motherhouse they were nothing less than favorable to me."

Sr. Angela had lobbied hard through responsible persons to be allowed to take over the "sunken" institution, because "this was the will of God." Mother Salesia yielded to the intercessions of influential people from Würzburg and withdrew the duly elected superior in favor of Sr. Angela. In her petition Sr. Angela withheld this fact. Neither did she indicate at all how far she herself may have caused the tensions with the generalate of Maria Stern.

* In reality this was after the erection of a new building and the transfer of the well led house from lay-hands into those of the sisters. An orphanage was added whose 60 girls were to be trained to become good servants.

In the Marienanstalt, Sr. Angela experienced "a flood of pain and sorrow, of harshness and humiliations." Without being allowed to defend herself she was condemned: "There was no talk of forgiving love." But she persevered with help "from the salvific force of the wounds of the Lord," in spite of "a pain-soaked heart." Thus she could bring "order everywhere already after a few months." Some months after taking over the Marien-anstalt on August 4, 1880, she went to Himmels-pforten to present her desire to the local confessor, Fr. Dionysius. For "inside me there was a loud voice: 'Go and ask there for admission; that's where God wants to have you.'" When she later had doubts about the correctness of her step, she discussed it with a former Franciscan. This priest advised her "to speak openly with her mother general." Streitl herself justified her planned change of orders because it "was obviously the will of God and was not conditioned by human or narrow-minded motives." On February 23, 1881, Sr. Angela had a discussion with Mother Salesia. The general superior let her go. "No reproach, no bitterness, no discordant or unkind remark reached me. She was sorry for having hurt me previously, because she was often erroneously informed."* Of course Mother Salesia made Sr. Angela ask for the bishop's "permission to leave the Monastery of Maria Stern" (AA).

Thus we see Streitl did not omit from her petition the difficulties she met as superior. Only her supernatural disposition helped her to endure. But the two or three sisters she oversaw could not be blamed if they felt it not only as an element of vowed Franciscan poverty but equally as a caprice of their superior, when late in the evening after a hard working day they had to change their rooms or exchange their underwear or books at the order of their superior. Towards the resident girls too she showed herself more severe than mild. In the months after her exchange of views with mother general differences may have remained for the superior as well as for the sisters and children of the Marienanstalt. We don't know whether Mother Salesia took a position

* The vague expression "often erroneously" can well include "not only erroneous." Furthermore, each sister always had the possibility to turn to the kind Bishop von Dinkel to get her rights.

towards the bitter reproaches of Sr. Angela regarding the motherhouse and the generalate of Maria Stern, or what they were. Von Dinkel could of course ask prudent and mild Mother General about it all. He knew and esteemed her.

The correspondence (AMSt) of 1879, regarding the takeover of Marienanstalt still exists. At that time Sr. Angela was the superior of the orphanage sponsored by the *Elisabethen-Verein von Würzburg*. From the very beginning Sr. Angela actively involved herself in negotiations concerning the Stern Sisters' takeover of the newly built *Marienheim*. Of the 32 letters between Würzburg and Maria Stern, 12 are from Sr. Angela, the rest mostly from Beckert, the responsible pastor of St. Peter and Paul, and for the assistant at the episcopal seminary, Dr. Braun. The first letter is by the chaplain of Julius Hospital, who on January 16, 1879, as secretary of the *Marienverein* for maidservants tried to engage Stern Sisters for the *Marienheim*, which was to train maidservants as well as care for the sick and old maid servants. There was a plan to unite the *Elisabethenverein* with the *Marienheim*. Therefore, he wished for the common administration to have sisters of the same congregation who were already working in the orphanage. Chaplain Carl Val Schneider wanted the superior of the *Elisa-bethenanstalt*, Sr. Angela Streitl, to become superior of the *Marienanstalt*, as she already knew the situation in Würzburg. In addition, many maid-servants were coming from the *Elisabethenanstalt*, and Sr. Angela was also capable in negotiating with the girls' employers.

That Sr. Angela agreed to these plans is found in her January 19, 1879 letter to the "sincerely loved Reverend Mother." There she at once made her proposals about the qualities her two sisters companions should have so that the people living in the house would be well cared for. Sisters were not required there because it was a "run-down institute," but because the director up till then had retired on account of old age, and the home could now be accommodated in a new building. (Sr. Angela also mentions that during her recent visit Reverend Mother had not liked "her extraordinary confessing" and that she had improved in this regard.) In a second letter of January 21, Sr. Angela asked mother general to allow her to take with her the Stern Sister Petra, with whom

she got on especially well in the *Elisabethenanstalt*. This letter is worth mentioning as in it Sr. Angela points out in her own favor that for nine months there had been no discord in the *Elisabethenheim*. She also asks Mother Salesia not to list her request for Sr. Petra under the rubric "Acts of Violence."

On January 21, 1879, Dr. Braun intervened. In his opinion what was most urgent was not a teacher but a nurse for the retired ex-servants. This would also facilitate governmental approval. For these, three sisters would be sufficient.

On March 5, 1879, Sr. Angela writes to the Reverend Mother: Pastor Beckert wishes "so much for me [underlined by her] to be entrusted with the direction of the Anstalt." She again asks for Sr. Petra and makes further proposals for personnel. She says she is healthy again. Through the help of St. Joseph (much venerated by Sr. Angela), . . . I have peace with myself and with my sisters, and in the Marienanstalt we have prayed much and intensely and always only this: The holy will of God be done. When I became aware that the burden of direction should be entrusted to me, I asked God like a child to show me that I was destined by fulfilling three requests for me: 1) good health, 2) sincere recognition of my faults, 3) perfect peace with my surroundings by tolerating it with sincere love and patience.

Sr. Angela is happy that for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a year nothing had disturbed the peace, for she had said goodbye to her moods. Already on March 11, Sr. Angela writes again in regard to the question of personnel and asks her superior not to interpret it as "tactless arrogance." A letter of May 5, 1879, by the pastor of St. Peter and Paul has been preserved, which in the course of time caused quite a stir: "Dear Angela! . . . At the end of the month we hope to move in. Prepare yourself. In a hurry, respectfully, Beckert." That same evening Sr. Angela writes to Reverend Mother, asking her to recall her from the *Elisabethenanstalt* so that she could prepare herself for the Marienanstalt. She would like to go to the institute for maidservants in Augsburg in order to learn more. Sr. Petra might accompany her to Donauwörth, where the former could rest at the pastor's until she herself would return with her to their new home in Würzburg.

At that time there was an incident with a malicious tongue. Pastor Beckert defends Sr. Angela: saying she had been incited, and on May 7, Dr. Braun thanked the Reverend Mother for not appointing Sr. Angela as superior, as she would not be up to the task. The same day Pastor Beckert also intervened: because of his hurriedly written "Prepare yourself," Sr. Angela should not have been blamed or passed over as superior. He was sorry for this incident no less than Dr. Braun. Neither wanted Sr. Angela to lose her confidence because of the "overly familiar" utterance.

On the same day also, Sr. Angela writes to the superior general about the difference between Dr. Braun and Pastor Beckert. In doing so the sensitive sister asks, "Why are you so ill-disposed toward me, depriving me of all hope in your motherly love?" Mother Salesia calms her immediately and Sr. Angela thanks her "dear good Reverend Mother" on May 7. By May 9, Sr. Angela returns to the matter: Pastor Beckert could neither eat nor sleep in peace because now she was not coming to Marienanstalt. Sr. Petra, urged by the pastor, also turned to Mother Salesia with the request to send Sr. Angela to Marienanstalt as superior (May 27, 1878). The next day Sr. Angela asks again to be allowed to take Sr. Petra with her in case she would become superior.

After the inauguration of Marienanstalt by the bishop, Mother Salesia appointed a Sr. Romana as superior. Sr. Angela thanks the superior general that she was not destined for Marienanstalt: "I have learned to keep silent and to suffer. The Lord be praised!!" On July 22, 1879, Dr. Braun mentions that ministerial approval had finally arrived and asks Mother Salesia to send three sisters as soon as possible. From an undated letter of Canon Lochner we see that in April 1880, Sr. Angela was transferred as superior to the Marienanstalt and that she could take Sr. Petra with her. The Canon asks Mother General the reason for the transfer. There had in fact been "no collision of any kind between the superior Sr. Angela and the ladies of the presidency" of the *Elisabethen-verein*. "This transfer came quite unexpectedly for us." Sr. Angela had (it is said at the request of higher-ups) left the house immediately in order to guarantee an orderly handover.

This informative correspondence has been added here because it offers a certain background for the petition to Bishop von Dinkel, wherein Sr. Angela included certain experiences at the Stern Sisters. Although she did not indicate her personal difficulties with her superiors and sisters as a decisive reason, these experiences might nevertheless have contributed to her decision. It is worth mentioning that Sr. Angela in the above letters did not indicate any inner difficulties which might have moved her to leave or awakened in her the desire for a purely contemplative life as a way out of her situation. But only ten months after taking over the desired position in the Marienanstalt, her strenuous wrestling with the transfer into the Carmel began (cf., discussion with Mother Salesia of February 23, 1881, and her request to the competent bishop in September 1881). It remains equally obscure how far Fr. Cyprian of the Carmel in Sander-straße was implicated in this change of Orders. (By the way, Sr. Angela formed as a teacher had extraordinarily beautiful handwriting and an astonishing ability to pen her thoughts and wishes.)

5.8/11. Streitl in Rome. From Bamberg, Streitl connected with Lüthen in Munich. Fr. Cyprian is said to have been mediator. Lüthen sent Thekla Bayer to Streitl in Bamberg (January 26, 1883). Streitl traveled to Munich on February 1, 1883. There she quickly won Lüthen's confidence. He sent Bayer away and recommended Streitl to Jordan for the first foundation of sisters in Rome (cf., BL-1378). So Amalie Streitl arrived in Rome on February 16, 1883. She retained the name she had as a sister in the Carmel: Sr. Petra. Lüthen as well as Jordan were acting in good faith that she was without any further bonds, and that her leaving Stern Monastery and entering Carmel had happened with episcopal permission. As a novice in the Carmel she had been free to leave at any time. They both came to know only later that Sr. Petra, as she affirmed in good faith due to the agreement of her confessor, had not returned to Stern Monastery after leaving Himmelsporten nor let herself be dispensed from her vows—the bishop's condition for the transfer.

Streitl was four years older than Jordan, two years older than Lüthen. As all three were over forty, such an age difference had little importance. However, Sr. Angela (Petra) had enjoyed good training as a

teacher. She had experience as an educator, as a religious and as a superior. Jordan and Lüthen both appreciated this and therefore thought she was qualified for their plan of founding a female branch of the CTS.

After leaving the Carmel, Sr. Petra had no communication with Maria Stern, but she did not immediately break off all ties with Carmel. On December 29, 1882, her novice mistress Sr. Stanisla wrote to her from Bamberg that she had in vain been waiting for a Christmas greeting. She asked about Sr. Petra's health after all the "excitements of mind in the last days" and remarked, "Dark and thorny are often the ways Divine Providence leads souls." She admonished her "dear spiritual daughter" to grow in the love of the cross. She advises Sr. Petra to reflect whether the Order of the Cistercians might not attract her. (Himmelsporten had formerly been a monastery of Cistercian sisters.)

On March 1, 1883, Sr. Stanisla answered a letter from her former novice now in Rome. She had been glad when Fr. Cyprian had told her that "Sr. Petra has been called to Rome." The Carmel had certainly been a good school for this purpose. Then she remarked that her "sympathy for her internal and external sufferings as well as her care for her health" had just been her duty as novice mistress. That Sr. Petra was living so near to the Carmelite parish S. Maria in Transpontina, she welcomed excitedly. She added a sample of her habit cloth which Sr. Petra had asked for.

A little 16-page notebook (7½ X 12 cm) has been preserved filled with lumina (e.g., pp. 13-15: Advent 1889). On page 16, Streitl (Sr. Petra) noted down some dates. It is unclear why she "mixed" these dates and words from four languages she knew somewhat.

Aug.	1862	Büchold Ruf i. Klost.
Sept. 22,	1866	Absch. dalla Famille
" 25,	" "	Aufn. i. III. Ord.
Oct. 17,	" "	Entrée dans le Couvent
Aug. 4,	1880	Call for Carm.
Jan. 25,	1882	Entrée i. Carm.
Dec. 13,	1882	Verl. i. Carm
Jan. 26,	1883	Soir Madm. Bayer
Feb. 1,	1883	(Thursday) à Munich
" 2,	" "	(I.Tag) Herz Jesu-Freit. u. Maria
" "		Lichtmess dort gefeiert.
Feb. 13,	1883	Obedienz pour Rome

“ 14, “ “ Ash-Wednesday to Roma
“ 16, “ “ Arrived a Rom (ASSM - at the earliest 1899!).

5.9/12. The first three sisters. Barbara Demer was born December 25, 1862, in Schlesslitz near Bamberg. Her parents later moved to Bamberg where her father earned his bread as a rope maker. Barbara had a boundless imagination and was very talented, but also very poor, and as such she received just the necessary elementary schooling. She certainly attended the school of the Dominican Sisters in Landsberg am Lech for some time and afterwards worked in the Antoniusstift in Bamberg, a home for the elderly and infirm operated by Sisters of Charity. Barbara Demer had learned early to get a foothold in life.* From New Year 1883 on, Barbara, of full age now, found a position as a maidservant with the Streitl family. Three weeks before, Amalie Streitl had returned from the Carmel in Würzburg. This had weighed considerably upon the Streitl family which Barbara cared for so much. When Miss Streitl was called to Rome by Lüthen, Miss Demer also asked Lüthen to be allowed to go, and on March 7, she accompanied her mistress to Jordan in Rome.

Already on March 25, 1883 (Easter), she was invested as Sr. Scholastica, making private vows for three years on October 6, 1883. From mid January till the end of June, she accompanied another sister to Franconia and Swabia to fund raise. From December 1884 till February 1885, she collected in the area of Nancy. In early June 1885, she accompanied a sick sister to her home in Lower Franconia and then went home for a holiday. Towards the end of July 1885, Jordan telegraphed her to return to help the sisters after Streitl had resigned as superior. But upon her return difficulties increased so much that Jordan wanted to dismiss the disobedient and ambitious sister at the end of July 1885. On August 16, 1885, during Jordan's absence, Sr. Scholastica became superior of the

* She says in her memoirs that she had been accepted by the Dominicans and that she was about to be invested, but then had to return home because of a foot disease. In Bamberg, however, there were no Dominican sisters. Those of the Third Order did not find the name of Barbara Demer in their registers of that time, neither did those of Donauwörth or Augsburg.

sisters community. As such she contributed her part to their complete separation from Jordan. This she boasted of as an old sister. On January 21, 1886, she resigned in favor of Sr. Francisca with whom she got on better and better during those years. In 1888, Sr. Scholastica went together with another sister to North America to raise money. She was efficient, clever and successful, resulting in her becoming superior of their first establishment in the United States. But at the request of the responsible bishop she had to be recalled (outright dismissal was prevented). In 1892, Sr. Scholastica was entrusted with a new foundation in Vienna. At that time her accusation against the ecclesiastic superior of the sisters in Rome, Msgr. Jacquemin, led to his removal. After Sr. Scholastica revoked her calumny, Mother Francisca re-installed the sisters' esteemed spiritual director in their house.

In 1893, Sr. Scholastica is said to have lobbied in Rome for the removal of the then Superior General, Sr. Francisca herself, whose first companion and friend she had been. On the night of February 9, 1895, she abandoned her post as superior of the 5-member house in Vienna. This event proved the superior attitude she had towards her sisters exactly as earlier events had revealed her ambition. Subsequently, Sr. Scholastica spent eleven years outside the community living with her brother in Munich after Rome had refused her request for re-acceptance. Finally, in 1906, Sr. Scholastica was allowed to return to the community of her sisters. She died in Vienna on January 12, 1937.

Sr. Scholastica was also allowed to let her younger sister Kunigunda stay in Rome. Born in Schlesslitz, September 9, 1872, she quickly became the darling of the Roman sisters community. On January 6, 1884, she received her First Holy Communion and on September 9, 1884 was confirmed. On December 31, 1884, Jordan invested the young Kunigunda as Sr. Alcantara. The active girl was released from her vows on June 23, 1886, 6 months after the separation of the sisters. She was not yet 14 years old at that time. Sickened by tuberculosis, she was sent home to her parents and died there on November 25, 1887.

The sisters judged Sr. Scholastica as "inconstant and malevolent." They feared her superiority. In the young foundation her unbalanced character repeatedly caused tensions. Most likely Barbara Demer

suffered from a serious hereditary disposition, which coupled with her character caused difficulties to herself and to others.

Sabina Schmauser came to Rome with Barbara Demer, and on Easter 1883, was invested with her as Sr. Agnes. By May she had already transferred to the Cross Sisters who ran the household in Campo Santo. Msgr. Anton de Waal noted on November 8, 1886: "Sabina Schmauser, since May in Campo Santo, today to Jerusalem. She has prayed much in and for Campo Santo" (CS). Once back in Rome, Schmauser got married, but maintained good relations with de Waal. We do not find Sr. Agnes in Jordan's catalogue in which he registered the first members (G-3.1).

Margaretha Eck, born on November 9, 1859, in Ottendorf, Lower Franconia came to Rome on March 7, 1883, and was invested on Easter 1883 with her two companions. She received the name Katharina. On October 6, 1883, along with Sr. Scholastica she make her vows privately for three years (Sr. Agnes had already left). By December 3, 1884, Jordan let her make her final vows privately. At the beginning of June 1885, Sr. Katharina made an attempt to commit suicide by jumping out a window. Jordan let her be taken home by Sr. Scholastica. At the same time he petitioned Leo XIII for the sister to be dispensed from her vows based on the medical certificate which read: "*Monomania isterica con tendenza suicida.*" At the same time he asked to be forgiven for having the sent sick sister home without awaiting the dispensation. But he had done this in order to avoid scandal. On June 10, the Congregation passed the petition on to the responsible bishop of Würzburg for his opinion. On June 30, 1885, the bishop informed the Congregation that the unhappy Margaret Eck had already succeeded in ending her life on June 13, 1885. The Congregation received this news on July 10, 1885. This tragic event which could not be hidden resulted in a serious visitation during which the ecclesiastical authority chastised Jordan for having admitted an unfit person into his young foundation of sisters. In his catalogue of members Jordan only noted: "On June 13, 1885, died at home" (G-3.1).

In concluding we feel urged to say that the three young women led to Jordan through Lüthen and Streitl were not qualified for religious life, much less for a new foundation. The three sisters were always presented as exemplary by their sister superior, who had only these three

sisters. In the meantime they did not cause any reason for complaints. But Jordan's high expectations soon changed to a paralyzing burden.

5.10/13. Jordan/Streitl correspondence (I). 100 "Roman letters" sent to Jordan by Sr. Francisca survive.* Some short questions about everyday matters Jordan answered immediately, simply by handing them on to the proper person. Most of the letters are confessions which cast light into the depths of Streitl's inner life at that time and on Jordan's simple and silent attitude toward this very unusual kind of spiritual sharing and spiritual exposition. All but two or three of the letters date from February 1883 to March 1884. They are very revealing as to how two persons wanted to dedicate themselves completely and fully to the service of God, and in doing so found a common and unified procedure only later and with great effort. The reason for this was not so much their different "vocations" but their different temperaments.

Streitl, under the name of Sr. Petra de Alcantara of St. Joseph, arrived in Rome on February 16, 1883. Jordan had rented four rooms for the first sisters in Borgo Nuovo 15. She reported briefly to Jordan that the lodgings being so modest "were destined by the Lord for the beginning of the work." She also mentioned that she left to the Lord the matter of Miss Bayer, whose dismissal in Munich through Lüthen she had urged.**

* The letters of the postulant and novice of the Catholic Teaching Society, Sr. Francisca Streitl, are analyzed here historically-critically. Up until now they have been evaluated understandably with a preference for their ascetical and mystical content. The best intention of these latter analyses is in no way doubted. Cf., Fr. Mag. Aquilin Reichert, M.Conv. "Heroic Engagement for Ideal Religious Life of the Servant of God, Francisca Streitl, according to the Letters from February 1883 till July 1885, to Fr. Jordan, Director General of the Former Catholic Teaching Society, now the Salvatorians." Rome: Christmas 1940, a manuscript printed for the Sisters of the Congregation of the Sorrowful Mother; *Votum Rev.mi. P. Victoris a Jesu et Maria, O.C.D., Theologi ex officio deputati, de ingenio deque indole mystica Servae Dei* (Nova Positio, July 7, 1964).

** The date of February 16, 1883, was inserted by Pfeiffer later.

On Sunday, February 8 (letter 2), she asked Jordan "by the wounds of the Savior" that the Reverend Father, accept her as his "spiritual daughter." She calls herself already here as she will several times later "a weak woman." Such language was strange to Jordan. At the same time Sr. Petra stresses in self-assured openness:

The Lord has given this woman strong faith, confident hope and burning love. He has led her in unimaginable and unusual ways to make her strongly loyal in his holy service.

Here she alludes to her former less happy religious life. She continues:

Grace taught me two prayers, the one: "Lord, annihilate me under your footsteps and let me instead revive in your most holy heart." The other was: "Lord, a thousand lives wish I to have and give each of them up for you under unspeakable pains!"

Then she asks Jordan with all intensity:

Be strong when it is about protecting the rights of perfect poverty. Do not be afraid of anything in this regard. The less you allow the purity of this mistress [poverty] of the great Father [Francis] to be defiled by depriving her of her originality, the more powerfully will the Great Poor Man of Assisi assist your divinely willed foundation when contradictions arise in regard to the most severe fundamental virtue for a new spiritual building [i.e., poverty].

So Sr. Petra determinately plucks the fundamental cords of her new inner aspirations. She plainly explains to Jordan, her "highly honorable Father:"

You must get to know the sensitivity of your new daughter, insights the Lord Himself taught her and in which He confirmed her under sufferings and pains. Therefore, I have put them down in writing because such a presentation made orally would cause some embarrassment to me, which is to be attributed to lack of humility (2) . *

* The numbers in parenthesis refer to the numeration Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer gave these unique letter documents. The original documents were handed over to the Addolorata Sisters by the Salvatorians in 1972, since they

Jordan took this unexpected confession of his still unknown female cooperator very seriously. He noted on this letter: "To be kept!" Then Sr. Petra asks briefly for the necessary furniture for three persons in the new lodgings, which, however, should correspond fully to poverty. Then she hopes for magnificent fruits from this "new tree for the holy church . . . the more we all understand to practice and conform ourselves in 'self-annihilation.'" Concluding she asks Jordan to receive into his house also Fr. Cyprian. She would give him a mailing address, so that "this servant of God should not incur any misunderstanding with his superiors" (2).

After lodging in an Albergo for three days until the new home was furnished, Sr. Petra transferred there on February 20, 1883. Jordan at once toured the nearby rented lodgings and had a longer discussion with Sr. Petra about their future common project. Still on the same day Sr. Petra sent a letter to Jordan further elaborating and deepening the result of their discussion. In the future she will often choose such sequels to give special weight to her opinion. The simple and open-minded Jordan had to get used to this double-track which greatly burdened this very busy man.

Sr. Petra's letter insinuated that even their first discussion did not go so smoothly, because their opinions in regard to the new foundation did not coincide. "My conscience reproves me loudly, that I sometimes used a determined and authoritarian tone towards you. May God and your Reverence forgive me this." She would take care not to want to be an "authoritative voice in such a holy matter." She wants to question "never again the fundamental basis of your [Jordan's] foundation." However, already in what follows she returns to speak about her own view and conviction. Jordan should have the courage "to erect a dam against the often flattened religious life of today and thus show the world that also a woman is strong in Christ and His Holy Grace." Carmel and Alverno, contemplation and action, shall find one another in poverty and strict abnegation of self and will. She asks for Jordan "light and recognition regarding the restoration of primitive religious discipline" (3).

themselves possessed nothing from that period from their Servant of God.

The next day Sr. Petra again feels urged to present to Jordan as "new proof" of "trust and openness" her "ideas regarding the new foundation." She wishes to connect the original Rule St. Francis given to St. Clare with the one of St. Theresa of Avila, excluding what regards the purely contemplative life. She had always found the Rule of the Third Order too easy, so that she for years, following "a higher light," had anticipated practices of the Carmel. However, Sr. Petra does not say what she understood by the original rule of the Clare Sisters or "certain practices of the Carmel." At the same time she again stresses that the task of founding an order belongs to a man, and that therefore, "nothing [in Jordan's work] shall be connected with the name of a woman." Regarding the grey color of the habit she agrees with Jordan's proposal. At the end she excuses herself for saying "again and again an authoritarian word" and asks "most humbly for pardon." But she ends by saying that Jordan surely would have enough discernment of spirits to recognize when "my written information is not completely my own work" (4).

On February 26, she assures Jordan: "In the full meaning of the word I shall begin the novitiate." She wants to "reach at last 'some self-annihilation'." She confesses that she was not "without good will, but [was often] without perseverance and decision." Jordan probably wanted to have simple curtains at the windows. At any rate, she asks "Do you want us to have curtains? Do you think St. Francis would tolerate them?" She signs the letter as she was known before as a Carmelite novice: "M. Petra de Alcantara and St. Joseph" (5).

On March 6, Sr. Petra wrote again in detail about "the state of her soul." She wishes that in Jordan, St. Francis of Assisi would come to new life. "Both souls [Sr. Petra and Miss Demer] will be in a special relationship to the holy cause [i.e., the renewal of the spiritual life among priests and religious] and will stand by you." Then Sr. Petra complains that holy poverty was not esteemed anymore, not even in Franciscan communities. She confesses to having entered the Carmel after almost four years of struggle. But in her "the call heard about fifteen years earlier: 'You will die as a Clarisse'" had never ceased. Only in inner obedience had she endured at Maria Stern. However, the same obedience had "by repeated remarkable signs from above directed her to the Carmel." She would

always let obedience towards this "Voice of God" decide. Then Sr. Petra complains of the insufficient spiritual guidance given by the Conventual Franciscan Fr. Steiner (who was also Jordan's confessor) in that day's confession and asks to have "Director Lüthen as Spiritual Director" (6). Lüthen, however, was still in Munich and just about to strike his tents.

On March 9, she expressed her satisfaction that Jordan had decided on the "grey religious habit." "Both ladies" had seen "her" in the grey habit, the one on the Feast of St. Joseph a year before, and the other eight weeks ago. (The two candidates Demer and Schmauser had arrived in Rome on March 7.) It must have astonished Jordan that Sr. Petra was so quickly in accord with her future sisters regarding their pious dreaming, which to him must have appeared unimportant if not conflicting. Then Sr. Petra recommends the black veil and mantle, not wanting any external difference between novices and professed members. In the meantime the three ladies were just about to enter novitiate. She asks Jordan to allow her to keep the name Petra de Alcantara, because when she received this name she recognized that it had been given to her "by the dear God himself," because with the grace of God she should become "a piece of rock in the holy church." Sr. Petra mentions herewith probably the deep interpretation which was attributed to her name as a novice in the Carmel. In fact, in the old orders profession was considered a kind of second baptism, and the new name given at investiture had a spiritually deep meaning. In the following days Sr. Petra will ask Jordan by letter for the holy habit, for in doing so the "Very Reverend Father" would be accepting her as his "spiritual daughter" (7).

In an undated letter (c. early March 1883) she addresses Jordan: "My very Reverend Father! For God's goodness sake, be glad because of the contradictions and even of the lie attacking the new work." In her opinion suffering and the cross are the best foundation for the "renewed Alverno." Sr. Petra speaks then of a "justification," which seems connected with utterances of Thekla Bayer. She gladly rejects ecclesiastical protectors just as she had once prevented the visit of a cardinal two years earlier when she was superior of *Elisabethenanstalt*: "At that time I said quite dryly, when his Eminence comes I shall not be at home" (99).

In the letter of March 14, Sr. Petra returns to the uselessness of speaking about any personal justification. "May the Lord be glorified and the creature annihilated!" She exhorts Jordan to request her to keep strictly "to the Holy Rule which you will give to her and to those entrusted to her." She had hesitated to ask for the habit, because she "was afraid that one [i.e., she] would not keep to holy poverty, to the strict lifestyle and its practices," furthermore because the new work would only sustain damage if it "has me as director." Then she writes in her usual self-assured determination:

... that the Lord has led me to Rome, that he has destined me for His plans to be extended through your Reverence. For that I stand up before God, and neither you, nor I, nor others will succeed to frustrate them.

Then she asks to be invested: "For God's goodness sake I ask you for the holy habit." She assures him that holy poverty may come into practice once more. "I would willingly suffer all the pains of the world and undergo unthought-of sufferings." Jordan was at first probably helpless in his innermost self in regard to such effusions of heart. Sr. Petra concludes her letter: "I accept the name of your holy model [Francis] with the addition "of the Cross." Jordan had chosen this name on March 11, 1883, with the consent of his confessor and informed her accordingly. Sr. Petra agreed with both of them (8).

On the Friday before Palm Sunday, a day dedicated to the Sorrowful Mother, she asks Jordan to invest her in the town of Assisi. She agrees that the other sisters be invested after her and is pleased that the habit of the sisters is of the same fabric as Jordan's. During her absence Sabina Schmauser should be "the head of the small household" (10). Jordan does not agree to travel to Assisi with her just for the investiture. Sr. Petra contents herself to be in Assisi only spiritually, for "I will strictly obey you, my spiritual Father!" The will of the superior helps "to annihilate us as [our own] superiors" (9).

Probably on the day before she had written to Jordan: "My whole being would like to celebrate Palm Sunday in Assisi, but my whole being will also practice 'obedience.'" Then she asks to be allowed to go for the necessary shopping with Mr. Schlüter and in doing so also to use a cart

as she herself was suffering pains in her foot. She signs this letter with M. Petra, but adding already S.C.I., *Societas Catholica Instructiva*.

On March 17, Margaretha Eck arrived in Rome so that now there were four. (By October the community was to receive more newcomers.) On the following day, Palm Sunday, she witnessed Sr. Petra's investiture. Jordan did not leave her named Petra, as she had wished, but gave her the name Francisca of the Cross. By this he intended to show her how much the male and female branch of his foundation should live the same spirituality and follow the same purpose. Sr. Petra was certainly very pleased about the third and final religious name given to her. Her original vow formula has been preserved. Jordan added his usual condition to the vows, not knowing that Sr. Francisca was still bound publicly-canonically by her vows to Maria Stern, and he adds a prophetic sounding wish:

Jesus, Mary and Joseph, Francis and Clare!

In the presence of the Most Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the glorious St. Joseph, of the Seraphic Father Francis [of Assisi] and of the Holy Mother Clare as well as all the angels and saints I vow "obedience, poverty, chastity" and lay the vows into the hands of my spiritual Father and only superior,

the servant of God,

Johannes Francis of the Cross,

Director General of the Catholic Teaching Society,
with the solemn promise to know no other will than the will of God revealing itself through the aforesaid servant of the Lord.

Signing as the vowing, M. Francisca of the Cross,
Rome, March 18, 1883, S.C.I.

The undersigned has reserved the right to dissolve the above vows partly or completely, and with this condition they were made and accepted. Johannes Franciscus d. C.

Holy poverty will enrich you with unspeakable goods, obedience will be your guiding star to eternal life, and chastity will let you follow the divine lamb where it is going. With this threefold weapon you will defeat the Prince of Darkness and it will help you to tolerate courageously and patiently the great sufferings awaiting you.

Rome, on the Feast of St. Joseph, 1883,
Johannes Franciscus v. K. (12).

On Easter, Jordan invested the other three women (cf., 5.9. The first three Sisters). He had appointed the 39 year-old novice, Sr. Francisca as superior of her 21 to 25 year-old co-novices. Sr. Francisca exposed to Jordan in a detailed Easter letter how she intended to live up to her new vocation. At first she speaks about true and pressing "self-annihilation" adding her "St. Francis ideas." These are: "Three requests: continuous abstinence, bare feet in sandals, and the canonical breviary." In addition she asks "for the beginning a brave director of novices." She is willing to remain "head sister" "until the Lord will send also in this regard a much better qualified personality." She shows herself convinced that it is Jordan's vocation to realize the Franciscan renewal as she understood it. About herself she confesses: "The Lord has called me to Rome . . . to a life of renunciation of a higher kind." He wants from me "pure suffering" and "extraordinary poverty" (14).

Sr. Francisca was still closely connected with her confessor from Himmelsporten, Fr. Cyprian. He had helped her out of Carmel, albeit in a canonically flawed manner, and also paved her further way somehow. At the very beginning of her Roman life Sr. Francisca had asked Jordan several times if she could secretly (that is bypassing his prior or provincial) ask Fr. Cyprian whether he would not like to join them. He was in fact a "great spiritual force" (February 18, 1883) (2). As a return address she indicated in brief a Ms. Em. Spachholz (18). Jordan did not consent to this bypass any more than Mother Salesia had.

From the time between February 16 and March 17, 1883, we have nineteen letters in which Sr. Francisca exposed clearly and emphatically to Jordan her inner life and the new absolute beginning she intended to give to her life. As initials she used G.s.J.Mr.J, resp. J.M.J. (from March 9th on), once also J.M.J.F.C. She addressed Jordan as "My Reverend, highly esteemed Father" and signed as his "obedient spiritual daughter" Sr. Maria Petra de Alcantara (of St. Joseph).

The first month in the novitiate in the small lodgings in Borgo Vecchio passed between pious spiritual exercises, church visits, learning the language and modest work in housekeeping. Further on Sr. Francisca

felt urged to inform Jordan by letter about those things she did not want to discuss face to face. She wrote Jordan her personal formula of vows, which she had used in addition to the one accepted and signed by him. She also explained again and again her unworthiness in regard to the "assigned office" of house superior (March 27). The day before, she consoled Jordan, that she sensed that he "had much to suffer." But "the Lord cleanses his threshing floor." She might have been alluding to the fact that Jordan had been forced with a heavy heart to dismiss seminar-ians who had no intention of joining his religious foundation (16).

On March 31, 1883, a Saturday, Sr. Francisca takes her time to initiate Jordan in detail into what is moving her heart. At first she assures him in playful exaggeration that in spite of her being "a very ignorant woman and often inclined to malice" nevertheless "in prayer she was sometimes given higher knowledge." She praises her new confessor, Jacquemin, whom she once had criticized in Jordan's presence. Then she works up spiritually her former experiences in the Carmel. At first she mentions briefly that she had together with Miss Demer and another friend prepared herself through a novena for the visit of Thekla Bayer announced to her through a letter from Lüthen. Then she assures Jordan that for years she "was under special influence of grace." In the Carmel this special relation to God and to the saints, which before she had experienced as light or a voice within herself, now had deepened "into a presence and a perceptible feeling." Then she confesses that she could not feel confident with her first confessor in Himmelsporten, because he did not enter more deeply into her "relations with God." Only with Fr. Cyprian had she found a relationship of confidence as well as with the novice mistress Sr. M. Stanisla. So she succeeded as a novice "to remove the ten-year superior."

Sr. Francisca speaks about a special prayer experience which she had had in front of a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus "about 9 months ago." During prayer it had become clear to her: "Make your vows into the hands of a bishop." As this was forbidden to a Carmelite sister, she had left the Carmel. When Miss Bayer visited her, she had also told her that she could make vows only "into the hands of a man who either already enjoyed the dignity of a bishop or would get it." "Whether I have

been mistaken shows the present, maybe still more clearly the future." Then in "higher prayer" it had also become clear to her why she had been called into the Carmel: "at the same time it became clear to me that the Lord would call me to a foundation intending strict contemplation and activity." Then she returns to her old reluctance to be a superior. "In fact, I fled from this cross—and today I must carry it, and how long shall I have to carry it?" Then Sr. Francisca asks to have Lüthen for her future spiritual guide. She advises Jordan to take care of his "broken health." "Take some wine during the day and cold meat to benefit the diminished strength of your nerves." She also mentions Sr. Stanisla's letter of December 29, 1882, in which she had advised her to leave in order to try life perhaps as a Cistercian. She, however, wants to remain faithful to the poor Francis." Based on a conference of Fr. Lüthen's she expresses herself in favor of Jordan's intention to connect the principles of St. Ignatius with the Rule of St. Francis (17). This is one of the two letters she asks Jordan to destroy. But if he thinks it useful, he might let Lüthen read it before. Only if Jordan destroyed this rather enigmatic letter, could she continue to be a "quite open daughter" in questions of inner life.

Jordan did not agree with such a daring self-description; Sr. Francisca, at any rate, justified her own behavior:

My venerable Father, you would be less mistaken regarding your daughter, i.e., regarding the Lord's directions concerning her, if you keep in mind that she is given an open and deep view of the future (89).

Lüthen gave the four novices of the Catholic Teaching Society lessons in Italian. On the Feast of St. Joseph Protector, Sr. Francisca proposes to Jordan to call his female foundation "Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society of St. Joseph." The saint foster father was particularly venerated as "Shadow of the Eternal Father." Coming from the Carmel she continued the special devotion to the "Holy Trinity" (75). Soon after, she returns to an assent Jordan had required from her:

For the present I stand to my promise to take in obedience the position of superior of the sisters until God arranges it differently, without manifesting to you again and again my dislike in this regard (71).

April 16, 1883, Sr. Francisca re-affirms to Jordan how much she suffered being a "superior." "The Judgement Day will show what I suffered. I always remind myself you are the superior, the Founder of God's work." Only Jordan's principles would be decisive for the sisters. She does not want to "attribute any merit to herself," as this "causes me to take ways and means which are certainly not wanted by God." This dubious affirmation must have made Jordan feel even more insecure. Meanwhile, he showed himself reserved not only out of dedication to the foundation itself, but also because the Franciscan and above all this exalted "Carmelitan style of expression" was strange to him. Sr. Francisca stressed in the same letter again how much she felt urged to "self-annihilation." Therefore, she wants to submit to a sister in regard to little things with which she could not trouble him. She proposes her friend Sr. Scholastica and asks Jordan for his agreement. Then she wants to provide some woolen underwear for Jordan's journey to Germany, if he agrees to it (24). On the same day Jordan traveled to Munich, where he found lodgings with the Capuchins. During Jordan's absence Sr. Francisca had to submit to Jordan's representative, the "sober" Fr. Lüthen. But no letters addressed to him have been preserved.

It has not been verified whether Jordan already at that time had personally turned to the bishop of Augsburg after the prior of Würzburg as well as the Mother General of Maria Stern, Sr. Salesia, had, according to their duty, informed him of Sr. Angela/Petra/Francisca's illegal maneuvers (Letter, December 13, 1882).

5.11/15. The habit. Jordan was influenced in the choice of the color of the habit by the then current tradition, which affirmed that St. Francis and St. Ignatius (and other founders) had worn grey habits. The Conventuals wore this grey habit still toward the end of the 18th century (1770) when they changed to black. Only the English Province kept the traditional color, which has thereby not been completely forgotten in the order.

In 1884, Jordan changed the color. He chose the less conspicuous black for priests. The cincture was kept white. At the latest toward the end of the year the sisters too wore the black habit (cf., letter to Neuwerk, January 11, 1885). The cincture, too, was black now in order not to be

confused with the Conventuals. For the first sisters the habit was almost a question of "to be or not to be." Sr. Francisca spoke about it several times. "There is no doubt that the whole religious garment has the cut and color willed by God," (11) because it has been "seen" twice (4) but it is not said by whom. Sr. Scholastica reports in her "memoirs" quite devotionally:

Our Mother Foundress was always shown the grey habit. The time approached for deciding the color, as M. Foundress was to be invested on March 19, while we sisters on March 25. So we once more went to this priest and when he insisted that the habit should be black, our M. Foundress stood up and said: "God Himself may decide" and we said three Hail Mary's. Then a grey mouse came, stopped a few seconds in our midst looking at each one and then left. This was too striking to the Reverend, and he saw in this the Lord's decision. We went at once to buy the cloth (I).

5.12/16. Streitl and the Rule of 1883. Jordan informed Sr. Francisca that he was elaborating a new rule for his two "orders." He asked her for her opinions and insights in regard to religious discipline, because he was a "layman" in this regard. Sr. Francisca stresses in a letter of June 25, 1883: "Poverty will be the foundation of the new order." The three "fools" selected by the Lord were Jordan, Lüthen and Sr. Francisca (25).

On the Feast of the Visitation, Sr. Francisca again felt urged to confide in Jordan. She speaks of a "struggle of soul" which all three had fought, but which had been necessary; then she again implores Jordan not to forget that he "was called not only to put the world on a better track, but to elevate the greatly reduced state of the clergy and of religious." Then she again requests Lüthen as spiritual guide. She felt the solemn promise of obedience should not hinder her from exposing her opinion where she recognized damage to the good cause. Jordan should be "very careful in accepting persons over 30 years old." She concludes her letter emotionally as she had begun it:

Most humbly asking forgiveness of all the faults committed towards your Reverence. . . . I implore once more your fatherly love and can with joyful heart call myself your renewed spiritual daughter, M. Francisca of the Cross (26).

It must have made Jordan uneasy that Sr. Francisca repeatedly judged the state of priests and religious as "completely sunken" (decayed). Her warning not to accept older persons might refer to Baroness von Wüllener. Jordan had planned a visit to her at the end of May and had naturally reported this to Sr. Francisca.

The letter of July 12, hints at an unsuccessful discussion, which Sr. Francisca as usual wants to clear internally: "Before God I can say that I esteem and honor you in everything as my superior and willingly submit to any order you will give in regard to your spiritual daughters." She implores Jordan not to overlook "the light of higher recognition of this [her] soul, so much inclined to malice." Sr. Francisca had at Jordan's request drafted "statutes." In an addendum to this letter she claims to have taken them from the statutes of the Carmel. The rest she had recognized "as willed by God in the hours of deeper insight in regard to the reduced conditions of religious orders." She did not take into consideration the Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis, as it was also valid for the Third Order in the world, and the Statutes of Maria Stern were of a purely disciplinary nature.

On the following day Sr. Francisca asks Lüthen not to come for evening conference, for she had to dedicate herself fully to prayer. At the same time she sends Jordan a vow, signed with her own blood, to be preserved. She underlines the importance of her action, because a sister had seen this letter signed with her blood in a "dream." She adds:

I am sure that both sisters are illuminated by God in an unusual way. He obviously shows them the relations into which He lets such an unworthy person in order to realize His plans in regard to the renewal of the spirit of religious orders (28).

Unfortunately, the two sisters, Scholastica and Katharina, were both spiritually very unbalanced. The vow Sr. Francisca sent to Jordan to be kept, has not been preserved.

On July 17, 1883, Sr. Francisca informed Jordan that her natural sister, Hedwig, had not yet decided to follow the "call to come to Rome" (29). There is preserved an undated letter (of that time) in which Sr. Francisca requests three fast-days connected with strict silence and deeper reflection in God. These days were to bring light and insight to

Jordan in regard to the Society, "especially a deep insight into God's plans in regard to their spiritual daughter [i.e., to herself], from whom He seems to require more the renewal of older but now rather decayed orders." Jordan should not worry that the sisters' health might be damaged by these severe days: "The Lord has laid special strength of penitence and atone-ment into three weak bodies. . . . Unless it is against your will, I shall write the Most Reverend Bishop of Augsburg only after these days" (101). This letter might have been written before Jordan's journey to Einsiedeln. Indeed, it presupposes that he as well as Lüthen were still in Rome. Equally, only three sisters are mentioned who declared themselves ready for these days of penitence: Srs. Francisca, Scholastica and Katharina. Sr. Agnes, the fourth sister, had already left because of the strict life of penitence. Jordan returned from his journey to Germany in mid June and might probably have brought Sr. Francisca the answer of the Bishop of Augsburg to remind her of her still valid bonds to Maria Stern.

"Statutes" written by Sr. Francisca still exist, although it is not sure whether they are those mentioned in her letter of July 12, 1883, (27; cf., 25). The handwriting is still the precise script of the "teacher" Francisca, but the notes bear no date. In an undated letter Sr. Francisca notes that she had no copy of her statutes, and Jordan should destroy his copy also. For only the "Rules and Norms" he gave the sisters were valid. (Sr. Francisca speaks here of the rules and norms elaborated by Jordan in summer 1883, in Einsiedeln and handed over to the sisters on the Feast of St. Francis.) In the instructions she wrote, Sr. Francisca treats the religious vows, the virtues of charity, humility, meekness, patience, mental diligence, simplicity and love of God. She adds a summary of confession for the year's end confession and concludes with some notices from the life of the holy Clare Sister, Katherina of Bologna (1413-1463).

The "statutes" are simply numbered by chapter. There are no connections to the Gospel or "Imitation of Christ." The instructions are more fitting for a pedantic novitiate rule than for a religious order. Thus they were in no way useful to Jordan who was looking to give his basic rule for the Second Order a proper feminine nerve. Here are some of her selected "statutes." Sr. Francisca begins with "holy poverty." She requires:

1. Patiently and gladly forebear even if something necessary is missing.
2. Consider oneself unworthy also of necessary things.
3. Entrust the concern for what is necessary to God, a father to the poor.
6. Keep nothing hidden, least of all food (sweets and provisions).
11. Love the poor, to give them alms willingly when obedience allows.

Regarding obedience we read among other things:

1. Do quickly and without objection what we are ordered, and execute it with zeal and humility.
5. Obey readily even orders given harshly or in unfriendly ways.
7. Obey at the lightest sign of the superiors.
9. Obey blindly without any researching or reflecting on what is ordered. Never think: Why? Completely submit our judgement to the superior's.

For humility she composes 17 points, e.g.,

9. Never desire to dominate others.
10. For the sake of God's will willingly submit to others, especially to the superiors.
12. Never think we earn honor or any advantage and always to choose the last place for oneself.
16. Always be simple in talking. Avoid selected expressions or whatever might show learnedness or a higher status.

In regard to meekness she requires:

1. Speak in a low voice, modestly and humbly; be always cautious in talking.
2. Do not speak with harsh, severe or contemptible words.
3. Do not contradict others, never quarrel with others.

Sr. Francisca begins the chapter about patience:

1. Suffer in silence, not to answer if one is offended or accused;
2. Overcome all signs of impatience and anger.

The added *beichtspiegel* (questionnaire for examination of conscience) is equally basic, even pedantic. . .

Did you want to seem pious and virtuous? Did you obstinately defend your opinion and your prejudice? Did you look at yourself in the mirror or otherwise? Have you not hidden something so that the superior might not find it!

The extract from the life of St. Catherine of Siena introjects her vision of hell and dismal confession. Of course such "statutes" were no help to Jordan. All inquiries were directed to one's own "self." The word "apostolic" is not to be found in them. In fact, in 100 letters it is to be found only twice (50).

5.13/17. The Rule of Einsiedeln. From July 18-30, 1883, Jordan enjoyed the hospitality of the Benedictine Monastery of Our Lady of the Dark Forest in Einsiedeln, a place of grace enjoying a great reputation in the whole region of the Alemans. The house guest book shows Jordan and Fr. Steiner arrived there on July 18. While Fr. Steiner left to go home the following day, Jordan stayed there "thirteen days and thirteen nights" (AGS 6). He wanted to give the final wording to his rule, something at which he had been working since the change of the First Grade into a "proper order" (i.e., since Palm Sunday). He had confidence in the special help of the Mother of God. In the chapel of the shrine he had obtained by prayer the apostolic spirituality of his rule and now he presented the result to Our Lady "Queen of the Apostles" as it were for examination.

The Rule of Einsiedeln is short, clear and captivatingly vivacious. It corresponds to Jordan's nature. He wrote it of course in Latin. "In the name of Jesus Christ" begins the rule of the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society. "Rule and Life of this Order is: to observe the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ by a life of obedience, poverty, chastity and apostolate." This fundamental rule relies on St. Francis' *Life and Rule of the Little Brothers*: "To observe the Holy Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ by a life in obedience, without property and in chastity" (beginning of the third draft of the Rule of St. Francis, 1223). Just beneath the surface similarities Jordan's decisive newness catches the eye: the apostolically imprinted life. For Jordan apostolic engagement belonged

unconditionally and inseparably to the full imitation of Christ. Already in his first rule for the still undivided First Grade he had indicated as a leitmotif: "The life of those who join the undertaking is the apostolic life, i.e., the imitation of the apostles" (Rule for the First Grade 1882, E-1204). Now Jordan added the seminal word *apostolatus*, which stands for the full apostolic life as Jordan understood it and which is not to be identified with today's hackneyed word "apostolate." In his rule of life this creative widening of the apostolic counsels through apostle-like engagement meant exactly what he at first wanted to capture and express with the name "Apostolic Teaching Society."^{*}

In what comes next Jordan does not follow Francis' ordering of the counsels, "but begins with apostolic poverty. Because it is the basis of our Society." He expands the spirit of evangelical "leaving everything," extending this apostle-like abandonment not only to the goods of this world but also to the affection for one's family and self-love. Regarding chastity he does not say much. In regard to obedience he makes use in excerpts from the refined statutes of St. Ignatius (*Summ. Const.* 15,16, 38). There follows a section about admission: "Nobody shall enter the community unless he is called by God; therefore each one has to examine himself and allow himself to be examined." The superiors are charged to be vigilant on this point. As a sign those called to the Society shall wear "the religious habit for humility and protection." Then comes the heart of this rule: Rule of Apostolate:

Dearly beloved, teach all people, especially children, to know the one true God and Jesus Christ who God has sent. I adjure you before God, and Jesus Christ who will come to judge the living and the dead, through his coming and his kingdom: preach the word of God, be urgent in or out of season, rebuke with all patience and teaching. Go, and with perseverance speak all words of eternal life to the people. Announce and write the heavenly doctrine to all without resting. This is

* In the rule of Fr. Semenenko, which Jordan was aware of, the apostolic life seen as acting toward the outside was subordinated to building the Kingdom of God within the community by living the evangelical counsels (Art. 13: *de fine*). Semenenko retains this bi-partition (cf., Art. 17 and 186). This, however, fails to reach the powerful unity Jordan was aiming at.

the will of God, beloved, that all should know the eternal truths. I beseech you not to falter from announcing the whole of God's purpose so that with St. Paul you can say, "I am innocent of the blood of all." Do not cease day or night, to admonish each and everyone, even with tears. Overlook no opportunity to announce and teach the doctrine of God to all, both publically and from house to house.

Jordan later confessed that in writing this rule he had been profoundly stirred and moved to tears. Precisely in this "Pentecost" rule he distinctly felt the help of the Holy Spirit. Jordan did not want to begin with his own words. He chooses as a beginning the mandate of the Lord obliging every apostolic-hearted Christian: "Teach all nations" adding immediately the why of this obligation: to fulfill Lord's prayer in John 17:3 (Jordan's Lebanon experience). Then Jordan retires completely behind the Apostle to the Gentiles, whose mentality he wants to incorporate in this rule.* Just because Jordan does not use his own words but prefers the words of the gospel and of St. Paul, this rule touches one personally and communally in its full forcefulness and overflowing ardor. Jordan does not speak in the reduced authority of a founder, but for his Catholic Teaching Society he desires as it were direct apostolic authority. Jordan well knows the troubles of everyday life in the vineyard of the Lord and of the small steps connected with apostolic involvement. That is precisely why he believes it is necessary to bolster all activity with apostolic gravity and vision as its driving force. In a last section of his short, hence so expressive rule, he speaks of brotherly love which must prove its worth in humility, meekness and patience.

Then Jordan added 58 norms to regulate in detail the most necessary things. He does not find a better pattern for his introduction to these than the one St. Ignatius put at the front of his own statutes:

The mercy and wisdom of the Creator has deigned to call to life this our Society will also preserve, guide and promote it. Therefore, the first norm and rule is the law written into our hearts by the Holy Spirit. As now it is the will of God that we cooperate, and because the authority of

* He refers to the texts familiar to him: 2Tim 4:1; Acts 5:20; 1Thess 5:17 and 4:3; Heb 6:9; 2Cor 2:8 and 12:15; Acts 20:20-26-31; Titus 2:10.

our Holy Mother Church wants it so, having invoked the Holy Spirit and implored our heavenly patrons, we put these norms to the brothers in Christ to observe, so that we may better reach the aim which we have proposed to ourselves in the Lord.*

In the norms Jordan stresses once more the aim of the Society: "Through religious instruction defend, proclaim and promote the Kingdom of God" (Norm 1).** In Norm 2, Jordan gives the lifestyle of his Society the classic formulation which consequently became the heritage of the Society in all later editions of the rule.

By imitating Jesus Christ and the holy apostles the members must dedicate, give up and consecrate themselves fully and completely to God and to the promotion of His cause and retain nothing for themselves, so that they withhold nothing from God.

In Norm 7, Jordan recommends all to bear in mind Christ's mortal fear at the Mount of Olives (each Thursday) as well as frequent contemplation of "the sufferings of Our Divine Master." Norm 8 demands continuous growth in self-sanctification:

Relying on divine grace the members shall advance in perfection from day to day. Therefore, they shall strive for appropriate sound virtues and to do everything to become perfect before God and man.

Norm 11 is uniquely Jordan's: "The members shall have greatest confidence and trust in God and our holy patrons, for our help comes

* Here Jordan relies heavily on the prologue to the Jesuit statutes:

It is the super wisdom and benevolence of God, our Creator and Lord which will preserve, guide and promote in His service this "*minima*" Society of Jesus. He has deigned to call it to life. But on our side it is the inner law of that love (of God and our neighbor) which the Holy Spirit uses to write and to impress into our hearts, which will help us in this regard better than any external statute (SJ, Const. 1, *Prologus Constitutionum*).

** Here too, the imitation of St. Ignatius is clear (cf., *Form. Inst. Pauli III et Julii III, nr. 1, Reg. Sac., nr. 9a*). The presentation here was altered somewhat from DSS to follow the original statute numbering.

from above." Norm 43 admonishes: "Each one is obliged to tell the superior confidently when something causes him significant harm."

In regard to the other norms of the religious-apostolic lifestyle of his community Jordan keeps quite humbly to the prudent St. Ignatius, who as superior never tired of and never finished his work on the statutes of his Society. Jordan took over 18 articles from the *Summarium Constitutum* and 31 from the *Regulae communes*, as well as two from the *Regulae sacerdotum* of the Society of Jesus. From the latter he took religious instruction and the priority of catechizing children, which he had already mentioned in the Apostolic Rule by adding directly after the mission mandate of the Lord "most of all children."

In Norm 1, Jordan specifies the means to the goal of "religious proclamation" (*institutio religiosa*). The word *institutio* is not used today. Even at that time had a meaning determined by context: institution, subject, method, etc. Jordan translated this norm in his statutes for male and female coworkers of the Catholic Teaching Society 1883: "The task of the Catholic Teaching Society is religious instruction in order to support the Holy Church in the expansion, defense and animation of the Catholic faith." Out of this it follows that each one: "proclaims especially the truths of the holy religion through the living word as well as through writings" (*magisterium ecclesiasticum tum verbis tum scriptis*, E-1232; cf., DSS II, 175). The last page of the short paper concludes: "To God alone the honor."

Returned to Rome, Jordan introduced this rule he composed in Einsiedeln to the male as well as to the female branch of his foundation. It was printed in early 1884, in their own printery in Rome (Latin, E-1206; German, E-1219).

Sr. Francisca Streitl worked out conferences corresponding to the individual rules and norms for the chapter of faults (*capitulum culpa*) in her community of sisters. These good explanations of single articles of the Rule of the Catholic Teaching Society were considered by the sisters (and also by Fr. Pancratius) as "drafts of rules for the sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" after which according to Sr. Francisca nobody recalled Jordan's proper Rule of 1884 (E-1220).

5.14/18. Declaration regarding Streitl. On July 21, 1883, Sr. Francisca wrote to Jordan that her notes on the female foundation were not at all too severe. She feared that Jordan, elaborating his rule in Einsiedeln, might not consider the "rare strictness of life" to which she felt called, in the manner she desired it (30).

On July 29, 1883, Lüthen wrote this declaration which the Bishop of Augsburg had requested from Jordan:

Re: Sr. Angela Streitl.

Sr. Angela Fr. Streitl entered the Stern Monastery in Augsburg on December 17, 1866, where she made holy vows July 8, 1868. On January 25, 1882, she transferred to the Carmelite Monastery of Himmelsporten with legal permission. On December 13, 1882, she left of her free will. The reason for her leaving was that she recognized it as the will of God that she should not make profession at the Carmelites, because in a peculiar way her nature, otherwise so capable of suffering, succumbed under physical sufferings. She informed the Reverend Prioress about it: she explained her decision to leave which was granted. After that she returned to private life with her parents at Bamberg without thinking about an obligation to return to Stern Monastery and without anyone having called her attention to it. Soon after, she heard of a female Congregation and recognized her joining it as the will of God. She traveled from Munich to Rome, where she arrived on February 16, 1883.

Rome, July 29, 1883,

B. Lüthen, priest of the Catholic Teaching Society.

That the above indications correspond to the truth,
testified: A. Francisca Streitl (AA).

Sr. Francisca added to Lüthen's official letter another letter to Jordan in which she proposed her own point of view:

I stand fast. God has led me to Rome. He gave me to your Reverence as my superior. . . . The Lord allowed that Fr. Cyprian did not even think about calling my attention that I had first to be absolved from the bonds that still held me to the Stern Monastery, and you too, Reverend Father considered the matter more or less closed. This happened because God wanted these sufferings to cleanse me even more from self-love to

become qualified for the plans of His loving Providence. I do not think I have to return to the Stern Monastery.*

Sr. Francisca then compares her pain with St. Theresa's when she was ordered to leave her new foundation and return to "the monastery which some believed she had left illegally" (31). Jordan sent Lüthen's letter of July 29 to Bishop von Dinkel on August 6, 1883:

Herewith I allow myself to send to your Episcopal Grace the report in regard to Sr. Angela Streitel, written by Reverend Lüthen during my absence. While recommending our Society and the present matter to your Episcopal Grace, I remain in deepest reverence your most humble servant, J. B. Jordan (AA).

5.15/19. Streitel's dream. From the time of the Octave of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel 1883, we have a peculiar letter. It shows us well novice Streitel's joy in pious inner experience. The letter may have been sent to Jordan in Einsiedeln. In it Sr. Francisca describes and justifies her call to Carmel. It had certainly been willed by God, for "miraculous events" had been granted to her. But she had also to suffer "inner and external afflictions caused by lies and hell." She only refers in generalities regarding the "extraordinary" events and the "calumny and various pains" which might point to the injustice with which she (in her petition to the bishop of Augsburg) also justified her transfer from one monastery to the other.

Then Sr. Francisca relates her prayer experiences in Carmel one year before: "I saw in my mind two mountains rising in front of me." She interpreted them as Carmel and Alverno, for on their tops she had seen "in rather undetermined form . . . Elias and Theresa and her Francis.

I had an inner feeling that both saints wanted to pull me up into the middle of these mountains as the keystone of the vault. I resisted, for at such events great fear overcomes me that I may be perhaps the plaything of hellish delusion.

* Jordan may have thought Bishop von Dinkel would consider Sr. Angela's joining his sisters community as equally valid. However, after Sr. Angela left his diocese he was no longer the one solely responsible.

Then she comes to her proper concern:

The call I had before or after this picture and which was directed to me, because I did not want to understand why the Lord wanted to lead me out from the Carmel again, sounded like: "To unite the active life with contemplation." This may illuminate the vision. "Carmel must give priority to prayer, Alverno to activity."

The question may come up here how Alverno signifies activity. Jordan, experienced in prayer, must have felt repulsed by such a quasi-mystic expressions. In the prayer-dream of Sr. Francisca the point was not deeper recognition of divine mysteries, but a very daring confirmation of her own person and of her ecclesiastically unrecognized vocation as "keystone of the vault" of a vague Franciscan-Carmelite renewal. (By the way, this is the only time Sr. Francisca dared the expression "I saw spiritually in front of me," but she in no way understood it as a proper "vision.") However, the report suggests that Sr. Petra already in summer 1882, soon after Fr. Cyprian had replaced Fr. Dionysius as confessor, had to struggle with inner difficulties (whether to remain in the Carmel) and at that time she was already looking for a Franciscan-Carmelite way out. To this "higher way" Jordan was now supposed to offer his hand.

In the third part of her letter to Jordan she ascribes the confirmation of her vocation in "prayer-activity" to a similar "dream-picture" of Sr. Scholastica Demer's. In addition to the two mountains, the construction of a church (Lateran) plays a role, and most of all a man who was the sister's guide. Sr. Francisca at once applies this directly to Jordan:

Who the man was teaching this sister and with her a whole generation praying and working, is stated without any doubt; I firmly believe that important events might take place in the Lateran sooner or later in regard to the new [religious] order.

Jordan may have shaken his head at such dreams and maybe even more at the strange conclusion of the letter:

Our Lady of Mt. Carmel had said quite seriously that in case she would require something special, she [Streitel] should turn to her new superior, to whom I had vowed obedience under pain of sin.

She then wishes that Jordan may meet the three-fold "Mother of God." Sr. Francisca is probably referring to Our Lady of Carmel, of Einsiedeln, as well as to the Sorrowful Mother of the *Käppele* in Würzburg (86).

5.16/20. Streit/Jordan correspondence (II). Already on September 2, 1883, Sr. Francisca had written to Jordan who was still north of the Alps: That my prayer be granted: that the Lord may give light to your Reverence, all light! For myself I want no other light but the one of holy obedience. I prefer this light to any other light (32).

When Jordan returns to Rome in September, Sr. Francisca never tires of taking letters to him across the street. "Owing to divine mercy you have become my superior and spiritual father." But for her spiritual guide he nominated Lüthen. That was God's will (letter, September 25, 1883). (33)

On October 5, she proposed out of her monastic experience questions and answers to be used in preparing candidates for investiture.

Question: "What is your desire?" Answer: "The grace and mercy of God to keep the community of the Society and the poverty of the order according to the rules and statutes which our spiritual superior Johannes M. Fr. of the Cross will prescribe to us."

Sr. Francisca confesses having "so much self-contempt that I seek neither praise nor acknowledgment and refuse it harshly as not belonging to me when offered to me." This attitude was meant to explain her "wild talking of today about his [Jordan's comment that], nobody was to be called holy, i.e., canonized, before his/her death." In her letter she tries to win Jordan's confidence without saying why she feels urged to do so. "If your reverence doubts my holding to you," he should remember that she had come to him following the call of the Lord. If "this soul has to travel paths of an exceptional kind, she is nevertheless led by the Lord" (34).

The next day Johanna Ankenbrand, who had entered three days before, was invested, and Srs. Katharina and Scholastica made their vows for three years. Sr. Agnes had transferred to the Cross Sisters in Via Chiaveri already in July 1883. Sr. Francisca gives as the reason: "because we denied her permission to fast strictly and keep vigil" (78) and harshly calls her "an instrument against us." In reality Sr. Agnes was afraid of

"being three days without food and having to wear the penance girdle" (Summ. Add, 15).

On October 11, Sr. Francisca promised: "With the grace of God I will always side firmly with you and your aspirations, leaving all the rest to God." Then she asks Jordan once more to forgive her for having hurt him "by keeping harshly and heartlessly away from you, or by contradicting and allowing myself an authoritative judgement in regard to matters which do not belong to a woman like me" (35). On October 15, 1883, there followed another letter of the "obedient spiritual daughter." "Our holy rule bears the date of the Feast of St. Francis of Assisi, our Constitutions should bear that of the Feast of St. Theresa of Avila." Sr. Francisca reminded him that both saints shared the same date of death, that Theresa had died on October 4, 1582. (However, she does not mention that this date was calculated before the calendar reform of Gregory XIII, consequently, the feastday of the saint was October 15, 1582.) Sr. Francisca asked Jordan: "Have patience with me," for the Lord had endured her faults and weaknesses for 38 years (36).

On October 19, Jordan wanted to hand over to her the direction of the novitiate beginning November 1, 1883, due to her experience as a religious. The community now numbered four novices (including Sr. Francisca herself) and three candidates. Sr. Francisca asks Jordan to give her time for prayer and church visits. After that he might order it in holy obedience, so that self-love and hell be excluded. She was sorry not to have the capability "to teach the novices interior prayer in its various grades." Indeed, for herself she had to confess: "A higher kind of prayer was in itself out of the question." Then she promised Jordan that she would train not Carmelites but "daughters in the sense of the holy rules and statutes given by the founder of the Catholic Teaching Society" (37).

On October 20, she again felt urged to excuse herself to Jordan, because she had so urgently insisted on the investiture of the three candidates and "criticized or at least disapproved of his orders given on my behalf" (38). In September, 1883, Jordan must have prohibited Sr. Francisca her exaggerated ascetical severity. Sr. Francisca defends herself: "You mistrust the guidance of God in regard to me, and consequently [imply] that I don't understand how to guide the sisters in their

physical necessities." Then she points out that she in her ten years as superior had never permitted the sisters penances of a severe kind. She suffers from her inability to make Jordan "trust her continuously" (78).

On November 12, 1883, Sr. Francisca again attempts to convince Jordan to allow perpetual abstinence [from meat]. As a proof that this was possible she indicates a report of Sr. Scholastica that three associated monasteries of Dominican sisters in Bavaria had tried this successfully, even though they were engaged in schools and in the instruction of children. This Sr. Francisca accepts without reservation from her imaginative fellow sister. In reality, the Dominican Sisters of Augsburg, Donauwörth and Landsberg wanted at that time to change over from the Third to the Second Order. But due to their manifold activities these efforts failed, and the bishop of Augsburg refused to let them follow the rule of the Second Order. Only in the monastery of Wettenhausen did the saintly Prioress M. Aquinata (Walburga Lauter) succeed in imposing for a longer time the "original abstinence" (full abstinence from meat). Sr. Francisca, however, chides Jordan in this letter:

Why must such a wretched and quite unworthy woman raise her voice in this holy matter? Why does the Lord make use of bad and unlearned ones for this initial work! My Father, refuse all severity, but give me then also the assurance that I am not responsible when the Lord after ten years admits and executes a forced change in your work. I submit with the whole strength of my will to the law you give, even including comforts and enjoying meat, God will lead even further a soul He has led till now. I fear to provoke severe judgement by keeping silent (39).

In mid November, Sr. Johanna fell gravely ill. The very devoted sister had demanded too much prayer and penance from herself. Sr. Francisca informs Jordan: "Sr. Johanna asks so insistently not to call a physician." Sr. Johanna was prepared to die, and she herself [Francisca?] was ready to make this sacrifice to the Lord.*

* Sr. Johanna reports of her illness:

The physician at once declared it was my last illness and he could not be induced to come once more. He said the cause was a too severe life, but nobody noticed a severe life from my appearance. It was an illness. I think the divine

Probably in order to fulfill a wish of Jordan's, Sr. Francisca accepted to take as her confessor Fr. Steiner from November 23, onwards (41). Already two days later she asks forgiveness, because the opinion she had manifested towards Jordan "was an untrue one" (42). November 26, she apologizes to Jordan that she had failed in regard to "modesty and reserve" and thus caused "new concern and mistrust" to him:

Before the wounds of the Lord I promise you solemnly I will observe obedience towards you even if it appears to lead far from what the Lord wants to perform in the future. With God's grace I shall nevertheless not hesitate to fulfill it exactly and joyfully. It is better to have been deceived than to have been disobedient. [She concludes her strange affirmation:] Asking you from the bottom of my heart to forgive me fully all I have ever done to offend you, Reverend Father, and asking you to disregard the past and possible future, in deep reverence (43).

On November 26, 1883, Jordan received Sr. Francisca into the Third Order of St. Francis, to which she in reality still belonged since her time in Maria Stern. This gave her new incentive on December 12 to return to her ideas of, "reforming the Order of the Franciscans. This initial reform work should not however bear the name of a woman. The Lord had selected Fr. Jordan for this purpose" (45).

On the Vigil of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception 1883, Sr. Francisca again felt urged to let Jordan look into her soul. She reports a dream in which a dead woman tried through strange behavior to explain to her that she [Francisca] had "to bring light into the Carmel." The dead woman was Sr. M. Josepha (Barbara) Kurz (born February 18, 1858, in Schöffien, professed on April 8, 1879, died June 26, 1882) with whom Streitl had got on so well in the Carmel. However, Sr. Francisca

Child Jesus has made me ill and healthy again.

She also mentions that at eleven o'clock in the night she had received the Last Sacraments: "I was also allowed to make holy profession." It is surprising that Jordan is never mentioned at the visit of the house physician Dr. Gamba, at the anointing, or at the profession. However, this report was written for Msgr. Jacquemin in 1890 (ASSM).

cautiously limits her report: "but it might have been an illusion." She again describes her leaving the Carmel just one year earlier in pious twilight as if she were still trying to overcome it in her heart. [The editor has moved this material into a footnote to retain the narrative flow]*

* On December 8, 1882, a sister "who seems to have had a light from God in my regard" had said to her: "You will leave us out of your free will, and later on work for us." She had answered her that she,
... would today in the evening ask to make profession . . . and hardly one hour later the conviction came to me, the Lord calls you now out from the Carmel to fulfill on January 26, His promise to show me where he wanted me to be, so that on the same evening I declared my leaving to the grief of the superiors.

In reality, Sr. Francisca did not decide within an hour, as she explained elsewhere. She also always indicated to church authorities as the reason of her leaving her wavering health. In fact back on January 26, 1883, Thekla Bayer, sent by Lüthen, was with her. "I decidedly declined invitations to other monasteries, wanting to go only where the Lord points." This affirmation is unproved too. Monasteries hardly quarreled about candidates. And in the brief period from December 13 1882 to January 26, 1883, she could not have had much correspondence. Then she narrates with pious vagueness that Sr. Scholastica had also been spiritually united with her since December 8, 1882. Thus early on, Sr. Francisca came under the influence of Sr. Scholastica. About Miss Demer (who had been hired by her parents on January 2, 1883) she says that although she [Streitel] had been home from Carmel for only a fortnight: "nevertheless I was convinced that this soul [Demer] was such as I could recognize it, thanks to Divine Mercy. I, of myself, can only sin. May it be God's special grace, if she [I] would not get quite deep into hell." (It is striking how often Sr. Francisca mentions hell in her letters.)

The letter full of pious fantasy must have made Sr. Francisca herself uneasy afterwards. She nevertheless does not want to withhold her self-presentation from Jordan. Probably in her own defense she adds: "I wanted to prevent the reproach that I had not been open towards you, my spiritual father." And she adds: "If you, Reverend Father, assure me that you have destroyed this letter completely, I would once again be quite open. . . . Do not fear that I might become unfaithful to the Society" (46). Jordan cannot be blamed if such letters made Sr. Francisca an "enigma" to him. This is the second time Sr. Francisca asks Jordan to destroy one of her letters (cf., 5.13/17).

On the feastday itself, December 8, Jordan received three sisters into the novitiate of the Third Order. The planned profession of Sr. Clara Kley was postponed. In the name of the sisters, Sr. Francisca thanked Jordan "as founder and spiritual father."

On December 11, Sr. Francisca again felt compelled to explain to Jordan by letter something that had left her unsatisfied in their earlier discussion. She says it was not always the Lord's will that she should speak "about leadership or even about my opinions and principles which grace has kept and nourished within me." The Lord had first to give her a sign she should speak. "The clearest signs for this are later suspicions and humiliations in which she strongly doubts" whether she had acted rightly.

Thus the Lord wanted me to understand and realize the active life with an apostolic attitude. He blessed my activity, teaching me at the same time to lead a life of profound faith. I loved the sick very much. That's why the Lord always satisfied this inclination by repeatedly giving me very sick sisters. I loved the poor so much, and they as well as children made it so difficult for me to follow the Lord's call to the Carmel.

Jordan was not used to such self-presentation. Then Sr. Francisca defends her rejection of a confessor who had offered himself "to be willing to assist us in any difficulty" so that even material advantages would have resulted for the sisters. (We can suppose that Sr. Francisca meant Msgr. de Waal.) "I gave a quite decisive NO, my help comes from above, not from the confessor. And as a superior God has given me the 'priest' for years prepared for this purpose." Jordan must have felt uneasy with such views. Then Sr. Francisca returns to speak about the delicate relation between herself and Jordan. She did not want him to think "he had to pay frequent visits." She required nothing, "other than unity of views and trust, free of prejudice" (50).

After the gravely ill Sr. Johanna began feeling a little better, Sr. Francisca immediately urged Jordan 'to cancel the meat-broth' he had ordered (December 15, 1883; 51). On Christmas 1883, she is quite touched by the crib "as high altar of holy poverty." Again she demands from herself and her sisters "strict world-renunciation" as well as "full love of

poverty" precisely "the religious spirit in its original form." In two letters she calls to Jordan:

Do with me what you want; give me a chance to let me be cut into many pieces; only one thing, Reverend Father do not ask from me that your daughters, my sisters, not be allowed to practice holy poverty in its original beauty. . . . Reverend Father, be poor, quite poor. Do not be afraid of anyone, not even the highest dignitary of the holy church. They all will have to bow to the spirit which the Lord will raise in and by you, and may Almighty God give me my only complete solace to see you, Reverend Father, as founder, as restorer of original religious discipline (December 23, 1883; 52).

Such allusions must have agitated Jordan because this was certainly not his vocation. He does not leave Sr. Francisca any doubt in this regard. In a further Christmas letter she complains: "I feel deeply that I must often be an enigma to you." But she only wants Jordan to be, so to say, the Francis of the close of the 19th century (53). From this same time probably also comes a short letter in which Sr. Francisca stresses that God, "Wants the sisters to have equal rights with brothers, and the future will show that the former are no less called to apostolate than the latter" (93). This very certainly agreed with Jordan's heart.

Already in early fall 1883, she asks Jordan to practice less penance with regard to food and drink because for him it was enough to "intend good" and not be able to reach it simply lest otherwise "the 'higher things' might get lost." She alludes here to undiminished mental strength "to fulfill the plans of Providence." She herself is urged to a "stricter lifestyle" and "somehow increased spirit of prayer" to be able to "prepare herself for the terrible moment," when she is told "she must be in charge of many." At the same time she asks Jordan for "the rule regarding the lifestyle of the sisters. In regard to food and drink," fish, craw-fish, snails, etc., shall be prohibited; Jordan should limit eating eggs

to the most necessary. "Wine and beer are prohibited for the healthy, as well as meat dishes."*

Jordan who as a child and still as a student had suffered more hunger than Sr. Francisca could imagine, could not agree to such proposals, also because the sisters would after novitiate have to engage in strenuous pastoral and charitable service. (By the way, at that time meat was a Sunday dish even for well to do families and was scarcely to be seen on the table on weekdays.) Then Sr. Francisca asks Jordan for "the formula of vows for the Society," because on October 6, there was scheduled not only an investiture but also the three-year vows of Sr. Katharina Eck and Sr. Scholastica (74).

Jordan had until then, with the exception of Sr. Johanna, not found especially qualified sisters for his foundation. Probably unintentionally and unselfconsciously Sr. Francisca comments:

The Lord simply wanted to show that he had selected "bad" to promote his new work. Although much "better" is requested, He nevertheless, gives preference to the former so that one could not say: Well, it was not

* Jordan had in Norm 16 of his rule for the sisters briefly determined: "The food should not be choice, but simple and according to that of the poor." Sr. Francisca interpreted this norm to the sisters in one of her sketches for the *capitulum culpa* according to her ideal:

"Eating or drinking or whatever else you do, do it all to the greater honor of God!" To the sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society living according to the second rule prescribed to them by their founder Johannes Maria Franciscus of the Cross, and those [rules] he may still prescribe insofar as he considers it necessary, it is a strict order to observe one single meal a day through the whole year. Never, except in case of illness or long and troublesome journeys, may meat, eggs, milk, cheese, fish, wine, beer or similar drinks be taken. Through the whole year, with the exception of the last three days of Holy Week the sisters may have breakfast, which consists of black coffee with bread. For dinner only one kind of food can be offered. This may consist of porridge together with a very simple flour dumplings. . . . Immediately after dinner black coffee shall be taken because the sisters renounce wine. Large reserves of food are completely against poverty, and provisions of food are allowed only for five days. The bed consists of a blanket laid over boards, of a straw cushion and again a grey woolen blanket, to which should be added a second one in winter. In case of illness a simple mattress and a woolen cushion is recommended (E-550).

difficult for the founder of this congregation to attain good with his sisters, as the first ones stood under very good guidance. [She could only have been referring to herself.] (72)

In the above mentioned letters of early October she once more described to Jordan her very enigmatic and obscure future plans:

I suffer interiorly. I suffer the more because I must profoundly recognize that God's intentions in my regard are going on and will finally come to that conclusion which I look forward to with complete inner horror. I want to save myself and hide myself from the Lord. I follow my superior faithfully, and in spite of that the Lord will find me and lead me to a place where I do not want to go.

Such views or intentions did not make sense to Jordan. He saw the will of God in indefatigable apostolic engagement. To nourish sad presentiments about one's personal future was foreign to him.

There also exists a letter of that time in which Sr. Francisca refuses to execute an order of Lüthen's to organize the writings she had sent to Jordan—probably her earlier experiences as a sister requested by Jordan. She asks Jordan in her usual pious solemnity, "by the wounds of the Lord" to allow her "to burn all her writings." For "only now it comes clear to me that it would be a disgrace for a new work, if a woman had had a responsibility in it" (80). At that time Jordan had already finished the rule for the CTS. There was no way to get a rule from Sr. Francisca. But he wanted to make use of her suggestions, above all in regard to female concerns, if possible. In the end he gave the two branches the same fundamental rule on the Feast of St. Francis, 1883; necessary differences might be added later. Jordan asked whether Sr. Francisca had a copy of the rule which was currently only handwritten and which he wanted to have printed. She assures herself that, "herewith were not meant the rules and norms you gave to the sisters, but the text from us." These she had burned according to the earlier wish of Jordan without making copies for herself. Again she does not miss the opportunity to color her motivation as black as possible: "The Lord has taught your spiritual daughter to fear herself as much as hell. That she does not

always act accordingly is her fault, and the Lord will know how to punish her for it" (88). To Jordan such an image of God was unfamiliar.

Three days before Christmas, Sr. Francisca asks Jordan to forgive her for letting hasty remarks slip out "about Miss von Wüllenweber as well as about your lodgings." She suffers because over such "sisters of the future" no one more worthy and qualified than myself is set." Then she underlines solemnly: "Before God I confess that I am free from any prejudice in regard to Miss von Wüllenweber." She would not like "a special mentality" to arise between the two congregations (100). Jordan must have spoken to her before about his plans to include Neuwerk.

5.17/21. Ankenbrand, Elisabeth (Sr. Johanna), was born on November 10, 1858, in Mechenried, Franconia. Her parents were farmers. After school she saw to the housekeeping of the Julianicum directed at that time by the future bishop of Würzburg (1898-1924), Ferdinand von Schlör. On her journey to Neuwerk (late November 1882) Thekla Bayer stopped at Miss Ankenbrand's to win Johanna for her community of sisters. But Elisabeth was dissuaded by Director Schlör. Fr. Cyprian, who was her confessor in Himmelspforten and to whom she had made known her intention to become a sister, directed her to the Catholic Teaching Society which was just developing. He had probably suggested this because of a lack of places in the Carmel. Through Lüthen she turned to Jordan. Against the resistance of her employers in the "royal aristocratic Julianicum" she gave notice on September 1, 1883, and asked Jordan to allow her to travel to Rome by herself on September 10. She confessed in her letter to Jordan:

I have had to endure much. We have many priests here, they all dissuade me, [telling me] I had better go elsewhere; no one knows how it might go in Rome, etc. But all in vain. Even my mother does not want me to go. . . . The greater the persecution is now, the more I understand it as the will of God that I shall get there, where worldly people are opposed [to my going]. . . (E-523).

Lüthen passes the letter on to Jordan with the remark: "Are not these heroic souls? I have already written to her." In the evening of October 3, Elisabeth Ankenbrand arrived in Rome. As Jordan rightly counted her

time of waiting in the Julianum as postulancy, he invested her already on October 6.

5.18/22. Aroma of Violets. Several letters of Sr. Francisca (41, 45, 47, 84) mention an extraordinary aroma of violets in a sick room. This perception caused great pious excitement in the small sisters community:

The Lord obviously works particularly in our Sr. M. Johanna. So I informed you that in the morning, when I asked God for light for the soul, in the evening the sick room was filled by a quite penetrating odor of violets. Nobody noticed this but me (41).

That this aroma of violets which I at first assumed was "just for me," is now clear (45).

Sr. Francisca interpreted this perception strangely as divine confirmation of her personal mission to re-establish the Franciscan "original spirit." In the letter of December 4, she again reports "intense odor of violets which had disappeared for some days" and this despite the calcium chloride in the cupboard and the room's not yet having been aired (47).

In another letter of that time (no date) about Sr. Johanna's illness, Sr. Francisca says, the violet aroma was a sign from above that the Lord liked the sisters striving to be "poor." She sees a new proof of this in the fact that also Sr. Clara the nurse, and Sr. Scholastica (of course) had been worthy of this perception. She herself had asked the Lord for these additional witnesses and received them. Until then she had let only Jordan know about this mystery. Then quite pointedly Sr. Francisca mentions that four weeks before, Sr. Scholastica "had presented a full, large violet-wreath"; this convinced her that "M. Scholastica's vision mostly refers to an existing or upcoming truth." Sr. Francisca now offers a somewhat altered interpretation of the happenings in comparison with the earlier one: "That the violet odor emanating from the sister is not for my sake, is certain. It was perceived also by the other two sisters, because they too 'were destined for the new work of *poverty and self-annihilation*'" (84). But it is strange that Sr. Katharina is not found worthy of this "grace." It is also puzzling where Sr. Scholastica found the violets for the little wreath in late fall.

Jordan also claims to have noticed the odor when he visited the sick sister on December 4, 1883. He noted it in his register of sisters at Sr. Johanna Ankenbrand's entry,

I, Johannes B. Jordan, priest, testify to have perceived in the sick room of the sister an odor like violets. Rome, on the feast of St. Cecilia 1883, also from other signs I recognized the holiness of this novice. Mother Superior affirms having perceived the same odor yesterday especially in the morning, but there is never the smell in the room which usually emanates from the sick. . . . In February her progress in perfection was shown to me in a marvelous way. J. B. Jordan.

Johanna is quite acceptable to God. What I have written about the violet odor is to be attributed to Sr. Clara (G-3.1).

The last sentence was later canceled by Jordan. He seems to have noted the event in his catalogue also at Sr. Clara Kley's entry; later he tore out this part of the page (G-3.1).

What this violet odor was really all about remains obscure. That it was an intended pious cheat, to which Jordan at the beginning fell victim, is not to be excluded. He and Lüthen had good reason sincerely to appreciate Sr. Johanna because of her exemplary life. That Jordan later reported his impressions regarding the violet odor is a confession that he saw he had been deceived by Sr. Clara. As a result he admitted this sisters to vows only conditionally. After just one year she left.

5.19/23. Collecting Alms. At the end of the year Jordan planned to send two sisters to Germany to collect alms to sustain the growing number of sisters and also to begin apostolic activity. Up to that time two novices occasionally helped in the printing shop as typesetters, but this was not appropriate work for them. On the other hand, life in Borgo Nuovo was very restricted, which must have aggravated them considerably. Little Kunigunde brought some joy to the house. The 11 year-old natural sister of Sr. Scholastica Demer had shortly before found a new home with the sisters and knew how to use the opportunity of suddenly having so many "mothers." So the trip to Germany was delayed because on January 6, 1884, Kunigunde was to receive First Holy Communion. This was a

great feast day for the seven sisters (69, 72, 94). Most of all Sr. Scholastica wanted to enjoy this feast before traveling to Franconia.

Preparing the fund raising trip gave Sr. Francesca the opportunity for extended correspondence with the priests across the street. At first two sisters were appointed (92). Which sisters were called by the will of God and in which region they were to go was to be discerned by a sign. Sr. Clara soon had the corroborating dream: the destination of the trip was to be Austria; it is the will of God that Sr. Katharina Eck should go, if any sister was to go. This dream confirmed the decision already taken by the superior in regard to those being sent (82). Sr. Francisca and Sr. Scholastica were very insistent that the sisters leave Bamberg aside. Sr. Scholastica had above all received "most light" in this matter (69).*

These collecting trips were essential due to the fast growing number of sisters, since in Rome itself there were hardly any possibilities of earning money. In addition the sisters could assume only limited charitable services because of the duties of the novitiate. The first fund raising trip went to South Germany. From Franconia (January to March 1884) we have no local permits. On the contrary, those from the Swabian region for Sr. Scholastica and St. Katharina have been preserved: Ehingen, March 26; Riedlingen, March 29; Saulgau, April 17; Tettnang, May 12; Wangen, May 27, 1884, to name a few. The last entry on the collection letter is by the Burgomaster of Dächingen, May 21 (E-524).

5.20/24. Prototype. On January 28, 1884, Sr. Francisca renews her attempt to win Jordan over from his vocation to hers:

Venerable Father! Since yesterday I have been taught more than ever to wrestle with God. How I should be able to see that my spiritual father is wavering and inclined to be torn. You are called to restore the original type of monastic life. And, as I firmly believe that it is the most holy will of God that there shall be only one great order, may you my father set aside human prudence, as it is your duty to depend on the folly of the

* Pfeiffer remarks about this letter: "One almost gets the impression Sr. Francisca had wanted to prevent details about herself becoming known. The motivation of the doubt is striking."

cross and become a child of Divine Providence . . . you will render no special service to God or to the holy church by increasing the number of the already so numerous easy living congregations who hardly require more than a well-organized family life in regard to food and rest and renunciation. To the degree you, Reverend Father, depart from a severe lifestyle [you depart] from your true value as founder of a good cause for the whole world, permeating the entire religious state (54).

On Candlemas, February 2, 1884, Sr. Francisca recognized once more with grateful heart in prayer that, "the discernment in individual cases has come from Him and was not an illusion of any phantom or of hell." Strangely she wishes the still unsteady Sr. Clara Kley to be her assistant: she had "recognized it clearly yesterday" (55).

On February 14, 1884, she asks Jordan to take over her "spiritual guidance." She promises "filial obedience and humble openness towards you my spiritual father and guide." Jordan would take over a difficult task, for "you have to lead a soul which has been guided by God Himself for some time and which is called in a special way to union with God in pure love and in a spirit of sacrifice" (56).

Jordan must have drawn her out of her pious self-description a little too harshly. On March 13, 1884, she promises Jordan that she would ask the Lord, "never again to let 'things of a higher kind' come forth." Her wish is, "May God give you light, and may you recognize this before March 19, or I will not make my vows and you and I, we are free." Jordan may then give his daughters "a better superior" than herself (57). Jordan did not note in his sisters register that Sr. Francisca had renewed her vows of the previous year on March 19.

On March 28, she made her proposals about the veil to Jordan. It should be black for the choir sisters and white for the working sisters. "The white veil irritates hell more than one might believe." As a sign for this she indicates the fact that in the chapel, the door and windows shook strongly when she put the white veil upon Sr. Clara's head in the presence of candidate Theresia Gries. At that moment no current of air was to be noticed anywhere; but hell had uttered its displeasure, "as also the innocent sandals had often experienced the aversion of this prince of

darkness" (58). Jordan had never thought of a division into choir sister and working sisters.

At the end of March 1884, what was for both of them a troublesome correspondence breaks off. The following undated letter illustrates in retrospect her unsuccessful struggle with Jordan. The letter was probably written already in November 1883:

JMJ!!!

My Reverend Father!

Recognizing that open explanation of my circumstances since being in Rome is the only means to peace, or to break, I do it by taking the all knowing God as the leader of my explanation. I have come to Rome. The obedience to Very Reverend Fr. B. [Lüthen] exhorted me to communicate to you, Reverend Father, the guidance of God in regard to my soul. I did it, and it certainly happened in much briefer conversations than now happen mostly. I could hardly ask for the holy habit, still less did I want to profess vows. But this had no worldly motivation in itself. I think the full measure of sufferings and responsibility was then more present to my soul than I might admit to myself, to all of which I should then be connected. The Lord sent Srs. Scholastica and M. Katharina. In both of them he inspired love and dedication towards their superior. He gave them both confidence that I had been given to them as their mother by Him. Soon after I felt that my sisters, but not my superior [Jordan], were connected with me in confidence and love. The superior saw in his first daughter a "woman to be feared," and even more a woman clouded by a very suspicious past. From God I had received the special grace to see Rev. Fr. Bonaventura and to be immediately filled with veneration and childlike openness toward him, for me a rare grace, for I fear nothing so much as a priest, not as representative of God (no, as such he has my deepest veneration) but I fear him as a weak person like myself, if he does not avoid the occasion to sin much more than others. This very venerable priest was destined by God to show me the way on which the merciful God intended to lead me, therefore also the mentioned granting of grace. Also to you, Venerable Father, I could have childlike trust if I had not soon been compelled to convince myself that you are quite distant from me. You traveled to Germany the first time, the distance grew wider, only two sisters stood steadfast by my side, a third one stood farther off. Before coming to me one of them had received higher notice that God destined her to me, the

other one received light about my past, about the past, and about the future and still farther. One might say to me "dreams." Venerable Father, things like these dreams which are so imprinted with the true and supernatural cannot be rejected, the less so as they contributed to bind a soul to her superior so closely that when she saw that you superiors were standing far from her spiritual mother—whom the Lord Himself teaches her to esteem and to love, not for her personal merit's sake, but for the sake of His mercy which He has manifested and will manifest in her—that this sister made the vow to keep firmly and forever to her superior. Grace may show itself in all this the more as just this sister was treated very severely by me even for little weaknesses, because I recognized and still recognize that this soul has been called to a special position, and therefore, must also walk more in the way to perfection. Venerable Father, it is true you are now different towards your daughter than before. And you see in me the woman of a dubious past, with an unsteady present and eventually strange future. Why do you not see in me a soul that the Lord never places completely at your disposal? And why is this soul not opened, better, why do you not let it open itself in childlike love and dedication? Why is it misunderstood when it informs its spiritual father and asks him for his prayer of intercession because it suffers? Shall hell repeatedly have the pleasure to turn furrows between two souls called by the Lord to united activity, new furrows in which mistrust and doubt can dwell! (Shall in this case the woman stand above the man? The woman believing that this priest [Jordan] is destined by God to be her superior, her spiritual father, the priest wavering whether to trust this woman, and not seeing much further than the weakness of her sex, fearing everything from this weakness without recalling the saying, God is strong in the weak!) One of our sisters who will certainly have to give witness later on about the initial foundation, oh, how often have I asked her before God not to mention the misunderstandings that existed for a long time between the founder and his first spiritual daughter. This relation, Reverend Father, often causes sadness within me, not because of me (I have deserved still more) but only for the first sisters' sake, who had to see it. I was quite cautious towards Sr. Sabina, despite which she happened not to remain in the dark, but fortunately left, when the tension emerged more.

You, Reverend Father, are surprised when I say that my soul has not made any progress in Rome. At first I was in obedience connected to Rev. Fr. Bonaventura, this was dissolved; then you wanted to

take over my guidance. I was left to myself, your Reverence was away from here. Fr. B. kept far from me, then the confessor somewhat took care of my soul, he couldn't do more, you had forbidden me to talk with him about special matters. Soon there happened a mistake from this side. I fled to Rev. Fr. Bonaventura, not remembering that I had several times been refused. He took some care of my soul compelled by the power of the situations until your return. Toward the end of September, Fr. B. was again given to me as my guide; on October 21, he had to travel to Germany. Now my soul wanted to and will see in you my spiritual father and guide, and from the very beginning nothing but doubt and misunderstanding which makes me draw back completely into myself, that is to God, while noticing that the more I open myself the less I am understood. And at the end my soul also loses tranquillity and peace which it has preserved so far despite storm and persecution.

Venerable Father, all can still turn to the better, for my soul is still closely connected with you as my superior, even as my guide. Use this special grace, which the Lord according to the testimony of a proven spiritual leader has given it, that it might communicate sincerely and openly with its superior. When once a certain limit is surpassed, it might be too late to make good what is lost. I want nothing else but that my soul be guided, and that you trust that it willingly accepts to be guided; that in special cases there be reciprocal agreement, and that not every word be put on the scales of justice. Be convinced that the Lord has particularly given me love of neighbor and of the enemy, and when duty and openness cause me to speak to you as the superior of the sisters, immediately there is fear of offending love. If one wants to heal wounds, one must first see the wounds.

Let us prepare the way to the Lord and be united in mind and deed. Then hell may attack but it will not be victorious. As before, so I now venerate you profoundly and esteem you as my spiritual father and feel myself connected to you in God, united in acting for God, and for the benefit of mankind. Forgive my frankness. God will do so too!

Reverend Father's obedient spiritual daughter,
M. Francisca of the Cross (62)*

* "Fr. B." was Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen; the "two sisters" were the unsteady Sr. Scholastica Demer and the unfortunate Sr. Katharina Eck; the "third" was Sr. Sabina Schmauser who after only three weeks transferred to the

Luckily, informative documents from that period of the CTS survived.

5.21/25. Novitiate letters of Sr. Francisca of the Cross are a special genre. They are partly deeper inquiry, partly ascetic proposals, partly personal excuses. Letters of this kind should never be read just spiritually (cf., "The letters show our Mother Francisca mostly in an attitude of defense," judges her hagiographer Fr. Aquilin Reichert, Conv.). Instead each ought to be viewed in its historical situation. It is surprising that until now they have only been evaluated for their edifying value.

The letters frequently show the mental struggle of a strong personality, who has to overcome a failure of which she herself was not completely innocent. She tries this by means of an ascetic ascent "without measure." In doing so, her inner bond to the spiritualities she has lived previously still surface quite strongly. Sr. Francisca is in this spiritual struggle; she writes while Jordan remains quiet. We have no written opinion from him. He chose to discuss things orally as far as he thought necessary or profitable. Probably the one-way nature of this correspondence often makes the letters also appear as spiritual exhibitionism—a kind of self-absorption. This gives them a high spiritual standard, but its heavy self-reference makes the reader quite uneasy. A willed exuberance of sentiments in joy and pain cannot be under evaluated. It is surprising how a narrow ascetic view pushes aside the wide apostolic scope.

In none of her letters does Sr. Francisca claim to have had visions or to have heard voices. Conversely, she strongly stresses the religious "higher recognition," the graced "higher insight" which at that time was considered as self-evident for good religious dedicating themselves to prayer. Inner "being spoken to" in prayer, above all after Holy Communion was much valued by nuns. The art of experiencing the will of God in

Cross Sisters. The sister who one day "will have to bear witness about the initial foundation" was of course, Sr. Scholastica Demer; she did so about 44 years later in her highly unreliable "memoirs." The "proved spiritual guide" is Fr. Cyprian. One might ask here whether Sr. Francisca has requested the vow from Sr. Scholastica "to keep always to her superior," or whether Sr. Scholastica has offered herself to assure herself the "second place" due her?

this way was developed and practiced in pious contest and spiritual exchanges. Many of the letters are written in an excited mood and contain over strained self-accusations. But Sr. Francisca now, as previously as a Stern Sister, presented her opinion with forceful self-assurance.

The letters are a valuable testimony of the spiritual duel fought between herself and Jordan in these 2½ years of their common engagement for the Kingdom of God. It was certainly allowed by God in order to let both of them grow in true imitation of Christ. Looked at in a purely human way, in this spiritual confrontation as a woman Sr. Francisca was at a disadvantage. She was the obedient spiritual daughter of Venerable Father and Founder. She hid the religious emancipation she aspired to as a woman behind a "weak woman" persona. This repeatedly comes out in her letters with a somewhat bitter tinge. Precisely with her aggressive statements she wrongs Jordan, who of course was defenseless against this charge. His concern was always that men and women were equally duty bound to serve the Kingdom of God.

A psychological "enigma" in Sr. Francisca's letters is the mixing of God's will and her own. Her unrealistic "Franciscan original spirit" is not to be explained apart from her unresolved past. The inner pressure to a "higher vocation" breaks through again and again in her letters.

At first Jordan depended on Lüthen's opinion. Her higher vocation seemed to be confirmed through her limitless ascetic zeal. But her pious self-confidence made Jordan less sure. His humility did not allow him to judge too hurriedly, and his apostolic patience wanted to keep every door open and to exhaust each upcoming "confidential openness" to the advantage of the blossoming foundation.

5.22/26. Jacquemin, George was born in Echternach on March 27, 1853, and ordained on August 24, 1877, in Luxemburg. From fall 1877 on, he stayed in Rome for further studies; at first he was chaplain and soon after vice-rector of the Anima. He concluded his canonical studies with the diploma "Dr. of Philosophy and Theology" and took over at the curial agency responsible for some German dioceses, among which was Augsburg. At the same time he accepted to serve in the Cardinal Vicariate and thus won the confidence of Cardinal L.M. Parocchi, who nominated him

director spiritualis of Streitel's Addolorata Sisters on September 17, 1885. On October 19, 1886, he also assumed the office of administrator of these sisters from Msgr. de Waal. Later Jacquemin left the Anima and lodged with the sisters in Borgo Santo Spirito 41.

Jacquemin was an exemplary priest. For over 35 years he took care of the prospering *Sorores a Matre Dolorosa*. Six times he traveled to North America in their interest. In summer 1894, he was accused by Sr. Scholastica to the Cardinal Vicariate and removed from his offices. After the discovery of his innocence (through a visitation) he returned to his position in the fall of 1894. In April 1896, it was he who accused Sr. Francisca to the Cardinal Vicariate. Without a proper canonical trial, but after a quick canonical visitation, Mother Francisca was deposed. In August 1914, Jacquemin went for the last time to the United States and was forced to remain there due to the outbreak of World War I. He died on April 17, 1920, in St. Joseph's Hospital in Marshfield, Wisconsin, which at that time belonged to the Addolorata Sisters.*

Jordan and Jacquemin were well acquainted since their Roman studies. At that time they were well disposed to one another. Jordan won this zealous priest as confessor for his sisters foundation. But with the passing of time differences of opinion arose between these two priests who were gifted in rather different ways. Jordan's planning and thinking was fully directed towards the growth of his foundation. Jacquemin, who earned his bread as a canonist, soon found fault with Jordan's proceedings which to him seemed legally too unfinished. Instead of helping his priestly companion by counseling and assisting him, he was too open to the complaints of some sisters against Jordan personally, particularly in the confessional. In the end he let himself be induced to push Jordan aside in a highly unfair manner. It remains a pity that they both could not come to an agreement.

Jordan was responsible *in foro externo*, Jacquemin *in foro interno*. This was an a priori obstacle to mutual understanding. The latter used his position of confidence with the Cardinal Vicar to help in his own way the sisters who felt insecure. He made the necessary preparations for

* John M. Till's 1957 biography remains unfinished, reaching only 1889.

separating the sisters without ever consulting Jordan; he even used Jordan's journey to Germany to bring about a *fait accompli*. Jacquemin succeeded also in winning Msgr. de Waal to his view in this matter. The latter was responsible for the temporal matters of the sisters as their administrator from October 8, 1885 till October 19, 1886. Urged by Sr. Francisca, who withdrew her trust from de Waal, Jacquemin took over the office of spiritual director (1885-1920) as well as administrator (1886-1898). On the strength of this position he became a monsignor by 1885. His own future was now provided for in clerical Rome by a life task which was agreeable to him. Jacquemin now had the courage to attempt to usurp canonically Jordan's male foundation as well. However, "Jordan's sons" defended themselves courageously and successfully at the Cardinal Vicar's against such unrequested interference.

Jordan suffered much from Jacquemin's maneuvers without becoming resentful. Mutual relations were soon balanced again. Jacquemin would soon experience that he had not only taken Jordan's place, but that now Jordan's burden had also become his own.

5.23/30. Bishop von Dinkel's inquiry

Augsburg, May 4, 1884

Reverend Director!

Do not think that I had completely forgotten the matter concerning Miss Streitl. No, a certain perplexity about how I should proceed in this matter has caused me to wait so long until a definite petition would reach me. Already in September last year I had made up my mind to pronounce punishment by exclusion from the order, and in this intention I was also confirmed by the Reverend Father Prior of the Carmelites in Würzburg, who paid me a visit at that time last year, and with whom I have been acquainted for a long time. But gradually I dropped this thought because I well understood that you would not be allowed to engage for your purposes a sister dismissed per punishment. But after you mentioned in your letter of March 20 the way of dispensation, on which I would finally like to bring this matter to an end, I believe to recognize in this a hidden hint of God, and I am ready to take this way although I must admit to myself that going along this way it will be difficult to harmonize the canonical prescriptions, because petitions of dispensation from vows shall be granted only under the

presupposition that the petitioners are still living in the convent from which they want to retreat into the world after the granted dispensation. What makes it easier for me to be inclined to give an apostolic dispensation is particularly the circumstance that you relate in your letter: Streitel is already wearing the *habitus religiosus* and that she wishes to be admitted to profession when the time has come.

But to proceed according to your wish, Streitel herself must direct such a petition to me indicating the reasons for having left the monastery of Himmelspforten in the Würzburg Diocese. She has also to indicate who from the side of the church approved her leaving the said monastery and who allowed her to wear secular clothes; finally if everything had happened bona fide from her side. You, Reverend, will then be so good as to send the petition to me together with a certificate regarding the behavior of Streitel up to now. More-over, I ask you to add a more exact report in what kind of activity Streitel is or will be engaged, and as you talk about a religious congregation, you must also indicate into which she shall be incorporated by profession; you must also indicate the name of this congregation and whether the Holy See approved it. After receiving these necessary documents I will immediately turn to the Holy See in favor of Miss Streitel. . . . With kind regards to Fr. Lüthen I remain in sincere reverence and love, Yours truly,

Pancratius Bishop of Augsburg (E-525, underlining original).

5.24/31. Streitel's petition for dispensation.

Rome, May 10, 1884

Most respectful petition of Ms. M. Francisca Streitel for dispensation from religious vows.

Most Reverend Bishop! Most graceful Lord!

Your Episcopal Grace had in January 1882, when I still was a professed sister of the venerable Stern Monastery in Augsburg, after a petition of mine, allowed me to leave the Stern Monastery to transfer to the Carmelite Monastery of Himmelspforten in Würzburg. After I had stayed in this monastery as a novice until December 1882, I recognized as God's will that I should leave this monastery too. This conviction of mine met with external support as my health began to waiver, and for this last reason I asked Mother Prioress' permission to leave Himmelspforten, and after this I wore secular clothes. I did not ask anyone for a special ecclesiastical permission to leave and return to the world, neither to wear secular clothes, because at that time I did not know such

a permission was necessary. Neither did anyone call my attention to its necessity when I took that step. If I had been conscious of it, I would certainly have taken the necessary steps to be absolved from them.

In order to regulate my behavior from the side of the church, I now by way of addition present humbly to Your Episcopal Grace the most obedient petition to release me from any obligation toward the Stern Monastery, to dissolve my vows or let them dissolve, while I make the remark that I at any rate will observe the vow of chastity till the end of my life.

While asking for pardon, Your Episcopal Grace, for having albeit unintentionally caused such troubles, I remain in deepest respect

Your Episcopal Grace's most obedient daughter
M.A. Streitl! (AA, File O.S. Fr. Stern).*

5.25/32. Streitl's evaluation of Mother Mary. Sr. Maria Theresia von Wüllen-weber was received in Via del Falco with a certain reserve. How will a lady of an aristocratic and rich family—someone unused to working with her own hands—be able to cope with this simplicity? Sr. Ursula Rabis on her side was completely dependent on Sr. M. Theresia in what was to her a strange world. In any case, a certain rumor came to Jordan's attention. He examined his conscience and noted in his diary: "I admitted Miss von Wüllenweber to the Society not on account of money, but for other well founded reasons" (SD 213). But it became evident to Jordan that Sr. M. Theresia was not called to this severe religious life required by Sr. Francisca. So he wrote to Lüthen on the Feast of the Assumption:

Pax Jesu! Rome, August 15, 1884.

In Christo beloved!

Today received 100 Marks. *Deo Gratias!* . . . has no vocation! Therefore I shall send her back to . . . She is truly attached to the Society and even believes herself called for this rigor; but God does not want

* Sr. Scholastica's statement that the Bishop of Würzburg as well as Augsburg had required Streitl to return to the Stern Monastery is not proved (Notes ASSM). That Sr. Petra had asked first to be sent the habit of Maria Stern through her confessor Fr. Cyprian in case she should again become superior in the Marienanstalt (December 1, 1882), is not mentioned in her petition, and these details were not known to Jordan.

her to join this order. The extraordinary signs of God's favor toward this Society are so great that I almost feel moved to tears. If you are not yet to this point, God will show it to you insofar as you firmly engage in this work. I'd like to fall onto my knees and embrace the Lord for this great love he has given and still gives to me, the most unworthy. Oh let us love Him and sacrifice ourselves for Him, for He has looked down on our lowliness. A grace-filled time will come to our Society. He will support this cause, He has promised it. God wills full selflessness from us. Poverty! Oh holy poverty! The sisters negate themselves by day and by night in serving the sick, wherever they have been and are called.
Deus benedicat tibi!

Joan Franciscus v. Kr.

Kind regards to Mrs. Huck! The Children's Home is going well. (A-15).*

5.26/33. Mother Mary's observations. Sr. Therese von Wüllenweber, noted in her diary:

Sr. Ursula Rabis has taken over garden and kitchen, as well as the goat, with diligence and skill. But we hope that soon some more sisters will come. I, too, help wherever I can, but in real work I am, sorry to say, I am very weak. . . . On July 5, 1884, two sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society arrived here. Miss Louise Kley from Erfurt and Sr. Stanislaus Schön from Bavaria (near Regensburg). . . . On July 22, Sr. Ursula and myself departed for Rome. Because of the cholera in France we had to stop for a quarantine of seven days at Lake Como, Villa Conduri. We

* Jordan had written "Baroness von Wüllenweber and Neuwerk," but then crossed it out and cancelled completely the first part of the letter (till "to join"). But he did consider the severe life practiced in Via del Falco an overstrain for the Baroness having grown up in a different lifestyle. To him it was not the will of God "that she join this order." He was considering a "third way."

Franz Huch was an editor in Frankenstein, Neisse in Silesia. He dedicated himself to the press for the missions and became friendly with Lüthen, probably through *Der Missionär*. The latter visited him during a fund raising trip in summer 1884, keeping up good connection with the Huch family.

The letter to Lüthen shows how much Jordan valued the sisters' practice of selfless poverty insofar as it served apostolic ends and did not remain stuck in a "higher life of penitence" to which Jordan did not consider himself called. In this regard Sr. Francisca seemed to condescend since spring 1884.

stayed for three weeks in Rome with the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society. Often had the grace to talk with the founder Father Jordan.

She also mentions that there were already twenty sisters in Via del Falco and they were taking care of fifteen orphans (MMChr). Pastor von Essen was surprised at the two sisters' return from Rome, which Jordan announced to him only two days before. The sisters carried a letter in which the founder informed the pastor that they would be in Neuwerk as private persons so that "Miss von Wüllenweber together with her companion could come to Rome into the novitiate" (Von Essen's letter, July 7, 1884, to Dean Wiedemann).

Sr. M. Therese of the Apostles also visited the famous shrines in Rome (MMChr). In a little notebook she noted in pencil her spiritual experiences in French. By July 31, just after her arrival, she makes the resolutions: "Above all love!" She gives her full yes to the spirituality of St. Francis, but equally to that of Francis Xavier. She states: "Now it all is very poor." For herself she must recognize, "I am not for the contemplative life. I go back to Neuwerk; it is no good for me at present." It was obvious to her that the motherhouse should be in Rome. On August 10, she writes down some indecipherable "sketch words;" she has made up her mind to put aside all personal expectations. She wishes to end her long life in unbloody martyrdom. The next day she is almost talkative in her new zeal which she caught in the Roman sisters' community. She is ready for all practices of penitence ordered by Jordan (respectively by Sr. Francisca), and this in a spirit of penance and humility. She wants to have trust and not to think too much.

How lucky that I now can give myself up to God completely; everything may happen as He wills it from me. I must also be trustful that He will give me the strength to do whatever He wants, even when the tasks are contrary to my taste. At present I have all that I have wished during my whole life: Rome, an Order, a leader as I have always wished; now come what may, I am quite unworthy of it. God's holy will, never again my own will; and then I shall always be full of humility and open to how it goes (St. Francis loved this even more than St. Ignatius.) When I externally can be of no use, I will be a little the martyr for the Society. God alone will make me happy. I desire above all obedience (I already

love holy zeal as a matter of course). To throw oneself into the waves like St. Peter, courageously when the crosses approach.

Sr. M. Therese of the Apostles says then to herself that she had to be grateful and happy if her joining the Society enhanced her personal holiness. She intends to continue her favorite virtues: zeal and humility. And she asks herself, "How must and can these [virtues] be practiced better than in the Society." Consequently she says yes to her investiture although she isn't worthy of it, simply out of obedience,

. . . for the superior will be the expression of God's will. He [God] will do His work. He will come with His crosses, His sufferings, His troubles; for the spirit of spiritual childhood is the spirit of simplicity and open-ness, the spirit of humility and obedience. The holy rule shall forever be my support, my leader, my precious treasure; only to the mercy of God do I owe my being in the Society. If it had not received me, I might have come into hell, being as strongly inclined to evil as to good. If it were possible I would bind myself ever more indissolubly to it. Oh, I will rather die than leave the Society, and thus also rather suffer more and undergo all troubles than leave it, than abandon the founder. Not to distance myself from him, from his spirit, from obedience toward him in the smallest things, in greatest subjection and convinced of my own nothingness. With joy I will suffer what he orders me to suffer as far as possible. I will also humiliate myself for all physical weaknesses –

This quite personal confession of the Baroness touches the heart in its sincerity. It's a witness of the good spirit which she meets in Rome as well as of the trust she places in Jordan as her heaven-sent guide. But above all it is, unintentionally, a witness of the greatness of her soul. Visiting Ara Coeli she presents three requests "To persevere in humility, the first virtue; to engage ever more; to remain in the Society for ever."

Then Sr. M. Therese noted what Jordan had told her in confidence:

Now I must still found a Third Order; I am in no way a St. Francis; go (home again); they [i.e., the Sisters of the CTS] live like Clarisses. Let the sisters come to Gladbach . . . and tell them [the civil authorities] they were employees of yours.

Jordan hints at this with regard to the authorities responsible for enforcing the *Kulturkampf* laws. He had not yet buried his hopes for Barbarastift. Sr. M. Therese concluded her Roman notes: "To be united like the old orders: we help you, you us. The Society takes the place of children" (ASDS).*

Back at the Barbarastift, Sr. M. Therese and Sr. Ursula lived their convent life, while the two sisters from Rome, Clara and Stanislaus joined by one candidate, "attended to their daily prayers, to their rule and to the kitchen" (MMChr).

On September 18, two more sisters came from Rome: the superiors from there, superiors Mother Francisca Streitl and Sr. Barbara Scholastica Demer. . . . Sr. Francisca had complied with Jordan's wish and discussed with Pastor von Essen the possibility of an establishment on the site. On October 4, Sr. Clara Kley left; on the 27th the superiors Francisca and Sr. Stanislaus left from there to Rome; on the 29th Sr. Scholastica and Sr. Barbara [the candidate Barbara Griebel is also indicated].

After the "Roman sisters" left, Srs. Therese and Ursula were alone again; happy "we were together again doing everything in common" (MMChr).

5.27/35. Fund raising in Nancy. In the second half of October, Sr. Veronica Pecherino and Sr. Angela Popp who had made their perpetual vows on September 8, went to Nancy to fund raise. Sr. Veronica soon fell very seriously ill. Sr. Angela reported on November 3 to Jordan, whom she addressed as "Our good Reverend Spiritual Father," that Sr. Veronica would be able to return to Rome in ten days at the earliest. Sr. Angela requests a greeting of consolation also from the "venerable spiritual mother, if venerable Mother is in Rome again" (E-528). However at that time she was home in Bamberg probably looking for candidates (cf., letter of thanks of Sr. Francisca, November 5, 1884; to Sr. Therese and Sr.

* These purely personal notes of the Baroness are not only remarkable in themselves, they also disprove what Sr. Scholastica affirms in her memoirs of November 1927 (colored by prejudices) about this attempt of Jordan's to unite the Barbarastift and Via del Falco spiritually under Sr. M. Therese (Notes of Sr. Scholastica, ASSM).

Ursula in Neuwerk from Bamberg, E-529). Soon after, Sr. Angela also fell ill. The Sisters of Divine Doctrine, the congregation with whom the two sisters had found lodgings and care, were spiritually cared for by their Assistant General, Msgr. Lorrain, private secretary of the bishop. On November 8, 1884, he thanks Jordan for his lines to Mother General and informs Jordan that the condition of the two sisters was grave, but that they were well prepared for heaven: "Upon what beautiful and holy souls God has founded your Society, my Reverend Father, and what generous victims has he selected among your membership" (E-530). On November 14, Sr. Angela thanks Jordan effusively for his consoling lines and assures him that they were no less ready to travel to the heavenly Rome than to the earthly one. In her letter there are hints about a possible change in the office of superiors. Mother Streitel must have spoken to her before her departure to Neuwerk, that a change because of "certain reasons," (possibly a reference to Sr. Francisca's not yet absolved bond to Maria Stern) was not to be excluded. Sr. Angela was happy

. . . knowing you forgive us everything, especially me who had so much reason to ask forgiveness, especially yours, good reverend spiritual father to whom I owe the ability to die peacefully as a bride of the Lord, but equally from all our first sisters, to whom I was a bad example. May the Lord put right what I have done badly, this is my only wish! [Sr. Angela was happy] our Reverend Mother returns with so many honorable sisters; I believed her to be in Rome already for a long time.

She had not written to Sr. Francisca that they both were "mortally ill" so as not to cause her anxiety. Sr. Angela then assures Jordan that all the sisters prayed for their spiritual father and their spiritual mother,

. . . that you may not depose this our venerable Mother given by God to our dear sisters, nor have any doubt that this spiritual mother neglects any of your even smallest prescriptions or that she allows any of her sisters to neglect them. Only [Sr. Francisca is] capable to keep order and cleanness which benefit an Order! (E-531).

On November 17, Jordan received news that Sr. Angela was feeling better, while Sr. Veronica could hardly be saved (E-532). On the same day Sr. Angela thanked Jordan for a letter of November 14, they were feeling better again. A visit was not necessary as they were best cared for by the sisters. Sr. Angela then requested a few consolatory lines from Sr.

Francisca, "after our dear reverend Mother would have arrived in Rome" (E-533). In the meantime Jordan had sent the capable Sr. Scholastica to Nancy. She reported that Sr. Angela was feeling better, but that Sr. Veronica was still seriously ill; the physician would write personally. Since a collecting tour in Baden was not possible (as Jordan had wished) they would collect gifts in the local area according to a traveling route drawn up by Mother Superior, while Sr. Veronica would enjoy the best care possible (E-534, the letter is undated but might be of November 24, or December 2). For Christmas, Sr. Veronica who was feeling a little better sent a cordial letter to Jordan (December 18, 1884, E-537).

Meanwhile, the other two sisters had returned to Rome, after a short break in Genoa, because Sr. Angela was again plagued by coughing blood. Sr. Lucie Bastien, Superior General of the monastery in Nancy where Sr. Veronica was cared for so charitably, thanked Jordan for his wishes and offered to take Sr. Veronica with her to Marseille, where Jordan could fetch her (December 19, 1884, E-538). But on January 26, 1885, the monastery reported that because of a relapse she was not fit to travel. Sr. Veronica had to remain in Nancy. She felt lonely and discouraged (January 7, 1885, E-539). On February 9, 1885, Sr. Scholastica arrived there to accompany her home to Rome (E-542). During her stay in Nancy, Sr. Scholastica had caused confusion by speaking about a revelation she had had. After receiving this report Jordan reproached her sharply and threatened her with dismissal. Sr. Scholastica asked for forgiveness with expressions of deepest contrition:

. . . that I will never pay attention to even the slightest sign of a revelation and also that I would prefer to die as a martyr at this very moment rather than let any thought arise against my superiors. [She confirmed:] My venerable Father, I remain loyal and nothing can separate me. Oh, I know I have hurt you much by my rough and bad behavior. . . I declare to you before God, to whom I have renewed my vows this morning during Holy Communion, that I will never again use similar language, whatever may happen . . . and I am ready to lose even my life rather than to leave your holy order. [Finally she asked Jordan:] Oh dear Father, write to me at the earliest the words of forgiveness and fatherly love and that you readmit me into the number of your faithful spiritual daughters (Nancy, December 1884, E-535).

In another letter of February 9, 1885, from Nancy, Sr. Scholastica asks Jordan again "whole heartedly and humbly for forgiveness of her many mistakes and of the many pains I have caused you and our dear venerable Mother" (E-542).

5.28/49. Streitl/Jordan correspondence (III). On June 24, Sr. Francisca wrote a letter to Jordan in which we can already sense the separation planned and probably initiated by her.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph!!!

My Reverend Father!

Today you celebrate your namesday.* This morning I would have liked to express my sincere wishes to you, but the manner of your departure deprived me of the courage to do so. May the Lord confirm you, my Father, more and more in His grace, may he strengthen you in the cross. Days of sorrow have come over the sisters, come as you never imagined. But help comes from above and peace which so often the superior lacked in my regard, and then a common aim shall be striven for, and this fear "God might through a woman gain some growth to His greater honor," must never be expressed at all any more.

Reverend Father, the Lord shall glorify Himself how and by whom he wants; we will always consider ourselves His servants who by themselves are useless and lazy, but will be in Him strong instruments of His power. Forgive me everything, my venerable Father, and with filial sentiments signs,

Your Spiritual Daughter

M. Francisca of the Cross (ASDS).

* At that time Jordan signed with Franciscus of the Cross only within the First and Second Order. In public he still used his civil name. Toward well-known ecclesiastic authorities he sometimes also signed "Johannes Fr. of the Cross Jordan." In those "years of change" he did not celebrate his namesday on the solemn day of St. Francis. The secretary of the Cardinal Vicar, Augustus Canonicus Barbiellini, sometimes wrote just to the priest "Jourdan."

5.29/50. Streitl/de Waal correspondence. On the same day Sr. Francisca wrote similarly to Msgr. Anton de Waal:

J.M.J.!!! Reverend Father!

With the feelings of a child I come to you to tell you how it pleases the Lord to attract me to Himself.

Our venerable superior is suffering much. Today he celebrated Holy Mass with greatest effort, and for some time he may hardly be able to do this for us. Our sisters are deeply depressed and praying and fasting, wrestling for their mother, the mother who herself internally and externally is only held up by grace, because she has no more natural strength. M. Angela is ill, as well as a sister in Germany. Everything in the house limps and is listless. My Reverend Father, in the past I have never tolerated tears as a sign of a great sensibility neither in myself nor in others, and I rebuked those who wept. But now tears have become my food and my drink, and those sisters who are otherwise strong in this regard share in this nourishment of mine.

This condition has been lasting for weeks, the sisters have no instruction in spiritual life, no more confession of faults, for the sisters destined for this are quite broken by pain. My Father, with greatest sacrifices the sisters have been educated until now by sacrifices as bitter as can hardly be imagined. Each sister had first to be born in my heart under pain and self-abnegation and in addition under sufferings and afflictions of loving Providence.

With most heartfelt words I implore you to intercede for us with the Lord, so that He may let fall rays of His mercy upon this afflicted community to strengthen and encourage it in suffering.

Sometimes the terrible thought comes to me, "but you must be very bad because the Lord becomes forced to punish you so terribly." And I have to work hard not to despair, that He will forgive me in spite of my sins. Forgive me for hurrying to you as to a father, imploring and praying for you to represent me somehow to God.

In the Cross, Your Reverend's unworthy servant.

Rome, July 4, 1885. M. Francisca of the Cross (CS +).

Around Easter 1885, Sr. Francisca had de Waal as her confessor. On March 30 (Tuesday of Holy Week) she writes him one of her "soul letters." Among other things she writes:

The book I take my spiritual exercises from is the cross. With, by, and in it I will learn the self-mortification which to me is so necessary, the destruction of the creature under the blows of the Creator which are so useful to "him." I will vehemently and intensely pray and implore my crucified love to annihilate me and to let me rise in the holy wound of the heart; to let me die to all that is not God's and let me live, suffer and work in that which alone supplies all good.

She promises "to be an obedient and zealous confession daughter" and signs: "In the Cross, Your Reverence's, obedient servant M. Francisca of the Cross S.C.I." (CS +).

August 26, 1885, during the painful weeks after her deposition as superior, the afflicted novice Sr. Francisca wrote to de Waal:

. . . a higher will ordered me to go to St. Peter's for holy confession, and this will now orders me to leave St. Peter's and to take you, Reverend, to guide my soul again along the Lord's paths. I promise in advance to bring a quite obedient and docile heart to you as my teacher and guide.

5.30/54. Another petition.

Tabellarium

Vicariatus Urbis

7 July, 1885

Rev. Eminence,

The priest, G. B. Jordan, director general of the Catholic Teaching Society reveals to your most reverend eminence that removal of Sr. Francesca Streitel from the office of superior of the nuns of the said Society has produced such consequences that the writer is forced in conscience today to beg your eminence to grant him to return Sr. Francesca Streitel to the office of superior. The writer recommends this petition to your eminence, because he feels intense the obligation to manage the nuns mentioned above. With all hope, Fr. Jordan

July 7, 1885: Negative

Jordan understood the refusal of the Cardinal Vicar who could not act against the pope's will. However, the sisters' anguish oppressed him. He was sorry to be so powerless. The good Sr. Angela Popp, who at that time together with Sr. Veronica fell deathly ill in Nancy, believed Jordan could do something through de Waal. She did not know how much the

founder had already endeavored to find out, and how he himself desired nothing more than that Sr. Francisca should be reinstated in her office.

Sr. Angela wrote to de Waal on July 13. She complained of the disorder in the house, especially in the novitiate because of the "already so pressed circumstances;" she asks the Rector of Campo Santo "to explain things a bit to the Reverend Father, who will certainly come to you still today." She stresses:

Sorry to say, we do not have any sister here capable of this [community leadership], and therefore, it would be a good thing and even most necessary that Sr. Scholastica should be called to come here while sending up another sister to take her place, but as with the Reverend Father, as your Reverend well understands, in this difficult time care must be taken to preserve him in really good humor, I ask you herewith to explain this to the venerable Father as well as possible . . ." (CS).

5.31/55. Jordan's last gambit.

Secretariat of the Vicariate of the City,
Most illustrious and Eminent Superior,

July 7, 1885

John Baptist Jordan, Superior General of the Catholic Teaching Society humbly beseeches your eminence, to admit Bonaventure Lüthen, in the world, Bernard, a priest of that Society, for the exam for the faculty to hear the confessions of the sisters of the above mentioned Society, as well as of the novices, the candidates and all other persons who live in the house of the sisters.

For that purpose the writer declares that the praiseworthy Bonaventura Lüthen, of the Diocese of Paderborn, age 39, already has permission to hear confessions of the men of the above Society, and is inflamed by a true zeal to promote religious perfection and is to be recommended by his piety and discipline and learning.

And God . . . Jourdan

Negative. His Eminence will dispense faculties to hear confessions for the sisters to another who is not of the same Society.

In this connection there is a very informative letter of Sr. Angela Popp to de Waal. On July 20, she wrote she had been able to persuade a German archbishop to talk with the Cardinal Vicar about the spiritual needs of the sisters. "He had already today decided on a confessor of his order for

the sisters." In reality Cardinal Parocchi nominated Fr. Jacquemin confessor of the sisters July 24. On the same day Sr. Angela wrote again to de Waal in Campo Santo that she had been on this very morning with "Monsignor Dr. Jacquemin" asking for his help. Sr. Angela confessed:

I cannot [describe] to you, Reverend, my external and internal sufferings which I have been feeling for some days much more than ever for my two dear superiors as well as for my first sisters; it seems to me as if the cross gets bigger every day . Sr. Scholastica is coming in these days.

The pastor of Schlesslitz had written twice already that it was not good for Sr. Scholastica to be in her homeland. She should be replaced with another sister. Then Sr. Angela complained about Jordan,

... who for some days had also been very ill disposed to her [Sr. Angela] although she [i.e., I] had done nothing against him, and I suffer terribly because of this cross; on the other side I see the venerable Mother weeping out of pain, not knowing what she could do and being able to keep up only supported by grace (CS).

5.32/62. Jordan and de Waal. The relation between Jordan and Msgr. Anton de Waal continued to be good in this difficult period. On Good Friday, April 3, 1885, the rector had invited Jordan's community to the solemn Way of the Cross. "During today's *Via Crucis* the Brothers of the Catholic Teaching Society of Fr. Jordan sang the hymns at the Stations to the general edification" (CS). To the Feast of *Corpus Christi* of June 4, Jordan's women and men [*die Jordanistinnen und die Jordanisten*] accompanied the Blessed Sacrament (CS). On July 13, Jordan asked the rector to obtain an audience with the pope for "*Kinde Schwer. Johanna*" (CS). Under August 12, de Waal noted in his chronicle: "Br. Dominicus Wettstein*, Dukedom of Baden, member of the Catholic Teaching Society, today was

* Dominicus (Heinrich) Wettstein was born in Bruchsal March 23, 1864. He entered the Catholic Teaching Society on April 11, 1883, and received the habit on Pentecost (May 13). Already on June 8, he made his vows for three years. He died on August 10, 1885: "in the ninth hour p.m. he said 'My Jesus have mercy'," as Jordan noted in his catalogue (G-3.1/2).

buried in our graveyard. The first to die this year" (CS). Jordan was staying in Franconia at that time.

One week later Sr. Sebastiana (Barbara) Griebel was buried in Campo Santo (CS). She died at the age of 28 as a novice. Had Jordan been in Rome, he would certainly have admitted to vows the good sister in danger of death. Hardly returned to Rome, he asked the "administrative board of the Venerable Fraternity of Campo Santo to reduce the expenses for the burial of the poor "Community of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" (CS +, September 16, 1885). Thus Jordan continued to take immediate care of the sisters. Although the "separation" had already been prepared, he knew nothing until then.

5.33/63. Jacquemin's solution. In his *Liber Documentorum* after doc. n. 71 of April 7, 1888, Jacquemin inserted another document in Latin, in which he describes the "solution of the question about the nomination of the superior" on the basis of the interrogation of the sisters. (He notes particularly that the original was in the archives of the sisters and that the document was to be placed after nr. 4, i.e., after the second petition of release from office of Sr. Stanislava of July 24, 1885.)

Holy Father!

Rosa Francisca Amalie Streitl, 21 years old [above 21 was written 41], entered into the Order of the Sisters of St. Francis in the City and Diocese of Augsburg. In this congregation, in which she received the name of Angela, she lived for fifteen years as a religious. Obeying the order of her superior she directed the house of the *Elisabethenverein* and two years later the house *Marienanstalt* in Würzburg. As she felt urged to follow a stricter rule and a harder lifestyle, in 1882, with the permission of the bishop she left the Congregation of St. Francis in good faith, without, however, requesting the permission of Your Holiness. She did so with the intention and the belief to enter the Carmelite Order in the same city of Würzburg. During eleven months she was there as a novice. Compelled by bad health she had to leave this order and went to Rome in 1883. With the knowledge and agreement (*intelligentia*) of Johann Baptist Jordan, Superior of the Catholic Teaching Society, she founded a Conservatorium for virgins. On March 19, 1883, she received the religious habit from his hands and without any novitiate she took the three vows. Fr. Jordan nominated and installed her as superior of

the Conservatorium. Afterwards he asked Your Holiness to release the said superior (with the name of Mary Francis of the Cross) from the vows she had made in 1868, in the Congregation of St. Francis. In the audience of May 9, 1885, Your Holiness granted His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar, permission to dispense from simple vows in the Congregation of St. Francis, as made above, with the condition that, after the profession is internally already fixed, she shall repeat the novitiate and conclude it successfully, then, when the time has come, to make a new profession under observation of the prescriptions.

Sr. Maria Francisca was deposed as superior; Sr. Maria Stanisla who was installed as her successor seemed not to have the talents and gifts expected and required of a superior: being 28 years old. After two months of novitiate she had taken vows and was sent to Germany, where she was wearing secular clothes together with 2 or 3 young women of the Conservatorium who spent five months in the country (July 5 till October 27, 1884 in Neuwerk). Back in Rome she became superior after 8 months. Sr. Stanisla never accepted this office in peace, as she considered herself quite incapable of such a task. For this reason there was no superior, and in the Conservatorium things were in disorder. The professed sisters living there in Rome, when individually asked their opinion about the new superior, all (with one exception) answered, although the new superior was a very devote, virtuous and good religious sister, she nevertheless was not a superior, she was not a Mother, she could not give orders or advice. She did not know how to guide souls and was not willing to give her subjects counsel in spiritual matters; she was incapable to provide order and circumspect in administration of domestic matters. Five novices, when individually asked the same question, answered almost the same as the sisters had done.

As the individual sisters all met with the same obstacles and difficulties more or less, there seems to have been no one among the professed sisters who might prudently be installed as superior. When asked which sister (apart from Sr. Maria Francisca) they considered as worthy and desirable to be nominated superior, seven professed sisters answered that there was no sister to fulfill this task. Two sisters indicated Sr. Maria Scholastica, one conditionally, and the other with great reserve. They all affirmed "all in union" that none could be Mother and superior like the superior Maria Francisca had been. The five novices came to the same opinion when they were interrogated. Asked whether they would leave the Society if the venerable Mother, i.e., Sr. Maria

Francisca, left, one professed sister and one novice answered that they would stay on; all the others, professed and novices answered that they would leave together with her. Asked whether they had thought about leaving, when Sr. Maria Francisca was removed from the office of superior, five professed answered they had really thought about leaving, but did not want to leave, two were tempted to leave, one said she would stay with the Venerable Mother [i.e., Maria Francisca], one that she had not thought about leaving, two that they had trusted in God that Venerable Mother Francisca would be re-installed.

It may be helpful to add what the same professed sisters and novices think about Sr. Francisca's capability and ability. They say she was the superior willed by God. Without her one could not tolerate so much (*tot et tanta*); she was the best mother. She recognized the particularity and soul of the individual sister; she would not fail in any spiritual need, be it in counseling or in assisting; to her one could present all the contents of the heart, under her leadership peace, discipline, obedience, silence had never suffered. She was prudent in admonishing and full of love in reproaching, her religious life was an example to all the sisters; she was able to do much by her ability in administration and order of the household, and without her it all would break to pieces.

For these reasons it is desirable that Sr. Maria Francisca, 41 years old, be elected superior, if Your Holiness approves this procedure in the Lord. This is implored by all sisters and novices on their knees that Your Holiness re-install Sr. Maria Francisca as superior as fast as you can, and dispense her from the missing novitiate, so that she may make her vows at once and take over the office of superior. In answer to this grace all sisters will never stop imploring God in holy prayer for the welfare of Your Holiness.

On August 16, 1885, I the undersigned handed in the above petition to His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar in order to report to the Holy Father. His Eminence, however, replied that His Holiness would not grant the grace asked for, and that there was no hope that it would be requested by the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. When I urged the necessity that another sister in place of Sr. Maria Francisca might act as her representative, His Eminence proposed most graciously after Sr. Maria Francisca's resignation that Sr. Maria Scholastica be named superior in the sense of His Eminence, i.e., only *de jure*. Sr. Maria Francisca should be superior *de facto*, which His Eminence could arrange without a special indult by his own power.

In fidem, G. Jacquemin. (l.d. 4a, 41-45).

In the name of the Lord, Amen.

I, the undersigned, testify with the present: On August 16, 1885, at 5:00 o'clock p.m. I went to the house of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society in Via Falco near the Vatican. After the sisters had gathered in the chapel and after invoking the Holy Spirit, based on the delegated power given to me by His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar of the City, I nominated, published and confirmed Sr. Maria Scholastica, with the civil name of Barbara Demer, as the new superior of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society, and this in the name of His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar of the City. It is his will that Sr. Maria Francisca (Amalie Streitl) exercise (*de facto*) the office of superior, to whom furthermore all the sisters be [*valeant*] subject in regard to spiritual direction, but that Sr. Maria Scholastica be superior *de jure*, and this in the sense that she in practicing her rights of superior be dependent on the judgement and agreement of the aforesaid Sr. Maria Francisca. After the thanksgiving in front of the altar I dismissed the sisters in peace.

Rome, August 16, 1885, G. Jacquemin, delegate of His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar, for the Community of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (TVU l.d. 7).

Before that, the delegate of the Cardinal Vicar had requested the resignation of Sr. Francisca and of Sr. Stanisla as superiors.

In the name of God. Amen.

I, the undersigned Sr. Maria Francisca with the civil name of Amalie Streitl, testify and confirm that on June 1, 1885, out of certain reasonable motives I have renounced my office as superior of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society and resigned it with all its rights, honors, obligations, as I again today, August 16, 1885, renounce and resign it expressly into the hands of Reverend George Jacquemin, authorized by His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar, Rome, August 16, 1885, Maria Francisca; witnesses: Maria Stanisla, Maria Angela.

Ita est = Georges Jacquemin (TVU l.d. 5).

The resignation letter of Sr. M. Stanisla (Anna Schön) of August 16 had its own text which Sr. Maria Angela and Sr. Maria Aloysia signed as witnesses (TVU l.d. 6).

5.34/65. Sr. Johanna and Sr. Scholastica. On June 4, 1885, Sr. Johanna Ankenbrand together with Sr. Scholastica took the sick Sr. Katharina Eck home to her parents. Then they waited for Jordan in Schlesslitz, Sr. Scholastica's home, where he intended to establish the first branch settlement of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society. At the end of June, Jordan recalled Sr. Scholastica to Rome; it was probably she who had proposed this foundation at her home. Sr. Elia Hennemann (immediately after her profession for three years on July 25, 1885) traveled to Schlesslitz to replace her. Jordan himself was in mid August in Schlesslitz with the Archbishop of Bamberg. At the same time he had petitioned for state approval in Munich for the foundation, and in doing so he also had contacted Sr. Francisca's parents, whom he had visited of course in Bamberg. In Franconia he heard of the sad happenings in Rome, which surprised him painfully and caused him to return there hurriedly. Sr. Johanna remained in Schlesslitz with Sr. Elia. Munich refused the permit for the intended new establishment, as in the Rule of the Sisters of the CTS (Typography SCI, 1884) presented together with the petition there were some open legal points which might cause some difficulties from the side of the authorities. The negative answer was sent to Streitl's parents to be passed on at the beginning of November.*

Sr. Johanna was informed very inexactly about the happenings in Rome—happenings not properly explained even to the sisters there. Neither could Sr. Francisca explain her deposition as superior to the

* On November 4, the *Königl. Staatsministerium* in Munich finally denied Jordan's petition to open a house in Schlesslitz. As reason for this denial it said that the presented rule and general norms for the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (*speciminis causa*, Rome: 1884) "specified too little about the government of the congregation, so that difficulties might arise with the state authorities. Further, it was not clear enough who was responsible for the juridic and economic relations of the community to the outside." Then it pointed out that in Bavaria there already existed a number of female congregations dedicating themselves to the same tasks as were planned by the foundation in Schlesslitz. The petition was sent by Minister Lutz through the government of Oberfranken to the *Kgl. Bezirksamt* in Bamberg, so that the father would pass it on to the "Fräulein Daughter" (l.d. 15).

sisters, nor was Jacquemin willing to say a clear word. It is true that Sr. Johanna had asked the former superior, Sr. Francisca, for an explanation and stressed that she would remain faithful to Reverend Father and to Venerable Mother, and that she did not find it just that the sisters should be separated from both of them. From the new superior, Sr. Scholastica, she received a letter which reflects both the view of the former superior, Sr. Francisca, and of the new spiritual director, Fr. Jacquemin.

Sr. Scholastica first defended "Mother Superior," who had always decidedly taken care of the well-being of the sisters (as had been fully recognized by Sr. Johanna). Then Sr. Scholastica pointed out that the church "stands higher than the superior" and now it was the church that took care of the sisters: "Unless we submit, dissolution; we observe the rule as it was given to us, only widened, with the sentences canceled of which the church can never approve." With this Sr. Scholastica confessed that the situation of the sisters was still not completely clear. Her opinion was that the former rule given by Jordan was just to be improved. Then Sr. Scholastica explained: "It has not been decided yet about the superiors, how far it may go in the future"; that the Holy Father had "given the mandate to the Cardinal Vicar" to assist us to clear up the matter, and the latter had engaged their confessor. What Sr. Scholastica explains further in her letter throws a treacherous light on herself and on Jacquemin and shows at the same time the coercion the sisters suffered, so that they had no other choice but to submit: "The Reverend confessor, who works much to the benefit of the monastery, says: whoever does not submit shall simply leave, but cannot leave without first requesting dispensation from the Holy Father." Then she implores Sr. Johanna not to be the only one,

... to oppose the instruction of the holy church, [but to hold] steadfast to our Venerable Mother Superior, who so willingly subjects herself to the holy orders of the church; what the church does, that is done by Christ who has given her all power (E-545. The undated letter seems from its contents to have been written in September 1885.)

At the same time Sr. Johanna received a consoling letter from Jordan for which she thanks him on September 17, 1885—the same day the sisters in Rome received their new spiritual director and their new name:

Charitable Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother. She asks her "dear Reverend Father . . . to assist the venerable Mother and not to retire. I, too, believe she would even sacrifice her life." She is sorry about "misunderstandings" that have come up. But even at that time she was not sufficiently informed about the new situation of the sisters in Rome.

Dear Reverend Father,

I will never oppose the ecclesiastical orders and will say nothing if some propositions [of the rule] are canceled. The Cardinal Vicar is in fact also the superior of all orders, but as it was said lately that the rule and everything will be changed, I have not been able to understand otherwise than that the whole rule will be rejected and that consequently also the legally, divinely chosen superior would not be allowed to act; in this case I would decidedly have gone to the Holy Father himself, because without any reason he could not do so, for there would have to be an unadulterated calumny. Well, the Lord puts everything right.

With this statement Sr. Johanna unsuspectingly touched the kernel of the matter. At the end of her letter she asked Jordan to let her know whether "the letters are in your hands, I am now very anxious" (E-546).*

Sr. Johanna was not allowed to return to Rome after the events of October 1885. She was sent instead by the new superior (with the agreement of the former) to Vienna. Sr. Columba Gries had been sent ahead, and Sr. Johanna was assigned to her. They both received the order to collect money for the house in Rome. Not getting a permit for this in Austria, they went up to Prussia as far as Ermland and back through Poland. Only in spring 1887, did Sr. Johanna return to Rome, where she could at last make her vows in the new congregation. (Her fellow sisters had done this on June 6, 1887.) Soon she had to go for another collecting trip through Upper Austria and Prague, returning to Rome in fall 1887.

* Similar remarks are sometimes found in letters of dependent sisters and show the kind of "religious intolerance" which at that time was not rare in sisters' communities and often left the defenseless sisters with no way out but through the confessional.

Sr. Johanna was bitter there existed a certain mistrust toward her since the separation of the sisters from Jordan. She was convinced that initially she had been kept far from Rome because she was considered unreliable. And she would have liked so much to make her vows with the sisters on June 6, in the now ecclesiastically approved community.

In Rome they thought I was for Fr. Jordan and that he trusted M. Johanna too much. I even had to change my patron's name, because both Fr. J. and I had the name of Johann Baptist. . . . Reverend. Fr. J. has certainly not got the worst with God, although he received little acknowledgment from individual sisters (ASSM).

In November 1889, Sr. Johanna went to the United States. After the deposition of Sr. Francisca she became Superior General (April 14, 1896) and remained so till 1931. From November 7, 1913 till April 7, 1921 (all during W.W.I), she was absent from Rome, living in the USA. She died in Rome at the age of 95 on January 6, 1955.

Her role in deposing Mother Francisca and her attitude afterwards are still historically unexplored. After her return from the USA in November 1921, all documents of the early times, those of Jacquemin and Mother Francisca included, were "inadvertently" burnt during a cleaning up of the archives ordered by her. From 1924, she and her old sisters began to reconstruct the chronicle of their congregation. Sadly, it is of little historical reliability; one can only be sorry about it.

5.35/66. Constitutions. On October 6, 1885, Msgr. Jacquemin called the sisters together in the refectory and read them the Constitutions (in German) which had been approved by Cardinal Parocchi for three years. Herewith the statutes composed by him were validly published juridically (l.d.10) and replaced Jordan's Rule of 1883.

On October 8, Sr. Scholastica requested de Waal as administrator of the sisters' "temporal matters." This was granted by Cardinal Parocchi on the same day (l.d. 11). Sr. Scholastica petitioned in good French, which makes one suspect the petition was actually drafted by Jacquemin. Sr. Scholastica added the wish: "May God and His holy Mother grant our weak prayers and heap heavenly benefits on Your Eminence for all benevolence you have bestowed upon our humble community."

The fund raising sisters (Stanisla Schön and Sr. Maria Pia) now sent their accounts to de Waal (Freiburg, November 17, 1885; Frankfurt over Christmas; Limburg, January 6, 1886; Trier, January 15; Cologne, January 25; Aachen, Münster, March 4; Paderborn, March 14; Luxembourg, April 9). They carried a recommendation from the Cardinal Vicar of November 3, 1885 (CS) and another from the rector. The collection was made for educating abandoned girls and caring for the old and sick. But the sisters secured no state permit and fought their way through. On March 31, 1886, in Lippstadt they were arrested in church for this reason. But they did not give up and went on begging courageously.

In October, Sr. Veronica (Agnese) Peccherino died of an illness in Nancy and was buried in Campo Santo, the cemetery for foreigners. Although she was Italian, the "municipality made no difficulty; the indication of *Suore Tedesche* was sufficient" (CS).

5.36/67. Jordan's consoling dream came to him just before he was forced to retire from the sisters. This he noted briefly. As a religious he knew he was especially connected to Francis of Assisi, whose name he had chosen for himself. Thus it is obvious that this saint would help him on his way by a dream, not to let his confidence in God be shaken in this trial or his "yes" to his apostolic mission.*

In this dream St. Francis appeared in the vestment of poverty (a tunic: originally woolen underwear) and grieves that Jordan is in such affliction for no fault of his own. Jordan requests the blessing of the saint for the male branch remaining to him and receives it. And this blessing was not without effect.

Jordan noted this third dream in his Spiritual Diary (cf., SD 121). His dreams are always religious experiences which in dreams became more vivid than can happen while being awake. Jordan was not a man to take refuge in dreams. His very hard youth did not leave him time for

* Because October 4, 1885, was the Feast of the Rosary, the Feast of St. Francis, Patron of Italy, was transferred to the next Sunday, October 11. Indicating October 12 shows Jordan had the dream on the night of October 11/12.

dreaming. For Jordan there was no excuse for substituting dreams for deeds [slightly edited].

Jordan's dreams remained dreams, but to him they were true "Joseph's experiences." They did not change his life, but confirmed it. They show how deeply all the signs of his life were penetrated by the charisma of his apostolic mission. Even in his sleep his union with God and the impulse to dedicate himself to the Lord did not fully stop. They just sank more or less into the unconscious. Thus the hymn of the bride in the Song of Solomon: "I slept, but my heart was awake" (5:2) applied to him. Precisely because Jordan was not a dreamer but a humble and devote Joseph by nature, the Lord could address and console him in his dreams.

5.37/68. Jordan rebuffed.

Jesus, Mary, Joseph
Venerable Father!

Rome, October 14, 1885

Allow me to inform you regarding a matter that surprises me very much. On Monday, October 12, Most Reverend Archbishop Rota came to me accompanied by a very dignified priest. The Most Reverend asked me whether some sisters wished to join the Reverend Fr. Jordan and whether all the sisters had separated from him quite voluntarily. In Germany, Fr. Jordan still had a house. Did those sisters also belong to us or were they now separated from us? We were further asked who now was our superior, and it was added Fr. Jordan felt very hurt. Twice or three times this was repeated. Then they asked who was the founder of the Congregation, whether we had Holy Mass and the Blessed Sacrament in the house, whether we had enough space and whether the house was rented or was our property.* The Most Reverend mentioned a small change regarding the superior and asked where Mother General was, here or in Germany. Repeatedly the question was asked whether the sisters in Germany had not the desire to join Fr. Jordan.

* "The sisters in Germany" are the 2 in Schlesslitz. The "*Oberin*" (female superior) is unclear and most likely applies to Sr. Francisca herself. Whether "opponent" refers to Sr. Johanna or to Sr. Therese remains open.

The Archbishop also said that he was sent only by Fr. Jordan and that, if any sister wished to talk with him, he was to be found with the canons of St. Peter's on the second floor. Presenting the above said to your better judgment, I sign in sentiments of veneration Reverend Father's obedient spiritual daughter,
 Maria Francisca of the Cross. (ASSM).

This letter of Sr. Francisca to Jacquemin clearly mixes the question of the archbishop and her own fears. Rota could not ask whether the sisters had separated from Jordan out of their free will, because they faced a *fait accompli* (with the exception of Streitl and Demer). Until then nobody had had any doubt that Jordan was the founder of the sisters' community. Neither was there a Superior General, in Rome or in Germany. The two "free sisters" in Neuwerk remained removed from Roman events. Even later it was true to say of them: "the said ladies are not among the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" (MI, April 13, 1884). That Sr. Francisca reported expressly: "Fr. Jordan felt himself much hurt now" sounds somehow treacherous. It corresponded to Jordan's understanding of his mission, when he later thought about a new start with the sisters in Neuwerk and with other young ladies.

5.38/73. Jacquemin's tenure as director can be traced in his notes:

1885	October 30	Today concluded the lease for the sisters for 5 years near San Michele, <i>quod Deus bene vertat</i> (CS).
	November 3	Four sisters for collecting.
	December 1	Transfer to Borgo Santo Spirito near S. Michele in Sassia.
	December 12	Sr. Francisca receives dispensation from the still missing 5 months of the novitiate begun June 1, 1886.
1886	January 6	Eighteen sisters make profession in the new congregation of sisters.
	January 19	Sr. Scholastica resigns her office as superior.
	January 20	Sr. Francisca becomes superior again " <i>de jure et de facto.</i> "
	November 13	Permission to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in the house chapel.

	December 12	Sisters of Mater Dolorosa wear again a grey habit and white cincture.
1887	January 16	Dr. Gamba, house physician engaged by Jordan sends all the sick sisters to Germany for recovery. Sr. Francisca accompanies them.
	February 8	Small pox in Borgo Santo Spirito.
	April 5	Cardinal Parocchi requests a list of the 13 deceased sisters, because the frequent deaths are causing a stir.*
	April 7	Mother Francisca makes her perpetual vows with the consent of the Cardinal Vicar.
	September 16	The two collecting sisters Johanna and Columba had been on their way since September 1885.
	November 25	Sr. Alcantara (Kunigunda) Demer, who had made her temporal vows June 25, 1886, dies in her parents' home.
1889	October 29	Farewell party for Sr. Johanna who travels to the United States accompanied by Msgr. Jacquemin
1896	April 14	Mother Francisca Streitel deposed as Superior General by the Cardinal Vicar.
1904	February 9	The Sisters of the Mater Addolorata are aggregated to the Third Order of St. Francis.
1911	March 6	Death of Mother Francisca in Castel San Elia, Diocesi di Nepi.
	May 24	Papal approbation of the Constitutions by Pius X.
1937	January 12	Death of Sr. Scholastica Demer in Vienna.

* In 1886, five sisters of the Congregation of the Mater Dolorosa died, and in 1887 four more, as in 1885. Due to these many deaths 1886-87, Cardinal Parocchi ordered a visitation to prevent a civil investigation (Chronicle SSM).

So many sisters died because many sickly girls were accepted; two of them already seemed dead on the bier and raised when the coffin was opened because a noise had been heard. The Mother said the sickly sisters were God's darlings, died well and would be intercessors above. They received extra food, were even allowed to drive out to St. Paul's to get fresh air. Consequently, the fault was not food (Sr. Johanna, November 13, 1927). [NOTE: This retrospect of the old sister is to be evaluated with caution. If it is true, these events happened after the separation of the sisters from Jordan.]

To these dates more details should be added:

1885 [sic], November 3, Msgr. Jacquemin had already sent four sisters to collect in Germany, giving them a recommendation which indicated that the sisters dedicated themselves to the education of poor children, to home care for the sick, and also to pious assistance of German girls who in ever growing numbers were coming to Rome (TVU l.d. 14).

1885, May 9 Most Holy Father!

In the audience of May 9, 1885, granted to His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar, Your Holiness graciously granted that Sr. Amalia Streitl, who had made simple vows in the Congregation of St. Francis in the City and Diocese of Augsburg could now under the given conditions change over to the Congregation of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society, now Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother.

Then Jacquemin explains that on the coming Feast of Epiphany all professed sisters, based on the papal dispensation, would make their vows for three years. It would be good if Sr. Francisca could renew her vows together with the others. Jacquemin requests, therefore, dispensation from her still missing months of novitiate. In favor of Sr. Francisca he indicates: her engagement as superior in both houses in Würzburg, her life in a stricter order (without naming Carmel), and finally:

Received into the Congregation of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (under the name of Sr. Maria Francisca) she made there her vows, while neither her superiors nor anyone else doubted that this could be done without the permission of the Holy See. She has spent more than two years in this congregation, now "The Sorrowful Mother," so that she has certainly completed her novitiate less *de jure*, but certainly *de facto*. It is worthwhile to say finally that this Sister Amalie has really been a Mother to all the sisters from the cradle of this new congregation, whom she has educated, instructed, formed and introduced into religious life. The result was that she has bound them all to herself in a particular way with filial love and true confidence. . . .

1885, December 12, Holy Father granted the petition presented by the Cardinal Vicar (TVU l.d. 19).

1885, December 30, the Cardinal Vicar changed the introduction to the

rule stating that the congregation was a pious institute with simple vows under a female General Superior (*moderatrix generalis*). As the congregation had only one house, the constitution should only say "superior"; the "general" was to be put in brackets (TVU l.d. 24). On the same day Cardinal Parocchi allowed some sisters to make profession on January 6, 1886, regardless of whether they had or would have a dowry or whether it was doubtful (TVU l.d. 23).

1886, January 19

I, undersigned Sr. Maria Scholastica, with the civil name of Barbara Demer, testify and confirm herewith that I today, January 19, 1886, in full liberty and to the great comforting of my soul, have renounced my office of superior of the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother and handed it down with all its rights and duties into the hands of Reverend Georg Jacquemin, authorized by His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar. Rome, January 19, 1886, Maria Scholastica Demer, Maria Aloysia, Maria Angela: witnesses. *Ita est* G. Jacquemin (l.d. 27).

1886, January 20

In the name of the Lord. Amen. I the undersigned on the 20th of January 1886, the Feast of St. Sebastian martyr and soldier, at 12:00 in the afternoon gathered the Sisters of Charity of the Sorrowful Mother in Via Borgo San. Spiritu 41 next to the Church of St. Michael the Archangel, which sisters congregation gathered in their refectory, I invoked the Holy Spirit, and the authority of the most Eminent Cardinal Vicar of the City having delegated me, I nominated, proclaimed and confirmed as superior Sr. Mary Francis (known in the world as Amalia Streitl). This act being completed I dismissed the sisters in peace. Rome, 20 January, 1886. G. Jacquemin (l.d. 28 from Latin).

1886, November 13, Leo XIII granted the Cardinal Vicar permission to allow the sisters to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in their house chapel. The cardinal communicated this permission orally to Jacquemin, who first reserved the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle Christmas night (l.d. 38).

1886, December 14, the Cardinal Vicar permitted the sisters to wear "the grey Franciscan habit with the white cincture" (l.d. 39).

1887, March 26, Cardinal Parocchi allowed Sr. Francisca to make final vows. Jacquemin indicated the following reasons in the petition:

- 1) Sr. Streitl was the first sister to come to Rome, February 16, 1883. As soon as some young women had gathered she took over their direction and education on the way of the Lord like their spiritual mother.
- 2) She herself had dedicated herself over fifteen years in the Congregation of St. Francis laudably to the religious life and left this congregation in good faith not without the permission of the superiors and according to her confessor's counsel in order to follow a stricter way of life. His Holiness Pope Leo XIII consented in the audience of May 9, 1885, that she change over into the Congregation of the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, and in the audience of December 12, of the same year that she may make temporary vows.
- 3) By God's grace and mercy as well as through the prudence and decision of Your Eminence she is also at the head of the sisters who all, with one exception, stand sincerely with her as their spiritual Mother with truly filial affection and obedience.
- 4) If Your Eminence would grant the requested grace, this would bring great consolation and spiritual joy to all the sisters. . . .

George Jacquemin, Spiritual Director.*

Parocchi's answer, as expected, agreed: "For a just grace proceed, March 26, 1887, Lucidus Cardinal Vicar (l.d. 47).

1887, April 7, Holy Thursday, "Venerable Mother, Sister Francisca of the Cross" made her perpetual vows (l.d. 49). She was thankful to the Lord, but also ready to continue the way of suffering and cross, which to her was also a way of spiritual and mental self-affirmation and by this also remained embedded in the human and sometimes too human.

1888, February 15, Srs. Scholastica and Joachima received permission to collect alms in the USA (l.d. 67).

Sr. Francisca's letter to Msgr. de Waal on September 12, 1886 should be added here. It is revealing in several aspects. Sr. Francisca has worked up the events of summer 1885, on one hand with what she saw as her

* Jacquemin's petition was written in his usual good Latin.

unique pious asceticism, on the other hand with a certain egregious ingratitude towards Jordan. Thus she simultaneously set the course for a later understanding of these events fully to her advantage. It is striking how she endeavors to justify Jacquemin's way of acting as the implementation of the will of God. The letter is also proof that the interrogation of the sisters, which Msgr. Jacquemin presents legally in his petition to Leo XIII, but omitting the witnesses, was not at all so smooth, and that certain tensions among the sisters continued slowly burning. Finally, Sr. Francisca appears here once more as master of the pious art of using the confessional to put through what she sees as her divinely willed plans.

JMJ!!!

Most Reverend, very honorable Msgr. Anton de Waal!

Knowing that I turn confidentially to a noble priestly heart, I am convinced that my trust will not be disappointed in anything. Loving Providence let me know Your Reverence at a time when the storm of doubts, of afflictions of every kind rose against me, and when I was viewed as just an adventurous woman who had the ability to cheat God and the world. You Reverend looked more deeply into the advice of the Lord who uses small things to confound the great and who can also lower his grace into the heart of a woman and there bring forth fruit. You heard my confession, you must have convinced yourself that I am wicked, but that on the other hand the grace of the Lord was not sterile in me. The storm rose higher. I stood under the direction of a young sister. Obedience willed it so. For my sins I had earned far more harm, and it was certainly a special grace of God to make amends in a particular way for my offenses against divine justice.

Most reverend, you know into what sufferings our sisters had sunk when they were deprived of their Mother. In their pain they turned to your Reverence complaining, weeping and asking for help. And God knows what you were to those oppressed souls then. Your Reverence became their father, consoler and helper. You spared no material means to help the children reclaim their mother. You were not afraid of sacrifices, of prayers and intercession. You took steps to all sides from whence it seemed possible for you to get help. All this nourished deep gratitude in the sisters' hearts and veneration towards you as their protector and they wished, after the Lord in His boundless mercy had sent His help, that God might appoint you to be their superior. Prayers were offered, and it was the will of God to determine

through the holy church that Your Reverence was not given us as superior, but the Rev. Jacquemin who for some time had been the confessor of the sisters; that this priest stood far away from any desire to occupy such a position with the sisters, for that I answer before God that without any doubt it was exclusively by the most holy will of God that this priest has become our superior, for neither he nor the sisters took corresponding steps, and he was nevertheless destined as such by higher authority. The authority has spoken, and we must submit to it willingly and without wavering. So we have no reason not to offer sincere and everlasting thanks to God for having given him as our superior. Sadly, some of the sisters, offended and irritated that someone they had not wanted was given them as superior, disregarded the holy obedience they owe to the church; they forgot that the deepest gratitude towards Your Reverence should show up in continuous intercessions and continuous gratitude and not in resistance against the legal superior in favor of Your Reverence.

For me has come a time, after the matter in my regard was regulated that I, though lacking all merit, should be a mother to the sisters, and Monsignor Jacquemin had been given to the sisters as superior, something it will be almost impossible for me to describe. So much I would have liked to see the sisters' wish fulfilled: to know you, Reverend, to be their superior. As soon as I knew that this was not the will of God, Monsignor, I was the first one, the most decided person, to call back to the sisters severely reproaching:

Sisters, you take a dangerous way which leads away from God. You have received your legal superior by God in Reverend Jacquemin and not in Msgr. de Waal, and even if the latter was given to us to promote our temporal situations, neither the holy church and thus neither God wanted you to bestow on him a dedication which can be bestowed only on the legal superior responsible for our eternal salvation.

I am sufficiently convinced that you with your devout and noble heart imagined what a painful burden this decision (i.e., that Your Reverence should preside over the material situations of our congregation) has laid upon two souls. For due to the perversity of individual sisters you would soon have tried to institute a change. For our reverend superior [Jacquemin] I would even wrestle with God so that he might have enough strength at the given situations to remain steadfast in the truth that he was called by God to direct the sisters and to preside over them.

To convince our reverend superior as well as the sisters that I was quite serious in saying: our only superior is Rev. Jacquemin, and certainly understanding my own inability to be superior, I for my own sake did not stop praying and imploring until finally God through His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar partly relieved me from my position leaving to me the office of Mother. Since then I have been happy insofar as I have been able to tell the sisters to forget that the Mother is not any more a superior to them, and do just like me, be obedient to your superior [Jacquemin] and believe that God will guide you through him. And as the obedience towards the legal superior advances you in the spiritual life, you will likewise advance in the life of virtues if you let yourselves sincerely and trustfully be guided by your superior.

I would not have had the courage to present this information to Your Reverence, but three months ago you asked me at the occasion of the quarterly confession to pray whether and how far it would be good for your Reverence to take a position with the sisters, and I was highly edified and praised God for the sake of the freedom of soul he has given to you, his true servant, which let you say: If Your Reverence recognized or if I should in this regard receive special recognition, that to the spiritual benefit of the good cause it would be more favorable if only one superior worked there and if their minds were prevented from splitting their attention, you would immediately dissolve any closer relation with the community, but always support it with a fatherly sympathetic mind.

Most Reverend, veneration and high esteem cause me to be silent. What I said above is eloquent enough to speak to your heart. [Then follows a section of ecstatic thankful wishes, omitted here].

The reserved attitude of our reverend superior toward your Reverence will appear as quite justified after such open presentation of our former situations. Had this sensible and sensitive soul not to suffer terribly at the perception of resistance of individual sisters against him, the legal superior, and might he not sometimes have been inclined to wish that Your Reverence would be the superior of the sisters instead of himself? But suspecting such inclination I again and again asked God for him to keep the office given to him by God Himself. [There follows a request to forgive her candor and a promise of prayers.]

Most Reverend's truly obedient servant,
M. Francisca of the Cross. (CS +)
Rome, September 12, 1886.

De Waal understood Sr. Francisca's diplomatic letter well. Not wanting to be in anyone's way he immediately resigned as administrator. By October 19, 1886, the sisters' spiritual director, Msgr. Jacquemin, was appointed by the Cardinal Vicar as administrator of the sisters' temporal matters (TVU l.d. 31). Thus everything was integrated under one person and Jacquemin moved permanently into the sisters' house on Borgo Santo Spirito.

Still on Jordan's instruction in fall 1885, de Waal had negotiated through attorney Dipietro to rent a larger house for the growing sisters community. On December 1, they moved into the house near San Michele. Since the board of administrators of Campo Santo was responsible for this house, the new administrator, Jacquemin, had to renegotiate with the sisters' former administrator. Since de Waal had concluded a lease with the right of preemption in favor of the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, differences arose between the two priests, such that Jacquemin in agreement with the Cardinal Vicar threatened legal proceedings (August 25, 1887). De Waal was supported by his Cardinal Protector. Finally, both reduced what each thought was his due. After a peaceful settlement the sisters became owners of the house in Borgo Santo Spirito 41 in 1888.

5.39/74. The blame game. In good faith, all those involved in separating the sisters exonerated themselves on the question of guilt. Only for Jordan was it clear: the sisters under the leadership of their superior had separated themselves from him (cf., Memorandum to Leo XIII, A-22; letter to Sr. Mary of the Apostles, August 15, 1886). He sincerely felt he was completely innocent.

How Sr. Francisca answered this question in her conscience we have already seen from the letters to de Waal of September 12, 1886 (see 5.36). Jacquemin, who according to de Waal led the sisters' move to independence (PPP, 142) forgot what he was free to relate from his position of that time as confessor to the sisters, and what he himself could say as special commissioner of the Cardinal Vicar and bypassing Jordan.

About a year before his death, Jacquemin asked Fr. Epiphanius Deibebe, SDS, superior of Jordan's North American foundations, to come

to him in the hospital at Marshfield, Wisconsin, to speak once more about his role in the separation of the Addolorata Sisters from their founder. He indicated that his attitude at that time had been due to the fact that Jordan was accused of having a fickle attitude and of interfering too frequently. Jacquemin wanted by this late statement to a spiritual son of Jordan, "to eliminate any misunderstanding and clear the facts."

But it is just these contemporary documents which prove that actually it was Jordan's constancy that drove Sr. Francisca to the separation, and that he had to intervene where his apostolic vocation required it. On the other hand, the declaration of the aged and, in regard to the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, highly deserving Msgr. Jacquemin is a veiled admission that his own interference was not objective. In fact, on the grounds of such complaints from Sr. Francisca, her confessor could and should have spoken at any time with Jordan. They in no way justified separating the sisters from their founder. Certainly Jacquemin had extended his hand to the sisters thinking about his personal future (cf., letter of Deibele to Pfeiffer, July 18, 1929, AGS-16).

Sr. Scholastica Demer, in her imaginative late report duly emphasized her important role in the separation from Jordan:

A few days later I passed by the parlor and heard how Fr. Jordan quarreled with our M. Foundress. I quickly opened the door and saw how Fr. Jordan was just picking up the chair as if he wanted to throw it at the venerable Mother. I was so astonished and said: "Well, that's enough now! Now I'll take steps!" I was so scandalized and went to Monsignor de Waal and told him about our situation, the sufferings of two years, the deposition of our Venerable Mother, the appointment of Sr. Stanisla. Our now Father Georg Jacquemin (may he rest in peace) went personally to the Cardinal Vicar, and a few days later he sent me to His Eminence Parocchi, Cardinal Vicar, to whom I told everything as well as I could in Italian (Notes 1927, ASSM).

The one-sidedness of this testimony of a sister with an adventurous religious life will be evident to every impartial reader, even if he knows nothing about the exact circumstances of how this report was made. The scene with the chair does not correspond at all to Jordan's character. Sr. Scholastica only became active in these events when Jordan was already

in Germany. After she had been recalled from Schlesslitz they (both she and Jordan) were in Rome at the same time for only a few days. And at that time Jordan was already prohibited to enter Via del Falco, as in the meantime there was a responsible *delegatus specialis*.

Here are some more samples taken from her notes of November 1927, which clearly show how cleverly she joined fantasy and reality.

Though Fr. Jordan was a saintly man of God and a priest after the Heart of Jesus, he did not understand the spirit and leadership of God towards our M. Foundress, and the separation came. He wanted the missions, but our Venerable Mother wanted the active-contemplative life (I).

They asked me if I thought of Fr. Jordan as the Founder of the first sisters. Before God I must say NO. It seems more as if he were the destroyer of divine initiatives (II, November 1927).*

Mother Foundress wanted to move to Florence to be more independent; Sr. Johanna was opposed: "If we separate from Jordan, we perish" (I).

We often cried bitterly when she mistreated her body so much. She cut the name "Jesus" onto her heart and arms and burnt herself with wax and sealing-wax, slept on stones (II, November 1927).

What sufferings the years 1884-1894 contain, God alone knows! Our poor Foundress was persecuted and oppressed like an over-strained animal. Nothing but deception and pride, etc., were suspected in her. Someone [Jordan?] did everything to make her fall (I).**

Lüthen, who at the latest in spring 1885, (after being barred as confessor of the sisters) had ceased going to Via del Falco for conferences, even in his old age wondered about whether responsibility for the separation was Sr. Francisca's or Jacquemin's. He asked Sr. Sebastiana Popp in the

* This was a follow up from the previous explanation. The "no" is powerfully underlined by Sr. Scholastica.

** These were the years under Director Jacquemin.

monastery of Fellheim, Iller how she had experienced the separation at that time. (Popp had entered on June 27, 1884, was invested in CTS as Sr. Angela on July 6, and made her vows on September 8. On July 7, 1888 she transferred to the Trappists with permission of the ecclesiastic authority taking the name Sebastiana.)

Sr. Sebastiana reported in detail to Lüthen how she remembered the events of 1885, "*sub secreto*," but with the "permission to use whatever may serve to exonerate the Venerable Founder." From her report Lüthen inserted the following into his notes:

The separation is not to be called a condemnation of Reverend Father Jordan. He always behaved in a discrete and dignified pious manner, full of fatherly respectful attitude towards the sisters as well as towards the superior of that time, M. Streitel; he also had a heroic humility which shone out of his whole nature and behavior. There was a great mortality among the sisters at that time, which I ascribe to their insufficient nutrition (the Venerable Founder knew nothing about this). We often had to be content with a little bread for the whole day (with some water) which we ate at noon hugging our knees to protect ourselves against the greatest hunger. Reverend Father Jordan was so anxious about the sisters that he thought they should be given some meat; he also believed that the climate was the cause of the sisters' illnesses. In regard to eating meat there was once a heated dispute, because Sr. Francisca wanted and absolutely insisted on her opinion. In my presence she even shut the door of the room we 3 were in, keeping the key in her hands in order to compel Reverend Father to yield.*

I know that since then the Reverend Father was quite dejected. Afterwards she [Streitel] said the sisters belonged to her. She ordered a sister to write a letter in French, which she herself dictated, and then had it corrected by a priest, which was handed over to the Cardinal Vicar by two sisters. The request was for another superior, because he [Jordan] wanted the sisters to eat meat, which she [Streitel] did not want. His Eminence asked a few questions and promised to pay her a visit, which he did. I do not know what he discussed with Sr. Francisca. But she was quite satisfied and said to the others: "Well, now our

* Pfeiffer reports that according to Sr. Popp's statement, Sr. Francisca never handed over the key to the storeroom, not even to Jordan.

monastery is approved." Every now and then a sister had to go to The Anima to Monsignor Jacquemin, she [Streitel] invited him to come to the sisters, even with intimidations, that if he would not come God would punish him, etc., if he did not take charge of them. Soon also a new house was bought and moved into.

This letter gives the impression of a reliable informant. As a result Lüthen stated: "Monsignor Jacquemin is not to be blamed, but Sr. Francisca Streitel. Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen" (G-23.2). This opinion is not completely correct. Sr. Francesca was mainly responsible. But Jacquemin (and Sr. Scholastica) bear a great co-responsibility for this unnecessary separation. When Cardinal Salotti reported the procedure of Cardinal Parocchi to the pope in 1885 and 1896, the latter said: *Inaudito*, "Unheard of!" (E-550).

5.40/75. Streitel's unexplained past. In his first list of members Jordan wrote Sr. Francisca's name exactly like the others' joining him, noting only place and date of birth and nothing of their former lives.

S. Maria Francisca of the Cross, born Amalia Streitel in Mellrichstadt, Bavaria, received habit in Rome, March 1, 1883; professed perpetual vows March 18, 1883, renewed perpetual vows July 13, 1883 *speciali modo*; renewed vows 26 November 1884. December 8, 1884 professed vows "*semper melius faciendi*" till Christmas 1884. December 27, 1884, professed the same vow *tamen et tantum sub levi obligaret* from which Fr. Francis of the Cross can dispense; the 26th professed in Third Order of St. Francis (G-3.1).

Jordan does not indicate her day of investiture. Equally missing is the year she was admitted to the Third Order of St. Francis. (According to letter 45 it was 1883.) The dates from November 26, 1884, the days of the vows in the Third Order, were collectively inserted by Jordan. Jordan mentions neither Maria Stern nor Himmelsporten.

It is not stated how far Lüthen was informed by Amalie Streitel in early 1883 about her past life as a religious. Lüthen was informed by Fr. Cyprian that "Sr. Petra" had left Himmelsporten as a novice, where she had transferred from Maria Stern with the permission of the bishop. So for Jordan and Lüthen there was no reason to suspect any unsettled

problems: "Also you, Venerable Father, considered the matter more or less concluded" (letter 31 of July 29, 1883). Sr. Francisca wrote this, when Jordan was already on the way to get more exact information in this regard. What or who alerted him is not indicated. But it could only have been the Monastery of Maria Stern or the Ordinariate in Augsburg (cf., Lüthen's letter to Bishop von Dinkel, July 29, 1883; Sr. Francisca, May 10, 1884). In this letter Streitl explains that she had left Carmel with the permission of the prioress and in civil clothes. She does not mention her attempt to return as superior of Marienanstalt or to Maria Stern. The episcopal conditions for the transfer had been sent to Sr. Angela [Streitel] directly to Marienanstalt by Mother Salesia (cf., letter of M. Salesia to Pastor Beckert, January 21, 1882).

She gives mixed reasons for leaving the Carmel. To church authority Francisca speaks of wavering health. Novice mistress Sr. Stanisla points to "internal and external sufferings." Fr. Cyprian judges that "Sr. Petra" was somehow again fit for the contemplative-active life which she was already obliged to live as a Stern Sister. Sr. Francisca declares to Jordan that she was called to bring back the original Franciscan spirit as a kind of "Carmelite Clarisse." Her statement of March 31, 1883, can only be explained by Sr. Francisca herself:

While praying like this I was struck by the injunction: make your vows into the hands of the bishop; that was almost impossible, for St. M. Theresia [of Avila] expressly prohibits making vows into the hands of a prelate, but simply into the hands of the prioress. At a given occasion I told this to the confessor who said: "Well, then it would come about extraordinarily if this should happen." And I left the Carmel! (17).

Nobody will want to doubt that in leaving the Carmel she had acted "in good faith." However, it is not to be passed over silently that she knew the conditions of the bishop, because they had been handed to her before entering the Carmel. At first she had wanted to return to Marienanstalt and correspondingly asked for her Franciscan habit through her confessor. For her returning home she contended herself with the permission of the confessor who was not competent for this. Her good intention consisted for her (and thus also for Jordan) in the fact that she continued her strict religious life in a private manner.

Her vague dream of a united Carmel-Alverno remained unfulfilled and impossible to realize. After the separation from Jordan she and her sisters did the same things Jordan had required from them before, and what Sr. Francisca had already obliged herself to do as a Stern Sister. The habit and her name were both given her by Jordan.

In the Carmel, "Sr. Petra" claimed to have been led to a "higher piety." The nuns loved experiencing the will of God as a call, as an inner voice. The boundary between sound sobriety and pious exuberance was easily blurred. Of mysticism in the strict sense there is nothing to be found in Sr. Francisca's letters to Jordan, nor are they about recognizing the mysteries of God. Instead they are about personal matters and about difficulties on the "Franciscan Way" she wanted to build according to her own measures. The proofs for her statements are not tangible, they remain general and anonymous.*

Sr. Francisca likes asserting that her ideas are willed by God, and were not "illusions of my fancy"(55). She loves spiritual direction that agrees with her views. Correspondingly she likes changing confessors, recognizing it as the will of God. In important decisions of her life Sr. Francisca always finds a confessor to help her.

Jordan declined her insight that he had to become another Francis of Assisi in "renunciation to a higher degree"(14). She stressed: a woman is not to be responsible; but she herself couldn't resist it. The sober bounds between fact and fiction are several times not kept. The difference between receiving and renouncing graces is unresolved. The apostolic role remains almost excluded. The simple little way of love (of little St. Therese) is missing. And it is questionable whether any discord between the will of God, the will of the superior, and one's own will is resolved in a satisfactory way. Joy and humor are lacking. Is self-

* Higher knowledge, ways of a rare kind (17, 27, 29, 42, 64, etc.), deeper insight (27) were Carmelite terms; her sisters are extraordinarily enlightened by God in her favor (28); she wants to experience things marked by the unusual (86). Without saying what it was about each time, "The Lord taught me pure suffering," pure poverty (14). "God has given her an open and deep view of the future" (89). Also Sr. Scholastica "has a sharper imprint of higher perfection" (71).

annihilation the contents of "Imitation of Christ" (*homo semper peccator*, Luther)? Is not the norm "I count everything as loss to win Christ" (Philippians 3:8) seen somewhere cramped?

Sr. Ankenbrand affirmed in her old age: "I have noticed extraordinary gifts like prophesies and visions in the Servant of God [Sr. Francisca]." Of her pious dreams Sr. Francisca herself affirms "they have the imprint of truth and the supernatural"(62); but they might also be illusions (46). Alverno! Leaving the Carmel, Clarisse: such a dream is either "her recognition of God" or "illusion of my fantasy or of hell"(55). Jordan's opinion is brief: "Dreams"(62). (Cf., dreams of Sr. Katherina of the Five Wounds (82) or Sr. Scholastica's of the Lateran (84); "Even if my capability of imagination this time deceives no less than usual"(16); "I am quite hopeful the future will show I have not been deceived"(47; etc.)

Do not some statements of personal self-deprecation come close to false humility, e.g. "I an uncultivated woman"(67). "There is nothing within me but sin and imperfection"(66)? There are also exaggerations, like "I did not see the shadow of imperfection in you [Jordan]"(67), struggle with "nature and hell"(68). I am more afraid of myself than of hell"(65). "You will see that you made a mistake in putting a person like me over others"(2).

After carefully examining all documents questions remain.

-How far has Sr. Francisca talked herself into her "good faith" in leaving the Carmel and into seeing a more than sufficient compensation in joining Jordan's foundation? (Cf., 31: "Because God willed that these sufferings should cleanse me still more from egotism to become apt for the plans of His loving Providence," July 29, 1883).

-Wasn't Sr. Angela's patient perseverance with the poor orphans to be trained as domestics also Providence in a sense?*

-Was a pious ascetic super-zeal which the sisters then confirmed to one another through even more pious "dreams" really more in the sense of Providence?

-Does a religious reform willed by God exist in a troublesome rigorism –continuous abstinence, bare feet, liturgical prayers (14)?

* Cf., letter 50 (December 11, 1883), where Sr. Francisca herself takes up this delicate question (DSS XIV, 576f).

- What did Sr. Francisca exactly understand by original religious spirit, by original form of religious life? She strongly criticized the downfall of religious discipline but never proved it.
- Was Sr. Francisca tempted to have her opinion confirmed by her sisters in an overly pious way in order to implement them in spite of apostolic counter arguments?
- Were her self-accusations never a means to self-justification?

A true mysticism is nowhere demonstrable nor confirmed by the persons concerned. On the contrary, Sr. Francisca was often warned not to dare a pious rope dance.

5.41/76. Letter to Sr. Therese of the Apostles.

Societas Apostolica Instructiva,
Collegium Romanum, de Divina Providentia, Romae, Borgo Vecchio 165,
 November 8, 1885.

In God beloved sister! Hopefully you will not blame our Venerable Father too much if I may speak like this when in this case I write in his place. Venerable Father is very happy about your fidelity and attachment to our holy cause; sadly, just now the tender seedling in Neuwerk cannot be developed yet or hardly taken in consideration. It is in fact true: the Cardinal Vicar has withdrawn the direction of the sisters from Venerable Father; you may imagine how heavily he was hit by this blow. God tests those belonging to Him; neither is it convenient for us to accuse people, as the Cardinal Vicar is certainly not to be accused; as the church authority he could certainly act like this without doing injustice.

As you together with the good Ursula do not belong to these sisters in Rome, your direction is by this not withdrawn from Venerable Father. However, it would be imprudent to show up [in Rome] just now; it might be misinterpreted. Therefore patience! You live in fact under vows and thus you have your reward.

Pray also for us. For Venerable Father has already worked out our Constitutions and is ready to present them to the authorities who

themselves have requested them so they can give us first approval. Consequently an important step shall be made now with God's grace.*
Fidelity and perseverance shall connect us further on with the Venerable Father. My regards to the Reverend Prelate [von Essen]. My greetings also to the good Ursula. God bless you! In the love of Christ,
Yours truly, Fr. Bonaventura.
Sincere regards from Venerable Father! (ASDS).

5.42/77. Premature announcement of approval. Jordan had been orally informed, at the latest in early February 1886, that the statutes of the Catholic Teaching Society, and of the sisters as well had been approved by the Cardinal Vicar. As soon as the official copy was finished it would be handed over to him. Immediately Lüthen passed this news on to Neuwerk. Sr. M. Therese noted:

On February 15, 1886, I received a letter from Rome in which I got the joyful news that the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome has already received the great grace of the first papal approval. Oh! how grateful we must show ourselves by deeds (MMChr).**

Lüthen's announcement letter went like this:
February 11, 1886.
In God beloved co-operator!

* To a priest-friend of the Archdiocese of Cologne, Jordan reported full of joy that on Christmas he had been received by Cardinal Melchers who is very favorably inclined toward our Society. Here, too, Jordan repeats: "We are feeling well and hope for an early approval which can arrive within days, if the Constitu-tions are in good shape" (December 26, 1885).

** The Baroness did not distinguish between Cardinal Vicar and "papal." To her this news meant new hope. Since the separation of the first sisters she and her co-sister were "now in fact the only sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" (MMChr), though in the " Secular Third Order." After an approval of the Statutes for the First Order the approval of the Statutes for the Second Order would follow without greater difficulties. Then Jordan would have been able to open the ecclesiastical way to a new female foundation. She knew that he, in spite of her age, was counting on her.

Venerable Father informs you that he has received your letter and will answer it later. Pray fervently for him; God has put terrible ordeals on him. I hope, however, that all will turn out all right!

In regard to our Society I can inform you that the Cardinal Vicar has already approved the Constitutions; we hope that they will soon be handing over to us, because His Eminence must have a copy made before the handing over. God be with you. May he inflame in your soul ever more the fire of apostolic zeal!

God bless also your faithful companion in your isolation! With the assurance of my sincere devotion and love,

Your servant in Christ.

Fr. Bonaventura (ASDS).

5.43/78. Jacquemin's intervention with German bishops. Jacquemin carefully followed the events in Borgo Vecchio 165. Already in early February 1886, Jordan sent out his leaflet in which he asked for contributions for an international motherhouse of the Catholic Teaching Society! In it Jordan wrote about the Society: "It has grown and become strong and its Constitutions have already been approved by the church." Jacquemin in his position as agent of some German dioceses informed the Cardinal Vicar about this leaflet and received from him the following:

To the most Reverend Georg Jacquemin,
Kollegium S.Maria de Anima, cleric in urbe.

Having heard lately that under the label of "ecclesiastic approval" the "approval of the Apostolic See" is spread among the Germans, so that based on the letters of the priest J. B. Jordan neither clerics nor other people be misled, we give your Reverence the mandate to inform the bishops of this country about the matter as it really is. Nevertheless, we sincerely wish to the above mentioned priest that the work he has begun may improve in justice, truth and holiness here and, if it pleases the Lord, also elsewhere.

Given in Rome at the Cardinal Vicariate on February 15, 1886.

L. M. Cardinal Vicar (TVU).

Jacquemin promptly informed the bishops of German-speaking dioceses:

Most Reverend Archbishop of Munich!

His Eminence Cardinal Vicar Parocchi has instructed me to give Your Archiepiscopal Grace the following information in his name. As it seems not everyone is exactly informed about the legal status of the Catholic Teaching Society founded by the Very Rev. Father Johann Baptist Jordan for theology students in Rome, particularly because lately the news was spread (erroneously) that the Constitutions of the Catholic Teaching Society was already ecclesiastically approved, His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar informs Your Archepiscopal Grace that up to now neither papal nor episcopal approval had been granted in favor of the said institute and that it was only tolerated as a living-together of young men studying here in Rome, and who are considered by His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar exactly like any other theology students in Rome belonging to a foreign diocese.

Yours faithfully etc.

G. Jacquemin, priest at S. Maria dell'Anima in Rome.

Rome, March 26, 1886 (AM).

Jordan seems not to have been forced to take a position in this regard, so that his fund raising efforts ("building-stones") continued.

5.44/79. Jacquemin's Rule for the male branch entitled "Constitutions of the Catholic Teaching Society" presupposes knowledge of the "Rule and Common Norms for the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society" (1883, printed 1884). It takes into consideration the law for religious elaborated by the First Vatican Council, which however, had no legal force in the 19th century, but only offered guidelines which the Congregation for Religious used as measures. Based on these guidelines the two purposes were to be clearly differentiated, namely self-sanctification by observing the evangelical counsels, and the apostolic purpose, which Jacquemin simply fixed as "instruction of the faithful people through priestly service." Jacquemin of course did not distinguish between rule and norms, but put it all under statutes. What was new and important and what Jordan accepted at once were the legal expositions about admission and dismissal as well as about government.

In regard to discipline, Jacquemin's statutes were directed primarily to self-sanctification. But at least in the first chapter about the

purpose he tried to keep to Jordan's concern as far as it had become clear to him. The first article contains, as was already said, the "Bizzarri" obligatory double purpose of self-sanctification and of a special pastoral service (cf., *Sum. Const. S.J.*, 2). For the second statute Jacquemin uses quite luckily norm 2 of Jordan's Rule of 1884. As the 3rd statute of the first chapter he takes up the "through word and writing" of Jordan's Rule of 1882, but gives the statute an exclusively apologetical formulation:

Through word and writing they shall fight ungodliness and false doctrines, because these are spreading among the uncultivated (*rudes et idiotae*); they shall take care to bring good books among the population and use all means coming from zealous charity.

Religious discipline is regulated in detail: from getting up at 5:00 till going to sleep at 10:00, meals, individual points of accusation at the *capitulum culpae*, how often one may receive Holy Communion (weekly), etc. It is obvious that neither Jordan nor his spiritual sons were happy to become forced to accept such a narrowminded rule through the ecclesiastic superior, all the less by an outsider and without their knowledge.

5.45/81. Memorandum. We still have a copy of Jordan's memorandum "*de Societate Divini Salvatoris*" written after the last change.* This document indicates that Jordan's *supplica* to Leo XIII (probably made through Lüthen) was known in the young Society. About the foundation of the sisters it was noted:

As an integral part of our Society our Venerable Father founded also a female religious community. It began in the same year and month, 1883, with the vows of Sr. Petra before Venerable Father. This was her name in the Order of the Carmelites to which she had previously belonged. This family did not remain loyal but left the founder. At that time it counted twelve professed sisters with final vows.

* Other notes indicate the copy may have been made Easter Week, 1898.

Then, like the *supplica*, it mentions that Sr. Johanna staying in Germany had remained faithful; it also points to the attempted suicide of Sr. Katharina! Her motive was the despair she felt for offending the founder. On the previous evening she had received a piece of bread out of his hand and that jump [out the window] was as it were a handing over of our Venerable Father to the public and to newspaper correspondents as well as to the ecclesiastic forum. Being deposed by the highest pastor in regard to the direction of the sisters, he was broken as if by a moral death (G-14).

Not only the description of these events but also the idioms of the writer presuppose that he knew Jordan's *supplica* to Leo XIII, by 1898 or 1899.

Jordan omitted mentioning in his memorandum the difficulties which had been caused by the fact that the superior of the sisters was still bound by vows to another congregation and that he had in vain urged the ecclesiastic authority to remove this obstacle amicably. He had a related hint in his pen, but he did not insert it in his petition. He was required to eliminate de Waal and Jacquemin because they worked, especially in the confessional, against his work. That the superior, Sr. Francisca, defended her office vehemently became obvious, above all after being deposed in by the highest ecclesiastic authority. Before that there was no reason for this, for Jordan had tried to retain her as superior up to summer 1885. He certainly felt how she increasingly exerted her strict motherly influence over the sisters, although not insisting on her ascetic requests as openly as before. Jordan, however, was ready to yield whenever possible for the benefit of the sisters, in no small part because he highly esteemed Sr. Francisca's abilities.

Above all in the petition to Cardinal Parocchi it became clear what importance Jordan attributed to the apostolic number twelve as well as to the number of the age of the Lord. They somehow confirmed his own work at this same age and highlighted the injustice done to him.

5.46/82. The Short Rule. Jordan hastened to present a Short Rule, to which the Cardinal Vicar could at least give his provisional approval. The sketch of the rule he presented is quite different from the one elaborated by Jacquemin. If the Cardinal Vicar had not been satisfied

with the Rule of 1884 because it was evangelically a giant but canonically a dwarf, he was to like this sketch of a rule even less, for it was neither the one nor the other. Practically, it contained only the chapters requested by canon law, and these just as headlines with a short indication of content. Jordan wrote for example:

[About the aim of the Society] The members of the Catholic Teaching Society intend this double aim to strive zealously for self-sanctification and sanctification of their neighbors; [about the vow of poverty] The members observe holy poverty so to say as the foundation truly in everything according to the canonical statutes prescribed in this regard; [about the vow of obedience] The obedience of the members should be perfect in every way, in mind, in will, in execution; [about the common life] All members must lead the common life.

That Cardinal Parocchi approved such a rudimentary form can only be seen as a silent act of reparation. Jordan certainly promised to present a more fully elaborated religious rule later. For now Jordan's wish was to secure for his Society the ecclesiastical right to exist, to which he had no less right than the sisters' community separated from him.

5.47/83. Approbation and testimonials. When on May 5, 1886, Jordan received the desired approbation, he could at last also request the *litterae testimoniales*, (according to the decree of the Congregation for Religious, January 25, 1848), and have the grant of the Cardinal Vicar confirmed by his secretary Aug. Barbiellini and signed by Parocchi (AM).

How the ecclesiastic procedure was remembered in Jordan's young foundation is shown by novitiate notes of that time: "Then followed a violent attack so that the Society was supervised by the church authority. If the cross signals the works of God, the Society has received no small share" (Hamberg, 1910).

Soon after, the young group had to suffer persecution and calumny, even the ecclesiastic authority had become suspicious so that the Society was under vigilance for several months. But sorrow was soon followed by joy. On June 5, 1886, it received the first approbation * through His

* Leo XIII's special blessing obtained with the help of Cardinal Massaia.

Eminence Cardinal Vicar Parocchi, the representative of the Holy Father in Rome (*Scholasticus*, Fribourg; 1898).

Der Missionär immediately informed its readers about the ecclesiastic approbation of the statutes, adding as a footnote: "These have been approved without any change exactly in the form presented. D.R." (MI, July 11, 1886). In an article about the required qualities of a candidate for the Catholic Teaching Society it said:

It is five years since our work has been started and more than three years that the religious life has been accepted as the fixed form of our statutes. And God has in spite of all difficulties from within and without preserved our Society and by the first approbation a short time ago given a more ecclesiastical character to our until then rather private undertaking; we hope that in the course of years also the further and higher approvals will follow and bind us still more strongly into the edifice of the Holy Catholic Church (MI, August 29, 1886).

5.48/84. The Rule of 1886 put flesh and blood on the skeleton of the draft rule Jordan's direct ecclesiastical superior had approved. The new rule served above all to set a good direction to the religious life of his Society, a direction which might grow up to become a tradition. Thus both in the chapter on the aim of the Society and on the vows he followed the first statutes (the ones of his draft rule) adding only the necessary practical prescriptions. In doing so he kept closely to the statutes of St. Ignatius. At the same time he made visible efforts to present essentially his own ideas from the earlier rules. He also took over Jacquemin's statutes wherever possible but in a freer formulation. Thus Jordan omitted the statutes about the formation of theologians as well as the pedantic prescriptions referring to the inner and outer discipline of community life. He added instead chapters about spiritual practices, religious discipline and social intercourse, where he again turned to the statutes of the Jesuits, taking them over literally wherever appropriate. Oddly enough, there follow four chapters about the necessary instructions about common spiritual reading, about clothing, the library and the kitchen, very important in a religious family. By comparison, the chapter on admissions and dis-missals, and government (General Chapter, Director

General, and General Council) were not worked out in detail. For now what had been approved ecclesiastically in the draft rule was sufficient for Jordan. In the meantime he had the opportunity to gather and ask for further advice (E-1207).

5.49/86. Weigang was born September 25, 1843, in Märzdorf near Glatz, Diocese of Prague. Edward came from a large family. He was pious, conscientious and so practically gifted that he worked himself up to become head of a department in a cotton mill in Zarki near Tschenstochau. Ms. Marianne Hiller, whom he married June 12, 1873, was also from Zarki. She died on January 21, 1881. As the marriage had remained without children, Edward now pursued the vocation of his youth. He wanted to become a priest and was received into the seminary in Warsaw (March 9, 1883). But difficulties arose because he lacked pre-formation (above all studies in Russian). Directed to Rome, the widower found acceptance in the Catholic Teaching Society on December 12, 1883. By December 21, he was invested by Jordan and received the religious name of the saint of that day: Thomas. On November 11, 1884, he made vows for three years in private form, and on February 2, 1885, he professed regular religious vows. Already one year later he was allowed to make final vows, and on December 18, 1886, he was ordained a priest by Cardinal Parocchi personally (G-3.1): "May he be the predecessor of many thousands" (MI, December 1886).

Weigang became at that time the third pillar of the Roman community. At first he helped above all to secure the daily bread for the rapidly growing community. Already from April till June 1887, and again from May till November 1888, he undertook troublesome fund raising trips above all in the South German region. At the same time the Polish press of the Society was entrusted to him.

In the Motherhouse he was appreciated and loved by all for his life experiences, his practical prudence, his modest mildness, and for being an exemplary religious. In their personal difficulties many turned to this priest, mature in practical life. Above all, Weigang was helpful as a confessor and spiritual director to so many sisters who often began

their religious life in Tivoli as quite inexperienced young women. As such he was particularly sought after for the sisters by Mother Mary.

When Weigang was already passed 55, he fell into a crisis due to apostolic overstrain, which often pressed him excessively. He seriously thought about transferring to the diocesan priesthood. Jordan implored him to stay because for so many he was irreplaceable as spiritual father. After a brief leave of absence, trusting in the strength of the Lord, Fr. Thomas returned and again took up his priestly cross again to the benefit of many. When the house of studies in Trzebinia, Poland was opened, Jordan released him because he could not find anyone better for the difficult start, even though Weigang was already over 60. April 27, 1909, Weigang left Rome. He visited, certainly not in vain, his benefactors in Upper Swabia, and on June 24, 1909, he began his blessed activity as local superior of the new foundation. From 1912 on he was active again in pastoral work. He died after a short illness on December 29, 1926.

5.50/88. 1886, a year of struggle. This was for Sr. Therese of the Apostles personally a very hard year. On Epiphany her spiritual guide Ludwig von Essen died quickly and unexpectedly. Only later in October, did Pastor Joseph Leonhard Koch come to Neuwerk as his successor. On All Saints Day 1886, Sr. M. Therese again reported to Jordan on the happenings in Neuwerk, particularly in the Barbarastift. In doing so she could not omit complaining to her "Venerable Father and Superior in Rome" about her inner distress, that for herself and Sr. Ursula the obstacles had not yet been removed, while she now was completely ready to come to Rome after the sisters there had let themselves be separated from their founder: "When, Reverend Father, will God's call really reach us; we, at least as rubble-bed, will be able to contribute to the new foundation of sisters!" She confessed to him sincerely how hard it had become for her to persevere in trustful patience.

With all the more courage will I now surrender myself to the cross and suffering. Fifty-three years and nothing accomplished! Still waiting, yes it is and remains sad as the blessed pastor [Von Essen] pitied me so often. We always waited for Rev. Father last year. How long have I already desired that Eternal Rome? Indeed with tears I deplored my age almost daily (E-602).

It may also have been hard for Jordan to be compelled to keep her waiting: "At present I can not occupy myself much with the matter of the sisters; it also seems to me that it is in the plan of Providence to wait a little longer until the male order is more developed" (November 30, 1886, ASDS). Jordan wanted to follow the wise personal directive of the Cardinal Vicar to strengthen the male branch of his CTS first. He must have realized that he, though warned by Lüthen, had overburdened himself back in March 1883, when he started both branches at once.

In his letter on the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, two months earlier, Jordan had assured the Baroness that he counted on her for the planned new foundation. But he could begin the work neither in Rome nor in a nearby town. Already at that time Jordan thought about founding his second sisters' community if not in Rome, at least nearby. Jordan struggled at that time above all with the ecclesiastic authority for granting on principle a foundation of sisters. The struggle went back and forth. On February 25, 1887, so much hope was given again that he dared to write Sr. M. Therese of the Apostles: "the foundation of the sisters in Rome is not far away any more. His Eminence just wanted to wait a little longer. I hope in March, if God wills it" (ASDS). However, it took almost two more years before Jordan could fulfill Sr. Therese's desire at nearby Tivoli with the help of the local bishop.*

5.51/89. The Society's life of prayer had a rather simple form at that time. Often the rosary was recited during the celebration of Mass. Before the consecration the rosary was interrupted through a sign with a bell and afterwards continued till the Our Father. Before and after Holy Communion some prayers were said in common. The celebration was concluded with three Ave Maria's, begun by the priest at the altar steps. Then the rosary was continued to the end and eventually some more prayers were added. This way of celebrating weekday Mass remained till after World War I, when electric light made wax tapers superfluous.

* Bishop Celestino del Frate (1837-1909) was from 1880, Apostolic Delegate in Chile, then since March 1885, Bishop of Tivoli. In May 1895, he became Archbishop of Camerino.

The liturgy for popular use did not yet have a proper form, not even in houses of study. In spite of that the Christian people knew about the "hidden value of the Holy Mass (Leonardo da Porto Maurizio and similar books were read by the Christian people). But personal devotion was preferred also in liturgy. On the other side, the pious pressed for ever more frequent, even daily communion (Ségur, Olivier, Huguet): they wanted a greater share of the mystical flow of grace emanating from the Holy Mass. Pictures of Jesus bleeding on the cross and appearing to saints during the Mass, or as a lovely child in the consecrated wafer of Christmas were popular expressions of the deep faith that our Lord was present on the altar, body and blood, as man and as God. That's also why the consecration itself was surrounded with greatest veneration. At that time Latin did not mean a separation; it was not only the sign of unity of doctrine, of the living sacred tradition, but it was also the filter for the word of God and the cloud for the sacramentally holy. The early rediscovery of the liturgy came about in a rather academic form and thus remained reserved to the educated (Solemnes, Mauini).

But at that time also began a counter-movement. Antonio Rosmini (1797-1855) ranks as the first of the five wounds of the Holy Mother Church the separation of the priest and the faithful in the cult. In the German region the popular language pressed into the liturgy. (Baron Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, 1774-1860). Jesuits propagated above all devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The apparition of La Salette (1846) and of Lourdes (1858) was a heavenly counter to Liberalism and other elements hostile to the church (Freemasons). Also the veneration of St. Joseph became very popular. St. Anthony of Padua too secured his place among the auxiliary saints.

Public Christian witness at Eucharistic and Marian Congresses met with broad approval, as did the public recitation of the rosary as a weapon against the enemies of the faith. Popular hymns and Cecily-choirs were in use. In the second half of the 19th century weekly Confession and Communion (usually on Thursdays) grew in popularity, along with yearly spiritual retreats, and the monthly preparation for a good death. Thus a lively devotional life predominated over liturgy itself.

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN

known in religious life as

FRANCIS MARY OF THE CROSS JORDAN

**The Founder and the Confirmation of his Work
1887 - 1898**

DSS XV Part 1 & 2

A Biographical Study by
Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

1984

English Edition, 2006



Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

DSS XV continues the historical-critical studies intended as the necessary preliminary work for a solid biography of the Servant of God, Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan. The study presented here covers the period 1887 to the summer of 1898. It does not conclude with the end of a specific period in the life and work of the Servant of God, but rather with his 50th year of life.

What was said in the Preface to DSS XIV remains valid also for DSS XV. Therefore, it shall not be repeated. But let it be stressed once more that the results of the historical investigations presented here are the author's sole responsibility. This is particularly true with regard to those persons who played important roles in the life of the Servant of God. They are viewed in relation to their impact on Fr. Francis of the Cross, and are not intended to convey a full picture of their personalities. However, where their paths crossed, the attitudes of these Servants of God were investigated no less critically than Jordan's own. Approaching him this way shows that a person is not simply holy, but becomes holy; and that in such "holiness" there is always the shadow of human imperfection.

What is presented here has neither been aimed at nor "ordered." I relied on the existing documents. At the same time it is unquestionable that the cogency of historical documents always remains humanly limited. But they deserve trust and belief whether the language they use is sober or impulsive. This matter of fact was not passed over in silence in the critical evaluation of the various documents.

Further, one will see that a complete history of the Society has not been attempted here. Special events like foundations of houses or the takeover of missions have of course been regarded insofar as they played a role in Jordan's life. However, the proper history of SDS personalities, houses and provinces remained excluded. In an appendix has been added a selection of addresses and extracts of Jordan's weekly *capitulum culpae* held in the Roman community. They reflect with persuading insistence

certain basic values of Salvatorian spirituality, or as expressed at that time, the "Spirit of the Founder." [Omitted in this edition; cf., DSS XXIII.]

Corrections handed in and supplements to DSS XIV have not been added (contrary to DSS XIII), because they bring only secondary corrections. Special thanks to the Generalate of the Salvatorian Sisters who lent the archivistic co-operation of an assistant to the SDS postulator, Fr. Melchior Bzwowski, SDS.

Fr. Timotheus (Robert) Edwein, SDS.
Rome, September 8, 1984,
66th anniversary of the death of the Servant of God.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This volume employs the same style as the previous volume. More specifically, all of the brief material that appears in the excursus section of the German text has here been placed in footnotes to the regular text section. Now only the longer excurses appear in the section entitled "A Closer Look." Each has been assigned a three-part identification number (e.g., 2.15/30). The first number indicates the chapter; the second its location in the order of excurses; the third number in small font indicates its original footnote number in the German text.

Finally, since the material found in the German edition taken from the chapter talks of the Founder is now completely available both in German and in English (cf., DSS XXIII), it has been omitted here.

Daniel Pekarske, SDS
Morogoro, 2005

SHORT CHRONOLOGY (1887 - 1898)

1887	September 14	Fr. Otto Lorenz Hopfenmüller joins CTS.
1888	December 8	Foundation of the Sisters of the CTS.
1889	January 10 January 25 March 25 December 13	First "Language Feast" Sale of the Barbarastift. Religious profession of Sr. Mary of the Apostles. Assume Apostolic Prefecture Assam, Bhuz, Manipur.
1890	July 2 August 20 October December	Inaugurate community in Tivoli, SDS-W. Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller dies in Assam. Official introduction of Divine Office in common Missioning of Sisters of the CTS to Assam.
1891	September 5 November 1	Introduce the celebration of First Saturday <i>Pactum spirituale</i>
1892	April May 29 Aug 1-Sept 6 September 14 November 7	First petition for the papal <i>Breve di Lode</i> . Patronal feast "Queen of the Apostles" liturgically approved Provisional takeover, St.James School, Vancouver, WA First foundation in Vienna. Second petition for the <i>Breve di Lode</i> .
1893	April August September 15 September 28	Name changed to Society of the Divine Savior (for both branches and for the Third Grade). Third petition for <i>Breve di Lode</i> . Move from Vancouver, WA to Corvallis, OR. Inaugurate community of Lochau-Bregenz. Takeover Mission Esmeralda, Ecuador
1894	February 6 March 17-June 9 June/July June 27 July 16	Start Women's Teachers' Training School, Tivoli Dilata of a <i>Breve di Lode</i> (Corrado Report). Typhus epidemic in Tivoli, SDS-W. Provisional move to Via Lungara, Rome, SDS-W Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli OCD appointed as Visitor.

	July 18	Inaugurate community in Fribourg, Switzerland.
	August 17	Apostolic Visitation of the Motherhouse.
	September 24	Permanent move to Via Lungara, Rome. SDS-W
	October 3	Inaugurate <i>Madonna della Scala</i> , Noto, Sicily.
	December 17	Appoint Fr. Luigi Meddi SP assistant to Jordan.
1895	January 18	Novitiate of SDS-W in Tivoli.
	March 21	Takeover of San Giuseppe residence (SDS Sisters).
	April 7	Second foundation in Vienna, Kaisermühlen (6/29).
	May 30	Missioning of SDS Sisters to Milwaukee, WI
	June 30	Expulsion of the missionaries from Ecuador.
	July	Typhus again at SDS-W in Tivoli.
	July 20	Purchase Motherhouse (Palazzo Cesi-Morone).
	September 17	Takeover Seminary Wallach-Meseritsch (Maehren).
	November	Provisional takeover St. Nicolas Drognens.
	December 17	Purchase Villa Lavaggi in Tivoli.
1896	January	Takeover school in Akyab, Dacca (SDS-W).
	August 15	Inaugurate community in St. Nazianz, WI
	September 6	Canonical Visitation of SDS-W in Tivoli.
	September 17	Part I of Visitation ended by order of the Visitor
	October 10	Missioning to Campos Quatis, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
	October 29	Takeover children's home in Brunate, Ticino (SDS-W).
	November 6	Quasi-Visitation in Via Lungara.
	November 22	Nomination of the General Directory of SDS-W
	December 2	Death of Mother Notburga Jordan.
1897	Feb-March 25	Jordan falls gravely ill.
	March 31	Takeover "Clinic Morocco" (SDS-W).
	June 12	Earthquake destroys the mission in Assam.
	Summer on:	Utilization of Villa Coelimontana.
	August 18	Takeover boys' home in Uniontown, WA (SDS-W).
	September 29	Takeover Convitto San Luigi in Noto
	October 4	Give up Brunate, SDS-W; takeover children's home, Capolago, Ticino (SDS-W).
	October 14	Give up San Giuseppe Residence (SDS-W).
1898	April 20-28	Jordan's visitation of Noto.
	May 24	Inaugurate community in Meran (Freihof).

TRAVEL CALENDERS FOR JORDAN AND MOTHER MARY

- 1893** May 17 - July 7 Jordan's first journey to Austria.
 Aug 23 - Sept Jordan's second journey to Austria.
- 1894** July 2 - Aug 13 Jordan's journey to Austria and Switzerland.
- 1895** July 20 - Aug 7 Mother Mary's journey to Switzerland.
 Sept 25 Jordan's visitation trip to Austria and Switzerland.
- 1896** July 6 - Sept 4 Jordan's voyage to United States of America.
 Nov 17 - Dec. 8 Jordan's visitation journey
- 1897** May 7 - June 2 Jordan takes a rest at Lochau.
 June 22 - Aug 28 Mother Mary's home visit
 July 25 - Sept 13 Jordan's visitation trip
- 1898** May 10 - June 24 Jordan's visitation journey

From September 26, 1887 to June 23, 1891, Servant of God Paolo Manna, Founder of the *Unione Missionaria del Clero* (UMC), Superior General of the Milanese Mission-Seminary (PIME), was a member of CTS.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

A Aa	Archive of the Diocese of Aachen
A-Chur	Archive of the Diocese of Chur
AGS	General Archive of the SDS
AK	<i>Apostelkalander</i>
A K	Archive of the Archdiocese of Cologne
AM	Archive of the Archdiocese of Munich
AMA	Archive of the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam (today, Archive of the Archdiocese of Shillong)
ANk	Archive of the Parish Office of Neuwerk
APF	Archive of Propaganda Fide
APS**	Postulation Archive
ARel***	Archive of the Cong. for Bishops and Religious (VV=RR)
ASc	Archive of the Piarists (Scolopi)
ASDS	Archive of the Salvatorian Sisters
AStN	Archive of St. Nazianz (today, APUSA)
ASV	Vatican Secret Archive
ATS	Apostolic Teaching Society (ALG, <i>Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft</i>)
AW	Archive of the Archdiocese of Vienna
CS	Archive of Campo Santo Teutonico
TVU	<i>Tabularium Vicariatus Urbis</i>
AnSCI	<i>Annales Societatis Catholicae Instructivae</i>
AnSDS	<i>Annales Societas Divini Salvatoris</i>
Cfr	Personnel File in AGS
Chr	<i>Chronik</i>
CTS	Catholic Teaching Society (KLG, <i>Katolische Lehrgesellschaft</i> ; SCI, <i>Societas Catholica Instructiva</i>)
CV	<i>Curriculum vitae</i>
DSS	<i>Documenta et Studia Salvatoraina</i>
DT	<i>Diarium temporale</i> (1895-1912): Mother Mary's Kurtznotizen <i>äußerer ereignisse wie weiher, reisen, etc.</i>
MI	<i>Der Missionär</i>
MMChr	Mother Mary Chronicle
Msgr.	Monsignor
NR	<i>Nuntius Romanus</i>
PPP	P. Pancratus Pfeiffer. <i>Jordan and his Foundations</i> . Rome; 1930.
SDS	<i>Societas Divini Salvatoris</i> (Society of the Divine Savior)
SM	<i>Salvatorianische Mitteilungen</i> (1900-1915)

<i>Schem</i>	<i>Schematismus</i> (today, General Catalogue)
SD	Jordan's Spiritual Diary (<i>Geistliches Tagebuch</i>)
Tacc	Taccuini (Book of Resolutions)

* Cf., List of Abbreviations in DSS XIV

** the designation "APS" is frequently omitted, and one simply finds the file number, e.g., A-11.

*** One often finds written here "Congregation for Religious" or simply "the Congregation." unless it clearly refers to the Congregation of the Sisters of the Divine Savior, this designation always refers to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious (a.k.a., Regulars).

1. The Seed is Growing

Fr. Francis of the Cross was for the time being firmly bound to his fast growing House of Divine Providence in Borgo Vecchio.¹ He now considered it his most pressing task to form the young group the Lord had given him into an apostolic core team.² Only then would he be able to return to his original idea of planting and developing seedlings all over the world. But just for this reason he could not neglect consolidating the auxiliary group of his apostolic work. Again and again he looked for ways to progress. In the fall of 1886, "the troublesome go-getter," with no shyness, sent a begging letter to all bishops of the German-speaking and Austro-Hungarian countries asking them to help to the best of their ability by supporting his work through his press, by admitting the

¹ In his annual report of 1886, Jordan noted with justified pride that his proper community, which at that time was still called the First Order, numbered 85 members (E-129). "Our Collegium is growing rapidly; tomorrow ten Italians will enter. If it goes on like this the Society will spread very much, especially in Italy" (letter to Neuwerk, November 30, 1886). But as the one who had to provide the community's daily bread, this rapid growth also preoccupied him greatly. "At present our family is increasing extraordinarily. Last Monday twenty joined. You can imagine the work" (letter to von Wüllenweber, October 8, 1886). "Our Collegium will increase up to about 80 persons; you will understand that the expenses are enormous" (letter to Degelmann, November 29, 1886).

² In the second issue of *Der Missionär*, August 1887, Jordan published "happy news." The spiritual family now consisted of about 90 members, and others wanted to join. Therefore, he asked for help, "for at present the main task of our Society is to form young people to become apostolic religious priests. *Apostelkalender 1887* published a "friendly road-sign to the Catholic Teaching Society" and made intense propaganda "from home into home." It clearly states the CTS is a religious community. Profession is called a "great and heroic step" by which one "takes the three holy vows, accepts the religious Rule and entrusts himself to the responsible superior as to God's representative."

"Angels Union" into their dioceses, and even by issuing a special pastoral letter favoring the aims of the Catholic Teaching Society.³

The year 1887, however, did not begin peacefully. Jordan was pushed into an area of ministry, which could not be called ordinary. A good and esteemed brother living in the motherhouse had shown rather strange behavior for some months. **See, 1.1. Bucher.**⁴ When it became even stranger and more frequent, Jordan asked the family doctor, Oreste Gamba, for help. Dr. Gamba, however, saw himself confronted with symptoms his medical art could not explain. When on January 3, the brother suffered an especially severe attack, the question of possession arose. Armed with the medical report,⁵ Jordan went to the Cardinal Vicar

³ After receiving approbation of the First Draft of the Constitution of the CTS from the Cardinal Vicar, June 5, 1886, and of the canonical erection of the Angels' Union in Rome, August 16, 1886, by September Jordan had started a publicity campaign among the German-speaking bishops. He asked them for "favor and cooperation." Jordan presented the Society briefly as follows: "The Catholic Teaching Society is a religious Congregation with final vows, whose aim is to proclaim the Gospel in word and writing without restriction in regard to people or nation!" Jordan asks individual bishops for a word of recommendation in favor of the apostolate of the press, for permission to "erect canonically the Angels' Union certainly important in our times," and "perhaps through some pastoral words to recommend our Society to gain some support from the faithful in their dioceses for our undertaking." The "*Collegium de divina Providentia*" already numbered about 40 members (A.M., Catholic Teaching Society).

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.1. Bucher.

⁵ Dr. Gamba begins his medical report: "At the request of the Reverend Fr. Jordan I give a description of the physical disturbances, under which Brother Felix of the Catholic Teaching Society suffered." The physician describes briefly the clinical picture. At first he suspected nightly epileptic attacks and prescribed corresponding medicines. He had the brother especially watched and wanted to be present during one of the attacks. Then he describes how the brother beat himself and kicked others, spat into their faces with nasty and distorted grinning; at the same time he was completely *compos sui*. He made unusually high

for advice. As again on January 14, the brother acted like one being driven by a strange power, Cardinal Parocchi gave permission to carry out the ecclesiastical exorcism according to the *Rituale Romanum*. Jordan performed this rite with all his priestly authority and personal faith, his two priest-confreeres standing by his side. When he several times repeated: "In the name of Jesus I command you to give me your name" the terrible answer came: "Lucifer." By February 10, the good brother was again possessed as if by strange powers. Now Jordan took refuge in the Immaculate Conception of Lourdes. For several days this spiritual and physical struggle went on until Lüthen could finally announce to the praying community, "He is free." Several more times Jordan had to repeat the exorcism with special permission of the authorities, until the Evil One completely gave up on March 5. Both for the motherhouse community and its neighbors, as well as for wider circles informed about it, this event was salutary evidence of the Lord's assurance: "In my name they will cast out demons" (Mk 16:17). **See, 1.2. Lüthen's report.**⁶

From the very start of his work those who were actually employed by Jordan also joined with him. He accepted them as co-workers, giving them room and board in return for some appropriate limited work. They helped to ensure good humanistic education in the *Oblatorium*. They undertook small writing jobs for the two Italian magazines, or read

jumps, yelling shrill and penetrating shouts. But all perceptions of feeling and warmth, muscles and nerves remained quite normal. During his fits he never lost conscience or sensation or his voluntary movements. Then Dr. Gamba examined him in regard to Corea or Vitus' Dance. "However, the willed domination of his movements, when given by me or Fr. Director, as well as his sarcasm making grimaces and wicked speaking were not connected with the idea of Vitus' Dance, but his strangenesses appeared rather like insanity, so enormous and manifold were they." Dr. Gamba had to limit himself "to have presented the findings with best knowledge and conscience in fulfilling my medical duty" (TVU Prot. 1741).

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.2. Lüthen's report.

proofs of the books coming from the printing office.⁷ Some of them gave up their places when their situation improved. Others settled down more permanently in the Palazzo Morone, and in this way tried to make themselves indispensable.

The more Jordan's community grew, the more he tried to encourage these uncommitted co-workers to move on peacefully. The need to give his House of Divine Providence the character of a strictly religious order prompted him to take this step. The more uniform and serious their religious life was, the more he and Lüthen could be assured their work would develop well.

Naturally, Jordan had his difficulties in dismissing one or another who had been his faithful coworkers for some years. When he wanted to give notice to Don Ruta, the head teacher in the Italian department, he stoutly disagreed. With the help of a colleague he succeeded for a while to avert the notice set by Jordan. But both Jordan and Lüthen were astonished when in March they were confronted with a totally unannounced inspection of the school by the Cardinal Vicar. Prof. Giovanni Santora had received this mandate, which he valued as an unexpected and all the more honorable consideration of his person by his ecclesiastic superior.

Against Jordan's initial resistance, Santora moved first to secure Don Ruta's position by a pointed examination of the Italian class. Then he upset the whole language schedule. Rather than arranging it according to the educational background of the pupils, he set up a common system of

⁷ *Il Monitore Romano*, a magazine for Italian-speaking cooperators, never became popular. It lacked verve. Jordan could never find a qualified editor. Thus, in regard to content and form it remained a small weekly paper for benefactors. As late as 1887-88, a little known Pio Mislei signed as the responsible editor. Otherwise the paper stagnated becoming more and more of a financial burden. But Jordan had to subsidize it for the sake of the good he was still hoping for. Without *Der Missionär* and *Apostelkalender* he would not have been able to start magazines in other languages. Beginning in 1889, the name of the paper was changed to "*Il Missionario*" with no improvement in content.

lessons for five grades. Only in the first grade did he keep German and Italian language groups separated. Once at it, he also made needed improvements in the school premises. In a lengthy report he informed the Cardinal Vicar of the good result of his short inspection. Jordan could only say yes to everything in silent and humble submission. **See, 1.3. General studies.**⁸

The printery owned by the Society, Typography of the *Società Cattolica Istruttiva*, endeavored to spread good literature among the people, not only catechisms in Italian but also well-known authors of the spiritual life (e.g., Ludovico de Ponte, Alphonse Liguori, Cardinal Manning, P. Lyonard). The press was also available for the works of Catholic academics. By these means the name of the Catholic Teaching Society was becoming known in circles which could never be reached by the popular magazines. **See, 1.4. De Waal.**⁹

The heart of the house in Borgo Vecchio was of course the chapel. At first it was located on the third floor. When Jordan was able to occupy the second floor as well, a roomy hall was found for it there. This move was probably made in the beginning of 1888. **See, 1.5. Motherhouse chapel.**¹⁰

Jordan had continually to remind himself that one part of his God-given task had still to be realized. Finally, restarting a Second Order occupied his mind and energy full time. In February 1887, the Cardinal Vicar gave him his oral consent. Jordan now could again have hope, and he passed along his joy at the assent of the Cardinal Vicar to the sisters at Neuwerk, like a spiritual uplift:

The founding of the sisters in Rome is no longer far-off. His Eminence wanted to wait just a little longer. I do hope for March, God willing (letter of February 25, 1887, ASDS).

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.3. General studies.

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.4. De Waal.

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.5. Motherhouse chapel.

He also wrote in his diary on March 9:

For the glory of God and the salvation of souls, build up the Society of the brothers as well as of the sisters with the greatest zeal and with your trust completely fixed in God (SD 194).

Afterwards, Cardinal Parocchi declared his agreement to be valid only for a place outside Rome. So Jordan had to look for a new way to reach his desired goal, and in his Easter wishes he again asked the Neuwerk sisters for patience and trust.¹¹

Baroness von Wüllenweber (**see, 1.6. Von Wüllenweber**) reported to Jordan in June 1887, that the new pastor (**see, 1.7. Koch**)¹² wished to turn the now vacant Barbarastift into a parish hospital. For Jordan these plans were unexpected, and he wanted more clarity before he had to act. He would have liked it if the long overdue solution to the Barbarastift problem could have been postponed until after the foundation of the sisters congregation. But he soon had to realize that the pastor's plans touched on a real social problem which waiting would only worsen. In the meantime he prayed for light to realize both the pastor's plans and his own hopes (which he shared with the Baroness) for a monastery in Neuwerk. **See, 1.8. Barbarastift (I).**¹³

Fr. Francis of the Cross, as he now preferred to sign his name, had to think seriously of possible ways to ease crowding in the motherhouse. One solution seemed to be relocating the students of his high school. Jordan considered especially a community in German-speaking territory,

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.6. Von Wüllenweber.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 1.7. Koch.

¹³ See, A Closer Look: 1.8. Barbarastift (I).

from where the necessary means would come for his new undertaking. Thus, Jordan himself crossed the Alps. **See, 1.9. Begging trip of 1887.**¹⁴

In regard to the *Oblatorium*, where Italians predominated, he thought of a house in a healthy rural region where the boys could move about more freely than in Palazzo Morone. There one still had to consider the better tenants, especially those living on the noble first story. Yet any new house should be within easy and quick reach from Rome. He sent Lüthen to Castel Madama, a little place behind Tivoli, where the local community had offered to help build a monastery. Lüthen was charged to find out more about the situation. This gave him a chance to recreate and relax in a rented summer house, together with the motherhouse students, away from hot Rome in the cooler Alban Mountains. Lüthen remained in Castel Madama, August 5 til September 4. He also contacted the Bishop of Tivoli, Cölestin del Frate. That's where things stood with the first investigations, even after the second summer vacation for the students.

As to founding a branch settlement north of the Alps, as his German homeland was still closed, Jordan turned to Vienna. Already as a young deacon his first ideas of founding his own apostolic work had been directed to Habsburg Vienna as the starting point (SD 112). Since Königsgrätz in 1886, it was considered a stronghold of Catholic liberty compared with liberal Germany. So Jordan did not hesitate to knock at the door of the Archepiscopal Vicar General, with the help of a friend and patron. With the consent of Cardinal Archbishop Cölestin Ganglbauer (1881-1890), Vicar General Angerer assented in principle to a new foundation there, but he also pointed out that considerable difficulties on the part of the state would have to be overcome. At any rate, the first contact with church authorities had been successful. **See, 1.10. Petition.**¹⁵

¹⁴See, A Closer Look: 1.9. Begging trip of 1887.

¹⁵See, A Closer Look: 1.10. Petition.

On the Feast of the Holy Cross, September 14, 1887, Fr. Dr. Lorenz Hopfenmüller joined Jordan's foundation. Jordan was very happy about this invaluable gain. Hopfenmüller, of course, met with difficulties in getting released as pastor of Seußling in Lower Franconia. In the care for souls, in the press apostolate, and in social work he was experienced and highly esteemed. His courageous fight against obstructing the spiritual welfare work of the church won him several prison sentences. His main interest, however, was in true missionary activities for which his bishop generously set him free. **See, 1.11. Hopfenmüller (I).**¹⁶

In Borgo Vecchio, Fr. Otto, as he called himself after investiture, soon felt at home. He was on best terms with the other three priests, whose equal he was in apostolic zeal and religious depth. Jordan entrusted him at once with important tasks, especially with the *Oblatorium* and with literary publications for the Catholic Teaching Society. **See, 1.12. CTS promotional brochure.**¹⁷ Fr. Otto found joy and satisfaction in fully committing himself, his energy and experience to Jordan's work.

By the end of August 1887, Jordan received news from Sr. Therese about developments in Barbarastift over the summer. **See, 1.13. Barbarastift (II).** Fr. Koch had not yet contacted Jordan, who therefore found himself somewhat overlooked to the degree that he did not know what decisions had to be made in the near future.

In Rome, Jordan had not progressed with his plans to found the Second Order. He lacked the necessary ecclesiastical assurances as the condition for a foundation. On the other hand, he knew he could not withhold the Barbarastift from the pastor. For now, the decision of the Bishop of Cologne first to clear the Barbarastift's property question provided him

¹⁶See, A Closer Look: 1.11. Hopfenmüller (I).

¹⁷See, A Closer Look: 1.12. CTS promotional brochure.

welcome breathing space.¹⁸ On this point the Baroness had a definite right to say something based on her rightful claim to maintenance. The CTS as "receiver of the Barbarastift" was always ready to respect this right fully.

In autumn, Fr. Koch inquired whether the Catholic Teaching Society would be willing to lease the Barbarastift for his hospital. Instructed by Jordan (certainly after consultation) Lüthen gave him a negative answer, into which a misunderstanding had slipped. This would strain later discussions. The pastor was disappointed. **See, 1.14. Barbarastift misunderstanding.**¹⁹ Jordan himself was not certain whether he could use the home in the foreseeable future for founding a sisters group. He asked himself how he could possibly bridge the interval weighing upon everyone and maintain harmony with the pastor. It was clear to him that first, the two sisters in Neuwerk were to be genuinely bound into an ecclesiastical community. **See, 1.15. The Neuwerk plans.**²⁰

This year the birthday of the Society was also celebrated in thanksgiving to the Immaculata, the real "Foundress of the Society," and in serious considerations of the tasks still to be coped with.²¹

On Christmas, Jordan gave the two sisters in Neuwerk new hope: he was now serious about beginning with them soon in Rome or "the neighbor-

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.13. Barbarastift (II).

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.14. Barbarastift misunderstanding.

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.15. The Neuwerk plans.

²¹ *Der Missionär* did not neglect pointing to December 8:
... [it] reminds us of a memorable event for ourselves: the day of laying the foundation-stone of the work, at which we have been working the last six years, supported by prayer and alms of our friends ... almost 140 persons has our Reverend Father united in our family: 29 Professed, 52 Novices, 59 Oblates and Candidates ... are now in studies ... (MI, December 22, 1887).

hood of Rome in a healthy climate." Pastor Koch, informed of this by the Baroness, could only welcome such intentions, but he did not yet really believe in them. After New Year 1888, the four priests in Rome had again discussed the future of the Barbarastift and had come to the conclusion not to cling to the place so absolutely. Our Lord would again open other doors. The Baroness was informed about this for she, too, had a voice in deciding the issue. Being 55 years-old, the woman defended first of all her right to upkeep assured by those who received her gift. She in no way left Fr. Koch in the dark about this. **See, 1.16. Barbarastift (III).**²²

The normally quiet time of the year was used intensively for the spiritual growth of the community. Beginning on Ash Wednesday, Jordan gave a retreat to sixteen Italian novices (G-2.13). The novice Fr. Otto was already fully occupied, giving fatherly care to the youngsters in the *Oblatorium* who were studying in the motherhouse. The apostolate of the press provided additional work. Lüthen had his eye on the scholastics, especially the novices. In February Weigang had already gone to German-speaking lands to find the necessary means to maintain the motherhouse.²³ Near New Year's Day the holes in the budget were examined as usual. The result was always the same: more benefactors had to be found, another campaign for their own publications had to be started, and through the Holy Virgin of Lourdes her Divine Son had to be implored, to let the

²² See, A Closer Look: 1.16. Barbarastift (III).

²³ Fr. Thomas Weigang had set out for the north by February 10, 1888. In the Allgäu he visited Joh. Baptist and Emerentia Pfeiffer in Brunnen, parish of Waltenhofen, and won their two sons Johannes and Markus for CTS (later Frs. Justinian and Pancratius). Johannes presented himself in Rome by September 15, 1888. His younger brother Markus followed him on March 21, 1889. While Johannes began his novitiate on All Saints Day, Markus was first an oblate (April 22, 1889) and began his novitiate October 3, 1889. The visit of the kind Fr. Thomas to their parents remained a favorite memory. From August 13 to 15, Weigang visited the Barbarastift in Neuwerk. Only on November 24 do we find the indefatigable "Beggar of Divine Providence" in Rome again.

community experience the Providence of his Father again in the future.
See, 1.17. Cultivating benefactors (I).²⁴

March 10th was a day of mourning for the motherhouse. A scholastic, Frater Petrus Lepore of St. Lucio (Benevent) died, just two months after he had passed his 16th birthday. To what ailment the young religious succumbed is not reported (G-3.2). Immediately the following day, Laetare Sunday, Jordan applied to the Cardinal Vicar for dispensation from fasting for the whole community. The Cardinal granted this at once, but according to the "prudent discretion" of the superior (A-29).

During the quiet and prayerful time before Easter, Jordan revised the Rule of 1886, which was in effect at that time. He not only had his rule always at hand, he also lived it personally in conscientious faithfulness, and he knew that he was authorized by the God-given authority of a founder to bind all those to it who wanted to join him. He also knew it had to be a definite help for many on their way to holiness shaped by apostolic service. It was clear to him that the Holy Spirit had to enliven every good rule, and this same Holy Spirit demanded of a founder every human effort toward perfecting the rule as a spiritual code of an apostolic community. This work of perfecting his religious rule occupied Jordan throughout his life.

In 1888, he replaced the Rule of 1886 with a new one just as short. Regarding the general objective of his foundation, Jordan returns to the Rule of 1884: "The heart of the rule of life is to follow the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus in poverty, chastity, obedience and in APOSTOLATE." [In the Rule of 1884 he had listed the evangelical counsels in the order obedience, poverty and chastity—the same order as St. Francis in his "Third Rule" of 1223.] Then straight away he established the unique characteristic of his foundation: apostolic universality.

Because the love of Christ who has died for all urges us; the Society, like a good mother, accepts sons of every country and nation whom God

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.17. Cultivating benefactors (I).

calls with motherly love, and sets her goal to extend her love and her apostolate to all people of every tongue.

The general duty of self-sanctification and the sanctification of one's neighbor appears only as the particular goal common to all religious communities with vows. [Similar to the version of St. Ignatius in the *Summ. Const.*, nr. 2, but shorter.] Then follow the basic apostolic rules:

Following the example of their leader and Lord Jesus Christ and the footsteps of the holy Apostles in a faithful and manly way, they must dedicate and devote themselves to God and to promoting His cause totally and completely, and they must retain nothing for themselves. Through a living example, in speaking and writing, and by all ways and means which love inspires, they shall with fervor and wisdom commit themselves in the Lord, that God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit be revealed to all and praised by everyone, and that the most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, be honored, and immortal souls be saved. (A new element here is the Marian accent so characteristic of Jordan's spirituality.)

Jordan had evangelical poverty at heart. In the Rule of 1888 he left out the canonical articles on *dominium radicale* and making a will before taking vows. But he refers back to the Great Rule of Poverty of 1884, and blends it with the Ignatian Rule praising poverty as a mother [*Art. 9, vgl. Sum. Const. n. 24a.*], which Jordan had already used in the chapter on poverty in his Rule of 1886:

For the sake of Christ and out of their own conviction they leave in fact whatever they possessed in the world, because the Lord's word says precisely to them: "If anyone comes to me without turning his back on his father and mother, his wife and his children, indeed his very self, he cannot be my disciple . . . None of you can be my disciple if he does not renounce all his possessions" (Lk 14:26,33). Members choose poverty as a mother. Not only in fact, but also in their minds and inclinations they shall leave everything and even endeavor more and more to put themselves last and to cling to no created thing but to God Almighty alone, to whom they are consecrated forever. So they can say in truth with St. Peter: "Lo, we have left everything and followed you" (Matt 19:27). Let them be dead to the world and to self-love in order to live for Christ alone, who is father, mother, brother and everything for them

(cf., Matt 12:50 "Anyone who does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother.") Having followed this, they shall be pleasing to God, made equal to Christ and the apostles, heirs and kings of heaven and earth (cf., Js 2:5 "Listen, my brothers: god chose those who were poor according to the world to be rich in faith and to be the heirs to the kingdom which he promised to those who love him." Matt 19:28 "Jesus said to them, 'In truth I tell you, when everything is made new again and the Son of Man is seated on his throne of glory, you yourselves will sit on twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.'" Lk 22:30 ". . . you will eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.")

It has been said, rightly or wrongly, that such texts have no place in a religious rule. They borrow too much from the gospels and are not canonical enough. For Jordan, however, evangelical poverty was the centerpiece of his Society. He left the rest in this chapter on poverty to the small practical statutes of the 1886 Rule [relying on the rules of St. Ignatius, at times literally. Cf., *Reg. Comm.* 7-9, *Summ. Const.* 24-26.] Sts. Francis and Ignatius godfathered Jordan's "Great Rule of Poverty,"

Jordan always considered himself bound to a gospel-inspired poverty. All his life he had lived in poor conditions; he was born into a poor family and ended his life in a poor house. He never had the opportunity as did Blessed Mary of the Apostles to renounce riches and a secure material life. But with all his heart he said yes to poverty for the sake of the Lord. And throughout his life the Lord gave him ample opportunities to carry the cross of apostolic poverty after Him. As Jordan always wanted to be a poor disciple of the poor Christ, so he expected all those who joined him to be willing to be the same. The poverty of his foundations was basically apostolic. It was intended to serve the apostolate and correspond to it. Sorry to say, or rather as God willed, in the first years poverty was not conducive to the apostolate but more of a hindrance. But here, too, Jordan's motto proved true: "Great things happen only in the shadow of the Cross." **See, 1.18. The profession formula.**²⁵

²⁵See, A Closer Look: 1.18. The profession formula.

Jordan added also the "Great Rule of the Apostolate of 1884" to the Rule of 1888. This rule remained his Magna Carta. In this way the Rule of 1888 is linked again with that of 1884, which Jordan had to hide within the Rule of 1886 in order to gain canonical recognition. For the Third Order (**see, 1.19. The Third Order**)²⁶ and the Union of Scholars of CTS (**see, 1.20. The Academy**)²⁷ Jordan found no one he could release to guide them. He was forced to limit himself to the most urgent problems.

Discussions about the future of the Barbarastift continued. The pastor of Neuwerk relentlessly urged Jordan to sell. Jordan would gladly have obliged him and would happily have offered a very fair price to more than please the pastor. But the difficulty remained unsolved, since the Baroness' right to maintenance was tied to the *Stift*. Fr. Koch thought a hint from Jordan would suffice, and Therese von Wüllenweber would renounce her rights in the Barbarastift. Jordan, however, had no right to push the matter proposed by the pastor. He could not and would not deny the Baroness her free decision about her future maintenance. Therese was in not definitively bound to the Catholic Teaching Society and, anyway, how to provide for her senior years was up to her. **See, 1.21. Sale of the Barbarastift.**²⁸

At this time, a law suit with a priest strained Jordan's mind. He had given notice at the end of October 1887 to Don Ferrante, who since 1882 had worked in the administration of the printing office. But Don Ferrante made such difficulties that the Cardinal Vicar had to intervene in May 1888. Don Ferrante had joined Jordan's group right after its founding, and in Jordan's absence had been hired by von Leonhardi to help in the printery. The entrepreneurial priest succeeded in building up a sort of side business attending to more important customers. Only very slowly

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.19. The Third Order.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.20. The Academy.

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.21. Sale of the Barbarastift.

did Jordan and Lüthen uncover the rather obscure machinations of their co-worker. They also discovered that in his dealings Don Ferrante was not only incompetent but also dishonest. Jordan gave him notice in a legally correct manner without reproaching him in any way. Ferrante now presented Jordan with a demand for 8,000 Lire as compensation for about six years of underpaid work. Jordan dared to refuse these claims as in no way justified. Ferrante turned to the Cardinal Vicar, who convened a court of arbitration consisting of three expert canonists, to whom Don Ferrante submitted his demands and Jordan his objections. This court sought a Salomonic judgement and ordered Jordan to compensate Don Ferrante. Jordan knew himself to be right, but he paid, although with bitterness in his heart. But toward the judgement of an ecclesiastical court he remained obedient.

Don Ferrante, however, did not agree with the judgement of the three canonists and refused the sum which Jordan had transferred at once—the amount covered not even one third of his demand. Once again the Cardinal Vicar had to try to satisfy the troublesome claimant. When the Archbishop of New York searched for a suitable secretary for Latin and an advisor for Roman Canon Law, Cardinal Parocchi drew his attention to the capable priest who then accepted the offer in the “New World,” better suited to his particular ecclesiastical business practices. With the years he gained much influence and esteem. For his part, Jordan had learned again that he had tread on grounds where an apostle is always defeated. **See, 1.22. Ferrante.**²⁹

In the *Annales of the Catholic Teaching Society*, Pentecost 1888 was recalled as an unforgettable day. On this feast day Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller made his final vows into the hands of the founder. Already on May 7, Jordan had applied to the Cardinal Vicar for a dispensation from the remaining time of his novitiate. He called him a true religious (*optimum religiosum*). As the reason for shortening his novitiate Jordan gave the true fact that

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.22. Ferrante.

"he needed Fr. Otto's help for the manifold labor." Cardinal Parocchi complied willingly with the petition of the superior general (A-31).

On Easter Monday morning, Jordan wrote in his diary:

If you want to get rid of all your imperfections, make some generous resolution to please God in all things; this will accomplish all things in a moment, and will very quickly unite you with God (April 2, 1888).

Because this desired perfection is charity, Jordan wrote right after this in big letters three times the word "*Caritas*." Such *caritas* had an apostolic character for Jordan and his foundation. So he continues:

Caritas - Caritas - Caritas

At least once a week examine whether an apostolic spirit prevails everywhere in the Society; if you find it lacking, pray with all your strength and, full of holy zeal, introduce it everywhere; take care that

- 1) conversations during recreation are spiritual
- 2) the members have a taste for heavenly, not earthly things.

July 25, 1888

Francis, pray urgently

F r a n c i s ! F r a n c i s ! F r a n c i s !

O F r a n c i s

Dedicate at least seven hours a day to prayer!

O give attention to it and do not omit it!

W o r t h l e s s F r a n c i s !

Seven hours a day devote to prayer!

I n c o n s t a n t F r a n c i s !

Devote seven hours to prayer!

M o s t s l u g g i s h F r a n c i s !

Devote 7 hours a day to prayer, and if you have not fulfilled them, give yourself a severe penance.

The 25th day of July, 1888

As Jordan's 40th birthday arrived, and shortly after his 10th anniversary of priestly ordination, he intensified his examination of conscience. He perceived that he must by all means become a "better Franciscus" and to reach this goal he exhorted himself to still more urgent prayer. He

resolves to devote daily if possible 7 hours to prayer. His truly radical self-judgement is shocking. He confesses before God to be a "totally worthless, inconstant, most sluggish Francis." His jubilee resolution he frames with the date July 25, 1888 (SD 197).³⁰

When Jordan observed his 40th birthday, Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller had just turned 44, Lüthen was 42, and Weigang would be 45 in September. Thus the Founder was the youngest, yet for the others he was "Venerable Father." The four priests got along very well and were of one heart and one soul. All were in their prime, and for men in their forties, five years difference did not mean any mental or spiritual grading. The young priest with the unconventional name "Francis of the Cross" was taken seriously and esteemed by all who had any contact with him. Yes, many, especially young people were enthusiastic about him. His apostolic aura was compelling.

³⁰ Jordan sketched a plan to insert into his day the time for prayer his vocation required. He drafted a twofold order of prayers, the shorter of which was probably intended for days in which he was needed for other things.

For God, God help . . . You call for seven hours of prayer a day.

6 - 9	= 3	1½	
10½ - 11½	= 1	½	
2½ - 3	= ½	½	
5 - 7	= 2	2	
8¾ - 9½	= ¾	¾	
	= 7¼	5½"	(G-7.5,12).

Daily obligations certainly forced Jordan to adapt his prayer plan and to shorten or to transfer it to the night hours. But just such a timetable of the busy 40 year-old priest shows how much stability he sought and found in prayer and what power he attributed to prayer to overcome the problems of each day. His interest was less in long prayer times, but they should be regular and not too short. For they were the surest way into deep and Godly prayer. Jordan's prayer may also have been the best recreation for his weakened nerves. [Note: Also St. Ignatius, in Manresa, spent daily seven hours praying on his knees (cf., Report of the Pilgrim) to get into "perpetual prayer."]

Reception into the First Grade of Jordan's foundation had a definite form. The conditions for reception in the Apostolic Teaching Society of 1882 are hardly different from those of the Catholic Teaching Society of 1889. From the start, Jordan set down definite conditions. The April 1888 instruction on aspirants to the First Order of the CTS stressed careful scrutiny regarding the religious vocation of an apostolic religious priest. Everyone desiring to enlist is requested to read the notice in the *Apostelkalender* of 1887, or the one in *Der Missionär* of 1884. Both point out that "an apostolic religious must have good health." Especially sickness of the lungs, of the heart and nerves disqualify young people, precisely because the vocational demands are heavy. Also required for joining are the usual recommendations from pastor and physician, along with the permission of the local bishop (*litterae testimoniales*). On the material side, a yearly contribution of 500 Marks (300 Gulden) until profession, with semi-annual advance payment is fixed.³¹

³¹ The Conditions for Admission indicated exactly what books were to be brought along (or the corresponding amount of money): Latin and Italian Grammar Book, Rodriguez, Thomas a Kempis and Mohr (hymn book), and the necessary underwear. In addition to these items, it gives the route (from Vienna or Munich) and travel expenses. It also tells how to find one's way from the railroad station in Rome to Borgo Vecchio, 165. It advises not to entrust one's baggage to anyone, not to take a cab, and to pay just 1 Lire (DSS XI, 218/19). Jordan's acceptance letters were short and clear.

You can join us. Of course, I assume you are talented enough for studying, that there is no ecclesiastical impediment, that you will pay till holy profession, and that you are not suffering in regard to your nerves. You would do well to find another benefactor, as the number of our community has already increased to 168. Let us know your arrival some days before. God bless you. Your future spiritual Father, Fr. Jordan.

P.S.: You may perhaps be able to promote our periodicals there (letter, April 10, 1888, A-28; cf., A-30, 33, etc.).

To one applicant he wrote on September 2, 1888: "the applications are very numerous now and I am not in the position to dispense all of them from paying the contribution up to profession" (A-34). Jordan took much care so that the food was good and sufficient, and that the youths went out daily into the open air.

In fact, however, Jordan had constantly to lower his normal conditions for admission, especially regarding the contribution. Yet he had his principles and also his sound calculations. He demanded the applicant pay at least half the contribution, and if this were impossible for his parents, that the aspirant look for good benefactors. Jordan assumed that those who felt a serious call to religious life in his foundation would also take the trouble to find benefactors and sponsors. On the other hand, he reckoned on a yearly minimum income from the press and collections to cover the deficit. **See, 1.23. Cultivating benefactors (II).**³²

Jordan was no "imprudent manager." Of course, in his reckoning he did not in the least dismiss Divine Providence. On the contrary, Divine Providence remained the most important asset in his undertakings. If in his apostolic activities, in the eyes of his "more prudent" co-workers, Jordan ventured out too far here or there, he did so not out of a desire to run the risk of debts, but from the wish to coax Divine Providence. When he wrote in his diary in 1886: "Divine Providence created me" (SD 185), that applied as well for his whole work. Jordan stayed in his bounds. What was often said of St. Don Bosco could also be said of Jordan. He was "attentive in small things and at the same time far-sighted because he was filled with confidence in God, which at times bordered on imprudence" (*Di Pietro Jounel*, Missel). Jordan expressed this basic principle: "A man who takes his steps only according to the calculations of human wisdom will never be able to build on the extraordinary help of heaven; he will never accomplish great things" (SD 200, June 26, 1891).

Jordan suffered personally when deciding who to accept. His principle was "to receive only those who could be useful to the cause" (G-2.13, 1888). But he was afraid to block the way of anyone called by pleading lack of means. For him it was like a dogma: for religious and priestly vocations there can and must always be found sufficient means among the Christian people. His own way to the priesthood remained for him the striking proof.

³² See, A Closer Look: 1.23. Cultivating benefactors (II).

Explicit parental consent to enter along with the cost of maintenance was always requested. An added note explained at the outset that no one who wants to be simply a diocesan or missionary priest can take his lower or higher studies in the House of Divine Providence. An applicant must be called to the religious life and must be firmly resolved to remain in the Society to the end of his life. He must be,

... of a mind, like St. Francis to leave everything with his profession for the sake of Christ and to live poor without any private income. No patrimony, no Mass stipends, nothing, absolutely nothing may one keep back for himself or for his use. Upon this basis the Society is built up; through it, it will be strong and lasting (E-101).

Jordan was fully aware that he himself and his House of Divine Providence could be exploited by many who simply wanted to study cheaply and well. It was also clear to him that very few intended to do this from the beginning: that in most cases the vocation had not yet ripened, and would need years of maturing to be redirected. For Jordan all this was included in the price Divine Providence had set for his work. But none of this made him unhappy or even envious, for God lets his sun rise on good and bad, and lets it rain on just and unjust (Matt 5:45; 6:25ff).

July 15 was a day of ordinations: Cardinal Parocchi administered the two minor orders to six members (Italians, Englishmen and Germans) in the very room where St. Camillus de Lellis had died. Cardinal Melchers assisted at the celebration. Earlier, fourteen members had received tonsure and two were ordained subdeacons. *Der Missionär* reports in the column "From Our Motherhouse," that the Venerable Father,

... was not yet fortunate enough to send his sons out into the world to announce the good news of salvation . . . Our time has not yet come, but we hope it is near. We must still lead a hidden life like our Divine Master, before we can step before the public: "Remain here in the city til you are clothed with power from on high (Lk 14:49)." (MI 14, 1888)

September 22, the two subdeacons were ordained deacons (MI 19, 1888).

The fact that Jordan at the age of 40, was not yet able to realize his divinely-inspired foundation of sisters weighed on his mind. He again

approached his ecclesiastical superior. The moderate Cardinal Parocchi, in his benevolent way renewed his consent in principle. For Jordan every word of the ecclesiastical superior had weight and value. So he again reported his success to Therese in Neuwerk and promised to call her to Rome in the fall. **See, 1.24. Keeping hope alive.**³³

Jordan was deeply concerned about his own fast growing community in Rome. He still dreamed of being able to have his own house soon. The collection for the building had been running for several years, but the sum put aside so far was very modest. Nevertheless, Jordan stuck to his plan: "It is urgent to build a house in Rome, a) for regular discipline; b) to root the Society in the Eternal City; c) [left unfinished]" (SD 198). He sees the advantage of having a proper new building in the fact that it could be adapted from the start to the needs of a religious community, while an old palazzo would always remain inadequate in this regard, in addition to the constant need to remodel and improve.

In the hot summertime, quiet settled in Borgo Vecchio 165. Jordan and Weigang were in Germany on a publicity campaign.³⁴ Lüthen and Hopfenmüller moved with the scholastics, novices and oblates into their summer home in Castel Madama as they had the year before. In early fall Jordan was fully occupied with building a nest for the future sisterhood.

³³ See, A Closer Look: 1.24. Keeping hope alive.

³⁴ Jordan traveled from August 1-20. By August 5 he was in Munich and the next day in Simbach. From there he went to Regensburg and Amberg. On his way back he traveled begging through Württemberg and his native Baden. He noted down Offenburg, Hausach, Schiltach, Hochdorf, Horb, Rottenburg, Tübingen, Ulm and Freiburg (August 12-14), Radolfzell; of course, he paid a visit to Gurtweil and Constance. On August 16, he was again in Munich; from there he started back to Rome (G-2.13). In his memo-book he made a short account of his harvest. The sum was 6,742 Marks, that is 7,728 Marks (8,385 Lire?). He also noted conscientiously the Mass stipends. Furthermore there was noted a donation of 4,000 Marks (with interest obligation of 140 Marks from September 1, 1889 onwards; semi-annually 70 Marks). (G-2.13)

See, 1.25. Invitation to Rome.³⁵ The Cardinal Vicar had been won by Jordan for a second foundation of sisters, but Rome itself was closed temporarily to new foundations (Parocchi to Jordan, October 12, 1888). Church policy in the capital of the new Italy was anything but peaceful. Leo XIII again had thoughts of flight. The Cardinal Vicar himself had more trouble with the many colonies of foreigners and with the many ecclesiastical foundations than he had with his own clergy. Therefore, the need of the moment in Rome was to keep the ecclesiastical situation under control.

Cardinal Parocchi was glad Jordan had been able to turn to neighboring Tivoli, where Bishop Cölestin del Frate not only extended a helping hand, but also became a dear friend. Often during that autumn Jordan was on the road to Tivoli to find a proper house for a modest beginning for the sisters. For now he only needed room for six candidates, but he had to look ahead. He hoped for an increase among the sisters similar to what he had experienced in the previous two years for the male branch in Rome. Bishop Cölestin joined him personally in the search for living quarters, so that possible landlords would trust the young priest looking for a home. Finally, Jordan was able to rent a temporary apartment for the sisters. **See, 1.26. Tivoli.**³⁶

It was his sincere wish that from the very start the sisters would conform to a true monastic discipline. Thus he made the necessary changes in the Rule for the First Grade of 1888, turning it into the Rule for the "Second Order." The spirituality was the same for both branches. **See, 1.27. Rule of 1888.**³⁷ On November 21, he called the two sisters away from Neuwerk, and together with four candidates from the Bamberg Diocese they reached Rome on November 24. For two days he let them enjoy Rome,

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.25. Invitation to Rome.

³⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.26. Tivoli.

³⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.27. The Rule of 1888.

the Eternal City, and then on November 27, he moved to Tivoli along with the six women. There they immediately began a retreat. On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, a Saturday, Jordan handed the holy habit to Therese von Wüllenweber, Maria Hopfenmüller and Mararetha Reinwald under the religious names Mary of the Apostles, Scholastica of the Immaculate Conception, and Clara of the Immaculate Conception. **See, 1.28. First five novices.**³⁸ Sr. Scholastica, however, had not yet been released from the hospital, being sick with small pox. On December 18, Jordan vested the other two candidates: Sr. Benedicta of Jesus, (Margarete) Ruderich and Sr. Columba of St. Joseph, (Eleonore) Weinsheimer. Ursula Rabis could not decide on joining definitely.³⁹

Lüthen, who celebrated the anniversary of the foundation with the community in Rome on December 8, called on everyone to thank God that now the founding of the Venerable Father had been completed.⁴⁰ On

³⁸See, A Closer Look: 1.28. First five novices.

³⁹On January 29, Ursula Rabis returned to her Bavarian homeland: "She could not endure the air here, nor the religious way of life" (MMChr). She could not manage so freely as she had in the Barbarastift, but had to adapt herself and keep her place.

⁴⁰ At that time Lüthen made the following short sketch of his sermon: Sabbath Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1888). It was on December 8, 1854 . . . Dogma - Always believe the church, the whole world wishes it. Pius IX . . . *Pot dec. fecit* . . . 2. Jesus gives confidence. Is she very dear. She is interested in us so that sin and consequences be eliminated. O Mary help! Pride, discord, disturb." [For the conference of the following day he noted for himself:] Pull us toward you . . . Our Society (which is founded seven years ago on this feast; which you . . . Protect us! Look we are your sons!)"

The next day he made notes for his conference:

Concerning the Catholic Teaching Society. Yesterday, December 8, we sang the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for the favors rendered to us for the foundation of the Second Order of our Society. Really, we must and we can thank heaven for the graces given because now the plan of our Reverend Father has been fulfilled, now the Society is constituted in its various Grades and groups. . . . [M]ay this

December 22, the second and third priests of the CTS were ordained in the Lateran: Frs. Philipp Maria Schütz and Johannes Evangelist of Jesus and Maria Gruchot.⁴¹ So the *Te Deum* at the close of 1888 came from joyful and grateful hearts. In the motherhouse there were now six priests, about 65 clerics and brothers, and about 60 novices all contending to stir up in themselves and in others the fire of their apostolic mission.

On January 10, 1899 the Catholic Teaching Society arranged its first Language Academy, which in the course of the years grew into a stable tradition. The Cardinal Vicar had accepted Jordan's invitation to be guest of honor. At the end of the inaugural celebration for which the choir too had done its best, he gave thanks for having been free to spend some hours in the "Pentecostal Aula."⁴²

new plant grow and flourish, both in number as well as in spirit. So, before our eyes stands the building with all its floors. We have the First Order, the Second Order, the Third Order. We have collaborators for both the Society, and for prayer and alms. And while they help us, they profit from us by our spirit. Concerning the Angel Sodality, it is a school of apostolic people for life and for our orders (G-27).

⁴¹ With the consensus of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious the Cardinal Vicar gave permission for major orders be given *ad titulum Societatis*. This means the CTS now had to sustain its priests as required by the church.

⁴² In a conference on the Octave of Epiphany 1889, Lüthen spoke expressly about the importance of the Feast of Languages for the Catholic Teaching Society. In it "the Society expresses its idea, simply but meaningfully: Universality" (G-27). Also *Der Missionär* reported in detail:

From Our Motherhouse: The Thursday after Epiphany, "Language Fest" was celebrated following the model of the great language fest held here in Rome in St. Andrew's during the octave of Epiphany. The Cardinal Vicar was our guest. The following languages: Latin, Old Greek, Hebrew, Syrian, Chaldaic, Ethiopian, Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, English, Swedish, Russian, Polish, Turkish, Dutch, Modern Greek, Danish and Bohemian. Cardinal Parocchi thanked filled with pleasure for having been 'in Coenaculo Apostolorum'" (MI 2/1889 of January 27).

As a linguistically talented priest, Jordan had personally taken an active part in

In the first weeks and months, Jordan worried about the inner growth and well-being of the small sisters' community in Tivoli. The five sisters, especially their superior, were well aware of their responsibility such a modest and yet hopeful beginning placed on them. Mother Mary never forgot the cautionary example of the separation of the first sisters from Jordan. Not only had her personal attempt to join this community failed, but also her hopes that thee of those nuns could bring new life into her empty Barbarastift had remained unfulfilled. All this because these sisters had separated themselves from the founder. (She always regarded their separation this way). Even years later she admitted to Jordan, having been spoken to by one of those nuns: "Those sisters re-main for me from the start a very sad affair" (September 24, 1894, E-624).

Mother Mary had quickly found the way into the spirit and aims of the Founder with complete dedication. That also gave the 55 year-old woman the strength to burn all bridges behind her and not to let any false homesickness arise. Jordan took much delight in the fervor of the five novices, yet he could not be satisfied with directing them from distant Rome; motherly guidance and a novice mistress were needed for the young community. Jordan saw only one possible solution: Mother Mary herself. She was already experienced in religious life, and by taking vows she was to become the first sister in this new foundation and its spiritual mother. **See, 1.29. Mother Mary's appointment.**⁴³

On January 14, 1889, the Founder went once more to the sisters. He requested that Mother Mary come to Rome on the 16th to finalize the sale of the Barbarastift by notarizing papers at the German consulate. **See, 1.30. Barbarastift, the final disposition.**⁴⁴ He also acquainted her with his future plans: "I would perhaps like to make profession again,

St. Andrea della Valle.

⁴³ See, A Closer Look, 1.29. Mother Mary's appointment.

⁴⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.30. Barbarastift, the final disposition.

solemnly!" He also showed her the plans for "extending the quarters" which were under discussion.

Lüthen was ordered to help Mother Mary before she took her vows, to regulate her finances according to canon law, especially regarding the disposal of the two annuities totaling 1,200 Marks annually, and changing her last will after the sale of the Barbarastift. **See, 1.31. Von Wüllenweber's will.**⁴⁵

With the energetic support of the Bishop of Tivoli, Jordan had found living quarters near the church, opposite the Franciscans. "The dwelling is simple and humble, fitting for the few. Upstairs 2 bedrooms and one livingroom, below a kitchen and a dinning room" (MMChr). Jordan, looking forward, planned an "enlargement: beautiful" (MMChr). On March 1st, he signed the contract for house nr. 13 at the Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore, Vicolo d'Este, for a yearly rent of 1,080 Lire. The house had 9 rooms and a kitchen with storeroom and cellar (E-792). "On March 1st, St. Joseph Day, we moved into the beautiful large monastic building" (MMChr). **See, 1.32. Lease agreement.**⁴⁶

Mother Mary was happy when, on the Feast of St. Joseph, Jordan also informed her that she could make her profession March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation into his very hands according to the Rule approved on March 20, 1889, by the Bishop of Tivoli: "Oh, how grateful we shall be!" (MMChr). Then the great day arrived:

On the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Venerable Founder came. First I renounced in writing every present and still to be expected property in favor of the sisters community, but leaving to the Venerable Father our dear Founder, [to decide] everything about the manner of the distribution etc., and leaving it after his death to the superior general (MMChr).

⁴⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.31. Von Wüllenweber's will.

⁴⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.32. Lease agreement.

During his address in the beautifully decorated chapel, Jordan exhorted people to follow Mary. In her diary Mother Mary recalls:

[He said that] today I had a great grace: what I have left today I would have to leave anyway at death; he [Jordan] also gave me the cord with the three knots, three vows, and at the other end one more for apostolate. Then he said that now I would be Mistress of Novices. God be with me in my weakness: everything in obedience! (MMChr)

I am very happy, very firm. The Society, my one and all (Diary, April 5, 1889).

On Easter Tuesday, Jordan sent belated Easter greetings to his "Dearly beloved sisters and daughters in Christ." He wrote,

. . . in order to foster the holy religious spirit I wish that the sisters from now on call the venerable Sister Mary "Venerable Mother." Take good care that you all get right into the religious spirit, for God will send you many fellow sisters (April 23, 1889, ASDS).

The first sister of the Catholic Teaching Society and the four novices were constantly reminded by Jordan and Lüthen that they should always consider the grace of their vocation as an obligation towards those in the future. "Those future members shall not falter," Mother Mary wrote in her diary and added: "Everything provided for in eternity!" (30.3 P.L.).

Again this Lenten season Jordan stood at the deathbed of a promising young confrere. On Ash Wednesday, Frater Ildefons Hemberger died of a lung disease. With Fraters Joseph, Dominicus and Petrus, he was the fourth to die in these eight years since the CTS had been established in Borgo Vecchio.⁴⁷ Jordan's community numbered now more than 130

⁴⁷ Frater Ildephonsus Hemberger (Adam), born in Schlossau, Archdiocese of Freiburg i Br, entered September 23, 1883, made vows for three years October 24, 1884. Made profession to Third Order of St. Francis on April 5, 1885. Made perpetual vows on May 24, 1885 (G-3.1). March 6th, 1889, at 12:20 a.m. he received the Blessed Sacrament and died peacefully (G-3.2).

In the CTS necrology two more members are listed: Frater Bernardus M.

members who wore the habit. In autumn he again tried to attract young blood. In a "crusade" he presented the "battle lines" of the Catholic Teaching Society (MI, October, 1889).

On May 10, the Cardinal Vicar assured him that the *titulus paupertatis*, which the Congregation for Bishops and Religious had already granted him, not only entitled him to accept members in his Society, but that such members would also be incardinated in the Diocese of Rome (G-3.1, 108). This assurance was a great gain for Jordan. His foundation became more deeply rooted in the Eternal City.

Despite all this good news, 1889 was for Fr. Francis of the Cross a very hard year. The Lord submerged his vocation into the wine press of doubt and trial. Lüthen, his confidant in everything, said of that year:

As on the Feast of Pentecost, so on the anniversary of the foundation (December 8) and on Christmas, Venerable Father suffered the most intense temptation to give up everything, disgust of the Society he love so much: a terrible condition (G-14).

More precise hints at the causes of such temptations are missing. Neither in Jordan's diary nor in the few letters of this time do we find any trace. If we interpret Lüthen's notes here correctly, we must say that Jordan was led by the Lord to the Mount of Olives. Faithful to Jesus' admonition, he sought strength in urgent prayer: "Pray that you may not be put to the test" (Lk 22:40, 46). God alone could carry him over the chasm of doubt and temptations. Having crossed it, Jordan stammered in deepest gratitude one of his favorite prayers, the last verse of *Te Deum*: "In you, O Lord, I take refuge, let me never be put to shame" (Ps 30:1; 70:1).

Blum (October 17, 1869-1887, July 5). Jordan, who had assisted him at his death-bed had according to his wish invested this devout Oblate, not yet 18 years old (G-3.2). Frater Willibrord Weber (January 1, 1873-1889, August 9) from Röhrbach (Passau) found difficulty in his studies. But, according to his wish, he was admitted to novitiate October 14, 1888, and died as a novice, not yet 17 years old.

We may ask what external factors caused such temptations. Considering especially the year 1889, physical fatigue after such constant apostolic effort is not to be excluded. Jordan's temperament was open and transparent, and any stoic repression of feelings was foreign to him. Whether joyful or depressed, he could not hide his feelings. During that time there were also some apostolic disappointments which might have oppressed Jordan's mind excessively, e.g., the unexpected departure of some Italian students. **See, 1.33. Defections and dimissorials.**⁴⁸ In Tivoli, after a promising start in 1889, there were only half a dozen applications to the sisters, and Jordan could invest only two of them.

Relations with the Roman authorities concerning the yet unfinished religious institute remained rather cool. The Cardinal Vicar had indeed learned to esteem Jordan and, despite his Francophile leanings, grew very fond of the German priest. But the Congregation for Religious held back distrustfully, and the door to the Holy Father had remained closed since 1885. And it was indeed Jordan's most sincere wish to receive a "papal passport," the only way he could hope to be able to carry his foundation into the whole world.

Jordan had difficulty clarifying some canonical points which lay on his conscience. The Cardinal Vicar had dispensed Lüthen from the missing novitiate. To Jordan's concerns that he himself had not made novitiate and had not become a superior through an election. Cardinal Parocchi urged him to be calm: *sta tranquillo*. He also gave him permission to send not only scholastics and oblates but also novices to the summer villa in the Alban Mountains (July 2, 1889). [Jordan informed the Cardinal Vicar, three Italian scholastics were to be called to military service (G-3.1, 109).]

In June, Baron Theodore von Wüllenweber, Mother Mary's beloved father, was about to make his last will and testament. Though still spry, he was already 83. His main concern was to fulfill the wish of his deceased wife: to keep Myllendonk together as the hereditary seat of the

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.33. Defections and dimissorials.

family. His plan was for the second oldest daughter to take it over, and the other four daughters to be paid off somehow. He expected that after his death, Mother Mary would retain only the interest from her expected inheritance, and leave the capital itself in the family.

Mother Mary got into difficulties over the wish of her father, who she could never refuse anything. Through her last will, known to her father, she had bequeathed her part of the inheritance to the sisters community. This was demanded by Jordan in accord with his strict interpretation of poverty for all CTS members in final vows (*cessio dominii radicalis*). On the other hand, Jordan had to admit this was a special case, since it concerned a Catholic aristocratic family. So he proposed a middle course: Mother Mary, after her death, would leave a part of the inheritance in Myllendonk, but as a professed sister, another part would be willed to benefit her sisters community in Tivoli. He talked it over with the Cardinal Vicar who approved the plan. Mother Mary was glad she could present her wishes to her father in Myllendonk, as it were with the backing of the church. He and her natural sisters were pleased to agree, since the ancestral seat Myllendonk was now secure. Later payments would eventually have to be regulated according to actual circumstances. Thus, Mother Mary could comply with her beloved father's will and at the same time provide for her spiritual family. **See, 1.34. Myllendonk.**⁴⁹

In summer, Lüthen and Hopfenmüller returned to the Alban Mountains with the Roman community. At first they rented the Franciscan Convent in Sambuci. But Jordan preferred to have them in Tivoli because of the sisters there. So he told Mother Mary to look for a suitable house, which she did successfully. On July 8, the men's community moved to Tivoli, returning to Rome on September 20. **See, 1.35. Summer holidays 1889.**⁵⁰

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.34. Myllendonk.

⁵⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.35. Summer holidays 1889.

In August, Jordan was in Germany. For a day he visited his aged mother in Gurtweil. Some Sisters of the Precious Blood were still there, deciding whether or not to follow their co-sisters across the ocean to work in the USA. Jordan tried to win them for his community in Tivoli but without success. Mother Mary was able to train her four novices from Franconia with motherly severity in Jordan's spirit and according to his directives. Lüthen ably assisted. Hopfenmüller was busy again with writing that year, editing a proper prayer book for his students. This *Manna Religiosum* was also well accepted in other communities. **See, 1.36. Early prayers.**⁵¹ Conscientious as he was, Jordan worried whether the vacation time spent by the novices in Tivoli could be considered part of their novitiate time. Therefore, he approached the Cardinal Vicar, in whose view their novitiate had not been interrupted (September 2, G-3.1, 109).

Fr. Francis of the Cross always kept in mind the Lord's words about the "great harvest" (Lk 10:2). About one year earlier he had written in his diary and heavily underlined his apostolic cry: "Es Drängt!" "It's urgent!" (SD 195). During the previous three years he had been allowed to experience the blessing of the Lord of the Harvest quite noticeably. The seed he had sown was now thriving.

⁵¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.36. Early Prayers.

1. The Seed is Growing. A Closer Look

1.1/4. Bucher, Leonhard, was born on September 23, 1862, in Dillingen. After finishing elementary school he worked for six years in a printing shop in Augsburg. Then he helped out for about 1½ years in monasteries of the Bavarian Conventuals before he began his baker's training. On July 18, 1884, the half-trained baker joined the CTS and was invested as Br. Felix on August 15. On the Feast of the Assumption of Mary 1885, he professed holy vows for three years. Jordan urged the pious and talented young brother to begin studies. On July 10, 1887, *Der Missionär* reported: "The lay brother has been admitted to studies and makes extraordinary progress in Latin, and now he also begins Greek."

On October 11 of the same year Jordan admitted him into the novitiate for clerics. With the dispensation from any irregularity by the Cardinal Vicar (September 12, 1888) Frater Felix made his final vows on October 14, 1888. On June 27, 1890, Jordan assured himself once more about the assent of the Cardinal Vicar for the *ordines maiores* of Frater Felix. On September 19, 1891, he was ordained priest in the Lateran Basilica. He was one of the two priests Jordan would send to Vancouver, Washington, USA on June 27, 1892. Fr. Felix worked with great benefit among the indigenous people in the State of Oregon for over 40 years, getting much support from his homeland, the *Ludwi-Missions-Verein*, and Mother Katherine Drexel with whom he had a long correspondence. He died April 13, 1938, in St. Nazianz, WI.

1.2/6. Lüthen's report. As contributor and editor of *Der Missionär*, Lüthen already published in the second number (January 30, 1887) a report on the happenings of January 15 under the title "An Exorcism." At that time Lüthen thought that one exorcism would be sufficient. He pointed out that what he related was true and was being published to the honor of God: "The supremacy of God, the power of the Name of Jesus, the authority of the Catholic Church shows up in this event so splendidly that it might be an obligation to make this event public in the world." Then Lüthen explains that it was a matter of diabolic vexations of a religious by the devil. The person concerned was not a bad man, "but a lay brother leading quite a good life, esteemed and loved by all, truly

devout and united with God in soul. To the question, what was the cause of this possession, came the answer: "No cause, it was the will of God." Lüthen concluded: "The witnesses of this miraculous effect of the exorcism are more than 80 persons, the physician and other outsiders, among whom is the venerable brother pharmacist of the Vatican. Yes, in the Catholic Church there is power and the grace of Christ" (MI 2-3, 1887).

When symptoms recurred, Lüthen found it necessary to report: "Further Manifestations of the Demons and Exorcisms in the House of our Society in Rome" (MI 5-7, 1887). Lüthen, by the way, mentioned to the skeptics that everyone may believe "what he likes" about what he as an eyewitness has reported. But he points to the fact that "nobody will dispute the knowledge, experience and prudence" of the Cardinal Vicar. Neither did the physician succeed in reducing the remarkable health disturbances and actions to epilepsy, to mental disturbance, or to other natural illnesses. The young man himself, he then says, "is completely void of hypocrisy." Lüthen, however, also refutes the overly pious: the report in *Der Missionär* demanded only "human belief." He did not want to preclude ecclesiastic judgement. The inquisition would not care about such things "as long as the faith was not endangered by them," according to his earlier information (MI 13, 1887).

It is easy to understand how this event came to be exploited by smart businessmen. Brochures appeared at once like "True Story of Liberating a Man Possessed by the Demon. A Sensational Happening in Our Days. Details by an Eyewitness. Sorrebourg, A. Schmitt." or "Lucifer's Appearance in Rome in January, February and March 1887, Confirmed by 80 Witnesses!" Munich: 1887, A. Bstieler. Lüthen had to explain: "A brochure referring to this, based on our information in *Der Missionär* without quoting it completely and exactly, has not been edited by us; we saw it for the first time in its third edition" (MI 13, 1887).

In the second August number of *Der Missionär* we find a second reference. A "second brochure about the demonic manifestations in our house in Rome appeared again in Munich and again without or knowing about it" (MI 16, 1887). Lüthen then published a 16-page brochure of his own: "A Devil's Possession and an Exorcism of Our Time. By Bonaven-

tura Lüthen, Priest of the Catholic Teaching Society with a facsimile of Lucifer, Rome: 1887, Catholic Teaching Society Publishing House."*

Jordan himself wrote of the event only to the two Neuwerk sisters: "The fight with the devilish spirits was reported twice. It was to the advantage of the Society" (letter, February 20, 1887). Further traces of this fight have been left to us in the corresponding pages of the *Rituale Romanum*, stained by Jordan's sweaty hands. We may suppose Jordan was alluding to the same event in writing to the sisters: "A short time ago, the dear Mother of God miraculously healed one of our people, who had been suffering for eight to nine months" (letter, April 13, 1887). In 1890, when Frater Felix could relax in Tivoli for a month together with two confreres, Mother Mary noted: "From January 19 to February 19, three venerable brothers from Rome lodged here to recover (among them Br. Felix. When one gets to know this good, simple brother one believes even more in the possession he suffered by the devil in 1887)." (MMChr)

Bucher had a corresponding physical and nervous disposition, which would also show up clearly in his later life. Lüthen judged him to be a "truly natural character," "*ein naturkind*." Felix recalled this characterization his whole life with pride. He was convinced that he had been misused by the Evil One. The physical efforts and nervous strains which the poor brother had endured for hours, transcended all human measure.

1.3/8. General studies. Jordan was fully occupied not only with the search for daily bread, but also by the need to provide quality humanistic

* On the occasion of a reported exorcism in the Capuchin Monastery of Wending, Lüthen writes in a footnote:

A short time ago, *Köln. Zeitung, Augsburger Abendzeitung* (and surely some of their other dependent papers) published a mutilated report of events based on demonic influence, which five years ago shook our house. When such newspapers make fun of the "superstition" of priests, who by means of ecclesiastical exorcism expel the devils, this is very shameful. Did the *Köln. Zeitung* have a mutilated report of those events at its disposal? Unfortunately in that time some have appeared without our permission

Lüthen promises one day to publish in a brochure, a "complete report" of those events (MI 12, 1892).

training. For academics he sent his young religious to the Gregorian. For younger pupils he erected a kind of secondary school in the house itself. In doing so, the applicants' differing educational levels added to the difficulties. At first Jordan made a rough arrangement of two Italian- and three German-language groups. Non-linguistic subjects were taught by scholastics talented in those areas. They also took over repetition lessons (*repetizioni*) in use at that time. For language teachers, Jordan engaged Frs. Ruta and Kornstreuer (in addition to Professor Karl von Brentano). The language lessons increased with the number of classes and were given in groups according to the readiness of the pupils.

When Jordan decided to dismiss Ruta, the latter defended himself in his distress (probably through Professor Giovanni Santoro with whom he was on good terms and who was well disposed towards him) and turned to the Cardinal Vicar for help. Jordan and Lüthen were astonished, when one day in the first half of March, 1887, this Professor Santoro appeared and explained to them that by order of the Cardinal Vicar he had to conduct a school inspection in both sections. Jordan at once understood what it was all about and declared freely: "Whatever the result of Ruta's examination will be, I am firmly determined to dismiss him for numerous reasons." In his report to the Cardinal Vicar, Santoro underlined especially this utterance of Jordan's. The professor asked Jordan to assist in his school investigations. The result was fully satisfactory, particularly in the classes of the "poor priest" Ruta. Consequently, Santoro declared "without any further ado quite frankly to the superior, that the priest Ruta, who would hardly be able to find an equivalent place, was to be retained worthy and dear. Jordan, it is right to say the truth, made no remarks, and from that moment I found him completely (*in tutto e tutto*) changed."

Of course, Professor Santoro was not satisfied with saving Don Ruta's place as teacher. Proud of the mandate entrusted to him by the Cardinal Vicar, "for which he would remain obliged to him his whole life," he wanted to fulfill it thoroughly. In various follow up visits he tried as well as he could to help Jordan solve what he saw as the most urgent problems.

There was, first of all, the fundamental revision of the plan of instruction itself. Santoro's impression was that the 33 Italian pupils,

being much younger, showed themselves much livelier than the 19 in the German group who were older, more serious and focused. Regarding the teachers, "especially Professor Ruta," in his report he could not but praise their capability and zeal in their teaching and educating.

What seemed to him to need improvement was the overly vague plan of instruction. Nor did he like the two divisions being instructed separately from the beginning. He thought they should be invited to compete with one another in knowledge and virtue. Santoro presented an exact schedule, increasing the weekly language lessons visibly, and leaving separate instructions only for the first grade. Starting with the second grade, lessons were in common. His language schedule extended to five grades, similar to the Roman schools. This plan certainly followed a humanistic model. But it seems to have required too much, especially from the Italian pupils, so that later everything had to be reduced again to a practical middle course.

Until then Jordan had paid attention to the individual levels of education and let them be taught in smaller groups. Students could also study in their bedrooms, three or four together. Santoro saw this as, "possibly endangering necessary control, health and discipline, study and piety." Therefore, he requested the designation of a common study room (with frosted glass at the windows) to which Jordan agreed immediately. He also criticized the fact that due to lack of space one group was instructed in a bedroom, but the superior had already abolished that the day before. The circumspect inspector did not omit to control the bathrooms and bedrooms. He wished that as soon as possible new rooms be prepared to allow more space between the beds. "I am sure this will be done soon, if it has not been done already."

It is not recorded for how long afterwards Don Ruta kept his post. He himself certainly tried to get an equivalent place elsewhere. There is no hint in Santoro's report whether Ruta was unsatisfied with Jordan's method in regard to the school and whether this is what caused the tensions. At any rate, Santoro had achieved his main goal: preserving Don Ruta's endangered post. In a written examination, Santoro gave his Italian pupils a theme fully directed to that. He was convinced his other proposals met fully with Jordan's wishes, although they did nothing to remove the burden from Jordan's poor shoulders. However, Jordan had

gathered enough experience by then to know that in the case of church authorities, Divine Providence usually acted more as a brake than as an accelerator. At any rate, Santoro could not but praise Jordan's as well as Lüthen's cooperation and peaceful behavior. He concluded his report to the Cardinal Vicar with the wish that God may heap benefits on this young Institute (*nascente Istituto*). (TVU nr. 2369)*

1.4/9. De Waal, Msgr. Anton, working in the shadow of the academic, Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894), felt fully and wholeheartedly bound to Christian archeology. This apologetic task was his whole life. He sought and found decisive help in the Roman Institute for historical studies which he co-founded in Rome in 1884, and whose offices moved to Campo Santo in 1899. This Institute was started by George Baron von Hertling (1843-1919), founder of the Görres Society (1876) and its president until his death.

For a long time de Waal had planned to edit an academic journal on church history with an "apologetic" thrust. By November 1, 1881, he discussed the topic with Fr. Heinrich Denifle, O.P. (1844-1905). Only on June 27 and 30, 1884, could further consultation take place. Most notable among the members who participated were Franz Ehrle, S.J. (1845-1934), and Franz Hergenröther (1847-1930), the brother of Joseph Cardinal Hergenröther, as well as the highly esteemed Stephan Ehses (1855-1926), who since 1895 also directed the Roman Institute of the Görres Society.

The resolution was made to found a Roman periodical under the editorship of Herder Publishing House. Some academics, however, were afraid of the competition from already existing periodicals on church history. The Görres Society was especially fearful for its young historical yearbook, and Frs. Ehrle and Denifle feared for their planned "Archive

* Professor Giovanni Santoro was not unknown to Jordan. Already in 1883, as a teacher of Latin at the Roman Pontifical Seminary, he had worked in the Publishing House of the CTS editing a Latin grammar for school use. In the list of writings edited by the Catholic Teaching Society, advertisements were made for that book until after 1894. Santoro was also a teacher of history at the *Ginnasio Superiore* of the Pontifical Seminary in Rome.

for Literature and Church History in the Middle Ages" (Freiburg: 1885-1900). In addition, Ludwig Pastor (1854-1928) withdrew his collaboration. Anton de Waal's proposed solution was a proposed magazine of Christian archeology.

On February 20, 1887, it was decided to found the "Roman Quarterly for Christian Archeology and Church History." Msgr. de Waal wanted to entrust the edition to the nearby and inexpensive printing office of the Catholic Teaching Society. He noted on March 27:

After long and serious discussions the final decision had been made to edit an archeological historical quarterly by the Campo Santo, and the editing contract was made with Fr. Jordan of the Catholic Teaching Society. We have already received some galleys for correction, as well as the circulars for the co-operators and the press. De Rossi will give us a contribution in the first number which shall appear on May 1st. May God give us His blessing! (CS, 81 100).

On May 13, he had the "first finished copies in hand." The first edition numbered 250 copies; the annual volume was set at 400 pages. The magazine had a fast growth, especially when Johann Peter Kirsch (1861-1941), in residence at the Campo Santo from 1884 to 1890 and Director of the Roman Institute of the Görres Society from 1888-1890, became a responsible cooperator. During World War I the magazine had to be discontinued, while already from 1906 on, Herder had taken over the printing and editing.

For Jordan, the publication was distinguished and carried the name of his Society into the Catholic world of academics more than his *Academia Litterarum*. Nevertheless, Jordan had offered to cooperate only after concluding a secure and businesslike contact with de Waal. The latter remained sincerely connected with Jordan's work, but also gained from the relationship significant advantages for the Campo Santo itself. Jordan was ready to offer any help the Director of the Campo Santo needed as the recognized leader of the "German Colony" in Rome. However, he was no less careful in safeguarding his independence from the numerous plans of the good Monsignor. When de Waal tried to convince him to buy a house in Sabina (Jordan was looking for a place where his young people could recreate in the summer holidays) he declined (July

15, 1887). But he gladly accepted the invitation of the two directors of Campo Santo and Anima, together with Msgr. Jacquemin's to join the committee founded in 1887 to prepare for the jubilee of Leo XIII.

New Years Day 1888, the Campo Santo thanksgiving celebration of the pope's golden jubilee of ordination "was executed very solemnly through Jordan and his Society" (CS Chr). Msgr. de Waal loved splendid divine services and was glad he could employ the capable choir of the Jordanists. Jordan was ever ready to help in Campo Santo services, also because the over-zealous rector was often enough let down by his chaplains "due to their studies." On the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul 1888, de Waal introduced in the Campo Santo the "13-hour prayer for Church unity: from 10:00-12:00 the Catholic Teaching Society had its hour . . . At 6:00 p.m. the Catholic Teaching Society came again" (CS Chr). It soon became a tradition that the CTS choir sang the liturgies of Good Friday and Corpus Christi.

1.5/10. Motherhouse chapel. On January 28, 1887, Jordan petitioned for permission to erect stations of the cross in the chapel. This the Cardinal Vicar guaranteed according to the Franciscan privileges (A-26). By March 11, 1888, after the move down to the second floor of Palazzo Morone, Jordan again asked for permission to erect a *Via Crucis* in the house chapel (A-29). December 31, 1888, he won permission to instate solemn vespers and Eucharistic benedictions, at present "for one year" (A-35). On January 25, 1889, permission to erect a third altar was granted (A-36). In regard to the decoration of the chapel, Jordan found a circle of benefactors led by Mrs. Josepha Reisinger. By late fall 1887, this circle donated a statute of the Mater Dolorosa (1.40 m. high). It was a true "reproduction of the picture of the *Mater Dolorosa* in the Herzog Hospital in Munich" which had been venerated there since 1651.

From December 8, 1887, the statue from Munich was enriched with precious gifts, beautiful vestments and a crown, and it was set up in the motherhouse parlor where the community members passed several times each day, taking to heart the word: "you shall not forget the pains of your Mother" (MI 22, 1887). The statue adorned afterwards the third altar, while the second altar boasted a large statue of the Sacred Heart. The Mass vestments (there were already four priests) were provided by

the superior of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in Haidhausen near Munich. She knew and respected Frs. Lüthen and Weigang and sent among other things three sets of vestments (cf., letter, April 17, 1887, E-41).

In July 1888, *Der Missionär* described to its readers the "tributes to pious zeal in our house chapel." Thanks were given to the donors for altar, monstrance, silver lamp, ciborium and liturgical vestments. It mentioned three beautiful oil paintings behind the main altar. The one in the middle shows the Society under the protection of its patron saints, the others represent the hearts of Jesus and Mary (picture in AK 1891). Further, in the chapel there is a statue of the Sacred Heart, a Lourdes grotto, and a niche of St. Joseph. One altar carries "the reproduction of the *Mater Dolorosa* from the Herzog Hospital in Munich and a large crucifix" (MI 13, 1888).

A black and white print of the painting of the patron saints was published in *Apostelkalender* (AK 1888; cf., PPP, 177). Above there is Mary with Child, and the Holy Spirit above them. On the left and right sides are St. Michael and St. Joseph, then the apostles in two groups. Below is represented the activity of the CTS in three scenes,

... which show the desired reality of our Society: on the left a preacher in Europe proclaiming the Word of God to the edification of the faithful and conversion of sinners; in the middle an African landscape, where blacks are received into the Holy Church; on the right side a group of Chinese gathered around a catechist teaching a boy the holy religion in the Chinese language. These scenes express the Society's desire to help proclaim the Word of God to all peoples in the world (AK 1888).*

It should be noted here that liturgical control in Rome was very strict in every regard—hearing confessions, the liturgical calendar, the erection of a house chapel with the Blessed Sacrament, etc. The intention was to prevent wild growth. Jordan was very conscientious in this regard, but also quite informal and hasty. In his correspondence he mostly used just a sheet of paper without a printed letterhead. The Cardinal Vicar and the

* Again today the large Crucifix and *Mater Dolorosa* adorn the altar of the chapel in our Motherhouse. The main altar painting appears as front piece as early as in the Rule of 1888 (E-1202).

Bishop of Tivoli answered at once in an equally informal way, but always personally.

Apart from the above mentioned privileges, we still have quite a number of licenses. On March 11, 1888, Jordan asks for a dispensation from fasting for his whole community. The Cardinal Vicar granted it, "according to the prudent discretion of the petitioner" (A-29). June 13, 1889, he asks that all priests of the CTS have faculties of members as often as they make retreats in the mission house of the Lazarists. That day Jordan receives dispensation from the incompleteness of the *litterae testimoniales* of four candidates (A-40). December 13, 1889, the Cardinal Vicar extends Fr. Otto's faculties for hearing confessions, although he had not yet taken his third examination (A-44). In a similar conscientious way the Bishop of Tivoli is asked to permit confessions for the vacation houses: on May 24, 1888, for Sambuci (A-37); on July 13, for Tivoli where the students had moved on July 8 with Lüthen and Hopfenmüller (A-41; cf., MMChr). Even the minister of the Franciscan Convent in Sambuci is asked whether the community could celebrate High Masses in their church (May 29, 1889, A-38). When in October 1889, Jordan asks to renew faculties for Lüthen and Weigang, he limits the application to cover members and co-operators in the house as well as to male persons occasionally coming for confession. Furthermore, Jordan asks for his two priests to be allowed to hear confessions of sick members even not in danger of death in each room of the house. "Jourdan" receives the answer, "*da riferirsi all'Em. al suo ritorno a Roma,*" (October 11, 1889).

In the end he receives permission for both requests for one year with the admonition in regard to point 3 that in case of illness the parish priest be informed, and that all items be considered in regard to the law (November 13, 1889, TVU, Prot. 2.605). These examples show that the Cardinal Vicariate gave strict rather than generous permissions, which was certainly troublesome for both sides.

1.6/11. Von Wüllenweber was in the meantime someone Jordan knew he could rely on completely. By the Feast of the Assumption of Mary 1888, when he had assured the two sisters at Neuwerk that a sisters foundation could be realized soon, Therese answered at once: "great joy pervaded my soul that I, in spite of my unworthiness, shall still reach monastic life;

maybe even to do still much, and in spite of all quailing one trusts: Mary helps!" She had reported that on the Feast of the Mother of God she had made a pilgrimage with Neuwerk Parish to Kevelaer to present their common concern to the Mother of God. She then had seen Mary's assurance in the fact that Jordan had given her new hope:

At the same time may our Venerable Father soon accept this new cross: Mary will help us and repay! In the deep quietness here I will also pray more and prepare myself. Sr. Ursula, too, likes coming to Rome. You do know the two of us, Venerable Father. What more shall I say? (ASDS).

Jordan had asked her to look for some apt girls to accompany her to Rome. But in this regard Therese could not report any success. Reviewing her narrow circle of acquaintances at that time, she could recommend none as really fit. Even the pious Ursula Rabis was bound more to the work found with the Baroness than to religious life in the strict sense. Nevertheless, Jordan omitted no occasion to bind the Baroness and Miss Rabis ever more closely to himself and to his work. (The two were still living in a free relation as spiritual sisters within the Catholic Teaching Society.) Again and again he felt urged to encourage them to accept patiently the delays and vexing waiting as the will of God. At the same time, Jordan worked with tenacity and perseverance to prepare the ecclesiastical ways for the sisters foundation, without which an essential part of his apostolic work would be missing (cf., DSS XIV, 495, 695).

From Jordan's Easter letter to Neuwerk of April 13, 1887, we can see a certain disillusion that new difficulties were blocking the way. He had planned the female foundation in Rome, the heart of Catholicism, but now was forced to temporize for the sake of the foundation:

Passiontide and Holy Week, is not yet finished for us, because, sorry to say, I can not yet give you a definite answer regarding the sisters I shall found here or, if God wills, somewhere else (ASDS).

The Baroness suffered personally under the fact that Jordan's efforts at a foundation of sisters met with such resistance from church circles. This also left her own wishes for truly monastic ties unfulfilled and sorely tried her patience. Jordan asked her to take part in his own prayers and sufferings for the sisters' foundation. "Rejoice in suffering

and be sure that I suffer with you, God bless and console you. Just work together with the Society and pray much . . . In fatherly love, Yours, P. Fr. v. C." (NB: the letter is directed to both "sisters" but in regard to contents is directed especially to the Baroness, ASDS).

In a May 19, 1887 letter, Jordan admonishes the two women again: "patience and much prayer." He expresses his hope the Society would, "with the grace of God make such progress that the sisters undertaking will also advance well" (cf., letter, June 21, 1887, ASDS).

1.7/12. Koch, Hermann Joseph, was born in 1835 in Cologne. He studied at the Marzellen Gymnasium and then at the University of Bonn. After successfully concluding his philosophical and theological studies he spent his seminary years in Cologne and was ordained on September 1, 1858. At first he was a chaplain 14 years at St. Remigius' in Bonn. As such he took part in founding the Education Institute, Josefshöhe, a secondary boarding school. Then he worked 13 years with great zeal as pastor in Beyenburg, Wuppertal.

September 11, 1886, he was entrusted with parish administration in Neuwerk, where he arrived on October 26, 1886. On November 30, 1888, he was named pastor. By January 26, 1891, Koch had transferred to Siegburg. This very active priest was soon plagued by a chronic illness, which degenerated into a "deadly languishing." Father Koch went his *via crucis* with patience and trust in God. He died on May 20, 1897.

After the death of the good Fr. Ludwig von Essen, for some months Therese von Wüllenweber had relied on herself in regard to the Barbarastift. In her diary she asks herself with a certain anxiety: "And his successor!!!" The new pastor arrived in Neuwerk in the late fall. The reputation of being "a very devout and zealous priest" who has already "worked well and much," preceded him (MMChr). Already on October 30, Koch, who was just two years younger than the Baroness and already a priest for 28 years, paid her a visit. He asked her to take over the religious instruction in preparation for First Communion, to which Therese agreed quite willingly. However, during that time it was a great spiritual help to her that the connection with Jordan was not interrupted.

Fr. Koch never felt quite at home in Neuwerk. Already after one year he asked the archbishop to transfer him. In his application he

described his former activities. As president of the Catholic Union in Bonn he had co-founded the "Institute for Boys," *St. Joseph an der Höhe*, which now was in full bloom. In Beyenburg he had suffered much also materially under the *Sperrgesetz* (Laws of Exclusion) being compelled to live in a miserable rented apartment; his successful efforts there against the Simultane-school had been very wearying. Now at age 51, he no longer felt up to such a large parish as Neuwerk. The parish was poor, consisting mostly of factory workers. A younger and stronger pastor was needed here also because there was no hope to get an assistant. But the archbishop was deaf to the pastor's request. On the contrary, he put the petition aside on December 1, 1887, and on November 30, 1888, sent Koch his nomination as pastor (AAa).

1.8/13. Barbarastift (I). Fr. Koch was a socially orientated priest, who at each of his pastoral assignments had carried out great plans. So it is not surprising that he soon considered whether the underutilized space in the Barbarastift could not be used as a hospital for sick parishioners. Already his predecessor von Essen had raised this question.

Koch had already consulted the Franciscan Sisters of Heydhuizen, who were active in M. Gladbach. Towards the Baroness he justified his plan, because Jordan "would not be able to send sisters" (MMChr, March 18, 1887). Koch had also sought the archbishop's agreement. On June 2, 1887, the pastor handed his plans to the Baroness for examination. He assured her that his plans to rent the Barbarastift as a hospital would also be best for the Catholic Teaching Society. At first, Therese was at a loss and insecure. But she did not let any mistrust arise. As always in such unforeseeable situations, she trusted that the Lord would arrange everything for the best:

May His holy zeal and His humility be a blessing. May this foundation, begun in obedience to the Holy Church serve the honor of God, the salvation of souls, and the ultimate flourishing of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society" (MMChr, June 2, 1887).

"Finally" means here that the beneficial flourishing of the foundation of the sisters was, according to her, overdue. At any rate, she now laid out the plan to Jordan, who until then had not been taken into confidence by

Fr. Koch. At the same time she sent him, rather early, best wishes for his names-day. In a letter of June 21, 1887, Jordan thanked her for her good wishes. It is quite understandable that Jordan showed "surprise" to hear of Koch's plan. The baroness' explanation remained,

. . . up till now a puzzle. I do not know anything about all that; neither have I received any documents from the Reverend Pastor. Please, give me more precise information as soon as possible. What has happened? Pray in the meantime with zeal and trust in God! (ASDS).

Therese did not comply with Jordan's justified wish. She probably wanted to become better acquainted with Koch's plans, as these also touched on her own future. On July 31, 1887, the pastor also spoke during a meeting about the convent which would "soon be again a hospital." Therese noted expressly that the pastor had done so "with acknowledgment." She probably informed Jordan also in this regard, but this information seems to have been lost.

On August 22, 1887, after the usual August pilgrimage to Kevelaer, Pastor Koch used the opportunity to speak again with the baroness about his plans. Therese concluded from this discussion that Koch intended to execute everything in accordance with the Catholic Teaching Society. She passed her impressions on to Jordan. Now, grown worried, he ordered the Baroness on August 29, 1887, to inform him at once and in detail on what was happening in Neuwerk. Therese, however, could not find the courage to get further information from the pastor.

By June 8, 1887, Koch had received a letter from Sr. Florentine, superior of the Catholic hospital *Maria Hilf* in M. Gladbach, in which she promised him to use all her influence in Heydhuizen to get sisters from there. For the beginning four sisters would be sufficient (for kitchen, patients, sewing-school and orphans, *Bewahrschule* and night-watch). The clever sister also sketched an exact plan of the necessary rooms and their furnishings. She concluded with the wish that the powerful Heart of Jesus "direct the doubts and the will of man, so that very soon to His highest honor out from the monastic stillness of that place his praise may ring out as happened in earlier times" (ANk).

On July 20, 1887, Koch handed his petition to the Archepiscopal Vicariate General. He described the necessity of a hospital for

... over 5,000 souls. Three quarters of the parishioners are industrial workers. Hundreds go daily to the factory in M. Gladbach. The population is poor throughout, the lodging situation is extremely limited, and therefore the care for the sick is very inadequate.

Then Koch describes the spacious rooms of the monastery building (eight windows at the front), the garden belonging to it, and the three sheds which could be used as farm buildings.

The proprietress is Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber, member of the Catholic Teaching Society, a lady living alone in the house together with another sister of the Teaching Society, and one orphan; most of the rooms of the large house are unused. Baroness von Wüllenweber had through legal act of September 6, 1882, transferred this propriety of hers under conditions as a donation to the members of the said Teaching Society, the mission priest Friedrich von Leonhardi, Johann Baptist Jordan, Bernhard Lüthen. The Catholic "Teaching Society" probably wants *suppositis supponendis* to found a hospital here and has, indeed, run an ambulant nursery for a short time, but the undertaking did not last. Most conscientious investigations of mine as well as inspections into the acts and many other documents have persuaded me that for years to come there is no hope for an effective ecclesiastic regulation of the female branch of the said Congregation, even more so, as the earlier Reverend Archbishop Paulus Melchers through the Reverend Dean, Father Wiedemann at Odenkirchen under February 12, 1885, noted to Baroness von Wüllenweber, at present is not in the position to grant the requested permission (A Aa, of A 540/43).

The pastor asks permission to negotiate a 10-year lease (Ank). The next day Koch also revealed his plans to his confidant, Canon K. Dumont:*

* Carl Theodor Dumont was born June 21, 1827 in Flamersheim and educated by good Catholic parents. He made his studies at the gymnasium in Münster-eifel, at the University of Bonn and in the diocesan seminary of Cologne. On September 2, 1852, Dumont was ordained priest. His archbishop, Cardinal Johann von Geissel, appointed him already on April 15, 1853, as his private secretary. On July 7, 1857, he was nominated apostolic notary. The exemplary priest was invested with important offices in the administration of the diocese. Since September 24, 1863, he was assessor at the Archdiocesan Ordinariate and

As Baroness von Wüllenweber told me, Your Reverence knows the earlier situation of the so called Barbarastift. Apart from the lady and one "sister" of the Teaching Society, only one orphan and no one else is lodging there. After most careful inspection into everything and after consulting prudent and benevolent men, I am convinced that the *Stift* in the until now desired form has no prospect for a future.

If it continues like this, after the death of the Baroness the building, which seems to be ready-made for a hospital, will be sold by the "Teaching Society" to whoever makes the best bid, and then we shall have some factory or brewery very near the church (AAa).

1.9/14. Begging trip of 1887. In April, Weigang was again on a fund raising trip. He took the route through Southern Germany, through Oberschwaben and Silesia into his Polish homeland. Jordan sent his letters to Neisse on April 28. On July 11, Fr. Thomas returned to Rome. The next day Jordan departed. He was absent from Rome until either August 17 or 23. Jordan's journey left no sure traces. According to oral tradition he made his way via Vienna to look for possibilities of an establishment. He was also in Munich. Kastner had received a letter from Jordan on August 14.

At the beginning of July, the great benefactress from Munich, Mrs. Josephine Reisinger invited Jordan there. We may suppose he also visited Dr. Hopfenmüller in Süßling, and that he contacted the female candidates from the Bamberg region. He probably made his way back through his homeland, Baden. Mother Notburga was now 65. Back from his summer journey, he seems to have suddenly met with difficulties in regard to necessary pastoral faculties.

By then he had been a priest for nine years and still belonged to his home diocese, which had released him for his work. In the personnel directory of the Archdiocese of Freiburg of 1887 he was listed: "Jordan, Johann Baptist, in a foreign country (Rome) 131." Under the rubric "Priests not used in the service of the church," Jordan was listed among

Vicar General. As such, Pastor Koch asked him for advice and help. He died on October 13, 1898, when preparing to celebrate Mass. He had served three bishops faithfully and conscientiously.

"Priests in various public or private positions." "Jordan, Johann Baptist, Superior of the Apostolic Teaching Society in Rome, born Gurtweil, June 16, 1848, priest July 21, 1878" (131). Apparently, the Society's change of the names had not yet been registered in his home diocese.

Jordan was reminded, probably by the Cardinal Vicariate, that he had to present a pastoral attestation of his bishop. So he wrote the responsible priest in Freiburg:

I ask your Reverence for a favor, if possible to get me an attestation at the Reverend Ordinariate, with which I can get faculties. As your Reverence knows, I was ordained at the time of the *Kulturkampf*, and therefore, got neither the corresponding attestations nor the faculties (August 26, 1887).

The answer came at once:

We testify that Reverend John Baptist Jordan, priest of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, ordained on July 21, 1878, has been rightly examined by us for the exercise of the care of souls in the manner it is used in our diocese . . . We would have given him the approbation and jurisdiction if he had stayed in our archdiocese. Therefore, we recommend the above priest and ask that jurisdiction may be entrusted to him. On the mandate of the Most Reverend Archbishop, R. Behrle (C-64).*

Archbishop Johannes Christian Roos** gave the requested recommendation straight away without any limitation. It is not proved that Jordan had made a pastoral exam, certainly not under Archbishop Roos. He had only state permission for pastoral work in the Grand Dukedom of Baden issued February 15, 1881 (C-63).

* Rudolf Behrle (Herbolzheim, April 17, 1826-1902, November 18, Freiburg) was ordained a priest in Saint Peter near Freiburg on August 20, 1851. From 1872 to 1882, when Jordan was still a student of theology, he was already pastor of the cathedral. As *Domkapitular* since 1872, he was responsible for Jordan's request.

** John Christian Roos was born Camp, Limburg, April 28, 1828, and elected bishop on March 27, 1885. When Leo XIII agreed with Bismarck on a successor to the late Archbishop John Baptist Orbin (1806-1886), Bishop Roos was transferred to the metropolitan see of the Upper Rhine ecclesiastical province.

1.10/15. Petition. In a petition to the Prince-Archepiscopal Ordinariate in Vienna of August 1, 1887, the "Superior of the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome" did not indicate the town from which he wrote. After briefly presenting his foundation and pointing to the growing congestion in the Motherhouse in Rome, he continues:

Accompanied by the blessing of His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar, the undersigned has decided to found a new establishment and now intends, with the most gracious consent of the Most Reverend Prince-Archepiscopal Ordinariate and with the high agreement of the state to erect an establishment in Vienna or in one of its suburbs. For a start the foundation should occupy itself especially with the formation of its own people (scholasticate and novitiate), with the propagation of good periodicals, and some supply work. Note, however, that the Society would later dedicate more time to pastoral supply work. Generally, the Society excludes no priestly or charitable activity (for neglected youths) in its program. In regard to sustenance, note that the membership, oblates and novices, must pay the whole pension or a part of it according to their possibility, up to their profession. Furthermore, the good periodicals published in German by the Society (about 30,000 subscribers) represent a capital of about 100,000 Florens. There is also quite a number of co-operators aggregated, who have to pay their yearly contributions. The Society has its own printing office in Rome for good publications, and over 50 volumes of books, periodicals and brochures have been published by it or printed in its own printing office. . .

Most obedient petitioner,

Fr. Jordan, Superior of the Catholic Teaching Society
Rome, Borgo Vecchio 165! (AW, 5460).

The petition reflected briefly and soberly the prevailing situation of the Catholic Teaching Society and Jordan's further plans. He was not at all a man sailing on apostolic clouds. He knew what he wanted. In the same way as he, obedient to his vocation and unlike some know-it-all, knew had to begin in Rome, the heart of Catholicism, so he now felt urged to plant offshoots in promising places. Here, too, he preferred big cities to provincial backwaters, as he once noted later: "Possibly cities, cities with many Masses for the Lord" (Agenda 1894, G-2.8).

On August 17, the Vienna Ordinariate answered Jordan's petition. It points out the timeliness of his work and welcomes his intention to found an establishment in Vienna or in its suburb. It concludes:

Considering the religious needs of the capital and residential see of Catholic Austria, the Prince Archbishop Ordinariate hopes Reverend Rector Jordan may succeed in obtaining the consent of the superior state authorities for the intended foundation and with the help of God may overcome the considerable difficulties which the conditions of our time impose on any new ecclesiastic establishment. From Prince Archbishop Ordinariate in Vienna, August 6, 1887, Ed. Angerer, Vicar General . . .

In an accompanying letter the secretary notes that the Reverend Johannes Jordan's petition was "viewed quite sympathetically" and read by the Prince Archbishop himself,* and that the final sentence mentioning the "considerable difficulties" had been added by the suffragan (C-2). So Jordan had at first to overcome the obstacles of the government.

1.11/16. Hopfenmüller (I), Lorenz, was born on May 29, 1844, in Wiessmain, Upper Franconia. He made his humanistic studies at the "Old High School" in Bamberg. From 1863 to 1866 he stayed in the seminary in Bamberg and was ordained October 6, 1866 by Archbishop Michael von Deinlein (1858-1875). He sent the talented and diligent priest to the University in Würzburg, where he graduated in theology. On October 1, 1867, he assumed the chaplaincy at St. Martin's and was for several years president of the Union of Journeymen. On January 3, 1872, he founded the Bamberg *Volksblatt* becoming its first editor. Lorenz Hopfenmüller was a courageous fighter for the Catholic cause during the *Kulturkampf*. His paper was several times confiscated and he himself imprisoned. In 1876 he was forced to close down the *Volksblatt*. For some time he stayed in Bamberg as chaplain, and on April 9, 1878, he took over pastoral duties at Reichmannsdorf. On January 31, 1882, he became pastor in

* Prince Archbishop Cölestin Josef Ganglbauer, born on August 20, 1817, from August 25, 1843, a Benedictine monk of Kremsmünster, became Archbishop of Vienna in 1881 and on November 10, 1884, cardinal. He died December 14, 1889, (In Memoriam, MI 1, 1890).

Süßling. On September 13, 1887, he said goodbye to Süßling and arrived in Rome on September 14, to join Jordan's foundation, which he had already supported as much as he could. Jordan let him begin his novitiate on September 24, 1887, and take final vows on Pentecost 1888. "Fr. Otto" was 43 years old and had been a priest for 21 years when, after mature consideration, he joined Jordan out of missionary zeal. There were many who could not understand his decision. Above all, the departure from his parish was heart-breaking.

His family educated had been strict. He was a sincere man without guile or dissimulation. The efforts and hardships of his priestly profession could not frighten him. Courageously and tenaciously he dedicated himself to his tasks for the benefit of those entrusted to him. Despite of his eager and courageous press activity, he always found time to relieve the needs of the poor. He lived as simply and severely as possible so as to give away to the poor whatever he could do without. It was his concern systematically to alleviate poverty in his homeland. In order to remedy the begging, above all of the children, he founded voluntary unions to help the poor. He was not even afraid of incurring debts to establish a shop for basket makers. Dr. Hopfenmüller had strong nerves, which was a great help to him in confrontations with the political forces hostile to the church. In his curriculum vitae, which he wrote in joining the Society, he mentioned this point in detail:

In 1877, I was sentenced to 3-month confinement in a fortress by the jury court in Bayreuth on lese-majesty. While serving this sentence in Passau I received a new accusation for an offense against Prince Bismarck, which also led to a sentence by the jury-court of Bayreuth. The punishment was five years in prison, which I served in a prison cell in Nürnberg . . . (September 14, 1887).

It is a pity that Hopfenmüller's health was not as good. Already as a chaplain at St. Martin's, he sometimes suffered from throat and lung illnesses. Many blamed this disease on his rigors and penances without which he could not imagine fruitful priestly activity.

After his mother's death on January 1, 1887, Fr. Hopfenmüller at last saw his way free to enter a mission order. This had been his great desire for a long time. On January 3, he turned to Lüthen to get to know

more about Jordan's foundation (He had already made contact with the Trappist Abbot Franz Pfanner, Marianhill). Jordan invited him immediately to join his work. On January 24, Hopfenmüller answered that he had decided for Jordan's work, because becoming a missionary Trappist might have corresponded too much with his personal wish, while entering the Catholic Teaching Society he left everything more or less to the will of God. Neither did he conceal from Jordan that he would have to meet with difficulties from his parishioners, his confreres and friends. Above all, his bishop did not want to let him go, as he still lacked priests. Hopfenmüller took this latter obstacle very seriously due to his deep ecclesiastic obedience. However, his archbishop, Friedrich von Schreiber (1875-1890), released him beginning mid August, because at that time he would again have new priests (cf., PPP, 166ff). For Jordan this meant a special favor of Divine Providence, that such a generous priest joined his apostolic work in the first hard Roman years.

1.12/17. CTS promotional brochure, "The Catholic Teaching Society (*Societas Catholica Instructiva*) by one of its Members, 1888, edited by the Catholic Teaching Society," was completed by Hopfenmüller already by the end of 1887. It begins with a dense and fervent preface intending to answer the question "What do we want?" He explains:

We want to cooperate so the Lord Jesus Christ's mandate to go out, teach all peoples and baptize them be fulfilled in our time and in the future. The fire Jesus brought to the earth and which he wants to burn, we want to help kindle in the hearts of all people. As servants and apostles of Christ we want to offer true happiness and eternal life to the entire world.

In a holy union with existing religious orders and congregations the Society wants,

. . . to work for the great aim we ask for in the Lord's Prayer: "Hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come" to us, "for this is eternal life to know You, the Father, and the One whom You have sent, Jesus Christ." But He cannot be recognized unless He is proclaimed. The threefold God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we want to manifest to the world as modest cooperators of the doctrine of the church.

Hopfenmüller presents briefly "How far have we come?" He introduces the "House of Divine Providence" (4 priests, and some 120 to 130 clerics and some brothers) as well as the Press of the Catholic Teaching Society. Then Fr. Otto mentions the various "male and female cooperators of the Catholic Teaching Society as well as the "Angels' League."

There follow the judgements of church authorities in regard to Jordan's work. Then the patrons are presented: "Mary, Queen of the Apostles, Archangel Michael, St. Joseph foster father, and all apostles and evangelists." Then Fr. Otto clarifies "Who do we need for our religious Society" and concludes with a chapter "How can all Christians help us?" He emphasizes: "it is easy and beneficial for everybody to join our cooperators, men and women, and thus to participate in the works, the merits and blessings of the entire Society." Then follows the request to the clergy to lead the "Angels' League," something for which they were competent, because it is a union approved by the church, and to appeal to everyone to become a sponsor. He counts "especially on the help of the German-speaking nations" and concludes: "So, brothers and sisters, never tire in doing good!" (AGS 304.4; cf., DSS IV, 103-113).

To the publicity brochure sent above all to the clergy, Hopfenmüller added a promotional letter (March 1, 1888, E-138). Already in its last December number 1887, *Der Missionär* announced Fr. Otto's piece. "'The Catholic Teaching Society': this is the latest newly edited brochure about our work, to be had gratis." Fr. Otto's brochure soon appeared also in Czech (translated by Fr. Jan Grouchet and sent together with a publicity paper to the clergy, DSS IV, 169-188).

By late autumn 1888, Hopfenmüller had edited his brochure in a new form: "The Catholic Teaching Society, its Purpose and Development, by Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller, Doctor of Theology 1888." The chapter "What we want" he took over without essential changes. He added, however, how the Society differs from other orders: it "did not exclude any activity" to save souls. "We want to serve the Gospel of Jesus Christ and thus contribute to the happiness of the world with all possible means." Then Fr. Otto adds a well polished chapter "Why a New Congregation?" Here he writes, "What is new is always looked at with a certain mistrust both by the church authorities and by the faithful." He himself had had the same experience. Thus:

My own first question, when I met with our Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen here in Rome the first time, was this: "Why do you want to found an Order of your own? Do we not already have many religious orders? Why do you not join one of them?" The answer was "Because I think it is the will of God, and God has inspired this idea in the Founder. What has begun with much prayer and is continued under many struggles and difficulties bears the mark of divine origin."

Fr. Otto says about himself, that he intended to dedicate himself to the mission work of the Society; he brings the vivid comparison:

The church is not a rigid corpse, but a living tree which puts forth ever new branches, leaves and blossoms. In every age the Spirit of God has created and called forth persons useful and necessary to execute the divine plan and to heal current evils.

A long chapter then describes how the Society came to exist. It presents a short curriculum vitae of the Founder, even "if his personal modesty is offended with it." It reports in detail on Jordan's stay in the Holy Land, so that we must suppose he had asked Jordan to let him read his travel report of that time. Fr. Otto even presents the diploma from Ain Warqa in facsimile and the corresponding translation. A further chapter describes "How has the Catholic Teaching Society developed?"

These two chapters remained central for the history of the Society, as it was passed on in the novitiate. The chapter on the structure of the Society mentioned the Second Order, although this was just before its realization. Also the Third Order is mentioned, whose members lead as perfect a life as possible in the world. As further groups he presented the "*Kath. Gelehrtenbund*" the "cooperators, and the Angels' League." In regard to the cooperators, Hopfenmüller mentioned their yearly contribution, the *Muttergottes-Pfenning*, and *Der Missionär* as the magazine of the cooperators and sponsors who receive a proper diploma for this "worthy, self-sacrificing and toilsome work."

Then follow the judgements of ecclesiastic dignitaries, and explanations about fitness for this vocation. Here are also members for "our Second Order" for which Fr. Otto had listed the first candidates, above all his own sister, who had run his household while he was still a

pastor. In the final chapter "How can we be helped?" he makes a special push for sponsors to oversee the groups of male and female co-operators.

To be a sponsor of the Angles' League in a parish, there is always required the consent of the pastor, because the Angels' League is an ecclesiastical congregation, which must have a priest as president (AGS 304.5; cf., DSS IV, 123-166; a reprint was published in AK 1891).

Already on September 17, 1888, Hopfenmüller had sent the appeal "The Catholic Teaching Society" to the editors of Catholic periodicals with the request to publish it in their papers (E-145). In January, 1889, a second edition of the brochure appeared almost unchanged. Only the facsimile of the Arabic diploma is left off, and regarding the Second Order adds:

The Motherhouse is in Tivoli near Rome. The climate there is healthier than in Rome because of its higher elevation. Sr. Superior is German, Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber, with her religious name Mary of the Holy Apostles" (AGS 304.6; cf., DSS IV, 197-234).

In fall 1889, advertisements in Italian and Hungarian leaflets were also sent to the clergy (E- 150, 151, 153). That fall and for Christmas, Jordan sent his promotional letters to the German-speaking cooperators.

1.13/18. Barbarastift (II). The Baroness living at Barbarastift assured Jordan of her loyalty. In a letter of September 6, 1887, he answered with a relieved mind.

Although your first letter was rather strange to me, your loyalty has caused me great joy. May God repay it all abundantly and endow you ever more with apostolic zeal and unswerving fidelity for our holy cause. Let us truly persevere in the good, wherever opposition may be from, for the honor of God everywhere. May God also make the female branch of our Society flourish very soon. I am quite conscious that there is still much to do, and what you are at present is not at all what I want you to be, dear Sister. Sadly, I must say it is only half. Until now the reason depended on manifold circumstances, but God will help so that the female congregation will also reach the same perfection which the men's strives for. Pray and be patient. I hope the time will come soon. From our side I can report some good news which will give you joy.

Then Jordan mentions the written permission of the Prince Archepiscopal Ordinariate of Vienna for an establishment there and the offer of the Municipality of Castel Madama to give a contribution for a monastery.

Then he asks the Baroness:

Persevere in suffering united with the Crucified. If you suffer much for the Society, you have already done much, and it will bring blessing for those to come (MMChr, September 14, 1887).

In this letter Jordan describes quite soberly the actual situation. In spite of all prayers and efforts he has not succeeded, after two failed attempts, to found in a third attempt the female branch of his foundation. He speaks quite clearly about the uncertain status of the two "Neuwerk sisters" which could not satisfy anyone involved.*

* Here is a brief review of developments in Neuwerk up to that time, moved from DSS XV.1 95ff to this footnote so as not to disturb the flow of the narrative (cf., DSS XIV, 378ff). The Baroness had been accepted in the Apostolic Teaching Society as sponsor already on April 20, 1882. On September 5, 1882, Fr. von Leonhardi inscribed the Baroness in the First Grade of the Apostolic Teaching Society. Therese joined "at present for one year." She did so in a kind of promise "to obey [Jordan] in whatever is allowed and in the spirit of poverty, as well as holy chastity in the same manner as I did say now" (Act of Acceptance). The Baroness was in fact a member of the Third Order of St. Francis since May 26, 1872, and on June 8, 1873, had made profession in the secular Third Order under the name of Sr. Rosa. In retrospect, Therese valued her promise of September 5, 1882, "as a vow into the hands consecrated" (she meant Jordan's hands, although he was not present: CV III, May 16, 1900). The next day, September 6, Therese donated her part of the monastery buildings (about 20 rooms) in Neuwerk and the three smaller houses *am Markt* to the Apostolic Teaching Society. "I donated my monastery with the three houses to the First Order," she noted at that time.

On May 31, 1883, Therese made purely private vows to Jordan and took the name Theresia of the Apostles. This she did as a member of the CTS but without becoming a member of the Second Order which Jordan had initiated on Easter 1883. She remained in Neuwerk, promoting the Third Grade of the CTS and viewed herself as a free sisters of the CTS. Her companion was Sr. Ursula Rabis, whom Lüthen had transferred from Johannesbrunn on December 6, 1883. In the years to come, this capable woman cared for the household and the three

On September 14, 1887, Therese received not only Jordan's letter of September 6, but at the same time a visit from Archbishop Krementz of Cologne. On that day he administered First Holy Confirmation in Neuwerk and inspected the Barbarastift. Therese of the Apostles explained quite freely to the archbishop that she "as a sister of the Catholic Teaching Society wished that here be founded a charitable institution." The archbishop ended the conversation with the noncommittal wish: "May God, the Lord, give His blessing." Therese interpreted this as more than favorable: "So I reckon on God, that on this Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross a real ecclesiastic foundation stone has been laid here to God's work: God be praised for ever!!!" (MMChr). This event proves that Fr. Koch had not yet received a final answer from the responsible Vicariate, and also that the archbishop did not want to give any assurance to the CTS for laying an "ecclesiastic foundation stone" in Neuwerk.

On September 30, 1887, Koch received from the Archepiscopal Ordinariate the answer that he might first clear the ownership situation and therefore take up contacts with the Catholic Teaching Society (AK, I, nr. 6752). This answer was probably the echo from Cologne after the visit of the archbishop. The Baroness noted the news from Cologne as "good news" (MMChr, October 8, 1887). Koch had now to turn to Jordan. He proposed to him as an interim solution to lease the Barbarastift. Secretly he may have hoped for a donation of the hospital later.

half orphans Theresia had picked up. Since "the integration of the Neuwerk sisters" into the Roman community of Sr. Francisca fell apart, Theresia and Ursula quietly remained in a more purely private way members of the CTS. After the separation of the Roman sisters foundation from their founder, Jordan completely reappraised the two sisters in the Barbarastift. They too immediately recognized their new meaning within the CTS and estimated: "We actually now are the only sisters of the CTS."

Jordan himself suffered no less than Theresa von Wüllenweber from the problem of interminable stalling. Rightly, he felt Neuwerk was something "half done." Yet he felt compelled to leave nothing untried, so that in addition to the male branch also a "female branch of our Society will bloom." From that time on he counted on Neuwerk.

1.14/19. Barbarastift misunderstanding. November 10, Lüthen belatedly answered pastor Koch on Jordan's behalf: ". . . in regard to the cession of our property in Neuwerk . . . we are not in the position to donate this house even for a good purpose." Apart from other eventualities, one does not know, "whether our sisters are destined by God; the matter will certainly soon be put right again" (NK). Koch received this letter on November 13. He was annoyed at the misunderstanding implied in Lüthen's answer and hurried to make a copy for, "Your Baroness," adding: "Look at this letter and that in mine, there was nothing said about cession of the property, of buying, i.e., selling or leasing, much less about donating." He only knew the decision of the Most Reverend Archepiscopal General Vicariate of Cologne first to clear the ownership situation with the CTS. This had been done. "Therefore, the expression in the letter of November 10, "that we are not in a position to donate this house . . . to others" is at least very strange. The last sentence which says: "the matter will certainly soon be put right again here," shows "that in Rome at present something is not right, but this exceeds my knowledge, of course." The pastor could not help but express his sorrow about the beautiful rooms which remained unused, and added pointedly: "May you make of these lines whatever use seems good to you" (ANK).

Therese, informed by the pastor of the answer from Rome, did not miss the opportunity to communicate to him in writing her personal opinion in regard to the "bartering" over the Barbarastift.

L.J. Chr. Very Reverend Pastor!

Allow me to answer also in writing in response to your kind information about the answer from Rome, which, to my deep regret, has touched you disagreeably. First of all, I must remark that nobody would be more sorrowful than me, if the house monastery here would not become a charitable institution. Despite all my determinations and in particular my very entry into this religious community. I am sure that Reverend Father, Fr. Jordan endeavors only that this monastery may serve the honor of God and the salvation of souls by practicing charitable works. That in Rome something was not going straight, that our sisters there were no longer under the direction of our priests, as I hear, will soon be put straight again. Almost all of them are German, and I know how they would like to come here. In this sense the news from Rome giving this hope can only be agreeable. Or should you,

Reverend Father, not wish to accept my/our help, we would like to be your most obedient parishioners. Above all, however, Fr. Jordan will act only in accordance with the Most Reverend Archbishop. In fact, he must decide, as I am a sister only through the Holy Church, and how much I desire to get out of this half way situation. As you, Reverend Father, write, that you have written nothing to Rome about donating, I can with my weak mind see no obstacle to make this house and my poor personality useful: the more good we do, the more we live according to the Holy Rules of our sisters. It only depends on the Most Reverend Archbishop, if, e.g., His Archiepiscopal Grace, now that some of the sisters in Rome or Bamberg came here, says everything should be settled well according to the wish of the Reverend Father and of the poor as well. I do have permission to receive children and old people, as Fr. Jordan Francis of the Cross is happy to know.

It may also be, Most Reverend Father, that your esteemed letter has not been understood correctly; in this case I am very sorry because of the very short answer. However, I do not want to lose courage. You will certainly find a way, Most Reverend, to reach the aim without my returning now to the sisters in Rome. If it is nothing here, my connections with the Society, etc., etc., will be no hindrance to the good here. No, it should, it must help!!! God will manifest His holy will to show you, as pastor, the actual way to sow charity here.

A short time ago, Saturday, I wrote to Rome as it is my duty. When I write again in December, I will certainly communicate the disagreeable points of this letter, or shall I do so earlier, Reverend Father? Mary, St. Joseph, however, must and will help. So hopes your quite obedient parishioner,

M. Therese von Wüllenweber,
Sister of the Apostolic St. Barbarastift,
November 16, 1887 (ANk)

This letter is not only a lively testimony of how much Therese wished a satisfactory solution for her Barbarastift, but also how much she trusted Jordan and knew herself bound to him. All the more she suffered under the half measure of her integration into the Catholic Teaching Society. She is convinced that new life would already have entered the old monastery, if the first sisters had not deserted Jordan. This letter of the Baroness also brings the first hints that Jordan (through Hopfenmüller)

had already won other candidates for his planned foundation from the Bamberg region, who like the two sisters from Neuwerk were only waiting for his call.

Jordan was kept informed by the Baroness. Her news urged him still more to do everything to obtain the necessary ecclesiastical permission. Her remark about "the sisters now in Rome" or her remark "without me going now to Rome to the sisters" remain quite unclear. These could only be thinking about Jordan's "first sisters." However, these had already been independent for two years and had forgotten her and Neuwerk. Jordan himself could in no way count on those sisters anymore. Neither had he ever planned to begin the novitiate in Neuwerk, which would also have been impossible due to the *Kulturkampf* laws which only left open a "back door" of socially useful works.

1.15/20. The Neuwerk plans. Fr. Koch reports on November 21, 1887, to Canon Dumont in Cologne that: Jordan has written a letter to Baroness von Wüllenweber on November 17, 1887, in which are repeated again and again the old empty promises "God will help soon in regard to the sisters. The Cardinal Vicar wishes to wait a little longer until we have made some more progress. . . . I often think about the sisters and shall, if it is the will of God, soon take further steps" (AAa). Thus, Jordan was still planning to settle the sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society in Neuwerk sometime later. On December 19, 1887, he wrote to his two "Dear Sisters" in Neuwerk that now he could begin to realize his plans:

With the help of God I now will begin energetically the matter of the sisters. When can I call you from there? Please, answer soon. Will you tell the Reverend Father [Koch] that it is my wish to send sisters to Neuwerk later, that they, however, must first receive further formation here or at another place and be consolidated in religious life. You yourself should say nothing about coming here, because Rome is not yet quite sure for the beginning, and it might be made in the neighborhood of Rome in a healthier climate. Courage then! We are now 152, and many are still coming. God bless you. Sr. Ursula should come too, of course; but you must not depart until you get a definite order. God will help. We pray for it. In the love of Jesus, your spiritual Father Francis of the Cross (ASDS).

Therese, who could not keep up as good relations with the new pastor as she had with his predecessor von Essen, found inner stability again in Jordan's letter. "On December 21, I received a dear and determined letter of consolation by Reverend Fr. Jordan, that he now begins energetically with the sisters, and that I should say when I could come" (MMChr).

She informed Koch of Jordan's decision, which he at once included into his plans: "On Christmas the Reverend Father [Koch] said: Well, as soon as you move from here, other sisters will move in here until you come" (MMChr). Of course, he had to come to an agreement with Jordan, the legal proprietor, about such a solution. But the pastor felt he had an advantage over far-off Rome. Jordan could not leave the Barbarastift empty when calling the two "sisters" to Rome. He could not bypass the socially active pastor and lease it to someone else. As Koch's sole aim was to realize his charitable objective, Jordan's apostolic plans, to which the Baroness had devoted herself so completely, would no longer be an obstacle. On New Years Day 1888, Mother Mary recorded the pastor's wish: "Now you must begin acting!!!" The pastor was most likely alluding to the open letter she had directed to him on November 16, in which she spoke about the "acting" which she wished and hoped for the Barbarastift through the sisters of Jordan. Such a wish from the pastor certainly caused pain to the Baroness. It said, indeed, that Koch felt the actions of the Barbarastift were insufficient, and that Jordan's great plans had not been able to change anything up till then. On the contrary, Koch regarded his own plans as fully developed. On January 8, 1888, having now the approval of his archbishop, he outlined his plans to his parishioners.

First, the sick would be cared for outside the house, then in the convent; then would follow children, a children's protective institute, to learn needlework and cooking for girls in factories; the blind would be taken in, perpetual adoration would be introduced. Oh! God, every-thing for you and the salvation of souls. Bless Your work!!! (MMChr).

Therese herself desired a good solution for the pastor as well as for herself: "Oh! may it soon begin seriously here and in Rome for our sisters!!! January 6, 1888" (MMChr). "On the 6th Reverend Father wrote to me how I could best get to Rome" (MMChr). In the end, Jordan had proposed that

she sell the Barbarastift to the pastor for his charitable aims; she herself could then begin her desired religious life unhindered in Rome.

1.16/22. Barbarastift (III). Therese writes in her diary that already on January 14, the Superior General of Heydhuizen together with the superior of M. Gladbach inspected the Barbarastift. For Therese this was quite "unexpected." Mentioning this visit she recalls that at age 23 she had been interested in these Franciscan Sisters, but had then entered Sacré Coeur, and that she had retained the habit. Already the next day Pastor Koch wrote Jordan:

Most Reverend! Baroness von Wüllenweber informs me that your Reverence considers most suitable to sell the property of the Teaching Society here; in this way the Baroness could come to Rome quietly. I, too, am convinced that the sale of the property to an ecclesiastic person would be, considering the situation, the best way to come to a general satisfactory result in a religious as well as a financial regard.

Koch explains then, Neuwerk "numbers about 6,000 souls . . . mostly industrial workers," and urgently needs a hospital. The day before, the Superior General of the Franciscan Sisters of Heydhuizen together with the Superior of the hospital in M. Gladbach had been there. Then he notes: The quality of the real estate is only B-class, the outbuildings (rented) are in bad condition and criticized by the Survey's Office; the stables are about to fall to pieces; fire safety measures were needed, . . . the main building is very old and hardly inhabited in the last decades, needing at least 2,000 Thaler (6,000 Marks) to be made fit for a hospital, etc. For these reasons the real value of the estate was estimated at about 6,000 Thaler (18,000 Marks). Surely, it was added, the land was situated along the road, and if parceled into lots for construction it might be worth 9,000 Thaler (27,000 Marks).

But Koch excludes building sites, because the space was needed as a place of recreation for patients. Furthermore, the outstanding mortgage of about 4,000 Thaler (12,000 Marks) had been called in and according to notary Lückcrath a new creditor could hardly be found. Consequently, Koch asks "to state an agreeable price" . . . (from January 15, 1888, E-783).

January 20, the pastor had the rooms in the convent registered. "I agreed willingly" especially after the pastor was now fully backed by the archbishop: "Most Reverend Archbishop is now going to Rome to meet with Fr. Jordan!!! What the church wants is visibly in the plans of God and will have to be done in humility and holy zeal" (MMChr). February 13, 1888, Jordan wrote briefly to Koch: "Only yesterday I received your esteemed letter and inform you, that I hope to be able to meet the goal. I shall write to you more in detail. I am even pleased if the matter can be regulated soon." In a P.S. he asks for early information, "As it was a property of the church, they will know at the Cologne Curia whether anyone requested apostolic dispensation for the sale." (A NK). The following day, February 14, Archbishop Krementz visited Jordan in Borgo Vecchio. Before writing to Koch, Jordan had already met with the archbishop in his Roman residence and discussed the Neuwerk matter.

On February 23, Therese also received a letter from Jordan, in explaining that he thought it best to leave the monastery to Fr. Koch for his plans. Therese should have the Barbarastift appraised. For this she appointed two men, who kept the value deliberately low, as Jordan gave away his part of the monastery for a charitable purpose, and as they were "to make numerous changes" in the rooms (MMChr).

Adam Hauser and Albert Hütten estimated the Barbarastift with barn, stable and garden at 12,000 Marks, the double house beside Karl Hauser at 3,000 Marks and the neighboring house at 3,500 Marks. Then there were about 75 acres of orchard and agricultural land at 3,600 Marks. The whole sum of the estimate was 21,900 Marks and this was reported to Jordan by Therese on March 4, 1888 (E-603a).

The Baroness was convinced that Jordan would soon begin with his sisters foundation in Rome or nearby, and that he counted firmly on her and Sr. Ursula. "On February 19, I reached the age of 55, sad for me, I'm looking forward to coming to Rome (letter to Jordan, March 5, 1888, E-603). But she herself was not too sure of herself: "If only we ourselves are not a hindrance" (MMChr). Above all, the definitive renunciation to her beloved Barbarastift was requested from her.

By February 18, Koch had assured Jordan that the dispensation required from the Archdiocesan office would be settled in time (E-784).

Meanwhile, the alert pastor had also engaged a “royal notary.” Then he at once informed Jordan in detail how he now judged the situation:

Although we have not agreed yet on the purchase price, I believe nevertheless, after consulting extensively with a royal notary, I must note the following. The act of donation of the Baroness von Wüllenweber of September 6, 1882 (Your Reverence certainly has it at hand) contains in articles IV and V special regulations, according to which there are still some arrangements to make with the then donor.

In regard to article V, which indicates the purpose of the donation, it is necessary that the said donor presents herself at the act of sale and declares: that she released the buyer from the obligation she had imposed on the three gentlemen in article V of the donation, i.e., to use the real estate in question for the support of mission purposes.

In regard to article V, the simplest way would be if the donor explained regarding the sales contract, that she renounces the obligation assumed by the three gentlemen with the donation to grant her as long as she lived free lodging, boarding and care also in days of illness in the usual manner and according to her status in so far as the regulation has been made, that the fulfillment of this obligation can be required in the above buildings. She also renounces her right towards the new buyer to oppose the donation of September 6, 1882, because in case the three gentlemen would in future not fulfill the obligation taken over through article IV [N.B: the latter determination does not contain a note of mistrust, it only seems necessary for juridical security.]

I would recommend this *modus agendi*, the more so as you, Reverend, are about to call the Baroness to Rome and her situation as a sister of the venerable congregation are not touched, except that her relation to this house is dissolved. Should the Baroness not be prepared to make this waiver, there should be added in the contract of sale, that the buyer obliges himself to put at her disposal the rooms in question: lodging (how many rooms?) boarding and care in healthy and sick days against a yearly equivalent of 1,095 Marks, which, of course, would have to be deducted from the purchase price. She then should declare at the closing she agrees with the fulfillment of article IV in this manner. The total equivalent which would have to be calculated according to the probable duration of her life, would have to be determined according to the law of taxation of inheritances. Occluded a "power of attorney" (full power), which would eventually have to be signed by the three gentle-

men in the presence of a notary there (Rome) and officially confirmed by the same. Of course he must be officially employed with the state.

I must ask Your Reverence urgently to let me have a kind and official answer within eight days, as there is a house for sale situated near the church to be sold within the next days. This house might eventually be bought to start the hospital in it at the soonest. The situation is now like this, so that I cannot delay it any longer.

Hermann Koch, Pastor.

P.S.: I have just received the news that the above mentioned house shall be sold by 19 c.m. (March); I ask once more for a speedy answer. K. Neuwerk, March 7, 1888 (E-785).

Jordan informed the Baroness at once about the pastor's requests. He had to and wanted to involve her in these decisions. As on September 6, 1882, she had "acted for . . . God alone! and the salvation of souls . . ." (MMChr), so she was again challenged now to indicate her direction decisively. "On March 12, [I] received a letter from Fr. Hopfenmüller, Rome, Catholic Teaching Society, that our pastor could not buy our convent without my consensus to renouncing the conditions [I made] when donating it to the Society . . . (MMChr). But in the "new points" the Baroness hid her decision to retain her rights in the contract of donation. At age 55, she could not jeopardize her natural right of residence in her native castle. So she refused her consent.

1.17/24. Cultivating benefactors (I). The first four priests dedicated themselves personally, and not only according to the apostolic collection rule (*Regulae Primi Ordinis SCI*, Chapter III, nr. 6), to the toilsome fund raising trips. More than anyone, Jordan himself continuously enlisted new benefactors, cooperators, patrons and sponsors. At the start of a new year he regularly sent out thankful wishes together with renewed appeals for help and support of the work. Also the letterhead was fully intended for the benefactors. First there stood the words of the Lord about the great harvest and the few laborers (Lk 10:2), then the beatitude of the merciful (cf., Matt 5:7). Below there followed the "prayer for charitable contributions for the formation of priests to the *Collegio Romano della SCI*, via

Borgo Vecchio, 165, Roma." Only then follows the proper letterhead:
"Directio gen. SCI, Rectoratus Coll. Rom. de Div. Providentia, Romae."

Also in *Der Missionär* contributions were gratefully and exactly mentioned: "a boy from Neuwerk instead of *kirmes* (church festival) 60 Pfennig;" not less than the 1,000 Marks of a woman near death; the one Mark from Baron J. von Wüllenweber as well as the remarkable contribution of Frs. Nägele and Hopfenmüller. During his collection trip 1888, Jordan noted under *Deo propitio agenda*:

1. To the Catholic papers: prayer to collect for us and take up regular correspondence.
2. Books, etc., in favor of the *Generalkollegium*.
3. Calendar for 1890, large edition. To put in at the end much that is of divine value for people.
4. Spend on nothing unnecessary, save, waste nothing.
5. If it is God's will, many periodicals, books. Society, Rome in illustrations" (G-2.13, 188f).

Jordan also expected the younger confreres' involvement in the material support of the Society wherever possible during the holidays. To this end he gave them written recommendations that they "are entrusted with receiving gifts for the formation of our candidates as religious priests." (Frater Markus Dombrowski, April 27, 1888, A-53). Frater Salesius Hürtgen received from Jordan a recommendation written to the clergy in Latin as well as a German one for benefactors (August 25, 1889, A-42, 43).

In Rome itself the father of the family insisted on conscientious bookkeeping, and even more on exact examination of the fulfillment of the obligations deriving from stipends. On this point he was even scrupulous. So he could write even after years to a Baron von Leonhardi in Epsom near London or to Don Ferrante in New York to be sure that stipends given earlier had been absolved.

The concern for finding bread often caused Jordan sleepless nights. On April 4, 1888, he turned to the Cardinal Vicar to help him with a written official recommendation to beg bread more easily for his 160 members. Because "the greater part of those members still in studies come from poor families, so that we need very much support." The very

next day Jordan received the requested document in which the Cardinal Vicar recommended his work to his fellow bishops.

From the Palace of the Vicariate,
Rome, April 5, 1888.

We attest and testify that the Catholic Teaching Society, founded many months ago and canonically erected in this city, consists of a hundred and sixty adults who have to be nourished for the future of the church. Under a sane discipline of the severe priests, they dedicate themselves to holy studies and to continual improvement through the best morals.

Because the Society really finds itself in great need, and its youngsters come from Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland and Poland, we recommend her [the Society] to the love of the bishops to whom it can turn for help, most highly in the Lord.

Place and seal, L. M., Cardinal Vicar (E-144).

It is remarkable that the Cardinal Vicar himself points out that the candidates of the CTS are already being recruited from five countries.

Jordan kept the physical health of his members very much in mind. Europe suffered in those years under waves of influenza, which endangered the lives of the physically weak. Together with influenza and typhus, cholera repeatedly flared up. "Cholera appears again in Italy causing unrest in the population" (MI 18,1887). Jordan gave whatever he could to the sick, supported by his family doctor, Dr. Gamba. As soon as possible he sent them home to recover. The few deaths among the students, who often arrived already ailing, touched him personally. He considered it his duty as a father to assist them personally in their last hours whenever possible (cf., insertions in his members list, G-3.1; G-3.2).

1.18/25. The profession formula was kept rather sober at that time:

I Frater N.N., vow to Almighty God, Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles, our patrons, Blessed Joseph, Blessed Michael the Archangel, all the Holy Apostles, the whole choir of Angels, and you, our Father Johann Mary Francis of the Cross, forever: poverty, chastity and obedience. Rome, the day . . . signed.

It was about the same for each sister, translated, however into her native tongue [edited]:

I, Sister . . . vow to God the Almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Help of Christians etc. . . . for three years poverty, chastity and obedience

With each perpetual profession was connected full cession of property in favor of the Catholic Teaching Society (*cessio bonorum*). For this a proper declaration was made:

Cession of goods. I Frater N.N., from on the title of a gift, renounce freely and through this act, from the complete ownership of all the goods I possess and also of all the things which after my profession on title of inheritance or whatever other title will come to me later on, in favor of the Catholic Teaching Society, which has been founded in Rome. Rome, on signature.

The cession of property in favor of the religious community (*cessio dominii radicalis*) was valued at that time in other congregations as well, as a move against oppression, expropriation and expulsion by the liberal state authorities. In the 19th century all religious congregations had to begin materially at zero and were dependent on the really generous help of the Catholic population and on that of their own membership. The *cessio* was a way to help religious communities get the necessary property for their apostolates through its civil rights, so that they could fulfill their apostolates in the necessary freedom without state dependency. So a new model of poverty came to exist for the time before 1900, almost like the model advocated by the Second Vatican Council, of course against the background of "rich orders" in a rich "First World."

Before perpetual vows, it was once more pointed out that this step must be taken quite freely, and that each one had the right and duty to decline in case he was somehow hindered or uncertain. From those ready to make the profession, a written declaration of free will was required: "I have the firm intention to make profession at the determined time, and forever. I will leave my property and every right of property to the Society as I promised before entering it" (AGS, cf.).

1.19/26. The Third Order. Up to the separation of the first sisters, Jordan had contented himself to receive members into the Third Order of St. Francis according to the authority given to him by the Minister General of the Franciscans (October 7, 1883). Later he decided to found a Third Order also for the Catholic Teaching Society. Its Rule was printed already in 1883 in its printer, and is preserved in Latin and German (E-1235 and 1236). In the short Rule, Jordan obliges the members above all to a deeper religious life (frequent use of sacraments, daily meditation, monthly recollection, yearly retreats; for daily prayers one retains the choice between the "Little Office of Blessed Virgin Mary, or seven Our Fathers and Hail Marys." But most of all, members are obliged to apostolic zeal towards children and dependents, as well as to spreading the good press, especially that of the Catholic Teaching Society. As signs of the Third Order Jordan speaks about cincture and scapular without describing them in detail.

The Constitution provides for a year of testing and then a profession or renewal of profession before the responsible priest director. However, nothing is said about proper vows. The minimum age is fourteen, once the youngsters have grown out of the Angels' League. It is expressly noted that the Rule does not oblige under sin, except when it is a matter of the Commandments of God or of the church.

Jordan understood his Third Order like Don Bosco did his *Tertiarii*. However, Bosco provided for his *Salesiani nel secolo* a novitiate and vows. His Third Order was bound to his congregation. When between 1874 and 1878, he finally stabilized his foundation, he had to give up his *Salesiani esterni*. Even before, they could not be included in the Constitution. But Don Bosco was especially interested in cooperators supporting his work materially. Thus he extended to his Third Order the indulgences and privileges of the Franciscan Third Order. Later, church authorities discouraged these newer Third Orders. While for them the Third Order of St. Francis remained valid, newer attempts were officially unnoticed or were even curtailed (cf., Nov. Not. 1905-6, Freiburg).

1.20/27. The Academy. For the "*Academia Soc. Cath. Instr.*" Jordan early on drafted a *Statutum* (cf., NR 3, 1884). As its aims Jordan indicated to promote with all energy the apostolate of "speaking and writing," to

defend the Catholic faith and to repulse all attacks against it. Then he indicated its duties: respect and obey the pope, mutual brotherly love in academic cooperation and exchange. In a later draft, not by Jordan, three Grades are proposed: *Sodales honorarii, emeriti, et participantes*. In this regard Jordan justly remarks that these still needed further clarification. In a "*Statutum Academiae Soc. Cath. Instructivae* under the heavenly protection of the BMV, Queen of the Apostles" are mentioned only *sodales honorarii* and really active co-operators (E-1243; E-1244).

Neither the Third Order nor the Academia left any traces in Jordan's foundation, even less any considerable influence. The necessary leadership and care were missing. In most parishes Third Order groups already existed. Scholars could only be won for free collaboration, and they refrained from grouping. Both groups were certainly desirable for the Catholic Teaching Society. But Jordan could not find anyone to dedicate himself to the necessary charismatic leadership. Thus, both remained in the shadow of the Catholic Teaching Society without really radiating or achieving importance outside.

1.21/28. Sale of Barbarastift. Fr. Koch urged a speedy and favorable conclusion of the sale. He thanked Jordan for the modest price of 20,000 Marks, which he asked in consideration of its social-charitable aim. At the same time he gave an account of how the conditions for sustaining the Baroness (which now became the responsibility of the CTS) should be regulated. He added a comparison of sale price vs. the debt-burden of the Barbarastift, which "on balance" would have recharged Jordan's empty coffers with over 8,000 Mark instead of bringing in at least a modest sales figure. This was especially true regarding the upcoming settlement of the residual debt to Cologne.

L.J. Chr. et M!

Reverend Father

Excuse me for not having written earlier; parish duties did not give me free time. The sales price indicated of 20,000 Marks is quite acceptable, and I willingly agree to it on the condition of coming to an understanding with Baroness von Wüllenweber. In my latest letter to Your Reverence I wrote that the simplest way would be for the Baroness to renounce article IV, in so far as the determination has been made that

fulfilling this obligation (by the receiver of the donation, in regard to home and board) can be requested on grounds of the buildings in Neuwerk. The Baroness, however, is not prepared to waive her right in regard to Neuwerk. In this case, an equivalent (for 7½ years) must, of course, be subtracted from the sales price. I had indicated 365 Thaler (1,095 Marks) yearly (therefore 7½ X 365 Thaler = 2,737.50 Thaler or 7,212.50 Marks) as the sum to be subtracted and I thought that this amount in regard to "suitable-to-rank" home etc., was not calculated too high. The Baroness, however, does not want to agree to it. I will try to bring about a consensus. When that is reached I shall write at once. May the month of May, the month of Mary, bring final results.
 Neuwerk, March 23, 1888. Hem.K.och, Pastor.

<u>Account</u>		
Purchase Price	20,000 Marks	
Liabilities: Mortgage	13,800 Marks	(March 1888)!
Balance	8,212 Marks	(2727.50 Thaler)
Pension	<u>900 Marks</u>	
	22.912 Marks	(E-786)

Two days later, on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Koch negotiated with the Superior General of Heydhuizen and spoke in detail about the unresolved question of the home and boarding rights of the Baroness. The next day he informed Jordan and Therese about the result of his visit in Heydhuizen.

Reverend Father! Yesterday (Palm Sunday) I negotiated personally with the Venerable Mother Superior General of the congregation intending to take over the hospital here. Mother Superior noted: experience shows that the presence of a gentleman or lady having been the former proprietor of a house which had been a monastery, if he or she has the right of home in this house, continuously caused motive and occasion for dissents. Accordingly, the Superior General declared firmly that it appeared impossible that Baroness von Wüllenweber live in the house together with the Sisters of the Congregation. As, on the other hand, the Baroness had explained to me the week before, that she insisted on her right of home in Neuwerk, there exists a difference that can only be eliminated by Your Reverence ordering the Baroness under Holy Obedience to comply and to leave the house after the conclusion of the sale. Given the relations of the Baroness with the venerable Catholic Teaching Society, and the social position of the lady and her enormous

riches, it is easy for her to take lodgings elsewhere. If the Baroness insists on her decision, the sisters will begin [their work] already in May c.m. in another house near the church; then the rooms of the old monastery will remain unused, certainly not to the edification of the faithful, and should it come to a public sale of the same, they will certainly have to serve secular purposes. I ask your Reverence to say the corresponding word, without which we cannot come to a conclusion. In the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Neuwerk, March 26, 1888. Yours H. Koch, Pastor.

P.S.: At the same time I am sending a letter, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Baroness. K. (E-787).

Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller, to whom Jordan had at that time entrusted the care of the material matters of the Society, asked the Baroness to reflect once more before God whether there would not be a way helpful for all involved. Jordan wanted "to get absolutely rid" of the property, because he well understood that it was a considerable burden for his young Society, and also because the mortgage had been called in and he had to prevent a public sale of this church property. Jordan asked her through Hopfenmüller to waive her right of support, offering her two "alternatives." "That with a rate of 3½ % of the net sales price she could find a lodging according to her rank, "even if it were just a rented home for the present." Or he would give back completely her "generous donation" of 1882. "In this case she could administer and dispose of the whole as before." Fr. Otto pointed out that Jordan "did not want to order her in this regard [i.e., to give up the right of lodging and board] but that he left all that to her free decision" (letter, March 30, 1888, ASDS).

Therese received the letter April 9. To her, the second "alternative" seemed the "least unsure" (MMChr). She decided quickly, and two days later traveled to Heydhuizen to negotiate with the Mother General personally, so that she together with Sr. Ursula might remain in the Barbarastift until Jordan would call them to Rome. The Superior General avoided an immediate decision. Therese, in the meantime, continued to take care of the children of the "Angels' League" in Neuwerk, to teach housekeeping to a group of girls in the afternoons, and to help care for children in parish work.

On April 6, Fr. Lüthen had intervened in the Neuwerk negotiations. He had remembered that the Cologne debt, which von Leonhardi

had assumed in the name of the Catholic Teaching Society in the fall of 1882, had not been retired. He asked Therese for corresponding clarifications of the actual situation in order to take them into consideration "in our decision regarding the real estate." Lüthen added sympathetically, "God tests you sorely. He will compensate you in all. May he also enlighten you so as to bring the whole matter to a good end. God bless you! Please, pray for me. Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen" (ASDS).

This letter also shows how much the future of the Barbarastift occupied and burdened all those involved. None of the apostolic missionary hopes, which were so to say, contained materially in the generous donation of September 6, 1882, were to be realized according to God's wise providence. The Lord's ways lead to the cross—to an unexpected and therefore more painful renunciation.

On April 25, Therese received through her notary the consent of von Leonhardi to sell the convent. "Lord, as you will!!" (MMChr). On May 6 the refusal of the Superior General of Heydhuizen arrived. This did not surprise Therese (MMChr). On May 16, the Baroness made another attempt to save her Barbarastift. She turned to the *Ancillae Christi* in M. Gladbach to consider a union. On May 20 the answer arrived in which the responsible Mother General declined.

On May 23, Fr. Koch reported to the Archdiocesan General Vicariate that he had reached an agreement with the Catholic Teaching Society about the price of the old Neuwerk monastery, "on the understanding that I can come to an agreement with the Baroness von Wüllenweber still living in the building, who in 1882, had donated the house to the said priests under conditions." Then Fr. Koch explains:

But all endeavors of the gentlemen in Rome, all those of Mother General and of mine, that the lady take lodgings elsewhere have failed, while the Superior General insists equally firmly on her will, that Baroness von Wüllenweber shall not live in this house together with the sisters from Heydhuizen. The priests in Rome have even declared their readiness to return the "donation" to the disposal of the Baroness . . . Going on human foresight, a hospital in the said building can be realized only after Baroness von Wüllenweber has departed from this life (AAa).

1.22/29. Ferrante. A similar case of bitter disappointment for Jordan was the quarrel with Don Gerardo Ferrante, born in 1853 in Frosinone. After being ordained a priest, Ferrante looked in Rome for a post to provide him a decent living. Von Leonhardi had engaged him as a collaborator in 1882, and he helped above all in the administration of the CTS printery, and in editing articles for its Italian periodicals. The vice-director and administrator, Baron von Leonhardi, had engaged and contracted with Don Ferrante during Jordan's absence. But Jordan refused his signature and had the official witnesses, like the notary, paid off. He did not want to open a business with employees.

After von Leonhardi's exit, Don Ferrante took over his post more or less tacitly. In an oral arrangement terminable at any time, Jordan entrusted Don Ferrante with the editing of *Nuntius Romanus*, which of course remained the natural property of the Catholic Teaching Society. (From the outset, as the *gerens responsabilis* for the *Nuntius Romanus*, Ferrante signed himself as Joseph Tosti). In return, Don Ferrante had the right of board and lodging, but received payment only for special tasks. He soon learned the ropes of printery administration, as well as how to act as the "agent" of the Catholic Teaching Society, things he used for his personal advantages. Consequently, there were soon clashes, but not so great that Jordan felt compelled to dismiss him.

Strangely, Professor Santoro's school report of March 18, 1887, spoke about Don Ferrante, though he was not engaged in the school.

Don Gerardo Ferrante from Frosinone, director of the printing shop and administrator of the Institute of the Catholic Teaching Society, causes much stir according to what has been told to me. And the entire Borgo Vecchio, I was told, knew about it. I do not know how much is true in this rumor; but if he were guilty just in one point of all he is charged with, it might certainly cause great damage to the Institute, which, by the way, if well led, may do much credit to the church one day" (TVU nr. 2369).

Jordan himself did not care about such rumors. On the other hand, he was looking for a legally incontestable way to dismiss the wily Don Ferrante. Returned from his fund raising trip in Germany, he gave Don Ferrante one-month notice of termination set for October 30, 1887. Don

Ferrante asked for one month of free stay to work on his business matters, which Jordan voluntarily granted. After that he continued to stay silently for board and lodging, he even dared to present to Jordan, now independent from verbal contract, his counter bill:

I would like to withdraw at the end of October from your work, which till today has not brought me either honor or bread. . . . I will stay, however, in this house until everything is regulated according to my contracts, the conditions of which you and others are not able to inform me. . . . I make those reservations, which the law grants me as editor of *Nuntius Romanus*. I demand fair remuneration for the works (and they were many) which I performed nearly six years in this house (H-27.7).

Jordan did not allow himself to be further intimidated, but he also could not simply remove the priest from the house. Don Ferrante repeated his demands on November 14, threatening regrettable steps on his side (H-27.8). A week later he communicated to Jordan the "titles" of the posts he had held: "Director of the editing house, corrector, administrator of the printing press, editor of *Nuntius Romanus* and *Amico dei fanciulli*, agent for the important business of the Catholic Teaching Society." As an additional title he claimed: "Compensation for the fact that the editing of *Nuntius Romanus* was taken away unlawfully from him" (H-27.10). He claimed for the mentioned titles, a peaceful settlement of 8,000 Lire (November 21, 1887; H-27.11). On November 29, Ferrante informed Jordan that he had told the Cardinal Vicar, "He will leave the house on the day the controversial issue will be finished" (H-27.9).

At the end of the year, the sums which passed to Ferrante, were settled. A large amount, 2,887 Lire, was not paid because a client had complained about poor work. The sums Ferrante loaned the Society at intervals were repaid after settlement of this matter in the summer of 1888 (cf., *Cassabuch* of June 23, 1888, C-18.II). The receipt shows Ferrante was still required to pay taxes for delayed repayment of half a year, (letter, June 23, 1888) which was his own fault.

Jordan felt in the right and did not answer. Furthermore, the troublesome priest continued to live in the house. The affair greatly embarrassed the conscientious Jordan. He asked Lüthen to tell him how he could justify his attitude; Lüthen mentioned from his point of view

ten items to be considered (H-27.17). Also, Lüthen inquired with Kastner in Simbach, how he appraised the matter. Kastner the printer wrote back to Jordan in no way agreeing with Ferrante's behavior. And Kastner passed judgment on the priest's character. However, because he was not able to contribute essential reasons for Jordan's defense, Kastner's judgment remained useless (letters, February 15; July 12, 1888; H-27.12-18).

On Good Friday, Ferrante dared to ask Jordan: "How does Easter Confession fit with withholding my legitimate claims?" (March 28, 1888; H-27.13). On May 2, the Cardinal Vicar appointed an ecclesiastical court of arbitration to settle the tedious matter definitively. The judges were Msgrs. Giovanni Befani and Eugenio Falconi, both officials (*Uditori*) to the Rota, as well as Msgr. Alessandro Cardani, Assessor of the *Visita Apostolica*. The court of arbitration wanted from Jordan a written comment and the rationale on Ferrante's claim of 8,000 Lire. Jordan had already put them together in March 1888. Thereafter he added and revised them several times. Four drafts and further additional notes still exist. In them Jordan tried to group the arguments, which would justify his attitude and show the "titles" of Ferrante as unjust. Mostly, they repeat themselves in the individual drafts.

Jordan established his attitude towards Don Ferrante in a very detailed manner. He stressed above all: Ferrante was only taken on for board and lodging and has never objected to it. Only after his dismissal has he brought forward his demands. A few months before dismissal he vowed not to claim additional payment for his work. Small additional jobs for the both *giornaletti* have been included in the employment agreement, because "the Society in fact lives for doing good." The dismissal of Ferrante took place in a juridically incontestable way, observing the law at the time of dismissal. Jordan explicitly stressed Ferrante's removal has no connection with the bad rumor that was spread in the Borgo about him and which Jordan considered pure defamation of character.

Jordan, however, reproached Ferrante with shady administration. He even spoke about lies and unclear accounting, and he also noted appropriate testimonies from clients of the printing press like Msgr. de Waal, Msgr. Felice Cavagnis (professor at the Roman Seminary and consultor at some Congregations) and others.

Don Ferrante had conducted business to his advantage. For that Jordan claimed reparation (not only for the failure to leave his rooms in Palazzo Morone, but especially for neglecting the editing of *Nuntius Romanus*, the poor work done on the printing press, and the moral injuries Jordan had suffered). Clearly Ferrante's job had developed in his favor. When Jordan compared the Society and editor, he figured Ferrante owed the CTS about 4,000 Lire. Jordan had paid Ferrante again and again for additional work and especially, because he had too little to do, he had passed along jobs to him from which the priest had profited well.

Jordan also defended his collaborator Lüthen, whose conscientiousness he can prove with witnesses at any time. Also, Lüthen cannot be reproached with the slightest injustice towards Ferrante, who made use of dishonest means to obtain results (H-27.21).

Jordan noted further, that since Ferrante's dismissal everything in the printing house and in the forwarding department ran smoothly and on time. He also mentioned that he and another priest of the Society dispatched Society business at the respective *Sacro Palazzo* (testimony of Fr. Salini) and he himself at the *Procura Regia*. Ferrante even at the beginning had never been Jordan's agent although he was "a zealous and experienced priest" (von Leonardi). Ferrante had never had charge of the house. He was only a guest, and did not take meals with the community. Also his letter to the bishops of Germany, mentioning some addresses and lodgings for employing his agency, proves the priest has illegally interfered in certain areas. Msgr. Barbiellini had to summon him due to the annoyance this behavior had caused in Germany.

Jordan finishes his justification: "Upon mature consideration Fr. Jordan has rejected all titles. When he dismissed Ferrante he did not feel obliged to repay anything." Also both orally and explicitly he had declared to the secretary of the Cardinal Vicar, Msgr. Barbiellini, not to recognize those titles (H-27.21).

For the sake of the judges, Jordan underscored the following: 1) the employment of Don Ferrante as editor can be estimated not more than 1,000 Lire for all those years, whereas board, lodging, service and so on can be settled with 4,000 to 5,000 Lire. 2) Don Ferrante has been paid large amounts in thousands of Lire, so that the profit has probably not been small. 3) When Don Ferrante arrived he was seriously in debt; when

he was dismissed, he possessed great amounts. 4) At the end of 1886-1887, Jordan asked for receipts and the account books, but Don Ferrante did not show them. The proof is at the bookkeeper; why such an obstinacy to keep the bookkeeping hidden in his own hands!? (H-27.21).

On July 4, 1888, a settlement was made. On September 3, the court of arbitration heard both partners in the flat of Msgr. Falconi. On September 21, the court sentenced Jordan, to pay an additional 2,520 Lire to Ferrante for completed editing work (H-27.27).

In the meantime Jordan had returned from Germany after an extended begging trip. Of course he preferred to spend the alms on his needy crowd of students instead of paying the priest, who did not need it and in any case had exploited him for years. But Jordan ordered Hopfenmüller to transfer the sum of money to Don Ferrante, who was not pleased with the judgement. He stayed on further in the house and pursued his business, since he was not familiar with pastoral ministry. On April 8, 1889, he wrote to Hopfenmüller that the sentence of the court of arbitration had not been given to him. Therefore, he refused to accept the money. He had nothing against the CTS, but he felt Jordan has seriously damaged his honor before the court of arbitration (in his justification paper).

Jordan applied to the Cardinal Vicar to ask him what to do now. He permitted Jordan to proceed according to civil law against Don Ferrante, if he does not leave the house within seven days (H-27.28).

Ferrante's answer was: "Let us expose this scandal!" In addition, he announced his intention to draw up a new bookkeeping inventory of his work for the CTS. On April 19, 1889, he informed Jordan that he had presented his own settlement to the Cardinal Vicar and was awaiting an answer. In the meantime, he stayed on in the house (H-27.29). (It seems the Cardinal Vicar was in no hurry to fulfill Don Ferrante's wishes.) Only on August 22, 1890, did Don Ferrante send word to Lüthen regarding a bill which he, instead of Professor Toti, had paid on behalf of the CTS for printing expenses related to the *Latinitas Lepor*. He raised the question of conscience, who had to face the loss, he or Jordan? For the same issue Don Ferrante applied to the Cardinal Vicar (H-27.30, 31). By then he had plans to leave Rome. He required in advance the payment of the lent sum for Professor Toti and, the compensation of the 3,000 Lire now fixed

by the court of arbitration. Otherwise, he would go public (H-27.31). On September 14, 1890, Ferrante repeated his claim for 4,000 Lire, despite "his right" to ask for 8,000 (H-27.32). The ledger of the Catholic Teaching Society shows in an extract of January 13, 1891, under expenses, p. 94, the following entry: "To D. Gh. Ferrante—compensation for six years work, '81-'87 September, 3,000 and restitution of the lent sum for expenses of printing of the *Latinitas Lepor* (1,000) which he, instead of Toti, paid out to us, Nr. 169, Lire 4,000" (AGS, C-18.II).

On January 18, 1891, Don Ferrante again claimed 4,000 Lire in a registered letter (H-27.33). On August 24, 1891, the priest sent from the "Rectory, St. Patrick's Cathedral, 460 Madison Avenue, New York," a new list of debts (H-27.34). Only on April 23, 1896, did this unpleasant affair come to an end. The then procurator, Fr. Pacificus Spreider had assiduously controlled all account books and receipts and logged each entry as paid by the Catholic Teaching Society or reimbursed. After all this there was even a profit. [Note: The translator is unsure who made the profit: Ferrante or the CTS.] Don Ferrante, under the claim of Toti, got hold of 1,470 Lire also from the Cardinal Vicar to the debit of the CTS. The Procurator came to the conclusion: "We have fulfilled our obligations towards you more than requested" (H-27.35).

Don Ferrante, who had failed to find his fortune in Rome, succeeded in the United States of America. The Archbishop of New York, Michael Augustin Corrigan, stayed in Rome at the end of 1890. He looked among other things for a secretary for Latin and a consultor in Roman Church Law. Don Ferrante accepted the offer and traveled with the archbishop to his new homeland. After arriving in New York, in February 1891, he quickly and thoroughly acquainted himself with his work. The new position was completely to his liking. Especially afterwards he made himself indispensable as a canon lawyer. As Archbishop Johann M. Farley in February 1912 collected his red hat in Rome, he brought back with him the title of Papal House Prelate for the esteemed collaborator, Don Farrante, whom he had inherited from his predecessor. On that occasion Msgr. Ferrante gave a public banquet for hundreds of priests and civil representatives in the Hotel Knickerbocker. By 1907 he was active on the Archdiocesan Tribunal of marriage law. In 1911 he became the General Vicar of the Italian community of the archdiocese.

He died on May 5, 1921, from pneumonia. His funeral took place in a great ceremony in the presence of Archbishop Josef Hayes, who personally sang the Requiem in the presence of Italian authorities, many high clergy, and religious superiors (*The Catholic News*, May 14, 1921).

The experience with Don Ferrante was for Jordan a bitter, but necessary lesson, that he could not presuppose the same selfless cooperation from all priests, and that a simple oral contract, even with priests, could have its tricks. Blind trust invites exploitation.

1.23/32. Cultivating benefactors (II). Like Don Bosco, Jordan never tired of begging for his institute. This usually began in the late fall and continued through the entire quiet season. At new year 1888, the usual letters of thanks and appeals were sent to the benefactors (E-222). In January followed a call for building-stones for an international mother-house in Rome (little images for this purpose existed since 1884-1885 in various forms and sizes, each with an image of Mary; E-137). On March 16, 1888, Jordan sent letters to the clergy (E-139).

Also Italian friends received a *Circolare ai Cattolici* (March 1888, E-140). A special circular letter was sent to the superiors of convents to encourage them to cooperate in advertizing (March 1888, E-141). The highlight of this pre-Easter propaganda blitz was the circular letter to the German-speaking bishops with the warm recommendation of the Cardinal Vicariate (April 5, 1888, E-144).

The acknowledgment of charitable gifts, i.e., the *Muttergottes Pfennig* in *Der Missionär*, included its intended purpose. Until April 1885, it all went into one pot. But later (MI 7, 1885) there were three: I) for the Catholic Teaching Society; II) to secure a house for the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome; III) charitable contributions. By July 1887, there were again just two collection titles: I) for the daily sustenance of our College in Rome; II) to secure a house for the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome. At the beginning of December 1889, collections also came under III) for the Mission of the Catholic Teaching Society in Assam, and IV) for the Second Order in Tivoli.

The Diploma of Sponsorship was attractively designed. The upper half showed the "Emblem" i.e., Mary together with the Apostles illuminated by the Pentecostal tongues. Above them were indicated the

name and purpose: Catholic Teaching Society to spread, defend and revitalize the Holy Faith. On the right side was written: "Lord, give me souls! Immortal souls!" On the left there was the apostolic question: "Shall malice be stronger than love?" Below the picture there was the ejaculatory: "Fire of the Lord enkindle the fire of His love in our hearts." The lower half contained proper authorization:

DIPLOMA for the sponsors of the Catholic Teaching Society. By this diploma authorization is given to N.N. to accept applications for entry into the Society of the Catholic Teaching Society, as well as subscriptions to the periodicals, to be transmitted to the Directorate in Rome.

The Director, J.B. Jordan.

Of course, "entrance into the Catholic Teaching Society" referred only to co-operators (i.e., the original members of the Third Grade. DSS XI, 283).

1.24/33. Keeping hope alive. Therese continued praying and struggling. On July 22, 1888, she made a pilgrimage to Aachen visiting also Blumenthal where she had spent some of her young life as a religious with the Sisters of *Sacré Coeur*. She lodged "quite sisterly" with the Mission Sisters of Cardinal Lavignerie. "We Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society shall have indeed the same Mission spirit (even if at the same time—we will be working— in our home country among the new heathens)" (MMChr).

On July 22, Jordan again gave her hope that his efforts at a foundation of sisters were nearing a resolution. "I inform you that with the help of God I intend to found a congregation of sisters, and then you will have to leave Neuwerk. Pray much." Therese was happy about his news, which she received on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene. She longed to "Be allowed to go to Rome again toward fall. (God will care for Neuwerk). I follow the call to Rome with holy zeal = leaving all!!!" (MMChr).

From August 13 to 15, Weigang, who was on a begging trip, stayed in Neuwerk and in the local castle "celebrated the Holy Mass to our edification, and papa liked him, too" (MMChr). After a short notice at the beginning of October, Jordan sent to the Baroness on October 12 good wishes for her namesday, informing her also briefly: "Yesterday I spoke with the Cardinal Vicar regarding the sisters. I do hope that the matter will soon be settled. Pray much. In fatherly benevolence. Your

spiritual father in Christ, Fr. Jordan." Therese received the letter on her namesday. "Thanks be to God forever; and soon will begin with the foundation of the sisters congregation; Lord, have mercy on us!!! Praise be to Him!!!" exulted her heart at this good news (MMChr).

1.25/35. Invitation to Rome. On October 6, 1888, Jordan thanked Sr. Therese for a letter:

Pray very much, particularly in the next days, because I have the matter of the sisters much at heart, also because there are so many applicants wishing to enter. Therefore, pray, pray. I might perhaps come to Neuwerk myself next month, if the matter is regulated here, so that, with the help of God, also the problem with the house might be regulated.

Sr. Ursula had fallen so seriously ill in the fall that Jordan asked Sr. Therese what should be done with her savings deposited with him if she "should die." He wished her a speedy recovery (ASDS). Jordan's intention to come to Neuwerk could not be realized. The preparations for the foundation in Tivoli kept him fully occupied. For "yesterday I spoke with the Cardinal Vicar in regard to the sisters. I hope the matter can soon be settled. Pray much" (letter, October 12, 1888, ASDS).

On October 18, 1888, Therese gave some of the unused rooms (of the Brabarastift) to the socially zealous pastor, who wanted "to found in them something to the benefit of the female factory workers." On October 29, Therese paid back out of her savings 1,150 Thaler, the remainder of the mortgage, "after several efforts" (MMChr) and to the great relief of the poor Catholic Teaching Society.

On October 31, Jordan could at last give the desired news that the two "sisters from Neuwerk" could come to Rome in November. Next month, in November, you must depart in order to begin at last with the help of God the holy work of the sisters. Dispose of everything in an orderly way with the Reverend Pastor, so that you can depart quietly; I shall probably sell the real estate there. Hurry as much as you can and inform me a week before your departure, because three candidates from Bavaria will come together with you. The foundation will not be in the City of Rome, but nearby, from where you can see well the City of Rome, in a healthy region and in a rather large town. The Most Reverend Bishop is a friend of mine and will give whatever help he can.

He even sees to your lodging. Pray much and be prepared for sacrifices, because the beginning is always connected with great sacrifices . . . A large field of activities is laid open. God bless you. Greetings to the Reverend Pastor; write at once. In the love of Jesus, your spiritual Father, P. Fr. of the Cross. Do not talk about it much, so that the devil may not interfere. Do everything quietly and without talking (ASDS).

Therese noted the happy news already on October 28, "that we now, still in November, shall-or are allowed to come to Rome. May it be so!!!" And she concluded the year 1888 in her diary: "Yes, it is: with Jesus, Mary and Joseph!!! On November 21, the holy important day" (MMChr).

On November 20, the Baroness bid her pastor goodbye. The letter he sent on the same day to Jordan, lists the points, which in his opinion would have to be considered in any tenancy agreement, and which now could not be avoided. On November 21, 1888, Therese and Ursula left their beloved Barbarastift forever with a heavy heart, and at the same time with hopeful confidence. On the same day, Pastor Koch inspected the rooms and explained to Jordan in a detailed letter the result and his further plans.

Your Reverence will have received my letter of 20 c.m. Yesterday, Wednesday 21 c.m. I inspected carefully the house inhabited till then by the Baroness von Wüllenweber. I feel myself obliged to inform your Reverence that it will be a complete ruin in an early foreseeable time unless fundamental measures are taken to preserve the house. In the next days a governmental architect, Mr. J. Busch from Neuss in matters of ecclesiastical buildings, is coming to Neuwerk; I shall ask this gentleman for an true judgement and send his expertise to your Reverence. According to law, the lessor has to hand over to the tenant the house in a habitable condition; I regard the house of the Reverend Teaching Society here as in essential parts not habitable in its present state. Furthermore, if the house shall serve its aim as a future hospital, there will have to be made important structural alterations, especially to shift the staircase on the upper floor, which in its present position would in fact endanger the life and health of the sick and infirm. Shifting the staircase presupposes in our case other structural changes. Parts of the rooms below give the impression of a cave. Where I spoke of necessary "repair work" in my letter of 20 c.m., I meant changes useful and necessary for a hospital. I make this remark expressly to avoid misunder-

standings, and these changes must, of course, be made together with the necessary repair work at the same time to preserve the substance of the house. I will ask architect Busch to indicate exactly these differences in his expertise, and to keep apart what is required: a) for the preservation of the substance of the house; b) for the installation of the hospital. This scheme would determine what would have to be repaid at an eventual notice of termination of contract by the reverend Teaching Society (cf., letter of 20 c.m.), while expenses to preserve the substance of the house would be incurred now by the Society. By the way, an understanding between priests would be easily reached. I would like to add that my letter of 20 c.m. contains only preliminaries. I shall be able to make binding proposals only after talks with Mother General of the Motherhouse in Heydhuizen, Holland, and architect Busch.

Once the tenancy agreement is reached, I hope and pray Baroness von Wüllenweber must sign the contract as I said several times in the letter, so that all future possible run ins may be avoided. Miss von Wüllenweber and I had hoped, that Miss Krücker, a pious and cultivated lady, sister of a deceased pastor and dean, could move into the house at once, but this is quite impossible after I have convinced myself about its present state. Only after the needed restorations will be completed could I persuade Miss Krücker to move in. Also the orphan [Christine Firschgens] is not in the house anymore, as her guardian has taken her out and moved her to Mayor-Widow Hall. Therefore, the house is completely empty. The Baroness left it behind absolutely in its present state, together with inventory, Chapel, victuals, goats, poultry, etc. I had no other choice but to take over a kind of supervision for the sake of the higher aim, but I hope the whole matter be regulated at the soonest, as my pastoral duties make it impossible for me to be the administrator of the neglected house. In addition: the three little houses are nearly threatened by collapse.

And there is nobody to be found to take over this burden without adequate financial compensation. So I ask you once more to accelerate the matter. Finally I note that architect Busch enjoys the special confidence of the archbishop.

Neuwerk, November 23, 1888.

Hermann Koch, Pastor (E-788)

1.26/36. Tivoli. In his memo book Jordan had written the exact timetable of Rome, Tivoli and back. In it there are also a number of addresses;

there are often added notes like dimensions, necessary repair work, possibility of a house-chapel, situation of the rooms, rent price, etc., (G-2.13). Bishop Cölestin invited him on November 8, to inspect rooms he had found for rent.

Reverend Father, Tivoli, November 8, 1888.

As I promised you I did not fail to engage myself immediately to find a house for the purpose your Reverend Father revealed to me. Although here there are a lot of apartments for rent only a few are large enough. Of seven only two are vacant with a kitchen (one belongs to a Giuseppe Graziosi and the other to a Paolo Rosati). Maybe there could be more vacant apartments in Casa Betti, but discussion and work are needed. The people told me that in February the place will be available which now serves the *Circolo Cittadino*. This should be the case since in the past it belonged to the Camaldolese monks. Anyhow, your Reverence, it would be good if you came to make a short visit from the morning to the evening in order to consider the rooms and eventually negotiate conditions. You may dine with me. In this agreement I would like to offer you, on my behalf, my sincere appreciation.

Of your Reverend Father.

Most devote and obedient servant,

+ Celestino (E-789)

The Archpriest Antonio Sebastiani also invited Jordan for a visit to show him a house he offered for purchase, describing it as fit for three or four religious, near San Giorgio by the railway and the provincial road. He praised the water and the air of this "*Paese di villeggiatura*." Also the bishop was *prontissimo* and the people themselves desired religious (Tivoli, October 2, 1888, C-1). Tivoli numbered 8,500 inhabitants at that time, it had a cathedral and seven parishes. Mother Mary described the new house of the sisters in Tivoli as follows:

On November 27, 1888, the Reverend Father took Sr. Mary Therese von Wüllenweber and Sr. Ursula Rabis at 3:00 p.m. by train to Tivoli, and the two sisters entered their future home the first time; situated in Piazza S. Francesco = in front of the church and the monastery of St. Francis and Villa d'Este, summer residence of His Eminence Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe. The Most Reverend Bishop of Tivoli, a good friend of our Society, provided a home for us; it was formerly the winter home of the *Camaldulesi*, while their summer home is nearby on a hill." (Mother

Mary in a report on the "Foundation of the Second Order of the *Societas Divini Salvatoris*" May 17, 1900, which Lüthen had requested.)

1.27/37. The Rule of 1888. Mother Mary reports that Jordan handed her a holy Rule from the very beginning. It was the same one he had reworded at the beginning of 1888 for the First Order (consequently not the one of 1884, which he had given to Streitel). A draft in German written by an unknown hand into which Jordan inserted the necessary changes for the sisters has been preserved. These changes deserve a proper appraisal. Where Jordan obliges the First Order to observe the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in poverty, chastity, obedience and apostolate, he changes the last to "works of Christian charity." Where the following statute says that the Society accepts sons of any nation and is ready to extend its apostolate to all peoples, Jordan now speaks of the daughters of all nations and that the members of the Second Order extend "their charity and apostolate" to all people. In the chapter about the special aim, Jordan obliges his confreres to the sanctification of the neighbor in "manly imitation of their leader Jesus Christ." For the sisters he requires "works of Christian charity in resolute imitation of their divine bridegroom," to whom they "dedicate, consecrate and devote themselves without any reservation . . ." Jordan changes the expression "through example, word and writing" into "the good example and the works of Christian charity." In regard to holy poverty, Jordan requests the sisters with perpetual vows to renounce personal property (*dominium radicale*), and that whatever they receive after their profession belongs to the Congregation of the Sisters. Lüthen may perhaps have explained that to Mother Mary in detail, for she noted in her diary, "in everything provided forever (March 30. Fr. L.). Everything off, also the roots, like old Orders, according to Reverend Father's wish."

The professed sisters retain the same regulation as the First Order: They "can with the permission of the superior general fulfill those property rights which are prescribed by the law." In regard to the vow of chastity, Jordan speaks appropriately of the sisters as brides of the Immaculate Lamb. He cancels the great rule of apostolate completely in the Rule of the Sisters. "In sisterly love they shall become single-minded like the Apostles and the first Christians, having one heart and one soul,

in order to reach the aim of the Society" ("the first Christians" here is added). For the rest Jordan contents himself with adapting terms like Mother Superior, religious woman, sisters, etc. He omits completely the last 3 chapters concerning *capitulum culpae*, reader, clothing (E-1221).

In addition to this proper life Rule for the sisters, Jordan presented to the responsible bishop of Tivoli the same canonical short Rule in Latin, which had been approved on June 5, 1886, by the Cardinal Vicar for three years for the male branch. Jordan changed only the aim: "the sanctification of one's neighbor" to "works of charity."

Correspondingly, he substituted the statute about "means of sanctification of one's neighbor" with "works of Christian charity" and explains that among the works of Christian charity to which the sisters dedicate themselves, are foremost "the education and training of girls and the care of the sick." In the various groups of members of the male branch it was said rather unclearly: "The Society also accepts oblates, clerics or lay-people or 'indifferents.'" Now Jordan writes distinctly "the Society accepts also female oblates" (i.e., girls on probation before being admitted as candidates). Regarding the direction of the Society he takes over the regulations for the male branch: General Chapter, Superior General and General Council. But whereas the validity of the election of the men's Superior General requires the Holy See's agreement, the valid election of a General elected by the sisters chapter requires "the previous agreement of the Superior General of the Catholic Teaching Society."

In the Short Rule he presented to the Bishop of Tivoli for approbation, Jordan omitted for the time being these three regulations in regard to government. The bishop approved these short statutes on March 20, 1889 with his usual kindness:

After the Reverend Fr. Francis of the Cross Jordan has explained to us that some pious women have decided to lead in this city a community life under the name Sister of the Catholic Teaching Society, observing the above rules or statutes, we have agreed and approve these rules or statutes with our episcopal authority *ad interim* for three years. We determine, however, that this congregation of pious women are under my jurisdiction as long as they reside in this city or diocese, unless in the course of time it will be decided differently by the Apostolic See.

Cölestin, Bishop of Tivoli. (E-1222).

1.28/38. The first five novices Jordan had selected had their names noted by him in his memo book (G-2.18, 184). In the members register he noted: Today, November 24, have come Wüllenweber, Rabis—Maria Hopfenmüller—Eleonora Weinsheimer from Bamberg, Margaretha Ruderich from Saßenfort by Seußling, Margaretha Göller from Pettstadt. Today November 27, 1888, *Tibure secundus Ordo i.e., Sororum caritatis fundatus est* (G-3.1, 104-105).

Reverend Father determined exactly the religious habit, chosen already before in Rome (MM, Foundation of the Second Order, notes of May 17, 1900, ASDS).

Leaving Neuwerk, Therese began a new diary wherein she describes the oddest start in Tivoli. Written in French, many special events in her life left their traces there.

L.J. Chr.,
Tivoli, *Piazza San Francesco presso di Roma.*

Notes

On November 21, 1888, we, Sr. Ursula and myself, Maria Therese von Wüllenweber, left Neuwerk, St. Barbarastift, following the call of the Reverend Founder of the Catholic Teaching Society. Met in Munich with four more candidates from Bamberg Diocese: Miss Maria Hopfenmüller and three others. In Rome we were allowed to stay for three days to visit the holy places. Then our Reverend Father, Fr. Jordan, introduced us into our new home in Tivoli on the 27th: Sr. Ursula and myself. On the same evening I went to the station to fetch the four other sisters. The Reverend Father presented to me the holy Rule, which I received on my knees. And he said: "If you follow this, you will become saint-like." We live here in front of the church of the Franciscan Fathers. The home is poor and fit for few. On the upper floor there are two large bedrooms and a living room, below a kitchen and dining room. The Most Reverend Bishop of Tivoli graciously provided this home for us.

Two days after our arrival Reverend Father came and began an eight-day-retreat in preparation of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception and of the investiture celebration. (I go shopping with Sr. Ursula every day and understand Italian quite well).

On the day of the feast I had the great favor of receiving the holy habit of the Society from our Founder Again I received the beautiful name of Mary of the Apostles, which I had received also six

years before from the Reverend Father.^{*} Two sisters were invested on the same day: Maria Hopfenmüller, now Sr. Scholastica, and Margarethe Rheinwald, now Sr. Clara. Reverend Father gave a short sermon encouraging us to humility and imitation of Mary; we, too, could now sing the Magnificat (MMChr).

It is remarkable the élan with which Mother Mary plunged into this new definitive period of life after long and patient waiting. She heads her diary succinctly and appropriately with the one word *Roma*. On the day of her arrival in the Eternal City she notes the principles which Jordan recommended to her warmly from the start: "To recognize God's gifts is also humility . . . above all unity. To use all means also for temporalities. Not just to say: God helps us. Like the Visitation."^{**} Always remain my sisters" (Tacc).

The presentation of the religious rule on the first day in Tivoli remained unforgettable to Mother Mary; Jordan said: "If you follow this, you will become holy–Holy Rule–Tivoli."

In the afternoon of November 29, Jordan arrived to begin the spiritual retreat in preparation for investiture. Mother Mary noted: "Humble oneself, obey, submit oneself to atone for the spirit of uproar in church and state. We must radiate like the sun." On the following day we find in her diary: "If I was not to be here now, God would not have inspired the Founder to do so."

In beginning a new work it would be better for several [people] if they had more patience than strength for acting. Oh! How grateful must I be for God's call. This may be perhaps my last grace. Oh! What gratefulness! How grateful must I, must we be to Reverend Father. The Society will preserve me from hell

^{*} Corrected later in a supplement: "On May 31, 1883, I received the name Maria Therese of the Apostles from Reverend Father in my Neuwerk convent."

^{**} Sr. Mary refers here to the religious habit, which Jordan chose for his sisters like the one of the nuns of the Visitation (MMChr).

Mother Mary notes further on during these holy days: "Now I long for the habit out of obedience, and I must forget it; a habit can also humble." She felt really happy in those days: "How grateful I can be for being bound forever." She is glad that at her hour of death she will be able to present herself before God convinced that she obeyed His holy will through the fact "that I have surrendered myself wholly to the Society." Again she resolves to forget all the past and not let any anxiety arise.

On December 5 we find in her notebook the words: "Italy means all for me. The rest is only of minor importance. The greatest grace and the greatest happiness is to suffer." On the evening of the investiture Mother Mary reminds herself of Jordan's modest foundation of the CTS in St. Bridget: "Today the brethren are seven years old."

It was not easy for the sisters to get used to life in a foreign country. With the exception of Mother Mary, none of them had ever been outside their homeland. On December 8, Sr. Scholastica fell ill and had to be taken to the hospital. Not before Christmas Eve she could return home. Sr. Mary notes:

A heavy cross has already afflicted us and will give us blessing; got smallpox; . . . I am allowed to see her everyday. Almost each day one or another of the sisters must stay in bed, but not dangerous. May we learn to love whatever Jesus loved!

This case of smallpox alarmed the health inspector. The bedrooms were temporarily closed and all five sisters had to sleep on the floor of the small living room. Jordan expressed his feelings in his own manner:

The Name of the Lord be praised for letting us drink so very much out of his chalice of suffering. Oh, it is better than much praise and favor of man. The Congregation of the Sisters will become great if it is built on the cross. Do not lose courage. The Lord will help. We pray daily for the sick sisters (letter, December 13, 1888, ASDS).

In his December 8, 1888 report in Tivoli, a deeply moved Jordan pointed out: "Here I cannot omit to mention the heroic courage, the fidelity and loyalty to our holy cause, which the Reverend Mother Superior of the Holy Apostles (once Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber) always showed in the hardest afflictions" (AK 1893).

In regard to her religious name, Mother Mary once wrote to Lüthen: "I also asked the Reverend Father to give me the name of Maria Therese of the Holy Spirit: however, Reverend Father preferred Mary of the Apostles, which I liked, too" (ASDS).

On December 18, the other two candidates were invested. Then they all began to learn Italian. Mother Mary, who already spoke French, was the quickest to get along linguistically. She noticed: "We often take walks for the sake of health" (MMChr).

1.29/43. Mother Mary's appointment. Lüthen agreed with Jordan's decision to hasten Mother Mary's final profession of vows. In his opinion, she had already submitted herself to his direction through her private vows of 1882. Jordan had,

... called her to Tivoli to make her the Mother of the new foundation. When some more candidates had applied, on December 8, 1888, the Congregation could be founded with the agreement of the Bishop of Tivoli, Msgr. Del Frate. With the permission of the Most Reverend Bishop, Therese von Wüllenweber, or as now was her name, Mary of the Holy Apostles, could make her perpetual profession into the hands of the Reverend Father already March 25, 1889, with the dispensation from the missing part of the year of novitiate (Lüthen's short memoirs, August 15-16, 1910, BL-1378).

Jordan had contacted Bishop Cölestin and received his approval. "Rev. Father told me on Candlemas that I would soon be allowed to profess perpetual vows; thanks be to God! Next month, St. Joseph help," Mother Mary noted down in a mixture of inner joy and anxiety (MMChr). In her diary she noted what sentiments pervaded her now:

I must be thankful that on one hand my life is completed now, so as to lead a quite new life up to my death by dedicating myself entirely to the Society, come what may . . . Oh! How quickly life passes!!! Mary is my Mother, my support, my all. All according to the spirit of the Founder. Now it all has passed (during these four months, from '59 to '89. [Here Mother Mary points discretely to her 30 years (1859-1889) on the way between Sacré Coeur and the Catholic Teaching Society].

Thanks be to God! Here everything has begun, is regulated, on the way of obedience. Italy and Rome was my dream; it has become true. This is perhaps my last grace, the crown, the completion. Oh, let's follow . . . The last will is well (made); everything is in the hands of Reverend Fr. Jordan. The family is well (provided for). My Neuwerk is well (settled). I must always keep my eyes upwards, not let myself be stopped by anything in my noble tasks; above all always love humility: this is for my soul, not to rest deliberately, trust in God . . . In the future throw off all doubts (March 23, 1889).

1.30/44. Barbarastift, the final disposition. After the arrival of Therese von Wüllenweber in Rome, Jordan conferred once more with her and Lüthen in Tivoli. He wanted to comply in every possible way with the social work of the pastor back in Neuwerk. But he had come to understand that his plans for the Barbarastift had already become doubtful when the first sisters left. After the death of the previous pastor, Fr. Ludwig von Essen, who had joined Jordan's foundation with missionary zeal, Jordan had had to bury his hopes albeit reluctantly. Thus it was that for Christmas 1888, the new pastor, Fr. Koch, received Jordan's offer to sell. At Jordan's instructions Hopfenmüller wrote on December 23:

After careful consideration also our Reverend Father in agreement with the Baroness von Wüllenweber, now Sister Mary, has come to the opinion that the weight of the reasons favoring the sale of the real estate is the heavier one. Consequently, he offers the purchase at the price we proposed last spring, for 20,000 Marks. We are awaiting your further decisions. [Fr. Otto concludes with best wishes for the upcoming festivities.] (A NK)

Previously the circumspect and cagey pastor had described to Mother Camilla, Superior General in Heydhuizen, the state of the brickwork and the roof of the former monastery as good. He had also ascribed great value to the five to six acres of garden land available for use. Although the pastor welcomed the influx of industry into the poor region, this very factor obliged him to confront the disadvantages of industrial life. So he urged the erection of a kindergarten and also the education of engaged couples preparing for married life, because "the morality of the factory girls is often endangered; above all, however, there is most urgent need

to care for the needy sick" (A NK). In a sketch of his "Illustration of the Situation, Especially of the Proposed Hospital" the pastor worried about the needed means. He stated:

. . . the purchase price of 20,000 Marks is relatively quite modest, however, at least 12,000 Marks are needed for the necessary changes in the hospital. Then there are to be added the modest wages of the sisters and the personnel (A NK).

Through his notary, Pomp, Koch immediately undertook the steps needed to legalize the purchase. The sellers authorized Adam Hauser of Neuwerk-Neerbroich to conclude the deal on their behalf. Carl Alban Friedrich Baron von Leonhardi had transmitted his consent on January 8, 1889, through the German General Consulate in London. On January 16, 1889, Jordan and Lüthen as well as Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber signed the required power with the Imperial German Consul in Rome. "As witness and to confirm the identity" of the three appeared Msgr. Georg Jacquemin and a certain Hermann Bohn. Adam Hauser was charged with the sale,

. . . in their name of the monastery building situated in Neuwerk in the district of Gladbach together with the garden and the three houses at the market in Neuwerk together with orchard and land with all that belonged to them as limited by the road in the north, by Hausen, the church, the parish office and school in the south and by Dapper to the west . . . for the purchase price of 20,000 Marks to the Reverend Pastor in Neuwerk under the conditions appearing good to him and favorable to the sellers, to accept the purchase price, to receipt validly and to sign the relative notarial act.

The Baroness renounced expressly the obligation of sustenance in favor of the buyer:

The co-undersigned Maria Therese Baroness von Wüllenweber, now living as a religious novice in Tivoli near Rome authorizes the above named Mr. Hauser to present the declaration at the beginning of the sales act of the above real estate, that she, the undersigned Baroness von Wüllenweber renounces expressly the stipulation made in her favor in the act of donation to the notary Lückcrath in Gladbach of September 6, 1882, Reperorii nr. 3659 in par. 4, in regard to the above said buildings in Neuwerk and that these buildings be sold free of this obligation.

Adam Hauser and Pastor Koch completed the transaction in January 1888 (Sales and inventory list, item 1744, AKN)

On January 21, 1889, Koch presented his application to the Arch-episcopal General Vicariate for "permission to buy a real estate, which for ecclesiastical purposes" should be bought for 20,000 Marks, so the Franciscan Sisters of Heydhuizen could establish a hospital. There would be added walk-in care for the sick in the parish, a small kindergarten and a domestic school for girls in the industry (AAa).

On January 29, the General Vicariate manifested its happiness about the fact that "the former von Wüllenweber property" should again become a religious settlement. But at the same time it asked for information whether everything was legally settled and whether the house was suitable for the purpose. Furthermore, it had to be determined who was the proprietor and how the necessary means would be provided. Meanwhile, Koch had concluded the act of purchase with the CTS (January 25, 1889, AAa, A NK). On February 27, he informed his church superiors of the act of purchase of "the former Wüllenweber's real estate" and answered the questions of the General Vicariate.

Among other things he praised his purchase: "Brickwork and woodwork as well as the roof are in quite good condition, solid and strong enough. The rooms have comfortable proportions and are well illuminated everywhere." Then he went on to say that he had already begun the necessary changes and restorations. The owner was the pastor himself, and the required means were already in process. The hospital would be named "St. Joseph and Barbara." Koch added a report in which he gives details about the parish, the hospital, and procuring the means. Once more he points out:

... after Sister Mary (Baroness von Wüllenweber) now belonging to their Society left Neuwerk to go to Rome, if the priests had advertized the house for public sale with no one living there, it would certainly have fallen into the hands of industrialists, who were already speculating about it; it would have been lost for ecclesiastical purposes; it would have become an industrial enterprise in spite of the immediate neighborhood of the church, with talking and singing of a bad kind, happening quite near the Holy Sacrament. It was dangerous to morals! In these circumstances it was lucky the venerable Sisters of Capellen-Heydhuizen were ready to offer the necessary means, what has been

done up to now to the required extent . . . The house is saved for ecclesiastical purposes (AAa, the last sentence underlined by Koch).

After settling the outstanding mortgage on the Barbarastift (10,350 Marks, rest-interests 148.78 Marks) together with a pension of 900 Marks for Ursula Rabis, who had returned home on January 29, 1889, the Catholic Teaching Society remained with 8,601.22 Marks. This the pastor handed in cash to Widow Quack on February 6 in order to transmit to Jordan (A NK). This is registered in the CTS cash book (November 1, 1887 - August 1, 1889) as 10,618.79 Lire. Jordan gave a receipt for the amount to the pastor of Neuwerk on February 12, 1889 (A NK).

Koch had immediately informed Jordan about the conclusion of the purchase, and the latter asked him to send the money to Rome "by registered letter." At the same time, Jordan gave the home address of Ursula Rabis, so that Koch might send her all her belongings left in Neuwerk as well as remit to her the 900 Marks. She "does not belong any more to our female Society, neither was she invested" (letter of Fr. Lüthen "per order of the Reverend Father," February 3, 1889, A NK). Ursula Rabis, on February 17, sent Koch the receipt for the money received (A NK).

There were some formalities connected with von Leonhardi's signature on the declaration of power of attorney for Adam Hauser. In his letter of condolences of January 21, 1886 to Jordan at the death of von Essen, the Baron had explained that he "made no claims whatever for the co-ownership of the St. Barbarastift in Neuwerk" and that he left Jordan a "completely free hand" (H-19.14; cf., DSS XIV, 421). In a February 16, 1888 letter, he declares himself ready to give the written "cessation" asked for by Jordan, but he wished in a counter move that Jordan would deposit 2,000 Marks in the Anima for his press apostolate in Sweden (H-19.15). Afterwards, notary Lückenrath took care of this matter (cf., letter of the Baron to Jordan, March 13, 1888; note of the Baroness in her diary, April 25, 1888). In the act issued at the Imperial German Consulate in Rome, the Baron's agreement is presupposed as juridically valid. In the declaration of power of attorney prepared by the royal notary, the first signature to appear is, "Friedrich von Leonhardi, once housed in Fortress Königstein." The first signature at the end of the declaration is: "London, January 8, 1889. Friedrich Karl Alban von Leonhardi." It is not, however,

written in Leonhardi's hand. There must have been a corresponding declaration from his side. Then followed the signatures of the three persons present in Rome: "Rome, January 16, 1889, Joh. Baptist Jordan, Bernhard Lüthen, Maria Therese von Wüllenweber." Next come the signatures of the two witnesses and the certification of the Consul (A NK). Jordan noted at that time: "to send to Leonhardi his belongings, January 31, 1889" (G-2.9).

Subsequently, the "power" was sent to Baron von Leonhardi, who signed it on February 5, "at the General Consulate of the German Empire in London": "Carl Alban Friedrich von Leonhardi" (not Friedrich Karl Alban!). On the document follows the signature of the official witness and the certification by the "Imperial General Consul." Von Leonhardi sent the document to Jordan. So we may suppose that the Consul in Rome had found fault with the added signature of the absent Baron on the declaration of full power and that the conscientious Jordan had felt obliged to ask for a certified signature of the Baron (E-791).

After the happy conclusion of the purchase, Koch had only to take care of the furniture of the hastily departed Baroness. Mother Mary notes in her diary: "On February 9, Reverend Fr. Bonaventura showed me a petition of Fr. Koch in which he asks for information in regard to my furniture, etc., estimated there at about 1,500 to 2,000 Thaler (6,000 Marks). Most of it shall be sold. As God wills."

At the beginning of March, she notes: "From home I also received good news, (that) papa has brought most of the furniture and wants to make a proper endowment in Neuwerk and give me money for traveling so as to pay him a visit" (MMChr). The pastor had a "record of the inventory of the Baroness Therese von Wüllenweber" made by a sister. There is listed first what has been taken from Castle Myllendonk, like a piano, a harmonium, a sewing machine, all pictures and more other things. Other objects were bought by the castle (furniture, table, and kitchenware for about 250 Marks). Some of these were acquired by the sisters and the rest "sold on the spot." After deducting the expenses there remained an amount of 624,65 Marks, which Mother Mary could use for the still quite poor household in Tivoli (E-790). Jordan willingly agreed to this request of Mother Mary (E-604 and 605/I).

For the receipt of the money from the purchase of the furniture from the Barbarastift, Lüthen thanked Koch expressly:

Reverend Father, the one who handed over to me your letter together with the money to pass it on to venerable Sr. Mary (von Wüllenweber), is wondering whether you have been thanked from her side. At any rate, with this you are informed about the arrival of the letter, a) of the money (for the inventory), b) I will eventually take care for a more exact receipt from Tivoli. God bless you and your noble work! In the service of Christ, Fr. Bonaventura (letter, November 6, 1889, A NK).

The transfer of the money had been delayed until fall. Koch excused himself as he had been in great danger because of blood poisoning and had been able to dedicate himself only to the most urgent tasks. He was still negotiating with Berlin about state agreement for the hospital. Its alterations could soon be finished, but the cost would come to about 30,000 Marks. Also the first spade had been turned for a second church, Heart of Jesus (letter, August 28, 1889, E-793). In early September, he could finally send the inventory list to Jordan. On September 20, he asks him to return the list indicating whether it was satisfying, so that he might send the corresponding amount (E-793b). In the fall of 1889, Mother Mary received from Koch a still unpaid bill for the amount of interest on the mortgage. Lüthen assumed the matter:

Would you kindly . . . inform us, what we have to pay. With sincere joy, that your undertaking, as I heard some time ago, has been realized, I am, with recommendation of our Reverend Father,
Yours, Fr. Bonaventura.

Koch had Lüthen's check of November 28, 1889, cleared through notary Pomp. The pastor passed the latter's answer on to Lüthen, December 10: "The gentlemen in Rome had not to pay anything further" (E-794). On January 6, 1890, Koch wrote Mother Mary, who had invited him to visit in Tivoli,

Your Reverence, the venerable Catholic Teaching Society and, although in the last place, I myself wanted only the honor of God and the salvation of our fellow men. We have humbly submitted to God's Providence. The wrong that I may have done in over zeal the Sacred Heart of Jesus will turn to good in divine love.

Then he reports on her father's visit at the occasion of the consecration of the altar and the dedication of the hospital, and that her father manifested his complete satisfaction. Koch expressed his joy about the favorable development of Jordan's foundations. He was sorry not to have the money for a trip to Rome. But for getting out of purgatory he would count on Mother Mary's prayer!!! He added greetings to Frs. Jordan and Hopfenmüller (A NK).

Koch had purchased the hospital under his own name. But the Franciscan Sisters had paid the purchase price and the expenses of remodeling and equipping it. Now the sisters urged him to sell everything to them. He himself had asked to be transferred and could not leave this burden to his successor. However, for three years he had toiled and spent money for the hospital. Therefore, not unjustly, the parish community hoped to own the hospital. The pastor was not against selling the hospital to the sisters. But embodied in the sales contract he wanted some rights of the pastor and his spiritual authority, like the parish community's preferential right of purchase (letter to a friend, Father Scholl, January 20, 1890, A NK). Also the archbishop insisted that in case the property were sold again, its new purpose could be secured (the hospital was presently valued at 50,000 Marks). Koch pointed to his numerous begging trips in favor of the institution. Now he had to dispose of the matter in writing from his sick bed (letter, January 27, 1890 to a pastor-friend, A NK).

Eventually before leaving Neuwerk, Koch sold his hospital to a Sister "Miss Wilhelmine Meyer, nurse." The purchase price was (after all the restoration) again 20,000 Marks. Of course, the mortgage of 10,350 Marks (at 4½ %) owed to the Dapper heirs still encumbered the former Barbarastift, now the Hospital of St. Joseph and St. Barbara, taken over by Koch from the Catholic Teaching Society (A NK).

1.31/45. Von Wüllenweber's Will. Lüthen's written order caused the Baroness considerable embarrassment. Already on January 1, 1883, she had made her will in favor of the Catholic Teaching Society and expressly declared invalid all her former determinations in regard to her last will. She had also given away the Barbarastift for a charitable purpose. In

her diary she evaluated the sale of the Barbarastift: "by this sale you will be remembered and you do something good" (February 3, 1889).

The conscientious Lüthen, however, still had some doubts whether it had been well settled canonically. Mother Mary always became somewhat anxious when making decisions about propriety. She also was now and then vexed, at age 55, by the fear of a somehow insecure old age. She thought it best to lay out before Lüthen, so to say, everything in regard to legal property present and past:

L.J.Chr.

Some notes as an answer to your letter, Tivoli, February 16, 1889.

Whatever I must do to be wholly a Sister of the Catholic Teaching Society, I will willingly do. Reverend Father knows best, what is good and to the advantage of the female congregation, and in this I would like most to conform my thinking to his. As it is not yet founded, one could not give it; therefore I must live more for the female congregation, I would also prefer if later on, if possible, that Reverend Father would also take care of us in temporal matters. Everything must go into the hands of Reverend Father. In fact, Reverend Father already now provides us lodging, etc., as we ourselves could never do, the money from the sale of the monastery, which I cannot claim since January 14, may be kept by the male congregation; and with that also may I ask you to pay the guarantee and Ursula's debt, etc. If Reverend Father finds it good, the rooms could be furnished here with the money from the sale of the furniture. Of the 400 Thaler (1,200 Marks), which I as well as my single sisters now receive annually: 300 is a pension (from Mama's inheritance, I don't quite know) and 100 Thaler (300 Marks which ends at my death) is from an aunt, will be paid until Papa's death. When my good Papa should die, he says I will receive the same as each child, we are five. Now he will be able and will want to give a preference to the one who receives Castle Myllendonk, according to Mama's wish (I am the eldest, then Baron von Ascheberg-Münster). And I hope that when Papa is dead (as Papa often worries) the Society will be satisfied with Papa's orders. (I have written to him lately: do not be afraid; you have good children in me and in the Catholic Teaching Society). Papa says that I would receive, like each of the others, about 25,000 Thaler (75,000 Marks) and I and the twins have 1,000 Thaler (3,000 Marks) more for trousseau, which the married sisters had received, but I not yet.

I hope to God that I will never leave (the congregation), but if the devil here or there gets the upper hand, I pray to give me just so much to keep me alive, maybe becoming a "*laborin*." And in case Rev. Father should die too, then people of his spirit must come to lead. Many silly thoughts. I would like everything to be done in writing. Enough: I will and wish to do everything, God as the best of fathers will help.

If I must make a will, as necessary, otherwise Papa will have a different one, which gives the family everything (do not know whether it has been torn up) - (a later 1874 mystical one lies at the notary's "to Dr. Von Essen" = All to the mission house, female, in Neuwerk = (1884 null now), I want to make it as it is at the pastor's (because a female congregation had not yet been founded). Therefore, all to the Reverend Father, Fr. Lüthen and Reverend Fr. Thomas (in place of Leonhardi), this to change consequently. Then, if permitted, as already written, as much as necessary, do not know exactly: to celebrate a yearly Solemn Mass to celebrate for my soul: in Korschenbroich and in Neuwerk (think about 400 Marks). Then so much to ask for prayer in my name monthly (think 5 -10 Marks). The rest can be omitted. Praise be to God that I have finished. Fr. Otto will be good, too.

Mary Help and St. Joseph of the Holy Profession!!!

Mary of the Apostles (E-604).

Lüthen immediately consulted with Jordan and probably also with the experienced Fr. Hopfenmüller. That Mother Mary might use the money from the sale of the furniture for her new home in Tivoli had already been allowed by Jordan. Mother Mary was also allowed to retain the two pensions for her small religious family. Jordan could not but be pleased, that in this way the five sisters were not oppressed by financial problems during their novitiate. There was, in fact, the problem to disentangle the contract of donation and the will which were combined, and to adapt them to the new realities. The condition of sustenance of the contract of donation depended not only on the Barbarastift, which had been sold, but also on the "receivers of the donation," and consequently on the amount of the sale. Jordan, however, considered himself obliged to use it to compensate for the already paid loan from Cologne which the baroness had guaranteed, and he urgently needed the rest for his missionary aims. Proper security of sustenance was afforded to anyone received into a religious community. Before her profession, Mother. Mary had of

course the right to receive her guaranteed sustenance out of the modest sales-price after having given her full consent to the sale. Lüthen told her by the following day, how Jordan and he himself considered the matter and what proposals they dared to make:

L.J.Chr. Rome, February 17, 1889. Venerable Sister.

1. Reverend Father has been informed about your notes. He, too, is of the opinion that the proceeds deriving from the sale of the furniture etc., in Neuwerk be used, as far as necessary for furnishing your home in Tivoli.
2. Consequently, we will use the amount from the sale for us, as well as to cover the loan. Ursula has already received her part. That Reverend Father has to care for his female family, as his paternal duty. That the sisters must also be prepared to beg, says the Rule. All in all, how care will be taken for the sisters, he will have to consider. Therefore, this is a natural duty not deriving from the receipt of the purchase sum; this supposition has no influence at all on his relation to the sisters.
3. It is equally evident that the Sisters later must have their own administration of property separated from ours. But God will dispose of that later on.

Reverend Father also thinks you should not donate your property to relatives. Sign it over only to us three priests with the remark that it shall be for the female branch of the Society (provided this remains faithful to the Society: this remark is, of course not to be made to your venerable father). Nor should one mention the female branch. But your father should know it as well as your relatives, so that none could say: we take advantage of the matter for ourselves. Consequently, because of our reputation. In regard to the second point I want to notice that your remark to have renounced already on January 14, is not correct. In fact, you have acquired a right on the amount of purchase. About this right to receive a compensation from the purchase sum you still have to dispose freely. So, will you, please, declare clearly on this paper (p. 4), that you renounce the said right. With that the amount is our full, free real property without owing anything to you or to the female congregation. In financial matters there must be transparency. May God bless you with His richest blessings for time and eternity!

Yours in Christ. Fr. Bonaventura. (E-605).

Mother Mary agreed with this view. She did not want to be a hindrance to Jordan's using the modest proceeds from the Barbarastift for his apostolic purposes. So she signed in a quick decision, as she was used to, the declaration inspired by Lüthen:

Thanks for all!!!

I, Sr. Mary of the Apostles von Wüllenweber, renounce the profit resulting from the sale of the real estate in Neuwerk, which I donated in 1882 to Frs. Jordan, von Leonhardi and Lüthen. It is free, clear, full property of the Venerable General Directory of the Catholic Teaching Society, owing nothing to me or to the female branch of the Society.

Sr. Mary of the Apostles von Wüllenweber.

Tivoli, February 19, 1889 (E-605a).

Now Mother Mary had only to settle her will of January 1, 1883, in the way Jordan wanted it adapted to the new realities. She wrote "in full possession of her intellectual faculties and after mature consideration, mindful of the certainty of death" a new will (in Italian). She nominated the three priests: Jordan, Lüthen and Weigang her common heirs. According to Lüthen's proposal, in this officially deposited will (*Archivio Notarile, Via Semeria*) the agreement of both sides that everything "was for the female branch of the Society" was not expressly stated. However, Mother Mary had fully informed her father the Baron so he could act correspondingly in making his own will.

It may be noted here that Lüthen, and with him Jordan who was ultimately responsible, were seriously accused later that in counseling Mother Mary before her profession, they disposed of her property in complete liberty, and that they had also dared to point to the apostolic begging rule of the Catholic Teaching Society (taken over by Jordan subsequently for the two branches of his foundation from the Rule of St. Ignatius). Lüthen was also criticized for trying to negate the Baroness' right to sustenance with his "cool" statement: "In money matters there must be transparency." Lüthen's answer of February 17 to the inquiry of February 16 was read out of context, and was taken by those who dared affirm that the male branch of the Catholic Teaching Society was aiming above all at Mother Mary's wealth as the chief secret proof. Such dishonest and greedy acting on Jordan's part could only be sharply

condemned. Thus, the fear Lüthen had spoke of in his letter was fully justified: "so that no one should say, we used the matter for ourselves." It is a pity that Mother Mary could not defend her beloved Reverend Father, when such slanders were indeed put in circulation.

For Jordan as well as for Lüthen it was an unconditional pre-supposition that the donation of the Barbarastift should in no way bring the male branch into any kind of dependence on the foundation of the sisters in Tivoli. Jordan was certainly not induced to found the sisters because he would be given 8,600 Marks. Mother Mary had no right to become a sister of the Catholic Teaching Society simply because she would have been able to bring in a yearly pension of about 300 Marks (3½ % of 8,600 Marks), which, by the way, was too little even for a religious sister to live on. Jordan never put even the least pressure on Mother Mary. She was always free to claim the 300 Marks annually from the CTS. Together with her family pension of 1,200 Marks annually she could have secured a carefree old age (there was in addition the inheritance of her father yet to come). Mother Mary chose the way of voluntary renunciation for the sake of the Lord. She did not withdraw her generous donation of 1882 through a back door. On the contrary, selflessly she put her personal pension to the disposal of the sisters' family in Tivoli.

Jordan made the foundation in Tivoli by virtue of his vocation, and Mother Mary joined him out of her own inner calling. Material motives were not allowed to have any weight. For what began December 8, 1888, and was completed March 25, 1889, Lüthen's statement should be just as valid: "In money matters there must be transparency."

Such false statements, that Jordan had been aiming at the money of the Baroness, must have somehow been circulated surreptitiously already during Mother Mary's lifetime. For Jordan noted in his diary, although without the date (maybe already when Mother Mary had made an attempt to live with Streitel in Rome the summer of 1884): "I admitted Baroness von Wüllenweber to the Society not on account of money but for other well-founded reasons" (SD 213; inserted on the last page of the first diary, which closes at the end of October 1894). Such "secret self-defense" was out of character for Jordan, and we find no other example in his Spiritual Diary. With regard to the sale of the Barbarastift, Jordan was glad to have given this donation, which had become a burden in the

course of years, for a social purpose. The conscientious Lüthen was still worrying during the last illness of Mother Mary, whether the matter of the Barbarastift was fully regulated, in spite of his presence at her declaration of renunciation. So, looking back, he had to state:

Renunciation V. M. February 19, 1889, in Tivoli of the money coming from the sale of Neuwerk. V. M. whether Neuwerk donated to us, the First Order! This donation was before approb. of Const. of V. Mother in the novitiate = *certo* [Lüthen noted further:] We have always considered this money as property, and nobody has contested it (G-23).

Nevertheless there remained the difficulty that the Council of Trent (Session 25, cap. 16) "prohibits the donation of property after novitiate = *renuntiare*." In his conscientiousness he turned to the Apostolic Visitor: "If valid - good; if not - compensate; absolute?" Lüthen already in those years rather scrupulously conscientious above all in regard to money matters, was consequently ready in case of doubts to pay back to the sisters the proceeds from the Barbarastift. Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli, Apostolic Visitor at that time, calmed the anxious priest, saying everything was in best order: (19.XI.07 aff. P. Antonio). So these modest proceeds of 8,600 Marks from the sale of the Barbarastift were even years later an occasion for rumors and anxiety of conscience.

1.32/46. Lease agreement.

With the present lease Mrs. Mariana Cerasi, widow of Trinchieri, rents rooms out and leases in favor of the Reverend Father Francis of the Cross Jordan, Director General of the Catholic Teaching Society, for the use of the good apostolic works of the Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society. The landlady presents and they accept: the apartment in her dwelling in the Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore or Vicolo d'Este is composed of 13 units which are: nine rooms, kitchen, pantry, small entry, and grotto; they are furnished with doors, locks, shutters, windows, in good condition as will be shown by the official transfer.

This lease is made and accepted for the duration of 1½ years beginning March 1 of the current year under the following terms:

-that three months before the lease expires the partner who ceases must give the other a previous notice in the presence of

two witnesses. If there is no notice within that time the present lease continues automatically for another year and so on.
-that the leasee with the mutual title of the lease binds himself as agreed and is obliged to pay yearly 1,080 Lire and this in monthly installments after a deposit of 200 Lire and each month paid in advance in correct intervals because, etc., etc.
-that the leasee may alternatively use the water for washing, in the tubs three times a week.
-that the house must be reserved for its proper use and use of its members, and must be kept in good condition.
-that they can also hang up the wash in the covered terrace.
-for the sake of the law, the leasee guarantees with his goods and through his successors and gives his legal residence.

Read and approved and signed,
Mariana Cerasi, widow of Trinchieri.
Fr. Jordan

Registered in Tivoli, March 8, 1889,
in the second register with eight Lire and forty cents.
The Receiver, G N 60 (E-792).

1.33/48. Defections and dimissorials. Beginning in fall of 1886, the CTS experienced an influx from Southern Italy, above all from the diocese of Benevent and Agrigent. Beginning in the fall of 1889, there followed a series of applications from Castel Madama and surroundings. Jordan, in his undaunted opinion saw promising outlooks for the future. From May 1888 till October 1889, there followed an equally large wave of withdrawals, which caused Jordan great anxiety of conscience. After all, he was the responsible father in the House of Divine Providence. What urgent reason caused these southerners to return home again? Why was it so contagious that in the two years 1888 and 1889 there were over 50 withdrawals? Jordan noted the reasons of those leaving in his list of members; he even made a proper list of those leaving (G-3.2). The same reasons recurred, but somehow they were connected more deeply. The official reasons were weak health, lack of vocation to the religious priesthood, missing agreement of the parents, resistance of parents or brothers, the need to help poor parents, and of course also lack of talent.

That Jordan saw clearly enough is shown by some of his notes: poor health, lack of talents and discipline, although nevertheless he is not a bad boy; lack of consent on the part of the parents, but he himself seems to be the cause; the brothers at home; the poverty of the parents who wanted his help. At the same time, the extremely young aspirants, between 12 and 15 years, were admitted into the *Oblatorium* "for the sake of custom:" to indifferently admit to religious life. For these admission were lacking neither the parental consent nor the testimony of the priest (often a relative). But Jordan had to learn not to take these more seriously than the good but still immature will of the aspirant himself.

In the meantime, Jordan's "First Order" had become an institute of the Diocese of Rome. As such it had no right to issue *litterae dimissoriae* presenting candidates for ordination. According to the Constitution of Clement VIII (1592-1605) this right was given only to papally recognized religious congregations. This raised enormous canonical difficulties for Jordan to overcome or at least bypass. When he presented his first two candidates their *titulus ordinationis* was merely *titulus Societatis*, which only dispensed them from *titulus patrimonii*. To that was added the condition that a member in major orders, if he left Jordan's institute later would remain excluded from the powers received through ordination until he secured a *patrimonium* for himself (Resolution of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious meeting April 7, 1888, A Rel nr. 9365/13).

When on September 16, Jordan presented an application for four more candidates to be ordained *ad titulum Societatis*, the Congregation passed the application on to the Cardinal Vicar for his opinion. His answer was clear canonically, but later caused Jordan great difficulties. Cardinal Parocchi pointed out that Jordan's institute was still lacking the *Decretum Laudis* and that it was still a diocesan institute *ad experimentum* (*tenuto in esperimento - qualità di sodalizio diocesano - ricono-sciuto ad tempus dall'Ordinario*). On that occasion, Parocchi also expressed the wish that the Congregation occupy itself more thoroughly with this institute of Jordan's. He himself could in no way complain about it. But its members were mostly Germans, destined to evangelize in their homeland where they already had establishments. So the Institute could be an Institute of his diocese only in an improper sense (September 24, 1888, A Rel n. 11374-7).

Consequently, the Congregation decided to stop it all: *Attento informatione Rmi. Urbis Vicarii non expeditur* (September 26, 1888).

Now Jordan tried to reach his goal through the pope. He asked the pontiff for a special permission: as long as his institute remained without papal approval to present his members to the Cardinal Vicar for major orders. This application, too, was passed on by the Congregation to the Cardinal Vicar for examination (November 21, 1888) and received a "*Remittatur*" (postponed for the time being).

On January 26, 1889, the tenacious German renewed his application: that six members, who had received their dimissorial letters from their local bishops but had at the same time been ex-cardinated, now be admitted to minor and major orders. This application, too, went first to the Cardinal Vicar for his opinion (January 26, 1889) and received his official *Remittatur*. On February 6, the Cardinal Vicar personally asked the Congregation for Religious to find a middle course. In the meantime, Jordan's students should remain incardinated in their dioceses and subsequently receive the dimissorials from their responsible bishops. Jordan himself may be allowed to turn to the Congregation in individual cases to receive a corresponding directive (A Rel n. 11931).

February 12, the Congregation ruled on Jordan's earlier application of November 21, 1888, in which he had turned to the pope: *prout petitur, non expedire*. On the same day the Cardinal Vicar interceded for Jordan's petition of January 26. He asked that on his own responsibility he be allowed to ordain the alumni of the Catholic Teaching Society excardinated by their local bishops but provided with their dimissorials. Those proposed for ordination deserved, *sottogogni aspetto*, to be ordained. The Congregation decided on February 16: *Vocetur agens* (A Rel n. 11374-7,9).

Jordan patiently submitted another petition, this time for only 2 members, excardinated and provided with dimissorials. The Cardinal Vicar warmly recommended his application (February 22, 1889). The cautious meeting of the Congregation returned the petition to the Cardinal Vicar, leaving to him any further procedure. On March 1, Jordan was informed that the Congregation had avoided a decision. He again petitioned the pope in regard to these two candidates Fra. Ignatius Bethan and Fra. Julius Antony Damiotti. This petition too was warmly

recommended by Cardinal Parocchi (March 28, 1889). In an audience on March 29, Leo XIII decided, probably on request of the Prefect of the Congregation, *Non expedire*. The Secretary of the Congregation, who had to inform Jordan, gave as the reason that the institute was still without papal approval (A Rel n.13738).

Subsequently, the Cardinal Vicar succeeded in getting a dispensation from Leo XIII for Jordan in the meantime to present his candidates to be ordained without *litterae testimoniales* under the title of his Institute (*sine patrimonio*). However, this permission was not general, but only for single cases, for which Jordan had to petition the Cardinal Vicar.

In June 1889, Cardinal Parocchi ordained in the Lateran four subdeacons and one deacon, and before Christmas two priests. The privilege is mentioned in ASV, VV & RR, Voto Batandiere of May 29, 1892 (n. 25603/13). Jordan himself must have been truly oppressed and heartsick by this clumsy procedure.

1.34/49. Myllendonk. Mother Mary's parents wanted to develop Castle Myllendonk as the ancestral family seat. The castle had often changed owners. In 1803, it was sold by the unmarried Landrat of Gladbach and physicist Franz Gottfried von Märken (1768-1833, the family had been ennobled since 1640) together with his stepfather (second husband of his mother) to the *Matmnann* (bailiff) Joseph Lichtschlag. His daughter Francisca Lichtschlag received Elizabeth as foster sister into the family. Elizabeth was daughter of Justin Leopold Le Foort (killed in an accident caused by Francisca's father) and Konstantia von Märken. Elizabeth also received her part of inheritance of Castle Myllendonk, and with hard efforts succeeded together with her husband, Baron Theodor von Wüllenweber, to buy other parts of the original castle. So it was understandable that above all her mother was attached to her inherited seat and she wished to keep it for the von Wüllenweber's. Sadly, her marriage remained without a male heir. So the castle came as total property to the second oldest daughter Fanny (1834-1918), who married Max von Böselager of Castle Peppenhoven.

In early summer 1889, Baron Theodor von Wüllenweber began to regulate everything for his five daughters by means of his will. Preliminary talks with his daughters had not developed to his satisfaction.

Mother Mary had no part in these differences. But being the eldest, she had to take the first step to bring it all to a good conclusion. The Baron wanted Castle Myllendonk to be taken over by his second oldest daughter and to compensate the other daughters accordingly. He expected Mother Mary as the eldest, to leave her part in the family. She asked Jordan for advice. He was somewhat occupied with this matter, as it was an exception to the generally valid "*cessio dominii radicalis*."

In this connection Jordan noted in his proper short form the following reflection: "Whether she with 20,000 Thaler (60,000 Marks) after her father's death - Right: to receive 24,000 - 26,000 Thaler (72,000 - 78,000 Marks) offered 20,000 Thaler (60,000 Marks) at 3%, or 3½%. " Then he is in favor of meeting the Baron in everything as far as possible. Nevertheless, there should be something for Mother Mary's new family of sisters: 1) Because a good Catholic aristocratic family would be enhanced by it, also spoken with Felix von Loë;[†] 2) to avoid troubles; 3) to satisfy relatives with a few thousand Thaler; 4) 3½%" (G-2.13).

Jordan also made a comparison of interest of the 25,000 Thaler (75,000 Marks) promised to Mother Mary earlier at 3% = 2,250 Marks. So he advised her to insist on 3½% for 20,000 Thaler (60,000 Marks). In this way she would have available "as mother" (after her father's death) at least 2,100 Marks annually for the household of her new family in Tivoli. The Cardinal Vicar agreed fully with Jordan's proposal. Jordan explained his wishes to Mother Mary who not only agreed with his solution but was at the same time glad to be able to refer to church authority when she had to communicate to her father, who was looking forward to her answer, "now the decision of my superiors and of the church":

As God wanted me now to be "mother of a new family," already loved and approved by the Holy Church, it is to us, to me with warmest heart, which I will always preserve towards my dear original family, to my

[†] Jordan had already known Baron von Loë, adjutant general to the Emperor, for years. First he met the active Catholic layman daily at each of the *Katolikentage*. Then they traveled together by boat from January 23 to 29, 1880 from Corfu to Alexandria. On the great Feast of Canisius of August 18, 1881, while Jordan was having his Roman inspiration, Felix von Loë was one of the main organizers (cf., DSS XIV, 65, 165, 272, 273, 274).

caring and to me always especially good Papa, but in this case a palpable sacrifice to deprive this my spiritual family something Well now, our Reverend Father and Founder has, as said, presented it all to the Cardinal Vicar, the pope's representative.

Then Mother Mary declares that she will be satisfied with a partial inheritance of 20,000 Thaler (60,000 Marks). Furthermore, she counts of course on the ongoing yearly pension, for which the property can remain in the family. She expects 3½% interest for her inheritance (after her father's death); "3% is too little." She also points out that she was counting on her dowry; her father had promised her 1,000 Thaler (3000 Marks). She concludes her letter with the wish that the name "von Wüllenweber on Myllendonk" always remain in honor. "So I hope to have caused you joy". "All the money is for my spiritual family here, even if we, brothers and sisters, also help one another" (E-606).

On June 11, Fanny answers for her father that Therese's compliance caused Papa joy. The sisters too felt relieved and at once drew up corresponding contracts for Therese.

To those with the free right of disposal of your quota, or that this amount will later go to the proprietor of Myllendonk, has been an essential factor in ensuring the future conservation of the name Myllendonk, as it is at present (E-606a).

In the added contract Mother Mary promises to cede in favor of her sister Fanny her "sibling-share at the later partition of inheritance." In return, she is apportioned 20,000 Thaler (60,000 Marks) at 3½% from the "inheritance of the property of my two parents." She can, at the earliest three years after her father's death, call in the above capital up to one half, but not more than 3,000 Thaler (12,000 Marks) yearly. The other half, that is 10,000 Thaler (30,000 Marks) cannot be called in and will go to my sister Fanny after my death." Her father added under the contract: "I quite agree with it, but I hope that my daughter Therese will, at a later date, not deprive her family completely of the capital reduced of 10,000 Thaler (30,000 Marks)" (E-606b).

On June 15, Mother Mary wrote her father that she had received Fanny's letter and handed the act over "to my Reverend Superior here for

his approval. . . . How far I shall be able to sign it, I will let you know later on." She refers to her letter of June 3, in which she had already made known her reasons and wishes. She points out: "You see we are good children; how glad I am that you are well. Oh! May it be so for a long, long time to the honor of God!" About Tivoli she added: "It is quite healthy here, not hot but rather cool air." Then Mother Mary inquires once more about what she would still receive in regard to dowry, she should know that before signing the act. "So please, everything clearly = according to your kind nature, dear Papa." Next, Mother Mary remembers her "Dear Mama" whose anniversary will be July 5 of '32, and concludes: "Good Papa, your obedient daughter Maria Therese, Sister of the Catholic Teaching Society, ab." (E 606). Mother Mary signed the act in favor of her sister Fanny on July 26;

After Reverend Father was here on July 22, I signed the act on July 26, which now determines well my parents' propriety; [I] received moreover from the good Papa 20,000 Mark as dowry, 60,000 Mark, and now 1,200 Mark yearly (MMChr).

The 1,200 Marks were her pension from mother and a great-aunt. Even earlier, Mother Mary had noted in her diary: "Then the Reverend Father said, His Eminence, the Cardinal Vicar, had approved of the agreement with me and my good sister von Böselager because of our good Papa" (MMChr, after May 31).

Also in her diary Mother Mary has noted those summer events. She said a full yes to her new vocation: "Toward the postulants with the courage of a saintly mother; Myllendonk good; the fathers here good." However, even later there were some financial details to be fixed with the family. Only on August 7, 1890, was Mother Mary able to enter this matter as in her diary as finished; ". . . now at last money concluded with the family. Thanks be to God forever. Oh, how peacefully I could die now. All finished -----."

1.35/50. Summer holidays 1889.

Then Reverend Father said, there might come 20 brethren here for *villeggiatura*, I might look for a house. Already in the evening I found

one at the Sindaco Toma's and Cathedral-Pastor de Angelis, opposite the seminary. Oh! May God grant it

Reverend Father Bonaventura [Lüthen] has been for some time so kind as to explain the Holy Rule to us on Saturdays. Then he always gives us some lessons in Italian. Since July 8, the venerable brethren have left Sambuci and moved in here in front of the seminary. We had the pleasure to entertain them on the first day . . . afterwards Bonaventura also came from Rome The following day came Reverend Father from Rome to regulate everything with the brethren; he was also here to console and admonish us to be united with God

On the 26th, Reverend Father was here bringing us good news; sisters from his home village, who have a monastery there, intend to join us. They are wearing secular clothes now [the Precious Blood Sisters]. When Reverend Father arrived in his village where the monastery is, 12 storks flew onto the monastery in the evening and left again next morning; certainly miraculously meaningful (MMChr).

These "summer notes" from Mother Mary's diary have been stitched together here. She used to make her notes quite vaguely and quickly. By "brethren" she meant the members of the First Order. The "20 brethren" were probably the novices who had come with Lüthen. The "good news" was brought by Jordan, August 26 after his return from Baden. The event of the storks was also noted by Lüthen:

When traveling in Germany, Reverend Father came to Waldshut (Baden), in the same evening 12 storks flew in, leaving again next morning. He, too, traveled on the same day. These twelve storks settled down on a monastery there (G-14; cf., DSS XIV, 48).

Unfortunately, Frater Cyrillus Braschke (from Ratibor) fell ill of typhus and was hospitalized in Tivoli. His strong nature quickly over-came the dangerous illness, so that by mid month he could return to Rome together with his confreres.

1.36/51. Early Prayers. Otto Hopfenmüller's "*Manna Religiosum*" appeared in 1889, from the CTS printing shop. Composed completely in Latin, it was meant above all for students of theology. In it he united personal

and liturgical prayers and thus intended to offer some prayers in view of the budding spirituality of the still young CTS. It consists of three parts and endeavors to sanctify the day, the week and the year. As the *Manna Religiosum* was a prayer book for students, the liturgical part contained the Mass texts of the three holy youths. Hopfenmüller pointed especially to the forms of devotion dedicated to the suffering and crucified Lord, as well as to his Sorrowful Mother. Among prayers proper to the Society there are the precious *O Sanctissima Trinitas* as morning prayer and the *Sanctifica*, the private daily renewal of vows and the novice's dedication within the prayers after Holy Communion. These prayers proper to the Society show clearly the hands of Jordan and Lüthen.*

The prayer *O Sanctissima Trinitas* belongs to the "Spiritual inheritance" (*Patrimonium Spirituale*) of all Salvatorian communities:

Oh most Blessed Trinity, in union with the most Sacred Heart of Jesus and the most pure heart of Mary, I offer up this day all my prayers, actions, and sufferings, in praise and honor of thy holy name, for both the Societies founded by our Father Francis Mary of the Cross, in order that his spiritual sons and daughters may be sanctified in truth, accomplished in holiness, filled with the fire of the Holy Spirit, and may continually increase in numbers, so that, being perfected and established in unity and filled with the Spirit of God, they may faithfully and perseveringly make known, bring to light and glorify Thee, the Triune God, every-where until the consummation of the world; and praise and exalt our heavenly Mother, the Mother of God, and lead innumerable souls to Thee, and that they, one and all, may unflinchingly persevere in divine grace and in their holy vocation until they enjoy Thy face in eternal bliss in heaven. In like manner do I offer up everything for all our benefactors and cooperators, and for all for whom God wills and knows that I ought to pray. Amen (E-118/1)

* Cf., *Mann Religiosum, Precationes in usum Religiosorum Soc. Cath. Instructivae qui studiis vacant - collegit et edidit P. Otto Hopfenmueller, Presbyter praefatae Societatis, Romae Typis et impensis Societati Catholicae Instructivae, MDCCCLXXXIX* (AGS 207.2; cf. DSS XXI, 141f).

2. Out to all the World

Fr. Francis of the Cross was not only pleased about the maturing seed in Rome,¹ he planned to found other new "apostolic nurseries" as soon as possible. But Divine Providence led his Society in other ways for the time being, luring him directly into the apostolic adventure.

By September 1889, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide approached the Institute of the Catholic Teaching Society requesting them to take over the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam, India, which was to be reestablished. The Congregation had already asked the larger orders but in vain. They all gave evasive answers. Jordan did not dislike the idea of embarking on this adventure. But at home he had first to search the globe (always standing by his desk) to find the region between Tibet and Bengal being offered to him. His mental geographic travels until then went only to regions which he hoped to be fertile for religious priestly vocations. Now through the church, Providence directly forced him into a most difficult mission land. At home, Jordan consulted with his three brothers-in-arms. They prayed, and then accepted the offer. The constant mission enthusiast, Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller, offered himself to be the first to tackle the difficult task, though lacking missionary experience. In the meantime, negotiations continued between Propaganda Fide and Jordan. On November 5, the Cardinal Vicar highly recommended to the Propaganda the Catholic Teaching Society as an institute approved in his diocese. November 18, the Propaganda decided to entrust the "one time Kingdom of Assam, the Kingdom of Bhota and of Manipur as Apostolic Prefecture" to the Catholic Teaching Society. **See, 2.1. Assam (I).**²

¹ "From our Motherhouse: In fall, 32 made perpetual vows. Although there are now 87 professed members. The general statistics: 6 priests, 3 deacons, 4 subdeacons, 28 other theologians, 51 philosophers, 17 brothers, 43 in other studies: total 152 members" (MI 22, 1889, November 24).

² See, A Closer Look: 2.1. Assam (I).

Having accepted this new task, the celebrations marking the 8th anniversary of the foundation of the CTS took on a truly missionary character. **See, 2.2. Foundation Day 1889.**³ All of Jordan's foundations from the First and Second Orders to the cooperators were seized with mission fever. **See, 2.3. Apostolic zeal.**⁴ On December 13, the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam was officially entrusted to the Catholic Teaching Society. Jordan proposed Hopfenmüller as mission superior. Cardinal Simeoni sent the Decree of Nomination on January 15, 1890 (A MA).

On December 21, two deacons were ordained priests for the Society. One of them, Fr. Angelus Münzloher, was to accompany Hopfenmüller to the new mission. The other, Fr. Ignatius Bethan, would follow a year later.

The sisters in Tivoli had their great day on December 18. Three sisters made their vows for three years. (One of the four novices, who had begun a year earlier in Tivoli together with Mother Mary, had returned home at the beginning of the month.) The "Second Order" now numbered four sisters (counting Mother Mary) and two novices.⁵

On January 11, 1890, the local men's community in Rome, which now exceeded 150 members, again celebrated its "Language Fest." The guest of honor was Count von Schönborn, Prince-Archbishop of Prague.⁶

³ See, A Closer Look: 2.2. Foundation Day 1889.

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.3. Apostolic zeal.

⁵ On October 16, Sr. Aloysia was invested; on December 18, Sr. Laurentia, Srs. Scholastica, Clara and Benedicta made their vows for three years on December 18, while Sr. Columba had left the novitiate already on December 2, "because she has no vocation for the religious life" (MMChr).

⁶ Franz von Paul, Count of Schönborn (Prague, January 24, 1844-1899, 25 June, Falkenau) at first studied law, took part as Kürassie officer at the battles of Náchod and Königgrtz and began his theological studies only in 1869. Ordained on August 12, 1873, he did pastoral work for a short time, then worked

On January 17, 1890, the first four missionaries left for Assam. The farewell party in the motherhouse was touching. For the presentation of the missionary cross Jordan made an address into which he put his whole heart so that the charism of his vocation became dominant and inflamed all those present. He encouraged them to struggle for fidelity up to the point of martyrdom. **See, 2.4. First missioning ceremony.**⁷ On February 27, the missionaries arrived happily in Shillong, India and made their first attempts at mission work. They sent back continuous information about their activity in the strange surroundings. The press of the Catholic Teaching Society carried their letters and reports to every reader. Connections soon developed between homeland and mission. **See, 2.5. Assam beginnings.**⁸

Jordan was happy with his flourishing foundation in Rome, the House of Divine Providence. However, at the same time the space at his disposal became too cramped. So in his planning there arose again and again the old dream of building a house of their own. Somehow Jordan must have mused rather too loudly in the first weeks of the year or confided his intention to some outsider because in the *Prati di Castello* near *Piazza del Risorgimento* a piece of real estate was offered to him. The archivist of the Cardinal Vicariate, the physician of Campo Santo and other personalities

at Prince-Archepiscopal seminary in Prague as vice-rector and rector. On September 28, 1883, he became Bishop of Budweis. By May 21, 1885, Emperor Franz Josef I called him to Prague as Prince Archbishop. On May 24, 1889, Count Schönborn became a cardinal. He was a "Patron of our Society" (AK 1891).

Jordan wrote in his notebook on January 9: "Visit of His Eminence Cardinal Prince Archbishop Schönborn of Prague; language academy in about 20 languages of our professed" (G-3.1).

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.4. First missioning ceremony.

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.5. Assam beginnings.

contacted Jordan to recommend one or another craftsman.⁹ But the amount collected over the years with the help of "*bausteine*" (building stones) was still too small to think seriously about buying a piece of land and even less about building a new house. Jordan saw himself compelled to step up collecting *bausteine*. For this purpose he asked for a special papal blessing, which Leo XIII granted in the audience of June 7, 1890. **See, 2.6. Jordan's petition.**¹⁰

Already in November 1889, Jordan had approached the Cardinal Vicar to establish the sisters in Rome as soon as possible. Cardinal Parocchi, who over the course of years felt more and more kindly towards Jordan¹¹

⁹ D. Angelo Sinibaldi, *Archivista del Vicariato*, invited Jordan on February 20, 1890, for "tomorrow morning" into the Vicariate because of *sul noto affare* "the known matter" (D-1077). On April 23, 1890, he asked Jordan to come to his lodgings "*a proposito della Costruzione della Residenza di codesto benemerito Istituto da Lei fondato*" (D-1078). On July 24, 1890, the rector of the *Collegio San Giuseppe* came forward with the same matter "*come suo antico scolaro*" (D-1080). The physician of Campo Santo also wanted to lobby for his nephew, a good contractor (D-1081).

Since Jordan had only thought about all this in his "dreams" it was premature for serious negotiations. But it was just this informal advanced thinking which later caused difficulties for Jordan, when the owner of the site in the Prati wanted indemnification for unsuccessful negotiations. He even turned to the judge, who however, soon found out about the plaintiff (cf., PPP 192ff).

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.6. Jordan's petition.

¹¹ *Apostelkalender* of 1890 contains a biographical picture of Parocchi when he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano on May 24, 1889.

The Cardinal Vicar of His Holiness the pope is mild and kind, however, not devoid of strictness and energy where it is necessary. . . . Also for our Society he is a benevolent patron and protector. He has rendered us most valuable services in regard to ordinations of our candidates.

December 27, 1889, Parocchi sent a handwritten note: "The Cardinal Vicar wishes to see Your Reverence this evening for matters which regard you." Sadly there is no hint what the matter was. But this note (D-1037) proves how personal

didn't have the courage to give a clear "not yet." But when nothing came of his inquiries, Jordan sent Mother Mary herself to the Cardinal Vicar with a petition. This was Monday after White Sunday (April 14). The cardinal was gracious, but explained to her that the pope did not want any new orders to establish themselves in Rome, or only in exceptional cases. This "exceptional case" was to come for Mother Mary only four years later. On April 27, Mother Mary notes "we had to make the sacrifice to God not yet to be allowed to move to Rome" (MMChr).¹²

On May 8, Jordan introduced to the pope about 100 cooperators from Germany. The following day he was allowed to assist at the papal Mass together with them and to introduce them one by one (G-3.1).¹³

In summer the Roman community moved to Tivoli again. Jordan rented a correspondingly large house. With permission of the bishop of Tivoli, he opened there, on July 2, the first branch establishment for his

the contact between Cardinal and Founder had become.

¹² From the start Jordan considered Tivoli a provisional solution for the sisters. Their proper home should be Rome. So he continued to pester the Cardinal Vicar. "On November 30, St. Andrew's Day, Reverend Fr. Bonaventura told me we would soon be able to move to Rome. Oh! Holy City, I always desire" (MMChr). In the monthly account of January 1890, Mother Mary sighed: ". . . when shall we be in Rome, where our Most Venerable Father stays?" (E-607a).

As Jordan was not going to Tivoli until St. Stephen's Day 1890 to invest 4 sisters, he sent them by letter his best wishes for Christmas; "become true brides of Christ" and he underlines:

Dear in Christ, if we want to convert the world, we must have the spirit of Christ, because it is not we who will convert it, but Christ through us; therefore we must let ourselves be completely guided by Him and be intimately united with Him. This is my sincere wish, for your beatitude, your happiness, your well being is my task and to lead many to it through you... (ASDS).

¹³ On June 14, 1890, the *Institutum Leonianum* arranged a feast in the pope's honor. Jordan was invited to this *disputatio* and took with him 4 confreres.

candidates in order to transfer the study of the humanities there. So this long-nourished plan was realized.¹⁴

On May 20, Jordan thanked a priestly benefactor for 5,000 Lire for the sustenance of the motherhouse (G-3.1); on August 7 he received from a pastor friend in his homeland 10,800 Marks. Jordan felt urged, of course, to thank above all Divine Providence.¹⁵

On August 22, 1890, the sad news arrived of the sudden death of the mission superior Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller. His companion, Fr. Angelus Münzloher, sent the tragic telegram: "*P. Otto mortuus. Angelus.*" Fr. Otto had died of meningitis on August 20. Fr. Angelus was at that time at another station, so that he had not been able to assist his dying superior.

¹⁴ The 26 year-old Fr. Ignatius Bethan became local superior. The maintenance of the house in Tivoli had to be taken over by the motherhouse. But it was good to have a house in a healthy climate and good air, where the confreres could escape the "Roman Fever" (MI 13, 1890). The scholasticate, too, was to be moved to Tivoli as soon as possible. Above all Mother Mary was glad for the spiritual care that was provided, and that the "brothers" would be more readily at hand by word and deed: "now brothers here--everything more ready, must thank God for all, have courage and hope, keep myself to my brothers" (Tacc. July 5, 1890).

¹⁵ The great donation was handed over to Jordan through a befriended pastor from Sackingten. The donor himself wished to remain anonymous; he had found Jordan through *Der Missionär*. The pastor announced the gift on August 7: "*Te Deum laudamus*" God helps you.

Jordan was unsure about the use of the money. After checking back he received the answer: the amount is "by an unnamed benefactor of the Diocese of Freiburg." He donates it out of gratitude that God has given him much blessing in his business. "Use it freely where and however you need it most. Consequently, you may use it without scruples for your spiritual family, especially for the sustenance of your community there. The money belongs to you; you may use it where you find it necessary." The priestly friend, by the way, was one of the two priests who founded the smooth-functioning home for handicapped children at Herthen (4 km from Sackingen). He asked Jordan to pray and pray for this charitable work (August 17, 1891, D-1082-1084).

See, 2.7. Hopfenmüller's death.¹⁶ On August 30, the pious Br. Marianus Schumm followed his superior to eternal life, dying of red dysentery.

Not only Jordan, but the whole Society was shocked by this blow and at first almost paralyzed. The zealous and noble Fr. Hopfenmüller left a void in the mission as well as in the Society which could not be filled. In the meantime, there was no comparable substitute, although the 24 year-old Fr. Münzloher continued to hold the post in Shillong together with the good Br. Joseph Bächle. The whole Society, most of all Jordan, prayed to understand the mystery of apostolic fertility. They felt that in their young mission the law was fulfilled in its own way: the blood of martyrs is the seed of new Christians. The unbloody dedication of these apostles of Christ was to become a blessing for the mission. It was as if the really saintly Fr. Otto were taking care from heaven for the continuation of the barely initiated work. Young men, enthusiastic for the mission, pressed in to fill the breach. By December 12, Jordan could send three priests, one brother and three sisters to Assam. The day before their departure he introduced them to Leo XIII, who strengthened them with his blessing.

In the meantime, the Society continued growing steadily in number and inner strength. On Easter Monday two more members were ordained priests, and in September followed three more ordinations. Parocchi showed understanding, when Jordan presented his candidates for ordination simply *ad titulum Societatis*.¹⁷

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.7. Hopfenmüller's death.

¹⁷ The ordination documents of the year 1890 for the 5 new priests are issued as before on the *titulus Societatis cum dispensatione apostolica super Dimissoriis praeviis publ.* (April 5; September 20; October 28, 1890).

On September 9 the Cardinal Vicar once again assured the conscientious Jordan "*stia tranquillo*"! Jordan was in doubt whether he had overlooked any irregularity of a candidate. The Cardinal Vicar assured him also in regard to the only half-regulated matter of the title of ordination: *possum presentare pro dispensatione super titulo et dimissorial. etiam illos qui sunt de poca salute quin hoc notem in libello supplicii* (G-3.1).

On December 8, 1890, *Der Missionär* informed the friends of the Society that now 51 theologians and 42 of philosophers were attending Gregoriana. Also the community in Tivoli was growing. In 1890, Jordan had received 15 candidates into the novitiate, and admitted one to profession for three years. The three sisters destined for the mission made perpetual vows on the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude. Thus, the number of sisters had grown in two years to four with perpetual vows and 16 novices. Before the second missioning to Assam, the motherhouse had lodged 170 members, Tivoli 20 sisters, and Assam had two missionaries!

Cultivating common prayer was a special concern to Jordan. For his spirituality it was essential that these prayers be fully Eucharistic and Marian. To him external order and discipline was an irreplaceable condition for performing and deepening personal prayer, and daily celebration of Holy Mass was indispensable. He could not imagine feast days or Sundays without High Mass, solemn vespers and benediction. A choir trained for these events was soon all the talk in Roman circles.

Jordan remained concerned over how the community could use the Divine Office better. He did not like to see individual priests forcing the Liturgy of the Hours into their daily activities as a hasty exercise of obligation. He himself found it difficult and unsatisfying to make the liturgical hours a prayer of the entire church when he recited it alone. So after consulting with his closest co-operators, in October 1890, Jordan decided to introduce officially the common recitation of the liturgical hours insofar as it was possible and did not hinder the apostolate. (He had been experimenting with this since fall 1889.) He did not agree that praying Office in common in itself hindered apostolic engagement (as today's post-conciliar experience confirms). He thought it would enhance apostolic activity if practiced within limits and with moderation. Jordan did not intend to impose a burden on his confreres. He wanted to assist them. Office in common was never conceived of as an ecclesiastical obligation. It did not bind in any additional way those already in major orders. These, however, were strongly urged. For others the obligation was only "disciplinary." Common prayer had to remain regulated by the apostolic obligations of a community as well as of individuals.

This innovation did not, of course, meet with universal consent. Young priests observed, not without good reason, that if strictly applied it might restrict their flexibility for pastoral work. Members still in their studies feared not having enough time for their books. Jordan understood such objections and was open to dispensations. However, basically he considered common liturgical prayers, especially for the few large communities, a considerable spiritual help. He recalled the apostles in the original communities prayed in common (cf., Acts 2:42; 3:1) and that none of the proper religious orders gave up common liturgical prayer amidst their comprehensive mission activity. **See, 2.8. Choral Office.**¹⁸

In December 1890, Jordan sent a new group of missionaries to Assam. It consisted of three priests, a brother and three sisters. With their help Münzloher, waiting in Shillong, would be able to rebuild the mission.

In Tivoli, Mother Mary remained alone with Sr. Aloysia to care for the 16 novices and the candidates. They were actively assisted by the confreres in Tivoli. On the other hand, visits from Jordan as well as Lüthen and Weigang became more rare, something Mother Mary felt most painfully.

On January 1, 1891, the periodical *L'Apostolat de la Société Catholique Instructive* appeared. Jordan had once hoped to penetrate into France starting from Freiburg, Switzerland, but in vain. Now he tried to gain a foothold in the land of French culture with the help of this French "brother" of the German language *Der Missionär*. But the response there was weak from the start.¹⁹

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.8. Choral Office.

¹⁹ Starting January 1, 1891, in the printery of the Catholic Teaching Society in Rome appeared a French edition of *Der Missionär* (in simplified form) under the title "*L'Apostolat de la Société Catholique Instructive*." Mother Mary noted in this regard: "Now the Society is still more catholic = universal" (Letter to Jordan, January 28, 1891; she added a list of addresses of her French-Belgian circle of acquaintances). It's a pity that Jordan couldn't find a fixed distribution center in the French-speaking region; thus he had to end this experiment after two years.

In the German-speaking areas the Society presented itself in a new brochure. It, too, started from Jordan's basic concern:

... a group of apostolic laborers who according to the example of the Lord Jesus Christ and His apostles leave everything to dedicate themselves to the work with their whole being, formed, according to this plan, the true core of holy fighters for the truth of Christ and the salvation of the peoples.

They should be joined by a Second Grade: Catholic academics. As a "Third Grade he planned the auxiliary corps of common people." Here, too, he is clear: "If the cross is a distinguishing mark of all the works of God, then the Society has received no small share." **See, 2.9. Internal organization.**²⁰

In Tivoli since 1891, more and more young women sought entrance. At the beginning, it was mostly the sisters or other relatives of the male members of the "First Order" won over by their brothers. Through the periodicals several others found their way to the house of the German sisters at the Piazza San Francesco. In the first years admissions were approved exclusively by Jordan. Mother Mary advised, but she was glad not to have to decide or to be solely responsible. Over the course of years, Mother Mary gradually took over this burden from Jordan.

Local administration was from the start in Mother Mary's hands. Each month she gave an account to Jordan. Especially in the first years donations were received with deep gratitude. Since all the Tivoli sisters were still in formation their earnings were quite scant. Although each candidate and novice had to bring her modest contribution, the house was mainly living on Mother Mary's pension and on the charitable donations coming through *Der Missionär* or benefactors. Dowry and inheritance of the sisters were conscientiously invested according to Jordan's instruction and recorded by Mother Mary. When at the beginning of 1891, the upper floor of the house rented by Jordan for the sisters

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.9. Internal organization.

two years earlier became free, he took over this floor. Thus by May 1, there was living space for 50 persons. **See, 2.10. The Sisters.**²¹

In 1891 there appeared a new edition of the Rule of 1888. Jordan used this occasion to insert the chapter on the Divine Office. As for the rest, only secondary changes were made as occasioned by experiences through the years. The new code for religious orders, which since Vatican I was still being formulated and given a valid form, had not been considered more closely by Jordan in this new edition. His aim had become a short rule for his communities. Its pillars were the apostolate and the evangelical counsels. **See, 2.11. The Rule of 1891.**²² Jordan jealously watched that poverty be lived in its strict form. Also the vow of obedience was explained rather strictly. At the same time it remained entirely embedded in the hierarchical, authoritarian order of the day. Moreover, obedience was shaped by the fact that the Founder felt obliged by his vocation to complete his still unfinished rule in some continuity. It is true that he changed hardly anything in the chapter on obedience from 1886. However, the style of obedience, much more oriented to the Founder, got his paternal imprint. **See, 2.12. Obedience.**²³

Lüthen in particular contributed decisively to this transformation. As co-founder of the Society he kept himself in the background, making himself a spiritual son of the younger actual founder. His self-effacing example was followed by Mother Mary in spite of her being 15 years older than Jordan. As Jordan lived out his vocation, they remained very strictly bound to him in obedience. Yet each wanted to live obedience in his/her own way: Lüthen wrote to Mother Mary on September 9, 1893, addressing her as "Dear Venerable Mother!"

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.10. The Sisters.

²² See, A Closer Look: 2.11. The Rule of 1891.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 2.12. Obedience.

We both are so near our venerable Founder, you his firstborn spiritual daughter and I his eldest son, and we have truly served him together as well as individually, (ASDS). **See, 2.13. Lüthen's obedience.**²⁴

To Jordan, giving his foundations the necessary stability through authority and obedience as it was understood in his times brought the continuous sting of humility.

It caused Jordan considerable difficulty to decide how to bind members to still unfinished rule, and how to insert supplementary decisions springing from new experiences and from the maturing church law for religious communities. He found only this way: to let individuals decide before profession to oblige themselves to the actual statutes, without excluding those which he as founder would still have to make. That tensions between his vocation as founder and any apparent "arbitrariness" in the performance of his role as superior, could become dynamite. He and his subordinates had always to take this into consideration.

After the Society assumed its first mission, Jordan wondered how to discharge this new obligation both in regard to personnel and finances. When at the end of the school term 13 members were to enter major orders, Jordan dared to demand from the candidates a declaration, the adequacy and right of which could be doubted. Each of the ordinandi was to declare "sincerely and without restriction" that he had the firm intention to remain forever in the Society and to accept all actual and future statutes, as well as to go to the foreign missions when asked by obedience. Whoever could not assent to this request was to forego ordination; one could and should express his opinion to him privately (May 12, 1891, B-8). **See, 2.14. Declaration.**²⁵ All ten deacons and three subdeacons gave the Founder the requested promise. June 14 was the great ordination day; thirteen members received major orders, and

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.13. Lüthen's obedience.

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.14. Declaration.

fourteen received minor. **See, 2.15. Paolo Manna.**²⁶ Jordan soon realized that he had to desist from obliging all members before major orders to go to the foreign missions if needed. His foundation was not a clearly marked mission-Institute, but had to remain open for all needs of the people of God.

On July 22, two young priests traveled to Vienna to explore on the spot the possibilities of a pastoral foundation and how to win recognition by the state authorities. **See, 2.16. Vienna (I).**²⁷

On September 5, Jordan received ecclesiastical permission to introduce the First Sunday of each month as a special Marian Day. On September 19, nine confreres were ordained priests. Prior to this Jordan had given proper instructions in which he highly recommended to them above all fidelity to poverty, zeal for ongoing theological formation, and dedication to the Society.²⁸

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.15. Paolo Manna. One subdeacon had returned home together with his younger brother, Paul Manna. This later founder of the *Unio Missionaria Cleri*. transferred to the seminary of the Milanese Mission-priests. The Servant of God remained thankful to Jordan during his whole life, not only for having been able to complete his basic studies almost gratis in Jordan's House of Divine Providence, but above all that Jordan had awakened in him the missionary vocation, in which he found the fulfillment of his life as a priest.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.16. Vienna (I).

²⁸ Before the deacons began their ordination retreat Jordan presented them six points to observe and fulfill as new priests,

. . . with *Observanda a Neopresbyteris*: they should accept nothing personally, but everything for the Society and thus remain faithful to vowed poverty. The motherhouse couldn't give them (yet) the commodities which a priest might expect. The theological studies were still to be completed. They should bravely engage for the interests of the Society. They could not make exceptions in regard to clothing. They would further on be bound to discipline like students. September 5, 1891. [Jordan added below:] "*Promulgatum* September 9, 1891. (B-9)

On the Feast of All Saints 1891, Jordan noted in his Diary a "Pact made between the Almighty God and His Lowliest Creature." This spiritual pact certainly arose from an especially deep prayer experience with which this man of God had been honored. In his humble courage he binds himself to the Almighty and experiences in his prayer that the Lord has accepted his unconditional offer and has assured him of His presence in a new way. So Jordan brings into this spiritual pact not only his form of life as a priestly religious Christian, above all he embodies in this pact his God-given vocation. He almost wants to force the Almighty to assist him in his apostolic mission by contract. Jordan immediately concluded this pact with a prayer to the Almighty. He did so in a simple and clear form which lets us imagine the powerful tension in which Almighty God and his poor creature met as partners. Jordan had this commitment always before his spiritual eye. Again and again he renewed this pact solemnly, and found stability in it especially in times of great anxiety.

Today, 1.11.91 and 30.10.92. 21.11.94. 16.11.97. 25.12. 8.1.09.

On the Feast of All Saints this Pact between the Almighty and His lowest creature was made.

- 1) The said creature give himself totally and for ever to his Almighty Creator.
- 2) The creature gives and will give to his Creator whatever the Creator has given, gives, and will give to him.
- 3) The creature, trusting with all his powers in the help of the Almighty, not in that of man, submits the whole world to His reign, i.e., all persons who now or later live, so that they may know, love and serve Him, and themselves find salvation.
- 4) The creature will lead irrational creatures, too, into the service of the Almighty.

May God, who gave the desire, also grant the accomplishment (SD 202).

II

The creature confidently expects from the Almighty these graces, through the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary:

1. The Creator will clothe his creature with great sanctity, above all with humility so that, as far as this is possible, he may be a useful instrument of Divine Providence and may

faithfully fulfill his promises, and after this life He will receive him into eternal joy.

2. The Creator, in His omnipotence, will assist His creature with a strong arm to accomplish what he has proposed. 20.4.03 (SD II/53).

What is this pact with God about? It is only and entirely about what the Fathers of the Church inserted into the first question of the catechism. In selfless confidence, Jordan entrusts himself to his Divine partner as a surrogate for all mankind. He wants to be like the arc of a flare which directs attention to the only thing necessary: that all people "may know and love HIM and serve HIM and thus save themselves." Jordan (animated by the Bible, the liturgy and the Fathers of the Church) dares to give a devotional sense even to the life of dumb creatures. In return, the lowest creature hopes that the Almighty Father by the merits of His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and trusting in the intercession of the Mother of His Son, HE will grant him holiness and humility. This in turn will make him a wholly apostolic instrument of His Providence, a true servant of God, one to whom eternal joys are granted. In a special way God will physically assist his creature to carry out his assigned tasks.

Jordan had dared to oblige the Almighty to help him in living out his vocation "to the honor of God and the salvation of his fellow men." Left alone he was afraid because of his weakness and instability. Only in the power of God did he feel equal to his vocation.

The surprising thing in the Pact is its august image of God. God is ever the greater one: the Almighty, the Creator (Augustine, *Confessions*, I.4). Precisely this God, and this God alone, is our God: Emmanuel! In Him we live, we move and have our being (cf. Acts 17:28). He is nearer to us than we are to ourselves (*Deus interior intimo meo, et superior summo meo*. St. Augustine).

Jordan looks at himself before God as the lowest one, yet especially loved by Him. It is not surprising that characteristics of his spirituality

left their special traces in the Pact: his humility and confidence in God: deep calls to deep (Ps 41:7).

A further trait of his spirituality which roots and reveals itself in his vocation as founder is the personal responsibility he feels to make God known and loved. He agreed with Fenelon: "What man lacks most is the knowledge of God" (*Sentiments et avis chrétiens*, I). He understood his life task quite like St. Hilary: "For me I know in conscience that my most important life task towards God is by far that I talk of Him in all I think and in all I say" (*De Trin.* I, 37).

The cosmic note wherein Jordan sees himself as a representative of each creature may astonish some, but here too he follows the gospel: "Proclaim the good news to all creation" (Mk 16:15). "Look, heaven and earth proclaim that they have been created" (*Ecce, coelum et terra clamant, quod facta sint.* St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XI 4). In a no less cosmic manner the liturgy prays: "Through our mouth all creatures praise you and full of joy they praise your glory" (Preface to Eucharist Prayer IV). Thus to represent in prayer all reasoning and dumb creatures was not a universal dream, foreign to reality, or holy nostalgia, but redeemed love. "Then in your kingdom, freed from the corruption of sin and death we shall sing your glory with every creature" (Eucharistic Prayer IV).

Also in the Pact, Jordan's basically theological understanding of obedience shines forth, something with which several found fault because he simply applied it to the sphere of the church. Always and everywhere he knew himself bound by the Pact (*manere in pacto, Cic.; pacta servanda sunt, Liv.*).

In this Pact we find nothing comparable to the manifold forms of spiritual life we meet in divinely-gifted souls. It is useless to try here to solve a mystical enigma. Fr. Francis of the Cross remained silent in this regard. He knew only too well that what is decisive is not higher kinds of prayer but the intimate love of God.

While the cosmos/nature *grand motif* in St. Francis' "Canticle of the Sun" made use of the Psalms' language of praise, Jordan's Pact is marked by the courageously bold language of a prophet and apostle. Of course, the Canticle to the Sun and the Spiritual Pact are based on different religious experiences. Here we only wanted to point to the fundamental cosmic note and to the different forms of language flowing from the different vocations "of the great and the small Francis."²⁹

December 8 gave reason for special joy. The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the male branch was celebrated. Mother Mary was invited to the festivities in Rome. Lüthen made the speech of the day, "To the First Decade of Existence of our Dear Society." He invited all "to the joy that it has remained alive despite persecutions, frost, and inner crises. The vine has not died, but flourishes and its branches stretch out already to the Himalayas" (G-27).³⁰

On Christmas there followed the third sending out of missionaries to Assam; again three priests, one brother, and three sisters. **See, 2.17. Münzloher assumes control.**³¹

²⁹ Jordan wrote his Spiritual Pact in Latin, which makes its contents still more transparent. The dates added by him mark the yearly renewal of the Pact. Years later Jordan also transcribed the Pact into his second book of proposals in order to have it always present in front of him (SD II, April 20, 1903). The Pact was to him as indissoluble as his bond to the vocation God's grace deigned him with. Cf., SD I, 346ff; e.g., SD II, 92f.

³⁰ To celebrate the first decade of the foundation of the CTS the chapel in the motherhouse was repainted and a new high-altar was erected. The antependium showed the Lord's Supper by Leonardo da Vinci. On both sides there was an angel holding the instruments of martyrdom. The chapel was richly adorned with flowers and candles. In the refectory balloons were hung, etc. (MI 1, 1892) [The antependium today hangs in the motherhouse sacristy.]

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.17. Münzloher assumes control.

Jordan wanted to parley the fact that the CTS had been entrusted with a foreign mission to receive the papal recognition he desired. The Society, still a diocesan institute, had already been entrusted with tasks of the world-church. To Jordan this status was a half measure. So he began courageously to prepare the necessary documents for the petition. In December 1891, he asked the Prefect of the Propaganda to endorse his petition to the pope with his own recommendation. By January 25, 1892, Jordan received the requested letter:

The missionaries in Assam are working with praiseworthy engagement and zeal (*laudabili sollicitudine et zelo*); therefore, Propaganda supports the petition of the superior of the Catholic Teaching Society to the Holy See.

By December 15, 1891, Jordan had received a recommendation full of effusive praise from his friend the bishop of Tivoli. Cardinal Parocchi also drew up a good testimony in his favor on March 11, 1892. Before that he expressly had Fr. Caspar Stanislaus Ferrari, SJ, make a detailed examination of the motherhouse. **See, 2.18. Testimonial letters.**³²

Jordan saw in the growing number of new priests a great hope for the expansion of the Society as he desired it. His plan was to begin with small groups in places needing pastoral care and favorable for later recruits. From experiences collected on the spot he could afterwards decide with more certainty whether to remain or to look for a better place later. So, at the beginning of February, he turned to the bishop of Liège requesting permission to found a small house there with three confreres. In this way Jordan hoped to be able to provide better for his French periodical as well as for new vocations. But his request raised no echo. At that time Belgium was overcrowded with religious communities having fled from France. **See, 2.19. Liège.**³³

³² See, A Closer Look: 2.18. Testimonial letters.

³³ See, A Closer Look: 2.19. Liège.

February 18 brought to the motherhouse the postponed universal event: the Language Fest. At this occasion Arabic and Khasi (the language in Assam) were expressly mentioned (MI 1892).

Jordan was fully occupied preparing the petition to the pope for the *Decretum Laudis*. He did not omit to point out that his Institute already numbered 132 professed members and had up till then enjoyed the help of Divine Providence in an often remarkable manner. For constitutions Jordan presented those of 1891 which had already proved to be an excellent rule of life for apostolic religious. **See, 2.20. Rule of 1892.**³⁴ It did not occur to him to complete the constitutions he presented in light of canon law, although in his still young foundation he kept strictly to the binding canonical prescriptions. At the beginning of April, with his natural confidence Jordan presented his petition to the Congregation for Religious. The Congregation handed it over to an expert and recognized consultor for examination and judgement.³⁵

Meanwhile, the missionaries sent out to India on Christmas 1891 had safely reached Shillong. But instead of inserting themselves into mission work, they succeeded in persuading the other missionaries already there to continue the mission work together with them, but independent from the Catholic Teaching Society. Münzloher, the young mission superior was put under pressure by his subordinates of the same age. For him the most important task was to save the mission itself. At the end of March he turned to the Apostolic Delegate, exposed the situation to him and asked how to handle the matter. The Apostolic Delegate immediately replied that he himself was not competent to decide this difficult matter; he would pass it on to the Prefect of Propaganda. This he did April 19, exposing to the Prefect the intention of the newly arrived priests. He underscored Münzloher's judgment that the Mission in Assam was the most difficult in India, and required from missionaries the most

³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.20. Rule of 1892.

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.20. Rule of 1892.

sacrifices. But despite the still difficult beginning it absolutely had to be preserved. In the Congregation this thorny matter was discussed on May 11 with no decision. It was hoped that in the course of time the waves would grow calm and that, at any rate, the enthusiastic missionary priests would continue to hold the fort. **See, 2.21. Assam (II).**³⁶

Again towards the end of the school year, Jordan had to tackle and solve in his own community the problem of those wanting to leave. This weighed on his heart and caused him visible trouble. At least he could always discuss the difficulty with the Cardinal Vicar openly and without undo delay. Already on May 2 he calmed Jordan: "Make use of your powers, but proceed carefully with those already ordained."

However, the real trouble-provoking thing for Jordan was securing the *titulus* required for each subdeacon. Here he demonstrated persistent patience. However, his efforts would have remained without success if the obliging and engaged Cardinal Vicar had not opened a door for him. **See, 2.22. Titulus.**³⁷

It was very bitter and at the same time humiliating for Jordan to take the steps necessary to secure a dispensation from religious vows for a scholastic in Holy Orders. Again and again it happened that one or another changed over to become a diocesan priest. Jordan did not oppose anyone who could not find inner peace as a religious priest. But it hurt his heart that some of them so quickly felt the apostolate entrusted to them was too hard for their strength and then pursued an easier one. Nevertheless, there was a certain consolation in the fact that several, after having studied almost gratis in his Society, worked well in some other part of the Lord's vineyard. Quite a few remained connected to Jordan's work in

³⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.21. Assam (II).

³⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.22. *Titulus*.

thankful fidelity and later supported it as much as they could. **See, 2.23. Dismissals and departures.**³⁸

But Jordan must have felt that many were afraid of the still unstable future of the Society. For the CTS still lacked papal recognition and it did not own substantial property. Jordan, too, suffered from these hindrances. "To gain land and goods to fortify the Society," was his intention in these years (G-2.8). Still more important for him was to secure the papal *Breve di Lode*, which would open his work to the horizons of the world-church. The difficulty consisted precisely in the fact that his Institute in its desperate poverty could not guarantee the financial security which high ecclesiastical recognition required. Jordan bound himself so much to God's Providence that his work was at present found too light on the scales of the official church.

It was a great joy for the whole Society when, at the beginning of May, it received the papal permission to celebrate in its proper liturgical form what had up till then been its provisional patronal feast, Mary, Queen of the Apostles. That year the feast fell on May 29, and it was arranged as perfectly as it could be. A large oil-painting "Mary, Queen of Apostles" was unveiled in the dining room. And on May 8, Jordan had received a bequest of 12,000 Mark, "a new proof of the helping hand of Divine Providence" (MI 9,1892).

On May 31, Jordan was called to Propaganda to discuss and solve the difficulties in the Assam Mission.³⁹ For in the meantime the situation had

³⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.23. Dismissals and departures.

³⁹ On May 15, 1892, the Congregation presented Jordan with three questions which he answered on June 22. Jordan was to indicate how many members had left and why, and under what title the missionaries were ordained. He explained that in the previous year several (*complures*) left, above all because of the introduction of the obligatory duty of Choral Office in 1890. This year two priests have left. In Assam none has left. But two missionaries sent there in the past year caused much stir in the community. They both want to leave. Jordan had already

worsened. On June 11, Münzloher complained that since Fr. Matthäus Baukhuge had publicly renounced his obedience to him and was quarreling with the confreres, he should be recalled to Europe immediately. On the same day, the five priests who wanted to leave the Society but stay in the mission turned to Propaganda requesting that Baukhuge be removed from the Mission because of his scandalous life. They claimed the mission superior agreed but was hindered by illness. [Note that Münzloher's letter bore the date June 11, like the one of the five confreres.]

Jordan ordered Baukhuge to return immediately to Rome. Of the five priests wanting to become independent, he recalled the two prominent troublemakers to Europe. As soon as they could find a willing bishop, they could leave the Society. In regard to the other three priests, he proposed the Cardinal Prefect send them on spiritual retreats so they might reflect once more before God about their planned departure. The Prefect of the Propaganda fully agreed with this decision and had the three priests officially informed to submit to this order of their founder. Consequently, the three remained in the mission and in the Society continuing to work successfully. The fact that there remained a certain scar from this struggle, making them very sensitive towards the founder, is understandable. **See, 2.24. Three troublesome priests.**⁴⁰

Although Rome had reached its decision, the decision had not yet reached the priests in the mission. Therefore, Münzloher left for Europe. On the one hand, he wanted to collect money for his dear mission; on the other hand, he wanted to be listened to in Rome itself and find help for his position as mission superior. He arrived in Rome on August 29, "in

written to the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, so that they might find a bishop. To the third question Jordan indicated: three missionaries have been ordained with apostolic dispensation from the title, and one missionary on the title of the Society (resp. the *mensa communis*); three missionaries have been ordained on the title of the Mission, and of these just the two want to leave (A PF, 2735).

⁴⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.24. Three troublesome priests.

important concern about the mission," as it was said in the motherhouse (MI 17, 1892). In the meantime, the spiritual earthquake rocking the mission continued. The mission's vicar superior convinced the six sisters to sign a petition to Propaganda supporting the disaffected priests (13.8). Also "Roman Catholics" of Shillong turned to the secretary of Leo XIII to avert the danger of the esteemed missionaries leaving their country, greatly jeopardizing the promising, flourishing mission (20.8). On October 9, Münzloher returned to Assam peacefully and was accepted by the confreres. On October 21, Jordan could send two really trustworthy priests to Assam to replace the two who had been recalled. They arrived in Assam on November 16. A few days later, on November 22, the ever trustful Jordan informed the Prefect: "The mission is flourishing again. Thanks be to God!" (A PF n. 4859).

On the last day of May, Jordan was again called by the Propaganda to discuss the precarious state of the mission. That same day the Congregation for Religious turned down his petition for a *Breve di Lode* informing the Propaganda about it immediately. Jordan was "not yet" struck to the depths by this negative answer. In his disappointment he even dared to ask about the reason for this "*dilata*." So he was called to the Congregation where it was simply pointed out that his constitution was missing anything about governing the Society. The objection seemed of secondary importance to the Founder with his slight experience in canon law. What was important to him was to live in imitation of the apostles, and in this regard his short Rule was quite sufficient. Other religious founders had not waited until they could present a complete rule proved by experience. So, in the fall, he contented himself with working out a comprehensive supplement about government and offices as he intended them. Here again he copied the greater part from the Constitution of the Jesuits. **See, 2.25. Request for *Breve di Lode*.**⁴¹

During this agitated summer of 1892, Jordan still found time to initiate a new foundation. The bishop of Nesqually, Washington, USA wished to

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.25. Request for *Breve di Lode*.

entrust the members of his Society with the management of a boys' institute in Vancouver, in the far northwest corner of the United States. Jordan saw in this a possibility to get a foothold in the New World. He assented, and on June 27 sent out Frs. Severin Jurich and Felix Bucher with Br. Martialis Braendle to explore whether in North America there would be a chance to establish their own community for candidates.

On June 21, Jordan presented his three "emigrants" to the pope, who wished them all the best: "*Fate del bene!*" On September 6, 1892, the three courageous confreres took over St. James School in Vancouver on trial for one year, as Jordan had carefully stipulated. In this way they would have time, if expedient, to look for better "hunting grounds" in the land of liberty. **See, 2.26. Mission in the USA.**⁴²

On September 14, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, a small foundation was started in Vienna by three members. For the time being they had tacit permission of the church until they received the public right from the state. A letter of obligation in which the motherhouse in Rome guaranteed the sustenance of the members in Vienna had been sent to the Imperial Government on May 3. Jordan had it confirmed by the Austrian Consul in Rome. The priests worked in pastoral care, above all teaching catechism, and they were soon appreciated by the church authorities and were popular with the people. **See, 2.27. Vienna (II).**⁴³

The young priests Jordan sent to Tivoli endeavored to build up a house of studies of their own to unburden the motherhouse. Mother Mary dedicated herself with all her heart to the rapidly growing family of sisters. In February 1892, the bishop renewed their approval for three more years. In the middle of March, Jordan rented a second house to lodge the novitiate. That summer death carried off two more sisters. The Tivoli town council sent an inspector to see whether the sisters were

⁴² See, A Closer Look: 2.26. Mission in the USA.

⁴³ See, A Closer Look: 2.27. Vienna (II).

living in too close quarters. The result was quite satisfactory. Mother Mary, however, longed for Rome where the Founder lived. She would have liked best to have him always nearby. She had become so used to his leadership. At the end of August another sister died. Again a rumor circulated that there were too many sisters lodged in the house. Therefore, Jordan arranged for the newcomers to lodge in a hotel, which meant considerable sacrifice for them. After a second medical inquiry the sisters could be transferred. Mother Mary noted the result: "There are 18 rooms, some of them large bedrooms so there is enough space for 42 sisters" (MMChr).

In October, Jordan sent one priest to Tivoli with the special task to assist Mother Mary in external affairs. She was already a little too old to cope with everything by herself. To her the young sisters seemed still too inexperienced. Jordan did not want them to economize too much; the townspeople want to earn something too, he admonished Mother Mary (MMChr). **See, 2.28. Mother Mary in Tivoli.**⁴⁴

In that year Jordan received 17 female candidates into novitiate, and admitted 23 novices to temporary vows. However, three young sisters had died. At the end of the year, 46 sisters and novices lived in Tivoli. This brought much responsibility to the almost 60 year-old Mother Mary: "What a high position I have before God, so influential, think about the responsibility before God," she wrote in her diary on November 22 during the yearly retreats.

It had already become customary for the young members, who had few opportunities to celebrate feasts, to make St. Francis Day, Jordan's namesday, a true family feast. **See, 2.29. Founder's namesday 1892.**⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.28: Mother Mary in Tivoli.

⁴⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.29. Founder's namesday 1892.

At the end of November there was the usual distribution of prizes at the Gregoriana and San Apollinare. This year there were quite a number of members of the Catholic Teaching Society among them. Three received their doctorates in theology from Cardinal Vanutelli. At San Apollinare, Cardinal Parocchi distributed five prizes to members of the Catholic Teaching Society, including one prize in Old-Slavic.

December 8, the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the Society was celebrated in a rather subdued way: "Eleven years of labor, suffering mixed with joys have passed." The day before, Jordan had presented his second petition for a *Breve di Lode*. He nurtured great hopes that this time nothing would derail papal recognition. But Jordan completely lacked a canonical nose, without which any founder's charism failed in those days. [Note: the Cardinal Vicar was also a canonist "by inclination."] The Congregation passed Jordan's petition to the same consultor, for whom it was easy to present the same objections found in his first report. He presented his *votum* on January 7, 1893. As the Congregation for Bishops and Religious was not in as great a hurry as Jordan. He had no choice but to wait patiently. **See, 2.30. Roman deliberations on the *Votum*.**⁴⁶

At the beginning of 1893, an advertizing brochure for the CTS appeared in a new layout and adapted form. It presented its apostolic charism clearly in a two-fold aspect: as a "contemplative-active order." For cultivating the Divine Office is also an essential part of full apostolic activity. In this brochure Jordan not only defended this type of order "*contemplativus in actione*" but also the value of common liturgical prayer. **See, 2.31. Brochure of 1893.**⁴⁷

At the beginning of March 1893, Jordan was called to the Congregation for Religious and informed that his second petition was not sufficient, even though they recognized that his Institute was flourishing. But the

⁴⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.30. Roman deliberations on the *Votum*.

⁴⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.31. Brochure of 1893.

statutes presented at the end of the year were made too hastily and were still unsatisfactory, requiring a third edition. Cardinal Verga wanted to help the superior general of the Catholic Teaching Society find a way out of his difficult situation. He proposed that Jordan engage a canon law adviser. Jordan took up this suggestion at once, and the Prefect named two of his best consultants to help Jordan revise his constitution. In the superior general they met with a highly docile pupil, and so the statutes could be edited into a good form during the next months. They decided to forego the highest requirements of canonical perfection and adapted themselves to the actual state of development of the Catholic Teaching Society. **See, 2.32. *Votum denied*.**⁴⁸

In his second report, the consultant had justly criticized the word "*instructiva*" in the Latin name of the Society as not apropos. He had suggested changing this word. Jordan had to acknowledge the consultant's reservations. But he feared that another name change might be interpreted as fickleness. Above all, the aim of the foundation should not be changed, which is a "Catholic Teaching Society," like apostles proclaiming the Savior to the world. But the apostles were not themselves teachers. They were disciples of the teaching Savior, of the *Salvator docens*, and they remained so through their lives. Suddenly there came the idea: why not put forth the patron instead of those he appointed! The Apostolic Teaching Society is, like the apostles, a Society of the Divine Savior. This, according to its mandate is what it has to bring to the world: "This is eternal life: to know You the one true God and Jesus Christ, whom You have sent" (Jn 17:3).

Within the two branches of the Catholic Teaching Society the new name was received enthusiastically. At last they would have not just a factual but a personal name, and what a beautiful and appropriate name! Really a successful re-baptism!

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.32. *Votum denied*.

Jordan, however, did not let this new name be used in public. He wanted to wait and see whether any difficulties would again arise. He himself used the name, beginning in May 1893, in his correspondence with the ecclesiastic authorities without asking for a proper approval. The "burnt child" had become prudent. While Jordan otherwise asked about every trifle, here he went through the ecclesiastic backdoor. And he got it done. The Holy Spirit may have shaded the sharp eyes of church custodians. Jordan was luckier than St. Alphonsus Liguori at an earlier time (whose Institute was later named for the Redeemer). There came no opposition from other ecclesiastic circles. Only when he felt quite sure (after the summer of 1894) did Jordan use this name generally. The Jordanists had developed into Salvatorians. **See, 2.33. "Society of the Divine Savior."**⁴⁹

Jordan would have liked very much to travel to Assam personally to get to know the infant mission entrusted to the Society. His prayers and concern were fully directed to the missionaries there. After the spiritual landslide of 1892, the mission once again began to stabilize and flourish. Jordan faithfully informed Propaganda immediately about progress in Assam. However, his good report was not accepted blindly. The Apostolic Delegate from Ceylon was sent to inspect. Living half a continent away, he turned for advice to the archbishop of Calcutta, suffragan of the Apostolic Prefect of Assam. His response was devastating: in Assam pious priests are laboring who understand almost nothing about mission work in this apostolate. At the same time there is discord among them. Their activity does not contribute to the honor of the Catholic Church. Then the archbishop proposed to send there the bishop of the nearby diocese as Apostolic Visitor. The Apostolic Delegate passed the report of the Archbishop of Calcutta to the Propaganda. He himself supported this opinion. The Prefect agreed with the proposal and named the bishop of Dacca as Apostolic Visitor. He, however, avoided this delicate task. In the meantime, the missionaries— priests, brothers and sisters of the Society of the Divine Savior— continued with their sacrifices and

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.33. "Society of the Divine Savior."

succeeded in building up the mission spiritually and materially. They were actively supported by their homeland. **See, 2.34. Mission work.**⁵⁰

The third petition for a papal *Decretum Laudis* was handed over for examination and expert opinion to the same consultor who had read the earlier ones and whose expert judgement the Prefect could rely on. But this procedure was not without problems, because now this very consultor had so recently helped Jordan to revise his constitutions. Thus, his colleagues might consider him biased. Nevertheless, Msgr. Battandier presented his expert opinion to the Congregation for Religious on May 20, 1893. His judgement was simultaneously yes and no: the statutes of the Society of the Divine Savior are sufficient for the maturing institute and elastic enough to be adapted to further developments, but they are not a final draft. Nevertheless, the consultor asks the pope to grant a *Breve di Lode*. This should serve at the same time as a recognition of what it had accomplished for the church as well as a stimulant for further apostolic engagement. **See, 2.35. Another Votum.**⁵¹

Jordan remained as usual an indefatigable beggar of God. Again for Christmas and Easter his solicitations went out to his cooperators.⁵²

From the middle of May till June, Jordan was in Austria. Germany remained closed to him because of the *Kulturkampf*. In Switzerland the so-called *Jesuitengesetze* formed a barrier. But Providence offered the

⁵⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.34. Mission work.

⁵¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.35. Another *Votum*.

⁵² The following "begging letter" serves as one example of many:

Dearest friends! At present I am again in great need. I stretch my hands out to you for help. Help me! Help quickly and zealously! Herewith I am sending you a package of alms images! Distribute and have them distributed! May each alm be blessed as small as it may be. The penny of the widow, the silver of the rich; the Lord sees it all! Your reward will be great, because you don't give only personally, but you are also full of zeal and care for me and for the holy work God has entrusted to us. Rome, Lent 1893. Fr. Jordan (AGS).

chance of finding a place in the *Drei-Länder-Eck*, quite near the German border, which was excellently situated for a school for religious seminarians. A beneficent society for the formation of missionaries believed in Jordan and smoothed the way for him. The Prince Bishop of Brixen, like his Vicar General in Feldkirch, favored his plan of establishing a house for candidates in their territory. The *Landeshauptmann* in Feldkirch was also won over. So Jordan lost no time and traveled to Vorarlberg in May and in August to prepare the foundation. **See, 2.36. Bregenz-Lochau.**⁵³

He also desired to get state approval for the foundation in Vienna and thus to consolidate it publicly. He paid a visit to Joseph Cardinal Gruscha who on June 9, 1893, gave him a very good recommendation for his petition for the *Breve di Lode*. This Jordan immediately forwarded to the Congregation. The inner consolidation of the foundation in Vienna caused him more pains and concern. **See. 2.37. Vienna (III).**⁵⁴

Even before Jordan had left for Vienna in May, Bishop Schuhmacher of Quito visited. He was looking for missionaries for his mission diocese in Ecuador, South America. He had already asked Arnold Janssen and had received two priests. Jordan was asked to take over the Province of Esmeralda, provisionally entrusted till then to the Capuchins. This was a particularly poor region between the sea and the mountains which established missionaries preferred to avoid. Jordan promised the bishop three priests and four sisters. He understood his apostolic foundation was particularly obliged to serve regions which otherwise remained abandoned. He was also confident of one thing: this kind of involvement always brought blessing. To him it was an undeniable historical fact that all the countries which accepted the Christian faith through the efforts of apostolic men coming to them from foreign countries thankfully passed this faith on to other peoples once they themselves had grown strong in their own Christian faith. However, he did not conceal from the bishop

⁵³ See, A Closer Look: 2.36. Bregenz-Lochau.

⁵⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.37. Vienna (III).

that his priests were still inexperienced and like the apostles had first to experience the missionary life in-country. He had no respect for “arm chair missionaries.”

Once returned from Vienna, Jordan worked hard to prepare well the new foundation in Ecuador. On August 11, three priests and four sisters left in high spirits for the New World where they opened their first house in Esmeralda on September 28. Sadly, these missionaries had hardly begun to gather the basics for a foundation when they were swept away by the revolution of 1895. **See, 2.38. Mission in South America.**⁵⁵

Soon after, Jordan had to go to Bregenz and Vienna again to clear up on the spot some difficulties that had arisen. On the octave of the Nativity of Our Lady, 1893, he inaugurated the study house in Bregenz-Lochau. It was indeed a very modest start and required from the pioneers of the foundation, above all from the superior, exhausting engagement and self-sacrificing patience.⁵⁶

In the meantime, the die had also been cast for Vancouver. Jordan decided to return the College of St. James to the bishop because the latter was not able to grant him the promised help. So the confreres had to leave the diocese. They were warmly welcomed by the archbishop of Oregon⁵⁷ who entrusted them with pastoral care of immigrants. Starting

⁵⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.38. Mission in South America.

⁵⁶ This footnote does not exist in original text.

⁵⁷ William Hickley Gross (June 12, 1837-1898, November 14, Baltimore) was the fourth of seven children. The parents had a hardware store in Baltimore. After attending the local St. Charles College he was a bookkeeper at home. In 1857 he entered into the Order of the Redemptorists at Annapolis. On March 21, 1863 he was ordained a priest and worked quite successfully giving popular missions. On February 14, 1873 he was nominated bishop of the mission diocese of Savannah (then with 12 priests and 22,000 Catholics). On March 31, 1885 he transferred to Portland, Oregon as Archbishop and Metropolitan of Oregon,

from Newport and Corvallis, they served a number of stations stretching up and down the Pacific coast. At the same time, Archbishop Gross entrusted to them the Indian reservation of Siletz. Fr. Felix Bucher dedicated himself with indefatigable zeal to the Catholic Indians. He became not only their pastor but also their fatherly helper.

In Rome, the community was growing. In May there were eight ordinations; on September 23, 1893, Cardinal Parocchi ordained four more priests, three deacons and four subdeacons. The new priests who still had to make further studies formed a clique in the motherhouse and soon showed themselves disinclined to integrate with the rest.⁵⁸ **See, 2.39. Religious discipline.**

On November 24, graduation diplomas, were again handed out, this time by Cardinal Mazzella.⁵⁹ Among these 70 confreres there were 5 doctors in philosophy and 2 in theology; others made licentiate or baccalaureate. At that time 66 confreres attended theology and 37 philosophy at the Gregoriana. **See, 2.40. Studies.**⁶⁰

Washington, Idaho, Montana, Alaska and British Columbia.

Archbishop Gross was the first native-born prelate of the Far West. His concern was above all directed towards the orphans and Indians, and to Catholic Schools. To enhance this plan he called Benedictines and Christian School Brothers into his archdiocese, and founded the Sisters of St. Mary.

⁵⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.39. Religious discipline.

⁵⁹ Camillo Mazzella (1833-1900) descended from an old and well-known family at Vitulano, Diocese of Benevent. Ordained in 1855, he became a Jesuit in 1857, worked as a professor of Moral and Dogmatic Theology in France, the United States, and from 1878 till 1884 at the Gregorian. Elected Cardinal in 1886, he was Prefect of the Congregation of Studies, a strict defender of Neo Thomism and a hard adversary of Rosmini. Just because of this, his influence on Leo XIII was very strong, so that he nominated him Prefect of the Index-Congregation.

⁶⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.40. Studies.

Jordan was also very satisfied with the sisters in Tivoli. That year he invested fifteen candidates; fifteen sisters made temporary vows; six made final profession. Mother Mary's great desire remained to transfer things to Rome. Already at the end of January, Jordan promised her he would call the sisters to Rome as soon as he would be allowed. On May 1, Mother Mary paid a visit to the Cardinal Vicar with two sisters destined for Ecuador. She used this opportunity to ask him straight out to be allowed to transfer her house from Tivoli to Rome. Cardinal Parocchi fed her with hope for the following year, as in the current year he could not speak with the pope about this. The Cardinal had already explained the reasons to Jordan.

In the fall, the sisters made more inquiries in Rome, at least for a branch foundation. Some houses were inspected by Mother Mary. Lüthen warned her of impatient and rash activity: he feared Mother Mary might spoil everything by looking for a house on her own. Jordan had already applied twice to the Cardinal Vicar and had a mind to do so once more, maybe by November (E-617, October 20, 1893). In her diary Mother Mary noted: "I will dedicate myself in Rome totally to God and to the Society, whatever He may send me."

Msgr. de Waal was also asked to intercede at a favorable opportunity. On November 25, 1893, Jordan presented a written application to the Cardinal Vicar, for the sisters to be allowed to move from Tivoli to Rome: there were already 60 sisters, some already working in India and Ecuador. The conscientious Founder asked the pope to overturn his veto of October 1885, since now, after the second foundation of sisters, everything had improved. But for the present, Cardinal Parocchi's hands were bound no less than Jordan's by the fact that Leo XIII for now did not countenance any new foundations of sisters in Rome. This setback was compounded by the fact that in this same year two more sisters died.

Jordan came to know that the expert opinion of the helpful consutor had been favorable. So he hoped for approbation from the Congregation for Religious at an early date. All this made him feel all the more obliged to confirm the young group in what he called the "spirit of the Society." For

him this meant as apostolic religious. Jordan demanded much from all the members especially in regard to poverty, obedience, prayer and work (be it study or other services to the benefit of the community). Also the *disciplina religiosa* was strict. No wonder some knew how to avoid it.

Jordan wanted to ensure by all means at his disposal, that those without vocations be barred from major orders. So assisted by Lüthen the novice master, he was very strict in admitting people to profession. He gave his opinion directly and passionately and sometimes even rather harshly. [Note: Jordan had a strong voice; in his talks he could speak enthusiastically and passionately, and also call out with a loud voice.]

Even later he remained vigilant. He insisted that anyone who started to waver in regard to vows should leave before receiving Holy Orders. Almost unique, something that is only comprehensible given his consciousness of himself as a Founder, was what he did two days before the 12th anniversary of the foundation of the male branch. He asked the Cardinal Vicar for power to dismiss some members (those whose names he had simply underlined) and also to dispense them from vows.

The members in question had not yet received Holy Orders. He argued that they lacked of the spirit of the Society and that at decisive points they lived in contradiction to the Constitution a life which does not correspond to religious discipline. They did not follow either private or public admonitions or punishments. Jordan saw this move as necessary for the good of the entire Institute. The Cardinal Vicar checked the eager Founder by asking first for the names of each one with corresponding notations (December 6, 1893, A-73).

Jordan was driven to such extraordinary steps by his conscience and his sense of responsibility. The main burden for the two foundations still rested on his shoulders. People considered him responsible for each failure and he was often chastised publicly for them.

December 8 of that year was celebrated with confidence:

We are obliged to thank God for having kept our Society under his protection so wonderfully in these 12 years. The Society began 12 years ago, it consisted of three members. Today it has increased a hundred-fold, the storms have been unable to harm it. The narrow confines of the room in which St. Brigida died was its cradle; today it has spread over three continents. God has been with us, he will be so also in future.

This is how Lüthen expressed the feelings of all those who were well disposed to the Society of the Divine Savior on its 12th birthday (MI 24, 1893). **See, 2.41. Foundation Day 1893.**⁶¹

For the new year Jordan thanked, and at the same time lobbied the circle of benefactors and co-operators of the CTS. In an optimistic annual report aimed at building confidence, he laid out the actual status of the Society. He was aware that the members of the Third Grade understood how to read between the lines, and should continue their active support. **See, 2.42. Status of foundations, 1894.**^{62a}

Jordan had founded the female branch in spite of all obstacles, to have available for his work the forces best suited for the education of girls, and for Christian care of the sick. In the vineyard of the Lord, brothers and sisters should complement each other in harmonious co-operation. Nurses could be trained in Roman hospitals directed by religious sisters. The experiences in Assam and Ecuador demanded trained sisters as soon as possible. So Jordan founded a training school for female teachers in Tivoli with the help of a trained teacher who had joined the Society as a late vocation. He urged Mother Mary to give special attention to the formation of teachers: "Let's go to work at once, for time is very pressing" (letter, January 27, 1894, ASDS). On February 8, the teacher's school was inaugurated. **See, 2.43. Teacher training in Tivoli.**^{62b}

⁶¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.41. Foundation Day 1893.

^{62 a} See, A Closer Look: 2.42. Status of foundations, 1894.

^{62 b} See, A Closer Look: 2.43. Teacher training in Tivoli.

In January 1894, a Province Synod took place in Calcutta. Frs. Münzloher and Ignatius Bethan went there to meet the apostolic delegate and the discontented archbishop, both of whom remained critical of Salvatorian missionaries. Though the prelates had given up the idea of an apostolic visitation, they had come to a quite impossible solution. They proposed that Propaganda Fide place the Assam Mission under the care of a guardian. The archbishop wanted to free one of his Jesuit priests to serve as apostolic prefect in Assam, to teach the zealous but inexperienced mission apprentices. Of course, Cardinal Ledóchowski at Propaganda could not and did not want to agree to such a venture. He had no reason to humiliate Jordan or his missionaries in this manner. In the meantime, he had come to know not only Jordan but also Münzloher, and they had won his full confidence. The cardinal did not hesitate to give his best possible recommendation for Jordan's petition for a papal *lode*. He continued to give the latter's missionaries the opportunity to prove their efficiency in patient and tenacious mission activity. Jordan as well as his missionaries in far-off Assam did not disappoint him, but justified fully his prudent procedure. **See, 2.44. Progress in Assam.**⁶³

At the beginning of December 1893, in his petition to the Cardinal Vicar to be allowed to dismiss some unfit candidates, Jordan had given as one reason: his hope, "that the approbation of our Society by the Holy Congregation will be granted soon." In the meantime, his petition along with the expert opinion of the consultor languished in the congregation which apparently harbored a different opinion while looking for an unassailable solution. A commission was appointed to handle the matter. It met March 17, 1894. They set aside the consultor's advice to render Jordan a favorable opinion and decided to defer the approbation for the time being. The reason given for this *dilata* was that too many were again leaving the Society. This was proof that its government was not good. It had no talent to guide the Institute well. This opinion was also shown by the three different constitution as well as the three name changes within 12 years. Moreover, the Institute was too poor to provide its members

⁶³ See, A Closer Look: 2.44. Progress in Assam.

with the basic necessities. The leadership had a mania for expansion. They pointed to the unfavorable report of the archbishop of Calcutta, and now the Institute was about to start a new mission. Propaganda Fide should be warned about allowing that. It would be to the detriment of the institute and of Christianity (A Rel, March 22, 1894). **See, 2.45. The Commission's justification.**⁶⁴ No trace can be found that the Congregation informed Jordan about this turn for the worse.

The secretary of the commission pointed out that the vote for the *dilata* had been unanimous. However, he also had to supply an expert opinion of one member of the commission to the Prefect of Propaganda. In an interesting turn of events, the consultor he appointed, Luigi Lupiti, had pleaded decidedly in favor of Msgr. Battandier's opinion while opposing the commission's. He pointed to the recommendations of the three cardinals, and to the good result of the motherhouse visitation by the religious priest, which had previously been ordered by the Cardinal Vicar. The financial report of Jordan justified his confidence in Divine Providence, which had never let him down so far. The number of members was more than proof that the Institute was blessed by God. Regarding the constitution he agreed with Consultor Battandier's opinion that it was sufficient for the beginning and could be adapted along the way. Besides, the current constitution carried the approval of the Propaganda. **See, 2.46. Lupiti's Votum.**⁶⁵

In May, the Prefect returned this second very favorable opinion to the commission to examine and bring it into line with the report of its secretary. At the beginning of June the commission met again. But again its result was "unanimous" to delay approbation for the time being. Many reasons were given. This time the secretary added a reason which makes a judgment about Jordan: the experience of this religious priest is worthless because he had in the meantime been dismissed by his order

⁶⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.45. The Commission's justification.

⁶⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.46. Lupiti's *Votum*.

[the Addolorata Sisters]. In addition, the praise from Propaganda Fide was overturned by the events in Assam. The recommendations of the high prelates in India refer to the Institute's pastoral work; they are not informed about the inner defects of the Society. In particular, the certificate of the Bishop of Tivoli is insufficient for it says nothing about the sisters foundation. Over this very point there had been difficulties between Jordan and his first foundation of sisters. The Bishop of Tivoli's contribution had to include the second sisters' foundation. No religious institute can be allowed to depend only on charity. The Founder's trust in Divine Providence is certainly praiseworthy, but it is imprudent for an institute to rely on that alone. The income for the time being is insufficient considering the rapid growth of the two branches. The constitution itself has not been examined by the commission, so that it cannot pronounce a judgement as to how sufficient and adaptable it is, as both expert opinions affirm. Then the secretary points to a petition of a priest of the Society, who wants to leave. This petition is to be considered first, because it confirms the arguments of the secretary. **See, 2.47.**

Commission's response to Lupiti's *Votum*.⁶⁶

Whoever honestly reads the reports of the secretary of the commission and the particulars he chose to stress will hardly be able to absolve the secretary from a certain prejudice against Jordan. They may also point to professional or personal rivalry within this ecclesiastic office. In any event, Jordan, failed again in his struggle for papal approval, without having been questioned or heard, with no opportunity to defend himself.

But even afterwards he clung to his hope. In June he presented his report about the latest financial situation to the congregation. In it he accounted to the penny not only charitable donations, but also all the income of the various houses, as well as all debts. But this report could no longer influence the course of events. Already on June 19, the congregation had ordered an apostolic visitation of the Society of the Divine Savior. Jordan was informed about this only some weeks later after his return from a

⁶⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.47. Commission's response to Lupiti's *Votum*.

visitation trip. Just at that troubled time, Jordan deeply appreciated a counter manifestation of ecclesiastical benevolence: in April and May 1894, he received commendations from five Italian bishops. Unfortunately, as things now stood he could no longer use them in his struggle for papal approbation. **See, 48. Visitors to the motherhouse.**⁶⁷

On May 5, Jordan received the favor of the papal blessing of Leo XIII connected with a plenary indulgence for all members, benefactors as well as "their relatives up to the third degree" which he immediately passed on to those so blessed.

Jordan felt it particularly helpful that the door to his episcopal friend in Tivoli was always open to him. On the Feast of the Queen of the Apostles (May 5, 1894), the main Marian feast of the Society, Bishop del Frate did not hesitate to celebrate personally with the priests and students of the Marian College. On May 14, Archbishop Göthals paid a visit to the motherhouse, for a meeting that may have been rather serious. At that time the Palazzo Cipriano was rented for the scholasticate as a four-month summer holiday home (An SCI, a. 2 & 3).

Mother Mary continued pressing for taking her sisters to Rome. In mid May, this time through Weigang, she again made Jordan petition the Cardinal Vicar to allow the sisters to establish a house there. "Rome fever" in the house of the sisters in Tivoli was so intense that, confident of the success of their petition, they gave notice to terminate their lease.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.48. Visitors to the motherhouse.

⁶⁸ On May 4, 1894, Mother Mary wrote to Jordan:
I could not be pleased about anything; because in spite of all I cannot be in Rome yet. Oh! May the present notice [to terminate our] lease give us hope. I am not conscious of any fault,-- cannot state a good reason; blind faith--yes. The Easter-joy has not come yet... (E-621).

Jordan gave notice on May 29, trusting that the petition to the pope would be successful this time: Mother Mary noticed this in confident hope: "That we may

On June 11, the impatient Mother Mary even turned her prayers to St. Anthony to take them to Rome.

Shortly afterwards one sister died and another had to be hospitalized. Jordan himself was ill and ordered the procurator in Tivoli to look after things at the sisters. Fr. Simon Stein inquired more closely about their lifestyle, questioning their physician as well. The latter claimed typhus. Now there was great excitement and concern. Two more sisters died on June 21. At their burial a stir was avoided but soon some more sisters were stricken by the epidemic. The physician did his best. The following day, charged by the sick Founder, Stein sent Mother Mary together with another sister to Rome to extricate her from the personal and official danger zone. For the sisters he immediately ordered better food. Soon after, 20 sisters had to vacate the house in order to leave room for the sick ones and to avoid the danger of contagion. They could all be lodged in a larger house in Via Lungara. The local superior in Tivoli and his vicar cared for the sisters down with the epidemic. On July 2, two more sisters died. All in all, seven sisters were carried off by typhus.

It was a hard affliction for Jordan and for Mother Mary. She, however, saw in this event above all a cross sent by God, which was to lead her to Rome: "Yes, such are the ways of God, through suffering and affliction He drives us to Rome, into the arms of the Father of Christianity" (MMChr). But for the time being, these arms were not open at all. Leo XIII was determined to send the sisters back to Tivoli as soon as possible. **See, 2.49. Typhus in Tivoli.**⁶⁹

On July 6, 1894, Jordan left for Austria to visit the young foundations in Vienna and Bregenz. In Vienna he was able to regulate the question of sustenance and to obtain Imperial approval for the house. **See, 2.50.**

come to Rome. Oh! God help us! Let's give thanks! Let us pray!" (MMChr, May 30, 1894).

⁶⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.49. Typhus in Tivoli.

Permission for Vienna.⁷⁰ In Bregenz-Lochau the "nursery of apostolic laborers" was still in its initial phase. The local superior asked urgently that the Founder see on the spot the difficulties the young foundation had to struggle with. State permission was still missing; there were differences between the superior and his confreres; but above all, there was no money at all for the planned new construction. Jordan did not give way to any difficulty, and succeeded to relieve the superior of his most urgent worries. But he had also to ask him to persevere in apostolic patience under the burden of the start up. **See, 2.51. Lochau.**⁷¹

Above all, Jordan wished to inaugurate the new foundation in Freiburg. In fact, already in the fall, about 15 scholastics were scheduled to attend the recently-founded Catholic University there, while 3 priests were urgently needed there for pastoral work. The foundation of Freiburg lay under a favorable star, because the founder of the university, State Counselor Georges Python, had befriended Jordan fifteen years before, and now he smoothed the way for him. Jordan inaugurated the *Studien-Kolleg* in Freiburg on July 18, 1894. **See, 2.52. Freiburg.**⁷²

After the epidemic had died down completely, Jordan sent the novices back to the motherhouse in Tivoli. For the other sisters he turned to Cardinal Verga to change the pope's mind. On September 17, he submitted an urgent petition to the Holy Father for the sisters to be allowed to remain in Rome. On September 24, Leo XIII gave permission for the *Filiale* in Via Lungara, but without "rights or privileges." Mother Mary was quite satisfied with this.

⁷⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.50. Permission for Vienna.

⁷¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.51. Lochau.

⁷² See, A Closer Look: 2.52. Freiburg. Python and Jordan had become acquainted in the summer of 1875, when they both assisted Schorderet's *Pauluswerk* (cf., DSS XIII, 6.12).

Jordan himself would have desired a less painful resettlement. Now he feared (not without reason) that the two houses in Tivoli would suffer hostility from the local people who had grown suspicious. That's why he made such urgent efforts through Cardinal Verga. Thus, for the time being, Leo XIII did not order the sisters to return to the townspeople of Tivoli. Although Leo XIII changed his decision from one day to the next, he finally granting the request which the sorely afflicted but ecclesiastically supported Jordan had tenaciously implored. **See, 2.53, Sisters in Rome.**⁷³

Jordan was a passionate character and at the same time attractive and enthusiastic. But his personal excessive involvement and challenge provoked discussion and opposition. Through it all, he was kind and benevolent, although never really familiar. He knew about his often desultory style of asking and strove for humble patience as a compensation: "Humble yourself as often as you can, and do it really from your heart" (SD 201). He took pains just in this period of turmoil in his foundation for humble calm in listening to and reading such reproaches above all from his young priests. But he was always conscious that giving in for no good reason was never the remedy.

Jordan valued (some say too much) apostolic religious discipline: "Take pains that the holy rule is faithfully observed everywhere" (SD I/210). This rule was for him the backbone of a fertile apostolic engagement. Jordan's basic concern remained "always and everywhere" to awaken and form apostolic vocations. Just in this regard he fought most tenaciously even against ecclesiastic "know-it-alls." He knew he was obliged to his Pact.⁷⁴

⁷³ See, A Closer Look: 2.53. Sisters in Rome.

⁷⁴ Just when more accusations were taken to ecclesiastic authority against Jordan for being an imprudent founder (e.g., daring to go too far in making debts, which endangered not only the security of the Institute but also the honor and respectability of the Church) he wrote in his spiritual diary:

His feelings were universal—really Catholic. His desires and actions were always directed to contributing the most possible to spread the Kingdom of God. He saw this as the sole aim and meaning of his foundations. To him no effort was too great, no risk too high. Again and again this co-responsibility for God’s Kingdom is shown in his notes: "1,480 million inhabitants; about 200 million Catholics, but in what shape?! (G-2.8).

In the midst of his fruitless struggle for papal approbation, Jordan drafted dream plans for apostolic nurseries [*Planzschulen*] meant to flourish everywhere possible. What he had been able to attain in Rome, many of his spiritual sons should be able to attain in the same way elsewhere in the world. Jordan was not of the opinion that one should, so to say, remain comfortably sitting behind the Roman oven. He was for apostolic fanning out. **See, 2.54. Future apostolic possibilities.**⁷⁵

The concern of this man with the heart of a world-apostle was not “all or nothing,” but “all as far as possible.” He certainly belonged to those Christians who are called by the Lord for a task that can never be fully accomplished, but for which high-minded hearts must consume themselves, so that his apostolic vocation remains present to the people of God. Such men and women know only too well, and experience it painfully, that they are reaching for the unreachable. They leave success and failure to the Lord, who entrusts them with this prophetic mandate. Fr. Francis of the Cross’ vocation was one of these. His Pact with the

I: So arrange everything that, as far as possible, it responds to the purpose of forming capable members, trusting firmly and unshakeably that God will also send the necessary means.

II: Accept with the same confidence all who have a genuine vocation and the necessary qualities, whether they can pay something or not.

III: Put your main attention on forming thousands and thousands of competent members. Select for education, as far as this is feasible, the best and most capable (SD 205f).

Have training colleges for our sisters; educate certified teachers. (SD 207).

⁷⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.54. Future apostolic possibilities.

Almighty helped him so the "eternal fiend" could not make him grow weary of his destiny or of his election. Never did Jordan oppose his life's calling given to him by God: "Woe to me if I do not preach the Gospel!" (1Cor 9:16; SD 212).

2. Out to all the World. A Closer Look

2.1/2. Assam (I) comprised the vast river valley of the Brahmaputra and Surma and the hill country on both sides, totaling about 84,000 square km. The territory was bounded on the north by Tibet, on the west and south by Bengal, and on the east by Burma. Shillong was the capital and at the same time the seat of the English governor. At the time of the highly inexact census of 1881, Assam had about 4.3 million inhabitants. By 1890, the whole mission territory numbered about 7 million. The other most important cities at that time were Sylhet, Baretta, and Gauhati. Shillong, situated in the healthy highlands, had only about 4,000 inhabitants. Each of the other cities situated in the river valley counted an average of 13,000. The native religions were Hindu (about 5 million), Moslem (about 1½ million) and the indigenous pagans. There were only a few thousand Christians, of whom 800 were Catholics, mostly coming from among the natives.

Before the erection of the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam, the Brahmaputra Valley had belonged to the Diocese of Kishnagar, and the rest to the Diocese of Dacca (East-Bengal). Before the arrival of CTS missionaries only one priest, De Broy of the Milanese Mission to which the Diocese Kishnagar was entrusted, had been working there. For eighteen years he worked quite alone. He started his work from Gauhati, where he had established a small mission station. At the Synod of Allahabad in February 1887, the bishops of north India recommended to Propaganda Fide the erection of an Apostolic Prefecture which should be made up of the territory of Assam with the inclusion of the principalities of Bhutan (Mimalya) and Manipur (East India). Propaganda Fide turned to the Franciscans, the Barnabites and other religious communities, and still on June 4, 1889, to the Holy Spirit Fathers. But they all declined. "The Assam Mission is the most difficult one in India," Msgr. Zaleski, the new Apostolic Delegate of India, wrote to Rome in 1892.

After Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of Propaganda Fide had negotiated with Jordan through Msgr. Jacobini Domenico for the CTS to take over the soon to be erected Apostolic Prefecture and Jordan had agreed in principle, the Cardinal Prefect presented his concern on November 18, 1889, to the responsible board of cardinals. They agreed to

erect the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam and to entrust it to the CTS, which for the present should send there "simple missionaries with a superior." The draft of the decree (December 1889) noted that the superior would get the title of Apostolic Prefect only after Jordan's institute had received papal approbation. On November 24, 1889, Leo XIII gave his consent (A PF, A. 1889, nr. 33,716).

On December 14, the secretary of Propaganda Fide sent to "Fr. Francis Jourdan [sic.], Superior of the Catholic Teaching Society" the papal decree, erecting the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam and entrusting it to his institute (A PF, Prot. 5059).

On December 31, the treasurer of the Propaganda Fide in Lyon-Paris was informed that the new Apostolic Prefecture of Assam had been entrusted to the "newly born institute which is called the Catholic Teaching Society." It would send four or five missionaries there and he was to provide them with an annual contribution because these missionaries "will at first find themselves having to do everything in those regions where the proclamation of the Catholic faith had been given just a little impulse" (A PF, 6641, to Mr. Des Garetz, President of Propaganda Fide).

The Prefect of Propaganda Fide was still the same Cardinal Simeoni, who in 1880 had sent Jordan to the Near East with a special mission. His secretary was Msgr. Domenico Jacobini who managed affairs because Simeoni was already old and ill.*

* Giovanni Simeoni (Pallano, 1816-1892, Rome) directed Propaganda Fide 1878-1891, when his tenure as Secretary of State was ended after the death of Pius IX.

Domenico Jacobini (September 3, 1837-1900, February) as a Roman citizen studied at the *Seminarium Romanum*, and worked there as a professor. From 1874, he worked as *Sostituto dei Brevi* and since 1879 as secretary for extraordinary matters. In 1881 he became Archbishop of Tyros i.p.i. and secretary of Propaganda Fide. As such, he was quite active politically, considered pro-German. Made nuntio to Portugal in 1891, he became a cardinal in 1896, and in 1899 replaced Parocchi as Cardinal Vicar. Jacobini was a social Cardinal Vicar and therefore much esteemed in Rome. But he was against the obsolete politics of the *non expedit*. In the end he was President of the *Visita Apostolica*.

During the negotiations between Propaganda and the Catholic Teaching Society about the takeover of the Assam Mission, Jordan was requested to get the certificate of the Cardinal Vicar that his institute had been approved by him as a diocesan institute. Jordan immediately received not only the requested certificate from the cardinal, but also a warm recommendation (TVU Prot. 2607, November 5, 1889).

Through *Der Missionär* the friends of the Catholic Teaching Society were informed at once: "We hope still in this month to bring the happy news to our friends that our first mission is secured, so that our first missionaries will soon be sent out" (MI 21/1889, November 10).

On December 8, *Der Missionär* published the glad tidings: Resolution of the Propaganda of November 18 to "entrust to the Catholic Teaching Society the former Kingdom of Assam, of the Kingdom of Bhutan and the Imperium of the Manipur as Apostolic Prefecture" (MI 23, 1889).

Lüthen interpreted the Assam event for the Catholic Teaching Society as fully "apostolic." He noted down personally:

At the time Propaganda decreed (as the Holy Father was enthusiastic about forming a new mission district: Assam) that district would be handed over to our Society as a mission and consequently the first missionaries were chosen by the Venerable Father, the Society counted twelve professed members in orders (seven priests, eight including the Venerable Father) and 72 professed clerics (G-14, 1889).

2.2/3. Foundation Day 1889. "From Our Motherhouse" ran the following:

On December 8, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, it was eight years after the Catholic Teaching Society had been founded. On this day we celebrated for the first time a feast in honor of the Mother of God and Queen of the Apostles that made us forget our poverty for some hours.

Regarding *non expedit*, in imitation of 1Cor 10:22: "*Do we really want to arouse the Lord's jealousy; are we stronger than he is?*" Pius IX prohibited Italian Catholics from participating in political life after the usurpation of the Church-State and the liberalization of public life. Leo XIII kept to the principle. Pius X began to loosen its application. Benedict XV practically abolished it in 1919.

There followed a description of the pomp of the richly decorated chapel (MI 24, 1889).

Lüthen recalled in his sermon on the Feast of the Immaculata not only that this mystery is the mystery of our century but also that the day marks the anniversary of the foundation of our Society.

Today a group of almost 150 men surround our altar. . . . Eight years ago there were 2 priests, now there are 5, and 7 others *in sacris*, in total 12 Christians in higher orders. . . .^{*} Today we must thank God, and thank Mary, who have led us until now . . . through great crosses and many obstacles, attacks from inside and out.

He spoke then about fidelity to the Queen of the Apostles:

We will glorify your name . . . no country too far, no nation too barbaric, no sinner's heart too hard, no effort too great, no work too difficult to make known and to glorify your name and the name of your Son.

In the Italian part of his homily Lüthen noted down among other things:

We are sons of the Catholic Teaching Society—a Society which venerates Mary as its Foundress. And it was eight years ago today that our Society came to light, blessed by Mary . . . (G-27).

2.3/4. Apostolic zeal in the Society increased visibly after it received the Assam Mission. The mouthpiece for this was Lüthen. In his New Year's homily of 1890, he recalled that Jesus was our *Salvator* and that therefore the words of St. Jerome were valid for all: *Salvatores Mundi*. On the Feast of the Conversion of Paul he compared Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller to Paul; Fr. Otto together with his Barnabas and one brother were carrying the name of Jesus to the Gentiles like Paul did. Then Lüthen described Fr. Otto as "a man of Providence," and "a man of learning and virtue (severe with himself), full of energy like St. Paul." He underlined that Fr. Otto

^{*} Lüthen did not include Jordan in order to bring in the beloved number 12 (cf. DSS IV, 48). In his Christmas address, too, Lüthen returns to the number twelve: there were twelve clerics in higher orders, while with the two new priests of December 22 they had now reached the mystic number seven; here too Jordan was not included.

was, "in spite of his age and experience, fully obedient to the Venerable Father." Then he asks all to "pray so that they may arrive well in Assam." He urges them "to make little sacrifices for the completely new church in Assam" (G-27).

Il Missionario published a series about the Assam Mission, and from November 1890, *Cronica della Societas Catholica Instructiva* did so too. In this way the little magazine was able to attract its readers more than in the previous years.

Mother Mary too was captivated by new mission enthusiasm. In her Chronicle she views the missionary future of the Catholic Teaching Society even more optimistically than Jordan did:

And the Holy Father will soon entrust a mission territory to the Society where the superior shall become a bishop. Then sisters too will go there and my first and most intense wish will be fulfilled (MMChr; written already in early September 1889).

Venerable Father also showed me mission territory in the Himalayas and said Fr. Otto, Fr. Angelus and Br. Marianus would travel there yet this year. Oh! what a consolation; sisters will go there too (MMChr).

Reverend Fr. Otto was here with us on October 9 and spoke in a holy and enthusiastic way of his early departure to the Mission in Assam, India. Sisters too are ready for sacrifices, and will be allowed to go there later (MMChr).

On December 18, Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller was once more with the sisters in Tivoli on the occasion of investiture and profession.

2.4/7. The first missioning ceremony. *Apostelkalender* of 1891 published a drawing by Br. Aegidius Reder representing the sending out of the first four missionaries. In front of the high altar of the motherhouse chapel he depicts Jordan, still young and with eyeglasses, handing a mission cross to Fr. Otto, while his three missionary companions kneel at his side.

Jordan gave a short homily about the cross, unforgettable for all those present. In it he reveals the compelling reason behind his own vocation:

Two feelings fill our hearts today: pain and joy. It is painful to think of our dear confreres leaving us. But we are filled with joy remembering

that they are leaving to announce in Asia, the cradle of civilization, Christ crucified. Through our confreres, the first to be sent on mission by our Society, the peace, the good news of the gospel will be brought to these people. This joy must far outweigh our pain!

. . . With the cross, the Divine Savior preceded us. As a child he embraced the cross. His whole life was the cross. His goal was the cross! He clung to it until, under the most dreadful sufferings, he finally surrendered his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father. Thus, he defeated the world! You too will be victorious through the cross and suffering! Yes, you will have to endure much. Don't rely on others! I tell you, the greater your sufferings, the greater will be your success! To the degree the apostolic man suffers, to that degree he achieves the salvation of souls! God's work flourishes only in the shadow of the cross. Through work, effort, sweat, yes maybe even through shedding your blood, you must save souls!

When at times it is difficult for you, just look at your Divine Master as he hung on the cross between heaven and earth, abandoned by God and by all! And when the blustery waves of dejection threaten to engulf you, when you seem about to go under, again look up to the cross and you will be renewed to fight and suffer anew! Yes, persevere! Trust till the end! I say again: the greater the sufferings, the greater the success. And if Providence wills that you shed your blood as martyrs, look upon the cross, and even that [sacrifice] will not be difficult!

But even your success will pass away! And when it does, be confident that God will bless your work for your spiritual descendants!

. . . Prepared with such words, the four received the mission cross from the hand of their beloved father, who then dismissed them saying: "Go forth then in God's name! Always keep united to your confreres until we will meet again above in everlasting joy and delight." Then he blessed them. After having said goodbye privately to their beloved father in the sacristy which escaped our eyes, certainly under tears of thanks and emotion, they left the Chapel, while all sang the touching hymn "Ave Maris Stella," which was to touch their hearts more deeply, because they had already the vast Sea before their eyes, which was to take them to the destination of their hopes and desires, to the country of their apostolate. All accompanied them outside. The carriages were ready to start. "*Aufweidesehen*," the new superior of the mission, Fr. Otto, called to us and off went the carriage followed by a second one, and thus we separated (MI 3/1890).

2.5/8. Assam beginnings. January 5, 1890, Leo XIII granted the missionaries unusual powers.* On January 26, they received "*ex audientia SSmi*" permission to use the Roman Calendar (A MA). Hopfenmüller used the long voyage to improve his English. His confreres, too, learned some fundamentals of this official language in their mission territory. They reached Calcutta on February 5, and were heartily received by the Jesuits there. Fr. Otto could not meet with the Archbishop of Calcutta, something that saddened them both. Archbishop Goethals** wrote to him on March 20, 1890, expressing his regret for not having met him. He wished him a good start; helped by God's grace he would certainly be able to overcome the difficulties (A MA). Already on their departure day, Jordan had informed the apostolic delegate and the bishop of Dacca about their imminent arrival and asked them to assist the "*missionari novelli*" by word and deed (A MA, January 18, 1890).

* All missionaries had to pass an examination at Propaganda Fide before being sent out. They then received the title "Apostolic Missionary" with corresponding special powers" (A PF and AGS, passim).

** Paul Goethals (Conrath, Brugge, November 11, 1832-1901, July 4, 1901, Calcutta) entered the Jesuits, and was ordained September 11, 1866. Before studying philosophy in Namur, he was a prefect for five years in Tournay, finished four years of theology in Löwen and then was a prefect again in Brussels. On May 19, 1870, he became provincial of the Belgian Province. From August 13, 1876, he was rector in Namur. On December 31, 1877, appointed Bishop and Apostolic Delegate of West Bengal, he became Archbishop already on February 3, 1878. After Leo XIII had erected a proper Indian hierarchy on November 25, 1886, Goethals took over the Archdiocese of Calcutta on March 6, 1887. On November 4, 1878, he arrived at Calcutta and worked successfully for almost 23 years in the Indian Mission. In that period, the number of Catholics increased from about 15,000 to 80,000. Archbishop Goethals was esteemed by poor and rich. He enjoyed great prestige with the Protestants as well as with the authorities, and was valued as the most expert in Indian culture. He had at heart the education and formation of the Indian youth.

Hopfenmüller traveled from Calcutta to Chittagong, to the then Administrator of the Diocese of Dacca, Msgr. Fallize.* From there he went on to Kishnaghur to Bishop Pozzi** asking above all that Fr. De Broy, the only missionary the diocese had set free for its territory in Assam, be allowed to remain there to help the newcomers adjust to their difficult task. The bishop willingly gave his permission and put De Broy for the present under the authority of the Mission Superior of Assam (A MA, letters of Pozzi to Hopfenmüller, March 9, May 19, 1890; A PF, Pozzi to Cardinal Simeoni, February 25, 1890). Fr. Otto remained in Shillong to learn the Khasi language. He sent Münzloher to De Broy at Gauhati to teach him Bengalese. The mission activity itself remained limited to the care of the English-speaking officers' families and emergencies. With the help of one Khasi, Hopfenmüller at once began translating the small catechism into Khasi. On July 5, Propaganda Fide (*das Werk Glaubensver-breitung*) sent from Lyon via Paris 10,000 Francs for the year's mission budget.

On July 17, Bishop Pozzi answered an inquiry of Münzloher about De Broy. He had suddenly left and was now in the Manresa house of the Jesuits. From his early years, his wish had been to become a Jesuit and now he hoped to reach his goal (A MA July 17, 1890). Münzloher now remained alone in Gauhati because he experienced heart problems in the higher altitude of Shillong. Hopfenmüller planned to build a small chapel at Bondashill as soon as the money from Paris arrived. Indeed, there already existed a community of 90 Bengalese Catholics there (cf., reports of the "Superior of the Missions in Assam, Bhutan, Manipur to Cardinal Simeoni," A PF n. 2349, March 31; n. 3231, May 28; n. 4693, August 4, 1890). Jordan also regularly received reports from the first sprouting mission of

* Philippo Fallize of the Congregation of the Holy Cross was apostolic administrator of Dacca (Bengal) only for a short time. Then followed his confrere Agostino Lonage; he became bishop on November 21, 1890, when Dacca became a diocese. Pirto Giuseppe Hurth of the same congregation was his successor on June 26, 1894.

** Francesco Pozzi of the Milanese Mission Seminary (PIME) was since 1879 Apostolic Prefect of Kishnaghur (or Krishnagar) and bishop since 1886; Kishnaghur became a diocese in 1890.

the CTS. These were mostly published word for word in *Der Missionär*. On August 3, 1890, Bishop Pozzi informed Hopfenmüller that De Broy was in the Jesuit novitiate in Calcutta. At the same time he advised the mission superior, as a prudent and wise priest, not to excommunicate Catholics for not having fulfilled their Easter obligations. (He had heard that he intended to do so.) This would only drive Catholics into the Protestant camp. It would be best to ask the apostolic delegate about the matter, as the Congregation demanded much *uniformita d'azione* (A MA).

The three missionaries undertook all the efforts necessary to prepare themselves for the mission work itself. Hopfenmüller continued his abstemious life without much consideration for adapting to the unusual climate. His confreres complained to Jordan that the mission superior was too parsimonious. Jordan, who took the physical welfare of the missionaries very serious, gave Fr. Otto corresponding orders. He complied without delay, even asking Jordan instantly to forgive him:

Dear Venerable Father!

I am very sorry for having burdened your already overburdened heart. I meant well, but I see again that because of our sinfulness and human weakness not all is done well that is meant well. . . I submit my judgement, which can also be wrong and incorrect, to the judgement of the superior. . . . However, it might be best if you yourself prescribe what must be done and given. I see in everything, also in the smallest circumstances, God's Providence. In view of my mistakes offending you, I repeat to you my assurance that I as a religious do not want to act against my vows. With the grace of God I want to live and to die as an obedient religious. You may prescribe for me whatever you want, I shall obey even if it is quite against my will. You can call me home, I will obey; you may also depose me as superior, I shall be happy about it; you may keep me, I shall try to do my duty as well as I am able to with the grace of God. May God only protect me with His grace and not abandon me, especially not to deny me the grace of perseverance.

2.6/10. Jordan's petition submitted for a papal blessing for the benefactors of the mission reads as follows:

Most Blessed Father,

Father Francis of the Cross Jordan, Superior General of the Catholic Teaching Society, intending to found a house in the City [of Rome] for our religious family of already 171 members and for that purpose to collect gifts of money, humbly asks that your Holiness to grant wholeheartedly your holy blessing for that purpose. And God . . .

From the audience of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII. June 7, 1890:

His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, felt most clemently worthy to give to the benefactors of the above mentioned society his Apostolic Benediction. L.M. Cardinal Vicar (E-46).

The apostolic blessing was at once conveyed to the benefactors and patrons by *Der Missionär*. It was also given as a recommendation to the scholastics who went on fund raising trips that summer. For the most part they met with benevolent acceptance from the various pastors who in any case had to agree to their working in their parishes (cf., Fra. Valentin Kartte, July 23 till October 20 collecting in the Würzburg area; Fra. Fulgentius in that same period in Bavaria, AGS).

2.7/16. Hopfenmüller's death. Fr. Otto was revered as a saintly religious by all his confreres who got to know him. In the young Society his relation to and attitude towards Jordan was not unjustly compared with that of St. Francis Xavier to St. Ignatius. In his short biography we read:

His character was pure sincerity, without guile, dissimulation or cunning, open and trustful . . . humble and submissive, severe with himself and self-renouncing, kind and self-sacrificing for others, sincere and open, thus was his life as a religious . . . Nor did he shrink from asking forgiveness privately on his knees before his superior for small errors. The purity of his conscience was astonishing, his devotion heavenly, his ministry at the altar very attractive and edifying, his whole being was ideal, spiritualizing, his face an imprint of his noble soul (MI 19, 1890).

In his homeland, too, the news of the death of the beloved pastor caused consternation and grief. Many honored his memory afterwards by

actively supporting the Assam Mission. A priest-friend there also circulated a short biography to keep his memory alive.

Münzloher and Br. Josef Bächle remained in Shillong. They did as much as they could while waiting for the missionaries promised by Jordan. Fr. Angelus officially received the faculties of Administrator ad interim from Cardinal Simeoni through the Apostolic Delegate for Assam and Lahore, Msgr. Andreas Aiuti, Kandy (Sri Lanka) (A MA November 3, 1890). On December 12, 1890, came the second sending out of Assam missionaries: 3 Priests, 1 Brother and 3 Sisters. Jordan was again granted a private audience with the pope for the departing missionaries. Mother Mary reports about this event:

And then I was allowed to go with the sisters and the 3 departing priests and a lay brother, Br. Linus [Kilianus Thaler], led by our venerable Founder, first to the Cardinal Vicar, who gracefully spoke even German, then to the Holy Father, the pope. His Holiness visibly enjoyed giving us as Germans, his blessing. Then with Archbishop Simeoni, Cardinal of the missions, also very gracefully; and finally with His Excellency Jacobini who spoke with each of us for a longer time letting each one of us be presented individually (MMChr).

In the evening came the handing over of the cross and the missioning. Jordan admonished the missionaries:

First, keep imperturbably to the Holy See, to the head of our holy Church. Be always prepared to give your lives for the teaching of Christ, even, if necessary, your last drop of blood. . . Secondly, honor with childlike love and affection the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles . . . Thirdly: finally I tell you, remain faithful also to your superior, your spiritual father . . . (MI 1, 1891).

This last point had Jordan warmly recommended not incidentally but intentionally as a fatherly warning to his spiritual sons.

Once in India the three priests took over the stations in Shillong, Gauhati and Bondashill. The sisters remained in Shillong for the meantime. All were fully occupied with adjusting to the culture of the land and above all with acquiring the most necessary knowledge of the language (cf., Annual Report 1891 of Münzloher, A PF).

2.8/18. Choral Office when officially introduced made quite a stir over the next two years. It was certainly a delicate innovation within the lifestyle of an apostolic institute.

But one must not overlook the fact that religious life of the 19th century was "restorationist." Missionary zeal directed the Society out to all the world, while at the same time it tried to anchor itself in a somewhat romantic notion of "tradition." While some MONASTIC orders became proper Mission-Orders (St. Ottilien, Marianhill), other new foundations desired some kind of return to old religious/monastic customs. Within this double-track, religious communities like the Oblates of Mary, and CTS took over the program of choral prayer in a simplified form, as did communities of missionary priests like Lyon, Quebec, Immensee. The 19th century view was quite different from that of St. Ignatius Loyola who had preferred personal to common prayer and who steadfastly resisted repeated papal recommendations to introduce choral prayer. Rome believed religious received great spiritual help, etc. from common prayer like the *Officium*, as opposed to the overly active currents of that time. But apostolic reality soon forced them, often after painful discussions, to find a viable middle way.

Jordan who had never experienced proper religious life under the leadership of a "full fledged" religious, was dependent on prudent advice in regard to the external forms of his community. In this his conscience was particularly sensitive to minimalism in regard to divine service. Already in the instruction of fall 1889 he required:

On Sundays and feastdays all are obliged to sing vespers *in coro* and to recite compline. All are urgently advised to pray divine office *in coro*. To pray the divine office privately or outside choir is to be allowed only by way of dispensation due to much apostolic work (B-6).

In October 1890, therefore after the beginning of the school year, "prayer in choir" was introduced as obligatory for scholastics. For several, above all for some with the opportunity to study elsewhere, this proved enough reason to leave the Society. Those already in higher orders could of course only be bound "disciplinarily," that is on grounds of internal religious obligation. Because of his weak nerves Lüthen was dispensed a priori from common office. At that time he proposed to add to his

private prayer at least as much time as the others now dedicated to the common office in chapel (G-27).

By the way, in the novitiate it was carefully pointed out that nobody was obliged under pain of sin to choral prayer as this was not an essential change in the Society. "We are obliged to choir not by the church, but only in force of the *Consitutio* which we are obliged to observe neither more nor less than the other constitutions" (Nov. Notes 1906). Jordan added a short chapter to the statutes "about divine office":

Let divine office be recited with the highest veneration, distinction and attention to devotion everyday in choir. All are obliged to choir unless hindered by legitimate impediments or by permission of the superior.

Precisely the last statute was fully used, and finally led to the custom that common prayer in choir became a special prescription for novitiate. Vatican II's approval of the vernacular, coupled with the demand that religious communities develop meaningful common prayer has opened possibilities for meeting the fundamental concern of Jordan's time—options which a hundred years ago would have been simply heretical.

Starting in summer 1891, the sisters recited the Little Office of the BVM, which Mother Mary noted with great satisfaction (MMChr). Those sisters who because of modest schooling were over-burdened by it could with the permission of Venerable Mother recite other prayers like the rosary.

2.9/20. Internal organization. "The Catholic Teaching Society, organization, task, history of the Society. Rome: 1891." The wording of this brochure is simultaneously clear and modest. It is interesting how not only the original organization of three grades, but also the change into a religious community made before Easter 1883 are represented from the retrospective view of only a few years.

1883 was a meaningful year insofar as the formal change into a religious congregation took place that year with the three vowed evangelical counsels: complete poverty, lifelong chastity and perfect obedience under a spiritual superior. Until then the Founder had always requested that members of the First Order leave all temporal goods and fully dedicate their entire personality, body and soul. The spirit was the religious spirit, and there were also a Rule and vows,

though the religious habit and a proper religious Rule were still missing. But the Founder soon recognized this form was not perfect, and consequently he began the change into a religious congregation. That in such a transformation several left because they lacked a vocation to proper religious life will not surprise anyone who knows the history of the origin of other orders and congregations. As a religious habit he gave at first one of ash-grey, but after some time a black habit with a black cincture and a mantle with a pilgrim cape (because the grey color seemed not quite fitting for the present time and for the apostolate). (AGS 304.7; cf., DSS XIV, 257ff; the same brochure in Polish by Weigang! Cf., "Short Notes" in German and Italian, DSS IV, 287ff.)

In circles with a broader outlook than responsible Roman authorities, Jordan's organization of the CTS was valued not only as interesting but also as helpful for the future. Already the second edition the Church Encyclopedia started by Joseph Cardinal Hergenröther considered Jordan's structure in detail. Cited here in the form of catch words:

1st Order: apostolic activity, above all by instruction; 2nd Order: education of children and care for the sick; 3rd Order: God-fearing people in the world of both sexes who wish to work at their own sanctification as well as at their neighbors' as they can; Catholic League of Academics: promotion of Catholic research and good press in union with the Catholic Teaching Society; men and women co-operators -daily prayers, and contributions, cared for by men and women promoters; League of Angels: Catholic care for children up to 14 years in a "Congregation" (Fr. Will, S.J. in *Wetzer and Welter's Church Lexicon*, Freiburg i. Br: 1891²).

This bears comparison with the organization of Don Bosco, with whom Jordan consulted early on: 1st Order, 2nd Order, religious Salesians in the world, collaborators of the Salesians, sustinators, associates, league for the press, union for education.

2.10/21. The Sisters. Jordan determined investiture and profession of the sisters. However, he first asked Mother Mary for her opinion, respecting her judgment about the sisters in question. So he wrote to her on November 14, 1892:

Dear venerable spiritual daughter in Xt . . . Be so kind as to write to me at the earliest an evaluation of the professed sisters and of the sisters

coming to profession in the near future . . . In doing so, I wish the following indications: piety, firmness in the holy vocation, behavior, intellectual abilities in general, knowledge and capabilities, aptitude for what work or offices (e.g., whether for teaching or care for the sick), prudence and practical intelligence, health, whether for superior, whether sociable, whether sound piety, etc., generally all that you believe necessary for me in my office. In fact I must see that you get new houses and work. God bless you and console you. Be trustful, the Lord will help. Pray much. Greetings and blessings to you all from your benevolent spiritual Fr. M of the Cross (ASDS).

From the start, the Sisters in Tivoli had their own cash for local use. Mother Mary sent the monthly accounts to Jordan. These show that in those years there were usually 2,000 Lire in cash in the cashbox. The income came from Mother Mary's pension (1,200 Mark annually) and from the pensions of those entering, which they had to pay annually (150 Mark = 180 Lire) until their profession. In addition there were the contributions of benefactors and friends, mostly through *Der Missionär* which always carried reports about the sisters, advertized their work and soliciting support. Sometimes individual gifts from 100 to 300 Mark were received for the sisters in Tivoli.

The candidates consigned their dowries and inheritances to the priests according to the regulation of canon law. These were safely deposited in banks. When Jordan or Lüthen went to Tivoli they always took the requested sums with them, as the cash accounts of the sisters of that time show, e.g., 150 Mark for a candidate, or 100 Mark for rent. When Mother Mary came to Rome, she, too, could draw the necessary sums. She kept a book on dowry and proprietary money of the sisters. The interest on the same also served for current sustenance. Thus, the sisters never had money problems like those pressing the men's mother-house. Mother Mary noted exactly if a candidate, e.g., a sister, had property in her bank, at home, or in land or similar inheritance (cf., Statistic of January 17, 1893, E-616; Book of Dowries, Pensions and Property, 1885-1895, ASDS).

Jordan had fixed the dowry at 800 Mark, or 450 Gelden, or 1000 Francs. In addition the cost of sustenance should be paid for candidature (6 months) and novitiate (150 Mark or 180 Lire annually). For later

professional formation 7 Lire were provided weekly (E-796, May 1894; E-819, January 1897). Applications had to be directed to Jordan, who passed them to Mother Mary for her opinion. In returning one of them to Lüthen (Jordan was in Austria) she couldn't resist noting: "Reverend, she certainly must write also to me before she comes (Good-end of June). No greeting and nothing—I don't understand at all—" (E-382, May 6, 1893).

2.11/22. Rule of 1891 bears the solemn title: "Rule and Constitution of the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society." This adds to the previous Rule of 1888 the term "Constitutions," but otherwise contains only small changes. The "complete poverty" still requested at that time demanded the renunciation of all property before and after perpetual profession. This renunciation (*renunciataum dominium radicale*) is now legally more clearly described. In return, the former statute is omitted: that the professed could perform legal property acts only with the consent of the superior general. A proper statute demanded that those staying outside the community give an account to the superior after their return home, so that he "may judge their observation of poverty and prudence in the Lord." The chapter on chastity expressly points out that confidential consorting with persons of the other sex is to be avoided, because other Christians might easily be scandalized by it.

In regard to Divine Office a new chapter is inserted requiring that it be prayed in common. Everyone is obliged to participate in "choral office" unless he is justly prevented, or unless he has received permission from the superior not to attend. In the exercises of piety are inserted monthly spiritual renewal and yearly retreats. The chapter on religious discipline states that members shall not be active politically, that permission for smoking is to be given by the superior general who in doing so shall use prudent severity. Then it particularly asks that a member shall take the superior into his confidence when he notes that a confrere is pressed by difficulties and temptation so that the superior "might be able to help in fatherly concern for his people and with apt assistance." Then in a distinct statute Jordan reminds each one to be ready for any work that is honorable and useful; he points to St. Paul who did not consider manual work below his dignity (cf. 1Cor 4:12, ". . . and we toil, working with our own hands" E-1209).

Thus, the Rule of 1891 kept closely to the Rules of 1886 and 1888. The few changes are of secondary importance, with the exception of the Office "in choir."

2.12/23. Obedience. The chapter on obedience in the rule of 1891 is almost completely copied from the statutes of the Society of Jesus. It remained unchanged from 1886 up to Vatican II, with the only exception that in 1902, in conformity with the law for religious, 4 articles were appended which separated canonically the vow of religious obedience from the virtue, and regulated the extent of the vow.

In the original Rule of 1882, Jordan simply wrote: The members shall observe obedience (*observent oboedientiam*). He explains:

Whoever, called by divine grace, obeys his superior subjects himself to God. For any reasonable obedience is based on divine authority. Consequently they must practice perfect obedience not only in strict orders, but they shall also try to follow the mere utterance of the will of the superior. They shall even be convinced that they are carried and directed by Divine Providence through their superiors. Not only the supreme director of the Society has to be obeyed, but equally the superiors who have received authority from him. In order to enhance that indispensable virtue it is very useful often to look at our Lord Jesus Christ who became obedient unto death, even death on the cross, as well as to invoke insistently Mary, the most obedient handmaid of the Lord. But obedience should come out of a happy heart, it should be voluntary and exact, and submit to the superior the mind not less than the will (E-1204).

Jordan explains here quite clearly his theological view of religious obedience as he lived it himself and required it from others. The virtue of obedience is grace. The superior is the representative of God. In the church, authority passes downwards. Each act of obedience is made reasonable by submitting oneself to the divine authority through this human conduit. Obedience is based on the belief that Divine Providence speaks especially in leadership through the superior. The example of the Savior (cf., Phil 2:8 "he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even death on a cross") is the evangelical basis of religious obedience. Only in this way does such obedience remain not forced or burdensome,

but a delight and liberation. Jordan points delicately to the most obedient handmaid, thus giving a Marian mark to religious obedience.

When in 1884, Jordan wrote his Short Rule he looked above all in the chapter about obedience in St. Ignatius. He draws from Ignatius' *Regulae communes* (i.e. *Summ. Const.*). From Jacquemin's rule on the contrary, the docile Jordan took over in 1886 only two statutes:

Just as our Lord and Master Jesus Christ did not come into this world to do his own will but the will of his Father, so also the members have not entered the Society to do their own will, but the will of their heavenly Father, for the obedience which is shown to superiors is shown to God. . . . The members always have their eyes upon the word of the Apostle, not by doing what appears to please people, but as servants of Christ who do the will of God from the heart, "not only when watched, as those currying favor, but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart" (cf., Eph 6:6).

The complete block of statutes regarding obedience remained unchanged from 1886 till 1951. Regarding the virtue of perfect obedience, Jordan used the image of the "pen in the writer's hand," which he preferred to St. Ignatius' image of the corpse (*Summ. Const.* 35a: "keep yourself sincerely firm to the rules by Divine Providence through your superiors, otherwise you will be a corpse." *SDS Statutes*: "They adhere to the rules of the superiors as a pen in the hand of the writer, having persuaded themselves to be directed by Divine Providence through their superiors").

Jordan kept himself completely within the Tridentine theology of obedience in stressing the representative authority of God, and God's special guidance through Divine Providence, as well as to the ascetics of obedience. To him obedience was really a school of imitation, which could become very hard; but in just this way was the virtue of obedience helpful to a fruitful apostolate.

Vatican II orients religious obedience not to Divine Providence, but to God's salvific will. It illustrates above all also the personal and communal value of obedience. Through obedience religious follow the example of Christ and draw closer to the Father's salvific will. They become free to serve the confreres and the church and thus better able to find their own perfection in Christ.

Jordan would certainly have welcomed this deepened view of obedience. Above all it would have freed him from the pressure of authority generated by the narrow ecclesiastical doctrine of his day. Jordan as founder remained burdened by the thought that God would demand from him an account of his authority. It thus remained a cross to his scrupulously vigilant conscience. In regard to the rule of obedience he was himself an example to all. Not even the consultor assigned by Rome could dislodge the image of the writing-pen (*sicut penna scribente*) from the chapter on obedience, although he had expressed his objection to the superior general in his first *Votum* of May 29, 1892. The "writing-pen" metaphor remained in the rule up to Vatican II.

An example of how Jordan used his authority as founder is the prescription he added in the chapter about religious discipline in 1892: 33. By virtue of holy obedience all who know or have discovered that some are plotting or have plotted against the Society are obliged to indicate, without reservation, as soon as possible to the superior general the author as well as the really guilty ones, so that he according to his duty and in line with the General Chapter may punish those guilty correspondingly and dismiss them from the Society.

Jordan used the hard words *machinari* and *complices* pointing to the authority of the General Chapter (together with the superior general), which however in his Society had not yet become active. This is the only point in the statutes where he invoked the virtue of religious obedience.

This statute shows two things: how quickly the Founder could add a statute, but also how misplaced such a statute could be if it was caused by an exceptional case. Jordan had been urged to add this statute by the happenings in Assam in the first months of 1892, which had had their prelude and echo in the motherhouse. In this way he wanted to be able to use his full authority to prevent such events in the future which to him were machinations against the Society. He retained this statute in the second edition of his Constitution which he had neatly printed and submitted on December 1892. The consultor requested promptly that this statute "under obligation of obedience" be canceled. Jordan dropped it in the third edition for the Congregation. However, it remained in the printed edition of 1892, and in its reprint of 1896, which corresponded to

the second edition of his Constitution. Later too, the Society would often have to suffer severely from machinations. Considered as a whole the chapter on religious obedience was very useful and proved to be good up to the replacement of the whole Constitution by the "adapted renewal" of religious life requested by Vatican II.

2.13/24. Lüthen's obedience. Lüthen was doubtless the great spiritual formator of the apostolically-oriented young people who began their religious training in Borgo Vechio. His attitude influenced theirs. In this regard his relationship with Jordan should be particularly noted. To Lüthen, Jordan was the representative of Christ. Consequently, his basic attitude toward Jordan (though younger than he) was humble obedience despite the fact that Lüthen was also Jordan's decisive and most influential counselor and often courageously admonished him.

Lüthen lived by faith—a faith proved by ecclesiastical obedience. "Reverence towards the superior out of faith: Lord Jesus Christ; to live in him and to behave like this towards him (Reg. 11)."^{*} At the same time Lüthen resolved: "Your obedience must be (even) more cheerful (Retreat 17-21 November 1889, G-21). During the retreats of November 1890, Lüthen returns to this point "out of faith." "Jesus at the feet of his disciples: I the disciple at the feet of His representative, the Venerable Father?!" in his retreats Lüthen deeply occupied himself with obedience out of faith and with the superior as Christ's representative, (which the above question and exclamation marks also point to):

After much consideration, in order to make amends for the spirit of pride which reigns in human society [e.g., socialism], I will get used to talking with the Venerable Father on my knees, in private as well as in public, to the greater honor of God, of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin Mary. –I must overcome the scruple that since I am a priest it [i.e., such humble obedience] would be a sin. [And he adds:] consequently, never

^{*} This rule on obedience is taken from the *Regulae communes SJ*, nr. 20b) prescribes: "Everyone shall address the superior with deep reverence; but the one addressed or reproved by the superior shall listen humbly and without interrupting."

to return to it [i.e., to that scruple] –to practice obedience perfectly (G-21. Lüthen was a jealous defender of the dignity of the priesthood.)

In November 1892 he reminded himself of this fundamental virtue: "Obedience (in patience, as God's will! towards the superior)" (G-21).

2.14/25. Declaration. Jordan wrote down the requested declaration he had drafted:

I, the undersigned, openly declare sincerely and without reserve to firmly intend to remain always in our First Order and to continue to obey the Rules and Constitutions and all later ones given even if obedience prescribes that I go to the foreign missions. [Between is inserted later: "Even 13. Fr. Emeranus--whether also prepared to beg? Responded: "Certainly."]

Having shown this to 12 retreatants for holy ordination, I said that if anyone has difficulties with it, he should come to me alone; *sub gravi* I will prohibit him to make retreat, etc. Rome, May 12, 1891. Fr. Jordan (B-8).

This declaration proves that Jordan's foundation was still in its childhood (*nascente istituto*), but also that he as Founder could require much and that he enjoyed true confidence. The veiled reference to inner reservation also proves that Jordan knew well that he (no less than others) could not prevent some from taking advantage of the almost free study in the House of Divine Providence in order to reach their desire to enter a higher social class than would have been possible had they remained in their families.

After 1892, the two "heroic" requirements (willingness to go without question to the foreign missions and to beg for the apostolic purposes of the CTS) were no longer in the declaration. The attempt of May 1891 was never repeated. However, Jordan continued to insist that professed members be ready to embrace any future necessary statutes or norms (*constitutiones et normae*). Thus we find declarations like this:

I, Frater Valentinus Maria Kartte, promise, trusting the assistance of divine grace, always to submit myself to all rules and constitutions of the Catholic Teaching Society whose member I am through the mercy (of God), and to submit, also to any new prescriptions which may

eventually be added, to my Reverend Superior General to the honor of God and to the salvation of my soul. Rome, June 19, 1892.

The undersigned declares himself herewith ready to submit to the legal superior in everything.

Rome, September 14, 1892.

Fr. Macaraius Maria SCI.

O.A.M.D.G.

I, Fr. Thadaeus M. Hofmann, subdeacon in the Catholic Teaching Society, promise with the help of God to be wholly submissive to each and every, present and future Rule, Constitution and Prescription of our very Reverend Father and his legitimate successors. That I may hold faithfully to the last breath with the help of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles, and all our holy patrons of the Society.

Fr. Thaddaeus M. Hofmann. Catholic Teaching Society,

Rome, June 18, 1892.

In spite of this, one or another member later gave as the reason for his unhappiness, or even for his leaving the Society, the fact that after his profession new directives had been given.*

2.15/26. Paolo Manna, Servant of God, came from Avellino, where his father Vincenzo ran a business. As the youngest of 7 children, Paoluccio lost his mother Lorenza when he was just 2 years old. So he came to stay with relatives in Naples for 7 years. Returned home in 1881 to Avellino, he attended the local school. His older brother Pietro was since 1882 studying in the seminary in Avellino and there also received the 4 minor orders (1886-87). On September 26, 1887, both brothers joined CTS. By October 9, an uncle from his mother's side, the archpriest Arcangelo Ruggiero asked for his two nephews to be dispensed from a major part of the pension. As the family had no significant property, he could pay only 200 Lire annually for both of them.

* In a similar way several religious argued after Vatican II that they had not made profession on the base of the revised Constitution.

On October 28, Paolo was received as a candidate of the CTS, while Pietro had begun his novitiate already on October 8 under the name Silvestro de Beato Petro, which was soon afterwards changed to Petrus de Jesu et Maria. On June 6, 1888, Vincenzo Manna asked that his two sons be allowed definitively to enter the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society. On July 19, Pietro petitioned for admission to perpetual vows which he made on October 14.

Paolo was received into novitiate on October 9, 1888 under the name of Adalbert. On October 15, 1889, he was allowed to take perpetual vows, having petitioned to be received definitely into the Catholic Teaching Society. His petition (below in full) is a good example of how a novice not only asked for admission to vows but also obliged himself in full freedom to observe the statutes, and also to comply with all prescriptions and wishes of the superior and to renounce to his property:

Praise be Jesus Christ - Tivoli July 19, 1889.

Fra. Adalbert Manna, Novice of the Catholic Teaching Society, I believe strongly to be called by the All-merciful God to religious life in the "First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society" and therefore to make the vows of Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, Apostolate, for the fixed time (that is until the 15th of October '89) forever and to observe not only the Constitution but also all the orders and desires of the superior and to renounce all that in future can be entrusted to me as inheritance. From the Catholic Teaching Society I accept any decision of the Superior General of the Society. Finally I declare that I desire and intend whatever Reverend Father has and will have about the Society and about myself in particular.

Made in Tivoli, in the formation house of the Catholic Teaching Society, July 19, 1889.

In faith, Fr. Adalberto Manna (AGS).

The documents of his profession and *cessio bonorum* have also been preserved. Fra. Adalbert like his brother Petrus attended the Gregorian University. On December 20, 1890, Pietro Manna was ordained subdeacon at the Lateran.

Beginning in 1891, both brothers began to feel ill at ease in Jordan's Society. On April 29, Adalbert (Paolo) returned home with the permission of the superior in order to regain his health, as Jordan noted

in his list of members (G-3.2, 109). Already on June 23, he was dispensed from perpetual vows. His brother Pietro explained to Jordan on May 31, 1891, by letter from home that he didn't want to exploit further the gifts of benefactors; he asked for forgiveness for his decision and to leave in friendship (*da amico*). In addition he asks for a discrete handling of his leaving, and for a good recommendation to the local bishop for the 3 years and 8 months he was a member of the Catholic Teaching Society.

Paolo Manna immediately contacted Msgr. Scurati, director of the Milanese Institute for Foreign Missions and entered his seminary at San Calocero on September 19, 1891. On May 19, 1894, Paolo was ordained in Milan. On September 27, 1895, he went as a missionary to Burma which had been entrusted to the Milanese Mission since 1869. Before his departure he paid a farewell visit to Jordan to thank him, because in his Society he had discovered and preserved his deep love for the foreign mission:

Most Reverend Father,

Milan, August 6, 1895

Before leaving for the missions I have to fulfill a duty and to satisfy a desire. I have to come to Your Reverend Father to receive a blessing and to thank you for the good you did to me during my stay in this Society. That is my duty. The desire then is to be able to celebrate Holy Mass in the chapel of this Institute and to say goodbye to my nephew Frater Vitalis, and to all the confreres whom I know and who are stronger and more fortunate than I and have persevered and will persevere in their holy purpose.

I believed that it was good to inform you with this small letter, as well as to prepare for the celebration of Holy Mass. I will arrive in Rome on the 8th of August at 10:30 a.m. at the central railway station. Please give me the blessing, forgiving me that much daring.

Your very obedient priest, Paolo Manna,

Seminary of the Foreign Missions (AGS).

On October 4, 1895, Paolo Manna started by ship from Triest to Burma and worked there for 12 years (with 2 years interruption for health

reasons, (1901-02 and 1905-06).^{*} On June 6, 1907, weakened in health, Paolo returned for good to Italy where he worked indefatigably as a writer for the missions. In 1908 he became general consultor of the *Istituto delle Missioni Estere di Milano* (PIME), and from 1924 to 1929 its superior general. In 1916, he founded *Unione Missionaria del Clero* (UMC), which was immediately approved by Propaganda Fide. The purpose of the foundation was not only to animate the clergy for the missions but to lead them to active cooperation as well as to enhance the common responsibility of all bishops to actively help the foreign mission. For many more years the Servant of God Paolo Manna dedicated himself to his successful organizing and literary activity in favor of the missions. He died in Naples at the age of 80, September 15, 1952.

His older brother Pietro who had left the Catholic Teaching Society as a subdeacon became a priest in his home diocese and died in 1952, shortly before Paolo at the age of 84. His leaving the CTS set in motion an extended exchange of letters among his local bishop Francesco Gallo (1810-1896), the Cardinal Vicar, and Jordan. The bishop of Avellino wanted to know why Pietro withdrew from the Society. He asked for a statement from Jordan that Pietro had left because of lack of religious vocation, and not because of bad behavior (June 13, 1891, AGS). A week later he asked for more information about Pietro's true motives for leaving (AGS, June 20, 1891). On the basis of Jordan's answer, the bishop realized that the necessary dispensation from vows required intervention by the Cardinal Vicar himself. He wrote to him August 19:

Pietro Manna left the Catholic Teaching Society under the pretext of not being disposed to accept some disciplinary orders imposed by the superior after he made his vows. Together with others he left the community and returned home. [Jordan had explained to him that Pietro had returned home because he lacked of a vocation] (ASV, 23 582/13).

^{*} When his confrere, Bishop Pozzi, in fall 1895 returned from Italy into his diocese of Krishnagar, he went through Burma. For New Year 1896, he replied to the good wishes of Münzloher, administrator in Assam, and mentioned that in Burma he had also met with Fr. Manna: "a very good priest who once belonged to your Congregation" (January 7, 1896, A MA).

Cardinal Parocchi passed the letter to Propaganda for action (September 17, 1891). They passed it to the Congregation for Religious (November 24, 1891). Jordan had again to answer church authorities. Why had he dismissed the subdeacon, and with what right had he dispensed him from vows? Jordan answered truthfully: the behavior of the young man was good, although he sometimes lacked religious discipline. When he was ordained subdeacon he stood fully to his vocation as a religious priest of the Catholic Teaching Society. Later he had started wavering in his vocation and finally decided to leave: he didn't want to delude the Society and was not disposed to remain in it. Yet Manna was still a member of the Society and in no way released from his vows. "But I have allowed him to go home to search for a benevolent bishop for himself." It had been with the hope that the bishop of Avellino would receive him again among his clerics and assure him a title, that Pietro had returned home. Before his departure Jordan had explained to him in detail once more that he could submit a request for release from vows only after he would be incardinated in a diocese and received a title (A-45.1-3). Once the bishop of Avellino agreed to receive Pietro, the latter could ask the Congregation for Bishops and Religious for a release from vows (January 11, 1892). This was granted January 13 (ASV). On March 3, 1892, the bishop of Avellino informed the Prefect of the Congregation that the case was resolved from his side, and consequently should be resolved also from the side of the Congregation (ASV). Needless to say, the case of Pietro Manna did nothing to enhance the modest favor Jordan enjoyed with the Congregation for Bishops and Religious.

All the more joyful and satisfying was the meeting with the young missionary Paolo Manna (August 8, 1895). In fact Jordan had laid the groundwork for the vocation of this excellent Servant of God, which tied him fully to the mission and did led him untiringly to arouse and incite the clergy of his homeland to support the missions. Paolo Manna always kept thankful veneration to Jordan as the man who awakened his missionary vocation, and he had probably never forgot that he studied gratis with Jordan.

2.16/27. Vienna (I). In summer 1891, Jordan sent Frs. Philipp Schütz and Cajetan Hinterberger to Simbach, Austria. Schütz was to explore the possibilities of a foundation in Vienna. The Cardinal required prior state recognition and from Simbach, Schütz reported to Jordan on August 1, 1891, the conditions for requesting the "*regium placet*." The Constitutions (at least an extract) had to be submitted; a property (*sustentation*) had to be shown bearing 1,400 fl. annual interest (gifts, stipends and magazines did not count toward this sum). The members were to be Austrians. (Bohemians must be kept back). On August 6, Schütz wrote from Linz that admission to this diocese would also be impossible without permission of the Ministry of Culture. He asked to be allowed to return to his beloved Tivoli. This Jordan granted, at the same time replacing him with the Bohemian priest Leo Zizka, and recalling Fr. Cajetan to Tivoli as well.

Zizka, who was to gather more information in Vienna, repeated to Jordan on September 1, 1891, what Schütz had written back on August 1. Jordan drew up a quite simple petition for the Austrian Emperor in which he pointed out that his members could live on the income from their pastoral work coupled with support from the motherhouse. As a Rule he compressed onto one page the purpose, means, activity and direction of the Catholic Teaching Society (October 13, 1891). Weigang remarked justly: petition insufficient. On October 31, Zizka informed Jordan that Auxiliary Bishop Angerer was quite inclined, but that the founder would have to turn personally to Cardinal Gruscha.*

Jordan asked Zizka "to sound the cardinal out." On November 27, he apologized to Jordan for not yet being able to see to the cardinal. January 19, 1892, he proposed a provisional foundation in Simmering. Meanwhile, Fr. Leo, Fr. Cajetan and Br. Vitus Visler lodged in Vienna, Josefstadt, LandgaÙe 19. From there they continued their solicitations.

* Anton Josef Gruscha (Vienna, 1820-1911, Glögnitz) at first did pastoral work and later served as central president of the journeymen of Austria. In 1848, he became military bishop of the imperial army. In 1890 he became Archbishop of Vienna and was created cardinal a year later. Like his predecessor Cardinal Ganglbauer, Cardinal Gruscha felt very kindly towards the Salvatorians.

2.17/31. Münzloher assumes control. After the death of Hopfenmüller, responsibility for the seedling mission fell on the shoulders of the 24 year-old Fr. Angelus Münzloher. His letters from that time are optimistic, "Shillong is one of the healthiest places in Assam." He also had good plans: church, school and orphanage are to be built; the catechism is to be printed in the Khasi language. He expects teaching sisters from Tivoli, and again and again he asks urgently for material help. Propaganda Fide had again sent 10,000 Francs, but at the same time informed him that since contributions were diminishing, they too would have to be less generous. Münzloher complained: "In the cash box one only sees the bottom" (MI 2-3, 1891). In March, *Der Missionär* reported from Assam: All are in good health. Construction of the lodgings for priests and brothers as well as for the sisters in Shillong has been started. Soon would follow the construction of the school for youth: "There is hardly a country needing missionaries so much as Assam." On June 21, the Apostolic Delegate of East-India, Archbishop Aiuti* stayed in Rome to report and receive his transfer. (Ladislaus Zaleski became his successor.) Aiuti also used the occasion to visit with Jordan

Already in summer 1891, Münzloher had to have printed the 2nd edition of Hopfenmüller's catechism. In a letter of July 11 he shows his missionary enthusiasm in spite of difficulties:

Dearest Venerable Father!

It won't be a mystery to you any more how much I have at heart the salvation of the souls of our Khasi, and how I dedicate myself completely to my call. I work the more, because I am destined now to Shillong according to God's wise will; that's why also the heaviest trials are a sweet comfort, consolation and peace to my soul.

Already on September 1, St. Mary's School was inaugurated at the main station. The sisters' involvement with native girls is particularly praised.

* Andreas Aiuti (1849-1905, Rome) was since April of 1887, Apostolic Delegate to East India (Titular Archbishop of Acrida). Back in Rome after 1891, he worked from June 1893, as nuncio in Munich and from December 1896, as nuncio in Lisbon. On June 22, 1903, Leo XIII promoted him to cardinal. He was a member of a many different congregations.

On May 10, 1891, Jordan received a special blessing from Leo XIII for the mission benefactors. On July 25, Münzloher got papal permission to install a chapel in the sisters' house. In December, Jordan asked Propaganda in vain for a special contribution for his mission (A PF). In late January 1892, 3 priests, 1 brother and 3 sisters arrived in Assam.

Bishop Pozzi sent Münzloher his best wishes for having now so many missionaries at his disposal. At the same time he warned him of the climate in Shillong which hitherto had not been favorable to them (Krishnagar, January 24, 1891, A MA).

Münzloher turned to Archbishop Goethals, whose "suffragan" he was, whenever he had any doubt as how to act as mission superior. Goethals immediately gave him information and directives, e.g., about a delicate "widow-marriage" (Darjaling, May 5, 1891, A MA), or about permission to use money intended for the ransom of "Pagan Babies" for the education of native orphans (June 16, 1891, A MA); he also gave Münzloher information in regard to usages of fasting, the fees for priests, sisters and catechists, about school questions and other things (February 22, 1892; May 29 & August 25, 1893, A MA).

Bishop Pozzi, who was favorably inclined towards Münzloher, dissuaded him from beginning with native seminarians; he felt one could not yet trust the Bengalense (August 25, 1893). Münzloher was planning a fund raising trip in his homeland, as the money from Propaganda Fide in Lyon was not sufficient for the urgently needed buildings.

2.18/32. Testimonial letters. The ailing cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Ignazio Persico,* had his secretary write the following recommendation:

* Ignazio Persico (Naples, 1823-1895, Rome) the successor of Jacobini, who in 1891 had moved to Lisbon as nuncio. Persico had entered the Capuchins, worked in India as a missionary, and was Apostolic Prefect of Agra. Leo XIII often used him in church political missions in the USA and Canada. In 1877, Persico settled the Syrian Chaldaic schism in India. From 1879 - 1886, he was bishop of Aquino and the two neighboring dioceses. In 1887, he was made Titular Archbishop of Damiette and was sent to Ireland to settle the anti-English boycott. In 1891, as Secretary of Propaganda Fide, he became cardinal and was made Prefect of the Index Congregation in 1893. Parsico embraced all the adventures which

The undersigned Secretary for the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith testifies that he commissioned the Prefect Apostolic of Assam in East India and that the missionaries of this said Catholic Teaching Society, being united in the First Order, work with praiseworthy care and zeal to spread the true faith. Therefore, a request from the Superior Prefect recommends that approval be given by the Prefect for the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Religious.

January 25, 1892

+Ignatius Archbishop Tamiath. Secretary. (A PF, n. 5958)

Bishop Cölestin of Tivoli also wrote:

Nothing concerning the members has ever been noted in the history of this Society which would in any degree hinder the good repute in which they are held by everyone indiscriminately. Yes indeed, they always have conducted themselves and do deport themselves in such a way that they win for themselves the admiration of all.

Tivoli, December 15, 1891 +Cölestinus, Epus Tiburtensis

There follows the recommendation of the Cardinal Vicar:

The Catholic Teaching Society has been well known to me for eight years. Never have I noticed anything swerving from the true faith, from good customs, from ecclesiastical discipline. I have found instead much earning high praise in regard to religious discipline and zeal in promoting the Catholic cause. In order to get an even more exact insight into the whole, I gave in the past days a mandate to a highly esteemed priest of the Society of Jesus to visit the community and its membership under best observation of the canonical rules. From this examination the Society came out as I had expected, namely innocent and useful in the vineyard of the Lord. Therefore, I recommend it to the Holy Father that it may be strengthened by the highest judgment of His Holiness and by his apostolic blessing for taking over further work in enhancing the honor of God and for still more difficult tasks.

L.M. Cardinal Vicar

(to Fr. Stanislaus Ferrari, S.J; cf., DSS XIV, 220).

punctuated his life. With all that, he always remained cheerful and quiet. He possessed an "enlightened judgment," was always conciliating, balanced, and well disposed towards Jordan.

2.19/33. Liège. Jordan presented his foundation briefly to the bishop of Liège. In doing so, he mentioned above all its international character. He also spoke expressly about the press apostolate of the Catholic Teaching Society as well as its apostolic engagement in "Assam, Bhutan, Manipur." Jordan asked Bishop Doutreloux to offer his hand so that his work might also gain a foothold in Belgium.

Jordan asked permission to begin on a small scale in Liège itself. Doutreloux* could ask for further information about the CTS from the Cardinal Vicar (*Minuta*, February 7, 1892). The bishop of Liège had to decline, particularly a foundation in Liège, the cathedral city (March 19, 1892). In April, Jordan met personally with Doutreloux in Rome. Their negotiations continued without tangible success, though Mother Mary noted: "On the 2nd I heard the good news that in a very short time a foundation shall be started in Belgium" (June 2, 1893, MMChr). The bishop, well disposed towards Jordan, directed him to the German-Belgium border, away from the city and into the country. This suited Jordan less. But soon he saw a possibility in it to attract German vocations and he accepted the bishop's proposal. However, the foundation took hold only in 1900, once Bishop Doutreloux, on December 1, 1899, had allowed Jordan to settle at Welkenraedt.

2.20/34,35. The Rule of 1892 is basically the same as that of 1891. Only a few canonical adaptations are added because Jordan wanted to use it in a petition for papal approval. The words "*primus ordo*" and "*regulae*" are omitted completely. Now only "*Societas*" and "*Constitutiones*" are used.

Equally suppressed is what had been the first chapter on the "general purpose." The second chapter on the "special aim" now assumes first place and reads: "Aim of the Society" (*Finis Societatis*). The "Francis-

* Victor Josef Doutreloux (Chéné May 18, 1837-1901, August 24, Liège) was bishop of Liège since 1879. He was considered a mild, socially open-minded bishop, but without the energy of a von Ketteler. Mother Mary would have welcomed a foundation in Liège; she had in fact spent her youth there as a boarder and never forgot the happy Sundays in the episcopal palace of the kind Bishop Corneille Richard Antoine van Bommel (cf., DSS XIV, 331f).

Rule" which introduced previous editions of the Rule is added to the first article (of the former 2nd chapter). Following prudent advice, Jordan drops the rule of universality of the Society as the attribute showing its peculiar character, because it would certainly have met with opposition from the canonical experts. But this didn't change the fact (valid also in the future) for the Catholic Teaching Society: "Because Christ has died for all, His love urges us to receive all those sent [to us] by God and to extend our love and our apostolate to all who need them." The first chapter read now:

Purpose of the Society

1. Members of the Society make it their task, as far as it can happen with God's assisting grace, to apply themselves zealously to their own sanctification and to that of all people by faithful imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the World, and by imitating the apostles through a life in poverty, chastity and obedience in the works of apostolate.
2. By following in a faithful and manly way the example of their leader, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the footsteps of the holy apostles, they shall dedicate and sacrifice themselves completely to God and to the promotion of His cause and not hold back anything insofar as human weakness strengthened by God's grace allows.
3. Example, word and writing, any kind and all means inspired by the love of Christ shall be used by them with zeal and prudence in the Lord to proclaim and glorify God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit to all people everywhere, as well as to honor the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and to save immortal souls.

In place of the dropped first chapter Jordan inserted as a new Chapter II an article about the patrons of the Society (they had only been hinted at in the Rule of 1882).

The main patrons of the Society are the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of Apostles, as well as the Holy Apostles; as further patrons are venerated the Holy Archangel Michael and the most pure bridegroom of the Blessed Virgin Mary and foster father of Jesus Christ [i.e., St. Joseph].

In regard to poverty, Jordan no longer speak of renouncing property but, adapting to the ecclesiastical trend, determines that those retaining the

right of property (*dominium radicale*) must renounce its administration and any benefits. Jordan was certainly sorry that the full renunciation to property (permitted again by Vatican II) was left as a matter of personal choice (E-1210).

At this time, church norms regarding the vow of poverty were not yet strictly canonically binding; they were still in a state of experimentation, which however was officially encouraged. Jordan genially embraced this growing right in a statement of principle which he put at the head of his chapter on poverty; "The members shall faithfully observe holy poverty as the foundation of the Society in everything, according to the ecclesiastical prescriptions given in this regard" (Chapter 3.1).

All in all, the Rule of 1892 is a twin of the Rule of 1891, with the exception that Jordan had to dress it up in keeping with the rights of religious that were becoming increasingly clarified in the decades following Vatican I. Together with the Rule and the Statutes for the First Order of the Catholic Teaching Society (E-1209) Jordan published some directives "about correspondence in our holy Order" (*de nostro Sancti Ordinis formula scrivendi*, DSS II, 349ff). Jordan desires frequent exchange of letters between superiors and members to foster their bond of unity. His ideal was weekly if possible. Above all, the superior general should keep close to the pulse of important matters. Secrets shall be forwarded in a second envelope marked "*Soli*". Before reporting about others or about communities, the writer shall carefully think it over, and above all pray. Prudence and love shall always lead the pen. Further directives regulate annual reports as well as the list of members with their dates and particulars. This is to be updated annually. Jordan inserts these directives into the edition of the Rule of 1892 (DSS I, 198-206) which practically keeps to the 2nd edition of the Constitutions submitted to the Congregation together with the petition for the *Breve di Lode*.

Jordan as well as Lüthen used correspondence with the confreres and with the sisters in an exemplary way. Keeping up their far-reaching correspondence was hard and troublesome. The style of their letters remained simple and clear. The letters show understanding, benevolence and sympathy, but were also strong and sharp when necessary. Kind cordiality often sounds through them.

(35) Jordan submitted the Rule of 1891. To the article on "*cessio dominii radicalis*" he added an explanatory footnote: "In regard to complete renunciation of property, note that the members who have taken perpetual vows lately renounced quite voluntarily (*libere ac sponte*) the *dominium radicale*, so that they would have renounced it even if a corresponding rule had not existed."

This note shows how much he had at heart bare poverty; he defended himself strongly against the canonical tendency to grant this privilege only to the old religious orders. Jordan added to this handwritten rule an appendix in which he noted directives about the novitiate (cf., DSS I, 168, 171, 172, 246).

He also described the present state of the Society. In a not very clever way he laid the burden of maintaining the Society too one-sidedly on Divine Providence, and cited as examples the two "gifts in times of greatest need" one of June 1883 (DSS XIV, 434) and the other of August 1890. Jordan's report (*relatio*) on the Society was confirmed by his ecclesiastical superior. The Cardinal Vicar viewed it favorably, voicing reservations, however, in regard to the mention of the two donations:

quod pertinet ad interiorem Sodalitatis disciplinam, ad alumnorum numerum et opera, necnon ad asseclas Societatis adjutores ita esse, ut heic asseritur (facta enim nonnulla heic pariter recensita nos latent) testamur fidemquae facimus. 3 April 1892, L.M. Cardinal Vicar" (A Rel; minuta E 49-51).

On April 9, 1892, Jordan petitioned the pope through the Congregation for Bishops and Religious.* They passed it, along with all its attachments (reports, Constitutions, recommendations) to the renowned consultor versed in canon law, Albert Battandier (A Rel 25603).

* Cardinal Isidor Verga (Bassano, Diocese of Orte, 1832-1899, Rome) was then Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. His talent was law. At first he worked as a lawyer of the Rota. From 1870, he was Sommista of Bishops and Regulars. He transferred to the Congregation of the Council, first as sub-secretary and since 1878 (through Leo XIII) as secretary. Created cardinal in 1884, Verga became Prefect of the Apostolic Signature, then from 1891 of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. Verga was not a politician but was the outstanding canonist of that time.

2.21/36. **Assam (II)** was already home to 7 priests, 3 brothers and 6 sisters of the CTS. Jordan like Münzloher hoped this would lead to a marked upsurge in missionary involvement. But just in spring 1892, the mission experienced the greatest inner distress. The new young missionaries had difficulty finding their way into their work. Unfortunately, the mission itself did not disclose exact reasons for their behavior. Fr. Johannes Gruchot, sent to Assam on December 12, 1890 wrote Jordan:

Bondashill, February 26, 1892

Dear most venerable Father!

Always I have loved you and I shall also further on continue to love you in the Lord. May you be well, and also Fr. Magister and each member of the Society! It causes me much pain to be compelled to express to you my dissatisfaction in this Society. Until now I have struggled much and have carefully reflected about the whole history of this Society. I cannot and may not remain like this any longer, and so I ask you, Venerable Father, to release me benignantly. I shall leave India as soon as possible. Many greetings. In full love and esteem, I remain your always loving and thankful, Fr. Johannes.

This letter of the esteemed young priest at a missionary outpost may somehow accurately reflect the physical state of other missionaries. The 37 year-old Fr. Johannes Gruchot died as an exemplary religious after indefatigable engagement in Assam on December 1, 1898 in Shillong.

On April 10, Zaleski, the new apostolic delegate, who was later ordained archbishop on May 15 in Calcutta,* informed Cardinal Ledóchowski** that the administrator *ad interim* of the Prefecture of Assam

* Ladislaus Zaleski (Wilna, May 2, 1852-1925, October 3, Rome) was ordained in 1882. He became titular archbishop of Theben in 1892, and Apostolic Delegate for East India (where he worked since 1866 as secretary to Archbishop Agliardi). From Kandy (Sri Lanka) he made extensive visitation trips. At the request of Leo XIII, he tried vigorously to erect a papal seminary to form Indian clergy. He entrusted the Belgian Jesuits with the Kandy seminary. On December 4, 1916, he was called to Rome by Benedict XV and named titular archbishop of Antiochia.

** Mieczslaw Halka Ledóchowski replaced Cardinal Simeoni in office in early 1892. The Count had been born on October 29, 1822 in Gorki, Diocese of

was having difficulties with his missionaries. Münzloher had informed him that many members were at present leaving the Society for just reasons. Other missionaries wanted to leave. They had been ordained on the title of the Society but now wanted also to get the title of the mission. Then Münzloher asked: Could these missionaries remain in the Prefecture after leaving the Society? Could the superior general recall such priests against their will from the mission entrusted to the Catholic Teaching Society? What right did Jordan have which would negate the title of the mission? Could Münzloher detain these priests temporarily against their will (until others came)? Münzloher stressed in his inquiry that the Assam Mission was the most difficult in India and required the most sacrifices from the missionaries. At the same time he asked that the sisters be able to make their confession in the house chapel, as they were prevented by the tropical rain to go to the church. This last request was granted (meeting, May 11, 1892).

2.22/37. Titulus. It was a struggle at that time to get a "title" to ordain candidates of the Society. So Jordan petitioned the pope for his men to be ordained with the title "*mensa communis*," i.e., of the Society. Of the four candidates presented, one was selected and granted the title *mensa communis*, after Leo XIII personally gave his *placet*. Jordan was informed that this papal grace was a single case: "From the audience of His Holiness, April 29, 1892. For the grace which Fr. Ludwig Müller, but so much for

Sandomir. He made his studies in Warsaw, completing them in Rome at the *Academia dei Nobili*. Ordained on July 13, 1845, he worked in papal diplomacy since 1851. Between 1861 and 1865 he worked skillfully as nuncio in Portugal, Colombia and Belgium. On January 8, 1866, he became Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen and as such a victim of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. In prison from 1874 till 1876 in Ostrow he had, like Cardinal Melchers of Cologne, to emigrate to the Vatican. While still in prison, Pius IX named him cardinal in order to send a political message. The "martyr" Ledóchowski remained politically intransigent under Leo XIII. As the "Red Pope" he continued to determine German-Vatican politics, even against Secretary of State Rampolla, and even bypassing Leo XIII when he considered it necessary. Prefect of the Propaganda since February 1892, he knew he was the second most important cardinal.

this interchange, and having been called, Very Reverend Father Jordan. Jos. M. Cassa... Secr. 4 May, 1892" (A Rel 25828).

Jordan had no other choice but to turn again to the Cardinal Vicar for further help. He both encouraged and impeded him at the same time: "From the audience of his Eminence and Very Reverend Vicar of Rome, March 2, 1892: 'Your faculties are given, but go slowly.' Fr. d. C." (B-11). This meant that Jordan as superior general was able to accept and profess, and to issue dimissorials (according to papal dispensation). But in regard to ordinations everything still had to be regulated. Up till then, the Cardinal Vicar had intervened in all such matters. But as Jordan's foundation had now extended beyond the diocesan area, the Congregation for Bishops and Religious could no longer be circumvented. So Jordan made another petition. This time he added further names. He asked the Prefect to allow him to have 3 deacons and 6 subdeacons (who had received their first orders on the title of the Society) ordained on the title of the Assam Mission which had now been entrusted to the Society. If this were not possible, he requested to be told why these young men could not be ordained. The Prefect passed Jordan's inquiry to Cardinal Parocchi for his opinion. He held that they could not be ordained on the title of the Mission, but that another title was to be found: "1 negative; to 2: On account of the defect in the title Mission, for which another title must be substituted. May 4, 1892" (A Rel, 25828). The Congregation called Jordan and advised him to come to an agreement with the Cardinal Vicar (l.c., May 10, 1892). Thus Cardinal Parocchi had to intervene once more and help the troubled founder.

In the meantime, it was tiresome for Jordan to petition for each ordination. The decisions fluctuated—now this way, now that. So on September 30, 1892, the ordination of the subdeacons could be made on the title of the Mission by way of exception. When Jordan made another petition to the pope for two clerics to be ordained on the title of the Society, the Congregation passed the petition to the Cardinal Vicar for execution (A Rel, 27538). He wanted to clear the matter definitely, and on November 28 wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation that the Catholic Teaching Society was not yet an "*istituto approvato*." "Nonetheless it has foreign missions in which they work with zeal." He proposed to ordain the two clerics on the *titulus missionis* (A Rel, 27535). There came close to

being no agreement. On December 2, Cardinal Parocchi submitted the case to the pope himself, and he decided that the two clerics could well be ordained on the *titulus missionis*, provided they had made simple vows for life (l.c.). From such events, which were not rare, one can see that Jordan was almost compelled to apply for the *Breve di Lode*.

2.23/38. Dismissals and departures. Jordan willingly took the trouble to get ordination titles for his professed members. On the other hand it was painful for him to start the often complicated canonical steps for a dismissal of members in major orders. While hitherto his requests had only been about professed members (with the exception of Pietro Manna the year before) now priests too began seeking release. This led to mountains of time consuming correspondence among the responsible bishop, the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, and the superior general who was never bypassed. The Cardinal Vicar, too, was called in quite often.

As one example, from the start of the year there is a voluminous correspondence with the bishop of Avellino because of an A.A., who from his home asked for release from vows. As reason he indicated lack of vocation. He wanted to become a diocesan priest. First the necessary clear statements about the truth of the reason had to be made, whether A.A. was already a cleric, and if so, which bishop is "benevolent" and what *patrimonium* was at his disposal; whether the superior general agrees and for what reasons. Only then could the petitioner's request "to the Holy Father" be handled on good terms by the Prefect of the Congregation or by the Cardinal Vicar (cf., Casus A.A., A Rel, 24845).

Sometimes the authorities made a case difficult to the point of incomprehension. For example, a certain scholastic, Josephat Tannwitz, had been at home since July 1891 because of illness. Finally on March 30, 1892, he asked to be released from vows. The Cardinal Vicar authorized Jordan to dispense. The bishop of Avellino, however, refused to re-admit the ex-scholastic into his diocese without papal dispensation. The Congregation returned to the Cardinal Vicar (April 28, 1892). He required Jordan to confirm to the Prefect of the Congregation that he had granted the dispensation with his permission. This Jordan did on May 3. He added his written dispensation "due to sickness" of March 21. As the case

remained unsettled, Tannwitz made another petition to the pope on August 13. Now a new inquiry reached Jordan, asking whether the man in question was a cleric (August 25). Jordan immediately replied that the case was not about a cleric, and that from his side there was no impediment for granting the dispensation (September 2). On September 6, came the decision: "Because the superior general agrees and a reasonable motive is given, the dispensation is granted as wished, the vow of chastity is retained. September 6, 1892" (A Rel, 25658; 26918).

These detailed examples have been presented to show how such official everyday life was additionally challenging to a fully apostolically engaged man like Jordan. Another example that could be mentioned briefly is the departure of the first priest from the Catholic Teaching Society. This was particularly painful to the anti-nationalistic Jordan that a priest, an Italian, indicated as his reason for leaving that he couldn't live among "non-Italian nationals." This priest was on a collecting trip in the Diocese of Parma. The diocesan vicar general declared himself ready to receive him into his diocese where he could be active in pastoral work. The 42 year-old priest, at home in the Diocese of Brescia, willingly accepted the attractive offer and asked the Cardinal Vicar to release him from his vows. He of course called in Jordan.

To Jordan the reasons indicated seemed insufficient; he could not recognize them as at all valid. Nevertheless, he recommended the dispensation to help the priest feel comfortable in the vineyard of the Lord. The Cardinal Vicar granted it on June 1, 1892 (TVU 434). In principle, Jordan felt deceived because Fr. J.D. had been ordained only two years before, and before his ordination he had readily declared:

Our Very Reverend Father.

I the undersigned swear and firmly promise to hold myself to your wise counsels in every circumstance that can happen and in everything and for everything I intend to subject myself to your orders, and also to the Rules of the Institute and to persevere and to be faithful to death.

In faith Rome, May 1, 1888.

Your most Reverend Son in Christ. Fr. G.D. (AGS).

Now he even refused to return to Rome from his fund raising trip as Jordan requested, although his aim was a holy one: he had no money for

the journey and he wanted to prevent scandal to the others, (letter, May 7, 1892).*

On November 14, 1892, the decree "*Auctis admodum*" appeared. It was meant to complete the earlier "*Romani Pontifices*" of January 15, 1848. While the latter treated the responsible authority of the bishops for the *litterae testimoniales* without which nobody could be admitted into a religious institute, the new decree regulated the dismissal of religious. First it welcomed the rise of so many new institutes with simple vows as a divine blessing. But then it complained about the frequent exits and returns of such religious priests to their home dioceses, where the bishop could not provide for their sustenance. This meant that superiors of institutes with simple vows (as was already the case with superiors of orders with solemn vows) could not issue *litterae testimoniales*, so as to have their members ordained on the title of *mensae communis* or *mensae missionis*, unless these men had been firmly incorporated into these institutes by perpetual vows. In regard to dismissal, the superiors can only dismiss members in perpetual vows because of grave external and public faults, if the guilty person is at the same time "incorrigible." The latter is proved after three fruitless reprimands. Dismissal is to be applied legally. Those dismissed or expelled who are in major orders remain suspended until the Holy See makes other provisions and those suspended have found a benevolent bishop and are provided with a *patrimonium*. Also those who voluntarily ask the Holy See for permission to be released from vows and receive it cannot leave their community

* In this connection it should be mentioned that frequent petitions (which seem to us today quite insignificant) were at that time to be directed to the pope. In this way, Jordan himself had to request permission for his missionaries living outside of Europe to absolve Mass stipends within six months (July 9, 1890), or later for the Catholic Teaching Society to do so within five months (August 25, 1891). He received these permissions from the responsible authority for three years (A Rel 19136; 23486). Permission to lengthen home leave required approval of the Congregation after presenting a medical certificate stating it was "necessary for good health" (December 26, 1892). It was then granted to the priest by the Cardinal Vicar (January 4, 1893, A Rel).

before having found a bishop and having secured their sustenance (cf., appendix to the SDS Constitution of 1902, E-1213).

Jordan was full of hope that he might now issue *litterae testimoniales* on his own. In his conscientiousness he inquired at the Congregation and received the answer that the new regulation was valid only for institutes of papal right (February 12, 1894, D-701). Thus Jordan still had to get papal agreement to admit individual members to a major order.

2.24/40. Three troublesome priests. June 11, 1892, Münzloher demanded that Propaganda immediately recall to Europe, Fr. Matthäus Baukhuge because of his scandalous life. He quarreled with his confreres and publicly refused obedience. Jordan personally supported the Prefect (A PF, 2877) and recalled the rebellious confrere to install him as a teacher of Humaniora in Tivoli. On the same day, the other five priests wrote to the Propaganda from Shillong declaring their desire to leave the Society, but to remain in the Mission, albeit against the will of their superior general. Münzloher agreed with their petition and would write as soon as he was healthy again. He had written already twice to Jordan, but without success (A PF, 2881). The Propaganda informed Jordan about this and asked his opinion:

Sacred Congregation of Propagation Fide
Secretary N. 2887.2881

Re: Father Baukhage

Rome, July 15, 1892

From the Prefect Apostolic of Assam some strong complaints have been made against the behavior of Fr. Matteo B. This man demeans the authority of the superior and refuses to work. Therefore, the Prefect asks that the religious be removed from the mission. Now the undersigned, the Secretary of the Propagation, while he brings all this to the knowledge of your paternity, at the same time, in the name of his Eminence Prefect, I write you to take immediately the necessary steps to recall the aforesaid priest from the Prefecture of Assam. The writer also lets your paternity know that Frs. Ignatius, John, Gebhard, Fulgenzio and Anthony want to leave this Institute and all together they ask to remain as secular missionaries. Now before taking any steps, this Congregation wants to have the appropriate information regarding this matter to know your opinion.

Meanwhile, I remain your most devoted servant with decided esteem for your very reverent paternity.
+ Ignazio Arciv di Damiatu Segrio
to Reverend Father Superior of the Catholic Teaching Society

On July 21, Jordan answered the inquiry of Propaganda. He asked for permission to recall the two Fathers Anthony and Fulgenzio, who had arrived in the Prefecture the same year, because they caused disorder in the Mission. He had already decided on the other virtuous and loyal priests to take their place; they were ready for departure. For the other three priests who had asked to leave the Society but to be permitted to remain in the mission, he proposed that they should not be permitted to abandon the mission at present, but that they be obliged to make retreats. In any case Jordan asked that no one leaving the Society should be allowed to remain in the Society's mission for fear they might influence others (A PF n. 3185). Münzloher sent the two priests back. They found positions in the church and left the Society the same year. The other three remaining priests were ordered by the Prefect of Propaganda to make a retreat in order to recover their vocations.

To Münzloher as well as to Jordan these events were a grave trial. However, Jordan was fully understood at the Propaganda for his prudent and energetic procedure. But these happenings had damaged the reputation of the Assam Mission with the Apostolic Delegate in the far off Kandy (Sri Lanka) and still more with the Archbishop of Calcutta, so much so that they contributed to the failure of Jordan's efforts to obtain papal approval for his institute.

The two new priests Jordan sent to the mission on Christmas 1891 and recalled by the summer of 1892 to be dismissed from the Catholic Teaching Society, merit a special remark. They belonged to the five who wanted to continue working in Assam as "free missionaries." Jordan thought it best not only to recall them from the mission, but also to dismiss them from the Society. They might be able to work as good secular priests. But out of consciousness and conviction he couldn't offer them further chances as missionaries.

Fr. Antonio K. from Selesia, studied at the Royal Gymnasium in his hometown was accepted in the Bucarest seminary. There he studied from 1885 to 1889 and received minor orders. In the summer of 1889 he was dismissed from there and, as he indicated, was released from all obligations, because he had to enlist into the army. Exempted from military service he turned to Jordan, who received him based on the testimonials he presented. A.K. tried to justify the trust shown to him by signing the usual obligations Jordan required. On December 20, 1890, A.K. was ordained subdeacon, and deacon on May 23, 1891. On August 2, 1891, he confessed to Jordan that while in the novitiate he had sincerely believed he was in the right place. Only after profession did it become clear to him "after long struggles . . . that neither could I myself feel happy nor would you be pleased with me if I remained." The deacon then asked sincerely for help in becoming a priest in spite of that, as he believed "that it is the will of God" (AGS).

We know nothing of his discussions with Jordan or whether the Cardinal Vicar had been called in. In any case, A.K. was ordained priest on September 9, 1891. He seems to have decided either before or afterwards for the mission in Assam. In fact, he wrote to Jordan from his holidays after his First Mass already on October 15;

Dear Venerable Father!

I left Rome with the most sincere intention to get strength for the mission and to recover. But now I am convinced that my physical state is not able to support the toils of missionary life, which I would have liked to assume. That's also why I expressed my wish to go to Assam. However, what impelled me in particular to go to the mission was my desire to get out of the Society, because I don't feel happy as a religious in the Society.

A.K. asks then to be dismissed: outside he would be able to work more for the Society than within it, and he would do so also out of gratitude, "for you can't find joy in a member lacking peace, I beg you to forgive me everything and I remain your spiritual son, ever thankful, always remembering you" (AGS). Jordan was certainly not against dismissal. But how could new priests find a "benevolent bishop" and *patrimonium*? So A.K. had no choice but to volunteer for the mission. Hardly arrived

there, he again began making trouble among the missionaries by doing as he wished. Therefore, Jordan recalled him.

Already in August, A.K. was accepted in the young foundation of the Calasanziani in Vienna.* Thus the decree of dismissal could be given on September 4, 1892. A.K. remained 10 years in his new religious family. Then he requested again testimonials from Jordan to be accepted by the bishop of Klagenfurt. "He consequently didn't feel he belonged with the Calasanziani either, and so he goes moving again, the poor man," wrote the Austrian SDS Provincial of that time to Rome. In this instance it is not clear whether Jordan was exercising daring magnanimity (as some like to call it) or lack of wise foresight (as others see it).

Fr. Fulgentius P. a native of Bavaria, was a second troublemaker in the mission. He came from poor conditions. After attending the royal school of Latin in R., he joined the army for 2½, years intending to remain a professional soldier. In his biography, however, he declared that the military way of life didn't satisfy him. He discerned in himself a priestly vocation and that was confirmed for him by a priest back home. But since, because of his age, he was not accepted in Bavaria, his priest-friend turned to Jordan on his behalf. The Founder agreed tentatively, if it were all correct (August 19, 1888). "If he feels a firm vocation and contributes the fees for the first year by himself or through benefactors, he may come September 15, 1888. Rome September 1, 1888" (AGS).

F.P. came to Rome and presented his declaration that he had firmly decided to make holy vows in the Catholic Teaching Society. Only as a scholastic did he confess in writing to Jordan that as a corporal he had been sentenced for desertion to 9 months prison at Passau-Oberhaus. He told Jordan he had deserted because: "the Almighty gave me the idea, go into a monastery and become a priest." In Rome, F.P. adapted himself

* The Calasanziani were founded by Anton M. Schwartz in Vienna, November 24, 1889. They were involved directly with Christian workers. Fr. Schwartz had been a Piarist, and had to leave the Order of St. Josef Calasanzio for health reasons. The Viennese Calasanziani gave priority to the care of young laborers and to the Catholic labor movement.

to religious life without attracting attention. As a new priest he declared himself ready for the mission, and on December 25, 1891, he was "sent out." Hardly arrived in Assam, he informed Jordan about everything he found fault with in the CTS, particularly in regard to Lüthen and himself. In a harsh letter he calls the motherhouse a prison, where there was nothing but compulsion. He complained about an overly accelerated course of theology, about how choral prayer was introduced, about how alms given for the formation of priests were used to buy clothes and traveling money for those leaving, that in the mother-house three priests had shared one room. He complained about the scandal given by the above mentioned A.K. aboard ship. Finally he asked where humility and love were to be found in the Catholic Teaching Society. In such a Society he could not live. What he had written he could answer for before His Eminence and before God. But then P.F. concludes his letter: "I ask your pardon and your holy blessing for your loving son, P.F." (letter from Bondashill, February 7, 1892).

On February 24, Fr. F.P. communicates to "Beloved Venerable Father" that no matter what, he would return to Europe that same year. They had here so many debts that fruitful mission work was impossible (letter, February 24, 1892). It was evident to Jordan that from such bitterness no remedy was to be hoped for. He recalled Fr. F. P. together with Fr. A.K. from the mission.

Fr. F.P. remained in Switzerland without requesting canonical regulation of his case. Consequently, Jordan wrote to Bishop Johannes Fidelis Battaglia of Chur (Präsanz, February 19, 1829-1913, September 10, Zizers, bishop of Chur since February 14, 1889):

Most Reverend Bishop!
Most graceful Lordship!

Rome, October 11, 1893

Your episcopal Grace may excuse me if I inconvenience you with a somewhat disagreeable matter. Last year a priest of our Society, the Rev. H.P. who at present stays in the diocese of Your Episcopal Grace was given permission by us to stay outside the community in order to find a bishop and title. But now already a year has passed without him presenting here a petition to be released from his vows. As he probably *ipso iure* meets with the suspension in force of the Decree "*Auctis admodum*" if he would be dispensed from the vows without having a title and bishop, I ask your Episcopal Grace gracefully, in case

you intend to keep him in your diocese, to be so good as to help him to both [title and incardination], so that we here can ask for dispensation. [I] also note that P. was ordained with *dispensatione apostolica super dimissoriis* and consequently does not belong any more to the *Ordinarius originis*. While repeating my submissive petition for a gracious settlement of the matter I remain in deepest reverence.

Your Episcopal Grace most devoted servant,
Fr. Jordan, Superior General (A-71).

The bishop, however, only agreed to incardination at the end of 1895. Jordan then asked the Cardinal Vicar on December 10 for dispensation from vows, which he granted on December 14, 1895 (AGS). In this case, too, Jordan let himself be fooled and exploited. His heart said yes, where the head wanted to say no. But in those turbulent years Jordan was probably hardest hit by having to recall a priest from the mission because of disobedience.

Why Fr. Matthäus Baukhuge rebelled at that time was not indicated by the mission superior. He was among the group who had departed for Assam in December 1890. In his reports he showed himself always very active. He visited his mission area along the Brahmaputra, he worked at his catechism and grammar in Assamese, Bengalese and Hindustan, he showed concern for the English soldiers' fight with the "cannibals" and promised to send photos of men-eaters. He traveled everywhere except in the proper vineyard of the Lord (cf., MI 24, 1891). So the young and generally overly-mild mission superior was also compelled to call this missionary adventurer to task, a move the latter did not agree with.

Once returned to Europe, Jordan engaged him temporarily as a teacher in Tivoli. In late fall 1893, he sent him to the new foundation at Bregenz-Lochau. From there he wrote to Rome on November 26, 1893:

Venerable Father! Already on the first day of my being here I was so ill that I had to lie down. The actual circumstances are such that it is not advisable for me to remain here any longer. Therefore, I shall depart from here to Rome tomorrow. Your loving spiritual son Fr. M. (AGS).

Baukhuge, who could not find an activity in Rome to suit him returned to Tivoli as a teacher. Two years later he transferred to Drognens as an

educator. In late fall 1896, we find him in Rome again. The visitor of that time ordered Jordan to send him immediately on retreat for punishment, preferably to the house in Tivoli. If Jordan chose to keep him in the motherhouse, Baukhuge should be prohibited from going out, so that he might not do still more foolish things. It is not indicated what he was really doing (December 18, 1896, D-718).

On May 4, 1897, Baukhuge petitioned for dispensation from vows after his father, a factory owner, had obligated himself before the vicar general of Paderborn to secure his son's sustenance with a sum of 10,000 Mark (March 17, resp. April 6, 1897). As motives he indicated conscience and family reasons. Fr. Antonio, then visitor, was asked his opinion. He referred neither to the events in Assam nor to those of fall 1896. On the contrary, he gave Baukhuge a good recommendation, as he knew him personally: Fr. Matthäus . is in himself good; he has worked much for the salvation of souls. He has a good character being a little particular and somehow too free in his utterances. Baukhuge no longer has confidence in his superiors, neither have they in his regard. So the Visitor was favorable to a dispensation from vows (May 17, 1897, A Rel 12568). This was granted May 21. On July 15, Leo XIII gave him permission to live outside the community, although he had not yet found a bishop (A Rel 12568). The "stateless" priest [note: he lost his German citizenship in the *Kulturkampf* and never regained it] found refuge as house chaplain with Count Nebrol in Ehreshoven. The Archbishop of Cologne gave his consent without incardinating him into his diocese. The Congregation was satisfied with this emergency solution (A Rel 24623/14, January 23, 1903).

Baukhuge must have been a restless spirit— a burden to himself and others. Jordan supported him patiently for several years and in no way sent him into the desert. None of the three troublesome priests was up to the hard apostolic engagement Jordan presupposed as natural for members of his foundation. However, they all worked as good priests in the Lord's vineyard, so that he did not have to reproach himself for having been exploited, a more severe judgement made by others. Of course he might have been accused of lacking prudence for allowing, even approving, their "flight out of the Society into the mission." But he didn't want to extinguish the smoldering wick.

Lüthen judged from hindsight when he wrote to Mother Mary in this regard: "*O fragilitas humana!* God bless you, preserve you in fidelity to our holy work up to the end! Never shall the Venerable Father experience such things with God's grace from us as from such ones . . ." (letter, August 9, 1892, ASDS). In place of the two resigned missionaries Jordan sent out two more priests on October 21, 1892. On November 16, they were heartily welcomed in Shillong by the four priests who had been awaiting them anxiously.

The five priests who had written to the Propaganda on July 11 had also won support for their step in the mission. On August 13, the Catholics of Shillong had sent a letter to Leo XIII complaining that vicar mission superior Fr. Ignatius Bethan and the other priests want to leave the mission. This would do great damage to the mission. Münzloher, the Mission Administrator, was in Rome at that time and could give further information. They asked that the missionaries according to their wish may remain, but be put under the Propaganda. This would be best for the mission, for they are much esteemed by all. Then follow the signatures of 28 persons. They add to their petition an accompanying letter to the pope's secretary (August 20, A PF n. 3991).

Also the six sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society, animated by the priests, sent a letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda on August 13. The letter is written in German and signed by them; an Italian translation was added. The sisters explained: the missionaries sent out in 1892 want to leave the Society because of new changes and regulations, which these priests do not want to recognize. Two missionaries have already left the Society and the Mission. Jordan has approved their leaving, but forbade them to work in the mission; he intends to send replacements. Fr. Ignatius Bethan and Fr. Joannes Gruchot's departure would gravely damage the mission. Above all, Fr. Ignatius is a very zealous apostle (*un apostolo piú assiduo*) there is no better to be found. Münzloher is at Propaganda Fide in Rome. He can hardly be a superior for he is influenced by the superior general in a way always detrimental to the mission (*cio che pero produce sempre danno alle Missioni*). "We must humbly ask you to inform us about what you think of the said Society and also whether it is excluded from the order of the Holy Father of December 17, 1890" (A PF n. 4190). It is not clear what is meant by the papal order spoken of in the

letter. The letter does not bear the handwriting of the sisters although it is signed by the superior and her sisters. From other letters it is clear that Fr. Ignatius, the vicar mission superior, strongly insisted on the change he and his confreres desired; thus the petition of the sisters might also bear the handwriting of that "very zealous apostle."

Once these letters arrived in Rome, the questions under consideration were resolved. On August 29, Münzloher came back to Rome from his collection trip in Germany and could personally discuss matters of the mission with his superior and the Prefect of the Propaganda. The belated petitions of August 13 from Shillong were noted in the meeting of September 29. Mother Mary was not informed about the petition of the sisters favoring the disaffected missionaries.

On October 6, I received through the kindness of Venerable Father, and on the 13th directly from Assam, extremely good news: fidelity, peace, blessing and success!!! (Earlier this summer some priests had to be dismissed as they lacked a missionary vocation—something which disturbed many. The devil). Two very devout priests of our Society have recently arrived there. Praise and thanks to God! (MMChr).

In 1892, Münzloher received only 9,000 Francs from *Opus Propaganda Fide*.

2.25/41. Request for *Breve di Lodi*. Dr. Battandier drew up the requested "*Voto per il Breve di Lode* of the Catholic Teaching Society of Rome" with canonical exactness and sober expertise.* He praises the aim of the Society: the proclamation of the Gospel by word and writing. He notes that the Institute had until then always had enough help from benefac-

* Dr. Albert Battandier (April 11, 1850-1921, May 23, St. Felicien, Ardèche) was ordained in 1875. He won his doctorate in Rome in 1879, and then worked as secretary and shortly afterwards as vicar general of Bishop J. B. Pitra. By 1881, Battandier had become consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. He was soon considered an authority in church matters. His comprehensive knowledge and his competent judgment were uncontested. After Pitra's death in 1889, Battandier became a consultor in various other congregations, including Propaganda. Above all, he became famous (together with V. Bailly) as founder of *Annuaire pontifical catholique* (1897-1930). In 1908, he retired to his home.

tors in order to live. (The two miraculous contributions, which Jordan had inserted into his report, would be better omitted according to his opinion. In this regard he points to the restrictive remark of the Cardinal Vicar in his certificate.) Then he recalls the various auxiliary groups (pious unions) and the papal benevolence, which in fact allowed Jordan to admit ordinations with dispensation from the *litterae testimoniales*, even though his was only a diocesan institute. The visitation of Fr. Ferrari had indeed extended only to place and persons, but not to the government itself (the government of the institute being its weak point.) The recommendation of the prince-archbishop of Vienna is missing, because it was about a new foundation. The recommendations of the first years of the institute would better omitted by Jordan as the consultor considered them obsolete.

Then Battandier comes to the central point: the Constitutions on which the *Breve di Lode* should be based. First he points out what is still missing in them, then what is still incomplete. In doing so he judges completely according to a matured institute, while the inexperienced Jordan had simply presented the Rule being lived in his young Society. Dr. Battandier states, correctly from his point of view: the authority of the Holy See is missing for all important matters like dismissal, selling of church property, etc. There is only talk about the authority of the superior general, who alone must be obeyed "like the pen of the writer" (this statute, however, refers to each superior who as an ecclesiastical representative of God enjoys the special help of Divine Providence). To Battandier the absence of papal authority is characteristic of Jordan's Rule. It also lacks any statement about government (succession of the superior general, general chapters, consultors, etc.) All authority resides in the superior general who founded the institute "by himself" and "he governs it himself without control or limitations." Also missing is the formula for vows as well as a chapter about profession and other things like candidature, length of the novitiate, religious name, etc.

Practically, of course, all that was being lived in the required form, but to Jordan the Rule was an instrument of apostolic religious life, not a handbook of religious law, which his young institute did not yet need. In regard to ecclesiastical authority, by consulting and co-deciding with his closest cooperators, Jordan had experienced and learned much.

So, what was deficient in this short Rule according to Battandier? First the purpose was kept too general: self-sanctification and sanctification of one's neighbor through imitation of Christ and his apostles . . . through example, word and writing. In regard to poverty the consultor demanded a clarification of the directions about the renunciation of property, in keeping with the way Cardinal Bizzarri differentiated between religious communities with solemn vows and those with simple vows (cf., DSS XIV 4.12). Battandier is against any exception to this canonical two-class system. The great Rule of Apostolate is to him simply a mixture of texts from Holy Scripture. The chapter on discipline lacks any hint that each member has the right of appeal to his bishop or to the Holy See. The *capitulum culpae* and other secondary directions belong in the section on "usages" and not in the Constitutions. Also explanations about the novitiate are incomplete, e.g., that the novice master's assistant must be at least 30 years old, etc. The *votum* of the Consultor is consequently:

The zeal of the Founder and his cooperators is to be acknowledged. But a *Breve di Lode* is not to be granted to him (*non mi piacerebbe*) because the Constitutions are unfinished. They must first be examined by the responsible Ordinary. If this had been done before, they would already be better. May 29, 1892. Dr. Alberto Battandier, Pr. Ap. Consultore.

At its meeting of May 31, 1892, the Congregation agreed: *Pro nunc dilata et ad S.C.P.F.* for information (A Rel). On June 4, 1892, Jordan himself was informed that his cause was referred for the present. But no reasons were given. So he dared to ask why this deferral (*quam ob rem talis dilatio?*). In the meeting of June 21, it was decided that he be told orally: "*vocetur agens.*" This happened on June 23 (A Rel n. 603/13).

Jordan, whose main interest in papal approval of his Institute was so that it might develop with less hindrance, had not taken the canonical difficulties seriously enough. He had not studied Bizzarri and he underrated the prevailing canonical tendency of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. He had kept thinking that neither St. Francis nor St. Ignatius had waited with their foundations until they had thought out a perfect rule. So Jordan thought a quick overhaul would have sufficed. He added a complementary part about the government (*De regimine, De Superiore Collegii*). In doing so he kept strictly to the statutes of the

Society of Jesus. In comparison with the hitherto Short Rule, the new "law-book" had now become quite comprehensive (cf., DSS I, 149-307).

2.26/42. Mission in the USA. Already in 1889, the mission-priest Anton Jöhren had invited Jordan to plant the Society in the United States (letter, February 26; August 1, 1889) Jöhren had entered into the Catholic Teaching Society in spring 1883, and taken vows as Frater Benedict on April 13, 1884. He soon left, became a secular priest. He had been working for some years in Uniontown, WA, above all among the German immigrants. But only in 1892, could Jordan seriously plan to found a house in North America. Jöhren remained in contact with Jordan and advised him to turn to the *Ludwigs-Missions-Verein* and to *Raphaelverein* for material help (January 11, 1892). Jordan had already asked the archbishop of New York about a foundation, but in vain. However, he was determined to settle in the United States. He intended to send there two priests and a brother and also sisters later on: "I love beginning small, and our members must live *in communitate* and sometimes outside the community." He wishes for himself an independent field of activity (Jordan to Jöhren, February 12, 1892). Jöhren invited Jordan to Washington, saying it would be best for him to come personally. But at that time this was quite impossible. So the founder asked Jöhren to prepare everything with the local bishop for three confers to come, along with sisters.

Bishop Aegidius Jünger of Nesqually had already on March 13, 1892, made the offer to Jordan through Jöhren to take over his own parish and boarding school with about 125 boys.* On May 9, 1892, Jöhren again wrote to Jordan that Vancouver, WA was in a beautiful location enjoying a healthy climate. Now the bishop wanted to entrust the priests with the direction of a school of 40-50 boys with boarding and lodging.

* Aegidius Jünger born April 6, 1833, in Burtscheid near Aachen, studied at the American College in Löwen. On June 27, 1862, he was ordained in Mecheln. First he worked in pastoral care in the Diocese of Nesqually (1862-1864). Then he became the secretary of the local bishop, Blanchet (1864-1873). In August 1879, nominated Bishop of Nesqually, he had above all to confront the problems of immigrants. He died in his residence in Vancouver on December 26, 1895.

The conditions could be negotiated once the priests had settled there. The sisters might come at the same time. On June 27, 1892, Jordan told Jöhren that two priests and a brother had departed just that day, after having been received by Leo XIII. "We could send several sisters, but for the problem of the travel expenses." Frs. Severin Jurek and Felix Bucher took up their work on August 11. By August 15, Jurek wrote to Jordan that the school was terribly neglected. There was unbelievable disorder. To put thing aright would cost \$6,000. The school had a bad reputation. But, "Fr. Severin wants to begin courageously." He asked for more confreres. On September 2, the superior informed the founder: things look clearer now; he is willing to take over the school for one year on trial. Jordan noted on this letter on September 21: "Won't send any more people until something firm."

On September 11, Jordan made Lüthen write to Jurek that he was against taking over St. James School. The superior should look at it just as a "transitional solution until more fitting, more apostolic work would be found." In Jurek's opinion such work would be easier to find in the East than in the West (September 23). But they all agreed with the Founder's opinion not to take over the school under present circumstances. "We have only 16 boarders and 40 day pupils. For a proper establishment with school, Vancouver is too small" (September 30). Jurek explained Jordan's view to the bishop (October 5, 1892). Jünger urged Jurek to negotiate with Jordan about the takeover. Jurek informed Jordan about he attitude of the bishop: Any foundation is connected with the direction of the school. That's why we have been called (October 13, 1892). Jurek affirmed the Founder: "Your decision is to me the expression of God's will. To it I willingly and fully sacrifice my scant intelligence and my will." As supplementary pastoral work the two priests did supply work in Portland and Salem, OR.

On November 28, Jurek wrote again to Rome: "It is certain we won't take over the school is certain. Staying in the diocese is doubtful; in this, the well-being of the Society will be decisive." At the beginning of 1893, Jurek connected with Jöhren to find another site (cf., letter, January 2, 1893). Jordan dreamed of a proper house for the formation of priests. Jurek remarked that this was still premature; "one should wait for some years and perhaps erect a boys' orphanage to get candidates. The Dalles,

OR, will in the meantime become our place of refuge" (June 12, 1893). On June 21, Bishop Jünger wrote from Uniontown, WA, where he had discussed with Jöhren that the priests would receive no other place in his diocese than his St. James College, where they had ceased working since Christmas. His decision was: as the priests refuse to take over the school, I must dismiss them from the diocese. They know too little English to take responsibility for a mission post. This motive is strange considering they had to do their work in St. James School among English-speaking boarders and pupils, something which helped them to learn their language quickly. The very same day the bishop wrote to Jurek: The priests will be dismissed as soon as I shall be in Vancouver again (on 4 or 5 July). Jurek then wrote to the founder from the Dalles: that in case the Archbishop of Oregon wouldn't receive them, they would turn to San Francisco. Bucher, who perfected his English very quickly would talk with the archbishop of Portland, OR (August 23, 1893). The archbishop allowed them to settle in Corvallis, OR, and soon entrusted to them the Indian Reservation in Siletz, OR, where there were 250 Catholic Indians (1897). But try as they may, the work in the far Northwest of the United States remained mission work. Jordan's wish to erect a school for his own candidates was to be realized a few years later in the American Midwest. Jordan would travel there personally to inaugurate the foundation (St. Nazianz, May 15, 1896, cf., PPP 235ff).

2.27/43. Vienna (II). On April 22, 1892, Jordan sent a recommendation of the Cardinal Vicar for the erection of a community in Vienna to Cardinal Gruscha. On May 3 he added a document obligating the motherhouse in Rome to support any members in Vienna. He had his signature verified by the German Consul. Jordan was disappointed that nothing official had happened in Vienna. On September 3, 1892, Fr. Leo Zizka asked for money and sent greetings to Lüthen, "My teacher in perfection." On September 9, he assured Jordan: "Venerable Father, be convinced that your wish and will are holy to me." So the two priests, Leo Zizka and Cajetan Hinterberger, patiently inaugurated a community on September 14, 1892. With the approval of the cardinal they took over the catechetical instruction at the Bohemian school "Romensky" in Vienna X, and at the two schools in Leibnitz and Puchsbaumgaße (with a total of 1,500

children) and helped in pastoral care, most of all in the confessional. They lodged in JagdgaÙe 37, Vienna X.

On November 16, Zizka sent his financial report. On May 10, 1893, he informed Jordan of the arrival of Auxiliary Bishop Angerer. "We are not allowed to appear publicly as a community." On June 22, 1893, Jordan asked the Prince-Archepiscopal Consistorium to approve his petition of June 20 to the Imperial Statthalter. In this petition Jordan noted: The name "Catholic Teaching Society has been changed according to advice from the Consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. The new name is *Societas Divini Salvatoris*.

Zizka felt overburdened by his hopeless mandate and by his precarious life in Vienna. He transferred to the Conventual Franciscans. As reason for his leaving he indicated he had lost trust in his superiors and objected to the changes introduced into the Society. So he had lost his vocation for this Society. On August 10, 1893, he received permission to transfer to the Franciscans. His confrere Hinterberger had the same difficulties; he transferred to the Calasanziani on September 18, 1893. He also confessed openly that he had never had a vocation to Jordan's Society, but that he had been able to reach the priesthood only at the expenses of the Catholic Teaching Society. But he couldn't persevere in his new congregation either, and was sent back to Jordan in July 1895; he left the Society definitely only on August 29, 1896 (A Rel 10397).

How highly the catechetical and pastoral involvement of the two priests was valued is demonstrated by the precious recommendation Cardinal Gruscha sent to Jordan on June 9, 1894, and which he handed over to the pope through the Congregation, where it of course remained stuck with Cardinal Verga (A-65).

2.28/44. Mother Mary in Tivoli noted from then on each time Jordan came from Rome for a visit. She too visited him in Rome whenever she had an opportunity. Lüthen "rarely came here from then on" (cf., March 12, 1892, MMChr). Mother Mary probably complained about it. For he answered her:

Oh how would I like to go there to hear confessions. Don't think I forgot you or the Sisters. Greetings and blessing from the Venerable Father. In old love, yours sincerely. Fr. Bon. (letter, September 6, 1892).

But as novice master and vicar general, Lüthen was overburdened and often unhealthy. Hence, the young priests in Tivoli were to learn how to be as spiritually and materially at the disposal of the sisters as possible.

On July 26, Sr. Clara followed Sr. Francisca in death. Jordan had arrived just in time to assist her in her last hours. "Before she died, she made her perpetual vows before our Venerable Father and breathed out her soul" (MMChr). In his death report,

Dr Cav. Gianattaele . . . said he would make an extremely good report about us. There were in fact enough in the house now, 35 were sufficient . . . Now I greatly hope for a house in Rome, and then all my wishes will be fulfilled in this regard, to the honor of God, [I] hope.

The physician who examined the living situations requested that a sister "suffering in the lungs" be taken to hospital. But the plan to take her into a hospital in Rome failed

. . . we had to nurse her here, and the good sister died quite gently on August 29, after receiving all means of salvation (like the other sisters). Up to the day before her death she had walked about (MMChr).

Now Jordan too was worried that the sisters were living too cramped.

. . . in order to follow up our discussion that we are too many in the monastery, the Venerable Father gave the order that she should sleep outside [the community]. The physician came a second time to examine how packed we were living together, etc. . . . We have for example 18 [rooms] and among them some quite large sleeping rooms—where now 42 sisters sleep. For all the cross thanks and praise to God (MMChr).

2.29/45. Founder's namesday 1892. *Der Missionär* of October 30 reported extensively about St. Francis Day 1892: October 4 as namesday of the Venerable Father is always particularly celebrated as a family feast. Investiture and profession, 29 candidates from 4 countries, 15 dioceses respectively.

Program of the day: Meditation, Prime, Terce, community Mass by the Founder, and twelve professions. "It is so characteristic that there were precisely twelve [professions], as also 12 priests of our Society were also present, although neither the one nor the other was intended."

Before profession Jordan stressed once more:

You are about to make your holy vows before the most Holy Trinity and the heavenly hosts. Consider well the step you are going to take. No one compels, you and you can draw back unhindered. Whoever has not firmly decided to persevere truly in the Society up to his last breath shall not dare this step; for it is better not to vow than not to keep the promise and to break these holy vows. Therefore, think it over well. Nobody forces you. You are quite free (MI 20, 1892, 158).

The refectory was splendidly adorned with garlands. A large colored picture painted by Br. Aegidius was a special present (cf., AK 1893). The novice master presented good wishes. Jordan answered with the quote: "Far be it from me to boast myself but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me and I to the world."

As Jordan had to leave early to participate at the solemn service in the Anima in honor of the Emperor of Austria, the superior of Tivoli celebrated the High Mass. During dinner and supper "the universal character of the Society" was highlighted with speeches given by scholastics in 6 different languages. On October 14, the archbishops of Munich and Bamberg visited (MI 29, 1892).*

2.30/46. Roman deliberations on the *Votum*. The petition to the pope was remarkable for its comprehensive, well printed Constitutions. Jordan had added to his short Rule a proper section about government and offices. Again Battandier was called to examine the petition (December 7, 1892).

In his *Votum* the canonist returns first to his former comments. He again points to the benevolence of the Holy See which was expressed in the "pontifical dispensation from dimissorial letters for patrimonial titles in an individual case." The petition had been refused because in the Constitutions presented in April, important points had been missing, above all matters of government. Now Jordan had added a proper chapter about government. But it was still to be judged all together.

* The archbishop of Munich was then Anton Thoma (1829-1897). For a short time he had been bishop in Passau (May to December 1889), and in 1889, was promoted to the Bavarian Metropolitan See. The Archbishop of Bamberg was since 1890, Joseph von Schork (1829-1907).

Battandier begins with general observations. He justly finds fault with Jordan's overly hasty procedure. A rule must first be proved before being approved by the Holy See. To extend a handwritten Rule of 32 pages to a printed one of 154 pages demonstrated that experience was lacking. Thus, the most important points were not resolved and others belonging to a complete rule had been forgotten. Then he takes offense at the fact that the Constitutions themselves took up only 50 pages. The rest is a mixture of customs and directives. And Battandier felt strongly that it was more important to know whether the superior would be elected for life or whether the offices were decided after consultation (*ad nutum*) than to legislate that the one who must awaken the others in the morning could have a watch! For the novice master one page was enough, while for the ceremony 4½ pages were required! For the sacristan 3 pages. All this was to the consultor a sign that Jordan had proceeded too hastily.

Then Battandier declares that the individual chapters were to be examined according to the rules of prudence and the directions of the Congregation, because much did not belong to the statutes and didn't need papal approval. On the other hand, important points had been forgotten and could not simply be regulated by the Institute.

In his particular observations Battandier first finds fault with the word "*Instructiva*," which, as not properly Latin, had been taken over from the Italian where it refers to things, not persons. Then the stated purpose of the Society, "by example, word and writing," differentiates it too little from other institutes. In regard to poverty, he demands that Bizzarri's distinctions be fully incorporated, and that the directions of legal acts regarding property be fixed. Regarding obedience, he asks for a limitation when the superior orders something violating the ecclesiastical or divine law or something morally impossible. The institute was governed in too authoritarian a way.* The Apostolic Rule must be dropped. The relationship between major superiors up to the pope must be mentioned. The rule to disclose to the superior under obedience

* The same criticisms had been made in regard to the Constitutions of Don Bosco. Ignatius of Loyola met with still stronger objection: "*paradone assoluto*" (Bobadille to Paul IV, cf., Nadal II, 54).

anyone who intrigues against the Society is to be canceled. Twelve-year intervals between general chapters is too long. The superior general has too much power of authority and too little control (*ad nutum*). The composition of the general chapter does not adequately represent the provinces. There is no mention of the procurator to the Holy See or the mission procurator. A superior general for life is against the rule of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. The rules about general consultors and vicar general are incomplete: they not only advise they also decide (*votum consultatium et delibartivum*). A chapter about crime is missing. The Propaganda is competent for the chapter on missions. In a religious community which does not exist exclusively for the missions, no one can be sent to the missions against his will. The last chapter in the general part belongs in the section on customs. A proof of overly hasty editing is that the province superior (till then there is none) is treated in 97 articles, while nothing is said about the office of superior general. Some items about accounts, Masses, prayers for the deceased, care of the sick, etc., belong to the customs. In a further point, the Consultor sums up what is missing: postulancy, the professed, the general chapter, provinces, the selling of property. Instead some other items go into too much detail.

Battandier's 1892 *votum*, like his first one, lists what he deplors: too hastily done; rules written without prudence or being confirmed by experience.

The authority of the superior general is unchecked, a condition which at present is not a disadvantage because the Founder himself is superior general, but which among his successors might provoke great grievances. This is the third draft to be submitted. Rome, January 7, 1893, Dr. Alberto Battandier, Pr. Ap. Consultore (A Rel).

2.31/47. Brochure of 1893. "The Catholic Teaching Society (*Societas Catholica Instructiva*), a Contemplative-Active Order, Founded on December 8, 1881, by a Member of the First Order." Rome: published by CTS, 1893, printed by Norbertus Press, Vienna (DSS IV, 345-396).

In comparison with other earlier brochures about the Society, this one offers not much new. The history and life of the Society is briefly reported. Striking in this brochure is the subtitle "a Contemplative-Active

Order." "The order" presents itself as self-confident: Among the institutes of today's hard times within the Catholic church, "a new religious congregation, an apostolic or contemplative-active order, because of its supra-temporal and universal character, deserves special attention and the active support of all Catholics." What is meant by "contemplative" is illustrated in its own chapter:

Primary task of the Society: The Catholic Teaching Society intends to enhance the honor of God not only directly by saving souls, but also indirectly as far as its forces allow it. Therefore special attention is given to external veneration of God and to public divine services. . . . In honor and adoration of God the *Divinum Officium* is recited daily in choir. With respect to the purpose of the Society, which is an apostolic order, the introduction of the night choir as it is found in old orders was omitted, because in this case the priests in some regions might be hindered from succeeding in their fatiguing apostolic activity.

It is noted that the sisters recite in common the Little Office of the BVM. It also mentions as special to the Society the veneration of the Blessed Virgin as Queen of the Apostles and her feast on the Sunday before Pentecost, as well as of the first Saturday each month. The apostles, too, are particularly celebrated as patrons of the Society: "The apostles, who were the first proclaimers of the faith, shall be imitated as much as possible by the members of the new order which shall be eminently an apostolic one."

The next chapter treats in detail the "value and dignity of the holy religious state." There follows a sincere invitation to join all grades of the Catholic Teaching Society, from all professions, states and nations, and it concludes with an allusion to the magnificent reward promised by Jesus. An appendix includes a short instruction for promoters, and statutes for cooperators and for the Angels' League.

In 1894, this brochure appears in its 5th and 6th editions (DSS IV, 401-458; 487-548) also in Italian (DSS IV, 551-600) and in English (DSS IV, 607-662). It was simply illustrated and well received. The short notes (*Brevi Cenni*) about the Catholic Teaching Society continued to be spread among the people (September 1891; July 1892; Advent 1892; then again

in 1894; in that year they were also published in English and Spanish; cf. DSS IV, 311,329, 341, 464, 469, 481).

2.32/48. *Votum denied.* On March 1, 1893, Jordan was called and told orally about Battandier's negative *votum*. In the meeting of March 7, Jordan's petition was officially refused. Now the Cardinal Prefect wanted to give Jordan an adviser for the canonical part, and asks him whether he knows anyone. Jordan declares himself incapable to make a third edition by himself and asks "*caldissimanente*" for Msgr. Battandier to help him. The latter is asked in the meeting of March 14 to help Jordan, together with Fr. Luigi Lupidi O.S.A. Msgr. Battandier declares his willingness to take over the task after being officially asked by the Congregation on April 17 (A Rel).

Under the decisive assistance of Battandier and Lupidi,^{*} Jordan revised the Constitutions. Both priests were well disposed towards him and his work. Battandier had seen that it was impossible for Jordan to complete and present Constitutions canonically correct and tested, such as he had required until then. In fact, in the Society there existed no provinces, and no general chapter had yet taken place. Jordan's foundations were still stuck in their beginnings. In the new edition of the rule which was presented under the title "*Regulae et Constitutiones Societatis Divini Salvatoris* (formerly the Catholic Teaching Society)" the objectionable statutes have been removed from the general part. This one change had the effect of revealing the heart of Jordan's rule, which lived on and took root in the novitiate. The new Constitution included the rule of perfect imitation of Christ and his apostles (*totaliter et prorsus*), the rule concerning all the means the love of Christ inspires (*quae caritas Christi inspirat*), the chapter on patrons, and the great rule of poverty and apostolate. The

^{*} Luigi Lupidi (Tolentino, April 4, 1830-1902, December 15, Rome) became an Augustinian at the age of 17 and studied in Recanati and in Rome. He occupied various offices in the Order, including Assistant General (1877 and 1889). Since 1886, he was consultor at the Congregation of Rites, and of Bishops and Religious. His prudent and balanced judgement was much valued. He died at age 73 after a long but patiently born illness.

offensive statute on "machinations" was dropped for good reason. The government section was now kept very short. The section on method of elections was new, as well as the admonitions of the superior, something which rendered the authoritarian "*ad nutum*" superfluous. Chapters previously missing were spelled out at least in principle, e.g., the visitor, the administrator, the brothers, the erection of new houses, admission and dismissal.

Jordan, full of confidence, submitted his statutes the third time, now under the congenial name he himself had chosen: "Society of the Divine Savior." Despite the elimination of the Salvatorian fundamental rules from this official 3rd edition (i.e., the two rules of Salvatorian identity as well as the great rules of poverty and apostolate), they are retained in all of the printed editions, and in the way the Society lived the Rule from 1888 till 1896.

Nor of course did Jordan suppress these Salvatorian rules in a German extract of the "*Rules and Constitutions of the Society of the Divine Savior for the Lay Brothers*, Norbetus Printery, Vienna 1896 (cf., DSS II, 361-409). He also retained there the objectionable rule about "machinations." The extract is a translation of the Rule of 1896, which is a reprint of the 1892 Rule (without the canonical part about government, etc.). In this edition Jordan added a proper chapter about the brothers as well as a chapter on some offices like infirmarian, cook, etc. In an appendix the extract introduces monthly spiritual renewal as well as some prayers addressed to the Holy Trinity, the most important being the "daily intention for the membership of the Society of the Divine Savior."

2.33/49. "Society of the Divine Savior": When, towards the end of July 1880, Jordan wrote the concise but clear draft of his Rule in Smyrna, he gave the intended worldwide foundation the demanding name "*Societas Apostolica Instructiva*." When he later met with Auer, he decided on the German name: "*Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft*." But by September 25, 1882, he was denied the right to call his Society "apostolic" by church authorities. Jordan was disappointed. He was advised to use the harmless title "Catholic Teaching Society" (*Societas Catholica Instructiva*).

After 1890, the authorities also found fault with "*instructiva*." It was not an expression of classic Latin, and its adaptation in Romance

languages caused difficulties. Already on December 27, 1892, the ex-pastor of Battincourt in Belgium, a subscriber to the "*L'Apostolat de la Société Catholique Instructive*" suggested that the expression "*instructive*" should be changed to "*enseignante*" or "*d'enseignement*."^{*} For instructive could only be said of things, but not of persons (D-1094). Jordan had to agree with the pastor.

When in Smyrna, Jordan had fixed the purpose of his Institute as spreading the faith by instruction, education and teaching ("*erudiendo, educando, docendo*"), he could not dare to give the institute the ambitious name of "*Societas Doctrinae Apostolicae*." That would have corresponded to the German title "*Apostolische Lergesellschaft*." Hence, he chose the rather unusual verbal adjective "*instructiva*" the literal meaning of which is "serving to instruction."^{**} Now Msgr. Battandier, too, objected in his *votum* of January 7, 1893, independently from the pastor of Battincourt: The expression "*instructiva*" (ital. *istruttiva*) could only be used for things. Thus a book was instructive, but not a community of persons. He also advised Jordan to choose a more suitable name.

Jordan accepted the advice of the well-meaning consultor. In prayerful reflection he found the more than excellent name "Society of the Divine Savior." It is not to be excluded that Jordan had for some time had the wish to give his Society a more popular name. As a matter of fact, the word "Jordanists" must have irritated him. Already as a student Jordan had bought a secondhand guide book of Rome: "*Ritratto di Roma moderna, Libreria di Michel 'Angelo Rossi, all'insegna della Salamandra, Rome, 1689*." On the inside cover he wrote: No. 15, Baptist Jordan 1872. In this highly interesting book about Rome, Jordan underlined the names of some

^{*} Msgr. Francois Michaelis (Arlon, 1840-1902) pastor in Battincourt, Diocese of Namur, 1881-1889. Transferred to the parish of Corbion, he continued living at Battincourt, where he took care of a St. Antony's Chapel. He returned to Corbion only on Sundays. Michaelis had a reputation as "herb-pastor." In 1894, his bishop suspended him from pastoral activity. Only in 1897, did he retire from Battincourt to dedicate himself to his medical art at Aubauge, Rougefontain.

^{**} The word "*instruere*" derived from handwork and the military. Only in later Latin did it accrue the sense of strengthening through instruction.

churches with a blue pencil (which around 1890 he liked to use to add notes in his lists of members and in his notebooks): *Del Salvatore de Ossibus* (p. 41, at the lower margin Jordan noted with a pencil probably already earlier: *Santa Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo*). Then Jordan underlined, always with the same blue pencil the churches *Del Salvatore della Corte* (p. 86), *Del Salvatore al Ponte di S. Maria* (p. 92), and finally *Di S. Salvatore del Terrinoe* (p. 43). Here is meant the old Salvator Church of the Franciscan School, which later had to give way to the church *San Lorenzo in Piscibus* (under Cardinal Tomasso Armellino Inglese in 1411). It is certainly remarkable that Jordan underlined only "Savior" churches in his old Roman guidebook.

It may be pointed out that already in Lebanon, Jordan had become acquainted with the *Ordine Basiliano del Smo. Salvatore dei Melchiti* (founded 1684); the superior general of these "Salvatorians" (who Jordan visited from Ain Warqa) resided in the Convent Saint Sauveur in Saida. Another branch of Basilians (founded 1697) had its center in the Convent St. Sauveur in Sarba-Jonich, which Jordan also knew. In St. Bridget, the cradle of his foundation, St. Brigitta had lived and died, the foundress of the double Order of the Most Holy Savior.* Later Jordan admitted how he had reflected much, and after much prayer chose the definite name of his Society ("*dopo aver ben riflettuto, abbandonando l'antico titolo, adottò il nuovo di 'Societas Divini Salvatoris'*," Cf., Ap. September 18, 1894, A Sc).

Jordan introduced this name with no great "Christening" but cautiously, so to say "in passing." He made no petition for approval by the Holy See as he had done for so many liturgical and canonical trifles. He just presented his Constitutions in April 1893 under the new name "Society of the Divine Savior (once the Catholic Teaching Society)" In his *Votum* of May 20, 1893, Msgr. Battandier took over this name as self-evident. "*Votum for the Decretum Laudis of the Society of the Divine Savior, formerly the Catholic Teaching Society.*" He didn't point out that this new name really corresponded to Jordan's foundation:

* Jordan certainly knew also the little periodical "*Il Divino Salvatore*" of the Theatines of St. Andrea dell Valle (through Fr. Cirino).

Therefore, the apostolate in its various forms seems to be the calling card, the passport of the rising young institute which has wanted to adapt it, in the name of the Divine Savior himself, showing that it wants to participate in the great work of redemption according to his example and in his footsteps (Battndier, A Rel 25603).

This new name expressed Jordan's basic aim best. It was also well received by the sisters.

Then I heard today, 22.V.1893, . . . that now our dear Society has a new name: "Society of the Divine Savior." After the substitution of Catholic for apostolic, which in 1882 was a sad change for me, I am the more pleased and I shall thank God for this name, which leads us again towards the Savior (MMChr).

At the beginning, the new name appeared rather dazzling, and it took a while before it became popular. Often it was called: "Of the Most Holy Redeemer" or of the "Most Holy Savior." Even the *Commissione per lo Studio dei novelli Istituti* spoke of the "pious Society of the priests of the Most Holy Savior" (March 17 & June 9, 1894, A Rel, 25603), and the Congregation assumed this title at the suggestion of the Apostolic Visitor "of the house of the pious Society of priests of the Catholic Teaching Society calls upon the Most Holy Savior" (Ibid., July 23, 1894).

In the summer of 1894, *Der Missionär* published Jordan's own explanation which brought about a final clarification:

New name of our Society. In order to avoid eventual misunderstandings we note here that since last year we have been using beside the name "Catholic Teaching Society" also the name "Society of the Divine Savior." Our Venerable Father has chosen this certainly fitting name for our Society when, while revising our Constitutions, it was pointed out to him that the term "*instructiva*" in "Catholic Teaching Society," due to an ambiguous use in Latin was not fitting for our Institute. The former name, "Catholic Teaching Society" accordingly had to give place to the new name "Society of the Divine Savior." Therefore, we ask all friends and benefactors of our Society to use this name when indicating this Institute in their correspondence. With this we don't want to say that letters and other messages won't reach us under the former name; but in the interest of uniformity and to avoid other disagreeable circumstances, we ask all to use the new name always and everywhere. The

surest address of our Founder, resp. of the motherhouse of our Society is the following: Very Reverend Father Jordan
Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior
Italy, Rome, Borgo Vecchio 165 (cf., B-21).

A "nick name" quickly developed: "Salvatorian" which also pleased Jordan and which he one year later introduced so to say officially: "I have confirmed the title: 'Salvatorian'" (DT, October 14, 1895, G-2.2).

When St. Alfonsus Liguori on November 9, 1732, together with his 7 companions founded his Institute in the Lateran Basilica of the Most Holy Savior, he called it at the same time "of the Most Holy Savior." The group, however, dissolved after a short time. A second attempt under the same name also failed. In 1735, the third try succeeded, but soon met with difficulties so that it split up, exiled the old Founder, and was reunited only 4 years after his death. To this proper foundation the name "Most Holy Savior" was not allowed; instead its name was changed to "Most Holy Redeemer" (Benedict XIV, 1749), because the Canons of the Most Holy Savior of the Lateran didn't like sharing their name with the Liguorians.* Jordan's second change of names not only meet with no objections from church authority, it also quickly became popular.

The ex-pastor of Battincourt wrote December 18, 1894, when he complied with Jordan's request to translate Fr. Otto's brochure into French: "I am pleased you have added a new and fitting title to your Society. The common people will better understand and retain it. And it is desirable that the beautiful name of Salvatorian be added as epithet" (D-1102). "One must say the Society has been fortunate to be allowed to bear this name of the Divine Savior and to dedicate itself to Him" (Pfeiffer, An 3/1919, soon after Jordan's death; cf., An VI; MI 1894; AK 1895).

Jordan used a proper seal for his foundation from the very beginning. On the other hand, he didn't care about a special emblem. The

* Alfonso de Liguori (1696-1787) chose the name "*Sanctissimi Salvatoris*" for his foundation. The church authority declined this name "*non ostante le vive proteste del P. Villani*" representative of the Holy Founder in Rome (Fr. Oreste Gregorio CSsR in *Osservatore Romano*, February 25, 1949).

first seal presented Mary as Queen Mother with child overshadowed by the symbol of the Holy Spirit. The inner inscription read: *Praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae* (Make known the Gospel to all creatures). The outer inscription contained the official indication: *Societas Apostolica Instructiva* - Director General, Rome (later changed to Catholic Teaching Society). Also Mother Mary took over this seal when she joined the Apostolic Teaching Society in 1882. The seal in use since early 1882 (cf., E-12) replaced the Pentecost seal in 1890. It represented Mary, the Queen Mother sitting with Child, the globe under her feet, above her the symbol of the Holy Spirit; at her right and left side are St. Joseph and St. Michael as well as the apostles Peter and Paul. The outer circumscription now reads: P. Francis of the Cross Jordan, Superior General of the Catholic Teaching Society (A-55, April 14, 1891).

From 1895 on, the circumscription was changed according to the new name: Society of the Divine Savior. Jordan used this stamp also further on. The seal is still found on official publications of the Society (Constitutions 1911; Customs and Rules 1912; Schematismus 1913). Towards 1913 the Salvator seal displaced the Pentecost seal (Schem., 1914). From 1909 on, the former Marian Community SDS was changed to Salvatorian Community (Schem., 1910). Mary remains under the title "Queen of the Apostles" in the Constitutions of 1911 (valid till 1922) as main patroness.

2.34/50. Mission work. After Fr. Angelus Münzloher, mission superior of Assam, had returned to Shillong in October 1892, the mission work began to gel and bear fruit, in part because the missionaries who arrived in November had adapted themselves completely to the work as a whole. In the town of Shella a station was prepared. Again and again differences arose with the Methodists, who were not as poor as the Catholic missionaries and used their material superiority against them. However, their mission work was correspondingly stamped as colonial, so that Münzloher could report: the Methodists are preparing the way for us. The youth are well disposed to training. The Protestants are almost playing into our hands. But he had also to complain: "The lack of money is our great difficulty." The construction of a proper house for the sisters was urgent. From the Work of the Propaganda, Münzloher again received 9,000 Francs in 1893. But now substantial contributions were

also coming in from home. The list of benefactors of *Der Missionär* presents a highly interesting geographical distribution.

In early May, a heavy storm caused serious damage to the buildings of the mission. The Blessed Sacrament had to be taken to the priests' lodgings. The mission station at Shella began quickly to flourish. The school soon had 70 boys and 40 girls. The mission superior urgently requested trained teaching sisters. Propaganda Fide also insisted they erect a school for catechists and a seminary. "My head is filled with preoccupations how to procure the necessary financial means" (letter of Münzloher, July 22, 1893). The Salvatorians' successful activity in the school and among the youth drove the Methodists again and again to hostile acts against the Catholic mission.

The Khasi catechism was published in an expanded format, and a prayer book in the Khasi language was being printed. Münzloher planned to set up a proper printery, because the Jesuit printer in Bombay seemed too expensive to him. The six priests, three brothers and six sisters worked excellently, but that in turn expanded the range of their tasks. Münzloher needed 50,000 Lire to complete the compound on St. Mary's Hill in Shillong. With the help of the Society he wanted to add an orphanage to the school for 20,000 Lire. This had been proposed by Jordan. The sisters' orphanage was a simple, vast mud cottage, with sleeping room, eating room, school and workroom all together in one.

In his report of January 20, 1893, Jordan told Propaganda that all was proceeding well in the Mission. At Raliang a new main station had been erected in December 1892. This year more missionaries would be sent out. A Khasi catechism was being printed (A PF n. 47). On January 31, 1893, Propaganda Fide decided to check back with the Apostolic Delegate about Jordan's report. The request was signed by Jordan's former teacher at San Apollinare, Fr. Ciasca, OSA, now undersecretary at Propaganda (A PF, February 3, 1893).

In the meantime, a report from Archbishop Zaleski arrived at Propaganda from Sri Lanka dated January 11, 1893. In it the Apostolic Delegate relayed the opinion sent to him on December 22, 1892, by Archbishop Goethals of Calcutta. The latter had written that he didn't take seriously the gossip about the priests. Their missionary zeal was good. The first missionaries of 1890 were pious, but lacked mission

experience, as had been reported to him. Münzloher was over-strained because he was still too young. The sisters were still lodging in the house of the priests. This soon gave the tea planters, who were themselves quite immoral, an opportunity for gossip. Three priests had returned to Europe and one had come to Calcutta (with or without permission?).

Apostolic Pro-Prefect Münzloher had the most mission experience. However, the other missionaries were still neophytes. Even Fr. Angelus was hardly good enough to assist one good priest. In point of fact, it seemed the Christians in Assam had been abandoned and the Catholic Church had been made to look ridiculous by the local governor and by the Protestants. Thus, the archbishop suggested a visitation. As visitor he was considering Msgr. Louage, the new bishop of Dacca. Apostolic Delegate Zaleski who didn't know Assam, adopted this report of the Archbishop of Calcutta. On February 7, it was presented at a meeting in Rome. In April the bishop of Dacca received the mandate for a canonical visitation of the Assam Mission (A PF n. 609).

On February 20, 1893, Jordan presented a further report about Assam: after overcoming many difficulties the mission is flourishing. Soon four more priests will be sent. He asks for a mission in Africa, because the number of his priests was growing so rapidly. He gives the personnel status of the CTS: 25 priests, 67 theologians, 35 philosophers, 30 cleric novices, 7 brothers in the novitiate, the others *professi laici*, altogether more than 200 members (A PF n. 835). The annual report of Münzloher bears the date January 21, 1893; it reports 6 priests, 3 brothers, 744 Catholics, 16,100 heretics [i.e., Protestants].

On March 11, 1893, the Apostolic Delegate sent his answer from Sri Lanka to the follow up correspondence of Propaganda of February 3. In it Archbishop Zaleski contradicts Jordan's statement that all was going well and stresses:

. . . the cause proceeds very poorly according to what I have heard from the Archbishop of Calcutta and from the missionaries nearest to Assam. In two months not much can have changed. . . . The priests have no organization in the mission. More missionaries won't help; quality is decisive. Fr. Jordan understands nothing in regard to missions. His missionaries are men of great virtue, piety and zeal. But they have no spirit of subordination to the superior. He himself is not capable of

directing. The missionaries have neither experience nor practical sense. Their mission is like a ship steered by sailors who have never before seen the sea. Their formation and education is on the level of lay brothers in the [older] orders. They render the religion ridiculous and bring it into disrepute before the English governor and the Indian continent. These are inquiries I have made.

The Delegate then returns to his proposal of January 11, that an apostolic visitation be undertaken by the bishop of Dacca (A PF, 1504). This bad report is of course to be understood against the background of the difficulties of 1892, which had greatly damaged the image of the mission. It is deplorable that the Apostolic Delegate, who personally knew neither the mission nor the missionaries, based his report on circumstances which in the meantime had been overcome.

On April 27, Propaganda communicated to the bishop of Dacca: the mission in Assam is not being administrated prudently or well, the missionaries have no experience and are not united among themselves. Therefore, he has been entrusted with the canonical visitation of Assam. At the same time they propose to put the mission under his direction until the missionaries were mature enough for their work (A PF). The Apostolic Delegate and Jordan were informed of this decision April 30.

Before that, Jordan had handed over to Propaganda on April 6, 1893, the second part of Münzloher's annual report. In it he mentioned above all the difficulties to reach the widespread native Catholics as well as the obstacles which the Protestants caused to the mission. But his opinion is: the Apostles, too, had to learn their mission work from the "Divine Savior." The organization of the mission now comprises 3 main stations and 30 outposts; to the proper mission personnel are added 11 catechists. So far 5 churches (chapels) have been erected. The number of Catholics is more or less 800 (A PF n. 1613).

There is no mention of those things upon which Archbishop Goethals based his statements. Neither does it indicate the name of the priest who reportedly had traveled to Calcutta, nor are there any illustrations of what the unsatisfactory work of the missionaries consisted. It can be supposed that the rebellious Fr. Matthäus Baukhage, who because of difficulties provoked Jordan to recall him in 1892, had complained about

the Assam Mission to the Archiepiscopal Ordinariate after the local superior had not approved his method of mission work. Baukhage had in fact to travel home via Calcutta. It is deplorable that the archbishop passed such complaints on to the Apostolic Delegate without having seen and examined them for himself.

On June 2, 1893, Bishop Augustin Louage wrote to the Prefect of the Propaganda that at present he was unable to carry out the ordered visitation. The season is not favorable for this purpose. It is easier to start from Calcutta. He would need two months for the journey. Above all, he first had to undergo an eye operation in Europe. So he could execute the mandate at the earliest after his return in January or February 1894 (A PF n. 2887). His answer was discussed at a meeting on July 1, and on July 6 he was informed that the Congregation agreed to the postponement till February of next year.

From Dacca, Archbishop Louage informed his northeastern neighbor Münzloher by July 1, 1893, that at present he could not come for visitation because of his eyes. The mission superior must have been surprised by this news, because he still had no idea of the proposal of the Apostolic Delegate and of the archbishop of Calcutta (A MA).

Münzloher's information on which priests were working in which stations was officially received by the Congregation on September 13, 1893. On October 9, 1893, Münzloher asked Cardinal Ledóchowski to be allowed to give the papal blessing four times a year. This he "unfortunately" declined to permit (A MA).

On October 21, 1893, Münzloher received from the archbishop of Calcutta the order to submit proposals for the Province Synod, which was planned for January 1894 (A MA). On November 1, the Apostolic Delegate informed him about the visitation to be conducted in Assam by Bishop Louage in the coming February. On November 14, Archbishop Paulus Goethals informed the Propaganda from Calcutta that Bishop Louage was ill. He proposed Fr. Hurth become coadjutor bishop. Propaganda answered on January 12, 1894: Louage is certainly coming to Rome soon, then one could talk with him about a coadjutor (A PF 5127). In January 1894, Jordan presented the Khasi catechism to the Prefect.

2.35/51. Another votum. Msgr. Battandier was again asked for his *votum*. At first he points to Jordan's first petition which had been very deficient and therefore had been refused: too many deficiencies (May 31, 1892). Also the second petition had been insufficient, so that the Dilata was upheld (December 7, 1892). In regard to the canonical part, experts had been cooperating so that although the Constitutions now submitted could not yet be approved, in his opinion the Institute should at least be encouraged and its zeal approved by a *Breve di Lode*. After the threefold review of the statutes the Institute should be given time to perfect itself, particularly according to its collective experiences. The Congregation's decree promulgated on August 11, 1889, regarding the difference between a proper order and a religious congregation must be exactly observed. But even a religious community must have its Rule approved by the Congregation.

Then follow his objections: The purpose of the Society is conceived too broadly. Property issues must be decided either by a will or, with the permission of the superior general, through other legal acts among the living. He asks what is implied when something is ordered "under obedience." He finds the imprecise dispensation from Choral Office insufficient. He is in favor of the general chapter being held every 10 years, because the Society is so widespread. About the election of the superior general for life (as in the old orders), the decision shall be made by the Congregation. Battandier puts the question: What happens, if the superior obeys neither his admonitor nor his own consultants? He requests clarification how each member had the right to appeal to the Congregation without this being considered as "*machinatio contra institutum*." The congregation is also responsible to sort out the statute "where sisters work together with the confreres there are not permitted relations and visits, even honorable ones made with permission, which easily provoke suspicion." Further remarks follow, mostly in regard to directives sounding too general. Battandier concludes his *votum* about the Constitutions of the Society of the Divine Savior, on which he had actually cooperated, with this request:

Holy Father, the statutes are sufficient for the Institute and flexible enough to be adapted to new circumstances the Institute might meet. For necessary requirements and adaptations the approbation can be

requested later. The blessing of Your Holiness will make this tender tree grow and let it produce many fruits of holiness for the church and for the salvation of souls. Rome, May 20, 1893. Dr. Alberto Battandier, Pr. Ap. Consultor (A Rel).

In May 1893, Jordan submitted the still missing report about personnel and the economic state of the Society of the Divine Savior, Salvatorians. He indicated 220 members, of whom 143 were professed, precisely 32 priests, 58 theologians (8 of whom are in higher orders), 36 philosophers, 17 brothers, 33 novices (26 clerics and 7 brothers) and 46 aspirants. In the economic section he indicates as income: in 1890: 91,000; in 1891:108,423; in 1892:112,373, and to mid May 1893: 54,989 Lire. There is a charitable endowment of 60,000 Lire. Msgr. Battandier congratulates him on this. He proposes that charitable donations be kept apart from the income of pastoral work, of the printery and other services. The 46 aspirants give the Society cause for great hopes in regard to economic stability (May 29, 1893). On June 5, the supplement was discussed and added to the already existing acts (A Rel). On June 9, Cardinal Gruscha of Vienna also gave his requested recommendation: The Society has been working in Vienna since September 1892, and earns high praise (*omni cum Laude*).

2.36/53. Bergenz-Lochau. "For years our dear superiors have for many reasons also wished to found a community on German soil" (MI 19, 1893). As Germany herself remained closed, Jordan wanted to try a start in Vorarlberg, Austria. In spring of 1893, he had the opportunity to present his concern to the Archbishop of Brixen* for a community in Bregenz in a healthy location for the members who could not endure the hot Roman climate. The prelate agreed in principle, if Jordan could come

* Simon Aichner (Terenten, 1816-1911, Neustift, Brixen) was Archbishop of Brixen from 1884 till 1904, and retired to the Augustinian monastery in Neustift. Since June 1, 1819, there existed a General Vicariate in Feldkirch with an auxiliary bishop at its head. From September 15, 1882, Aichner was auxiliary bishop of Brixen, Vicar General of Vorarlberg. At the time of the foundation of Lochau, Dr. Johannes Zobl, a native of Vorarlberg, titular bishop of Evaria, was auxiliary bishop of Feldkirch (1885-1907).

to an agreement with the governor of Vorarlberg. On April 24, Jordan presented his concern to Governor Adolph Rhomberg who in turn requested from Jordan exact indications about the activity and expansion of the planned settlement. He proposed not to fix yet the place itself as another place like Dornbirn might be equally favorable (May 9, 1893).

Jordan, however, was already negotiating with an "Action Committee" consisting of a group of influential priests and lay people in Vorarlberg, and had decided by January 27, 1891, to erect a mission house there (especially for African missionaries). With these gentlemen Jordan could soon reach an agreement, so that they entrusted the execution of their intention to his Society. For the beginning Jordan selected three priests and one brother and went to Bregenz together with them. Everything proceeded quickly, and,

. . . near to Bregenz (five minutes from the railway station of Lochau) a compound of over 8 joch with hydroelectric power was bought. As there was already a house on the property, the community could open at once, albeit in a reduced form (circular letter of the Committee, fall 1893, AM).

Jordan indicated September 15, 1893 as the foundation day of the Marian Community Bregenz. By September 16, Jordan submitted the contracts of purchase to the office in Bregenz. He acquired the real estate, which was burdened with 12,000 fl. debt, for 14,000 florins. Jordan received the money necessary for the purchase from the Action Committee which had already collected for this purpose. Immediately after the purchase the Committee sent out a solicitation letter above all to bishops, clergy and wealthy laity to support this "house for the formation of missionaries (for Africa). They stressed:

The construction of the new *Collegium* (Marian College) shall be started still in this year so that with God's blessing the proper institute might be inaugurated in 1894. In this *Mission Collegium* young men will be instructed according to the program of a classical secondary school, and after finishing, the candidates will attend philosophical and theological courses also in the *Collegium*.

Then "this apostolic work" is warmly recommended. Contributions may be sent either to the Marian College Bregenz or to pastor Georg Bell in

Feldkirch. The letter was signed by this same pastor and by a certain Dr. Josef Häusle, Feldkirch.

Fr. Clemens Vitt, SDS, superior of the new house, had to inform Jordan on October 2, 1893, that Dr. Häusle had edited and dispatched the circular letter without his knowledge. It had made "quite a stir." The Committee had spoken only about Africa. "There was trouble, even in Brixen." At the same time the superior asked Jordan not to send priests even "temporarily who could not be active in pastoral work and who just sit around to the irritation of clergy and people." On October 3, he asked Jordan to pardon him if he "had offended him by his often grudging and sharp manner."

The 24 year-old Vitt felt oppressed by the burdens of his office. The priests had no pastoral work. So Vitt complained about difficulties with regard to sustenance. The winter climate was insupportable for the sick (November 4). He had the two least talented priests of the Society.* He reported the gossip that we "accepted anyone making them priests within 3 years." Such information had also appeared in Swiss newspapers. Fr. Fulgentius had refuted these claims (November 4). On November 8, he asked Jordan about the plans for the new construction, but also reminded him that in winter he would need 50,000 fl. "How to scrape them together?"

In December, Vitt explained to the Founder that the consent of the Prince Bishop of Brixen was valid if we got state approval. The state requested a letter of "sustentation; the fees of candidates could not be included in these calculations (December 23 & 27, 1893). After New Year, Vitt traveled to Vienna, to try to find the necessary means to pay back the two called in loans. Help came quite unexpectedly from the bishop of Lietmeritz. A priest had left 4,000 fl. to the mission house near Bregenz. This was a fruit of the "Feldkirch circular letter." Returned from Vienna, Vitt informed Jordan that Count Revertera** had intervened in favor of

* An extremely unjust judgement of his confreres!

** Friedrich Karl Count Revertera of Salandra (1827-1904) was from 1889 to 1901, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See and thus not unknown to Jordan.

the mission house. Also the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, who lived in Bregenz, became an influential patroness of the house and also publicized it among her aristocratic friends. Although Fr. Clemens Vitt met with difficulties with the pastor, he didn't let himself be discouraged: "we must proceed with energy." He was an energetic and self-confident man, having earned his doctorate in theology and bacca-laureate in canon law. Not surprisingly, he requested from Jordan "confreres with character and spirit" (February 2, 1894).

2.37/54. Vienna (III). By July 25, 1893, Jordan had provided personnel to the Vienna community, increasing it to 5 priests and 2 brothers. The new superior, Fr. Bonifacius Gammerschlag, explained to Jordan on May 29, 1894, that without investing a capital of 10,000 fl., income from pastoral work could not be realized. After some time he advised Jordan to present the complete Rule, and in doing so to stress particularly youth education as this was what pleased the Emperor. Jordan sent a declaration on June 1, 1894, that he would deposit 10,000 fl. On August 9, 1894, Jordan finally received the official permission for his foundation, under the condition that the money would indeed be deposited. On February 4, 1895, Vicar General Ed. Angerer informed the superior of Vienna X that on January 30, 1895, the Imperial Statthalter had noted the guarantee for 10,000 fl., so there was no further obstacle to the execution of the Decree of August 6, 1894. The *Muttergottespfenning* collected to construct a motherhouse in Rome was now, for better or for worse, to be used to provide security for the community in Vienna. Thus, after tenacious struggling and with the active support of the ecclesiastical superior in Vienna, the Society of the Divine Savior had finally achieved a firm footing in the Austrian capital. Jordan's letter accompanying the recommendation of the Viennese Cardinal reads:

Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan, Founder and Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior (or Catholic Teaching Society), by this [letter] humbly dares to present even to Your Holiness the Testimonial Letters of His Eminence Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna for the sake of the approval of the above mentioned Institute . . . (A-65).

Jordan's requests and petitions made a favorable impression by their clear and concise wording. He limited himself to the essentials.

2.38/55. Mission in South America. In May 1893, Bishop Petrus Schuhmacher* of Portoviejo while staying in Rome, asked Jordan for some missionaries after Fr. Arnold Janssen had promised him two priests. Jordan was willing to put three priests and 5 sisters at his disposal. On May 19, a provisional contract was concluded. The final one was to be made one year later, after the priests would have gained the necessary experiences.

To the missionaries of the Catholic Teaching Society is entrusted the Province of Esmeralda, a province about as large as the country of Baden, with about 14,000 to 15,000 inhabitants and only seven parishes. In the contract are noted the religious rights of the missionaries and the pastoral rights of the bishop. Also the material concerns are regulated by contract. The travel expenses are assumed by the diocese as well as the expenses in case of sickness. It pays (acting for the state) the yearly amount of 5,000 Sucres to be used for the sustenance of the sisters and, as far as necessary, for the priests' missionary work, like construction of churches and mission buildings and travel (AGS).

On August 11, the missionaries began their fatiguing journey. September 27, they landed at Manta, Ecuador. During the voyage Sr. Rosa fell ill, so that Fr. Macarius Dicks remained with her in Colombia. The 2 priests in Esmeralda made efforts to become acquainted with their mission work. The superior, Fr. Pachomius Eisele, liked to be severe and authoritarian. Consequently tensions soon arose between himself and his confrere, Fr. Patritius Keller, while the other area priests found the "Prussian priest" rather amusing. At the beginning the two confreres had continually to be

* Peter Schuhmacher (Krupen, Lower Rhine, 1839-1902, Samaniego, Colombia) was a Lazarist. He worked in Quito, Ecuador where Lazarists took care of the episcopal seminary. In 1883, he became bishop of Porto Viejo. During the revolution, Bishop Schuhmacher at first hid in Esmeralda, but a little later had also to flee to Colombia, where he died in exile.

reconciled. Eisele wrote to Jordan that he would carry his cross and remain steadfast in his purgatory (November 4, 1893).

On December 6, the bishop sent a detailed report to Jordan. He had arrived with the two Steyler priests at Bahia on November 17. He was sorry that Dicks had remained in Colombia with Sr. Rosa. The sister had TB and thus couldn't recover. The other sisters were already getting experience at the local sisters' school. The priests were being introduced "into their mission territory of Esmeralda" by a "capable Capuchin priest." Then the bishop continued:

Only in one point, I think, Reverend Father Superior, we have taken the wrong way, that is to have appointed Fr. Pachomius superior of the mission; I'm afraid, as such he will cause us no little embarrassment. Already at my arrival they all shook their heads about such a superior. He is so full of his dignity and his office that he never changes his severe countenance. Neither can he be persuaded not to be the sisters' superior, too, and it was never his task to direct them in everything.

He suggested that Eisele be replaced as soon as possible by Dicks, who Jordan had in fact originally proposed as superior. Jordan wrote over the letter in large letters SOLI, noting in the margin: "Resp. January 15, 1894, with regard to the sisters I left it all to the bishop, equally in regard to the superior" (AGS).

The superior, however, was not replaced; neither of the two other confreres wanted to take his place. They preferred having the elbow room necessary for creating a private missionary and religious life of their own. The sisters, who at first were lodged in the bishop's house, soon got a residence of their own. "They now have a regular life like the one in Tivoli," Eisele reported to Jordan. Government permission for their stay was still being awaited (October 28, 1894). Already on December 28, 1893, the superior had requested more priests for the vast mission territory. As was his style, Jordan had bluntly passed along to the superior the directions in the report of the bishop. Eisele answered:

I know, because I know your heart, that you are dissatisfied with me. I myself am somehow sorry that the matter of our community is dragging out so long. You know, Venerable Father, that the bishop is a pious man, this is why I had always kept to him until now. He has, however, his peculiarities like so many others . . .

He then reports that Fr. Keller wanted to leave, because life as a religious was too difficult for him (February 8, 1894).

A few days later he again returns to the matter of his confrere, Fr. Keller: he had decided to leave and transfer to the bishop. He was not against Eisele, but he could no longer find satisfaction in religious life (February 14, 1894). In the meantime, the superior had been elected "*Municipal*" by the civil authority. Jordan must have admonished his behavior as superior once more, for he defended himself that he had not made obedience difficult for anybody, but that he had always tried to reach what was necessary by prayer and counsel (June 25). He proposed to the Founder that they should dedicate themselves more to the youth, as they had little influence on the adults. He intended to go to the governor so that he might entrust the direction of the school to the priests. This would gain them more influence on the youth. Therefore, he asks for "some brothers and priest, the more the better" and asks whether he might take over the boys' school (July 7 and 13). In summer Dicks fell gravely ill at Abacames (letter, September 8, 1894).

In fall, new differences arose between the authoritarian superior and the always sickly Mother Superior. Eisele presented his complaints in Rome quite bluntly and probably also in an exaggerated way as his letter of November 26, 1894 shows. In it he complained by order of the bishop about the poor relations of "Sr. Estanzia" with her sisters and her lack of submission to the superior (AGS).

"Sr. Stanislaus" on her side informed Mother Mary quite sincerely about her personal difficulties and did not hide in any way what was disagreeable to her (E-631, November 7; E-634, November 21, 1894). Mother Mary admonished her to keep peace, asking Jordan at the same time and Bishop Schuhmacher to be patient with the sisters, above all also in regard to their still unsatisfactory teaching activity. Thus her judgement about Sr. Stanislaus was milder than the one of Eisele. Mother Mary wrote: "She has intelligence and sentiment with tactfulness; I have always loved her" (E-636, November 28, 1894).

Already on January 28, 1895, Eisele asked Jordan "to send no more missionaries, because sooner or later we will have to hand over the mission." Bishop Schuhmacher was not as pessimistic as the mission superior. The bishop, who showed more political sensitivity, illustrated

to Jordan that Eisele's opinion was too pessimistic. The mission superior apologized to Jordan stressing, however, that the social situation had greatly deteriorated (February 12). Beginning on April 23, 1895, the country was in revolution. On June 25, Eisele asks Jordan to be allowed to give up the Mission of Esmeralda. For the sisters he had already made provisions in Colombia. But they had not yet departed. He was waiting for the return of Dicks to consult with him (June 25).

By July 3, 1895, Jordan received news from Eisele in Panama that all the missionaries had been expelled from Esmeralda. He had found lodgings for the sisters in the hospital and was going to the German Consul to get them travel money. He himself was going to Cartagena, Colombia to explore pastoral possibilities. On July 24 he asked Jordan whether he should take over a parish in Cartagena or to go on to the USA. Dicks had again fallen ill, already more than 20 times. The superior asked permission for him to leave South America because he could not endure the hot climate. Also two sisters had tuberculosis (Panama, July 25, 1895). Already on June 25, Eisele had written from Esmeralda: "Mother Superior may perhaps be dying." The 2 priests and 4 remaining sisters (Sr. Rosa had died in Esmeralda on October 16, 1894) were kindly received by the bishop of Cartagena. Since Dicks was suffering so much from malaria, Eisele took over the parish of S. Trinidad.

The sisters found temporary hospitality in the hospital of the Swiss Franciscan Sisters. From there they collected money for their return home. In fact, they didn't find any work there. They had too little experience (with the exception of the superior) to teach well enough in a foreign language. Furthermore, there was always one or another sisters with a fever. Therefore, Sr. Stanislaus wrote an urgent letter to Jordan from Cartagena:

Again and again I have written to Venerable Mother asking her to recall me (with your consent) from this mission or to send me to another one, for the conditions here are too difficult for me and are too much for my weak strengths. . . . Therefore, I ask Venerable Father to recall me as soon as possible (letter, August 14, 1895, D-418).

Jordan immediately recalled all the sisters. On October 11, 1895, they happily arrived in Rome. The two priests remained in Cartagena accord-

ing to the wish of the bishop, taking care of the parish of S. Trinidad. Dicks, however, suffered from severe fever so often that the priests too had to be recalled a year later.

Bishop Schuhmacher, too, was expelled from Ecuador at that time and found refuge in Colombia. He died in Samaniego in 1902. Fr. Keller, who in the meanwhile had transferred to the diocese, also had to leave the country along with the bishop.

The departure of Fr. Patritius Keller in Esmeralda shows clearly how the inevitable crises of growth of the young Society could burden not only the Founder, but also the members. Born February 4, 1868, Keller had come from Jordan's home diocese. In the fall of 1887, he joined the CTS as a theologian and was ordained already on October 15, 1889. Fr. Patritius had been too short a time in the Society to grow fully into it. He had never agreed wholeheartedly to strict religious discipline. The hard and authoritarian manner of the local superior of the same age soon became decisive: the 24 year-old Keller decided to leave the Society. In his petition to the Cardinal Vicar of February 21, 1894, he indicated the following reasons for his step: he had lost his vocation because of the introduction of new rules and statutes; and he had quarreled with the mission superior because of the latter's lack of understanding and his harsh treatment.

Jordan himself, asked by the Cardinal Vicar, saw the problem differently. He explains that Keller was quite firm in his vocation before being sent out. In the course of the first years of the Society there had been some changes in the rules and some new rules. But since Keller's ordination there had been neither changes nor new rules. Furthermore, the Society forbade *ordinandi sub gravi* to be ordained unless they were prepared to submit to all that is lawful. In regard to the discord with the local superior, Keller had explained to the bishop as well as to Jordan that he wouldn't remain in the Society even if the superior were changed. Jordan is opposed the dispensation from vows. Keller would regain his lost vocation in prayer and retreats. Jordan had in this regard already written to the bishop of Quito as well as to Keller himself. It is striking that Jordan does not particularly mention the introduction of choral prayer where he speaks about changes of the rules; probably because it had been obligatory already since fall 1889 (B-6, letter, April 24, 1894).

Bishop Schuhmacher on his part endeavored to keep the brave missionary in his diocese. On July 12, 1894, he wrote to the Cardinal Vicar: he himself and other priests had advised Keller to remain in the Society but he was not to be dissuaded. The bishop saw two alternatives: either Keller remains suspended if he changes over to another diocese, because this would mean a great danger for his soul; or he remains in the diocese, freed from his religious vows. Schuhmacher clearly preferred the second solution, as he greatly needed priests. In addition, Keller was a "richly endowed man, pious and a strong worker." Last and not least, the diocese had paid his travel and other expenses. The Cardinal Vicar granted the requested dispensation August 26, 1894 (TVU n. 741).

It cannot be denied that the undertaking in Esmeralda was not made under a lucky star. Already the choice of the superior (and of the sickly sisters) proved to be a mistake to which a joyous mission activity and good interpersonal relations fell victim. Above all, the overly severe character and the clerical domineering nature of the superior prevented him from adapting or proving himself in office.

2.39/58. Religious discipline. To Jordan, conscientious vigilance over religious discipline was the duty of the spiritual father. * "Be watchful and the vigilant shepherd of all," he wrote in his spiritual diary (SD 199). Thus, he sometimes requested very short-term accountings, particularly from those who were no longer in scholasticate or novitiate. It is quite understandable that an inquiry like the following could be felt by those concerned as an intrusion into their privacy and thus an imposition.

Each of the Reverend Fathers shall inform today:

1. When does he get up daily?
2. When does he make his half-an-hour meditation?
3. When on weekdays is the time fixed for his daily holy Mass?
4. What dispensation does he have from choir?
5. When does he make his daily spiritual reading?
6. When and where does he make his examination of conscience?
 - a) at noon? b) in the evening?
7. When does he make his adoration?

* Religious discipline regulated contacts among members and with outsiders; this external order was to guarantee the unity and peace of the community.

- a) in the morning? b) in the afternoon?
8. When does he say his Rosary?
 9. Whether he enjoys besides a dispensation from the choir also other dispensations or exceptions?
 10. Which studies does he still have to make in consideration of the new order of studies?
 11. Which studies he is actually making? How much time does he apply daily or weekly to the individual subjects?
 12. Which sorts of work were entrusted to him by the Society?
 13. Does he take the usual daily walk in the house? or on which days?
- Rome March 6, 1893 (B-16).

Though there is no proof Jordan ever submitted this list to his student-priests, this draft shows clearly what Jordan wanted from his young priests later on: order in their prayer life, ongoing studies, and reasonable care for their health. The draft proves how strong Jordan wished the bond to be between the spiritual father and his spiritual sons. At the same time it shows how after the long years of strict discipline there flared up during the years of studies the impulse to enjoy more personal freedom. This frightened Jordan because it might damage religious life.

A new breed of confrere was arising in the motherhouse—members who demanded their own order. The office of a local superior was proposed because each of the three priests who until then had formed the ranks of the Society was now fully engaged to the point of being overburdened by his growing obligations. However, Jordan didn't yet dare entrust this office of house superior to a young member, especially after the experiences in Assam.

2.40/60. Studies. Jordan insisted much on solid, serious studies. He was neither inclined to scientific dilettantism nor to study for its own sake. In principle he expected each scholastic to take a degree. The talented ones with strong health should acquire a doctorate in theology or philosophy, and get the licentiate in theology.

Earlier catalogues indicated the acquired degrees. Very few are without a degree, while quite a number have doctorates, some even two. In his Agenda, Jordan noted at that time: "Some members are properly formed for certain branches of science which are of great importance to holy religion, e.g., 1) Indiology, Sanscrit, etc; 2) Egyptology; 3) Arche-

ology; 4) Orientalia" (G-2.8, 1894). Very linguistically talented ones were preferentially sent to San Apollinare by Jordan for English, Arabic or other "Orientalia."

He was still dreaming about an activity in the Near East. In this regard he must somehow have uttered a wish or plan, because Mother Mary noted down for herself, "22nd [I heard] that Venerable Father will quite soon make a foundation in Cairo and that Reverend Fr. Basilidius is already destined for this" (May 22, 1893, MMChr). But we have no idea what this "gossip" was founded on. The priests attending San Apollinare were still in their studies. Fr. Basilidius might refer to Fr. Basilus Baukhage, then in Vienna. Jordan always put the emphasis on studies that were advantageous for practical pastoral work. He was no less insistent on lasting, individual ongoing formation.

2.41/61. Foundation Day 1895. Jordan composed a proper "Dedication to Mary in memory of the 12th anniversary of foundation of the Society."

Immaculate Virgin, Queen of the Apostles, our Mother and most powerful Patroness. See us here in humility and confidence at your feet. We entrust and dedicate ourselves to you, sweetest Mother, forever. Do not despise us, but turn your merciful eyes towards us and preserve us under your mighty protection and always defend us and our whole family against all persecutions of the devil. Mildest Mother, make us true followers of your divine Son, the Savior of the World, and of his holy apostles, so that we may follow in their footsteps up to our end. Amen (G-7.5).

This prayer was later said every First Saturday of the month during solemn evening service. In it Jordan expressed almost perfectly the Marian dimension of Salvatorian spirituality.

The number 12 was again stressed: "The twelfth anniversary of our foundation. It is celebrated in this festive form, because after the dear Mother of God, the twelve apostles take the place of honor among our patron saints" (AK 1895).*

* By April 30, 1893, it was noted the CTS now had 12 deacons (MI 8, 1893).

There follows Jordan's address to the community before the solemn renewal of vows on the 12th anniversary of the foundation of the Society, December 8, 1893.

Our celebration today is above all a thanksgiving in which we express the deepest gratitude for innumerable benefits. We cannot list all of the many favors that have been showered on our family these past 12 years. We hardly know them all! We can only describe a few.

At about this time [9:00] twelve years ago, three of us were gathered in the room where St. Brigitta died. There our work had its concrete beginning. Twelve years is certainly a short time. But what abundant graces, what abundant benefits the Lord has sent to our family at just the perfect times—even material things!

From the “three” twelve years ago, today “three hundred” belong to our spiritual family. From the one small room in which St. Brigitta died, the Society has already spread over three continents!

But if you knew all the attacks hell launched against our work to destroy it entirely, you would be amazed at the strength we received from above! Always the cross and sufferings; persecution from within and without threatened to bring down the Society. Yes, during these twelve short years the storms, the secret temptations were so great that if God's hand had not held them, the chosen ones who were steadfastly dedicated to this holy work would have been shipwrecked!

Many storms engulfed this holy work so that it would have perished had it not been called into being and preserved from above! Despite all storms, despite all temptations, even though others were ready to toll our death knell, we nevertheless advanced; because the caring hands of God never dropped us. And even when he let us suffer, he never let us fall or sink! Whoever has eyes to see . . . let him see!

Who should we thank for all this? Is it somehow our own work, our effort, our success? Certainly not!

In particular we must thank most deeply the Holy Trinity, and then that exalted, spotless virgin who trampled Lucifer's head. She has guarded our Society against all attacks, extending her protective mantle and shielding us from all dangers within and without. The Queen of the Apostles proved to be our mother. She defended our welfare, protected and preserved our work! This is the story of these past twelve years! Therefore, today we thank the blessed, Immaculate Virgin! Deepest thanks! Let us be grateful! Let us not forget! Only in eternity will we realize what graces we have received from God and his dear mother!

Let us recall that the promise, *Fulgebunt sicut stellae*. "They shall shine like stars." was not made only to a few who live in God's will, but even here and now in this "school of apostles" we are called to multiply immeasurably this very same reality—what a grace to be called to this! Think about it always. And let us strive to become true children of Mary and repent for our failings. Oh, how often the heavenly mother helped us when heavy burdens weighed us down! How clearly she helped us! So thank her by living a holy life in accordance with your holy calling!

Furthermore, I would like to thank particularly those who cooperated with God's grace, who took up God's service with complete disregard of their own will and accepted spiritual martyrdom. Through self-forgetfulness they devoted themselves to the general welfare of the Society.

I thank all those who helped to strengthen us through strict observance of our discipline. You are all God's co-workers and your reward will be great! I thank all those who work and suffer for the firm unity of our spiritual family and who endure hardship and trouble striving to build up and to contribute to the salvation of souls, particularly through good example. How great your reward will be!!

Everyone can collaborate. Therefore, each one should do as much as possible, above all to master himself. Oh, that you would triumph! That you would learn to sacrifice your own interests. Believe that the Lord will repay you *secundum magnitudinem suam*, "according to his greatness!"

Today let us offer ourselves in a very special way as children of God's dear mother! Let us give ourselves completely to her! Let us go to our mother and plead at her feet, to spread her protective mantle over us from now on. And let us promise that we will never leave her like disloyal children! Ah, what we will prepare for ourselves in eternity if we persevere to the end!

To thousands upon thousand we shall shine in eternal glory! The dear Mother of God wants to help us toward this goal; she proved this these past twelve years. Who has eyes to see, let him see!

Therefore, let us offer ourselves completely to the dear Mother of God with joy! Whatever we give to her returns to us! Ah! what joy, what solace if you can say: "I belong completely to God's mother!" If you dedicated yourself completely to God and to Mary through the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience! What joy at the moment of death, when hell wagers everything to win you for itself! For then, if

you have lived for her, Mary will spread her protective mantle over you! So do it with joy! Then your soul will be suffused with such bliss and heavenly peace!

May the Lord give the Society another twelve years, which will pass as quickly, to grow ever stronger both inside and out, with a zealous and unremitting quest for perfection! May all of you, especially those who feel their human weakness more than others, look to Mary the mother of mercy! For she is mighty; she is the dispenser of grace!

Therefore, everyone should collaborate mightily! No one has any excuse! Mary is your mother, the mother of our family! Flee to her in humility in all your needs and she will attain grace for you!

(Transcribed by Frater Nerius SDS, G-11, DSS XXIII).

2.42/62a. Status of foundations, 1894.

For those who might wish to know some details about the Society I will here give some more information.

Motherhouse in Rome (*Colegium M. R.*) counts at present 150 members (professed, novices, oblates and candidates); there are priests, theologians, philosophers [cf., Supplement, below]. More than 100 are attending Gregorian University. This year about 30 members received academic degrees, 7 of them doctorates. Besides the formation of members there is also literary and pastoral activity outside. In its own printery appear 3 periodicals: 2 Italian ones and a Latin one.

Tivoli: Marian College. There are 6 professed members, 4 priests and 2 scholastics, and oblates. The latter make their humanistic studies and prepare themselves for novitiate, while the priests teach.

Shillong: Marian College. This is the center of the Apostolic Prefecture entrusted to our Society by the Holy See. At present in this Prefecture 6 priests and 3 brothers are active, while two priests are already on the way [sic!] to Assam. In Shillong there are 3 priests and 2 brothers. The Prefecture counts 7 mill. inhabitants, of whom about 800 are Catholics, somewhat of an increase this current year. The Catholics are spread over about 30 stations in the vast territory. Besides Shillong there are the main stations of Raliang, where two priests and a brother are working; then Shella with 1 priest. This year also the first catechism in the Khasi language has been completed and printed, from which the missionaries among the Khasi tribes get much help.

Vienna: here are at present 6 priests of the Society active; besides the pastoral work they give religious instruction to some thousand children.

Corvallis is the vast mission territory entrusted to us in the State of Oregon, to which belong particularly New Port and an Indian reservation. Three priests of the Society are at present working there.

Marian College: near Bregenz, which has been started this year and which after overcoming difficulties shall become a seminary for apostolic laborers of our Society.

Ecuador: This year the Society has also been transplated to South America; the first priests of our Society arrived there September.

Apart from the above mentioned periodicals, the Society publishes also *Der Missionär*, *Manna for Children* and the *Apostelkalender* in a total edition of 60,000 copies.

Supplement: Of these there are 25 priests, scholastics, of whom 32 are studying philosophy and 68 theology, 30 clerical novices and 9 lay brother novices, the rest professed brothers and oblates (Manuscript of Jordan, December 13, 1893, B-13).

2.43/62b. Teacher training in Tivoli. How much the teacher training school was welcomed is shown in a letter of Sr. Stanislaus from Portoviejo, Ecuador:

From the dear motherhouse in Tivoli we received the news that our well planned, serious study for the training of good sisters has been introduced. I cannot thank God enough, for the dear Venerable Mother is so good; she is satisfied with less than "little," but in order to be able to work successfully nowadays for the salvation of souls, the situation of the time requires, besides religious formation appropriate to a nun, also a certain knowledge of the profane sciences and this for all sisters who want to come forward as teachers, the more so for us as we call ourselves Sisters of the Catholic Teaching Society (April 5, 1894, D-383).

Sr. Stanislaus complained still from Cartagena, how much the involvement of the sisters in Ecuador had suffered from the fact that her sisters met with difficulties even in their mother tongue, and consequently couldn't get along with a foreign language. Furthermore, they were

lacking any teaching methodology. She had personally been blamed by the bishop and by Fr. Pachomius Eisele, because she had so little success in the formation of her Sisters (Cartagena, August 14, 1895, D-418). "The sisters in Assam are very pleased about the 'teachers' institute'" (Mother Mary to Jordan from Tivoli, April 20, 1894).

Mother Mary, a trained teacher herself, was happy that Jordan did whatever he could so that the teachers' training school could work successfully. About the first examination given by the "Director" Fr. Barnabas [Borchert; sic? Boniface Gammerschlag is listed in the Schematismus], Mother Mary noted: "It has turned out well" (MMChr).

After the Roman community had made the most necessary preparations, Jordan inaugurated also in Via Lungara a teachers' institute. The direction was taken over by the capable Sr. Clara; the training course started already on October 11, 1894 (E-627; 628). Fr. Barnabas [Borchert?] retained the supervision in Tivoli and took care of the instruction plan and of the examinations of the two-year course (November 7, 1894, E-631). On Candlemas, the school in Tivoli was dissolved, and Sr. Elizabeth transferred to Rome with her students. The two sisters took over the task of training the 15 sisters who Mother Mary, in agreement with Jordan, had destined to become teacher (E-644).

2.44/63. Progress in Assam. On December 21, 1893, the secretary of the archbishop of Calcutta wrote that the Apostolic Delegate would be coming to Calcutta between January 15 and 16, 1894, and wished to meet at that time with Fr. Angelus Münzloher and two of his missionaries (theologians) (A MA).

In January 1894, the mission superior and his vicar traveled to the Province Synod in Calcutta. There they met with the Apostolic Delegate as well as with the archbishop of Calcutta and informed them personally about their mission. But to these prelates the two missionaries appeared simply too young (just 27 and 28 years-old) to be considered fully mature missionaries. On April 8, 1894, the Apostolic Delegate sent the information from Calcutta to Propaganda Fide that the scheduled visitation in Assam is superfluous at present. The result would only reinforce what he and the archbishop of Calcutta already knew. Jordan should be instructed to take care to see that all went well in Assam. He

knew the young missionaries were zealous, but they lacked talent and experience. Their proposals are: to nominate an Apostolic Prefect from the Archdiocese of Calcutta; and to put at his side Fr. De Broy* as his secretary. Archbishop Goethals is coming to Rome in May and will then propose a candidate. These proposals of the Apostolic Delegate and of the archbishop of Calcutta are "*odiosa*" (troublesome) to Jordan. But the missionaries must first get experience and Jordan must send better people (*pi`u serii e pi`u capaci*). Therefore they concluded:

1. the apostolic visitation is superfluous,
2. urgently needed is the nomination of an Apostolic Prefect who be not a member of the Catholic Teaching Society, and Fr. De Broy be his assistant (A PF 6710).

On the occasion of his visit in Rome, Archbishop Goethals met with Jordan on Monday of Pentecost (May 14). Although the discussion primarily concerned the Assam Mission itself, Jordan had noted in his day book prior to the meeting:

Ask the Archbishop of Calcutta:

1. about agriculture in India,
2. Indian Buddhist monasteries,
3. religious vocations in India,
4. travel (G-2.8).

Cardinal Ledóchowski of Propaganda considered the urgently presented proposal of the two prelates from Sri Lanka and Calcutta insofar as he did not return to the previously confirmed visitation of the Assam Mission. But he did not let himself be induced to put a redundant Apostolic Prefect over the missionaries of the Catholic Teaching Society. He had more trust in the missionary beginners than in the bishops who may have been talented in governing, but who had never been engaged in the missionary front line.

* Fr. De Broy had become a Jesuit in the meantime, working now in the Archdiocese of Calcutta entrusted to the Jesuits. Having been active in Gauhati so long he offered to accompany a new Apostolic Prefect. But it seems the proposal could not be realized.

On July 1, 1894, Münzloher as Apostolic Administrator of the Prefecture of Assam received full powers to consecrate churches. He and Jordan valued this as a mark of Ledóchowski's trust (An SCI 1894, n. 3). It would certainly have been advantageous for all involved if the Cardinal Prefect had charged the archbishop of Calcutta or the Apostolic Delegate with visiting personally the difficult mission in the upper Brahmaputra Valley all the way up to the outposts and tea plantations. But he did not.

On July 1, 1894, Fr. Valentine Kartte, SDS died at age 28 in Shillong of "red dysentery" (like the good Br. Marianus Schumm 4 years earlier). He was "one of our most zealous missionaries" (MI 14, 1893).

From *Opus Propagation Fide*, Münzloher received only 9,000 Francs in summer of 1895. This made all the more urgent the requests for help for Assam in *Der Missionär*. One can only admire Jordan, who felt so pressed in the struggle for the beloved mission, as well as Münzloher and his priests, brothers and sisters for their constant and self-sacrificing engagement. Incidentally, after 1892, the mission personnel improved their bond of peace and hardly felt the burden of the ups and downs between themselves and Propaganda and the Apostolic Delegate.

2.45/64. The Commission's justification. Jordan, fully occupied with new settlements, stayed on the move till fall. His petition for papal approbation lay still unanswered at the Congregation. There they seemed rather at a loss because of the divided *votum* of the consultor. They looked for a way out that would not offend the respected consultor. Thus, the usually inactive "Commission for the Study of New Institutes" was asked to examine the matter. Under their president, Cardinal Giuseppe M. Graniello* and the consultors Lupidi, Lolli, Corrado** and

* Cardinal Giuseppi Graniello (Naples, February 8, 1834-1896, Rome) was a Barnabite. Created cardinal, June 12, 1893, he belonged to several Congregations (*Eccl. Sacra Romana ed Universale*, Inquisition, Bishops and Religious, Index, etc.).

** Gioacchino Corrado (March 9, 1835-1925, January 21) was a member of the *Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio*, a small Italian religious community founded in 1574 by St. Giovanni Leonardi a Lucca. At that time the group had only a few dozen members. Corrado, a man of vast culture, was their 32nd Rector General.

Bucceroni, the Commission met on March 17, 1894, to discuss "the approbation of the Institute and the Constitutions of the pious Society of the priests of the most Holy Savior, formerly the Catholic Teaching Society." The relator was Fr. Lupidi. The answer was "unanimous" in regard to the approval of the Institute as well as of the Constitutions: "*Dilata*" (delay).

The Commission Secretary, Gioacchino Corrado, informed Cardinal Isidoro Verga of the result on March 22. On the instruction of the Commission he gave the following reasons: Few in the Society endure compared with the many who enter. This proves little mature judgement in regard to admittance. Of those leaving many are dissatisfied with the administration. The ignorance in which the leaders waver seems to be considered the main reason of this painful desertion. Some of those who have left complain that orders and counter orders are continuously given in the generalate as well as in the daily local sites; this was fatiguing and caused individuals to leave the Society, damaging the reputation and the interests of the institute. The superiors have no experience or talent for administration. Supporting arguments include the threefold editing of the Constitution, which had repeatedly been refused as defective in essentials. Also the change of the name in these 12 years proved the indecision with which the superiors were proceeding.

As consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, as well as of the Propaganda Fide which had to examine the reports of the Ordinariate, he had access to the documents he used in his reports against Jordan.

Arcangelo Lolli was Canon Regular of the Lateran.

Gennaro Bucceroni (Naples, 1841-1918, Rome), a Jesuit since 1856, and as such expelled from his home, made his studies in Spain, France and Belgium. Since 1884, Professor of Moral Theology at the Gregorian where he lectured for 33 uninterrupted years and had many Salvatorians as his students. He had the talent to make his lectures lively. As a consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious he had a decisive influence on standardizing religious life especially of the young institutes, above all through the norms of 1901, in whose preparation he was involved. This guide for the Constitutions of new institutes he applied to Jordan, and thus conscientiously and willingly cut back his charismatic "*magis*," often to the regret of Jordan and Lüthen.

Another serious consideration was the lack of community property. The students attending the Gregorian are badly clothed and have lean faces, which prove that they have too few means to provide for themselves. In the Palazzo Morone there is a miserly thrift to the detriment of health and religious life. It seems highly probable that these superiors, because of this situation, spread this restlessness not only in Europe but also among the pagans. They have had Assam since 1889. Now they want a new mission. But the report of the archbishop of Calcutta, on whom the Prefecture depends, and who knows that institute, is in no way satisfied. For this reason the prelate asks information about its disciplinary and academic status. This situation in the mission shows no hope of being changed. He finds the mission being led in such a way that he wanted it withdrawn from the institute. The answer given to him was an excuse: he should turn to the Congregation. But with these existing defects, it is certainly commendable to warn the Propaganda not to entrust new missions to this Institute. This would only be to the damage of the institute and of Christianity. Unless the institute desists from its proceeding, there can be no hope of bringing the desired fruits to the Church, nor any expectation of the institute's existing for long. March 22, 1894, Gioacchino Corrado, Secretary (A Rel).

Consequently, the Commission did not comment on the *votum* of the absent Battandier. Instead its secretary gathered reproaches and accusations against Jordan and his Society. Jordan knew nothing about this strange motivation behind the *Dilata* issued by this ad hoc Commission, and so could not defend himself. On April 5, 1894, the matter of the CTS was taken up again (A Rel, Resumatur).

2.46/65. Lupiti's *votum*. It remains questionable whether the opinion of the Commission was indeed unanimous. For Corrado had to send in a supplementary *votum* of Lupidi to Cardinal Verga on April 12, 1894. Lupidi points out that with his *votum* he intends to supplement that printed *votum* of Msgr. Battandier. First he points to the good result of

the inquiry requested by Cardinal Parocchi through Fr. Ferrari, S.J.* Then he points to the letters of recommendation of cardinals Simeoni, Gruscha and Parocchi as well as of the bishop of Tivoli. Also, the report Jordan subsequently supplied on the economic situation, upon consideration, justified his position that when it comes to means of sustenance the petitioner entrusts himself to Divine Providence. In Lupidi's opinion, this was happening in many institutes nowadays. Also the status of personnel proved that the Institute was blessed by God. In regard to the Constitutions, Lupidi confesses not to have seen the two first editions. He had received the order by the Congregation to help the Founder, together with Msgr. Battandier to elaborate a new edition. He agrees with Battandier's opinion that the actual Constitutions were sufficient for the needs of the Institute and could currently be adapted. The constitutions also carried the *visum* of the Propaganda. He also agreed with Battandier's *votum* and asked for a "*Decreto di Lode*, Luigi Lupidi, Agostiniano" (A Rel, R. 18, April 1894).

2.47/66. Commission's response to Lupiti's *votum*. On May 11, 1894, Lupidi's *votum* was handed over to the Commission for the Study of New Institutes for its opinion. The Commission met again on June 2 & 9 under their president Cardinal Granello. The question was now whether to keep or to stop the *Dilata* of March 17 in consideration of the opinion of Commission member Lupidi. The question was to be answered in connection with the special report of the 22nd of same (the allusion is to the Corrado Report). It may be remembered that the Archbishop of Calcutta was in Rome at that time. He met with Jordan on May 14. However, nothing is known about the result of that meeting. This time

* Kaspar Stanislaus Ferrari (Bologna, 1834) became a Jesuit in 1852, and priest in 1863. From 1863-1878 he was an assistant of the famous astronomer Fr. Angelo Secchi at *Collegio Romano*. In 1881, he founded the observatory *Cecchina sul Gianicolo*. (The entrance is from Borgo S. Spirito, behind Palazzo Morone where since the beginning of 1881, there was a Jesuit house of retreats in which Jordan and Lüthen made their retreats before December 8, 1881). Fr. Ferrari directed the observatory alone. In 1894, he was dismissed from the Jesuits "for grave cause against your responsibility to poverty." He retired to his home city of Bologna.

the answer of the Commission was unanimous; "Delata to be retained." Secretary Corrado added again a detailed response to Lupidi which is repeated here in almost the same detail as the first one of March 22:

1. That lengthy [letter] of the priest who had made the visitation in early 1892, and who has been dismissed from his congregation about two months ago, so his opinion in regard to religious discipline is not worth considering.

2. The praise of Propagada Fide of January 25, 1892, is reconsidered after the superior of Shillong himself in the meantime had complained about that mission.

3. In the recommendation of the bishop of Tivoli about the male branch there is no mentioning of the sisters founded there by Fr. Jordean [sic]. One foundation is that living in Borgo Vecchio in Rome; this one was separated from the male branch after complaints about too much contact (not in regard to morals); but the real reason for the separation was (as a much esteemed prelate told me), that these sisters, who depended on Fr. Jordan, were denied a little wine, even to the sick. The other foundation of sisters, after the separation of the first ones, is the one in Tivoli. Fr. Jordan's opinion is that his foundation of the Teaching Society as he envisions it would not be complete without a sisters institute. In order to avoid too much contact, which caused the separation from the first institute, he founded the second sisters far from Rome in Tivoli, but where there nevertheless are living about 70 of his members, on whom, as it seems, the sisters are depending.*

* The reason for the separation given here by the secretary is highly doubtful: that (according to the "reliable prelate") Jordan himself refused some wine to the ailing sisters. Obviously such a reason could never justify a separation from the Founder. The claim itself is made of thin air. The reason that actually appears important to the secretary, however, and which he emphasizes himself, is that too many contacts could easily be very dangerous to members of both branches.

The unnamed prelate could not be Msgr. George Jacquemin. The stated reason is too clumsy to have come from the well-informed director of the Addolorata Sisters. Furthermore, Jacquemin was in the summer 1894, relieved of his spiritual office with the sisters (cf., DSS XIV, 5.21).

4. Cardinal Gruscha praises the pastoral engagement beyond all measures. However, no testimonies of the prelates of the church say anything about the inner life of the Society (its economic situation, its domestic discipline). In addition to these, other defects exist in the Society about which the high prelates are not informed.

5. Regarding gifts (donations, contributions) from 1890-1892 of 311,000 Lire, these confirm the Founder's trust in God. In regard to means of sustenance he gives himself completely over to Divine Providence. The Commission highly praises the Founder's trust in God, but prudently considers that such contributions might become fewer today or tomorrow, be it by the Founder's death on whose influence alone the alms increased, be it by defects attached to the Society, which will be shown in a special report. Then the Society won't have sufficient means. It is not completely free of debts; which are not mentioned in the report.

6. In Lupidi's opinion also the income would increase with the growing number of priests. But such income is too small to sustain an institute of 273 persons, of whom, according to the Schematismus of 1894, there are 37 priests, not to mention the sisters, who, as it seems, are cared for by the male institute. The revenues being less than 1 Lire a day per person.

7. The Constitutions elaborated with the help of Msgr. Battandier appear to Fr. Lupidi not defective and corrigible. The rest are not deficient in substance waiting to be set aright. But the Commission had not yet time to examine them (underlined by Corrado).

Hurriedly examined, they accept the judgement: not acceptable; the judgement remains reserved until the whole Commission would examine it. The Congregation may also consider the petition of Fr. Willibald Bocka, handed in a short time before, to withdraw from this

Society.* From this petition new confirmations can be gained for the present and previous report. Gioacchino Corrado, Secretary (A Rel).

The *relatio* shows that the secretary brought personal information into both reports. Both leave the reader with a bad aftertaste. The Cardinal Prefect probably had the same impression. The *votum* of the canonically most esteemed collaborator, which had favored Jordan, was simply set aside. As it could not be concealed from him, one could not foresee how he would defend his procedure. Jordan was fully in the dock, even though the accusations against him had never been examined, and he had never been heard in this regard up till now. The unsuspecting Jordan, still in July (but now too late) had updated his "Economic relationship of the internal and external" and presented it to the Congregation. Here he again indicated the income of the Motherhouse from 1888 till June 1894 to the last cent. He did the same with the income of the other houses (Tivoli, Shillong, Vancouver, Esmeralda, Lochau and Fribourg). He also indicated the actual debts amounting to 49,419 Lire, and which were all, with the exception of 10,000 Lire, debts to grocers supplying the motherhouse (A Rel, cf., *Minuta* of Jordan, B-14).

On August 10, 1896 and June 25, 1897, Fr. Willibald Bocka let himself again be misused to be the bearer of complaints to the Congregation for his discontented confreres. How fickle he was in his positions

* Fr. Willibald Bocka born February 10, 1871, entered the Society on September 28, 1887, and was ordained in Rome on Oct 15, 1889. He was rather overly pious, but an easily influenced and quickly discontented religious. His complaint to the Congregation has not been preserved. It was made through Prof, Fr. Bucceroni, S.J. Fr. Willibald had tried life with the Trinitarians for 2 months. He "returned humiliated and remorseful into the arms of Fr. General and promised eternal faithfulness and thankfulness" (Fr. Intreccialagli, A Rel 13 175/14). "On September 25, he has returned to Venerable Father" (MMChr). Mother Mary esteemed this priest and did not at all agree with his dalliance with the Trinitarians. She remarked to Jordan, "I also allow myself to tell you that I am much pleased about R. Fr. Willibald; once I asked God insistently to put an end to such a kind of growth of the Trinitarians" (October 3, 1894, E-627). Mother Mary loved expressing her opinion about priests to Jordan, sometimes too candidly.

showed up just here where, from one year to another, the targets of his complaints were reversed! Bocka was a good priest. But particularly by his first complaints against the Society and the Founder, he more than any other caused the painful Apostolic Visitation. He died in the Society on November 3, 1912. It is not known whether Jordan ever knew the name of his accuser. In any case, he never slighted or blamed Bocka for his unjustified and capricious behavior.

The ecclesiastical circles in Tivoli also showed their insecurity over the rumors coming from Rome. On May 16, 1894, Mother Mary informed Jordan in this regard:

The curate asked whether we would soon go to Rome, whether our name would soon be of the Divine Savior. Then he asked why only [the venerable brothers and the Angels' League] were approved by the Vicar General—some feared the dissolution [of the sisters]; I answered as well as I could and as the Holy Spirit suggested to me. (E-622).

That some zealous custodians of the law were already worrying the sisters shows in a letter of Lüthen to Mother Mary of December 27, 1893. She, "should not be afraid of an eventual separation of the Second Order from the Venerable Father, because the Venerable Father, as the Founder of both Orders, always keeps the direction of the Second Order till his life's end." After his death the canonical direction would be handed over to others by the church. The spiritual direction, however, would remain with the First Order, for the Second Order has to preserve "the spirit of the Founder, it remains his order." (ASDS).

To the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Religious the only viable way forward seemed to be the installation of a Visitor, to explore all the objections. In a meeting of the congregation on June 19, 1894, it was agreed that the Vicar General of the Carmelites Calced be asked; he arrived June 21. In the meeting of June 22, it was decided to call Fr. Joachim of St. Simon Stock. He presented himself to the responsible *uditore* the following day. On July 4, it was decided to ask the Provincial of the Roman Province of the Carmelites Calced. He was received on July 6, and they discussed with him the order to conduct a visitation of the motherhouse of Jordan's Roman foundation. On July 16, the decree of his appointment was given in writing (A Rel, 458). That

same day, Fr. Lupidi was informed orally about the events, and on July 23, Msgr. Battandier was informed in writing. Jordan had now to give up his struggle for the *Breve di Lode* and confront the new struggle which an Apostolic Visitor inevitably brings in its wake (A Rel, Reg.13).

2.48/67. Visitors to the motherhouse. In March, pastor Seb. Kneipp (1821-1897) paid a visit and introduced the students into his method of healing. (Kneipp on that occasion also counseled Leo XIII in regard to health.) On April 20, Jordan noted down the visit of Countess Ledóchowska,* who shortly after wanted to found the Peter Claver Sodality. Jordan enjoyed particularly the visit of the Apostolic Vicar of Sweden, Albert Bitter (May 5, 1894), who had shown so much patience and benevolence regulating the matter of von Leonhardi.

2.49/69. Typhus in Tivoli. Mother Mary has written in her diary concerning the heavy affliction of the summer of 1894. On June 14, one sister died "of a stroke" after only two days in the sick bed. In reality this sister died of typhus. Sr. Margareta Burger got also a fever and died of typhus as it is said, on June 21, she was for this reason secretly carried into church at 10:00 pm, by the candidates and oblate Alfred Zacharzowski. On the same evening at 12:00 the good Sr. Ludmilla Zizka also died of typhus." (MMChr). Mother Mary had at first not fully recognized the

* Blessed Maria Theresia Ledóchowska (Loosdorf, April 29, 1863-1922, July 6, Rome) first lived as a lady of the court with the Archduke of Toscana in Salzburg (1885-1890). Inspired by Cardinal Lavignerie, on April 29, 1894, she founded the Sisters of St. Peter Claver. They had their general statutes printed in the printery of the Catholic Teaching Society (letter, June 20, 1894, D-1100). Countess Ledóchowska was acquainted with Jordan, and spiritually they felt familiar. Maria Therese Ledóchowska's brother was Cardinal Ledóchowski, then Prefect of the Propaganda. Her mother was Countess Josefina Salis-Zizers (Swiss). The parents lived in Loosdorf, Austria, after Count Ledóchowski had to flee from his Polish home. The later General of the Jesuits, Włodzimerz Ledóchowski (1866-1942), was her brother. Her sister Maria Juliana Maria Ledóchowska founded an independent branch of Ursulines in Petersburg.

kind of sickness of the sisters. Only afterwards did she insert those events into her diary, but not in a well arranged form.

The fact is that already since June, 6 sisters were lying ill of typhus. After the death of Sr. Margareta on June 14, the priests in Tivoli became more concerned about the sisters. They called the physician and ordered better food. Mother Mary was also asked to transfer the sick Sr. Josefa to the hospital in Rome. This happened on June 18. When then on June 21 (as mentioned above) two more of the sisters ill of the epidemic died, the priests tried to avoid any notice among the easily disturbed population and carried the dead into the church at night. On the following day, Father Procurator* had Mother Mary called to Jordan in Rome. He knew only too well that the authorities would become active. Significant difficulties came to Mother Mary because of these happenings. Jordan, who himself was ill in bed, ordered provisional care for Mother Mary and her sister.

The Tivoli civil administration ordered a strict medical examination and demanded that until it was completed all healthy sisters should be removed within two days. In this way they might be preserved from infection and the other sick sisters could be better cared for. The priests of the Society also wanted to avoid overly alarming the population. For in that case their own house, where about 50 young men were living, would meet with gossip.

Between June 26 and 29, 18 sisters transferred to the hurriedly rented, large house in Via Lungara, so that now 20 sisters were living there including Mother Mary. Jordan named Sr. Elizabeth superior in Tivoli. In Rome Sr. Clara became vicar and thus responsible for the physical welfare of the sisters. Jordan announced this to the gathered sisters before his departure to Austria. In all, 23 had fallen ill of typhus.

Mother Mary, who over night had been called from the community of sisters by Jordan recorded the further events in Tivoli and in the Roman house sometime later, probably on July 3, 1894.

* At that time by Jordan's order, Fr. Simon Stein, procurator in Tivoli, gave religious instruction to the sisters in the teacher training school and in novitiate.

Then with these cases of death came a heavy cross with its blessing. 7-9 sisters had taken to bed. The physician came several times each day. Fr. Simon, according to the wish of the physician and of our Venerable Father, ordered different food (more meat and more wine). I had to take a sister to Rome to the hospital of San Giacomo for an operation – in the meantime each sister had to undergo individually a stricter examination of our lifestyle by Rev. Fr. Superior Philippus [Schuetz] and Rev. Fr. Simon [Stein]. Then some had to present themselves to the physician. (The name of the Sister I had to take to hospital was Josefa Heilmeier – it was on June 18.) Benefactor Mr. Sestilli helps Fr. Simon in everything.

On the 22nd, Fr. Simon, of course by order of the Venerable Father, let me know through Sr. Aloisia that I had better go to Rome with Sr. Barbara because of the many sick ones – after a short prayer I decided to do so. I called the sisters together recommending them to the dear Mother of God and to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus – they should be particularly obedient to Rev. Fr. Simon – and departed at 8:00 o'clock.

At noon of the 24th, a telegram arrived from Fr. Simon that after medical examination by the government – 20 sisters had to leave before the 26th, the house being overcrowded because of the contagious infection. (On the 28th the novice Sr. Paula and Sr. Theodora also died of typhus.) Well, such are the ways of God, through sufferings and trial he drives us to Rome into the arms of the father of Christianity. Oh! praise be the hidden mercies!

It took me still another cross to acquire this grace to come to Rome. In the morning of 26th I was informed by the Venerable Father, that my dear papa, almost 88 years old, until then always in good health, died of a heart attack at 10:30 p.m., after cheerful conversation with the whole family, saying his evening prayers on his knees at the death bed, where my dear mother had died. Oh, how much love and care I owe to him! May the dear God reward him!

On June 27, a vast house in Rome was rented for one year for us, Lungara, at the foot of the Janiculum. The Venerable Brothers were very busy with the most necessary furnishing. From the 25th in the evening till 26th Sr. Barbara and myself slept alone here. On 26th arrived first Sr. Helena with Srs. Juliana and Coelestina, at 3:00 o'clock, and in the even-

ing , Srs. Crescentia and Hilaria and Hedwig – on Wednesday arrived Sr. Theresa, Sr. Wyborada, Sr. Martina, Cecilia, Bernarda, Loboria, Agnes Engelberta, Ottmara; – on the feast of Peter and Paul arrived in the evening Sr. Clara, Sr. Sinforosa, Sr. Fridolina. May St. Peter defend us and stop the plague in Tivoli. Here, already on July 2, are prepared the chapel, refectory etc., etc., larger and more fitting. (It is a 4-story house with such beautiful wallpaper and two small loggias). Downstairs kitchen, laundry, refectory and chapel.

Oh, on 2nd also died of typhus in Tivoli, Sr. Germana and Sr. Lioba, the seventh fatality. All the others are said to be out of danger, some are already healthy. May God be gracious towards us further on, and may the sign of cross by which we have been led to Rome be forever for us a sign of salvation.

In the afternoon our Venerable Father and Founder paid us a visit – and blessed us, gave us encouraging admonitions. (He also said that the sisters when feeling better should preferentially turn to Sr. Clara, the vicar).^{*} In the evening he left for Austria: Bregenz and Vienna. (He gave us all the holy blessing meeting also each one individually.) In the afternoon of the same day, July 2, arrived from Tivoli Sr. Cuny (ill) and Sr. Adelheid, recovering.

On June 11, made a vow in Tivoli in the chapel of St. Antony to give a statue to St. Antony with an alms box in our chapel in Rome – if we would get there soon. Oh! How unexpectedly quickly the saint has heard me – Hardly arrived I bought him what I had promised.**

^{*} That is, to the local superior; in early February 1895, she was replaced by Sr. Liboria, who on January 29 had made her first profession. Sr. Ambrosia Vetter succeeded her in November 1896.

^{**} Here Mother Mary noted the August 1 visit of Fr. Antonio. Then she wrote down a dream she had had 4 months earlier, and which at that time had given her solace and hope in her vain urge to move to Rome. Now her dream had come true, although not in the childlike manner in which she had dreamed it.

On August 1st, Fr. Antonius, Carmelite, paid me a visit as he had some Postulants. (In the night of April 4-5. 1894, I had had a dream that the holy Father blessed me dearly – said it went well now with the Catholic Teaching

On August 31, I was in Tivoli, where Venerable Father invested: Rosa Cor. = Sr. Vincenza of Sacred H.M., Dorothea Candrian = Sr. Paula of the Sacred Heart of Mary. The good sisters were very much pleased to see me again – our house in Tivoli always caused me pain, many dead, others became so thin, Sr. Antonia very ill – Help, direct, O God – in the evening off again. Lately I often had the solace to talk with the Reverend Father and Founder. . . .

The *Annales* of the CTS, which appeared for the first time at the start of 1894, published this about the 2nd Order in Tivoli:

The Divine Wisdom was pleased to visit the motherhouse of the sisters with affliction. Since June 6th some fell ill with typhus. Six sisters died in a short time, the first one was Sr. Margaret Bissinger (June 15, 1894). The 2nd sick sister was taken to Rome to hospital. They now believed all danger had passed. Then two more sisters died (Sr. Martha Burger and Sr. Ludmilla Zizka) on June 22, 1894. On June 26 some of the sisters had to be transferred to Rome by order of the health authority. On June 28 again died 2 sisters, also on July 2 (Sr. Theodora, Sr. Paula, Sr. Germana, Sr. Lioba).^{*} The epidemic ceased slowly. On July 25 there was a service of thanksgiving in San Francesco for deliverance from this trial. August 30, again 3 investitures (An SCI, 3/1894).

On the Feast of Visitation of Mary the last two of seven Sisters were carried off by the epidemic. On the following day Mother Mary wrote into her spiritual diary some scraps of thought in French in which she noted her feelings and proposals of that time:

July 3, 1894. Rome, never stop being thankful for being in Rome, till you die; abide in God, the zeal, the satisfaction, "have more trust and Rome," very humble and zealous. The crosses in Tivoli were the best way to come here, God will reward it all.

Society and: I will have you in Rome and wouldn't it be good near St. Andrea della Valle. I was sitting with children, humbly distributing little images, and said: I am between Cologne and Aachen, I would so much like to come to Rome.

^{*} The more important dates of each dead sister were noted. The superior general is not mentioned.

Mother Mary saw in the epidemic God's Providence to come to Rome with her sisters. To Jordan the epidemic remained a severe trial. On his conscience weighed the question whether he had done everything he could to prevent it. Mother Mary hinted also at this: "he met each one individually" (MMChr).

Fr. Simon, by the way, demanded immediately that the owner install flushes of odorless water. On June 21, the owner was informed by his manager of the deaths of the two sisters and of the priests' request. The owner, sub-prefect of Cesena, wrote to Jordan on June 24, 1894, that he needed confirmation first that the sisters would continue to rent before he could consider such costly work. Jordan could not give an answer before his departure to Austria. Fr. Simon, however, urged the landlord to become active since already three sisters had died.

On July 9, Adriano Trinchieri in Cesena requested again a clear and sincere answer to whether the sisters would stay on (D-801). Jordan replied: "We cannot give yet a definite answer to your question whether the sisters have the intention to prolong the rent of your house."

In the meantime the manager in Tivoli had communicated to the landlord that the sisters intended to leave the house. Trinchieri defended himself, that this was against any good custom, offended justice and his own interests. Therefore, he hoped that his manager had informed him wrongly. Otherwise, thoughtless gossip being what it is, the affair would become so enormous, claiming that the two sisters had died because the hygienic conditions of the house had been insufficient. Such foolish talk would call into question the habitability of the house.

Trinchieri considered it as a question of honor that Jordan and his confreres should not blame him; otherwise he would be compelled to defend his rights by taking legal steps (August 26, 1894, D-802). Since Jordan as well as Lüthen were absent, Frater Daniel Janssen, probably by order of Weigang, gave an interim answer.

On August 31, the landlord asked the scholastic for a definite answer (*risposta categorica*, D-803). Jordan as well as Mother Mary would have liked to give notice for the house at Piazza San Francesco as soon as possible. But they were at an impasse. In Rome, the sisters were for the time being only tolerated as guests. After recent events they couldn't find

other lodgings in Tivoli from one day to another, but they had to be satisfied not to be harassed by the townsfolk in their present house.* Alarmed by the bitter events in Tivoli and also admonished by Fr. Simon, Jordan had ordered better food. Mother Mary informed him about how they were now living in Rome:

I am quite pleased that you are better again. It was 12 years ago just yesterday that I had the honor of meeting you the first time in the Barbarastift at Neuwerk. Now I am finally in Rome, and for this I thank God with all my heart. May we now under your direction put a firm foundation to much good! The loss in Tivoli will certainly be richly compensated by God, because one can say: it cost us much. We now eat well: in the morning barley coffee with milk and bread, at noon: 8 lbs of good meat (bouillon) and macaroni or vegetables, a little desert, in the afternoon some coffee as in the morning, in the evening good milk soup and 1 egg (the latter could almost be dropped) at noon and in the evening for all half a glass of wine (for some a little more, for others a little less). All this, however, will certainly also require more means. . . . Hope you will send hither somewhat more often the good Rev. Fr. Thomas [Weigang]; I am still a stranger here and must often think of my deceased papa. But especially, dear Venerable Father and Founder, I and all our sisters desire much the joy of your visit; we are happy to subject ourselves to your directions. (The house is beautiful, too beautiful).

* That the townsfolk now thought the "German sisters" house was infected weighed heavily on the sisters, especially on the superior, Sr. Elizabeth and her successor, Sr. Aloysia (late January 1895). Mother Mary never hid her dislike of Tivoli, so that the sisters, novices and candidates transferred there from Rome often arrived listless, and clearly uneasy. How far the house was unhealthy in itself, remained unproved, its location was better than the priests' house.

Jordan had found the sisters a house in the Piazza San Francesco opposite to the Franciscan Convent and the palace of Gustav Adolf Cardinal Prince of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst (1823-1896). This location also brought the sisters some diversion: "Their Majesties, the German Emperor and the Empress stopped there amid great festivities, opposite our house at the Cardinal's Prince Hohenlohe . . . we looked through the transom, and it is said that their Majesties had greeted us amicably" (April 1893, MMChr). [The cardinal's brother, Chlodwig (1819-1901) was a Prussian diplomat and first Catholic *Reichskanzler* (1894-1900)].

Most humbly asking for your fatherly blessing, thankfully
your obedient spiritual daughter.

July 5, 1894, Rome,

Sr. Mary of the Apostles. (ASDS).

The sisters in Tivoli also remained touchy in regard to food. They quickly complained to the priests, because they knew Jordan was on their side. The superior of Tivoli also passed the complaints of the sisters to Mother Mary. The latter defended her view to Jordan:

Sr. Elizabeth again has several complaints: 1) she has been a little deaf for about a fortnight, hope much that it passes; . . . 3) some sisters are discontent with the food, say even that they suffered from hunger and might get consumption. Besides, Venerable Father, now they receive 13 kilos of meat (formerly 12 pounds for 67 sisters etc. etc.) They had better do at least as we do here. Some days ago I asked several sisters what they had eaten while living in the world, and almost all had eaten a little piece of meat just once or twice a week, never had any wine or beer (October 3, 1894, E-627).

A few days later Mother Mary again complained to Jordan: "Sr. Elizabeth dares even to say, those studying had to get better food, or else" (October 8, 1894, E-628). Jordan did his best to remedy complaints about food, lodgings and climate.

2.50/70. Permission for Vienna. The petition to His Imperial Majesty was submitted once Jordan believed the conditions could be fulfilled satisfactorily. In the meantime some priests were already allowed to be active in pastoral work in District X. Finally, in August 1894, the desired formal admission arrived. It read as follows:

To Reverend Mr. Francis Jordan, Superior General of the Congregation of the Divine Savior. According to the notification of the Imperial Statthalter of August 6th, 1894 to 58 909, His Imperial Apostolic Ministry according to decree of the High Imperial Ministry of Cult and Instruction of July 3, 1894, has condescended to approve the admission of the Congregation "of the Divine Savior" to the Archdiocese of Vienna.

Of this your Reverend is informed, with the addition that the state agrees to the planned erection of the settlement of this Congregation in Vienna with a staff of two priests and one lay-brother, under the

condition that from the side of the Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior according to the contents of the declaration dated Rome, June 1, 1894, a capital of 10,000 fl. Austrian value is demonstrated as the property destined to maintain the Viennese establishment and secured on its name . . . and that this establishment makes no claims for means of sustenance either to a public fund or to the general charity. Your Reverence are asked to confirm to us the fulfillment of this condition.

From the Archbishop Ordinary of Vienna on August 9, 1894,
Kornheisl, Kanzleidirektor.

2.51/71. Lochau. In May, Fr. Clemens Vitt sent another distress call to Rome. Notice had been given to pay another 4,000 fl. on January 1, 1895: "Unless unforeseen help comes, you will have to provide these 4,000 fl. on January 1, and herewith I want to have reminded you to think about it." He also demanded that Jordan immediately come to Lochau. He, however, was prevented by Roman matters. How energetically the brave and determined local superior could pester the superior general is shown by his reply letter, which follows unedited as an example that the in-house correspondence was not always smooth or harmonious:

L.J. Ch. Lochau May 22, 1894.

Dear Father!

I have lately received your esteemed letter; as Fr. Vicar was at once ready to answer it, my own reply has somehow been delayed. Dear Venerable Father! I understand quite well how necessary, even almost inevitable your presence in Rome is. Nevertheless you will admit to me that this necessity is not such that because of it you could eventually risk the existence of this college. Well, there is the risk of the existence of this college, unless you come over. Just yesterday I received a very favorable telegram of 33 words from Mr. Hofrath Heinefetter; but it is impossible for me execute the counsels contained in it without a detailed discussion with you. This is a new argument for how necessary your presence here is. Construction can absolutely not be realized unless you yourself come here. The train is leaving soon and I have no more time. Once more: think the matter over and the possible consequences! I cannot write more clearly, and in particular I am not willing to bear such boundless reproaches as on the occasion of what we know was said two months ago. Yes, I must put up with very different claims because of you, and exclusively because of you. Nevertheless, I stand

firm: that dream which I described in an essay for the *[Apostel]kalender* always stands before my soul, and the first consequence of it is that I am still patient. Yours quite obediently, G.S.P.Clemens (AGS).*

Fr. Vicar was the good Fr. Bonfilius Loretan, a Walliser. Jordan could depart to Austria only on July 6, 1894, and engage in solving the official and economic difficulties there.

November 2, the superior "hurriedly" sent Jordan good news: "The Princess of Thurn and Taxis told him the district councilman, her cousin, Count St. Julien, told her: For Lochau all [concessions] have been given." But by November 13, Vitt had corrected his overhasty information: "The Statthalterei has the final word." However, the Princess' information was neither overhasty nor wrong, as Vitt had supposed. On November 2, the Statthalterei sent its notice that the government had given its permission for the settlement to the Arch-bishop Ordinary. On November 13th the Vicar General of Feldkirch communicated to,

. . . the Superior of the Society of the Divine Savior [at Hörbranz] that the High Imperial Statthalterei by a note of November 2, ZF 26 672, had agreed to the establishment of the Society of the Divine Savior at Hörbranz with a general staff of three priests and one lay brother under the condition that the establishment make no claims either to a public fund or to the general charity for receiving means of sustenance.

Fr. Clemens immediately passed his good news by telegraph to Rome:

Lochau, 17th November 1894

Dear Venerable Father!

Thanks and praise be to God! As I already yesterday communicated, the highly welcome news has arrived that the government has given its agreement to the house we intended here. The correspondent note of the Statthalterei is dated 3rd of same, and was yesterday communicated c/o Ordinary. Thus all obstacles are eliminated which until now held up the execution of the projected construction. The contracts have already been signed and the preliminary work will be started at once, so that in

* In Jordan's notes we find the following advice: With Fr. Clemens, no dispute. Patience reins virtute (G-2.8).

spring (until that time serious work must be postponed) the whole project can take its quick course. Once more: thanks be to God!

Thus, the official difficulties were eliminated and the struggle to build the college began. For the present one wing was planned. The whole building should offer space for 100 students and was estimated at 50,000 Gulden (at a yearly payment of 5,000 fl. cf., PPP, 225).

Lüthen had accepted the invitation of the superior of Lochau and Jordan's wish, and on his way from Wörishofen to the south stopped at Lochau. From there he wrote a long letter to Jordan on October 25, 1894, "after having explored the terrain somewhat." Lüthen agreed with the opinion of those responsible, Vitt and Loretan, not to convert the barn at first, but to begin directly a new construction for 40 persons; this would be "at present one third" of the complete house. Lüthen estimated building expenses at about 17,000 fl., of which 10,000 fl. would have to be paid in 1895. "If you agree, excavations could already be made." This would help the priests begging in South Germany, as they could point out: "they had already begun." One priest and one brother would probably be able to collect these 10,000 fl. If construction were postponed, the priests might have to leave for the present. They can't be expected to pass the winter in a farmhouse without real work. Then Lüthen wrote extensively about the superior, Fr. Clemens Vitt:

. . . he is worn out. His love for you and for the Society can't be doubted. That he is physically and psychically at the end of his strength due to the many changes, is understandable. He is an energetic man who must work. Also his feelings of honor are in this case offended [i.e., after all the to and fro from Rome made building impossible— Apostolic Visitor?]. Thus he would have to leave. But where to?

Lüthen's opinion is that Vitt and Loretan be given free rein (BL-10).

On October 26, Lüthen sent another letter to Rome, after having entrusted the letter of the previous day to Br. Apollinaris together with the construction plans. Once more he returned to Fr. Clemens Vitt:

He is much worn by these responsibilities for things taking a long time and always changing. This I understand. He is very much afraid. I often speak with Fr. Bonfiliius about him. It is an almost insuperable weakness that he so often expresses himself sharply. He doesn't want to, but

he can't do otherwise. Therefore, his expression must not be interpreted so negatively. He means well towards you and the Society.

About himself Lüthen added: "My health is not worth much." (BL-11). We find Lüthen in Rome again only in the second half of November (cf., BL-13, November 25, 1894). Subsequently, in spite of his best will Vitt did not feel up to the demands of the new foundation.* In summer 1895, he informed Jordan about his decision to leave the Society. Jordan asked him to communicate at once the reason for his step. Fr. Clemens replied evasively: "because of my continuing sleeplessness I am suffering from my nerves and headaches so I must avoid all unnecessary excitement. Therefore, still some more patience" (July 19, 1895).

On October 8, Vitt informed his "Dear Venerable Father! . . . that I, out of my free will, renounce my position here as superior and ask you to release me from the Society." He affirmed that he had been struggling with himself for years over this step and that he had prayed much (AGS). Lüthen explained in a letter on the following day that this step "was not meant as an accusation against the Venerable Father . . . but a subjective disposition of mind" (October 9, 1895, AGS). By October 11, 1895, Jordan put an end to this situation which was not satisfactory to anyone involved. He wrote to a confrere:

Must inform you that in the General Consulta we have accepted the petition to release Fr. Clemens as superior, and that in the meantime Fr. Bonfilius as vicar will direct matters. Now Fr. Clemens understands that it is not good for him to remain in the Society; he will look for another place for himself. (A-92)

* Already in summer Vitt had wanted to give up and urged Jordan to let him go to Vienna. Still from Wörishofen, Lüthen asked Vitt not to act over hastily. At that time he had judged him less favorably: "Fr. Clemens will not remain there, because his trust in you is lost there. Neither will he accept a transfer without being a superior again. Ergo I conclude that he will leave. Maybe is he still thinking it over. Write to him yourself" (letter to Jordan, August 18, 1894 from the Curhaus Wörishofen, BL-7).

By all Saints Day the post of superior was occupied by the steadfast Fr. Hilarius Gog. Fr. Clemens, now "Johannes" again, soon found a benevolent bishop. On February 12, 1896, Jordan could hand in an application for dispensation from vows, which was granted by the Cardinal Vicar on the same day. Fr. Johannes (Clemens) Vitt remained connected in gratitude to Jordan and later also helped him economically as soon as he had the possibility.

At Lochau the confreres fought their way with much effort, but tenaciously for a better future. In this case Jordan had dared and demanded much, but with God's blessing and the confreres' confidence he had also attained enormous success.

2.52/72. Freiburg. Already in the summer of 1894, Jordan charged the newly ordained Fr. Ansgar Jagemann to explore whether a foundation would be possible in Fribourg. Jordan chose Freiburg hoping to be able to send to the newly erected University those scholastics who could not endure the Roman climate. Fr. Ansgar passed his post-ordination holiday in Alsazia. At the same time he did pastoral supply work (with jurisdiction by Vicar General Schmitt of Strassbourg).

On June 8, Jagemann informed Jordan that he had been received well in the seminary in Freiburg. He had also at once visited Staatsrat George Python, with whom Jordan had cooperated in the Pauluswerk during their student years, and who now headed school affairs.* He fully agreed with the idea, as did university rector Fr. Berthier, OP. Jordan

* George Python (Portalban, September 10, 1856-1927, January 10, Fillistorf) was from 1884 till 1893 *Nationalrat* and from 1896 till 1920 *Ständerat*. After having finished his law studies he soon became Court President of the Sarine District and began to be active in Freiburg politics.

At that time he was one of the most prominent Catholic politicians in Switzerland. In 1889/90 he succeeded in founding the International Catholic University and in creating a fund for it. In Freiburg, a linguistic crossroad of German and French, he was a successful mediator between German and Welsch and promoted workers' protection and its legislation. He had become acquainted with Jordan as a young law student helping Schorderet. Reciprocal visits in Freiburg or Rome were quite natural between these two friends.

immediately charged Fr. Ansgar to look for lodgings (letter, July 3, from Baldersheim, where Jagemann was staying). The latter proposed purchasing a house, as rents in the young university city were high (July 4).

On June 6, Jagemann had informed Jordan that he had already consulted twice with Python. He had also been promised a German chaplaincy at the Cathedral St. Nicolas. President Aeby had offered the Society his own patrician house for 110,000 Francs, which would house 50 students. Jagemann also added the conditions of the purchase.

In July, Jordan sent three priests, and in fall about 15 students to Freiburg. He himself came from Lochau for the inauguration, which took place on July 18, 1894. He had succeeded in renting the upper stories of a vast house in Grande Rue 58 near the cathedral. Fr. Canisius Werner became the superior.

Jagemann looked for a benevolent bishop immediately after his ordination and found one in Fulda. On March 21, 1895, he was released from his religious vows. Because of the foundation in Freiburg (as well as the one at Lochau) the liberal press of Switzerland tried to disturb the good relation between the responsible authorities and the Society: "these 'Fathers of the Divine Savior' are either Jesuits or their affiliates, in which case their presence is unconstitutional; or it is a new Order, and their installation is equally unconstitutional" (*Vorwärts* of *Basler Arbeiterfreund*). However, such attacks remained without success in Catholic Freiburg.

2.53/73. Sisters in Rome. In late August, Jordan turned to the pope with a petition to allow the Sisters of the Divine Savior (formerly the Catholic Teaching Society) to open a house in Rome. Jordan spoke briefly about the foundation of the Sisters in Tivoli in 1888, and about their blessed expansion, so that the sisters were already dedicating themselves to the education of young girls in East India and South America. Then Jordan spoke about the deadly epidemic which in summer had afflicted the motherhouse of the sisters in Tivoli and cost the lives of "several sisters." By order of the municipal administration, 20 sisters had to leave the house within 2 days. As he had been ill in bed, he had had no other choice but to accommodate the Sisters in Rome and inform the Cardinal Vicar about the emergency. Then Jordan asked the pope immediately to allow the sisters to open a community house in Rome. The sisters would

be no burden to anyone; their sustenance was provided for. They would dedicate themselves to youth education and catechetical instruction. As the motherhouse remained in Tivoli, the newcomers could make a stop in Rome before traveling on to Tivoli, and one or another sister from there could transfer to Rome if the physician in Tivoli realized that the local climate was detrimental to her health. If the pope allowed a house in Rome for the sisters, there would be no danger for them if they were eventually expelled from Tivoli.

The Congregation added its opinion about the petition. The sick Jordan had been compelled by a telegraph from the *Municipio* of Tivoli to call about 20 sisters to Rome and to lodge them in a rented house to prevent the healthy sisters from becoming infected. He had acted with the knowledge and agreement of the Cardinal Vicar. Then follow the three reasons indicated by Jordan to show that the Roman sisters' community house would not be a burden for the City, but an advantage. And for Tivoli it was now a necessity. The petition was treated in the meeting of September 3. At that time the Apostolic Visitation was already in progress. What was decided there is not known. In the audience of September 10, 1894, the matter was presented to Leo XIII who declined Jordan's petition without further reasons: "do not expedite" (A Rel 2944/14).

Jordan was informed immediately. For the time being he sent the nine novices back, but made new attempts with the prefect, Cardinal Verga, to prevent all the sisters returning to Tivoli. But especially due to the townsfolk who now watched the German Sisters with mistrust, he felt compelled to insist to ecclesiastical authorities. Mother Mary took part with anguished heart in this "struggle for Rome" which Jordan led for the sisters. In her diary she noted:

But on 10th the Holy Father decided in an audience, albeit kindly, that we sisters were not yet necessary in Rome: "do not expedite." On 11th I heard that Venerable Father intended to send all back to Tivoli (certainly the novices). It was painful news to me, but we need not be happy all the time, though we must obey. On 14th I sent off, with heavy heart, all novices: 3 x 3. Our pastor made a farewell visit with tears in his eyes. In the evening of 14th we all, on order of the Venerable Father, prayed the Magnificat for all the crosses we have already had and for all still to come – we sang it in Rome.

Now Fr. Pacificus [Spreider] is taking care of the Sisters in Tivoli. On September 19 the curate came and asked information about everything: holy Rules, etc., etc., at last he wished to talk to Sr. Sinforosa – seemed satisfied. On the following day Fr. Thomas [Weigang] went to His Eminence Cardinal Verga to ask him that we professed might stay. His Eminence Cardinal Verga would also, he being the nearest to the Holy Father, have gone (or go?) For us to the Holy Father himself (since our Venerable Father had spoken with his Eminence before), the secretary of the Vicar General himself also went to the Holy Father on our behalf.

On 24th, Maria della Mercede, I received good news that we may stay, though we would never be able to gain rights or privileges – and must always be peaceable with other Congregations. (Oh! what a blessing, I think and hope this humble beginning, founded in the cross will be!).

In a September 27, 1894 letter to Jordan, who Mother Mary addresses as "Dear Venerable Father and Founder!" she concludes as his "truly most devoted spiritual daughter, Sr. Maria of the Apostles" with the happy sigh: "Holy Rome, Healthy Rome, God help the poverty of the Sisters!!!" (in the new lodgings in Via Lungara, E-625).

Her report to Lüthen of May 17, 1900 ends: "On June 22, 1894, we arrived, thanks to God, in holy Rome." This "*Roma sancta, Roma sana*," holy Rome, healthy Rome" turned up also in future letters to Jordan, e.g., in those of November 4, and November 7, 1894 (E-630; 631). In the letter of February 17, 1895, she stressed once more "holy Rome, healthy Rome, as also the physician said" (E-645). When the Cardinal Vicar answered her New Year wishes: "Many years in Rome," she immediately informed Jordan: "This was the greatest consolation" (January 3, 1895, E-642).

Her allusion to "holy Rome" in the letter of September 27, 1894, in which she wrote for the first time to Jordan a few blocks away, remains somewhat obscure. "The disdain [I meet with] in holy Rome give me the greatest hopes for firmness and blessing there" (E-625). At the same time Mother Mary kept her conviction inherited from home: "To remain healthy everywhere, only a healthy nature is required" (letter to Jordan, October 30, 1894, E-627).

But the strong dislike Mother Mary harbored toward Tivoli, couldn't remain hidden from the sisters either. She asked Sr. Elizabeth

"not to send sick ones" from there; she wished only healthy sisters for Rome (November 7, 1894, E-631). She would have liked most to give up Tivoli at once: "Again sick ones in Tivoli: yes, I pray daily for an earliest end with Tivoli, if that is the will of God, of which I am persuaded. But certainly that only comes from above" (to Jordan, November 26, 1894, E-635). In the same letter she remembers her arrival there 6 years ago: "Tivoli (must now always be called *Deuveli* [Devil] in my mind). . . ." At the same time, however, she also expresses her full submission to God's Providence: "Later I may perhaps understand that this great trial was good. For whatever God permits and whatever our good superiors want, must serve to the best." On another occasion she confessed to Jordan: "when it comes to health I am always afraid in Tivoli, which Venerable Father knows" (April 21, 1895, E-648).

Jordan could understand Mother Mary's dislike of Tivoli, after all the sufferings they both had experienced. But in the meantime, the motherhouse of the sisters remained in Tivoli, not in Rome. Episcopal approbation was still bound to the house in Tivoli. The men's scholasticate in Tivoli had been spared the epidemic, although Frs. Simon Stern and Philippus Schütz had continued to visit the house of the sisters during the time of the epidemic. To them Tivoli later remained a place of recovery for several sick confreres and the preferred summer residence for the scholastics. Nor did Jordan think Mother Mary's aversion to Tivoli (in itself a healthy place) was justified. Nevertheless, he looked for another house there, which the sisters could not consider infected. Consequently, in Mother Mary there was the joy of finally being in Rome coupled the sorrow of having lost in a short time so many young sisters. But quickly and clearly Rome won out; to be finally in Rome was worth the sacrifice which the Lord had required for this purpose according to her conviction. However, one may ask whether God's Providence chose such ways intentionally, as Mother Mary supposed. One would also wish to see in Mother Mary's notes more sympathy and active care for the sufferings of the sick sisters carried off by the epidemic. In those

years other congregations of sisters living in Rome also experienced decimation by typhus, cholera or tuberculosis.*

It is certain that Mother Mary never liked being in Tivoli. Rome corresponded much more to her lifestyle. So she was happy that Jordan always pressed towards Rome. But he never did so at such a price. The events of the summer of 1894 in Tivoli healed slowly in the sisters of that time. Still, for a long time after some puzzled about the real causes, while others preferred to push aside what had happened.

At that time, malnourishment and housing shortages were common among all the poor of Europe, where time and again the epidemics of influenza found fertile soil. At that time the fear of TB produced a super-sensibility in regard to good or bad climate. As late as the feast of the Assumption of Mary in 1896, when a sister with sick eyes was sent over to Rome, Mother Mary complained that the physician in Tivoli had prescribed the wrong eye drops: "1894 = so much medicine and so many dead!!!" (MMChr). Jordan remained silent in regard to these events, apart from his petition to Leo XIII at the end of August 1894.

* The Addolorata Sisters, after separating from Jordan, lost nine sisters under the age of 25 to smallpox in 1886-87– a total of 21 sisters in the first ten years (1886-1895). Seven Cross Sisters died (three of typhus) in their house in Via San Basilio from 1883 to 1889. Numerous Cross Sisters fell ill of these epidemics but recovered (most were infected while nursing patients). During 1889-1890 there was a serious influenza in Europe which carried away many. In 1892, it revived again "in all countries." This sickness claimed the lives the Rhadiv of Egypt, Duke Clarence (Crown prince of England), and cardinals Simeoni and Manning. In 1892, the newspapers reported "In Russia and partly also in France cholera dominates this summer" (cf., Parish Chronicle of Our Lady in Radolfzell).

Jordan demanded that the sisters be instructed in nursing as soon as possible. On March 25, 1895, four sisters took over two wards (with 120 and 50 patients) at the hospital San Giacomo of the Josef Sisters in Rome (MMChr). Sr. Raphaela reported to Jordan on their activity there. She worked together with a sister in the ward Mazzani (127 patients): "There are many very sick (especially old mothers, 6 died this week) typhus, pneumonia many, fever many, influenza . . ." (April 2, 1895, D-405).

2.54/75. Future apostolic possibilities. Immediately after writing his 3-point plan to promote vocations everywhere in the world (SD I/206), Jordan compiled a list of countries where he, searching for places, might consider erecting study houses. Among the 26 names he found worth mentioning on his fantasy journey across the globe are the Holy Land, East India, and Australia (SD I/206). These had probably been noted down at the turn of the year 1893/94, or on the occasion of the annual Language Fest on January 18, 1894. Among Jordan's notes there are further wish lists: one with 36 countries on July 27, 1894 (G-2.8); another with a reduced selection of 14 countries on August 3, 1894.

On the patronal feast of the Mother of God, 1894, he jotted down a desirable action plan among the numerous Oriental rites, citing 12 of them by name. Especially through the press, small communities of at least two or three well-trained priests should "propagate the true religion, and above all eliminate the prejudices against the Holy Mother, the Roman Church" (G-2.8). A few weeks after Bishop Goethals had been in the motherhouse, Jordan desired a convent of perpetual adoration in Benares, the holy city of India on the River Ganges, the center of the Buddhist Hindus, the bulwark of the Brahmanism (SD I/209).

He would also like to use the press more for the world-mission, which at that time was the second pulpit for the propagation of the faith. So he intended to champion this particularly in the *Apostelkalender*: "Inset in the *Kalender* how great the harvest, etc. a) in India, b) in China and in America, etc. Motto of St. Gregory sounded, so to say, always in his ears: "He who is not on fire does not enkindle fire" (SD I/186).

August 3, 1894, he noted the plan to compose a proper brochure, kept short, about 8 pages, under the title "A New Crusade" and to offer it free to all Catholic newspapers as a supplement, as well as to send it to all parishes (G-2.8).

Jordan's heart beat with special affection for the Dark Continent. At that time Africa became a priority of the Catholic mission (cf., already the first altar picture of the patrons, about 1887; of the selected apostolic activities of the Catholic Teaching Society at the lower part of the picture there was one activity developing in Africa). Already in August 1893, when Jordan negotiated with the Vicar General in Feldkirch about the foundation at Lochau, he thanked a benefactor for a gift of 100 fl., and in

doing so he expressed his secret hope that "at the given time graduates could be sent also to Africa" (Feldkirch, August 30, 1893, B-17). Jordan admired the Africa missionaries: "It is through the sacrifices of these missionaries that Africa must be saved" (SD I/209). In fact, Jordan was thinking about Franz M. Paul Libermann and his missionaries.

He had asked the Propaganda to entrust a further mission to his Society. He longed for a territory in Central Africa: the region nearer the center the better, perhaps Congo, *il clima buona dappertutto*" (G-2.8).

It is striking that in choosing his foundations Jordan always pays attention to a healthy climate. Whenever he corresponded for information, he noted the altitude of the places attracting his attention (thus we find a list of Austrian places like Innsbruck, Brixen, Bregenz, Schalders, and for comparison Munich and Noto, Sicily, G-2.8). In another passage we find the note "Florence very healthy – may," or "A house of education at the Bavarian border (e.g., Eger) shall be erected" (G-2.8).

Jordan not only had to regret those who chose to leave the Society, but each year death also deprived him of two or three hopeful members. In the necrology of the 10 year from August 1885 till 1894, are registered three priests (among them two Assam missionaries), eleven scholastics, two brothers (one of them in Assam), and two oblates.

3. Under Scrutiny from Ecclesiastical Authorities

Fr. Francis of the Cross returned to Rome in the first half of August 1894. He was hoping to find the *Breve di Lode* on his desk. Instead, he found an Apostolic Visitor with his foot already in the door. Jordan opened obediently albeit with a wounded heart. It hurt the man, faithful to the church, to have to experience again and again the open mistrust of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The visitation was solemnly opened right after the Feast of the Assumption. All members of the house were informed of their duty to make statements and their right to complain. Above all, Jordan was called to account. The Visitor had his clear instructions and the corresponding authority. The economic status of the Society had to be revealed: Divine Providence was excluded. The charges in Fr. Corrado's report to the Commission to Investigate New Religious Institutes were on the table. Jordan was the defendant.

Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli, OCD was still an outsider to the Congregation. **See, 3.1. Intreccialagli.**¹ The Prefect of the Congregation was looking for one just like him, since all his current consultants disagreed among themselves. Some were for Jordan, others strongly against him, others kept at a distance waiting. Thus Cardinal Verga had prudently engaged a third impartial person.²

¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.1. Intreccialagli.

² In the meantime, Luigi Trombetta (Lavinia, 1820-1900, Rome) replaced the mild Ignazio Persico. Trombetta, had been working for the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars since 1859, since 1863 as under secretary, since 1893 as Pro-Secretary, and since 1897 as Secretary. Thus he was quite familiar with the Congregation's work. In 1899 he became a cardinal. He had been a protégée of Cardinal Angelo Jacobini (1825-1886, since 1882 cardinal), who had befriended him long before. Trombetta preferred making Latin verses to practicing canonical perspicacity.

Fr. Antonio had long experience in religious life as provincial of the Roman Province of the Carmelites. But this Apostolic Visitation was the first charge of its kind entrusted to him by the Congregation for Religious. Thus he proceeded all the more conscientiously and asked those living in the motherhouse clearly and soberly about all the minor points which could be useful for his report. The visitation lasted several days. All professed members were called and given a chance to express themselves before the calm and attentive Visitor. Fr. Antonio prepared his questions well, based on the "Corrado Report."

After the end of the visitation he worked for several weeks on his report which he then presented to the Congregation on September 18, 1894. In the first part not only was the modest property of this poor Society, laid bare, but the balance sheets of the household since 1888 were examined, 7 in all. The result was not unfavorable, even though Divine Providence did not have a special account. Quite strikingly, the only red ink was in the motherhouse: the debts to butchers, bakers, etc; during the visitation! These amounted to nearly 50,000 Lire. The proposed cure was regular and audited bookkeeping which Fr Antonio ordered immediately for all houses of the Society, along with a reduction of the debts for groceries.

In the second part of his report, the Society and especially the motherhouse were investigated as to how far the claims in the Corrado Report were justified. Fr. Antonio presented only the bare facts, and thus disproved the reproaches of the Study Commission without naming it. Despite this he gave the Society rather poor marks for direction and discipline. He admitted that much had improved of what had been reported to him of earlier years. But he arrived at the questionable conclusion that one should fear that in the matter of the general direction as well as in religious discipline new mistakes could be made. These would destroy within a few months whatever had been built up in 12 years.

Fr. Antonio made some good proposals: e.g., to enlarge the generalate, thus dividing the obligations, or to dismiss bad members promptly. Jordan could only agree, but for dismissals he lacked authority. All in all, Fr. Antonio urged a uniform discipline and a canonically regulated ad-

ministration. This was self-understood for a fully grown monastic order, but not for an apostolic institute still growing and maturing. It seems strange that he justified certain demands on the basis of the first statutes that had been submitted, but never fully approved. On the other hand, he found fault that the members had available only the Rule of 1892; but only these rules had been approved. **See. 3.2. The Apostolic Visitation.**³

For Jordan religious observance was an apostolic means. [Note: to him “observance” meant literal compliance in following the Constitutions: *Regeltreue*.] He did not want houses with standardized setups just for the sake of discipline, especially if the members did not find truly apostolic activity there. For Jordan, apostolic challenges were more important than complete communities with strict religious discipline and economic security. Somehow the mission-minded element had to be kept alive in every foundation. In view of the great need in the vineyard of the Lord, it oppressed Jordan that in Rome so many priests and in Tivoli so many sisters lived together. Thus, one may doubt whether a Carmelite with his monastic attitude—under the authority of a Congregation with overly strong canonical tendencies—was the best visitor for a young apostolic foundation. Although it must be granted that Fr. Antonio made every effort to carry out his instructions with prudence and justice, whether he succeeded always maybe doubted.

That he had not understood Jordan’s deepest motives is proved by his proposal to appoint as supervisor a religious who belonged to a similar institute. He thought only of someone from a teaching order, although Jordan’s foundations in no way had teaching as their primary aim. His second proposal was to approve the rules submitted on a trial basis. Only the first proposal was taken up; Jordan was assigned a priest from a teaching order as his ecclesiastical advisor. The second proposal was never considered.

³ See, A Closer Look: 3.2. The Apostolic Visitation.

But for the time being nothing was decided, and Jordan was left in the dark concerning the result of the visitation. All the same the visitation in itself was very humiliating for the Founder since it became known in all the houses of the Society. It was unable to remove the dissatisfaction of some who expressed distrust of the Founder regarding the direction and discipline of the Society. On the contrary, this public investigation by church authorities really added fuel to the fire of those who did not like Jordan's Pauline restlessness. They found their criticism justified, even though the complaints in the Corrado Report were indeed refuted or could not be proved. Jordan must have felt frustrated—charged with carrying the torch of the Gospel forward while in chains. His apostolic heart became a prisoner of juridical reasoning and the all important will of a church authority which at that time liked to affect papal authority.

Already on September 25, the Apostolic Visitor of the Society of the Divine Savior was called to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious and ordered, on the basis of his report, to recommend a suitable religious who could assist Jordan. Fr. Antonio was also to list the most important points of his report and present relevant conclusions. He submitted his proposals to the Prefect of the Congregation on All Souls Day. **See, 3.3. Intreccialagli's recommendations.**⁴ In the meeting of November 16, Fr. Antonio's conclusions were treated. Jordan was called in to the Congregation. The demands of the Apostolic Visitor were conveyed to him orally and he was ordered to implement them instantly. Jordan promptly appointed two of the three general consultors recommended by Fr. Antonio, and 4 general and 4 provincial examiners. He relieved Vicar General Lüthen from his duties as novice master, replacing him with his helper. **See, 3.4. New novice master.**⁵ A house superior was also installed. Thus the offices were distributed. Cooperation naturally had yet to be practiced. For an official advisor Jordan got Fr. Meddi, a Piarist recommended by Fr. Antonio. Although he did not create any note-

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.3. Intreccialagli's recommendations.

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.4. New novice master.

worthy difficulties, his hands-off style left all the more leeway to the Apostolic Visitor to interfere, wanted or not. **See, 3.5. Meddi.**⁶

During the visitation Jordan had received a letter from the bishop of Noto, Sicily. He had learned about Jordan's foundation through *Il Missionario* and was sincerely glad that again a new institute like that of Don Bosco and others would be available to compensate for the immense loss of priests caused by the Italian Revolution. He immediately declared himself a collaborator; he offered Jordan an empty Carmelite Monastery as a donation, suitable for a seminary. The monastery church housed a miraculous image of the Mother of God (letter, August 20, 1894). Bishop Giovanni Blandini also assessed the chances of finding religious vocations in his poor diocese to be quite favorable. **See, 3.6. Noto.**⁷

Jordan saw in Blandini's unexpected offer a welcome opportunity presented by the Mother of God herself. He talked it over with Fr. Antonio who also found the offer worthy of attention. Straight away and with considerable apostolic expectations, Jordan assented on August 23 (A-80). Already on September 1, Fr. Simon Stein was sent on the way, reluctant to leave his beloved Tivoli.

On October 3, the college at the Sanctuary of the Madonna della Scala near Noto in Sicily was opened. By October 18, there were 3 priests, 5 theologians, 5 philosophers and 1 brother in residence (G-2.8). Bishop Blandini was more than grateful for the new foundation and considered Jordan a personal friend. The priests took over the parish, gave new life to the pilgrimage, taught at the episcopal seminary, and in a short time brought Madonna della Scala near Noto to an unexpected flourishing.

The namesday of the Founder in 1894, was again marked by investitures and professions. Since Lüthen was taking a cure for his poor health,

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.5. Meddi.

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.6. Noto.

Weigang expressed the grateful love and veneration of their "very much beloved Father." **See, 3.7. Lüthen's health.**⁸

On October 17, the Archbishop of Sarajevo⁹ turned to Jordan asking him to found a community with attached orphanage in his city. Jordan however, had his hands tied after the visitation and recommended the case to the prayers of the members (An SCI 4, 1894).¹⁰

Late in fall the Duca Caffarelli, being in financial straights, unexpectedly offered to sell Jordan the Palazzo Morone at a very reasonable price. Jordan and his consultants agreed in principle, but a down payment had

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.7. Lüthen's health.

⁹ Joseph Stadler, born January 24, 1843 in Slavenski-Brod, studied at the Germanicum. In 1870, he became prefect at the seminary in Zagreb, and since 1874 he worked as professor for fundamental theology at the newly-erected University of Sarajevo. When Leo XIII erected the archdiocese on July 5, 1881, Stadler became the first archbishop of Sarajevo. Archbishop Stadler was a man of God, and Sarajevo needed one. Fearless towards political attacks, energetic with the difficult construction of his diocese, at the same time he had childlike piety, and was simple and popular. He lived as poor as possible, so as to be a better father to the poor and orphans. He would also have deserved help from a canonical community, something which was just impossible for Jordan because of Fr. Antonio's stubborn insistence. Stadler died on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception 1918, exactly 3 months after Jordan.

¹⁰ October's *Der Missionär* bewailed the death of Bishop Pancratius von Dinkel, "who up to the evening of his life bestowed great benevolence upon our Society and its Venerable Founder" (since their first meeting in 1883, because of Sr. Angela Streitle, MI 20, 1894). It was also reported that Dean Anton Frässle had died, "the former pastor of Gurtweil and friend of the Venerable Father" (MI 20, 1894). [Note: Karl Anton Frässle, born April 27, 1831 in Kiechlingsbergen, Emmendingen, ordained August 7, 1855, died September 21, 1894 in Hochsal.]

to be begged from Divine Providence. The title deed could not be secured until the next summer. **See, 3.8. Purchase of Palazzo Morone.**¹¹

On November 29, Cardinal Mazzella awarded academic prizes at the Gregoriana. The spiritual sons of Jordan were again well represented. Lüthen in these days favored a stricter training of the young priests in pastoral care, which seemed to him more important than gaining academic titles. This seemed to him to be the truly indispensable precondition for any fruitful priestly activity. In this Jordan could only agree with his Vicar General. **See, 3.9. Pastoral formation.**¹²

Mother Mary was not especially affected by the men's visitation in Borgo Vecchio. She had enough to do with arrangements in the Via Lungara. Above all, she had to do justice to her obligations as superior general. The Mother Superior at Tivoli could hardly avoid raising difficulties, mostly unintentionally. (Tivoli was still the official motherhouse.) Mother Mary reigned in the "branch office" in her dearly beloved Rome. Jordan tried carefully but insistently to obtain from the authorities a change of these unnatural conditions. **See, 3.10. Via Lungara.**¹³

The sisterhood had grown to 58, and in Tivoli there were 24 novices. Of course Jordan felt the urge to send many sisters out on mission. To the bishop of Daccar who visited him in November he gladly promised sisters. He would also help the archbishop of Sarajevo with sisters if he had no priests to send. He told Mother Mary to select 5 sisters and to prepare them to take over an orphanage in Bosnia.¹⁴

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.8. Purchase of Palazzo Morone.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 3.9. Pastoral formation.

¹³ See, A Closer Look: 3.10. Via Lungara.

¹⁴ On November 10, 1894, Bishop Joseph Hurth accompanied by Msgr. de Waal visited Mother Mary. Jordan had promised him five sisters and asked Mother Mary to present those destined to the bishop (E-633). Also to Archbishop

To Jordan's joy, good news came from Assam (MI 21, 1894, E-632). Nevertheless the Apostolic Delegate in distant Sri Lanka reopened an attack on the missionaries and on the superior general of the CTS. He held to his opinion of 1892, and demanded again (and without any real cause) that until Jordan could send another more competent and more experienced priest, an experienced missionary of another order should be appointed as Pro-Prefect for Administrator Münzloher, who in his eyes was incompetent. Cardinal Ledóchowski did not hesitate to tell the Delegate his contrary conviction. True, the Society of the Divine Savior was not able to staff an immense territory like Assam with missionaries in the way the Protestants could with their means. But the missionaries there had done their best so far and the foundation of Jordan was growing. As the Delegate continued to insist on his demands and opinions, the prefect of Propaganda simply filed his letters. **See, 3.11. Assam.**¹⁵

It is a pity the Prefect of the Congregation for Religious did not trust Jordan in the same way Cardinal Ledóchowski did, but was only concerned with keeping him under canonical control. We can see a remark in Jordan's Spiritual Diary which touches the heart due to the impositions of the church when he sighs: "Oh Savior, have mercy on us, be a Savior to us! August 26, 1894" (SD 210).

of Sarajevo, Joseph Stadler, Jordan wanted to send at least five sisters, while he could not help him with a few priests as he would have liked. The sisters were to have taken over an orphanage in Bosnia (February 2, 1895, E-644). According to Jordan, too many sisters were living together in Rome and Tivoli, and he urged a speedy conclusion of their formation to begin serving youth and the sick. In September 1894, there were in Rome and Tivoli (they often transferred) 5 sisters with final and 32 with temporary vows, and 24 novices. In the mission 11 sisters with final vows were active. Thus the Sisters Congregation counted already 72 sisters and novices (September 28, E-626).

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.11. Assam.

Jordan wanted to live up to his duty as spiritual father of so many sons and daughters, especially with regard to religious observance, so overrated by the more monastic-minded Visitor:

Strive that the holy rule is faithfully observed everywhere. (SD I/210).

But his life's rule remains as he notes on October 20, 1894:

Apostolic light is: the wholehearted effort towards humility, patience and good works for the conversion of souls. (SD 211).

This spirit he had to preserve everywhere. "Become an apostle to the poor there," he wrote to Fr. Felix Bucher, alone in the Far West of the USA, helping Indians in the Siletz Reservation spiritually and socially (September 13, 1894). In his diary Jordan also encouraged himself:

Believe, hope, trust, love and advance!

Determination!

Do not lose heart, the Lord will help you to the completion. Place everything in His hands, trust firmly in Him, and hope and await all from Him. (SD 211).

On December 20, 1894, Jordan began a second volume of his Spiritual Diary; the first was filled to the last page. On the very first page of the new diary he wanted to reconfirm his vocation. And he did so in prophetic form, moving, stirring and animating:

As long as there is one person on earth who does not know God and does not love Him above all things, you dare not allow yourself a moment's rest. As long as God is not everywhere glorified, you dare not allow yourself a moment's rest. As long as the Queen of Heaven and Earth is not everywhere praised, you dare not allow yourself a moment's rest.

No sacrifice, no cross, no desolation, no trial, no temptation, oh! absolutely nothing should be too difficult for you with the help of God's grace. I can do all things in Him who strengthens me. Let no betrayal, no infidelity, no coldness, no abuse lessen your zeal!

But everything through Him, with Him and for Him. All peoples, races, nations and tongues, glorify the Lord our God! Woe to me, oh Lord, if I do not make You known to men!

Oh Lord, help me, show me the way! Without You I can do nothing. I hope all things from you! In You, oh Lord, I have hoped, I will not be confounded forever.

Pray at all times in the deepest humility and with the greatest confidence. Let nothing keep you from it (SD II/1-2).

Somehow this page came to the eyes of others, it was copied secretly and disseminated as a genuine spiritual legacy of the Founder. So it became Salvatorian tradition and decisively shaped the spirit of the young Society. The next day Jordan added:

Do not lose heart, even if you are greatly humbled. Have confidence in the Lord and strive for holiness (SD II/3).

This resolution was not a pious empty hull. Jordan was challenged heavily by all that the Lord in those days loaded on his shoulders. But the Servant of God also felt strengthened and pulled toward the Lord:

Attach yourself closely to the Infinite One and oblige Him to help you. Look for everything from Him who can and will give it! (SD II/3)

Shortly before Christmas, he remembered his pact and renewed it (SD 202). At the same time he resolved to live up to it better. He wants to remove all hindrances which could separate him from God, and to throw himself again into the arms of Divine Providence:

1) Remove every obstacle from yourself and in yourself, even the most insignificant imperfections. 2) Equip yourself with all means, also especially with the sharing in God's omnipotence through an immense confidence in God (SD II/7, December 22, 1894).¹⁶

¹⁶ Lüthen's view of the visitation was reflected in his retreat resolutions at the end of the year: "No fear of man . . . in the house. And offices—exactly and which ones? Under such circumstances nothing but prayer" (G-21).

As novice master, Lüthen was not the ascetically hard, but a disciplined pedantic personality, as he appears in Fr. Antonio's report. In his notebook of that time he asked himself: "How obliged: 1) the Rule; 2) the orders of the superior or the novice master? 3) can he order under sin? 4) must the prefect of the novices report everything?" This proves that he knew about the questions of those entrusted to him. He stressed the freedom to write to major superiors, he

In his New Year's letter Jordan encouraged his beloved sons to live up to obedience and faithfulness to the rule, simply for the love of the Lord "in whose Society we glory to be." See, 3.12. New Year's letter 1895.¹⁷

January 16, 1895, the language festival took place along with the farewell party for 2 missionaries being sent to Assam. Thus the feast was under the motto: "Teach all people!" Both priests received, as the earlier missionaries had after passing their exams, the title and authority of "Apostolic Missionary," in addition to the pope's special blessing (MI 3, 1895).

The Mission in Assam could boast considerable progress: 70 baptisms the past year, 46 candidates for confirmation (870 Catholics), 10 schools (270 boys), 2 orphanages. The main difficulties were found in the resistance of the Methodists and in the empty cash boxes. In spite of this, support for the mission in 1894 amounted to 30,000 rupies (An SDS 2, 1895). The two new priests were eagerly awaited by the 7 priests, 3 brothers and 6 sisters already working in the mission. Jordan again urged the cooperators and mission helpers to make: "a very practical investment" and reminded them: "Every Christian nation owes its conversion to missionaries from outside" (AK 1896).¹⁸

The priests in Tivoli caused Jordan some distress in early January 1895. The community which in April 1894 had numbered 6 priests and over 50

was strict in "accepting" and monitored himself always for "indulgence" (G-22).

¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.12. New Year's letter 1895.

¹⁸ Already on December 31, 1894, the sisters' community counted 18 sisters with final vows, 53 with temporary vows, and 21 novices. 17 sisters had died in the past 6 years. "As superior general of the whole Second Order has been appointed Sr. Mary of the Apostles von Wüllenweber" (An SDS 1, 1895). The article stressed "of the whole order" because on one hand the motherhouse was still in Tivoli, on the other hand sisters were already active in the missions (Assam and Ecuador); furthermore, at this time the superior general was not elected, but appointed by the Founder.

students (altogether 64) was by year's end rather depopulated. The new foundations in Freiburg and Noto depleted Tivoli. By 1895, there were only 4 priests and 10 students, with the brothers, altogether 21 persons. This development worried the priests at Tivoli. On the vigil of Epiphany 1895, they wrote Jordan an open letter demanding "a very clear, decisive, unequivocal, definite declaration" about the future of the community which did not yet have its own house, no income, and now no students any more, though formerly it had been cherished as the apple of his eye. They wanted an answer now whether it was his intention to dissolve the candidature in the community of St. Mary in Tivoli. Along with the superior, Fr. Phillipus Schütz, two other confreres signed, whereas the fourth refused, Matthuäs Baukhuge, the one who in 1892 Jordan had immediately to recall from Assam. **See, 3.13. The superior in Tivoli.**¹⁹

Jordan had no intention of closing the house in Tivoli, especially as it was the vacation house for Rome and a place for recuperation. The personal blood letting that sprung from having 3 scholasticates in the Society at the same time was a temporary necessity. Later Tivoli would be reoccupied, so that by the end of 1896, it boasted over 60 members.

Jordan laid great stress on a fitting arrangement of the liturgy. He knew about its importance for the spiritual formation of the young community. As their numbers in the motherhouse was steadily growing, he had great worries that the room at his disposal in the Palazzo would no longer suffice. Already in 1892, he negotiated with the Piarists to use their church, San Lorenzo in Piscibus, for his community. This church was next to the house he had rented besides the palazzo, and therefore was well within the living area of his community. If the Piarists had agreed all difficulties would have dissolved. The liturgical celebrations could have been performed in the most worthy manner, not being cramped for space. But the priests of the Pious Schools of S. Calasanz said no; they

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.13. The superior in Tivoli.

had a small novitiate near the church to which they were also tied historically. **See, 3.14. San Lorenzo.**²⁰

Jordan was a man of prayer. His two closest co-workers followed his lead unquestioningly and thus gave encouraging example to the young. It was a constant concern to Jordan that in all his foundations the spirit of prayer be tended and cultivated. For him contemplation and action were not counter poles but two sides of the same coin. Yes, prayer was for him the marrow of the apostolate. Therefore, he warned against shortening apostolic prayer in favor of apostolic work. In the study houses now and then, voices arose asking to lessen the time of obligatory prayer in order to gain more time for academic work. Jordan remained deaf to such desires. Rather too much than too little prayer was his principle. That corresponded to his personal experience. **See, 3.15. Common prayer.**²¹

Jordan's ecclesiastical friend in Tivoli, Bishop del Frate, became Archbishop of Camerino (May 21, 1895). His leave taking from the two Salvatorian communities in Tivoli was heartfelt. His successor, Bishop Monti was no less favorably disposed toward Jordan. [Note: Pietro Monti of Genzano (13 September 1835) named to the Diocese of Tivoli on 29 November 1895. On December 23, 1902, made apostolic delegate to Chile, titular bishop of Antioch, Pisidia.]

During February several prelates visited Jordan, all of whom expected help from him, e.g., the bishop of Terracina and Piazza. On February 14, 1895, Cardinal Vaughan²² of London and Cardinal Schönborg of Prague,

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.14. San Lorenzo.

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.15. Common prayer.

²² Herbert Vaughan (Gloucester, April 15, 1832-1903, June 19, Mill Hill) was the eldest of a colonel's 13 children, of whom 6 became priests and 5 nuns. One was archbishop of Sidney, another was auxiliary bishop of Salford, and a third was a Jesuit. Herbert studied with the Jesuits in Stonyhurst (1841-47) and Brugelette (1850). From 1851 to 1854 he attended the Academia dei Nobili and

also Bishop Serner of Stuhlweissenburg. One week latter Archbishop Katzer²³ of Milwaukee asked urgently for sisters. The bishop of Brünn²⁴ had called on Jordan on February 20, 1895. March 15, State Councillor Pythion visited his friend Jordan, seeking sisters for Freiburg.

Negotiations with the bishop of Daccar about sisters were pending since his visit of November 1894. Thus far, sisters had always gone together with priests (Assam, Ecuador) or else their houses were very close to those of the male branch (Rome, Tivoli). Now Jordan wanted to risk a sisters community on its own. Previously Jordan could risk sending out two or three priests to scout the territory and to prepare a favorable location before finally setting up a community. But now he would have to demand more security from the relevant bishop for an independent

was ordained in 1854. Until 1862, he was active as Vice-Rector at St. Edmond's College. From 1863-65, he collected funds in the USA, and in 1866, he founded the Joseph Society of Mill Hill. In 1872, he became the Bishop of Salford, and in 1892, the successor of Cardinal Manning, who had befriended him since his Roman days. In 1893, Leo XIII created him a cardinal.

Vaughan was very charitable and enthusiastic for the missions and a good organizer (construction of the Catholic Westminster Cathedral). Socially he was dry and sincerely humble. In his fidelity to the pope he dedicated himself to the preparatory work for the Bull *Apostolicae curae*, which declared the invalidity of Anglican orders.

²³ Friedrich Xaver Katzer, a native of Austria, was Archbishop of Milwaukee from 1891 till 1903. The diocese erected in 1843 became an Arch-diocese in 1875, and had strong groups of German- speaking settlers in its boundaries (at that time there were still German schools, newspapers, etc.).

²⁴ Franz Sales Bauer (Brachowitz, January 26, 1841-1915, 26 November, Olmütz) after his ordination (1863) and special studies he worked as a professor of New Testament in Olmütz (since 1868) and then in the Prague seminary, and on July 3, 1882, became bishop of Brünn. On May 13, 1904, he took over the arch-diocese of Olmütz as successor of Prince Archbishop Theodor Kohn. Bauer was an outspoken anti-Modernist, and in the conflict between the Austrian imperial house and Serbia he tried in vain to preserve peace.

sisters foundation. His principles in this regard were no less clear than for male foundations. In a letter to the bishop of Daccar he stated: For a settlement of sisters at least 5 sisters are required to assure a regular religious life. The sisters were to apply themselves primarily to the education of girls, as an exception also of small boys. As far as it would be tolerable for the state of a religious sister, they could also take over the administration of homes for the elderly, as here in Rome they were in charge of the Asylum San Giuseppe with about 100 old men. Jordan would ask for a corresponding outline of a contract from the bishop (April 19, 1895, ASDS).

Against the warning in the "Corrado Report" the Propaganda wanted Jordan to prepare some priests for mission work in South Africa. Jordan agreed in principle (May 11, An SDS 2, 95).

Care for the development and consolidation of the existing communities always worried the Founder. In Lochau the building went on; it caused financial difficulties which, without Divine Providence, simply could not be met. Jordan however, again and again received, mostly in the last moment, the absolutely necessary support in the most unexpected ways.

Since Jordan felt "separated" from Divine Providence by the ecclesiastical visitation, he turned now more and more to the Mother of God. He placed his requests simply into her motherly hands. On his desk he had a small statue of the Immaculate Virgin of Lourdes—one of those painted plaster statues to be found in any Catholic home. This statue was for him the mailbox to the Mother of God. He put his petitions on little slips of paper between the folded hands of the statue, and if there were too many he tucked them underneath.

These slips, mostly undated, reveal Jordan's everyday cares: "Mother, pay the debts soon! Mother see the need of money! Finances! Providence!" Of course he also confided his more intimate worries, sometimes encoded, to his heavenly Mother: for houses where members did not agree; for confreres in danger; for one wavering who wanted to leave; for protection against reproaches threatening the Society and its reputation.

Now and then a confrere or a sister was mentioned by name. He also put his personal crosses between the fingers of his heavenly Mother; "Mother I am suffering—liberate me! Oh Mother, that case which oppresses me! Oh Mother, you know everything!" Again and again he recommended his apostolic calling to the Mother of God: "Awaken new apostles! The whole world! New troops!" Jordan was convinced that nothing would go without the Mother: "Oh Mother of God and mine, into your hands I put everything." Such persistence did not remain unanswered. Mary could not and would not disappoint the childlike trust of her faithful servant.

Jordan told the Apostolic Visitor with honest confidence that as the reduction of debts went on, he hoped to have retired the greatest part of the debts of the motherhouse within a few years, since he could figure on about 100 new priests during the next 3 years. Fr. Antonio remained skeptical of such soothing words.²⁵

Fr. Antonio took the constitutions presented by Jordan for granted (i.e., as approved) and insisted that as far as possible all canonical rules should be observed. Fr. Meddi, who had contacted Jordan at the turn of year as ordered, told the Congregation that Jordan had completed his generalate and had appointed examiners. But since there were no provinces yet within the Society, the first examination required by the

²⁵ Reverendissimo Padre,

As Very Reverend Father knows, here in Rome and Tivoli we are in great financial straits, but we are not afraid. Obviously, for one year I will also have to fight hard but then the debts will be decreased greatly every year. Contributions increase each year and now just for Rome we receive about 50,000 Lira per year (not counting the alms received by the other houses of the Society). In addition to these we have other income, i.e., the periodicals, etc. On the other hand, expenses will be decreased every year. Within about three years 100 professed will be ordained priests, most of whom pay only a part of their pension. This will already be a decrease of 50 mil. Lira in annual expenses after 3 years.

For a long time now we don't ordinarily admit candidates who are not able to pay all or almost all up to the priesthood. Therefore, your Very Reverend Father can see that the debts will be extinguished within a few years, or at least reduced to a large extent. Thankfully, (*Minuta*, A-138)

decree could not be carried out. He proposed that the first examination of those who wanted to enter the Society be handled by the superior and 2 priests from the closest house. This proposal was accepted by the Congregation on March 5, and Fr. Meddi was told on March 8, that Jordan would follow this way until "it would be possible to follow the canonical constitutions legally." **See, 3.16. Meddi's recommendations.**²⁶

In Vienna a second foundation budded from the first. On April 7, 1895, Cardinal Gruscha entrusted to the Salvatorians the parish of the Sacred Heart in Vienna II Kaisermühlen which counted about 3,000 souls. In the public schools catechism was to be taught in German and Bohemian to about 1,000 children. The priests were able to take over at once a newly built church which the cardinal opened officially on April 28, 1895. The Emperor too, with some ministers, took part in the inaugural ceremony and greeted the priests afterwards.²⁷

As much as Jordan welcomed this development in Vienna, he was deeply wounded by the number who left the Society from Vienna during these years; some good priests could not take the change from Rome to Vienna, others had seen Rome only as a step to the diocesan clergy. The work in Vienna remained very hard. The priests in both communities helped each other, they were however so overloaded with their pastoral work that they never could fulfill the disciplinary demands of the visitor, who at that time unfortunately never got out of Rome. They catechized about 5,000 children in 2 languages, that is about 30 hours a week, in addition to staffing the 2 parishes and providing supply work in other districts of the Imperial City.

²⁶ See, A Closer Look; 3.16. Meddi's recommendations.

²⁷ A second house was opened April 7, 1895, from the first one of Jagdgaße 37, in Kaisermühlen (AK 1896). MI 10, 1895 published a detailed report about the inauguration of the church, particularly also about the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph I: "The prepared kneeler was not used by the Emperor; from the holy consecration up to communion he didn't get up from his knees."

Jordan was untiring in his efforts to keep connected with his spiritual sons outside, especially on other continents. His preserved letters testify to his deep sympathy with the joys and sorrows of each one, and of a truly fatherly sincerity. Especially dear to his heart was Fr. Felix Bucher who so bravely held out in the Indian Mission in an exposed site: "I am pleased with you over there in the Far West working for the honor of God and the salvation of souls; proceed with courage. Greetings also to the dear Indians" (December 25, 1894). When Bucher lacked time to write Jordan was really sorry. "A long time you have not written to me. How are you doing in the Far West? Cross and sufferings and worries of all kinds will not be lacking!" He encouraged him to pray and regretted that he could not yet fulfill "his sincerest wish to see you all there living in community" (March 20, 1895). On April 17, he asked his "beloved son" again to write him soon, for "your spiritual father loving you is worried."

Jordan was also praying about the 2 sisters communities: Tivoli and Rome. The sisters came with all their cares to their "dear Venerable Father and Founder," especially Mother Mary. Again and again sisters would ask for personal interviews, even novices and candidates. Luckily, Lüthen and Weigang were ready to help. Lüthen especially took it upon himself to smooth out quarrels and petty jealousies in both communities. Weigang was the indispensable experienced confessor, especially of the young sisters. On May 7, 1895, Jordan handed out to the sisters the Constitutions of the Second Order of the Society of the Divine Savior. They contained only unimportant changes, mostly canonical, or slight additions from the former ones.²⁸

On May 30, 1895, the first three sisters were sent out to Milwaukee. The archbishop there wanted to lodge them first with the Sisters of St. Joseph and have them work in home nursing until more sisters would arrive. In

²⁸ On May 7, our Venerable Father and Founder brought us the holy Rule for the Second Order printed in Vienna in 1895, and handed it personally to each one, giving us also a good admonition to strive for holiness, trust, and observance of the holy Rule (MMChr, E-1223).

Rome the sisters found temporary activity as catechists in S. Spirito and as matrons at the S. Giuseppe public dormitories for old men. A few were able to get training in nursing in the hospital S. Giovanni.

Bad news came from Assam. In spring cholera had broken out. All missionaries "brothers and sisters are sick with influenza, one priest with cholera, but not very badly" (MI 14, 1895, from July 28). No news came through from Ecuador as the revolution raged in Esmeralda since Easter. In June the priests and sisters left Ecuador and fled to Cartagena.

By June 29, the house in Vienna II could be considered established "for the present." The community numbered 2 priests and 1 brother. Hitherto the priests came from Vienna X to Kaisermühlen, an arrangement which had been awkward and tedious.

July 20, 1895, the purchase of the Palazzo Cesi (Morone) was concluded. **See, 3.17. Palazzo Morone.**²⁹ In Tivoli the Villa Lavaggi was bought, and by the time school started in fall the move from the rented house was accomplished. **See, 3.18 Villa Lavaggi.**³⁰

In summer 1895, Jordan was again in the ecclesiastical dock. A young member of the Society, on vacation in his hometown for health reasons, used this opportunity to complain personally to the papal nuncio in Munich about the Society of the Divine Savior. In his 5 years in the Society he had experienced and bottled up many disappointments. Now he felt urged to pour out his heart and denounce the "unworthy conditions" in the motherhouse before the highest authority. He asked the nuncio to be allowed not to give his name, so that he would not get into trouble after his return to Rome on account of his complaints, or rather his defamatory piece of writing. He signed only "an unworthy son from the Society of the Divine Savior." The accusations, very exaggerated,

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.17. Palazzo Morone.

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.18. Villa Lavaggi.

were taken quite serious by the nuncio and were forwarded to Rome. Fr. Antonio was charged to examine them. Although the claims he had to deal with were anonymous, he discharged his duty with his usual close accuracy. But all he could determine was that the complaints did not correspond to the facts, and that especially the attack on Jordan was unjust. **See, 3.19. Anonymous letter of complaint.**³¹

In the Apostolic Visitor second report (as in the earlier "Corrado Report") meticulous care was obviously taken never to exonerate the Society completely. There was always a remainder of "defects and faults" which, ordinary and human as they might be, allowed him to hold the reins of the visitation firmly in his hands. In prudent foresight and almost exaggerated objectivity, he never overlooked even the slightest shadow. Thus his judgment does not seem humanly balanced. Jordan never received absolute exoneration, while accusations were only considered embarrassing incidents and thus excusable. And since the informant remained unknown to Fr. Antonio, he could not inform Jordan of the deplorable happening. All he could do was to pass on the defamatory piece of writing along with his own report to Jordan's official advisor. Good Fr. Meddi put everything into a drawer of his desk, thus sparing the Founder unnecessary heartache. **See, 3.20. Meddi (II).**³²

In July 1895, the motherhouse of the sisters in Tivoli was again hit by a case of typhoid fever; the stricken novice died after a few weeks. Sister Superior turned at once to Jordan and asked for quick help. In September there were two more cases. Both however recovered thanks to good hospital care. In the meantime, Jordan intensified his efforts, supported by the bishop of Tivoli, to find healthier accommodations for the sisters. Here the mistrust of the population was a considerable obstacle. In Rome, too, Jordan with the help of Weigang was looking for a proper

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.19. Anonymous letter of complaint.

³² See, A Closer Look: 3.20. Meddi (II).

house, hoping he could still persuade the authorities, in view of the new trial which befell the sister in Tivoli.

Not before late fall did Jordan succeed in Tivoli. Without delay the newly rented house was put into shape. By the end of January 1896, the sisters left the old house, considered contaminated, and transfer the novitiate into the new home. This new plague had strengthened Mother Mary's opposition to Tivoli, without contributing to a better solution. Against the expressed will of the pope, Jordan pushed to transfer the sisters' motherhouse to Rome. He had to be glad a greater number of sisters was tolerated in Rome. **See, 3.21. Typhus in Tivoli.**³³

On September 9, 1895, Jordan began his visitation journey. He traveled to Vienna and Lochau where some misunderstandings and differences had to be cleared up. His last visit had been over a year before. Meanwhile, the Apostolic Visitation and the exit of members had disturbed many, and caused some to waver who had only been able to follow events from a distance. So a personal visit was in order. Jordan had first to implement the demands of the Apostolic Visitor as far as possible, especially as regards government and discipline. But it was more important for him that the communities became unified interiorly, all united in obedience, and that individuals could express their desires and worries. In Tivoli and Rome, the young members had lived carefree, devoting themselves completely to personal development and maturing under experienced priests as leaders and advisors. Now in the apostolate, they had to accept responsibilities in conjunction with and subordinated to their age mates. In this situation, simple orders such as those the Visitor was used to giving, did not go far. Here Jordan had to persuade individuals paternally to accept the apostolic burdens with patience and courage within the community, but not at the expense of the community.

As founder, Jordan insisted that every superior was to be accepted as the representative of God, that community prayer not be neglected, and that

³³ See, A Closer Look: 3.21. Typhus in Tivoli.

one's own will not be taken as the will of God. Jordan could be very clear: "Make your retreat quietly, dear son, and leave your studies until later. This is the will of God" (to a very busy missionary, June 1, 1895; A-85). To a community refusing to accept the superior as being too unsightly he said clearly:

The [superior's] small build could not under the circumstances dissuade us. . . I beg you, therefore, to do all you can that all conduct themselves toward the new superior (the apple of God's eye) as devout, humble models and obedient religious and subordinates (August 2, 1895).

From Vienna Jordan went to Meseritsch in northern Moravia in order to take over a boys' school urged on him by Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz, Dr. Kohn. Jordan opened it on September 17, 1895, with 2 priests and 2 brothers; all were Bohemians. The efforts to secure religious for the school went back to the summer of 1893. At first, other religious orders had been asked. Jesuits and Lazarists had refused because no Bohemian teachers were available. Jordan received a written offer already on July 21, 1893, but the transactions dragged out. Not before the fall of 1895, could Jordan open the institute. Busy with the change of administration, the new superior wrote: "Moravia shall in time become one of the most important plants of our Society" (July 6, 1895).³⁴

³⁴ In this period, Jordan's concern was directed towards the confreres in Meseritsch, whether they would succeed in making a foothold: "May the local college flourish after having been helped by much prayer and suffering. Do not lose courage" (to the local superior, October 9, 1895, A-91). In the meantime, the superior had already found an old Cistercian monastery in Zachau to buy cheaply. Jordan at once thought of the possibilities for candidates and a novitiate, as had happened quickly at Noto (with permission of the Holy See). However, he wanted to clear everything in negotiations beforehand (November 8, 1893, A-93). He ordered Fr. Athanasius Funke to find out the purchase conditions and to judge the state of the monastery before starting negotiations (letter, November 8, 1895, AGS). The Bohemian confreres had soon to abandon their plans, dedicating themselves completely to the task of the school in Wallach (cf., PPP, 257ff).

From 1893-1904, Theodor Kohn (Breznie, 1845) was Prince Archbishop of Olmütz, the center of Moravia, part of the Austrian *Vielvölkstaat* since 1526.

Jordan returned to Rome by way of Lochau³⁵ on September 24. There Jordan's namesday was again celebrated solemnly by the nearly 200 residents of the motherhouse. High points were the numerous professions of vows and the investiture of 32 novices. Afterwards Jordan visited the new community of Madonna della Scala in Noto which numbered already 30 members, among them 12 scholastics and 10 candidates. Jordan stayed there nearly 2 weeks. He also met the amiable bishop of Noto. The Apostolic Visitation was certainly mentioned. It hung like a storm cloud over Jordan and his plans.

Soon after the initial visitation, in his directives to the confreres Jordan emphasized religious obedience—just what the Visitor had stressed: "The individual houses must absolutely conform to the motherhouse, otherwise we would end up with various societies" (to the community in Freiburg, August 29, 1895).

It is my endeavor to establish also in America complete communities as seed beds for holiness and learning, where the missionaries are able to refresh themselves spiritually and physically. This will be quite possible, for the Society is growing very well. Already there are 58 priests and quite a number will be ordained this year. Therefore, courage, my dear son! Give Fr. Superior your trust and bear patiently with any weaknesses. I have found that the Evil One when he seriously wants to ensnare someone, tries to get him into conflict with his superior and to cause mistrust (to Fr. Felix Bucher, September 7, 1895).

But Jordan's special charism always came through: "Become a true apostle and bear willingly the crosses which Divine Providence will lay upon you, wherever they might come from." (To the new superior at Lochau, November 17, 1895, A-95)

Jordan considered the Apostolic Visitation a cross sent by the Lord, of which however he should rid himself as soon as possible for the benefit of the Society. He looked at it as a temporary measure, caused by mis-

³⁵ In Lochau, acquired "with the help of rich benefactors," the starting of the school is planned for 1895 (AK 1896).

understood claims and accusations which were taken too seriously. So he would do everything to make them superfluous. At that time he did not know who his accusers were. And he had no idea his visitor would do nothing to make himself superfluous. On the contrary, he saw to it as an official task to supervise the Founder to keep him from committing any "apostolic foolishness." Thus, there was soon an unequal fight between Jordan's Pauline heart, at home in the whole world which never thought of imposing ecclesiastical obedience; and Fr. Antonio, a canonical watchman, convinced that he personally had to secure the institute's future (its administration, external discipline and finances) because he thought the Founder himself incapable of it or at least too simpleminded.

Upon the request of Councillor Python, a friend of Jordan responsible for state education, Jordan took over a reformatory for boys from Catholic Switzerland in Drognens near Romont. Jordan always had a weakness for the education of neglected and disadvantaged youth. Python had already made a first advance through Fr. Ansgar Jagemann on November 30, 1894. "Fr. Ansgar was enthused, the Venerable Founder hesitated" (Chronicle Freiburg). On September 25, 1895, Jordan himself came to Freiburg for negotiations. He was met by the Councillor at the station and brought to the Hohenzelg Estate (Hautefin) near Tafers which he had already the previous summer arranged for the Freiburg community as a summer and recreation home. On September 27, accompanied by the Councillor, Jordan looked at several building sites in Freiburg. The next day Python went with the Founder to Drognens to visit the reformatory; first he saw Bishop Deruaz who was quite in favor of the Councillor's plans. On the same day Jordan returned to Rome for a discussion with his consultants and to request the necessary approval of Fr. Antonio. Everyone favored taking over the institute. In early October 1895, the intended superior of the Colony St. Nicolas could be sent. In November, 3 brothers and 3 sisters followed. With this, the reformatory was taken over provisionally. **See, 3.22. Drognens.**³⁶

³⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.22. Drognens.

Jordan's September 1895 visit to the Marian College of Freiburg located on Reichengaße was long expected, especially by the superior Fr. Ansgar Jagemann. The community had to overcome major initial difficulties. Entrusted with the Freiburg foundation right after ordination, Jagemann started enthusiastically. After the first inquiries (beginning June 9, 1894) he met the Founder on July 15 in Lochau and went with him on July 17 to Freiburg. The next day Bishop Deruaz gave permission for the foundation of *Collegium Marianum Friburgense*. Jagemann had dreams of buying a house immediately, but only rented quarters could be occupied on August 23. Jordan returned to Lochau on September 20, and Jagemann went home September 21, to win "benefactors and promoters." Jordan had intended him, a convert and strict lieutenant, to be superior. But ever since his First Mass, he already had different plans, and December 27, 1894, he left for home definitively, to the painful surprise of the Founder. Under the circumstances, on January 25, 1895, Jordan temporarily gave the office of superior to the vicar of the house. But he too had already set his course in secret. "On July 23, Reverend Father Superior [Jagemann] went to his home town with the kind permission of our Venerable Father" the unsuspecting chronicler reports.

The community however did not mourn this; "For some time already he did not show the same fatherly care for the community as in the beginning" (Chron). On August 5, 1895, Fr. Canisius Werner assumed the delicate task of presiding over the uncertain community. Compared with his predecessor he was "of no special size or strength," and only one year a priest. So his reception was "not just the most friendly." During his visit of September 25-28, Jordan had to use all his authority to withstand "this storm." He succeeded without any sternness in convincing all, "to obey the will of God willingly and in humility, and trustingly accept the new superior." In quietness and peace, in love and unity the community life began now, in the right relation between superior and subordinates who again felt they had a solicitous father." (Chron.). Jordan spoke to the scholastics with enthusiasm about his visitation trip through Austria and about the quick spread of his work. "He could hardly stop in his zeal for the salvation of mankind in various apostolic activities" (Chron.).

November 14, 5 more sisters left Rome for Milwaukee where they had asked for as many sisters as possible; they went first on vacation.³⁷ In October 1895, the archbishop of Sarajevo and the bishop of Dacca wrote again about sisters (G-2.2). Earlier, Jordan had already promised sisters to Archbishop Stadler; now he inquired how their upkeep would be guaranteed. For Dacca everything was now arranged so that Jordan could send about 6 sisters. They were first received in audience by Leo XIII: "They are the daughters of Fr. Jordan; they are destined for the missions; Pope Leo XIII beaming with delight: have courage, have much courage!" (MI 21, 1895). On December 30, 1895, Jordan sent 2 priests and 4 sisters to Assam, and the 6 sisters to Dacca, Bengal.³⁸

Mother Mary was in the meantime quite obsessed with the desire to have the motherhouse at last moved to Rome, and tried indirectly to get closer to her most pressing goal. Msgr. de Waal (who liked to get mixed up only too much with the affairs of all "German sisters" in Rome) advised her to start a national foundation for the training of German missionary sisters. That would be the easiest way to obtain the consent of church authorities for a real establishment. Mother Mary put great hope in this proposal and submitted it to Lüthen (November 26, 1895, E-646). But Jordan was appalled at such a solution and informed Mother Mary right away: "This plan is totally improper, for we are an international order, not a national one. I shall go to the Cardinal Vicar myself and regulate the case with the help God. All of you pray hard!" (December 1, 1895).
See, 3.23. The Sisters' motherhouse.³⁹

³⁷ In November 1895, the sisters in Milwaukee moved into a rented house (MMChr). They wanted to give their foundation from the start a proper name and proposed: St. Savior's Convent, St. Mary's Convent, Sacred Heart Convent, St. Joseph's Convent (September 1895, E-653). Imitating the "Marian Colleges" of the First Order, Jordan chose the name "St. Mary's Convent."

³⁸ Five sisters were on home holidays since mid November. On January 3, 1896, the other five sisters left Rome.

³⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.23. The Sisters' motherhouse.

For the 15th anniversary of the Society, Jordan directed a solemn and joyful circular letter to his spiritual sons. He expressed his joy that all are so honestly concerned "to follow the Savior of the World and engage themselves in battle under the banner of the highest leader for the honor of the Most High and the salvation of souls." He hoped and prayed for steady progress and steadfastness unto a blessed end for all. Then he spoke about obedience which he esteemed as necessary above all for the good spirit in the Society. He referred to the example of the "obedient Lord, our Highest King" and valued obedience as a necessary weapon against the disobedience of the rebellious angel, Lucifer. Then he demanded in all houses and of each member "unity and equality in everything, especially in discipline, the rules, the Constitutions, the customs, and especially in clothing, etc." Perfect observance would be a prerequisite for blessed activity. Finally he urged the practice of prayers as the inner power against external enemies (A-98).⁴⁰

By the end of 1895, Jordan could look at the globe near his desk with gratitude toward the Savior of the World. His eyes wandered over Europe, Asia, South and North America. His Society worked in 3 missions, 2 cities and 2 homes for youth. Above all, now 5 Marian Colleges for future apostles were blooming with promise. The Society numbered already 65 priests, 88 clerics, 33 brothers, 78 novices, 66 oblates, and 48 candidates.^{41a} But the burden of debts, too, had grown and worried Jordan, not that Divine Providence did not have enough money, but that he could not appeal to it with sufficiently dogged confi-

⁴⁰ In this circular letter Jordan not only expressed his fundamental Salvatorian view, but he also intended to eliminate any uncertainty about when and where he himself had occasionally made exceptions in regard to discipline and clothing. In the future, no one should be able to refer him to the Apostolic Visitor. Jordan gave the order to make the circular letter known to all the members (December 15, 1895, A-99).

^{41 a} The First Order has "already reached its fourth hundred." Priests are more than 70. In the school year 1894/95, there were 64 academic degrees. So far 23 doctorates in philosophy, theology and canon law.

dence: "My trust in God and in the Providence of God relating to me are like the two pans of a scale: the more weight one puts on one, the higher rises the other one" (SD II/9, August 10, 1895).

With regard to the guidance of his spiritual sons, Jordan did not at all feel so uncertain as some would suggest. Indeed, he was more paternally strict, than grand-fatherly compliant. He was a father in the best sense, patient and forgiving. He made it clear to a superior who wanted to get rid of a difficult confrere absolutely and quickly: "Everything has its time. Tell him the will of God is there, even if he doesn't see it; one cannot always explain everything. . . . Bear this burden patiently" (December 27, 1895, A-101). He was not in favor of dismissing "misshapen" sons straight away. He knew himself quite in accord with the wise Fr. Meddi.

I am very sorry, but I can't send him now to another community. I know well enough how I have to distribute crosses. [For it is against the spirit of holy church] . . . to remove everything out of the Society which does not fit in. . . . God leaves some in it for our testing, or that they be improved. To bear such people with patience is a good means of becoming a saint; more or less those who make crosses shall never be missing from the Society until the end of times (January 2, 1896, A-103).

Jordan followed the Apostolic Visitor's definite directives. But he saw himself primarily as a founder, and felt dependant on the visitor only in his role as superior general. Fr. Antonio held the opposite view: he wanted Jordan's foundation as soon as possible to be bound structurally and constitutionally, corresponding fully to the canonical decrees for a fully developed religious order. Consequently there were many clashes, and Jordan often had to give in to the more powerful Visitor.

Fr. Antonio felt Jordan did not care enough about perfecting the Society's needed constitution, and that he made decisions too much as a founder. So he considered it his primary task to educate Jordan (in his view too self-willed) to be a tough and obedient superior general. Fr. Antonio saw in Jordan a founder with too little talent for ecclesiastical administration. Even though his visitation revealed the Corrado Report's claims to be baseless—except for the matter of over reliance on Divine

Providence—yet the complaints of some dissatisfied "seniors" alerted him to proceed carefully. To Fr. Antonio, a single visitation was no final cure, since he was not able to clear up all that had gone wrong during the past twelve years through the fault of the Founder. Fr. Antonio came to love his job as canonical disciplinarian of a humble founder.

Jordan was in no way inclined to distrust anyone. He hoped that Fr. Antonio himself would as soon as possible return his mandate to the Congregation, mission accomplished. Therefore, Jordan followed the directives and wishes of the visitor as far as possible. In an attempt to improve personal relations, Jordan invited him to the language festival on January 9, 1896. The guest of honor was the Apostolic Delegate to Colombia, who in December 1895 had tried to induce Jordan to take over a seminary in South America (December 4, 1895, A-97). Perhaps Jordan hoped the festival, showcasing 18 languages and corresponding songs, would whet the Visitor's appetite for the universal plans of his foundations. Until now Fr. Antonio had seen the spread of this young Society as a hindrance to canonical discipline and consolidation.

Jordan had no sense of limits. For him narrow-mindedness was impossible for an apostolic person. He admonished Fr. Felix Bucher, who was very dear to his heart and who worked with Native Americans without the help of the community, "to stand by his post."

May God grant that the Society may soon do good everywhere and be able to spread well-being and blessing; everyone a saint at this place, and soon we shall be secured everywhere. Oh let us pray, suffer and work for the holy cause until death, and let us expect all from God (January 6, 1896).

That the Assam Mission (from which 3 members had fled, but which had also been made fertile through the unbloody devotedness "until death" of 3 saintly Salvatorians) was now flourishing was now for Jordan a cause of greatest joy. He never stopped praying for or caring for it. In 1895, the missionaries reported with pride: "14 schools with 306 pupils. The orphanage of the Sisters is being enlarged for 27 children" (MI 2, 1896).

Of course, the mission superior was always embarrassed by financial problems. On January 11, 1896, he asked Propaganda to allow him to go on a begging trip to Europe for several months. He wanted to collect for a school for Catholic youth. Leo XIII was untiring in encouraging the India missions to prepare an indigenous church in this way. Jordan was called in on this account to the Cardinal Prefect on February 6; and on March 2, the Administrator of the Prefecture in Assam was informed that the Congregation gladly permits Fr. Angelus to travel to Europe for some months (APF Prot 16864).

In Akyab, Bishop Pozzi of Dacca had prepared everything so that the sisters after their arrival were able to step right into their field of work: they took care of a school with 70 children in 7 classes and a kindergarten (MI 6, 1896).^{41b}

All that winter, Jordan was very concerned that the Meseritsch foundation endure and flourish. On January 17, 1896, he wrote an imploring letter to the Bohemian confreres. He insisted above all on complete conformity with Rome, on obedience, faithfulness to the rules, humility and trust in God. He pointed especially to the Salvatorian basic rule:

I beg and implore you, by the love the Divine Savior has for souls, let us offer up ourselves for God and for the salvation of souls, let us mortify ourselves and let our food be to do the will of Him who has sent us.

What we sow we shall reap. Let us offer up everything for our Savior, especially our own will; then our harvest shall be great (A-105).

By the end of the month, Jordan sent Weigang to visit the confreres in Vienna and Meseritsch, and also to examine an offer for a foundation in Silesia (January 26, 1896, A-106).

⁴¹ b In early 1896, three sisters took over an orphanage at the station of Shella and gave catechetical instruction (March 3, 1896, MMChr). The Bishop of Dacca personally fetched the sisters in Chittagong. They took over the boarding school and asylum in Akiab from French sisters who returned to the USA (March 3, 1896, MMChr).

That Jordan did everything possible to make the Apostolic Visitation superfluous was understandable. Yet it is significant that Fr. Antonio speaking of the will of God, referred to Apostolic decrees. "I am very concerned to have full unity and conformity to Rome in all houses and therefore, I shall leave nothing untried to fulfill the clear will of God in this matter" (to the superior of Lochau, February 19, 1896, A-109).

To the superior of Meseritsch, Jordan also gave directions showing how the shadow of the Visitor loomed over him. [Fr. Antonio had become Consultor to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious on March 17.]

Hold on to conformity and regular observance. For Vienna X, I have received strict directions in writing. Fr. G . . . knows how the authorities proceed energetically. Concerning the withdrawal of priests from the Society, there are now difficulties other than previously, and if they don't want to obey, it will result in greater harm to the ones concerned. If one leaves without permission, he is ipso facto suspended. So cling to regular observance—you have the authorities on your side.

All the same, Jordan did not want to threaten with Canon Law. Instead he appealed as a loving father: "You can gain much with love and firmness; hold the brethren together, console and strengthen them" (April 30, 1896, A-116).

In all honesty he related to the superior of Lochau the Visitor's threat to close a community rather than to give in on matters of discipline [the question of mantels in Vienna, D-709]:

I have received from the authorities a stern letter indicating that the damage resulting from closing one irregular community would be compensated for a thousandfold for the Society. In a few years these difficulties will be removed (May 4, 1896, A-118; cf., May 14, A-119).

He encouraged the superior of Meseritsch to inspect a piece a land close to the seminary where a house for priest-students could be erected. The State of Waissak was to provide for the upkeep of the priests, but it would also be open to all vocations from Bohemia and Moravia (April 4, 1896, A-113). Nevertheless, the veto of the visitor always hung over

him: "We just may not go into debt" (April 18, 1896, A-115; April 30, 1896, A-116). **See, 3.24. Meseritsch.**⁴²

On May 10, 1896, bishops Emmanuel Schöbel of Leimeritz [note: born 1824, Radawitz, Diocese of Königgratz, a member of the Military Order of the Crusaders of the Red Star, and since 1882, bishop of the Bohemian Diocese of Leitmeritz] and Franz M. Doppelbauer of Linz visited Jordan in the motherhouse. Over the next ten years the former accepted about 12 Salvatorians who had difficulties with their religious vocation but proved themselves excellent in pastoral work. The latter continued to give the Society's press kind hospitality.

In the second half of May the Apostolic Visitor intervened again. In a third report he judged Jordan very harshly. What had happened? By the end of 1895, the nuncio in Munich had handed in a new complaint to Rome. He thought it to be urgently necessary, "finally to bring to an end the deplorable situation of the Institute of the Divine Savior." The complaint itself was directed this time against Mother Mary. The complaints were from the parents of a young sister sent home against her will. The Niggls were very attached to their youngest daughter who had belonged to the Sisters of the Divine Savior for five years and felt very happy about her vocation. But the parents were appalled that they found their daughter whom they had let go to Rome in the best of health, now in a very poor condition. Therefore, they now complained sharply against what they had discovered to be the inhuman conditions prevailing in the two sisters communities in Rome and Tivoli.

Fr. Antonio received the complaint from his Roman authorities with the order to investigate this highly unpleasant affair. He made only the most necessary inquiries, estimated by him to be sufficient for making a fair judgment: that the sisters in Tivoli had to endure much, and that the sister superior in gross negligence had failed to provide the necessary care for their physical welfare.

⁴² See, A Closer Look: 3.24, Meseritsch.

Fr. Antonio contradicted the view of the SDS priests who Jordan had ordered to help the sisters. These again emphasized strongly that Jordan was not guilty of the charges. But Fr. Antonio was personally convinced that Jordan was not to be excused of a certain responsibility, since as the real superior of the sisters, he had placed too much confidence in Mother Mary. He most of all was to be called to account. **See, 3.25. Niggli.**⁴³

On his own, Fr. Antonio added an appendix criticizing Jordan as general superior. The Visitor complained that in buying and restoring the house in Tivoli and the motherhouse, the Society had gotten into so much debt it was simply irresponsible. He repeated his reproach that Jordan excessively favored young priests who were pious, quick to learn, and too compliant. He also pointed to the fact that in assigning offices, Jordan only considered members of one nationality. Above all, he complained that Jordan turned too little to his ecclesiastical advisor and that he saw the Apostolic Visitation itself as a hindrance to the development he hoped for. The Founder wished to have some years yet to operate in full freedom, thus to fulfill what he had considered the will of God.

The Visitor, however, thought it absolutely necessary to keep a tighter rein on Jordan, especially in regard to opening new houses, direction and administration, and the selection of superiors. **See, 3.26. Informationen.**⁴⁴ In the Congregation for Religious, Fr. Antonio easily found the hearing he desired, while Jordan never got a chance to speak, even less so the superior general of the sisters.

The Apostolic Visitor had to inform Jordan that his own proposals were the binding directions of the ecclesiastical authorities. As long as Jordan still had direction of the sisters, he should see to better treatment of them. With regard to the male branch, Jordan had to align himself in

⁴³ See, A Closer Look: 3.25, Niggli.

⁴⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.26. *Informationen*.

important matters with the Apostolic Visitor and his advisor, Meddi. In addition, he had to confer with his consultants.

Against the Visitor, accustomed as he was to command, Jordan could only remain silent. If he were ordered to reprimand Mother Mary, he did so as gently as possible. He would be the last one to damage the good reputation of the good woman. At least with his consultants Jordan was of one heart and soul. An exception was the superior of Tivoli, Phillipus Schütz, who called on Fr. Antonio whenever he was outvoted.

To reproach Jordan, who was thoroughly imbued and planning internationally, with preferring this or that nation is in itself implausible. Such an attitude would only have been entertained by a member whose personal desire for an office had not been satisfied.

The third report of the visitor and its results were for Jordan another hard test. But as difficult as it was, it forced him to take his stand toward the ecclesiastical authorities. So steadily he pursued his way, which he recognized as the will of God. Yes, Jordan, true to the church, became more flexible and learned to distinguish between ecclesiastical authority and holy church itself.

Already in March 1896, the archbishop of Milwaukee had invited Jordan to take over the Oswald Colony, a venture of his Badish countrymen, now more or less orphaned in America after the death of their founder, Fr. Ambrose Oswald. Jordan agreed at once, having keen ears for such a prompting by Divine Providence. Archbishop Katzer had received Salvatorian sisters a year before and was very satisfied with them. Now he invited Jordan himself to come and regulate this providential stroke of luck on the spot. On June 15, 1896, just before his journey to the USA, Jordan received the Cardinal Vicar in a friendly visit which the sorely

tried Founder valued highly just at this time. At that occasion Parocchi dedicated a statue of *Mater Salvatoris* (MI 9, 1896, A-121).⁴⁵

On July 6, 1896, the Founder set out for the USA with 2 priests and 2 brothers. They went by way of Lochau where the new building was almost finished, and Vienna where the strict directions of the Visitor were noticeably hindering the priests' pastoral work. On July 10, the 5 Salvatorians went from Frankfurt to Rotterdam, but the ship did not sail until July 22, landing in New York, August 1. Jordan and his entourage continued to Milwaukee in order to confer with the archbishop.

On August 4, the Founder arrived with his 4 confreres in St. Nazianz. WI where "Father Mutz, Blum and all the brothers and sisters" welcomed them heartily. After the archbishop came personally to St. Nazianz, everything was arranged contractually; and on the Feast of the Assumption, Jordan opened his new foundation in a festive way. St. Nazianz developed quickly into a flourishing Salvatorian plantation. From here

⁴⁵ On May 30, five more confreres were ordained priests, among them Fr. Pancratius, Pfeiffer, Jordan's true collaborator in practical administration, who later became his first successor in office. On the Feast of St. Peter and Paul, the excellently trained SDS choir sang at a festive celebration in honor of Cardinal Haller, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, at Campo Santo. Afterwards, Jordan led him for a visit to the sisters in Via Lungara (MI 14, 1896; MMChr, Chr.CS).

Haller was among the 9 cardinals nominated on June 25, 1896. On June 19, 1896, word arrived that the sisters' permission to hear Holy Mass in their house would not be extended. The cardinal had to step in:

These sisters are approved ecclesiastically in Tivoli and by the Propaganda, and he immediately gave Weigang oral permission for everything. Also, it was said, His Eminence wanted to provide here for the house and church (July 4, 1896).

July 6, the *Breve* arrived via Cardinal Ruggeri. We at once sang the Magnificat in all humility (the Holy Father himself has given it to us. MMChr).

Before departing for the USA, still on his way in Austria, Jordan informed everyone that Lüthen as Vicar General was his representative (July 8, 1896, A-122). On the day of his departure, Jordan also took leave in Via Lungara and admonished them to obedience, love and to carrying the cross (MMChr).

the male branch was to spread throughout North America without much hindrance. The Mission in Oregon bogged down as it were in its arduous apostolate, but even in this apostolic "Way of the Cross" it did constitute a blessing for St. Nazianz. **See, 3.27. St. Nazianz.**⁴⁶

In Milwaukee, Jordan also checked on the eight Salvatorian sisters who had already acclimated themselves. He asked the archbishop to represent him to the sisters and to take care of them. This he gladly promised. **See, 3.28. Sisters' developments.**⁴⁷

Jordan returned by way of Chicago (August 19) and was again in Rome on September 4, 1896. "The whole journey covered 10,000 English miles, about 2/3 of the globe" (MI 18, 1896). The Cardinal Vicar's vicar general and Patriarch of Antiochia, Msgr. Cassetta, came in the evening and held a solemn Te Deum in thanksgiving for Jordan's safe return and for the new undertaking in the USA, blessed by God (A-125). [Note: Francesco Cassetta shortly afterward succeeded Giulio Lenti, titular Patriarch of Constantinople who in his capacity as vice-regent had ordained many SDS scholastics. Msgr Pietro Checci, at that time secretary of the Cardinal Vicar, often found a way to open doors.]

Lüthen, dealing now with many administrative affairs, often had to negotiate with Fr. Antonio. For him this new task was, probably not very agreeable. Soon after his appointment, appeals mounted for priests who had "lost their religious vocation" to exit. If up to the summer of 1895, Jordan had to lament 5 such exits (1 Italian, 1 Bohemian in Vienna, 2 missionaries in Assam, 1 in Ecuador), so Fr. Antonio, in the first 2 years of the visitation, had to examine 10 priest who wanted to leave. And in the next years many others followed. In the beginning, the Congregation first asked Jordan about their grounds for leaving and had Fr. Antonio

⁴⁶ See, A Closer Look; 3.27. St. Nazianz.

⁴⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.28. Sisters' developments.

check the details. But soon it sent all requests directly to Fr. Antonio who then had to refer to Jordan (and Lüthen and Weigang).

First there was a group of 3 priests in Vienna X who opposed the discipline as being too strict. Jordan, who traveled to Vienna (and Lochau) at least once a year to discuss disciplinary problems with confreres and to solve them peacefully, had approved a habit similar to that of diocesan priests, after he had lost the first 2 priests in Vienna under the same pretext. He gave similar permissions to the unruly superior of Lochau to wear hats like the monks of Mehrerau, and for the priests in Vienna to wear low shoes. Fr. Antonio had immediately disapproved of Jordan's giving in and rebuked Jordan who begged for toleration. The visitor demanded uniformity in the religious habit (the same form and material throughout the Society) and in every other respect; climatic difficulties should be met by the right underclothing.

As Jordan hesitated, Fr. Antonio asked for the backing of the Congregation. He said very plainly that Jordan's leniency toward these priests should be condemned and disapproved. Only in countries where the wearing of religious garb was forbidden by the state, would exceptions be allowed. Fr. Antonio told Jordan that he assumed that the priests in Vienna would bend to the order of the superior general, though somewhat haltingly, since they had a good religious spirit. If they, however, were rebellious, then Jordan would have to give up the community in Vienna X. That would not be a great evil. For the good following such clear action in the Society would outweigh the loss of the house a thousandfold, for the trouble would be removed for the others (letter April 28, 1896, D-709). Jordan had to follow the visitor's clear orders. The priests in Vienna felt misunderstood and did not want to remain in such a narrow-minded Society. **See, 3.29. Dispensation from vows.**⁴⁸

Empty cash boxes were a heavy burden. "Lack of cash certainly is our present trouble," [note; "*certo-malum geldnoth und Hzl. Gruss. P.B.*] Lüthen

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.29. Dispensation from vows.

wrote to the responsible person in Vienna X who had taken charge of the house after the incardination of its superior and some other confreres in the Archdiocese of Vienna. Lüthen was tied to him in fatherly friendship. In this precarious situation the Vicar General [note: appointed superior there on October 18] wrote to the new house superior: "What do you all do anyhow? You certainly did not dream that you had to have patience so long! You see, what a man can accomplish!" But then he underscored in his serious mildness Jordan's basic concept that was being observed only half-heartedly in the 2 houses in Vienna:

Too much apostolate, too little religious spirit: see, that is the error of the good confreres. One may now forgive everything in good faith; considering everything, they believed that if you want to accomplish much you must accommodate yourself to the world, while the Founder does not want the spirit of the world, but religious men in the full sense of the word with an apostolate which does not hinder the sense and form of the religious state of life (June 16, 1896, BL-25).

At that time there were again difficulties with the sisters. Jordan wrote from Vienna, asking Lüthen to restore peace. Lüthen called on Weigang, but avoided referring to Fr. Antonio. He remembered too well the harsh reprimand Jordan got from the visitator who had blamed him for the difficulties with the sisters, and had ordered him to provide better treatment for them as long as they were under his direction (D-708). Lüthen himself wrote down his directives for Mother Mary and her co-sisters.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Before traveling to the USA, Jordan had charged Lüthen to act in his place. In writing he prohibited Mother Mary to speak against Tivoli or its local superior. To Tivoli itself he sent Weigang who was accepted by all the sisters; he admonished them in a serious sermon to become clear: "1) how God views gossiping about Tivoli; 2) what it means to take matters of the Society to the higher authority." Lüthen reported to Jordan about events in Vienna. During Jordan's absence he didn't want to talk with Fr. Antonio about the difficulties surrounding Tivoli. However, he was ready to inform him at once if Jordan wished. For now Lüthen sent the nervous sister superior of Tivoli home to recover (letter of Lüthen, July 13, 1896, BL-30). Mother Mary traveled with her till Modena and then went on by herself for a fortnight holiday to Switzerland.

In August the troublemakers must have been at it again, for on September 5, there was another ecclesiastical investigation of Tivoli. The local bishop was informed about the results and was advised to take the needed steps. He did not act without consulting Jordan. He was, like his predecessor, very fond of Jordan and cultivated good relations with both houses in Tivoli and with Jordan himself whom he visited also in Rome when there on business. **See, 3.30. Tivoli visitation.**⁵⁰

Lüthen was a little angered by the attitude of the visitor who called the confreres wanting to leave simply tepid religious. "We talked also with Fr. Antonio: 'Away with these tepid!' was his word. This refrain "tepid" was heard also by Fr. Beda [Hoffmann] at the *Uditore* (Ep. & Reg.)" (August 7, 1896, BL-50).

Jordan and both his helpers were unhappy about what they saw as the overly timid "wisdom" of the visitor in economic matters. In the column "SDS Chronicle" they complained to their cooperators:

. . . so many impoverished students have to be refused who would respond in every way to the demands of our work; but they are mostly poor or not well-to-do, and therefore wish admission free of charge. Up to now the convent porch was always open for these young people, but forced by circumstances—alms remained about constant but the membership grew—we have, with our hearts bleeding, to deny entry to so many a good youth on account of his poverty. And yet we are badly in need of these young men, enthusiastic for God, who would, if trained to be religious priests, go into world to work for the salvation of souls. "The harvest is great, but workers are few" (AK 1898).

The Apostolic Visitor's style of advising was more strict (like a school master) than helpful. Jordan as founder was practically dismissed, being recognized only as superior general. He was not able to propose those he thought capable of educating his Society's youth, or which confrere to represent him at the Congregation. Here the visitor insisted on his own

⁵⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.30. Tivoli visitation.

competence. So Jordan had to learn to reach his goals by moving along canonical tracks.

The Apostolic Visitor was a real obstacle where new foundations were concerned. For him, only medium range plans were possible, above all for economic security. Providing for priests (sustentation, patrimony) was always the starting point. For Jordan all this was secondary because it was unevangelical. His foundations were not just planned, they were sought from heaven. His plan was farsighted. He figured on a generation of work to be done to build up a promising plantation for apostolic vocations. All in all, he kept the long view and a courageous heart, for he knew he was under the motherly care of Divine Providence. Lüthen felt the consequences of the Apostolic Visitation like a "sword of Damocles" hanging over the Society and its founder (January 1, 1896, BL-67).

In mid September the opinionated Apostolic Visitor thought it advisable to present his principle demands to Jordan in writing. Through his special ecclesiastical mandate, Fr. Antonio had for two years now been busy for the benefit of the Society of the Divine Savior. In three reports he had critically appraised Jordan's foundation. Now he summed up in seven directives what he thought was essential for its successful growth. Except for reducing the indebtedness of the Society, all his directives had, however, already been carried out as far as had been possible. Fr. Antonio could not deny his satisfaction at having contributed decisively to the "strength and well-being" of the Salvatorians. But for that very reason he considered his further assistance as visitor indispensable, to assure Jordan's foundations "the necessary perfection and firmness." **See, 3.31. Main points.**⁵¹

Jordan did not merely listen to the complaints of the Apostolic Visitor. He examined his own conscience often enough to avoid mistakes and to learn from them. On a paper from this time (undated) he noted some reasons which had, from his experience, hampered the development of

⁵¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.31. Main points.

the Society of the Divine Savior. He lists first the as yet unfinished rule which had often to be improved, then the unclear profile of the young institution, also the fact that only perpetual vows were taken, premature admissions and dismissals, as well as the admission of those who had been in other orders. All this had a negative effect. Another noticeable disadvantage was that the individual groups (candidates, novices, professed) for lack of space could not lead their own proper lives. The many sick and frail had to recover at home—not always beneficial place to strengthen vocations. Likewise, the influence of those who had left was not always good. Jordan mentions especially that the "various attitudes in Rome" and "machinations against the institute" were detrimental to its good development. He does not conceal the very great poverty which necessitated begging trips. In the end he refers to the inexperience of the "little prefects" which was stressed so much by Fr. Antonio. This examination of conscience is the eloquent rejoinder to the directives of Fr. Antonio. Jordan could in retrospect only regret such bottlenecks and hurdles. He could also gratefully admit that he had learned much of value from his young collaborators and from the growing pains of his foundations. But by the time the Apostolic Visitation had begun, those hurdles had been removed or at least pushed aside.⁵²

The Apostolic Visitation of Fr. Antonio was not mentioned in the publications of the Society of the Divine Savior, as was the very helpful one conducted by the humble and discrete Fr. Cirino—the "ecclesiastical guardian of the growth of the Society" (cf., DSS XIV 4.27). Within the Society it came to be seen completely as ecclesiastical supervision, and as such was exploited by those who felt themselves injured by it. But it could not be justified, especially not its duration through many years. The authorities made no effort to make its regulations understood. Fr. Antonio was always right, Jordan always had to give in. This may be excused since Apostolic Visitation in those days was the preferred tool of the authorities; they were a remedy, like commissions. But to this

⁵² Italian text of points 1-13 (G-2.7) can be found in DSS XV, 620-621.

Apostolic Visitation always clung the stigma that it was initiated on the basis of mostly slanderous, often anonymous accusations.

Fr. Antonio himself expanded his authority excessively from the beginning and deliberately turned his mandate into a standing order. This he had obediently confirmed by the Congregation which gave him full confidence—something seen in the fact that it approved him in 1896 as a Consultor to the Congregation itself.

Fr. Antonio saw it as his proper duty to preside canonically over one of the many new institutes, so that it would properly fit into the uniformity so necessary for ecclesiastical unity. But this Carmelite who had grown up in monastic peace was insensitive to the proper character of Jordan's foundation, with no feeling for the Founder's charism. This changed little in their years of working together. Here was the spiritual boundary between the Servant of God, Fr. Antonio, who knew himself to be a prudent and just visitor, and the Servant of God, Fr. Francis, whose apostolic fervor and Pauline exuberance pushed ahead. The Apostolic Visitation imposed on Jordan remained his cross and his Society's burden, even as the external relations evened out over the years.

Fr. Alois Medii, the Piarist, was 18 years older than the 42 year-old Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli. His relation to Jordan was more mature. He avoided hindering Jordan as Founder. At that time, however, Medii was already burdened by illness.

Fr. Antonio loved to stress his indispensability as Jordan's Apostolic Visitor by always pointing out the "failures and flaws" in both foundations. Where Archbishop Goethals had compared the young missionaries in Assam to sailors who had never yet seen the ocean, Fr. Antonio took his image from the rural scene. Jordan appeared to him as a poor farmer who after 12 years had not been able to learn how to cultivate properly the plot the Lord had entrusted to him. Fr. Antonio thought especially of that excessive (in his eyes) running into debts by the aggressive Founder. That was for him absolutely irresponsible in view of the young people who were enthusiastic for Jordan's cause. Jordan could have pointed to

St. Francis or St. Ignatius who also did not protect themselves economically before starting their work. He could have referred to his most important ideals, the holy Apostles, especially, (to keep to the rural metaphor) to St. James, who in his letter did not say that first the seed had to be paid for, but that the rain, the blessing of Divine Providence, in all patience had to be awaited. This is what the sower had to consider above all. For this very reason, Fr. Antonio could not compare Jordan with a bad farmer. For every good farmer knows that one cannot sow and harvest at the same time, and it could well be that he could pay for his seed only after a good harvest. The fast flourishing of houses of study, tactically so well chosen, fully justified Jordan: whoever dares apostolically, trusting in Divine Providence, wins.

It would be incorrect to evaluate the Apostolic Visitation as an affair just between Fr. Antonio and Jordan. It must be looked at in the complex of the canonical efforts of the times. In the 18th and 19th centuries, over 90 new foundations arose on supra-diocesan levels, in most cases caused by church policy. Not every foundation could present its fully developed charismatic authenticity. Even Don Bosco succeeded only after several starts, and not without papal backing. Ecclesiastical authorities hardly considered a founder's vocation. Their momentum was uniformly channeled, their apostolates were disciplined. So it remained for Jordan a constant fight to keep alive his charism of universality of aims and means despite canonical struggles. Before particular authorities he had to hide it in his statutes in order to save it. Especially after Vatican I and in the battle with Freemasonry and Modernism, the principle was not unity in diversity, but unity through disciplined uniformity.

Standardization up to and including the same daily timetable, the same spiritual exercises, the same Roman arrangement of studies, the same discipline according to the "Jesuit model" was established in a "holy rule" which rivaled the gospel (cf., Jordan's rule on poverty and apostolate and their canonical censure). Naturally it was understood that the rule was not the essential thing in religious life, the gospel was, just as it was clear that neo-Thomism did not express the full essence of Catholicism. But in practice one had to fear for the charisms of theologians or founders. So it

is amazing how the Holy Spirit could pierce this canonical armor and enable old and new religious communities to reach heroic apostolic goals and to unfold an evangelical style of life which even gave birth to saints. One needs only to review the lives of the saints of this century.

The consequence of the Apostolic Visitation were in the first years more than beneficial. Jordan was humble, open and ready to give any information. Fr. Antonio examined extremely accurately and included in his reports every statement that seemed important to him. He saw himself as an impartial judge. In consequence, he made clear proposals about what to improve and imposed necessary directives and orders by force. It was left to Jordan to carry out what was possible at the time. In doing so Jordan never felt sufficiently free to command. Rather it was his custom simply to request. Towards his confreres he was a bridge builder. But this very hesitation in giving orders was misinterpreted as incompetence to give guidance. Fr. Antonio was as sober in his orders as he was in his reports. Jordan was often worried by doubts about whether he was being too severe, or whether he would be proceeding against good faith and good conscience. Fr. Antonio on the contrary was afraid his neutrality would be eclipsed if he let any complaint drop off the table.

In addition, the opinions of Jordan or Lüthen had no more weight with the Visitor than those of any other members. Both were hampered because they knew more about the individuals, and more was entrusted to them than the visitor was entitled to know.

While Weigang enjoyed the great confidence of the Visitor and used it fully in favor of Jordan, the Founder remained fully responsible for any failings or mistakes. Although Jordan's opinion was asked, he was never allowed to defend himself. Fr. Antonio took it amiss when Jordan claimed to know where he was obliged in conscience to act as Founder. To Fr. Antonio, Jordan was only the "Most Reverend Superior General."

For Fr. Francis of the Cross really a "new era" had begun, as he noted in his diary, adding the fervent prayer:

Oh Jesus, oh my Savior, You know what I intend and what I want: I can do all things in You who strengthens me. Oh Savior of the world! Oh Savior of all. May 25, 1895 (SD II/9).

3. Under Scrutiny from Ecclesiastical Authorities. A Closer Look

3.1/1. Intreccialagli, Antonio (Montecompari, February 18, 1852-1924, September 19, Monreale). Augusto Intreccialagli entered the order of Discalced Carmelites, Rome Province, when barely 16. Ordained in 1875, he was active in the school for a short time. From 1885 to 1891, he was prior of S. Maria della Scala in Trastevere where he was much esteemed as a confessor. In 1891, 1897 and 1903, he was each time for three years provincial of the Roman Province with residence in S. Maria della Scala. March 17, 1896, he was named Consultor of the Congregation of Bishops and Religious and as such charged with numerous ad hoc visitations. In 1907, he was made Bishop of Caltanissetta by Pius X. In 1911, he became at the same time Apostolic Administrator of Monreale and assumed direction of this diocese for the 80+ year-old Bishop Lancia de Brolo. In 1914, he transferred fully to Monreale as Titular Archbishop of Sardica with the right of succession. From 1919 onward, he was archbishop of Monreale. He died 5 years later, exhausted by his apostolic engagement in his 73rd year of life.

Intreccialagli, just 4 years younger than Jordan, had just been replaced as provincial in spring of 1894. So when the Congregation asked his superior for an experienced priest he proposed Fr. Antonio and released him to serve as Apostolic Visitor for Jordan and his house in Borgo Vecchio. The fact that Fr. Antonio at the age of 33 was entrusted with the office of superior of the monastery in Trastevere and then three times appointed director of the Roman Province is not only a proof that he enjoyed the full confidence of his superiors, but also that he had the corresponding qualities of leadership. The attack on Rome by Italian nationalists, which broke up Vatican I, along with the subsequent expropriations of church property, deeply affected Rome's Carmelites, which had to be rebuilt totally both materially and with personnel. Fr. Antonio proved so capable in these tasks that Pius X did not hesitate to entrust the 55 year-old to direct and thus reorganize the diocese of Caltanissetta in Sicily, and four years later to administer the Archdiocese of Monreale as well. For about 10 years this pastor alternated residences for a fortnight each in one and then in the other diocese

Intreccialagli came from a deeply Catholic family. By character he was cool and sober. He grew fully into the religious spirituality of the Carmelites. He was praised for his sincere piety, his modest simplicity and his prudent judgment. He lived strictly according to the holy Rule and aspired to follow it to the letter. As superior he took pains to renew the strict Carmelite lifestyle which had deteriorated after the military upheavals. However, Fr. Antonio was not a fanatic reformer. Circumspection and measure distinguished him. In clerical circles his leadership talent and his competent judgment were much esteemed. He was a definite anti-Modernist. As bishop he promoted the spiritual renewal of his priests, but at the same time he took no less care of their economic difficulties. His whole heart belonged to the young religious and later to the young clerics. That's why his death was sincerely mourned by the people of his archdiocese. Through Divine Providence this excellent religious played a unique role in the life of Jordan and his foundation.*

3.2/3. The Apostolic Visitation. The apostolic visitation was entrusted to Intreccialagli, ex-provincial of the Discalced Carmelites. His decree of appointment of July 16, 1894, clearly described his mandate. He should explore how far the accusations presented in the "Corrado Report" by the Commission for the Study of New Institutes were true. Above all, he should explain exactly the financial state of the Society. It was expected that Fr. Antonio would carry out his mandate with the authority given to him by the Congregation. The latter demanded a detailed report about

* Luigi Carlo di Muzio, OCD, *Auna Luce di Monreale*, Rome: 1975. This is the only biography based especially on the letters and Summarium of Intreccialagli. The presentation is simple and, in consideration of the personality and the ecclesiastic activity of the Servant of God, too short. Youth and vocation are pressed into 22 pages, together with the direction of the Roman Province to 42 pages. His activity as bishop and archbishop takes up the main part of the book in 170 pages. Then follows the modern hagiographic supplement of 24 pages presenting the profile of the "saint" in the light of Vatican II. It is remarkable that Fr. di Muzio lists as "defects common to every saint" Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli's keeping to himself (appropriate to all), his kind inaccessibility, and a certain coolness. In this regard di Muzio has certainly seen correctly.

everything happening in the motherhouse (internal affairs) as well as appropriate proposals for enhancing solidarity and stability among the members so as to eliminate any concern about the future of the institute (A Rel 25603-458).

On July 26, Fr. Antonio gave a scholastic his calling card for Jordan asking to be contacted immediately after the Founder's return to Rome: Fr. Antonio would have to negotiate about his work by highest mandate (D-702). Lüthen informed Fr. Antonio that Jordan was still north of the Alps. Fr. Antonio thanked him and asked to be informed immediately after "Fr. Francis of the Cross Jordan" would be back again in the motherhouse (August 3, 1894, D-703a).

Jordan was not back from Switzerland before August 10. In the meantime, Fr. Antonio had already met with members of the motherhouse, like Frater Ambrosius Mayer (who had finished the second year of theology). On August 10, he had asked Frater Ephrem Bohnheim who was still studying theology, "about everything" (AGS). He had certainly also called on Lüthen before he left for his holiday.

Jordan was in Rome again before the Feast of the Assumption and contacted Fr. Antonio. The latter wanted to inaugurate solemnly the Apostolic Visitation on August 16. Jordan asked him to postpone the inauguration because the ordinandi would begin their retreats just that day. Fr. Antonio, however, insisted that either the retreats be postponed for one day, or that the scholastics in question [interrupt their retreat to] be present at the inauguration on August 17 (August 15, D-703b).

The Apostolic Visitation took place in the second half of August. Jordan, who in ecclesiastical obedience laid everything open which Fr. Antonio wanted to know, had hurriedly to provide several points in regard to administration:

- 1) The books of administration this evening; 2) The finance reports of the individual houses from the beginning of their foundation till July 1894 in Latin; for Lochau also all improvements; for Esmeralda the house in Atacames; 3) Mass endowments and stipends, etc.; 4) Printery and books for sale, their value, proceeds from periodicals; 5) Library; 6) Loan from Feliciangeli, last receipt of rent. The past 5 years in all.

In an annotation he noted: "Signature of the Superior and Consultor or of a Consultor." With a pencil he added: "Rescripts of dispensations. How many left in the last 3 years? House rules." The draft bears no date (B-19). It shows that Fr. Antonio from the very beginning asked for detailed information and extended his right of visitation to the whole Society.

It is not known how long Fr. Antonio made his visitation. As it was the first such mandate he had received from a church authority, he had to execute it with circumspection and conscientiousness. Lüthen had departed already before the visitation to Bad Wörishofen, invited by Pastor Kneipp for the cure to find help for his strained nerves (cf., letter to Jordan, August 18, 1894, BL-7). After the visitation Jordan took up his duties again. He passed on to Fr. Antonio the requested information about the individual houses as soon as he received it.

By August 1, Fr. Antonio had paid a visit in Via Lungara to get to know at least superficially Jordan's female foundation and its general superior, because she is also mentioned in the "Corrado Report."^{*}

On September 3, Fr. Antonio asked Jordan to come and see him because he had to double check some things (D-704). In the weeks after the visitation, he had worked at his report which comprised 45 folio-pages. At the same time, he pointed out that he had limited himself to the most necessary things, but that based on his visitation he would have much more to share. He underlined his special points. Because of their importance these are treated here more in detail, yet as briefly as possible. The underlinings are Fr. Antonio's.

Fr. Antonio divides his report into two main parts. In the first he presents clearly the economic state of the Society; in the second he answers the accusations made against Jordan in the "Corrado Report." First, Fr. Antonio gives an exact overview of the property. He explains the following: The College at Lochau was purchased in 1893 for 14,000 fl, of which in the meantime 8,000 fl have been repaid. The rest can be paid

^{*} Mother Mary's supposition that Fr. Antonio had candidates for her might be based on a misunderstanding. Fr. Antonio had until then no knowledge of the Sisters of the Divine Savior, though he had good relations to other female monasteries in Rome, whose confessor and spiritual guide he was.

shortly by the college itself. The house in Vienna is bound to 10,000 fl by contract. The Printery in Palazzo Morone (Caffarelli) can be valued at 1,000 Lire. An endowment of 18,750 Lire for the formation of priests, and a donation of 2,375 Lire (at 4% interest), as well as reserves from renters and advanced payments of rents of 4,333 Lire are further assets. The furniture, although of some value, as well as a house in the USA donated for missionary purposes can be ignored.

Fr. Antonio then lists income and the expenses for 1888 till 1893, and for 1894 till July inclusive. Each time he adds the maximum number of members for the corresponding year. He is surprised that the great sums of income correspond to the last *centesimo* with those submitted to the Congregation by Jordan in the past spring; Jordan had not indicated the expenses at that time. Fr. Antonio notes particularly that the study house in Tivoli was completely dependent on the motherhouse, while all the other houses were self-supporting. The house in Vienna had still 1,593.83 fl in the cash-box after the monthly balance of August 1894. The new foundation in Freiburg had also been self-supporting from the beginning. Assam was financed by the Propaganda in Lyon. Entrants to the motherhouse increased since 1893, and in Jordan's opinion this increase will continue in the coming years: "He trusts fully to Divine Providence and says, even if he were to die, the Lord would give the Society still greater support." This statement is at the same time an answer to the objection in the "Corrado Report" that the considerable donations were completely bound to the person of the Founder. Fr. Antonio's opinion is that some houses would soon be able to help the motherhouse. Also the number of priests is increasing, in the next 3 years there would be more than 50 priests in Rome alone. This will markedly improve the economic situation of the entire Society.

Finally, Fr. Antonio's financial report lists the debts. They consist exclusively of debts to suppliers, which are registered in a proper book and canceled after being paid. At present they amount to 49,419 Lire. Jordan is not particularly preoccupied in this regard; in past years the debt mountain had been even higher, twice over 100,000 Lire, and Providence again and again brought it down. If it continues like this, Jordan thinks that within a few years all debts will be paid off. Fr. Antonio notes then, "that one single but serious member doubts that

really all debts can be paid back, because debts mean little to Fr. Jordan. If it weren't like this, one could manage in a very short time to pay them off completely."

Concluding, Fr. Antonio remarks that Jordan had changed his original opinion in regard to the temporal welfare of the Society. In the first years he had not given special consideration to this, for "he wanted to follow faithfully the doctrine of the gospel" as far as this was possible.

In Part 2 of his report Fr. Antonio speaks of the external and internal development of the Society. He does so in 11 chapters which correspond to the objections in the "Corrado Report." Fr. Antonio first clarifies the circumstances surrounding the change of name. The first change was requested by the Holy See. Jordan had not concealed to him that he had presented to the Holy See in writing his reasons for keeping this name, but without success. To the second change of name the Congregation for Regulars had given the impulse. After prayerful reflection Jordan chose the present name "Society of the Divine Savior."

Then Fr. Antonio speaks about the foreign missions, for which the "Corrado Report" says the Society is completely incapable. He states all reports from Corvallis and Esmeralda are good, although two missionaries don't like working in Ecuador. The missionaries in Assam behaved somehow badly for a time. Two priests have left the mission and the Society. But even worse things had been reported. Just for this reason the Archbishop of Calcutta took special care of this mission. He ordered an apostolic visitation which, however, for various reasons has not been executed. After the improvement of the situations one doesn't hear about it any more. At the Province Synod in Calcutta three [sic: only two] missionaries took part and learned how to do their apostolic service better. Last May, Archbishop Goethals discussed the matter with the Prefect of Propaganda. The latter had assured Jordan: "Based on the news brought to me by Msgr. Goethals, he may relax." Fr. Antonio summarizes that the behavior of the missionaries had not been without blame, but they had accomplished much in four years and, what is more, in India. In this short time they have built 3 churches, a school and an orphanage. They were the first ones to edit a catechism and a prayer book in the native language. The number of Catholics increased remarkably. Finally, already three very zealous (*ferventi*) priests and missionaries had fallen

victim to their fatigues and involvement in spreading the Kingdom of God among the nonbelievers, and had been laid to rest.

Then Fr. Antonio speaks about the sisters' foundations, which the "Corrado Report" does not really treat in a polite way. Jordan was compelled by the Cardinal Vicar to give up the direction of his first sisters foundation without him being allowed to defend himself against the many accusations presented against him. He himself affirms this. Then Fr. Antonio stresses: in regard to these sisters I shall only say, as the old sisters remember or what they had heard, there had been strong dissent between the sister superior (followed by some sisters) and Jordan. Jordan, for reasons it is not necessary to report here, had considered the matter settled. He didn't want the superior to remain in office. This difference ended with the separation of the sisters, which was extremely painful to Jordan, as he himself confirms.

The second sisters foundation took place in Tivoli in 1888, in full agreement with the local bishop who has never diminished his fatherly kindness toward this foundation. He has given the Founder extensive powers to direct and lead the sisters. These powers have been given orally, but strictly. That is why Jordan means everything to the sisters (*"Quindi è che il P, Jordan è il tutto per quelle Suore"*).

Jordan has delegated the spiritual direction of the sisters to priests of his house in Tivoli. In regard to temporal matters there is complete separation between the two institutes. The male branch gives no contributions for the sustenance of the sisters, but pays for all the work it entrusts to the sisters. One priest controls somehow the administration of the sisters but only in regard to technical instructions. The endowments of the sisters are deposited with the male branch. The latter currently transfers the profits from this invested capital to the sisters.

The sisters in Assam depend on the local administrator of the mission. Only recently have the sisters been in Via Lungara, after the outbreak of a typhus epidemic the city of Tivoli demanded that one third of the nearly 60 sisters leave the house. About 20 sisters fell ill of the epidemic and seven died. As in Tivoli no other house could be found, Jordan, lying ill in bed, charged an agent to find a house in Rome and immediately sent a priest to the Cardinal Vicar to inform him of events.

The sisters wish to get a foothold in Rome definitely, and intend to take steps to get the necessary permission.*

In the next section Fr. Antonio speaks about the rapid expansion of the Society. In the motherhouse there are about 175 persons, of whom 14 are priests. The men's community in Tivoli numbers about 60 members, of whom 6 are priests. In Assam 6 priests and 4 brothers are working; in Vienna 5 priests and 2 brothers; and in Lochau 3 priests and one brother. In the recently founded house in Freiburg there are at present 3 priests and 6 scholastics; Corvallis, USA is now occupied by 3 priests and one brother; and in Esmeralda there are 3 missionary priests. Jordan is now busy opening a new establishment at Noto, Sicily.

Fr. Antonio stresses that the superiors are much inclined to expand the Society by increasing the number of houses. Although this does not burden things economically, it does cause moral damage by hindering inner firmness. In houses with few members full observance of the statutes and customs is difficult, in addition to the fact that the corresponding statutes are not yet finalized. What has happened in one community confirms his opinion.** Fr. Antonio believes that the Society should renounce making new foundations and first strengthen uniform observance in all houses. The only exception would be missions. Fr. Antonio demands a sufficient number of members, especially priests, for each house. Until now the Society had only 42 priests, but there will soon be more. Thus the existing houses could be staffed sufficiently. Only then can new foundations be planned, probably in 3 or 4 years.

The 5th section of the second part of Fr. Antonio's report is dedicated to the administration of the motherhouse. He finds fault with the simple bookkeeping of the administration. Jordan and his vicar rarely inspect the books, and grant full confidence to the priest entrusted with the administration. A proper audit of the books by the two of them

* At the margin Fr. Antonio notes that the petition had been rejected (cf., Leo XIII's *Non expedit*, September 10, 1894).

** Fr. Antonio is thinking about the two priest who had started the foundation in Vienna.

has never been performed. Therefore, Fr. Antonio immediately gave a corresponding ordinance to all houses, requesting regular audits certified by signature. Fr. Antonio is in favor of informing everyone about the financial status of the Society. Fr. Antonio further criticizes the fact that suppliers sometimes deliver goods of inferior quality, which they can do as long as the Society is a creditor. The administrator admittedly enjoys full trust, still he must be asked by Jordan and particularly by Lüthen about small things. Summarizing, Fr. Antonio demanded a regularly audited accounting and that the responsibility of the procurator not be limited to his office.

How Fr. Antonio in the 5th section of Part 2 of his report judges the administration of the motherhouse needs a limiting correction. Yes, the account books for that time were kept in a simple way, but they were extremely exact and clear. This is also confirmed by the effortless way Fr. Antonio worked out accounts for the years 1880 till July 1894 (cf., financial report). Until summer 1893, Lüthen was personally responsible for these bookkeeping tasks, while he liked to engage a talented scholastic for the clerical work. True, up till then the account books had never been co-signed. But Lüthen was informed of all details, while Jordan controlled the book of debts to suppliers. From fall 1893, the motherhouse administration was entrusted to a newly-ordained priest Lüthen had to train and oversee. The young administrator (from the home area of Mother Mary) was hardly a year in office when the apostolic visitor let himself be briefed by him about the administration of the motherhouse. For all practical purposes, Fr. Antonio met with an administration developed by Lüthen, who was careful that it be continued without interruption. In regard to the charge of being preoccupied with trifles, concern for a strict discipline of poverty in the motherhouse played a significant role in this. Thus Lüthen insisted on being kept fully informed. In fact, he and Jordan were the ones who had to arrange to pay any incoming debts.

Lüthen administered the liabilities even further. He saw to the timely payment of interest on loans and donations, or of their retirement. The local administrator was really helpless without Lüthen's experience and help. He was "his apprentice" and was replaced already a year after the visitation. He was not to be blamed that the double checks on trifles

during his trial period were annoying him. But here several things had first to be coordinated. But fundamentally, he enjoyed complete trust. Following his mandate Fr. Antonio took the examination of the administration very seriously. But this did not diminish the debts. The three priests at the head of the Society had to see to them all by themselves. The visitator could give bureaucratic prescriptions as they corresponded to his experience. But this in no way alleviated Jordan's money shortages. Sadly, the young and still inexperienced but capable administrator did not remain faithful to the Society for long.

In the 6th section Fr. Antonio answers indirectly the accusation in the "Corrado Report" that food and clothing were insufficient. He questioned 85 professed members about this. They all answered that they were content, and that the food was healthy and sufficient. Only one answered that he didn't know what to say. In regard to clothing they were all equally content and assured him that the superiors and those responsible saw that each had what he needed. Only 4 or 5 members did not so fully agree with this opinion. In regard to past years, Jordan himself confessed that there had been some bottlenecks, however, not because of lack of money, but due to negligence of the brothers responsible for clothing and shoes. Jordan affirms that it is his spirit that within the bounds of religious poverty, each one had to be properly clothed. Jordan ordered strictly that the sick be cared for with much love, and that the prescriptions of the physician be quite exactly observed. This is confirmed by the healthy and by almost all who are or were ill. 3 or 4 of the latter contradict the others a bit, and it seemed to Fr. Antonio that they were telling the truth. The opposing testimonies of all the others count nothing in comparison with what these few have experienced and what can easily be overlooked by the others. Accordingly, the Visitator concludes that Jordan in good faith believes each member is fulfilling completely the tasks entrusted to him, but this is simply not so. Thus, it would be necessary for a pious and charitable religious [i.e., Fr. Antonio] to supervise, because Jordan could not see to everything himself.

Regarding food and clothing, Fr. Antonio insisted on the best possible uniformity in all houses of the Society. He was against any exception without real necessity. For the house at Lochau, Jordan had permitted temporarily a modification in the religious habit because some

of the oldest members don't like it, above all they objected to the mantel overcoat in its current form. However, according to Fr. Antonio changes cause discord which can go so far as to incite a desire for a complete change of clothes. This would not be good for the community or for cooperation, both of which are necessary for a new Institute.

In the 7th section Fr. Antonio gives his opinion about the present residents of the motherhouse. They give hope for much good. With one small exception they all show a good spirit and the desire to foster the honor of God and to help their neighbor by all means recommended or prescribed by the institute. Above all, they observe the common life without difficulty, they fulfill what is demanded by the laws and by their superiors, and usually live in harmonious unity. Fr. Antonio repeats that there are some exceptions, and that the remainder are not free of all human weakness.

Fr. Antonio asked about 80 members whether they lived contentedly in the Society. One answered he was discontent. Another one is not against the Society, but he wants to leave because he has no vocation (he had left in the meantime). Four or five declared themselves to be content, but to him they seemed not to be. All the others declared themselves to be fully content. The fact that the concord is briefly disturbed now and then Fr. Antonio attributes to: 1) the bad example or the instigation by the few who are not happy or not content enough; 2) the sometimes obtrusive zeal and lack of experience of some local prefects; 3) the different character of the young men coming from Prussia, Bavaria, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, Italy, etc.

Regarding studies, the majority are very successful. In the last year 39 members had received degrees at the Gregoriana or at the Academy of St. Thomas. Fr. Antonio did not visit expressly the novices, oblates or candidates. Jordan and some other trustworthy members affirm that most of them raise good hopes. It is the task of the administration to pay special attention to those young men who can vigorously contribute to strengthening the Society and help it to flourish. Fr. Antonio requested that four or five professed members not yet having been ordained be dismissed from the Society. These are the cause of the above mentioned disturbances and will certainly leave later on. Jordan

fully agreed to this procedure, but declared that it is not easy to get the necessary powers to dismiss someone in vows.

In a separate section Fr. Antonio reports on those who left the Society. In fact, since the foundation of the Society many have entered, and few have stayed. One member assured him without doubt, that at least two thirds of those who entered have left. Since 1892, the number of those leaving markedly decreased, to 6 or 7 members annually. As reasons Fr. Antonio indicates: 1) in the first 7 years young men were admitted too easily; 2) these young men had grown up in a climate different from Rome; 3) those asking for admittance knew too little about the Institute; 4) the selection of "prefects" was made from the wrong viewpoints, this according to the judgement of many was the main reason why many scholastics left; 5) the introduction of choral office in October 1890, was the main reason for withdrawals that and the following year; 6) uncertainty over the future of an Institute not approved yet by the Holy See depressed several; 7) the changes and additions to the laws, above all the stiffening of discipline; 8) the tenuous economic situation of the Society was only little known and was thought to be worse than it really was; 9) the Society had no house of its own, and the rented houses were too restricting.

It is a pity no clear information is given about the "repeated changes of the rule approved by the Cardinal Vicar . . . above all to the stiffening of discipline." In fact, from 1886 to 1896, nothing in the statutes was changed apart from the introduction of choral prayer and the statute concerning machinations. The introduction of choral prayer was at that time welcomed by the majority, above all by the younger ones. The statute about machinations was abolished by the consultor of the Congregation, although it was not introduced without reason, and the machinations against Jordan and his foundations would not diminish in the coming 15 to 20 years.

As reasons for the decrease in the number of those leaving in the last few years Fr. Antonio indicates: 1) more caution over investitures and admissions to vows; 2) better discipline, above all in the novitiate; 3) better selection of the prefects of students. In Fr. Antonio's opinion these improvements are not yet sufficient. He requires a stricter procedure in admitting. For the next 2 or 3 years more concern is to be given to the

economic conditions of the Society. Regarding admission to vows, leaving the judgment up to the novice master alone is not satisfactory. The present student prefects are more or less ok. But one has still more to learn from the previous years. Fr. Antonio requests more attention in their selection and an exact delimiting their responsibility. In addition to being good, they must have the needed prudence. Heed is to be taken not to prefer the youngest ones in regard to age, profession or study.

Fr. Antonio thinks it detestable that some student prefects report everything, even small defects, to the superior general and even more frequently to the vicar general, when it would be more prudent to ignore the incident or to talk it over with the individual.* In fact, the aversion to the prefects arising from this practice develops into mistrust of the superiors as well. Fr. Antonio demands that everything be done to prevent departures, but he also admits that not only the Catholic Teaching Society was suffering under this evil.

In another section Fr. Antonio talks about discipline in the motherhouse, repeating his previous remarks. He limits his observation to the present and does not go back more than the last 3 years. His general judgment is that in the motherhouse there is discipline in essentials, but there are also many defects. Therefore, it is necessary: 1) that the offices be better distributed, for some are over-burdened while others have too little to do; 2) that the brothers receive more catechetical instruction than has been practiced for some time; 3) that for the numerous novices an assistant be put at the side of the novice master.

He feels called to say some words referring to the accusations presented to the Congregation by Fr. Willibald Bocka before he transferred to the Discalced Trinitarians. In regard to the renunciation of the right of property, the visitor had questioned almost all professed in the motherhouse whether they had in any way been forced. All answered him that they had done so out of their own free will. Only 4 or 5 had agreed with what Bocka had presented to the Congregation. In regard to the choice of confessors, each one was able to choose an extraordinary confessor for advice. The superiors have in this regard never made

* Sadly the absent vicar general could not express his opinion on this.

difficulties. That they didn't like it, or that people had, therefore, sought advice secretly, was not proved.

In the 10th section Fr. Antonio reports quite exactly on the rooms in the motherhouse. In the Palazzo Morone have been rented the first floor and some space in the cellar, half of the 2nd floor and the 3rd floor (later raised by one floor on both lateral wings), in addition to an adjoining house with 12 rooms. But these rooms are too narrow and the flooring was mostly in bad condition. The chapel of the novitiate, which is, however, little used, is too small. The house chapel on the first floor is absolutely insufficient for such a large community. Above all in the hot season it was a true martyrdom, especially on feast days, when there are solemn celebrations. The proprietor has forbidden use of the large staircase. Thus, there is only a narrow spiral staircase at their disposal. After the renter freely repairs the floorings, the new rent of 11,000 Lire annually is too high. The closeness of the rooms is one of the reasons there are so many ill; almost all those who died in the mother-house died of TB. Also at present there are 5 professed ill in bed. However, the sick are isolated as far as possible, and the medicines prescribed by the physician are used to promote their recovery.

The superiors know that the rented rooms are ill suited for a house and have already for some time planned a remedy. They would like to buy the palazzo but this is not possible without the special help of Providence. The superiors have also plans to find another place. But in the end it is more than probable that they will stay where they are. However, it is urgent to reduce the indicated defects or still better to eliminate them all together.

Fr. Antonio favors the Society opening a house near Noto. Then they would have enough space for the novices and oblates. The defects would be eliminated without new expenses, even with notable savings.

In the next section Fr. Antonio gives his opinion about the government of the Society. He doesn't want to discuss the Constitutions. He points out that the membership had the Rule of 1892 in hand, and not those statutes submitted to the Congregation and worked out with the help of a consultor.

Fr. Antonio feels competent to judge how capable the superiors are in the art of governing, and in his opinion they are not strong

enough, otherwise they wouldn't have repeatedly submitted the statutes to the Congregation. Consequently, Jordan, the "*Uomo di governo*," stumbled over his Constitutions whose premature canonical changes had been forced upon him.

Fr. Antonio criticizes the Constitutions submitted to the Congregation for approval which speaks about the right of active and passive voice, although this was never made known to the membership. The same constitutions speaks about the general superior, 4 general consultors, and a general procurator (treasure). But Jordan has at present only 2 consultors. The superior general is at the same time local superior, delegating many matters to his vicar, something which was not accepted by all. The vicar general is at the same time novice master. He is used to sacrifices and has an iron will, but can in no way fulfill all his duties.

Here Fr. Antonio puts aside his so far very realistic tone and gets excited: are there not to be found among the 42 priests in the Society men capable of such offices? The superiors who have been nominated for the various houses of the Society were indeed considered to be able for their positions. Isn't it more important to consolidate the general government first, and then the existent local governments, where there are similar complaints! Then Fr. Antonio again requires that after erecting the house at Noto no further foundations be allowed. First a uniform observance must be guaranteed and corresponding general and local governments must be completed and stabilized.

Then Fr. Antonio becomes realistic again and says a word about the general dissatisfaction Fr. Bocka. complained about to the Congregation. Fr. Antonio says whatever there might have been in the past, at present the majority of the young members pay little or no attention to government and live contentedly. Only some of the older ones manifest their displeasure at the situation described and want improvement.

In the last section Fr. Antonio summarizes his conclusions and proposals. Again he gets excited: the Society is fertile, arable land. Those cultivating it are people full of good will, but they understand little about agriculture. Otherwise 12 years of rather painful and discouraging trials would not have been needed to reach this only slightly better state. But how much is still needed until the field, which now produces some fruit, will be cultivated so as to yield a full harvest! Fr. Antonio adds:

The pious Founder humbly confesses that he, particularly in the first years of the foundation, made many mistakes from lack of experience. I don't know, and it is not important to know, whether he believes he has now gained enough experience. As I judge the progress in the skill of government, based on current results, I think that some time is still needed before he will really have reached the level required of him.

Fr. Antonio demands that the grievances and defects he pointed out be eliminated as soon as possible. He fears that after eliminating the earlier errors new ones might be made, above all through misplaced changes in the central government and in discipline. Then the Society might lose in a few months all it has accomplished in 12 years. It is hardly believable how mistrustful Fr. Antonio shows himself toward the three pioneer Salvatorians: Jordan, Lüthen and Weigang.

Fr. Antonio concludes with the affirmation that with his observations, proposals and encouragements he only intended to fulfill his mandate from the Congregation. He proposes: 1) Jordan be given an assistant for some time with corresponding full powers; 2) the Constitutions presented to the Congregation shall at least be indirectly approved by the Congregation, if the Study Commission for New Institutes agrees.

Fr. Antonio signs his report September 18, 1894. On September 25, it was discussed in a meeting of the Congregation. They decided to confer once more with Fr. Antonio. On November 16, they decided to call Jordan. What and how much was explained to him is not known. On December 11, the Congregation installed the good Fr. Meddi (A Sc).

It is evident that the mandate given to Fr. Antonio was limited to what he could glean externally. The data collected with great diligence could be evaluated by him only externally. He could not look into the hearts of the witnesses or judge their character except according to the impression they made on him in their short meetings. Spirituality and the inner life of the Society could not be visited like finances, lifestyle, discipline, government, etc. It is striking that the pillars of the Society, Lüthen and Weigang, merited no special importance.

It is also striking how Fr. Antonio reflected the prevailing trend of uniform discipline and canonical leveling. Just as the papal universities streamlined academic order, others likewise worked energetically at

streamlining religious orders with laws valid for all orders, and a strict subordination under centralized church authority. The founders of the 19th century were forced to clothe their vocations canonically. The *votum* of Fr. Antonio recognizes Jordan only as a "somewhat capable" superior general and only technically the Founder, and not by virtue of vocation.

At that time, in the new institutes the office of major superior was no longer joined to the Founder. Exceptions from this needed papal confirmation. The Congregation for Bishops and Religious kept its distance towards founders (e.g., Don Bosco). It was afraid of their "charism." The following shows how a little later this stormy period was judged by young Salvatorians:

"Do not be afraid any longer, little flock, for your Father is pleased to give you the kingdom" Lk 12:52 [sic. 12:32] . But looking at older orders and their great achievements and comparing them with our own institute, one might become fainthearted and withdrawn. But also here: "Do not fear," etc., is valid for us. It's true, our Society is still small in regard to number, to merit and prestige, but this must not discourage us, for it is a much greater grace to belong to a young order which has still many battles to overcome. Such an order gives still much more occasion for practising virtues than an old one that has overcome these difficulties long ago. Let's remember that this happened to all old orders, and none of them was what it is now. They have become what they are by sticking to the spirit of their founders. This will also become true in our case if we faithfully stick to our Constitutions; then the Divine Savior will give us a great share in his Kingdom. So, let's not be afraid when storms come. St. Ignatius says of this: Nothing great can happen without the Prince of this World becoming irritated.

The feast of St. Alphonsus [Ligouri], which we will celebrate tomorrow, is especially apt to strengthen or confidence. What had this saint not experienced! At his death his order was split into three parts. He himself died outside his order. He was a Job in suffering, but at the same time also in confidence and patience. Even at the Holy See he was for a long time in an awkward position. But he was never afraid because Mary was the anchor in his trial and also the dawning light on his death bed. So, let's learn from St. Alphonsus courage, patience and confidence and any difficulty (Novitiate notes, August 1, 1907, soon after the press campaign against the Society).

This view has certainly as much right in itself as that of any Apostolic Visitor, embedded as he was in a secured religious tradition.

3.3/4. Intreccialagli's recommendations began with a proposal to assign an assistant to Jordan: Fr. Prof. Luigi Meddi, a general consultor of his order and an *examinator* of the Roman clergy. As such he had the qualities needed in a visitor. Fr. Antonio insisted that Fr. Meddi receive the necessary powers and that he be given a corresponding title, e.g. Counselor or Director. Fr. Antonio summarized once more his most important complaints taken from the already known visitation report. He asked to issue the following decrees:

- 1) Jordan must complete his generalate. To this end Fr. Antonio had proposed 3 priests from among whom Jordan should select two consultors.
- 2) Jordan shall remain in office as superior general along with the general consultors until the next general chapter.
- 3) The general chapter is to be convoked within 3 years.
- 4) In the Society only priests professed for 3 years who had completed their theological studies who could vote or hold office.
- 5) The generalate is to name general and province examiners.
- 6) The novitiate is to be separated from the study house as soon as possible.
- 7) For the next 3 years new establishments are forbidden with the exception of (if necessary) a favorable place for the novitiate.
- 8) The coming 3 years are to be utilized to fully staff communities in the existing individual houses and to organize them better in order to establish discipline and a uniform observance and to strengthen the local and general governments.
- 9) Each house must audit the books of the administration and those of Mass obligations monthly. They are to be signed by the local superior with two of his consultors. If the consultors are still lacking, the longest professed priests shall take their place.
- 10) Fr. Meddi is to assist Jordan to lead and govern the Society in the post of counselor or director, as long as the Congregation considers this appropriate (A Sc).

Fr. Antonio gave essential qualifications to these proposed directives. He requested that Fr. Meddi's powers be given in writing and that he then

endeavor to execute the decrees. In regard to the missing examiners he pointed to the papal decree *Regulari Disciplinae* of January 25, 1848. Naming all the 7 required might be difficult. One should be satisfied with 4 for both classes, as the number of priests in the Society was still too limited. They shall be selected by the generalate from the houses of Rome and Tivoli. But this had still to be completed in advance. It required priests who are at least 30 years old and professed for 6 years. As difficulties might also arise here, he himself proposed as general consultors the procurator of the motherhouse (31 years old and 5 years professed), the superior of Tivoli (30 years old, 9 years professed) and the assistant to the novice master (34 years old, 4 years professed). For convoking the general chapter the shortest possible time had to be ordered, otherwise Jordan would be in no hurry to convoke it. But a chapter would be of great advantage for treating Society business. With regard to the right to vote, in the Constitution that had been submitted but not yet approved, this had been allowed for all professed with three years in vows. Fr. Antonio thought this inappropriate. It would entitle a 20 year-old or a theology student to vote. Therefore, he proposed that only priests having completed their theology studies and 3 years professed should receive the right to vote. No new foundations should be allowed for 3 years after the one at Noto, unless among the existing foundations no suitable house could be found for a novitiate (A Sc). Jordan immediately complied with the ordinances of the Congregation elaborated by the visitator as far as he could.

Due to health problems, it was already a real necessity for Lüthen to relinquish the office of novice master. In fact, the tasks of the vicar general increased in the coming years. Furthermore, Lüthen and Weigang remained the most sought after confessors of the young members as well as of the sisters.

3.4/5. New novice master. Fr. Chrysologus Raich replaced Lüthen as novice master by summer of 1894, when the latter went to Wörishofen for holidays. At the end of 1895, Lüthen resigned definitely. Jordan nominated Raich to succeed him as novice master. The young Fr. Paul Pabst became his assistant. A dispensation from the canonical age had to be obtained for Raich. Jordan asked permissions for both Raich and Pabst

on principle at the same time. The Congregation, however, was more cautious. It permitted Raich's request, but required a separate petition for each case (November 29, 1895, A Rel 7497).

When Raich later traveled through Germany and Austro-Hungary as "Apostolic Beggar" to relieve pressing financial need, Pabst became novice master. Jordan had again to ask for dispensation from the canonical age, as Pabst was only 25 years old. This time the Apostolic Visitor was asked for his opinion (April 6, 1897). Fr. Antonio was favorable because among the older members no one better was available.

Jordan had proposed Pabst. Fr. Antonio requested an election by the superior general with his consultors. So Pabst was elected on April 20, 1897 (G-2.2), and the election was approved by the Congregation (A Rel, February 12, 1897). Pabst dedicated himself to the task of novice master for over 20 years (til December 1908) when he transferred from Rome to Passau-Hamberg as superior and novice master there.

3.5/6. Meddi (I) was called to the Congregation only on December 11, 1894. The decree of his appointment is unknown to us. His installation as counselor or director has left no traces. Fr. Antonio, on the contrary, became the more zealously active.*

Fr. Aloysius a Virgine de Carmelo Meddi (Polustri, November 19, 1834-1903, October 13, Rome) entered the Piarists in November 1851, and was ordained in April 1858. Due to disturbances erupting against the Papal State in the province of Emilia he was expelled to Venice. Fr. Meddi worked as educator of the youth of his order in Tusculum and as teacher of philosophy and prefect at the Aloysium. Under the superior general, Fr. Maurus Piccihe, he served as vicar general. He helped in the

* Even before November 26, Fr. Antonio had advised Jordan, without intending to give him a command. A priest had asked for him to mediate so that he might continue to study canon law at the Gregoriana for another year. The man in question was a good religious, revered his superior general, loved the Society, and had sincerely presented his reasons. In the same letter, Fr. Antonio admonished the Founder to name some more confessors for the mother-house, proposing two priests by name (D-705a). On December 17, 1894, he asked Jordan to come to him for a discussion on the next day (D-705 b).

pastoral care in San Lorenzo in Piscibus and later in San Pantaleone. In San Apollinare he held casuistic conferences twice a month. In this connection he became a consultor in the Sub-Congregation *Super Statu Regularium* and one of the apostolic examiners.

Fr. Luigi Meddi was an esteemed orator, and as a "Latin poet" a member of the papal Arcadia. He died of diabetes. Fr. Meddi not only worked in the administration of his order, he was also a genuine teacher, preacher and poet.

3.6/7. Noto. During the disturbances of the revolution in Sicily the Discalced Carmelites, who had built the monastery of Madonna della Scala near Noto, were expelled from there in 1867. A pious old gentleman bought the empty building and wanted to give it away for a good purpose. Jordan asked Bishop Giovanni Blandini to make the donation legal at the Holy See (A-80).

Jordan had felt urged to go to Sicily already for some time. He knew the southern Italians were not so firm in their faith as those from the north, as he noted at that time (G-2.8). But on just such a poor land are those to be helped who felt a true call, although this required more efforts and sacrifices than elsewhere. And Jordan had no illusions about Noto. Even Cardinal Rampolla, a Sicilian, praised expressly the activity of the Salvatorians there.*

* Mariano del Tindaro Rampolla (Piolizzi, Diocese of Cefalo, June 17, 1843-1913, December 6, St. Maria in Vatican) made his studies in the Roman Seminary and at the Collegio Capranico, then at the Academia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici and at the Roman College till 1866. He dedicated himself successfully to diplomatic activity, especially in Spain where his predecessor Cardinal Simeoni had to bow to political forces. As Secretary of the Propaganda for the Oriental Rite he solved the Armenian Schism in 1877. In January 1882, Rampolla became nuncio in Spain. On June 2, 1887, Leo XIII named him to succeed the late Lodovico Jacobini as Secretary of State and cardinal at the same time.

Cardinal Rampolla was austere and conscientiously orthodox. His church politics was militant and thus very controversial, considered Francophile and directed against the *Dreibund* (League of Three). Out of love for the church which he, like Leo XIII, understood as a world political power (to the advantage

The Salvatorian co-operators were immediately informed of the new foundation and urged to help: "According to the intention of our Venerable Father a nursery of apostolic workers for southern Italy has been founded, September 1, at Noto" (MI 20, 1894; An SCI 4, 1894). During World War I the house, which was considered German property, was to be expropriated. However, the priests gave it back to Bishop Giovanni Blandini, who then established a seminary there (cf., PPP, 252-257).*

3.7/8. Lüthen's health. Lüthen had accepted Pastor Kneipp's invitation to a cure at Bad Wörishofen in August 1894. By August 8, he answered Jordan's telegraph inquiry regarding Lochau; he also wrote to the house superior. About himself he reported: "My health requires a long cure—the malady is already rooted too deep" (BL-7). On October 20, 1894, he received a telegram from Jordan in Rome, who of course missed him very much, asking him to return soon. Lüthen, however, had to decline:

I then went to see Kneipp. He said: "If one for years has ruined one's health, one wants to be healthy again in a few days." He then gave me some medicine. So I have decided to stay on. I don't like it at all to be here, but it is God's will (BL-9).

of orthodoxy) he was fully in favor of papal temporal power. His agreement to the Franco-Russian axis earned him the veto of the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I, after in the second ballot of the conclave to elect a successor to Leo XIII he had received 29 votes, while Cardinal Sarto (later Pius X) garnered only 10, the old privilege of "Apostolic Majesty" having been imposed in a not very happy form by the then Cardinal of Krakow. The Spaniard, Merry del Val, became Rampolla's successor under Pius X. Relations between Rampolla and Jordan from 1880 on remained excellent in human as well as ecclesiastical terms.

* Giovanni Blandini (Pelagonia, Diocese of Caltagirone, March 7, 1832-1913, June 25, Syracuse) was ordained on March 24, 1855, received a doctorate in theology at the University of Catania in 1859, and was named bishop of Noto on July 5, 1875. From June 25, 1900, he was one the esteemed bishop with the right to wear the pallium. His brother Gaetano Blandini became auxiliary bishop of Agaregento on March 15, 1883, with the right of succession in order to assist the local sickly Bishop Turano Domenico, after whose death on May 15, 1889, he succeeded. He died in his home May 19, 1898.

Lüthen then traveled to Lochau in late October. From there he wrote to Jordan on October 26: "My health is not worth much. I won't begin anything here, would like to go to Brixen from here to continue there: it is cheaper there, etc., ask for an answer" (BL-11). How long Lüthen stayed in Brixen is not known. In late November we meet him in Rome again. But Pastor Kneipp couldn't heal him. Jordan finally had to replace him as novice master with his assistant.

In his retreat proposals of the following year Lüthen noted: "Priest is another Christ: kind, humble, patient and preaching more now by example, after voice nothing can happen any more" (November 19-22, 1895, G-21). From this we can conclude that vocal efforts also caused him trouble. To his married brother Fritz he wrote 3 years later, "The old abdomen ailment is still there causing me pain all day long. Writing always causes trouble; for, just imagine: standing on my feet I am writing in a book that I am holding in my left hand" (November 18, 1897, BL-148). At that time Lüthen wrote daily dozens of letters for Jordan as vicar general and as spiritual counselor. It can only be imagined how many sacrifices this tiresome letter writing apostolate required, to which he now dedicated himself heroically till his death.

3.8/11. Purchase of Palazzo Morone. Jordan informed Mother Mary during a visit in Tivoli on November 25, 1894, that he "had bought on 17th (Saturday) the Palazzo Morone, where the Venerable Brothers had been living since '82." He assured her "in future we [i.e., sisters] would be cared for" (MMChr). The purchase of the mother-house was taken note of with great interest also in the Vatican. The papal private chaplain* congratulated Jordan in his New Year wishes of January 2, 1895, on the

* Through Msgr. Angeli, Jordan transferred special donations given to him for the pope. Leo XIII in return sent thanks and blessing to Jordan always through his private secretary (D-1085, 1103, 1111).

Rinaldo Angeli, born and raised in Perugia, was a school friend of Leo XIII. He was on familiar terms also with him as pope. In 1892, he succeeded Msgr. Boccali. The pope gave him his full confidence. Like his predecessor Boccali, Angeli paid for his coveted preferential position with his health. Over-taxed by Leo XIII, he was forced to give up his post early for health reasons.

purchase of the palazzo: "Also the Holy Father, to whom I have passed on this news, expressed his satisfaction." If Jordan eventually needed a craftsman, the chaplain could recommend a skilled one for wood and stucco, who had already worked well in the Vatican (D-1098).

3.9/12. Pastoral formation. 1894 saw the ordination of 12 new priests. 100 clerics were attending papal universities. In Tivoli, "not far from Rome in a healthy mountain region there were about 50 oblates instructed in humanistic subjects" (Chronicle 1894-5 in AK 1896). 43 acquired academic degrees at the Gregoriana, 2 at San Apollinare (in English and Arabic), and one a doctor's degree at the Academy of St. Thomas.

Lüthen wrote from *Curhaus Wörishofen*, October 20, 1894, to his, . . . beloved Venerable Father: I wanted to talk orally with you about an item; but as the matter is dragging on, I will do it now in writing. It concerns pastoral theology. It hurts me to hear through Fr. Theophilus [Muth] how the confessions of children are handled. And often the thought occupies and disquiets me, the quality of the pastoral care of our priests who have not studied pastoral theology in Rome and have no more time for it afterwards, before they start pastoral work. I believe this matter to be very important. Already this past year I thought much about this point: sermons, catechesis, confessional, etc., without good theoretical and practical exercise! I think nobody should be sent out without having passed a pastoral examination in writing and in practice. Whoever didn't have time for this before becoming a priest must make up for it in the motherhouse. Schüch's book on pastoral theology is excellent. Perhaps each one should have it for continuous use (BL-9).

3.10/13. Via Lungara. Mother Mary took no particular notice of the ongoing apostolic visitation. She was taken up with refurbishing the house in Via Lungara. At the same time, she was plagued by impatience that the sisters in Tivoli were taking their time in sending furniture, etc. (October 3, 1894, E-627). They have there "everything in abundance. But I think, without an order from the Venerable Brothers, they let their mother ask in vain for what she herself has left to them. They are not yet straight in many things" (October 8, E-628). For the time being, for the most necessary things she received from Jordan "a contribution of 1,000 Mark from a charitable farmer . . . thank you, Venerable Father." She

would buy furniture with it (November 16, E-632). On February 2, 1895, at last and unexpectedly, 20 to 25 cases she had long requested arrived from Tivoli (E-644). By September 27, Mother Mary wrote to Jordan about the sisters remaining in Tivoli: "I am sorry that Venerable Father has also had to forego so much for the sisters (I certainly hope that Reverend Fr. Pacificus [Spreider] will eventually explain this to the sisters" (E-625). But it is not known what Mother Mary was alluding to.

In the meantime, Mother Mary continued in good contact by writing: "I am glad that you can unburden yourself and that one is of use in one's office" (September 29, E-625). After the turbulence that summer she feels more secure in her position: "Now I also wanted to say that being Mother Superior comes easier to me than to others, because I saw a good master in *Sacre Coeur*" (October 13, E-627). With the young superiors, particularly with the one in Tivoli, she wasn't fully satisfied: "Dearest Venerable Father, I hope that it all will become well in the course of time; I am much inclined to sadness" (October 8, E-628).

On November 4, she reminded Jordan to send her the photos, after all; the "Cardinal Vicar is waiting for them here," and she concluded her letter: "While hoping that you will much enjoy our being in Rome, I sign, Venerable Founder and Father's thankful, most obedient spiritual daughter, Sr. Mary of the Apostles" (E-630).

At that time dissension arose between Mother Mary and the hurriedly appointed superior in Tivoli. The latter had been fully dependent on Fr. Simon Stein after Mother Mary's departure during the typhus epidemic. When Jordan transferred Stein to be administrator to the new foundation at Noto, Stein wanted to have sisters there and made his wish known to the mother superior in Tivoli. He also expressed his homesickness for Tivoli. The sisters there missed Fr Simon equally:

Both the sisters and I were disagreeably touched at the news which the good Fr. Simon brought us yesterday. The good Reverend Father [Simon] will leave us too? Well, yes, he has had many crosses and sorrows with us, has sacrificed himself, even risked his life during the dangerous epidemic, and we, we haven't thanked him enough. I am sorry he will leave us tomorrow, I have had such good support from him. (Superior Sr. Elizabeth to Jordan, September 12, 1894, D-385).

Mother Mary was annoyed when Stein wrote once or twice more from Noto to the sisters in Tivoli. She demanded: "But Venerable Father will be able to put this right. Whether sisters shall go to Noto: I think this is a concern of the Venerable Father, and mine, that he [Stein] would better keep himself out of this matter." Mother Mary was against any interference by Stein through the superior of Tivoli, and she was also against sending sisters to Noto (September 27, 1894, E-625).

Sr. Elizabeth also opened her heart to Jordan. She thanked him for letting the priests help her. She was also pleased with Mother Mary: "About Tivoli I am quiet now, after Fr. Pacificus [Spreider] is taking care there" (September 27, 1894, E-625). The previous superior Philippus Schütz had been at the side of the sisters since the typhus epidemic.

Sr. Elizabeth hoped Mother Mary would "return to Tivoli so that she herself would be unburdened; but as God wills" (September 24, 1894, ASDS). The sister superior had complained to Jordan before:

If also the good Venerable Mother would be satisfied with us (better said with me) I want to say, Oh dear Venerable Father, it is so hard for me to feel and think that I am here at the head against the will of Venerable Mother and not to enjoy her confidence. This disturbs my monastic happiness, my quiet contentedness. I would willingly change with the lowest sister so as not to disturb harmony, but holy obedience requires it, and I must patiently bear the cross. It's all going well with the sisters. They generally don't cause me much trouble—thanks to divine help. Most cordial greetings also to Venerable Mother and Fr. Thomas (September 12, 1894, D-385).

From New Year 1895 on, Mother Mary staying in Rome took over the administration of Tivoli. This was very agreeable to the local superior (January 14, 1895, D-394). The latter wished: "If only soon some of the sisters could be sent out [to work]! What are they all doing here? Their upkeep certainly consumes much money, while there are sisters here who could be useful now and then, even without having made special studies" (to Jordan, January 17, 1895, D-399).

Jordan recalled the brave superior to Rome, to teach in the teachers' training school. Lüthen informed her by Jordan's order:

In Tivoli there is only the sisters' novitiate, and so the novice mistress Sr. Aloysia could be superior at the same time. In regard to food, it

should be the same as here, and Venerable Father left it to Fr. Thomas and myself to regulate it. Venerable Father could change it when needed, and one could turn to him at any time (Lüthen to Sr. Elizabeth, January 23, 1895, BL-14).

That same day, Sr. Elizabeth thanked her "Dearest Venerable Father" for this solution:

I recognize most humbly the will of God in this and obey willingly. I admit it will be hard for me to depart from Tivoli, but not at all because of the position I have held here, but only and above all because of the many pleasant occasions I have had here in the motherhouse to be able to proceed quite zealously on the way to perfection, which, however, I am sorry to have made bad use of because of my weakness. Then it is also the bond of intimate sisterly love which binds me here, and it will make the departure rather hard (January 23, 1895, D-401).

Mother Mary esteemed this talented sister, however their relationship was at first somehow strained after she herself had been replaced so abruptly as superior of the motherhouse by this young sister: "Sorry to say, Sr. Elizabeth (as it is well known), is 'immodest' according to 'Prussian manner' in presenting herself and in answering, ever since she has been together with Fr. Simon" (sisters' report to Jordan, June 5, 1895, E-651).

January 28, marked the transfer of superiors in Tivoli. Jordan had earlier informed Mother Mary, "that in future only the novitiate should remain in Tivoli" (MMChr). At the departure of the superior there were of course tears among the sisters. Mother Mary, in keeping with her character intervened quickly and decidedly: "Women must especially be on guard against any sentimentality (in Tivoli there had already been enough of it) we should be like the Apostles;" then it all became quiet and continued smoothly" (to Jordan February 2, 1895, E-644).

The new superior, Sr. Aloysia, was sickly. Mother Mary believed her in danger of TB and urged her to take care of her health (letter to Jordan, February 17, 1895, E-645). Even with these precautions, she had to lie ill in bed the entire month of May. In summer the new superior and her representative began to complain to Jordan about Mother Mary.

Venerable superior really likes doing her duties, but the way Venerable Mother has behaved towards the venerable superior, she has for some

time been continually depressed and physically weakened. But in spite of this she cares for all by day and by night. No professed sister is lacking anything. It would be a great calumny to hear of any such thing (Sister Vicar to Jordan, June 17, 1895, D-411).

Mother Mary wanted to replace the superior, but in vain: "Today, sent by Venerable Father, I was in Tivoli; as the present superior, Sr. Aloysia, is always sickly, I was to have called her here [to Rome] by his order-- but, difficulties arose" (January 18, 1896, MMChr). Teary eyed, Sr. Aloysia asked Jordan's pardon for her behavior towards Mother Mary:

It is true, I was naughty towards Venerable Mother, when on that evening she came to take me to Rome--I am so miserable, and the whole matter came to me too unexpectedly: Venerable Mother came quite suddenly at 7 in the evening--came quite excited into my room and said: "Tomorrow morning you come to Rome with me; another superior will come here; I wanted to bring her with me." I poor thing, without warning, was quite excited also because I was suffering from a sore throat (I as well as most sisters suffer from the cold, as we have no stove nor anything else to keep us warm I perhaps most of all, because my health is weakened through long years).

It wasn't clear to her whether Jordan had been informed about the situation. She confirmed that she "held to the Society faithfully and devotedly and thus was also devoted and submissive towards Venerable Mother" (January 31, 1896, D-429). Mother Mary esteemed the sister, but with reserve: "There is also something unnaturally artificial in Sr. Aloysia" (March 18, 1896, E-660).

Mother Mary had only one wish: "May God help us to find a spacious motherhouse" Difficulties with the superior in Tivoli increased, above all through purchases judged by Mother Mary as against poverty: "May Mary of the Poor help the blind Sr. Aloysia, enlighten and humble her" (to Lüthen May 1, 1896, E-667). On July 4, she again implored Lüthen: "Please once more, provide for changes with the poor novices . . . what kind of judges are there in Tivoli!" (E-699). Finally, on July 20, Sr. Aloysia left Tivoli after being replaced by Sr. Catherina, and went directly home for recovery as the physician had ordered her (MMChr).

3.11/15. Assam. The Apostolic Delegate wrote from Sri Lanka to Cardinal Ledóchowski on December 21, 1894, that Benedictines from Einsiedeln intended to erect an abbey in Hyderabad, but that the local bishop didn't want such a monastery in his diocese. So Archbishop Zaleski proposed Assam which was gaining more importance in India, above all through the railways, the shipping on the Brahmaputra and the tea plantations. The climate on the mountains was mild and similar to Einsiedeln.

Then the Apostolic Delegate pointed to his reports of January 11 and March 11, 1893, as well as February 8, 1894, and mentioned that these factors were still valid: the mission had been entrusted to the Catholic Teaching Society; the superior general, however, contented himself to take possession of it but in reality he had never taken care of it. Now the mission was in a worse condition than at the time of Fr. de Broy. The mission as it was now would make the Catholic Church look ridiculous. The Protestants would soon dominate the whole country. Fitting measures were urgent (APF Prot 11,362).

This letter was treated in the meeting of January 28, 1895. On February 9, the Prefect of the Congregation presented his opinion in detail: he was glad the Apostolic Delegate was so concerned about Hyderabad and Assam. But an abbey in the mission would have the same monastic purpose as in its homeland, and thus could not replace the missionaries. Cardinal Ledóchowski spoke out expressly about the mission in Assam. He hoped that it would soon be flourishing again. The superior of the Society of the Divine Savior (this being its title now, in fact) was making great efforts in the formation of its priests. The Prefect was sure that Jordan would soon be able to send brave and zealous priests. Propaganda had to be satisfied with what this developing Institute would be able to do, although it still was little. The Society, however, was growing from day to day, and the motherhouse in Rome was without exaggeration flourishing.

On March 11th the Apostolic Delegate answered. He did not agree with the hopes which the Cardinal Prefect pinned on the Society of the Divine Savior. In his response he again alluded to the progress and resources of the Protestants vs. the progress of the Catholic missionaries. He quoted the numbers from the Madras Directory: 16,000 Protestants against 103 European and 633 native Catholics. He wants in no way to

detract from the Catholic Teaching Society. But he thinks it is urgent to put the priests under an outside Pro-prefect until the superior general would be able to send at least one capable priest to direct the mission. He also turns to his proposal to found an abbey in Assam. No place was more favorable for this in all India. The report of the Delegate was acknowledged in the meeting of April 1, and on May 1, it was decided not to consider it (*non expedit*), but simply to confirm the receipt of the letter as soon as possible (APF, Prot 12,335).

How Jordan himself valued courageous Fr. Angelus Münzloher explains something he inserted in a chapter talk:

We must look more to the spiritual life, to the virtues, and to humility. This will make us strong in our holy vocations, and strong against the world and the devil! Otherwise the devil will come and tempt you with studies, and then what will happen? Lack of humility is the chief danger to your holy vocation! No one loses his vocation through lack of studies or lack of talent, but only through lack of humility! If knowledge is not tempered by humility, obstacles will arise. (DSS XXIII, 1896, September 25).

3.12/17. New Year's letter 1895.

Rome, January 8, 1895

Dear Reverend spiritual son!

In the interest of our spiritual family I herewith inform my spiritual children expressly about my will as follows:

- 1) All members should as far as possible send here photos, drawings, etc., which refer to our Society, with corresponding explanations and descriptions.
- 2) The spiritual sons working in the missions are also reminded of the rule regarding the museum, especially as it has already been started in the motherhouse.
- 3) No spiritual children should shrink from the effort of observing all rules, in the interest of the cause of God, of the spiritual family they belong to, and also in their own interest. God's blessing is founded on obedience, although we may not always understand the reasons.

You will also soon understand, dear spiritual sons, what uplift our Society will experience and what blessing will come down upon your work, if you all without exception observe precisely the given law. To the young confreres in the motherhouse it is a great incentive, when

they hear about the activities of their confreres already working in the vineyard of the Lord. May the dear Savior in whose Society we boast to be, unite all in love and true observance of the holy Rule.

Greetings and blessings to all spiritual sons from your loving spiritual Father, Francis of the Cross.

P.S. This letter shall be made known to all members in all houses and stations (A-82).

3.13/19. The superior in Tivoli since March 6, 1893, Fr. Phillippus Schütz, was one of those "older ones" whose neglected rights Fr. Antonio felt it was his duty to defend to Jordan. He proposed the former's nomination as general consultor. Whether he had known about the open letter critical of Jordan written by the priests in Tivoli under his leadership is not important. He knew Schütz from the visitation and considered his opposition to Jordan not entirely unjustified. However, this superior came to disillusion Fr. Antonio, and also to wound Jordan himself. The superior, in fact, was not able to create the spirit of unity in his community which Jordan sought from the Lord and recommended incessantly to all confreres, and which the Apostolic Visitor himself strictly required. Finally in the fall of 1895, Lüthen was compelled to inform Jordan in Vienna: "In Tivoli still the old tension between the superior and the priests, and he absolutely doesn't want to go away for a vacation. Here one must pray; I think Fr. Ph. fears for his position. Where to, then?" (September 15, 1895, BL-18).

On November 16, 1896, a new superior was named and Schütz no longer felt comfortable in the Society. Fr. Antonio, well disposed towards him, attributed this above all to Jordan (cf., A Rel 18,831, January 11, 1899) and made special efforts for his dispensation. As reasons Schütz indicated he had lost his vocation and had difficulties with the superiors. Fr. Antonio asked Jordan for his opinion. Although the departure of this superior had become necessitated by circumstances, since it would cause a stir it was to be kept strictly secret. Schütz would have to depart without anyone knowing where he was traveling (September 1889, D-731). The priest found a position as a curate in the Diocese of Wichita, KS (USA). His case was concluded at the Congregation on January 29, 1899.

3.14/20. *San Lorenzo in Piscibus*, at the former fish market in Borgo Vecchio, was remodeled by Cardinal Tommaso Armellino Inglese circa 1410, and incorporated into the palace he had built there. This was later taken over by the Cesi Family, who added some more buildings. Thus the space between the Tiber and Vatican was filled step by step. The place bore the old name "*in Sassia*" in memory of the Anglo Saxon King Ina, who in the 8th century had a pilgrimage hospice installed here (cf., San Michele in Sassia, the old Church of the Frisians). From there was founded the Hospital of St. Spirito in 1478 under Sixtus IV (already begun under Eugene IV, 1431). After the completion of the Church of S. Spirito, the Church of San Lorenzino became free, and in 1695 was entrusted to the *Padri delle Scuole Pie*, who had a small monastery beside the church. The emblems of the Cesi Family were to be seen on the left and right of the picture on the main altar, on which Mary's wedding was represented as it could often be seen in churches of the Piarists (cf., Vienna VIII). At the same time as Jordan moved into Palazzo Cesi (Morone), the Augustinians bought the neighboring Villa Cesi.

When Jordan was negotiating to purchase Palazzo Morone in fall 1894, he again asked the superior of the priests of San Lorenzo to lease him their church. Francesco di Paolo Duca Caffarelli himself wrote to the provincial of the Scolopi on January 5, 1895, that he was in negotiations to sell his palazzo in the Borgo to the Society of the Divine Savior. He proposed to lease the church to Fr. Jordan's Society. The Piarists would remain responsible canonically and civilly and continue to receive the state support. But the Salvatorians would take over complete care for the church gratis as long as they remained in the Borgo. Thus they would have a church befitting their large community, while the sons of St. Calasanzion remained legally the proprietors of the church. The Duca's petition was supported by the Cardinal Vicar (January 9, 1895).

On January 18, the provincial answered the Cardinal Vicar's secretary, Msgr. Checchi, in the negative; he added a copy of his negative reply to the Duca of January 17. He explained his refusal just as he had already done to Jordan in 1892. They had holy obligations in this church, which they had taken care of since their Founder; they also had their novitiate there. The Cardinal Vicar wrote to the Duca on January 23, that he had to grant the reasons of the Piarist Fathers (TVU).

So Jordan turned to the pastor of S. Spirito, who received much assistance from his priests for pastoral work as well as from his sisters for catechesis and care of the sick. He asked for permission to celebrate Palm Sunday services with his community in the Church of S. Spirito "to the greater honor of God and to the promotion of the Divine cult." He would take strict care not to be a burden to the church or the parish (April 1, 1895, A-84). "Giovanni Monte, pastor of S. Spirito in Sassia" spoke with his ecclesiastical superior and gave permission "with great satisfaction." This way a good solution had been found for now.

On Palm Sunday our venerable brothers took over the Sunday service in S. Spirito. On Palm Sunday we went there too, and there was a beautiful procession of about 200 venerable brothers and 50 sisters, all with palms in their hands (MMChr, April 7, 1895).

Immediately after the purchase of Palazzo Morone, Jordan had great long range plans: "modifications to get space for 500 religious. In addition, the urgent construction of the church." On Monday after Pentecost 1895, Cardinal Parocchi arrived to inspect the newly bought motherhouse. On this occasion Jordan led him also to the place planned for the erection of a church (entrance from Piazza Rusticucci). But Jordan soon had to drop his plans to construct a church, because the purchase and development of the other study houses like Noto, Freiburg, and above all Lochau, presented themselves as more necessary and more favorable (cf., MI 12, 1895). In summer 1895, Cardinal Parocchi gave his permission on principle "to build a church beside our motherhouse in Rome, of which we however could not make use until now because of lack of money" (AK 1897). In April 1897, Jordan reached an agreement with the Chapter of St. Peter's, which granted him permission to use the Church of St. Thomas in Formis, and giving him also the keys of the church (G-2.2).*

* This little church was formerly *San Tommaso presso della Navicella* erected by Innocent III in Borgo connected to a hospital for ransomed slaves. It fell victim of "sanation" of the Borgo resulting from the accord reached between Musolini and the Vatican between the wars.

3.15/21. Common prayer. The prayer hours, according to the daily programs of the novices, were rather extensive. They spent about three hours daily in chapel (including the common Divine Office). On Sundays this time was considerably prolonged by Solemn Mass, Vespers and "Solemn Benediction."* Good information about the value of such "spiritual exercises" is the following statement of Jordan:

And as soon as activity takes precedence over contemplative life, it will be moving towards ruin! You can't say that we have many exercises. You may see in all congregations whether they have not as many or even more practices. The Jesuits, though they don't have choir, have more than we have. And unless you observe these practices you will perish (DSS XXIII. May 9, 1896).

Jordan sometimes spoke in a ruthless, clear and urgently demanding way. He was then more similar to his baptismal patron St. John the Baptist than to his religious patron Francis of Assisi.

3.16/26. Middi's recommendations. Fr. Luigi Midi made few appearances. In March 1895, he informed the Congregation that Jordan had installed the examiners requested (according to decree) and completed his generalate. Both happened in January 1895. The occasion for passing on this information was that Jordan could do nothing in regard to the requested province examiners, as there were still no provinces in the young Society. Fr. Meddi passed Jordan's proposal on: that for the first examination of those entering, the superior of the nearest house should be responsible together with two of his priests. In the meeting of March 5, the Congregation approved this Commission of Postulation for the time being, until they could proceed according to the canonical prescriptions (A Rel 4744/14).

Pancratius Pfeiffer, who already as a scholastic and later as a young priest (ordained by the Cardinal Vicar, May 30, 1896) helped in

* The scholastics, instead, recited during the school term: on weekdays Prime and Terce (in the morning) and Lauds (in the evening). On Sundays and feast days the entire office was recited by all (Chr. Fbg: Introduction of choir prayer on May 12, 1895).

the procura, remembered an event involving Fr. Meddi. He wanted to send Jordan a good businessman to help with shopping. The procurator, however, declined this help because it was not the experience in shopping that was lacking but the money! Fr. Meddi then retraced his order (PPP, 261). This event, told from memory, can't be fully brought into line with the documents at our disposal. In any case, Fr. Meddi always behaved discretely, and never drew back angrily.

Fr. Antonio tried in the first year, even through the Congregation, to impel Meddi to intervene more actively. The question where one could buy more cheaply was no problem to the plagued procurator at that time. In fact, he could not just get rid of his suppliers with whom he had debts to be paid. It was not the procurator who could choose his suppliers, but it was the creditors who had their debtor all too firmly in hand. Thus the procurator was forced to smile even when the butcher sometimes delivered inferior quality meat.

3.17/29. Palazzo Morone. Jordan didn't neglect the urgent remodeling in Palazzo Morone or in the other buildings he had rented, in order to make the rooms more habitable. There is preserved a personal recommendation of Cardinal von Hohenlohe, calling Jordan's attention to a capable engineer for the house at Piazza Rusticucci (January 29, 1894, H-42).

Soon after starting to negotiate a purchase with Duca Caffarelli, Jordan no longer eyed a building site in the Prati, but began the most urgent changes in Palazzo Morone. He entrusted the projected work to the trustworthy architect Prof. Manelli. When later a quarrel broke out with the craftsman, Mazzetti, Jordan asked an acquaintance, Cavaliere Pietro Gentili to take up the matter. He concluded that the craftsman had kept the prices below cost (by about 670 Lire). However, a small thing was calculated by the architect, which should have been calculated by the craftsman (a little over 25 Lire). Gentili also testified in favor of architect Manelli, that he had quite consciously calculated in favor of the Society. At the same time, however, he advised Jordan to avoid claims in the future by making precise contracts with craftsmen before entrusting work to them. Prof. Manelli also asked a certain F. Azurri's opinion, who stated that all calculations of the work executed in *Collegio Mariano della Società del Divin Salvatore* had been done correctly. The final result of the

examination of the gentleman was: Jordan has not been exploited thanks to the conscientiousness of the architect, although formal contracts with the craftsmen had been neglected (August 20, 1896, TVU, 1376ff).

How the architect Manelli managed the dissatisfaction of Mazzetti has not been transmitted. Lüthen just wrote to Jordan, who was staying in Vienna: "Manelli has spoken out quite clearly. Before that, however, he will try to settle it all peacefully" (September 15, 1895, BL-18).

When the negotiations were going on favorably, Jordan made plans which would finally eliminate the continuous complaints about too little space. At the same time he planned enlargements and the construction of the church. The entire complex was to offer enough space for 500 people. At that time there was still enough land for buildings around the Palazzo in the direction of Piazza Rusticucci and towards the Gianicolo (where nowadays is the generalate of the Jesuits).

After completing the most urgent remodeling in the Palazzo Caffarelli (Morone-Cesi), Jordan invited the Cardinal Vicar for a visit. He arrived on Monday after Pentecost and inspected all rooms—the school and bedrooms as well as the chapel— and said to Jordan: "All things considered and considering the circumstances, you did well, very well." At the carriage were standing the older priests. Jordan introduced them particularly: "These are the elders in the Society." The Cardinal answered smiling: "And I am amongst the elders" (cf., 1Pt 5:1). Also the pope expressed his satisfaction about the purchase of the house and "sent his private chaplain, Msgr. Angeli, who congratulated the purchase of the house," *Der Missionär* reported to the friends and benefactors of the Society (MI 12, 1895, June 30; cf., DSS XIV, 186).

For October 1895, Jordan had a proper chapel prepared for his 60 novices. Before doing so he requested the necessary competency from the Cardinal Vicar, to reserve the Blessed Sacrament, fulfill Sunday obligation, etc. On September 23 and 29, the latter presented Jordan's petitions to Leo XIII, who granted it for 5 years. The Cardinal Vicar passed this happy news to Jordan on September 30, 1895 (TVU, Prot 9358/9, October 7, 1895).

The offer of Francesco di Paolo, Duca di Caffarelli in fall of 1894 to sell Palazzo Morone reached Jordan unexpectedly. But when the proprietor put his conditions for the purchase on the table, Jordan had to

recognize that Divine Providence already had a hand in the proposed negotiation. He could not refuse this vast building offered for 400,000 Lire at the mortgage of 200,000 Lire, an initial payment of 50,000 Lire, and the payment of the remaining 150,000 Lire within 10 years. Nowhere else could he get a "motherhouse" so cheaply. Even Lüthen abandoned his reservations about owning a "palazzo" and agreed. On November 17, 1894, Jordan agreed on principle to the deal (cf., MMChr), though not without being sure of the consent of the Cardinal Vicar.

However, there was still the great uncertainty about how to come up with the 50,000 Lire to be paid in cash. The Society's coffers were completely empty due to the deposit of the reserve sum in Vienna and the contributions to the new building at Lochau. Fortunately, Jordan had found some benefactors in the meantime who helped him out with loans until the profit from the periodicals of the current year (and often of the following year) was at his disposal.

How Jordan decided to solve the problem by using the sisters' dowries for the initial payment, is unknown. Mother Mary had certainly agreed in principle. She herself had at that time just deposited her will, though no cash was at her disposal. Thus Jordan had to ask each single sister whether she wanted to help him out of her free will; so the humble beggar brought together the 50,000 Lire with his spiritual daughters and could conclude the purchase on July, 20, 1895 (cf., DSS XIV, 495).

The Apostolic Visitor in his "Niggle Report" of March 31, 1896, did not condemn Jordan's way of acting, but disapproved. Lüthen wrote to a confrere who informed him about the intention of a dissatisfied priest to inform Fr. Antonio about whatever he could:

Regarding the disclosures of Rev. Fr. Elias [Zila] there exists no danger; where so much has been disclosed—that it can't bring anything new. In this year everything has already become known about our "misdeeds" through accusations and investigations by the Apostolic Visitor. By the way, the truth about the 50,000 Lire is this: each single sister has in writing lent out her money without interest, while we even pay interest back to them. So! Fr. Antonio already knows it all (July 20, 1896, BL-35).

3.18/30. Villa Lavaggi. The sisters' help was lifesaving, allowing Jordan to buy in the same year both the motherhouse and Villa Lavaggi in Tivoli. This time Jordan had to put down the purchase sum of 75,000 Lire in cash. How Jordan scraped this money together is undocumented. He certainly had to fall back on all reserves of disposable contributions, loans and donations. The purchase was concluded December 17, 1895. Here, too, Jordan had to seize the opportunity due to the favorable terms, and in the hope of further help. (The courts ordered the sale of this house on August 29, 1895, the sale of this house due to the owner's heavy indebtedness) This purchase, too, was deemed uneconomical by Fr. Antonio, although he welcomed this solution for the community in Tivoli. Did Jordan thereby satisfy at least his impatient priests in Tivoli!? Together with the purchase of Villa Lavaggi, Jordan could rent the Church of Madonna dell'Olivo with sacristy, hermitage, and the open square from the Chapter of San Lorenzo in Tivoli for 80 Lire annually to use as a study house (AGS).

Tivoli as summer residence was chosen by Venerable Father as a fitting holiday resort for the students. In summer 1895, a house was bought there, built by Cardinal Cesi (1568-1621, in the 16th century at about the same time as St. Peter's). Emperor Joseph II, Gregory XVI and Pius IX lived in this house occasionally (Villa Lavaggi with a chapel in honor of our Lady of Olives). (AK, 1897).

3.19/31. Anonymous letter of complaint. Once as Apostolic Delegate to East India, the current Apostolic Nuntio in Munich, Archbishop Andras Aiuti, had to be concerned about the Society of the Divine Savior. Now he again felt obliged to report to Rome an anonymous letter complaining of Jordan (July 13, 1895). By July 22, he sent a new accusation to Propaganda, which once more dealt with "the sad situations of the Institute of the Divine Savior." The name of the accuser, a member of the Society on holiday at home, was kept secret, "out of fear to be discovered and then severely punished." The 30 year-old religious impressed the nuncio as a good and pious man. The nuncio also added his personal judgment: the source of all evils seems to be that many in the Society repeatedly accept too many poor into its houses. Thus the rooms are insufficient and the money is too scarce to feed and clothe the young men properly or to buy

the necessary medicines for them. The result is discontent and sick students. In his territory the Society had two houses, Bregenz and Freiburg, which both seemed to be in unsatisfactory shape (A PF, 14072). The Propaganda passed the complaint to the Congregation for Bishops and Religious (July 30, 1895).

The anonymous complaint contained grave accusations against the Salvatorians. It affirmed: The Society wants definitive papal approbation soon. But before that its defects and mistakes must disappear. Among the defects he listed:

- 1) As many novices as possible are attracted by promises, and afterwards they are disillusioned in their hopes.
- 2) They are crowded together in a very close quarters and have no chance for recreation, as there is no garden. Thus hardly half of the novices reach profession.
- 3) The food is scarce. The treatment is against reason and against ecclesiastic prescriptions. Thus the young men fall ill and are sent home to burden their parents.
- 4) Nothing changes after profession. On the contrary, the superiors now have the young men bound by vows and can proceed even more severely against them.
- 5) Money and property must be handed over to the Society even before, although through tricks.
- 6) Often a sick member is refused help. He is accused of pretending to be ill. If he lies down in bed, all food is withheld. When finally the physician is called, he is briefed beforehand about the patient and his ridiculous and negligible illness. But when he is so seriously ill that it can't be denied and the clever physician has given his instructions, only the room is changed, not the way of life. When a new medicine is prescribed, the prescription is torn up. Abandoned by all, the patient is only sustained by the hope to be soon freed from his suffering by death.
- 7) As a proof four confreres are indicated by name, who in a brief period have died of TB. So in the last five years 34 young men have either died or been sent home. Two students have gone mad, 2 more were taken by epilepsy, the rest by TB or other illnesses.
- 8) Young men who supposedly become ill or incapable of work later are forced quite inhumanely to leave the Society through cunning

and tricks. If strict reproaches are useless, the patients are awfully tortured so that they leave voluntarily. Most of them can't complete their studies because they fall ill and cannot do their work any longer. Thus they became most unhappy people.

9) Through threats and fear these young men are also prevented from presenting their most justified complaints to the delegates of the Propaganda. This is done to ward off a visitation and to keep the matter from becoming known. The superiors introduce to the visitor only young men known to be fearful and shy. This is what they tried last year in Rome. The Rule of the Society is praiseworthy; but it isn't lived.

10) Then the accuser presents as proof for the above accusations: he entered 5 years ago at the age of 25. He was compelled to be together with a 14 year-old boy. Their room was so close hardly half of the novices had a place; furthermore, rain leaked in. A young man of 16, inexperienced and full of pride, was their prefect. There were continuous quarrels between him and the others. There was hardly an occasion to get to the open air; one was always sitting within the four walls. The drinking water was fetched from a fountain nearest to the place, which he didn't want to name. As he was suffering of headaches and stomach troubles he was called an agitator, taken away from studies and sent to the kitchen as assistant cook. He was forbidden to go out lest he have the chance to complain somewhere. Also an extraordinary confessor was denied him. When finally the physician stated that the accuser was suffering TB, he was allowed to go home. The anonymous accuser brings still more examples of sick members being treated badly or tardily without indicating names. Finally he beseeches the Propaganda to eliminate these evils from the Society so that it might become worthy to be approved by the Holy See. He signs: "An unworthy son of the Society of the Divine Savior" (A Sc, A Rel 6435).

The Congregation took this lampoon as seriously as the nuncio had, and passed it on to the Apostolic Visitor on August 7, 1895. He was to examine the accusations and report back the result. Fr. Antonio made the investigations which seemed necessary to him and submitted his report to the Congregation on September 22, 1895. In doing so he investigated the simple accusations with meticulous exactness, responding extensively to each one:

1) There are some older members wishing to proceed more slowly because of the bad economic situations. However, not even one could confirm that the young men were attracted by deception. In the year 1894/95 there had been 432 applications. Of them 68 were selected.

2) The living situation in Palazzo Morone is close, but there is no lack of fresh air. Although there was no garden, the students are sent out once or twice daily (into the city). Villa Lavaggi was bought in Tivoli so that, when all renters will have left, there will be enough space.

3) In regard to the food for the students, Fr. Antonio points to his report of July 16, 1894. Those he had asked now were of the same opinion: the food was healthy and sufficient. Certain reservations are made because the menu was the same for Italians, Swiss, Poles, Germans, etc. None could confirm to him that the sick young men were treated badly or sent home because of illness.

4) It is a pure calumny to say that the superiors treated the professed more severely because these were bound by vows.

5) It is equally calumnious to say that the young men had been forced to hand their money and property over to the Society. In fact, some having the possibility have been invited to do so out of their free will. It is also a fact that people gave only what they wanted to give.

6) The grave accusations about the treatment of the sick must be refuted as false. Fr. Antonio then refutes in detail the charges of the anonymous accuser. He states:

The superior general requests principally and energetically that the prescriptions of the physician be strictly observed, above all with the gravely ill, in regard to medicines and food. On the contrary, extraordinary means for healing are taken like change of climate, Kneipp baths, etc., at considerable expenses and to the burden of the Society. Negligence in the nursing of the sick is not to be blamed on the superior. [Fr. Antonio states:] it is clear calumny to say that the sick had been left to themselves.

7) In 5 years 4 affiliates had died of TB in the Society. All the rest is exaggeration. The reasons for these illnesses are various, like change of climate, excessive studies, family illnesses, etc.

8) The accusation of getting rid of professed by tricks and cunning is completely calumnious. At present there are 220 students in Rome and Tivoli. Only four of them suffer from TB according to the judgement of the physician and none of them has to stay in bed.

9) Fr. Antonio stressed:

I know of no visitation except the one of Fr. Ferrari 2 or 3 years ago, which was ordered by the Cardinal Vicar. No student could confirm to me to have been intimidated or coached for the visitation. In my visitation I have called all professed, and each one could speak freely whatever he thought. If the accuser himself kept secret something at that time and if he now presents his complaints anonymously, I cannot presuppose the same weakness in others.

10) The personal case of the accuser is not known in the community. Fr. Antonio wants to concede to the accuser that at the beginning young and inexperienced students had been engaged as prefects. The fountain mentioned by the accuser is not to be found. The water in the Palazzo Morone is certainly the same as in other houses, namely "the marsh water is pure." None of the residents was ever condemned to manual work, but maybe temporarily freed from studying by the doctor. The denial of a confessor can't be proved. Permission to go to confession outside is readily given when asked for.

Fr. Antonio summarized: in the indictment little is true and much is wrong and exaggerated. True, there is still much to be fixed and changed in the Society. For the future there is hope that the experience and the good will of the superiors will lead to success. He doesn't think it necessary to take new measures. But the anonymous indictment and the report shall be forwarded to Fr. Meddi so that he, according to his mandate, might free the Society from its defects and imperfections. Fr. Antonio's report was treated in a meeting of the Congregation on September 27, 1895, and according to the Apostolic Visitor's proposal, it was passed on to Fr. Meddi, in whose files it remained stuck and discovered only 75 years after his death. Thus the prudent Fr. Meddi didn't take the lampoon of the unknown Salvatorian as seriously as the nuncio and the Congregation, but only as seriously as it deserved.

3.20/32. Meddi (II). Probably urged by Fr. Antonio, Meddi received a directive from the Pro Secretary of the Congregation, Msgr. Trombetta (so skilled in writing) to fulfill his mandate; later the Congregation wanted to put at the side of the superiors of the maturing institute someone to assist them with wise counsel.* Fr. Meddi was the best man for this, as he belonged to a teaching society with a certain relationship with the institute in question. Trombetta thanks Fr. Meddi for having accepted this mandate and writes his request that Meddi continue assisting the institute. This offered the well-founded hope for a fertile future to the benefit of the church. Nevertheless, it still needed prudent and wise direction (A Rel 25603/13, August 17, 1895). In his working papers, listed as "consigned to the director" of the Society of the Divine Savior, there was a last unfinished document: Fr. Willibald Bocka's August 10, 1896 complaint from Noto about his superior.**

3.21/33. Typhus in Tivoli. Again in the summer of 1895, in the house in Tivoli one sister novice fell ill of typhus, which of course alarmed everyone (July 2, MMChr):

The physician told me this week that we were not free from infection because the illness was still in the wallpaper of the rooms, so that a sister feeling a little unwell was sufficient cause for alarm; we should leave the house as soon as possible. Today the same one said again to me: "They speak much again of the German sisters . . . maybe an investigation by the law court is coming to you in these days; the physician is very well disposed towards us and does for us whatever he can; . . . Now we must be prepared for everything. I have written to you, dear Venerable Father, so that you might find another house for us; for I think, if we got a similar situation here like the one last year,

* "*Reggitori*" might have meant Jordan and Lüthen, Weigang too may have been included.

** Shortly before that, Pfeiffer had returned from his holiday after his First Mass and had still to complete his theological studies at the Gregoriana. Consequently, Meddi remained unknown to him as "the other religious" of the Apostolic Visitation.

there wouldn't be much chance for our existence here (Sister Superior of Tivoli to Jordan, August 4, 1895, D-414).

The novice died on August 14. In the meantime Jordan was looking for a house in Rome near St. Peter's (August 17, 1895, MMChr) as well as in Tivoli. He also sent Mother Mary there to look at the house: "I found there again two sisters dangerously ill of consumption— may they all soon be allowed to *Santa Roma!*" (August 27, 1895, MMChr). In early September there was another sister hospitalized in Tivoli ill of typhus. In mid September another novice followed her to hospital due to typhus, while the first sister could soon return home. Two sisters assumed care of their hospitalized sisters till they recovered (September 18 - October 3, 1895, MMChr; cf., D-438).

Only after long efforts, aided by the men's superior in Tivoli who at that time was a general consultor, did Jordan succeed in renting another house for the now smaller community of the novitiate: a small place in Via Maggiore near the little Church of St. Antonio. On January 27, 1896, everything was ready for the sisters to move in (February 5, 1896, MMChr).

Nevertheless, Mother Mary continued to be against Tivoli: "When shall I at last have the joy of having all novices here [in Rome]? I still feel: it doesn't go well in Tivoli" (to Jordan, September 19, 1895, E-653). But in the same letter she had to confess that there wasn't nearly enough space in the house in Rome for the entire community of sisters from Tivoli: "Well, God must help, if it is His Holy Will. The Venerable Father will be able to imagine it all. Here, too, the space is getting quite close" (ibid; cf., March 18, 1896, E-660: "It is simply the well-known air of Tivoli. Something else would be better in Tivoli than the novitiate." She meant the sisters there were being corrupted by wine drinking.) The sisters in Tivoli, on the contrary, thanked Jordan heartily for the beautiful new house (December 3, 1896, D-430).

It may also be noted that Mother Mary personally enjoyed good health during the years she spent in Tivoli. Only twice during that period did she speak about her own health.

... almost miraculously have I been preserved from being mortally poisoned = when I took a spoonful of "cough medicine" from the bottle

of poison that had been carelessly put into the cupboard (sublimate, carbol and hydrochloric acid) and was near to swallow it out of penitence (said my inner devil). Then I became conscious of the danger by the death's head (to be seen according to angel's counsel) = hot milk, soap suds saved = and I wasn't worthy to die yet! (September 22, 1892).

MM: fell seriously ill of gastritis - so I have got to eat much raw food (today 7 p.m. it is better already). God be praised in all (July 13, 1893).

In June 1896, the mother superior of Tivoli asked Jordan to see to it that newcomers brought their dowry complete and new [i.e., clothing]. Most bring money (saved on customs, etc.) and then receive small used things of which there is still much underwear and other things from the sisters who had died earlier. According to her, this is an abuse Jordan should eliminate (D-423). Soon afterward she was replaced after having bought wool blankets and furniture too liberally.

Jordan was always very preoccupied over the sisters' physical well being. So he more than anyone suffered from the apple of discord which the motherhouse in Tivoli had become after the typhus epidemic.

3.22/36. Drogens. The body responsible for the Boys Institute in Drogens was a group of socially-oriented priests who, however, lacked the means properly to sustain and lead the institute. Therefore, they offered it to the Canton of Fribourg, which took it over under *Staatsrat* Ph. Fournier, and built what was absolutely necessary, but without being able to pay the resultant debts. (Already the canton was financially overburdened by the foundation of the Catholic university.) So *Staatsrat* G. Python, responsible for education, tried to find help through Jordan.* He agreed somehow over hurriedly, not fixing everything by contract as he usually did. He trusted the *Staatsrat's* promise that this could be done immediately. The Fathers of the Holy Spirit, who had led the Institute, had given notice and urged to be replaced.

* "In Switzerland a correctional institute for children (200) near Freiburg has been offered to us" (after December 8, 1894, MMChr).

Subsequently, however, they did not come to an agreement. The priests requested a modest salary for themselves and for the brothers and sisters. The Canton pointed to its empty coffers and delayed a solution by contract. In the meantime, the priests were to be satisfied with the yield of the large farm (about 70 hectares around the institute). They could live on it, but could not expand the home as they wished. Thus a certain tension arose: the disillusioned wanted to regulate their terms of employment by contract, while others wanted to trust the benevolence of the state, which sincerely appreciated the involvement of the Salvatorian community. Though repeatedly urged by some confreres, Jordan didn't want it to issue an ultimatum. To him an apostolate among at risk youths who wouldn't have been cared for by anybody else and who felt themselves really at home in Drogens was more important than a modest salary.*

On November 12, three sisters traveled "to Freiburg to take over the household at a boys' correction institute in Drogens (S. Nicola)" A few days before, they had participated at a papal Mass together with the five sisters destined for Milwaukee. By December 10, Jordan had sent two more sisters to Drogens (MMChr).

3.23/39. The sisters' motherhouse. Mother Mary urged upgrading the house in Via Lungara to be the motherhouse. She didn't cease to pester Jordan with this matter: "With the newest innermost wish, that it will be soon granted to us to be firmly, firmly, firmly, in *santa Roma* I ask in hopeful, grateful sentiment for the holy paternal blessing, most obedient daughter Sr. Mary of the Apostles" (May 10, 1895, E-650).

Jordan himself had never lost sight of preparing the way for the sisters to be allowed to have their motherhouse in Rome. Even to the Apostolic Visitor he declared clearly (and to Fr. Antonio's astonishment) that he recognized this not only as useful and advantageous, but that he saw in this God's will, which he had to fulfill. Therefore, Jordan was convinced that the sisters should develop a sisterly apostolate to

* In February 1896, *Der Missionär* reported the provisional takeover of an institute of correction a few months previous (MI 4, 1896).

make themselves known and desired in Rome. He was not in favor of the sisters limiting their activity to the German colony cared for by Msgr. de Waal. He was not against Mother Mary entering into a practical relationship with the director of Campo Santo (re: embroidering commissions; cf., MMChr, January 30, 1895; diary of de Waal CS); he was also grateful, when de Waal intervened in getting admission to papal Masses (January 11; February 17, 1895, MMChr) or procuring for the sisters admission to papal celebrations and other ecclesiastical events, or to the papal gardens (May 30; July 28; October 24; November 11, etc., MMChr). But he was quite against Msgr. de Waal intervening in the internal matters of Jordan's foundations, although that would have been the easiest way to obtain the permission of the ecclesiastic authorities for staying in Rome. When Mother Mary realized this and proposed it indirectly through Lüthen (November 26, 1895, E-646), Jordan answered much alarmed and immediately went to the Cardinal Vicar to cancel any related steps of Msgr. de Waal. At the same time he asked Mother Mary not to chose such non-Salvatorian avenues (December 1, 1895, ASDS). Civilly, the sisters were listed as "German Sisters;" Mother Mary responded to a corresponding control visit: "We are true subjects of the pope and emperor" (November 11, 1895, E-655).

Jordan urged Mother Mary to involve the sisters as much as possible in the parish of S. Spirito. This was quite acceptable to the parish priest, who for a long time now had been not only favorable to Jordan, but also attached. So the sisters took over various small services in the parish church (July 15, 1894, MMChr). Jordan sent four sisters to S. Giacomo to oversee two dormitories for the aged, and there they learned how to nurse old people (March 21, 1895, MMChr).

While the dormitory San Giuseppe was cared for continuously for three years by the sisters, they also helped feeding the aged on feast-days in the dormitory in S. Maria in Capella. Mother Mary herself usually came with them to give the old men a nice holiday, e.g., New Years Day and Easter 1897. The number of men to be cared for was between 150 and 200 at San Giuseppe and about 250 at S. Maria in Capella (MMChr).

Mother Mary was also working on her wish in her own way. When she introduced the sisters destined for Milwaukee to Leo XIII, she

didn't miss the chance to present them as "the Sisters of the Divine Savior founded by Fr. Jordan." But she also called his attention: "We are in Rome" (May 19, 1895, MMChr). Each audience led her to hope that the pope himself might somehow anticipate an implicit decision in favor of the motherhouse. When on November 24, 1895, she introduced in an audience the sisters bound for Dacca, she also inserted her principal concern: "The Holy Father spoke somewhat longer quite graciously with us, and at my request, his hand pressed on my head, gave a special blessing to the foundation in Rome" (MMChr).

Der Missionär reported on this audience to its mission benefactors (for the Austrian pilgrimage): "Mother Mary also informed His Holiness that they also had a house in Rome" (MI 21, 1895). She also expected support from the Cardinal Vicar: "This morning I was with Sr Filomena at the Cardinal Vicar's; brought 'greetings' from the Venerable Father and then asked permission for perpetuals [vows at the motherhouse] through the Venerable Father in Rome" (December 9, 1895, MMChr. Mother Mary expressed in brackets her heart's wish: "The motherhouse shall be in Rome, for it should certainly be possible to make perpetual vows in the motherhouse"). On December 12, 1895, Mother Mary was once more with the mortally ill Cardinal Melchers to get his "last blessing for our foundation in Rome" (MMChr). The Cardinal died December 14, 1895.*

When a gentleman from the board of Dormitory San Giuseppe made efforts "for a completely fitting monastery for us near St. Peter's" in order not to lose the sisters, Mother Mary was very glad. This would be a "real new beginning." However, this time she was more reserved: "But I told him modestly: as truly Roman Catholic sisters we must first get the permission, for a new beginning, etc., etc. – so if we have something, then it will easily be good" (letter to Jordan, December 14, 1895, E-656).

Now Mother Mary attached great hopes to the involvement of the sisters with the old men, an apostolate highly esteemed in Vatican

* "Our strictly ecclesiastically instructed choir" sang at funeral celebrations in the Campo Santo (AK 1897; Diary of de Waal, December 19, 1895, CS).

circles: "Oh! –holy Rome– here, definitely here–God will have mercy on us" (to Jordan, January 28, 1896, E-659).

Mother Mary won Archbishop Sallua as intercessor, "for here in Rome we are only tolerated." (letter to Jordan, April 10, 1896, E-664d). So Mother Mary had to practice humility and patience no less than Jordan, whose sphere of action was now greatly limited by the Visitor.

3.24/42. Meseritsch. Before his departure to the USA, Jordan sent a strictly confidential letter to the superior of Mesertisch to find out what in September 1895 had been negotiated and agreed to with church authorities in regard to the takeover of the hostel. Jordan couldn't remember exactly how far he had already obliged himself: whether he had only given a promise, or whether something had already been fixed by contract. However, he was against an open ended and full takeover of the hostel. The pastor and the mayor should be convinced by the local superior to see the matter as Jordan did. He himself only wanted,
... a hospice to be founded there for the time being with 2 or 3 priests and two brothers to direct the hostel and provide pastoral care, etc. Pray so that you may bring this difficult mission to a good end. Then the question of personnel will also be resolved (June 15, 1895, A-121).

Jordan feared that a full, permanent take over of the hostel by contract might siphon too many brothers from important foundations, above all in the USA and the missions. Jordan added: "Take care that this letter doesn't go into anyone's hand, you may burn it!"

Still aboard ship traveling home from New York on August 22, 1895, he wrote to the insecure superior:

Moravia is much in my heart. Do not lose courage! Moravia must be saved! In Moravia there must be erected a school of the Society! *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.* With prayer, suffering and work (so I hope) this will succeed. Well, my sons, never despair! In the State of Wisconsin, a beautiful area, we have already received 240 acres of land with a seminary building. My fatherly greetings and blessing to you and all named by your loving spiritual Father, Francis of the Cross (Atlantic Ocean, August 24, 1896, A-124, ship's address: Netherlands-American Steam Navigation Company, SS "Maasdar").

3.25/43. **Niggel**, Catherine, joined the sisters in Tivoli with the consent of her parents at the age of 15. Her mother escorted her there on All Saints Day 1890, and then stayed for some more days in Rome. In the meantime, her father became so forlorn over his youngest daughter that her mother wanted to take her home again on November 7. But the daughter defended herself and remained. On January 25, 1892, Sr. Theresia, her religious name, professed her vows for three years. On January 25, 1895, she renewed her vows for one year. She had just turned 19. Sr. Theresia attended the teachers training schools in Tivoli and Rome. "On November 11, [1895] Sr. Theresia was suddenly recalled to Munich to visit her sick (?) father. Left reluctantly, is much troubled, returns soon" (MMChr).

On leaving she remained for two days with her mother in Rome, not in Via Lungara but with the Cross Sisters. From home Theresia had written a long letter to Mother Mary saying she was very homesick [for Rome]. Her only solace is to have gone home in obedience to Jordan and with the permission of Mother Mary. She doesn't want to belong to her family any longer but to the Savior alone in the Society of the Divine Savior (November 7). Near year's end she wrote to Jordan from Munich:

My dearest beloved Venerable Father! It has pleased the Lord to bind me to the sick bed. On Christmas they already expected my end. Had heavy stomach aches with vomiting. To that came heart trouble caused by watery blood. I leave everything to the discretion of the Almighty. For two months I haven't had any news from Venerable Mother. . . (December 30, 1895, D-421).

On January 16, 1896, she complained to Jordan that her letters were not sent off and those from Rome had not been given to her. She asked to be allowed to renew her vows, for in some months she would be in Rome again. On January 22, her confessor in Munich wrote in this regard. Jordan allowed her to make her vows there for half a year. Sr. Theresia informed Jordan on February 15, that her health was getting better and that she would soon be in Rome again: "I remain true" (D-431). On Mother Mary's advice, Sr. Theresia engaged a serving girl to smuggle out her letters. But she was soon discovered and dismissed.

Her parents pressed her to join the Ward Sisters in Munich. They had even called in the auxiliary bishop. Weigang, sent by Jordan, advised

her to yield to the bishop (March 28, 1896, MMChr). In summer, Sr. Theresia asked to be sent all her reports from the teachers training schools; according to her parents' will she would have to attend the art school in fall and dedicate herself to painting (August 23, 1896). Mother Mary noted on August 27, that Sr. Theresia had left the monastery, which her mother had ordered her to enter (MMChr). Then her relations with Rome were broken off.*

On November 26, 1895, just a few weeks after Sr. Theresia returned home, the Nuncio of Munich again wrote a letter to Cardinal Ledóchowski: "Once more the sad conditions of the Institute of the Divine Savior." He forwarded a letter of complaints from the Niggls. He again pointed to the deplorable state in the houses in Rome, Bregenz and Freiburg. This time he presented "documents of people beyond suspicion, who in no way intend to damage the Institute." The inconsolable parents were good Catholics (A PF Prot 15792).

On December 4, 1895, the secretary of Propaganda passed these papers on the Congregations for Religious. He had a Latin translation made on December 7. On January 22, 1896, Fr. Antonio as Apostolic Visitor of the Institute of the Divine Savior received the documents to examine and report on them.

The indictment of the Niggls was dated November 13. In it they complain that they had taken their daughter in good health to Rome and had fetched her back gravely ill after 5 years. In Tivoli, 25 sisters had died of typhus and this only because of bad food (meat of donkeys! water and bread) and overcrowded rooms. The superior did not let a physician enter the convent. But the daughter wanted absolutely go back to Rome. As parents they could not allow their child to suffer new afflictions. The parents added a medical certificate:

High grade dysentery and enormous physical weakness. The reason is improper nourishment in the convent: in recent weeks only water, soup, some bread and ½ lt. of milk, with some chestnuts and vegetable.

Return to the convent is forbidden by the physician (November 11, 1895).

* On April 25, 1897, a new novice received the name Theresia.

On January 10, 1896, the Niggls resubmitted their petition after having received no answer to their first complaint. They request remedial measures for an Institute in which girls "are allowed to be treated in such an inhumane way by such a high-born Mother Superior." The parents reported "some terrible mistreatments" which their daughter had had to suffer. Again they added a medical certificate: "chronic dysentery, high grade anemia and heart deficiency" (January 7, 1896).

Archbishop Aiuti, the nuncio, again sent the complaint to Propaganda. It was in turn passed to the Congregation for Religious on February 28. On March 4, Fr. Antonio compiled it (translated into Italian) with his other documents (A Rel 8535).

Fr. Antonio had already on February 26, 1896, ordered the "Reverend Father Jordan" to send to him the priests currently staying in Tivoli to be questioned. In the meantime, he should send "for tomorrow morning 9 o'clock, Frs. Thomas [Weigang], Gregory [Gasser] and Bartholomew [Königsöhr] (D-707). In his report Fr. Antonio summarized the accusations of Niggls' parents in 5 complaints.

- 1) The sisters live cramped and in unhealthy surroundings.
- 2) The food is very bad.
- 3) There is no nursing for the sick.
- 4) The sisters' health is damaged.
- 5) The superior general treats sisters unusually hard, almost inhumane.

Then he notes the judgment of the priests interrogated. He divides the years to which his investigations extend into two periods, till summer 1894, and the short period after. He presents the result of his investigation like this:

The house in Tivoli was unhealthy. A good month ago Fr. Jordan rented a spacious house, which is judged to be fitting and healthy. [Then Fr. Antonio states expressly:] In spite of this, Fr. Jordan and Mother General believe it to be God's will (?) that all the sisters be called to Rome, where 45 sisters are already living in a healthy but very close house. The Congregation for Religious, however, has not yet agreed to their requests.

In regard to nourishment the accusation was essentially correct for the period up to the middle of 1894. Since then, considerable improvement

could be shown. Fr. Antonio added that the new local superior is said to have only limited authority. Jordan had explained to him: "In Tivoli 'at first there was little to eat' [underlined by the Visitor], but now it will become better." Then the Apostolic Visitor brings the declarations of another priest, which comes off even worse than Jordan's. Fr. Antonio also makes some calculations based on the monthly accounts to show how little was spent for each sister in the first years in Tivoli. But then the typhus epidemic opened Jordan's eyes. In Rome, too, the treatment of the sisters was less bad, thanks to Jordan's input.

The nursing of the sick was also judged insufficient by Fr. Antonio. In this he relied above all on a written testimony of Fr. Simon Stein, now stationed in Noto, who had witnessed the typhus epidemic. The sister superior had limited herself to a household remedy diet and called the physician too late. In Rome, Jordan now entrusted the house physician of the motherhouse with the care of the sisters. Next Fr. Antonio indicates how many sisters had died of what illnesses.

In regard to the accusation of sternness and almost inhumane proceedings of the mother general, Fr. Antonio didn't allow himself to state an "irreformable judgment." In this regard he should know the general superior better. His personal conviction was that in all these misfortunes, her principle not to incur debts played a minor role. To this are added a certain sternness and an inclination to rigorism. She is also missing the grade of prudence and discretion necessary to direct so many sisters. The charges of inhumanity attributed to her have never been confirmed.

Then Fr. Antonio examines the property and income of the sisters and comes to a similar although somehow milder judgment than the one of the male branch. The lack of money is in his opinion the principle obstacle to better treatment of the sisters.

The Apostolic Visitor does not agree with the priests interrogated, who want to exclude Jordan from any complicity. The latter had founded the sisters in full agreement with the Bishop of Tivoli and received from him far-reaching competence to direct and lead the sisters. He was, albeit only as representative of the bishop, the real superior of the sisters. He had bestowed too much trust upon the mother general and personally taken too little care for the sisters.

About the parents of Niggl and their daughter, Sr. Theresia, Fr. Antonio noted only quite briefly that from the daughter's letters he knew she wanted to remain faithful to the Society of the Divine Savior and she had asked to renew her vows through Fr. Max, OSB of St. Boniface in Munich. He didn't know whether anything had changed since then.

In his comprehensive judgment Fr. Antonio made the prudent reservation that his opinion was based solely on interviews with some priests. If he had been able to question the sisters and to examine their account books, the result would have been more exact and sure. However, his report was sufficient for the present requirements. Thus he gives a synopsis of the above indicated results of his investigations. He suggests the Congregation should not to be too concerned about the request of the parents that their daughter be allowed to enter another institute. But the bishop of Tivoli, where the Society was born and where it had its motherhouse, should be invited "to admonish Fr. Jordan to cope better with his task as the superior and better regulate things with the sisters, unless the Congregation preferred to entrust the matter to me instead of to the bishop of Tivoli."

So much for this 3rd visitation report of the prudent and zealous, although sometimes too self-confident Fr. Antonio. Jordan accepted his admonition and dealt with it in prayer. He did not bother Mother Mary in what was for her such an embarrassing case, and continued taking fatherly care of the sisters.

It is not necessary to delve critically into the hard judgment Jordan experienced through the Apostolic Visitor. It is enough to follow the historical events. By the way, Jordan and his collaborators cannot be blamed for seeing this visitation as a cross sent them by the Lord. Jordan must have felt himself in tutelage as superior and pushed aside as Founder. How skeptically the still young Fr. Antonio judged Jordan is shown explicitly by the fact that where Jordan in his activity as Founder referred to the will of God, Fr. Antonio inserted his personal question mark. This was not overlooked by the Congregation. It seems strange that towards the Congregation the visitor presents his and Fr. Meddi's activities as improvements, without at the same time doing justice to the indefatigable engagement of the Founder and his collabora-

tors. Fr. Meddi, the ecclesiastical counselor stayed in the background. Fr. Antonio, the ecclesiastical custodian, held the reins.

Probably in connection with the above report there exists a list of the sisters who died in Tivoli in 1894, which Mother Mary sent to the Founder at the end of March 1896.

L.J. Ch . Rome - March 27, 1896

Dear Venerable Father and Founder!

1) On June 15, 1894 died Sr Margaret Bissinger* - The physician said it was typhus. And on that day it broke out there - -

2) In Tivoli died unfortunately:

Sr. Agnes,	Sr. Francisca,	Sr. Clara,
Sr. Otilia,	Sr. Margareta,	Sr. Margareta,
Sr. Marta,	Sr. Ludmilla,	Sr. Theodora,
Sr. Paula,	Sr. Lioba,	Sr. Germana,
Sr. Valentina,	Sr. Hyazinta.	

In August 1895, typhus is said to have broken out again in Tivoli. More precisely by July 20, 1895,

Holy, healthy Rome. Mother Mary of the Apostles.

By the way, Jordan could not overlook the "healthy Rome" postscript, but he had to keep silent.

Here is a side glance at Jordan's first foundation of sisters. For the Addolorata Sisters the years 1894-1896 were no less eventful and burdensome than for Jordan's second foundation of sisters. The reasons and the background of these events still await a fundamental historical illustration, but at this point they no longer affect Jordan's life. It might, however, be supposed that the Cardinal Vicar, now so well disposed towards him, informed Jordan at least about the fact that he had deposed Mother Francisca Streitl as superior general on April 14, 1896. At that time a menacing split arose among the affected sisters. One group stood with Msgr. Jacquemin, among them the successor of Mother Streitl. Another group wanted the "unjustified" deposition of the superior general to be declared invalid.

* MMChr gives the death date as June 14, 1894.

Of this painful to and fro, which Mother Francisca as a simple sister now living in Vienna could hardly follow in detail, a part of the petition to the Cardinal Vicariate has been preserved. It asks for the healing of the torn Congregation by the intervention of ecclesiastical authority. The document's author is unknown. It might have been written by a confessor for the sisters or by a spiritual friend of Mother Francisca. The undated petition could have been made about mid July 1896. Interesting in the presentation (marred by prejudices) is the role it attributes to Jordan. Though the historical truth has certainly been turned upside down, Jordan's part is seen correctly. It begins in a surprisingly:
The Congregation of the German Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother has been founded as the female branch of Fr. Jordan's new institute. Msgr. Jacquemin, who at that time was a chaplain at The Anima and confessor of the sisters, through accusations which he presented to the Cardinal Vicar, affected the separation of the sisters from their Founder. He [Jacquemin] himself was named superior. Mother Francisca, the Foundress, and the older sisters could never forget their Founder and Father [Jordan], and from this grew that continuous split between the older and younger sisters; at the latter's side stood Msgr. Jacquemin (TVU).

The Cardinal Vicar did not rescind his decision of April 14, 1896. The negotiations which the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother (till then a diocesan Institute) presented to Propaganda went on between November 29, 1897, and February 11, 1898. The community numbered at that time about 160 sisters and was active in 7 dioceses. Propaganda, too, stood by the decision of the Cardinal Vicar. It is to be noted that the two SDS foundations in Borgo Vecchio and Via Lungara, along with the SSM motherhouse in Borgo S. Spirito, all belonged to the same parish of S. Spirito and that members of the two communities often met at divine services in Campo Santo (Corpus Christi, Perpetual Adoration, etc.).

3.26/44. Information. In an appendix, Fr. Antonio himself added:
Information about the Society of the Divine Savior (Fathers)

It has been 20 months since Fr. Jordan assured me that in some months the debts, which were still small at that time, would be paid off completely [cf., A-138]. Meanwhile, the superior general has bought Villa Lavaggi in Tivoli and Palazzo Morone in Rome without having at

his disposal even a part of the necessary money. Still more: without taking consideration of the lacking money, over 100 young men have been accepted within a year and a half or a little more. On the contrary, for purchase and remodeling more than 600,000 Lire of debts have been made. Most of all, the debts for furniture have almost doubled since mid August 1894, and have exceed the sum of 80,000 Lire. A great part of the debt is covered by the worth of the buildings. However, in the debt are also included 53,000 Lire from the dowries of the sisters, for which no security is provided and for which just a simple receipt has been issued by a priest of the Society.

In regard to the direction of the Society, Fr. Jordan, convinced he is fulfilling the will of God, acts too much on its own. He consults his consultors individually, but not in a meeting. In selecting superiors and offices he prefers young priests who are pious and docile and agree with his will. Some seniors who are pious and learned, but have sometimes uttered their opinion openly don't enjoy his confidence any longer. Some have complained to the visitor that the appointment to offices is open exclusively to the members of a certain nationality.

For the rest, the general development of the Society is not as bad as it was some years ago, above all due to the activity of Fr. Meddi, whom the Congregation put at Fr. Jordan's side as consultor and director. Many deficiencies have disappeared and remarkable improvements have come about. It would still be more successful if Fr. Jordan had listened to the laudable priest. Fr. Jordan, however, has tried, although not so much initially, but in the last months, to avoid Fr. Meddi and has ignored his advice. He even considers Fr. Meddi's mandate as an unhelpful limitation of his freedom.

Fr. Jordan also considered me a hindrance to the development of his ideas. He believed his ideas, well understood, correspond to the will of God. Therefore, he has rarely requested my opinion and only in secondary matters. There is no doubt Fr. Jordan would consider it a grace from heaven, if it would please the Congregation to declare concluded the task which was given to both [visitors] in different ways. For he is convinced that he needs absolute freedom for at least 2 or 3 years to fulfill what God (?) wants from him.

The Congregation may agree to or may refuse this desire of Jordan's as it thinks best. But as long as this favor is not granted, I believe I have to do my duty in agreement with the mandate and in the manner I understand it. However, as things now stand I believe it to be

more than useful, even necessary, that in matters of greatest importance Fr. Jordan turn to his counselor and director, and that he keep more to the latter's advice.

Thus it can be hoped that the Society of the Divine Savior will free itself from the evils attached to it, that it will reach the perfection and steadfastness which are necessary for bearing fruit in the Church of God, which it certainly can bring and which the same pious Founder expects for it.

Therefore, the Congregation may, if it pleases, invite Fr. Jordan by letter to a better compliance to the orders of the Congregation and explain to him that he is obliged to get the advice of Fr. Meddi in areas of greatest importance, particularly in administration, the opening of new houses, the government, and the appointment of new superiors.

S.M.d.Scala March 31, 1896 P.A. di G. C. S.

Visitor Apostolic of the Society of the Divine Savior

The Congregation discussed this report in the meeting of April 28, 1896. It decided to write to Fr. Antonio as the Visitor of the Salvatorians, that permission to direct the Sisters of the Divine Savior, which Jordan had enjoyed cannot be extended, but that Jordan must let the sisters be more fittingly treated. In regard to the direction of the male branch, he should also be admonished to discuss matters of greatest importance with this same Visitor and with Fr. Meddi, to execute their orders and advice, and to consult with the assistants of the institute, the consultors (A Rel 8535/14). Fr. Antonio received this instruction May 18, and passed it on to Jordan (D-708; cf., Italian text DSS XV.2, 602f).

Fr. Antonio stated expressly in his *votum* of March 31, 1896, that Jordan in selecting superiors and granting offices looked too one-sidedly for those who were not only pious and docile but also fully submissive to him. Those daring to utter their own opinion lost his confidence. Older members in particular suffered from Jordan's seeming preference for young superiors.

Apart from this it seems that the choice of offices is exclusively open to the members of some nations. It is certain [underlined by the Visitor]

that some have complained about this.* They declared that they all wanted to leave the Society and go their own ways.

From this Fr. Antonio concludes that Jordan was an incompetent superior general. But he neglects to discuss this supposed partiality with Jordan himself. He is content to say it "seems like," and that such complaints had in fact been presented to him. This, however, becomes in a certain way an unproven accusation that Jordan was partial, if not out of a domineering nature, at least out of Founder's hubris, and furthermore that he was behaving in a rather deprecating manner towards certain unnamed nationalities. This accusation, however, is demonstrated to be a complete lie by the historical facts. Just in those years, Jordan was particularly solicitous towards Italian members. And when it proved difficult to integrate them peacefully into an "inter-national" community, he thought much about their feeling more at home in a house of their own. At that time Jordan and Lüthen greatly urged opening to the Italian confreres a field of action of their own, where they might run things in their own way. Fr. Antonio supported this idea. There were discussions about a settlement in Umbria, where good vocations could be expected (Lüthen to Jordan, August 7, 1896, BL-50).

Jordan also noted at that time, "*Rotella, Diocese of Montalto, Prov. di Ascoli Piceno*, 2 hours distance from the railway, as well as S. Nicola Arduini Pontecorvo." He also made a sketch about "morals and stability" of the Italian Provinces, beginning with Piemonte over Lombardia, Veneto, Stati Pontifici down to Calabria. Correspondingly, the evaluation sinks from good, not so good, down to the poor (G-2.8).

Jordan wanted to assign Noto to the Italian confreres. However, they didn't fare any better among themselves than with others. Furthermore, the bishop of Noto accepted German priests more readily and explained to Jordan that the Sicilians liked the Germans better than the continental Italians.

As to preferring "*Jordanhörigen*" (those beholdng to Jordan) for offices, the 1895 Schematismus clearly shows that capability and not

* His informants were Fr. Sabbas Battistoni, Philippus Schutz and others.

compliance was the determining factor in appointments. It was precisely the first superiors of the new foundations that plagued Jordan with their openness and insistence, bordering on impudence. It was mostly Lüthen who then undertook to defend the attacked or misunderstood Founder. This referred to the superiors of the four Austrian houses not less than to the two Swiss houses and the one in Tivoli, as well as a year later to the foundation in North America. Only the superior in Noto was a "peaceful" man; others tried instead to govern their own domains.

The minor offices in the motherhouse were also filled with independent priests, as the Schematismus shows. This concerned above all the priest-prefects of the various sections (theologians, philosophers, students, brothers). It is in fact true that when Jordan looked more to capabilities than to age, it was not always easy for late-vocations to find themselves supervised by those younger than themselves. However, a special study, especially of the still existing correspondence, proves clearly that Fr. Antonio here took complaints of individuals as measure of the whole. The fact that this was his first task as Apostolic Visitor may excuse him, and that he had drawn his first judgment (prejudice!) from what he had to start from: "The Corrado Report."

3.27/46. St. Nazianz in Wisconsin (USA) was an immigrant colony founded in 1854 by the Badish priest Ambrose Oswald (Mundelfingen, Mach 14, 1801-1873, February 27, St. Nazianz). With the blessing of his local bishop, Hermann von Vicari, he moved with a group of 112 men and women to the North American no man's land. There he bought extensive land near Manitowoc, WI, and kept the group together as a kind of religious community of brothers and sisters. In toilsome work they erected their blockhouses in the wilderness, the necessary workshops, and a log church. Pastor Oswald directed the Colony for 19 years. His principle was: "Each one should promote the welfare of his neighbor as much as he can." After his death a superintendent took over the care of the Colony. Soon the desire arose for a religious congregation to direct Pastor Oswald's legacy. Milwaukee Archbishop Franz Xavier Katzer, who had become acquainted with Jordan and his foundation already in February 1895 in Rome, and had received from him sisters for home nursing of the sick, turned to Jordan with the request to care for

Pastor Oschwald's foundation and possibly take it over completely. The Archbishop invited Jordan to come personally, because it would be best if he took the matter into his own hands (letter of March 8, 1896).

Jordan, to whom far-off Oregon offered little hope for the USA foundation he desired, saw the possibilities at once and promised Katzer he would come personally as soon as possible to regulate the matter of St. Nazianz (April 1, 1896).

In keeping with his temperament, Jordan had high expectations soon after receiving Archbishop Katzer's glowing description of St. Nazianz. "I must go to North America this summer, where we probably will receive a large institution as property; over 20 houses, 1,500 acres of land* in the center of North America. Pray." he wrote in high spirits to the superior of Meseritsch (March 28, 1896, A-112). To the superior of Lochau he reported not without exaggeration: "In North America they want me to come at once with 50 members; I have already been provided with a first class round trip ticket. Pray much and suffer patiently. Warm greetings" (May 7, 1896, A-118).

On July 22, 1896, Jordan traveled together with 2 priests and 2 brothers to North America, and arrived in New York on August 1. In St. Nazianz he was received like a second "Pastor Oschwald." Afterwards he returned to Milwaukee to discuss everything once more with the archbishop. They traveled together to St. Nazianz to conclude the contract for the definite takeover of the Colony.** On the Feast of Assumption of Mary, Jordan inaugurated the SDS community in St. Nazianz with a solemn liturgical service. The foundation developed rapidly and favorably. It became the Salvatorian nursery for the coming young generation of North Americans and was soon able to help the financially pressed motherhouse (cf. PPP, 271ff).

* In reality he took over 240 acres of land together with the seminary of Fr. Oschwald and the parish of St. Nazianz (cf., letter, August 24, 1896, A-124).

** Because of an untended cold Jordan at that time lost the hearing in his right ear. Thereafter he had to have his interlocutors either in front of himself or at his left side (An SDS, III, 2, 180).

In St. Nazianz, three SDS sisters nursed the old Oschwald Sisters and took care of some orphans. "They have a beautiful house, much fruit, etc, [they] desire many sisters, they all would have work" (October 28, 1896, MMChr). On his way home, Jordan wrote to the small community in St. Nazianz about his particularly good journey home. Then he added:
St. Nazianz is near to my heart. May there arise and flourish a great nursery of holiness and learning! Always attend to the good spirit and observance of the Holy Rule, and God's blessing will not fail to come. America is a vast field, but it needs saints; it is cold and needs fire-zeal. May the Holy Spirit fill us.

He also admonished the confreres to acquire a good knowledge of English (Atlantic Ocean, August 24, 1896, A-125). Msgr. de Waal also shared Jordan's joy at the good start in St. Nazianz:

Fr. Jordan is back from North America and he told me about his success. Since he developed the first ideas of his new foundation in the C.S. [Campo Santo], he has always been in good relations with our house, and he likes coming to communicate his joys and troubles, to get advice, to develop his plans, etc. God's blessing is evidently with his efforts. I am glad to have always spoken in his favor and to have done what I could (Chronicle of C.S., September 15, 1896).

3.28/47. Sisters' developments. The first eight sisters in the USA were joined by three more sisters in July. They had been preparing themselves for three months for their work there (including the study of English) and departed from Rotterdam on June 26, 1896. They were already in Milwaukee when Jordan arrived there with his four confreres. At about the same time another letter arrived in Rome from pastor Jöhren, who asked for sisters for Uniontown, WA. Lüthen wrote immediately to Jordan in the USA, to dispose of this matter: "I think one could send four sisters, in case they can get the traveling money through begging. As soon as Mother Mary comes, I'll send you a definite answer (July 18, 1896, BL-38). Mother Mary was still in Tivoli in those days (MMChr).

Mother Mary traveled to Switzerland on July 20, 1896, her first trip outside Tivoli and Rome since her arrival. She took with her as far as Modena the deposed superior of Tivoli. Then the sister needing R&R went on to her Bavarian homeland according to the doctor's orders, and

Mother Mary proceeded via Como to Capolago to visit with the pastor there who wished to have sisters for a children's asylum. From there she went on to Freiburg. "There in Drogens, I found a paradise and recovered much; was also quite edified by the life of the sisters." On August 7, she also paid a visit to the confers in Freiburg, all of whom were enjoying the summer holiday in Hohenzweig (in the German part of Canton Freiburg). Mother Mary returned via Einsiedeln and Geneva. On August 9, she was in Rome again. Although brief, this change of air had been good for her health.

3.29/48. Dispensations from vows. On September 2, 1896, Fr. Methodius Seigel petitioned the Congregation for dispensation from vows. As reasons he indicated that he felt unhappy in the Society because of the frequent changes in the Constitution and because of his bad health. On September 7, Fr. Antonio received the petition for his opinion. At the same time the superior of Vienna X (since July 25, 1893) Fr. Boniface Gammerschlag, and a third priest, Procopius Ster asked for release from their vows. These three priests were good pastors with no fear of every becoming unemployed.

On September 9, Fr. Antonio called the superior general in to a discussion in his Convent Madonna della Scala. At the same time he sent him the documents of the Viennese community and requested Jordan to think them over well, to discuss them with his consultants within 8-10 days, and then to report the result. Fr. Antonio stressed that he needed exact indications for his *votum* in regard to the behavior of Seigel and his two confreres (D-711).

In his report to the Congregation Fr. Antonio first took a position on the reasons given by Seigel: he could grant the second reason but had to decline the first. For since 1892, no changes had been made in the statutes. In any case, had Seigel not agreed to the statutes back then, he would have been ordained with a dispensation. Changes in the statutes had only been inserted due to Apostolic decrees Jordan had overlooked.

Fr. Antonio then indicates as the real reason of Seigel's leaving that the superior of the community in Vienna had adapted the religious habit to the one of the secular priests. The superior general had let them do so. When Fr. Antonio then had called them to order and allowed

them only thicker cloth but not another style, the priests had apparently submitted, but again and again postponed to obey. Two or three months ago the superior and other priests had been transferred; but instead of obeying the three had asked to leave. Fr. Antonio favors Seigel's dispensation because his remaining (like that of his two confreres) would damage the Society. Seigel would certainly not remain faithful to the rules (September 1896, A Rel 10482/14). The priest received the dispensation on October 2, 1896, under the usual presupposition that he would find a bishop and secured sustenance.

The September 14, 1896 petition of the superior, Fr. Gamerschlag, had a similar justification. As the Society had developed now, he no longer had a vocation. On the contrary, he felt disgust toward the Society. He could already add a document stating that the Vicar General, Bishop Angerer, would receive him into the archdiocese (September 13). So he received a dispensation on September 26. (A Rel 10599), equally also the third priest, Fr. Procopius Ster (September 26, 1896, A Rel 10640).

The case of Fr. Elias Zila is also revealing. He was ordained in 1894 at the age of 24. Being a Bohemian he immediately came as a catechist to Vienna X. After his three confreres had succeeded so well in summer 1896 to transfer from the Society to the diocese, he felt very inclined to do the same. Fr. Antonio had ordered him to come to Rome. Zila evaded the order. The Visitor decided on a threefold admonition under witnesses and threatening suspension. Zila threatened to bring the Society into discredit with disclosures.

Lüthen calmed the new superior in Vienna, who was justly concerned about it: in Rome so many of our "misdeeds" had already become known to the ecclesiastical authority that nothing new could be presented to the Apostolic Visitor (July 20, 1896, BL-35).

On November 14, Zila submitted his petition to be dispensed from vows in order to be received into the Archdiocese of Vienna. There he was incardinated, November 17. He said his reason for leaving was that in novitiate he had had too little chance to get to know the Society and that the changes had completely extinguished his weak vocation.

While Jordan was abroad, on December 1, Lüthen was requested to give his opinion. Fr Antonio was also queried on December 9. He pointed out: Zila's reasons are not fully true. Yes, the novice master did

not speak Bohemian, but Zila could hear and study the constitutions and the relevant explanations in Latin. The rules have remained unchanged regarding purpose and means. This motive of Zila's is an excuse and nothing else. There have been no changes in comparison with the earlier rules with the exception of some apostolic decrees which had to be adopted. Zila had lied and still lies. He has never had a true vocation, but entered in order to be ordained. He had been too poor to study on his own. In Vienna X, he threw the religious spirit completely overboard and resisted the order of the superior general. Jordan is quite satisfied if Zila leaves the Society (December 23). On January 4, 1897, Zila was dispensed, as he had already been received into a diocese (A Rel 10788).

At the same time, the 24 year-old Bavarian, Fr. Berchmanns Nieberl also asked for dispensation from vows (December 20, 1896). He had been ordained at age 22, and then sent to the newly-erected community of Freiburg in the summer of 1894. There he immediately tried any way possible to leave the Society. He had lost his vocation and was continuously ill. On May 5th he left the community, moving to Germany.

On November 16, 1896, Fr. Antonio inquired under strict secrecy from Jordan about Nieberl who wanted to leave and was now staying in Zurich. Fr. Antonio said that he had his knowledge from a source he was not allowed to reveal (D-715). Nieberl found acceptance in the Diocese of Chur on December 22, 1896. Jordan gave his consent to his leaving on January 11, 1897. Fr. Antonio explained in his *votum*: Nieberl was all right until ordination. Then he became more and more discontent. In the last years was permitted to take treatments in various spas. After one such at Leukerbad, where he behaved badly, he traveled around without permission, saying he no longer felt bound to a religious order, and that he had wanted to leave for some time (January 14, 1897). On January 18, Fr. Anntonio received from Jordan the document stating that Nieberl had found a bishop and sustenance (D-718). The Congregation gave permission to leave on January 22, 1897 (A Rel, April 11, 1897).

How much Fr. Antonio felt responsible for everything shows up among other places in the case of Br. Vitalis Ruggiero. He, an Italian (cousin of the brothers Manna), had entered the Society at the age of 17 in the summer of 1892, but was invested only in April 1895. As the novice master (Lüthen's successor) did not admit the brother to vows on

schedule, he turned to the Apostolic Visitor. Fr. Antonio required that the necessary steps immediately be taken for the brother to finish his novitiate in an orderly way. At the same time he called Ruggiero for a discussion (June 25, 1896, D-710), and on June 29 he made first profession. In summer 1899, he was not admitted to final vows. Consequently he tried to involve the Society in a law suit because of "theft, privation of freedom and application of force." Now Fr. Antonio got to know the real character of this man. He didn't hesitate to intervene with energy and success against the accuser and for Jordan (A Rel 21028/14, August 20; December 22, 1899).

One priest still in his studies complained to Fr. Antonio that he had not participated in electing province examiners. (A supplementary election had been made for two priests who had been transferred from Rome.) Following this complaint, the visitor requested Jordan to indicate to him all the reasons. Furthermore, he wanted to know why this election had taken place, as 7 examiners had already been elected (in reality only 6 had), and how the election had been conducted. The protocol stating the details and signed by all participants should be sent to him together with the other material as soon as possible (January 3, 1897, D-717). Here one may also ask who was governing the Society, Jordan with his counsel, or Fr. Antonio as the visitor. The superior general had no other choice but to present to the representative of that ecclesiastical authority in all humility the orderly procedure of the matter.

3.30/50. Tivoli Visitation. The new superior in Tivoli informed Jordan and Mother Mary that on September 6, 1896, a kind of visitation had taken place at the sisters' in Tivoli. The visitor (his name is not indicated) came with the men's superior of Tivoli and a second SDS priest (both left the Society soon after) in order to inspect the house. He then "inquired about the number of sisters, food, health, in short about everything. Then he said that the motherhouse was not in Rome, but here." He inspected the garden and demanded that the sisters should employ a gardener and that they should eat the beautiful grapes themselves instead of selling them. "He liked everything well, with the exception that the novices had no individual sleeping cells." The visitor required at least curtains or folding screens between the sisters' beds.

The visitor especially stressed to the superior, "We can be approved by the church only if we do exactly what the holy church requires from us." Then he revised the daily timetable and demanded: in regard to the sustenance of the sisters nothing should be missing, but everything should be available. Then he went to the bishop to talk with him. He would give further orders to the sisters. But even now he advised the sisters to rent the house for 9 years or still better to buy it (September 7, 1896, D-445).

The name of the visitor is not indicated by the superior. But we can suppose he was Fr. Antonio. As in the previous years, he garnered his information from the priests in Tivoli. He took with him the superior, Pilippus Schutz, whom he esteemed much, as well as Fr. Matthäus Baukhage whom we are already acquainted with from Assam. His questions and assertions related closely to his *votum* of March 1896. Not having an actual date for an ecclesiastical visitation he satisfied himself with talking with the mother superior. His visit to the bishop was justified because the Congregation had wished it based on the Niggel report and also due to the fact that already at that time there were persons who thought of themselves as "holy Church," who would have liked to take the sisters away from Jordan, if they had already been independent enough.

3.31/51. Main points. On September 17, 1896, Fr. Antonio summarized the main points which had caused discontent and complaints earlier, and which had been implemented to maintain the degree of firmness and well-being now reached by the Society. He considers it useful to give in writing some of his recommendations and instructions. He proposed them on various occasions and would not like to repeat them over and over again.

- 1) The prefects of the theologians and philosophers should be priests as now there were a sufficient number of priests available.
- 2) No single member should be charged with too many offices: their distribution shall be equal and reasonable. It is true not all are adept for everything: but there are very few capable of nothing. One must also consider the strengths of each one, so that no one be overburdened.
- 3) The oblates must live in healthy and not too close surroundings. I demand that a physician be called, who writes down how many young-

sters can be lodged in each room. The declaration of the physician must be rigorously obeyed.

4) Italians and students (oblates) of different languages shall not be educated and instructed by the common prefect; they need a special prefect or at least a vice-prefect caring for them.

5) Except for in the missions, it is not to be tolerated that priests of the Society live alone as chaplains, curates, etc.

6) It is necessary that the orders given by the holy Congregation to Fr. Jordan through me last May be strictly observed, so the situations needn't be changed by order of this Congregation.*

7) It is necessary to endeavor seriously that the financial situation of the Society be improved as it is expected.

Instructions for individual cases will be given or repeated by Fr. Antonio. Jordan should well accept the above points. Fr. Antonio had written only in the interest of the Society founded by Jordan, which was destined to do great things in the church. "It will do so undoubtedly if it reaches completely the perfection and firmness it needs." September 17, 1896 (D-713).

* Point 6 refers to the Niggel Report.

4. Sick and Pressured, Yet Always Moving Forward

When Jordan returned from North America the bishop of Nictheroy, District of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, was already waiting for him and asked for missionaries. Jordan wanted, according to his custom, first to send an advance group of 3 priest and 1 brother. Of course for this he needed permission from Fr. Antonio who was against it due to the poor financial condition of the Society. But the Founder was glad when he could employ priests who had finished their studies, so that they would not be unemployed diners at table, but active missionaries at work.

So Fr. Antonio gave in, but on condition that the poor mission bishop would pay for the journey and fully fund the upkeep of the members. He would contact the bishop himself. Jordan was to arrange a meeting (September 27, 1896, D-712; September 30, D-714). The bishop however, was unable here in Rome to promise what the Visitor demanded. He turned to the pope who let Jordan know, through Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla, that it was his express wish that he would help the poor mission bishop (AK 1898). So Jordan ordered 2 priests as scouts to Campos near Rio de Janeiro.

On October 29, 1896, three sisters took over a newly-founded children's home in Brunate¹ on Lake Como. Negotiations had already taken months. Jordan demanded not only that the local pastor come up with travel and upkeep for the sisters, but also that their spiritual needs were assured. The Bishop of Como promised to relieve the Founder of all cares in that respect (cf., MMChr, October 1896).

¹ The foundation of Brunate was initiated by Prior Edoardo Torriani in Menadrisio. He wanted 2 sisters to teach catechism, Sunday school for girls, ambulatory care for the sick in Brunate, and 2 sisters for a children's home still in construction (April 23, 1895, E-804). At the end of May, information came that the building would be finished by October and that the house was in a healthy location. Jordan should negotiate personally with the pastor of Brunate (June 17, 1895, E-805; cf., MMChr).

Beginning with the fall of 1896, the philosophers were instructed in the motherhouse itself. There were now enough teachers sufficiently trained. Having lectures at home had many advantages. Gaps in their humanistic education could be filled in. So far the training of the members had been short on years but rich in achievements and academic degrees.

Jordan was reproached that his people were trained only for the location where they would have to work. He defended himself against this view. His principle was to train confreres in such a way that they would be capable in any location assigned to them by holy obedience, be it at home or abroad. With regard to humanistic studies, he demanded them to be oriented to the public schools. He referred to the judgement of the Prince-Archbishop of Brixen who said it would be sufficient for Austria that the Salvatorians had an education equal to that of the secular clergy. For this reason Jordan demanded that any subject which had been neglected in Tivoli (physics, mathematics) should be made up during philosophy (G-2.7).

Lüthen, being the "Priest's Pastor" (*Ambrosius*) urged Jordan to give priority to training theology students in practical care of souls. If a new priest had not studied pastoral theology, he should make it up in a special 4th year.

Jordan cared very much about the flourishing of the communities in Austria and Switzerland. His letters to confreres there betrays how sensitively he treated them. He wrote to one superior who he had to order to send one brother to Bavaria to sell calendars on account of empty coffers, and to transfer another brother as cook to another community: "In a hurry—take it in good spirits, since I have to act like this!" (September 13, 1896, A-127). In fall, after the regular school courses had begun, Jordan wanted to send him young students not yet used to the Roman climate: "I don't see a better way yet for the beginning. . . . Have patience, with God's help we shall overcome difficulties" (October 16, 1896, A-130). Jordan wrote to another superior who had three confreres in the community who had applied for dispensation and were now supposed to come to Rome. Wanting to prevent this, Jordan wrote that

he was unable to act in this affair since he had to go by the word of the visitorator (September 5, A-128).

In one of the communities he had considerable trouble with discipline and observance. With one undisciplined priest he told the superior to be strict and to warn him he would be reported to Rome. Yet he had hopes of a peaceful solution: "Do your best in the meantime, pray and suffer" (May 25, 1896, A-120). In fall Jordan admonished again:

I must insist with all my strength that in all houses observance and discipline be well maintained, therefore, I warn you in the Lord to observe the holy rules, etc., exactly. For priests, too, it is especially important [to observe] the rules for priests. How much good a priest can do who loves to pray diligently.

Jordan requested daily meditation and especially a devout celebration of Holy Mass with proper preparation and at least a quarter hour thanksgiving, "what any good diocesan priest is also doing" (September 27, 1896, A-129). He consoled Fr. Felix Bucher as he wanted another field of activity: "Listen to the words of your spiritual father who loves you. In much patience. . . . If we want to cast off a cross, a heavier one may follow"(October 20, 1896).

In spite of the bad season of the year Jordan undertook a very strenuous visitation journey to the communities north of the Alps. November 17, 1896, he left Rome for Vienna where he had recently to install a new administration (October 18, 1896).² He found a very warm reception there and was able to confer with Cardinal Gruscha and Vicar General Angerer discussing and clearing up all misunderstandings concerning

² Jordan had to forbid wearing low shoes because the Visitorator insisted most rigorously on uniform clothing. Before his present visit Jordan had only allowed them to wear out the shoes they still had. On the other hand, feather-beds were judged "non Roman." A question about making certain walks without the habit had of course been declined by Jordan: Never lay down your habit! (October 12, 1896, BL-1454). Only the experience of many years could in this case force a change out of the Roman narrowness.

the 3 priests who wanted to leave. He was grateful that Auxiliary Bishop Angerer incardinated the three priests who did not feel comfortable in the Society. Also there was a green light for new proper housing. Jordan did not forget to greet Apostolic Nuncio Emidio Taliani, other prelates, and the "older clergy of the capital."

From Vienna the Founder went to Meseritsch where he found the community in happy unity and where the priests on account of their pastoral work enjoyed a high reputation both with the secular and the spiritual authorities. Negotiations over the yet unsolved question of taking over of the seminary were promising. Jordan was ready to assume care for the municipal hostel for high school students if no obligation were imposed upon him. For his main concern was as soon as possible to plant there a Moravian "seedling for apostolic laborers" (November 19, 1896, A-133). Unfortunately, he could not bring the deliberations to an end in the short time at his disposal (January 11, 1887, A-139). For some time already the purchase of a piece of land had been considered and this could be realized now (cf., A-113 from April 4, 1896 & A-115 from April 18, 1896). Jordan thought of building a seminary with a church. Together with the superior he went to see the Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz who first examined the rules of the Society. He was quite taken with Jordan and immediately offered him 8,000 Gulden as his contribution, so that he could pay for the seminary and build the church. He wanted the SDS priests in Moravia to be active in parish missions and other extraordinary pastoral work.

Prince-Archbishop Kohn suggested yet another station. Jordan was to care for the minor seminary in Kremsier and also found stations for extra-parochial service in Prosnitz and Ostrau. [Note: his predecessor, Cardinal Friedrich Prince Fürstenburg (1853-92) had founded this school for Czech-speaking seminarians]. Jordan was inclined to consider his proposal since he hoped for material help for the missions and good possibilities to spread Salvatorian publications. **See, 4.1. Meseritsch (I).**³

³ See, A Closer Look: 4.1. Meseritsch (I).

Jordan made short side trip into Upper Silesia where Weigang had already made inquiries at the beginning of the year. From Moravia he also wanted to get into Prussia. Silesia was a fruitful field for spiritual vocations, but the state demanded 30,000 to 50,000 Marks for security. Therefore, the poor apostle had to leave again without having achieved anything. From Meseritsch he returned to Vienna to thank the Cardinal again that all misunderstandings had been solved and that his Society had found such great good will. He took leave also of the apostolic nuncio. Together with the Superior of Vienna X he went to Simbach, to the Society's publishing center. Faithful Kastner the printer could show him with pride that this year alone, 72,000 *Apostlekalender* would be sent out at a net profit of 8,000 Marks. Jordan went on to Lochau, spent Sunday with the confreres, and by the end of November was already in Drognens and Freiburg.

In Drognens he enjoyed the new building erected by the Canton to house about 100 boys. So far 36 pupils were there. In Freiburg he conferred with Bishop Deruaz who liked to employ religious priests in regular pastoral service, but to whom Jordan made it clear that "his" priests had to live in community, and that any pastoral obligations had to be attuned to this (letter to local superior, October 28, 1896, A-131). State Councilor Python also visited Jordan whom he highly esteemed, showing him with pride the university's new philosophy and theology faculty and also the medical faculty. He wished that a great hostel would be taken over, in Fribourg-Pérolles, by "his friend Jordan." **See, 4.2. Winter travel 1896.**⁴

By December 3, Jordan went home from Freiburg. The day before, the Lord of life and death had called his mother to her eternal rest at the age of 74. This news reached the priest-son only in Rome.⁵ Jordan did not go

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.2. Winter travel 1896.

⁵ Already before his departure from Rome, Jordan had received news from his home pastor that his mother had suffered a "little stroke" (cf., DSS XIII, 2.9). She

directly to Rome, but spent a few days in an unknown place in Italy [note: Pieti, G-7.7?]. On Monday, December 7, he continued to Rome, but had unforeseen waits in Milan and in Siena and so arrived in Rome with a delay of 12 hours on December 8, "at about 9 o'clock in the evening." His notebook says only: "Return Milan 14 hours delay (Siena) (G-2.2).

The fast-growing sisters community was a joy for Jordan and also for Mother Mary, and provided a steady impulse to provide for their material and spiritual welfare. That neither of these could always comply with their justified wishes was painful mostly to themselves. They were glad their spiritual communities (with exceptions) were neither ambitious nor overly timid. For in the female branch, too, the beginning years were very hard.

Informed of the Niggli Report of Fr. Antonio, Jordan took care to remedy any damage to the sisters and to rectify any neglect he may have missed. But he was very careful in this. The few priests who had been involved in this affair (be it through their work in Tivoli, or that Fr. Antonio had let them come) held fast to Jordan and offered the sisters all possible help. In spite of this, there were some restless and dissatisfied sisters who felt neglected by the Founder. They accused Mother Mary of showing herself hard and unfeeling, and they threatened to turn to the Apostolic Visitor. Mother Mary fueled this by uttering her own dislike of Tivoli too openly; that again excited the leading sisters in the Tivoli motherhouse and provoked a fight.

died earlier than expected, by December 2, 1896. Pastor Feederle sent a telegram to Lochau. Jordan had left there two days earlier. Whether and where the telegram reached Jordan has not been transmitted. Only at a later date did Jordan visit: "he knelt down at his mother's grave and wept" (testified by his younger brother Edward). [Note: The Chronicler from Freiburg reports Jordan left for Rome on December 3: on that day he visited the Colony of Drognens and already at 5 p.m. he began his return journey to the motherhouse. "All our asking and begging to stay here was in vain. He couldn't be persuaded." This note indicates Jordan had as of yet no knowledge of his mother's death.]

Some sisters complained about lack of religious discipline, others wanted more personal care. It was difficult to satisfy all. Through the harsh report of Fr. Antonio at the beginning of the year the sisterhood also came to the notice of the church authorities. Jordan bore with humble patience that all misdeeds which somehow came to light were blamed on him as the person responsible. Yet he did not withdraw his confidence in Mother Mary, and that gave her solidity and firmness in her difficult task.

Mother Mary was accustomed to talk about everything with Jordan, and now had to learn not to pass on to him all the smallest details. Jordan was very concerned about the religious spirit of the sisters. Again and again he encouraged unity, apostolic service, and bearing of crosses. Mother Mary had been open to this spirituality. She was grateful for every spiritual help and accepted humbly every discreet rebuke.

The sisters, no less than Mother Mary, turned to their beloved Father Founder. Skillfully and selflessly he in turn called on fatherly Weigang and the serious and kind Lüthen. In the meantime, Mother Mary had settled her community in Via Lungara as well as possible. She herself had a modest room with an adjoining workroom and small library that served as a reception room. Board and lodging had improved over the years resulting in general good health for the sisters.

At the start of September in Tivoli, and in November in Via Lungara, a "visitation" took place. Engaged in this delicate task was a not very tactful priest, Fr. Pachomius Eisel, SDS, a missionary expelled from Ecuador. He was an unbalanced, strict man. He appealed especially to those sisters who were railing against every laxity, while the spiritually well-balanced sisters remembered him with less favor. In consequence to this visitation Mother Mary got her consultants, and thus the female branch now had its generalate too. Previously, Jordan had consulted his two consultants on

matters concerning the sisters; whether he also asked the advice of Mother Mary is not known. **See, 4.3. Pachomius Eisele (I).**⁶

The spiritual and vocational education of the sisters was for Jordan a matter of concern he never lost sight of. After the carefree training in the large community, for most sisters it was a difficult adjustment to a small community, to being on their own, assuming responsibility. Not surprisingly, this greater autonomy provoked a crisis for some sisters.

It was Mother Mary's strong point to feel pity for any overly sensitive co-sister. She herself was a cool character, quick to judge, curt in her orders. Thus for many she was not motherly enough. As her style was formed by her aristocratic upbringing, she had to remind herself every now and then to have patience and forbearance, and this she did in all humility. When frictions with sisters who were slow and simple became inevitable, she would feel her office to be a burden and fled to prayer in order to persevere under the God-given cross. She found in the helpful example of Jordan steady encouragement. The sisters were heartily devoted to Mother Mary and gladly excused her "natural characteristics." Most of them were proud to have such a noble lady as their superior general.

Late fall brought again the proud harvest of academic degrees for Jordan's spiritual sons.⁷ On December 10, the Founder sent another 3 confreres to St. Nazianz. For Christmas, friends, patrons and cooperators again received hearty thanks— knowing full well that every word of thanks from Jordan was also another solicitation.

By year's end, the male branch numbered over 370 members, and the Mission in Assam relied no less on "apostolic begging" than did the

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.3. Pachomius Eisele (I).

⁷ Among the doctors there were 4 theologians (one of them Pancratius Pfeiffer), 3 philosophers (Gregoriana); 2 canon lawyers (San Apollinare).

study houses.⁸ At the end of 1896, the Administrator of Assam arrived in Rome to present his cares on the spot.

On January 30, 1897, Fr. Angelus Münzloher returned to Assam with only one priest and one sister. On December 30, 1896, the superior of Drognens had arrived in Rome, although the Founder had met with him only 4 weeks before. Jordan noted down both their requests: "the usual cross" (G-2.2). January 14, 1897, the scholastics conducted the Language Fest again, a splendid expression of the universal element of the Society.⁹ Leo XIII had sent his good wishes and blessing on Christmas Eve. Cardinal Lodovico Jacobini, just this year named cardinal, also received

⁸ "From the crib of the *Salvator Mundi*" Jordan thanked his promoters and cooperators heartily and begged: "For what can I do without you, dearest friends! If you withdraw your fidelity, your love, your trials and work, your gifts and prayers from us, what should I do then? So let us again make sacrifices and suffer together in this new year in holy union." Then he pointed to the Apostle to the Gentiles and to his apostolic sufferings described in 2Cor 6:4, comparing these with the great sacrifices by which the benefactors had aided the Society such that 60 priests were already active in 17 foundations to help young men on the way to the priesthood (Advent 1896, E-174). At that time 174 clerics were preparing themselves for the priesthood, 54 clerics were in the novitiate, and 70 students in the secondary school. They were joined by 38 brothers and 18 brother novices (Schem. 1896).

⁹ Münzloher arrived from the mission on December 30, 1896, and returned to Assam one month later with Fr. Pius Steinherr and one sister. Two sisters joined them for the foundation in Akyab, Dacca. Fr. Damasus Louis, too, came to Rome on December 30, 1896, and returned to Drognens with Fr. Pachomius Eisele and one sister on January 4, 1897. On January 2, 1897, Archbishop Ottone Zardetti visited Jordan.

For New Year 1897, Fr. Antonio ordered "for a regulated organization of the Society, a quarterly account of the economic situation" as well as corresponding bookkeeping (November 27, 1896, A-135). Only from New Year 1900 did he allow the half year financial report (June 5, 1899, A-238). The Language Fest was organized in 20 languages (with additional songs also in foreign languages).

Jordan in a loving discussion. As Secretary of Propagation he had supported Jordan actively and remained well disposed towards him. On Christmas Eve, Jordan could again enjoy his calling in deep prayer: "Immense urge to help to save all mankind." This consoling experience held out through St. Stephan's Day: "Strong urge to lead a holy life. Some crosses. All for the greater glory of God" (G-2.2).

Again in 1896, Jordan had truly been led through many trials. At the end of the year he gave his account of it. With good conscience he could say that he had not given up the fight, but had patiently and bravely fought on, trusting in help from above. But no proud feelings overcame him, such as usually attend successful work or dangers overcome. On the contrary, he remembered shamefully what the Apostle Paul out of love for the Lord had passed through, "acting with patient endurance amid trials, difficulties, distresses, beatings, imprisonments and riots, as men familiar with hard work, sleepless nights and fasts . . . whether honored or dishonored, spoken of well or ill . . ." (2Cor 6:4) and he admonished himself: "Be in earnest once and for all because eventide is quickly approaching." (December 27, 1896, SD II, 10).

At the end of January 1897, Jordan was reproached by the Apostolic Visitor in a manner which could only hurt him deeply. Fr. Antonio had to turn to the Founder on account of one young priest who wanted to leave. The Founder did not agree, in conscience, with the solution proposed by the Visitor. **See, 4.4. Spiridion Schmitz's departure.**¹⁰

On that occasion Fr. Antonio complained that Jordan gave him too little support, even abandoning him in his endeavor to promote unity in the life of the Salvatorian communities.¹¹ Such a reproach was certainly more

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.4. Spiridion Schmitz's departure.

¹¹ The Visitor wrote to Jordan:

On this occasion I vividly recommend to your Reverence to work with all strength that mistrust might cease and that mutual confidence together with perfect unity might reign among the members. I have tried hard in this regard,

than unwarranted, since Jordan was literally day and night pondering how he could help the confreres adjust to a new community and hold together with the superiors and amongst themselves.

On February 8, 1897, Jordan fell sick after a cold he presumably caught in Tivoli the day before. His body weakened by work and troubles, had little resistance. The sickness, slight in the beginning, worsened quickly. Soon a severe pleurisy with high fever made Jordan incapable of any activity. He could only pray and suffer and thus carry the cares of both his foundations. The administration he had to leave to Lüthen. On the Feast of St. Joseph he was able to say Mass again, though under great physical strain. With the Feast of the Annunciation, he could leave his bed for good and resume his activities. **See, 4.5. Jordan's health.**¹² The Cardinal Vicar had offered him permission to celebrate Mass in his room for yet some time.¹³ Cardinal Rampolla too offered his sympathy (G-2.2).

On the Feast of the Annunciation, 7 more sisters departed for the USA after a short holiday. By January, Jordan had responded to the petition of Fr. Jöhren and promised 3 sisters for an educational institute in Uniontown, WA come spring. Three other sisters were to take charge of a small hospital in Lewistown, ID. Fr. Severin Jurek, superior in the Far West,

but alone it isn't enough. I fear the small sparks which can cause terrible conflagrations. May God with His grace assist you, Reverend, to overcome the difficulties you encounter in increasing His honor" (January 22, 1897, D-719).

One can easily understand what Jordan must have felt at such a reproach as someone who, both in writing and personally, strove unswervingly for his new communities to fit and grow together.

¹² See, A Closer Look: 4.5. Jordan's health.

¹³ Jordan must have been deeply touched by the Cardinal Vicar's attention. The still weak Founder felt no less joy in the fact that the Cardinal Vicar passed a petition of his to Leo XIII through the private chaplain, Rinaldo Angeli, up the papal backstairs. It concerned the dispensation of two candidates for ordination and the title of apostolic missionary (TVU 1897, March 31, 1897).

assumed this responsibility. On the same day Jordan gave permission for 3 sisters to take over a small private hospital of Prof. Morocco in Rome. **See, 4.6. Sisters' placements.**¹⁴

From April 8 to 27, at the urging of his physician, Jordan went to Tivoli for further recovery in the good air. The doctor wanted to prevent a still threatening TB. Easter was celebrated back with the community in the motherhouse.

On April 20, Jordan sent 2 confreres to Campos, Brazil, to assist the 2 priests already there, and thus come nearer to the planned foundation of a seminary. He confessed to the superior: "I have a great longing to erect in Brazil a seminary of the Society" (A-141). After a few days he wrote his confrere who was in the meantime appointed by the bishop to pastoral work in Quatis (District Rio de Janeiro, Barra Manza): "I would be glad if we could in time plant a seedling of a school of apostolic religious. Pray, suffer and work for God's holy cause!" (February 1, 1897, A-142). The superior of Compos answered immediately. His proposal to do pastoral work in Compos and to cooperate in the episcopal college pleased Jordan, but he asked him not to lose sight of the main objective; to open a house for Salvatorian vocations, even if some time later (March 28, 1897, A-145). **See, 4.7. Campos.**¹⁵

Jordan was oppressed by more than concern for his own recovery. Money was tight. So again on the Feast of the Annunciation he called the attention of the Mother of God to it. Because he and Lüthen could no longer travel, he sent out Fr. Raich, the master of novices, to beg. After discussion with his consultants, he appointed his assistant, Fr. Pabst to be novice master, and asked the Congregation to confirm his nomination. Fr. Antonio, attentive custodian of canonical rules, denied the Founder the right to propose the novice master and demanded a proper election,

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.6. Sisters' placements.

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.7. Campos.

like in "mature orders." Jordan must have felt this sort of supervision was very painful. Yet he called his General Council together the following day to elect the most suitable candidate. Pabst was then confirmed by the Congregation. **See, 4.8. New novice master.**¹⁶

In Meseritsch the search for an agreement dragged on. Even the Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz asked Jordan how things looked for the purchase of the seminary in Wallach. Of course Jordan could not act, as long as the local superior did not have official state permission for a foundation. He regretted that the generous promise of the archbishop, given a year ago to contribute half the price, had now expired. Yet he still hoped to have his own seminaries in Moravia and Silesia soon.¹⁷

In 1897, he could count on 30 new priests. So he hoped "with God's help" to give better administration to all houses, and also to found new seminaries in the near future. His dearest wish remained always to found "Apostolic schools all over the world."

Back from restful Tivoli in April, Jordan stayed only a few days in Rome and then went to Lochau for further recovery. **See, 4.9. Lochau.**¹⁸ He remained from May 7 to June 2 visiting also the new Vicar General of Feldkirch, Auxiliary Bishop Zobl. Before he went to Lochau he met in

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.8. New novice master.

¹⁷ Jordan asked the superior of Meseritsch to conclude the matter as soon as possible. Also the Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz reckoned with the Society taking a foothold in Meseritsch and working in Moravia. The year before, he would have paid about half from his own pocket, if the Society had bought the hostel. Jordan remembered giving his consent on the occasion of his visit in November 1896. Now he had to leave it all to the cleverness of the local superior: "Oh, how happy would I be to see a candidature for Moravia there soon. Another will be established for Silesia at a suitable place as soon as possible" (Tivoli, April 25, 1897, A-149).

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 4.9. Lochau.

Rome, Prince-Archbishop Aichner of Brixen, who was very much in favor of Lochau (G-2.2). On May 28, he made a short side trip to Fribourg. On the way back to Rome he visited the sisters in Brunate and was asked to table by the bishop of Como.

Again and again the Apostolic Visitor found reasons to criticize the Founder, and generally succeeded in intentionally tying his hands. At that time, Lüthen gave a fitting correction to the community in Meseritsch, reminding them that the limitations imposed by Fr. Antonio referred to new foundations. "Fr. Antonio does not shake the Constitutions!" He has nothing against Jordan's strict interpretation of evangelical poverty; the same about voluntary renunciation of property, retained, not as a condition for vows, but as a voluntary gift before profession.¹⁹

Fr. Antonio saw his main task as making Jordan's foundation canonically mature. So he kept urging the organization of the various houses into provinces. Jordan wished to comply and thought of making an attempt in western Switzerland. But Lüthen had good reasons against this plan and Jordan brushed the suggestion of the Visitor aside.²⁰

¹⁹ Solij, Dear Rev. Confreres.

This is bad, this priest's prattle! If only you could "more prudently" find out where he has got it from: "Venerable Father could not do much about it any more." You know all the limitations refer to founding new establishments. Without the *placet* of Fr. Antonio this is not possible (Fr. Antonio doesn't want to change the Rule!); so too with the purchase of houses, etc. It is completely ridiculous, Venerable Father did not dare to say anything "*quoad pauperitatem*." If you, however, can find out something more precise! Whether he means the *dominium radicale*? We keep to it; also Fr. Antonio has not said anything against it. It is in fact not *vi professionis*, but *titulo donationis*. You will be rewarded for your misery only in heaven (May 2, 1897, BL-96).

²⁰ Lüthen answered Jordan's question from Tivoli, why the first province should be just Switzerland, where everything still lacked firm foundations-- both Freiburg and Drognens! He urged: "First Drognens had to be secured by contract for a longer period" (April 23, 1897, BL-92).

During his convalescence in Lochau, the local superior badgered Jordan about his debts. Jordan passed this on to Lüthen who could only answer: "Fr. Heribert [Prinz] is almost sick with his cares. He looks bad: where to get his 15,000?" (May 16, BL-107). But that didn't help the confreres there. Then Lüthen proposed assuming a third loan of 10,000 Guilders.²¹ Other debtors, too, became impatient. Fr. Chrysologus Raich was now the great hope to procure the needed loan. **See, 4.10. Roving general consultor.**²²

The superior in Vienna also invited Jordan to visit, but he had to put him off till the summer.^{23a} He had now to return to Rome and "then on doctor's orders to go again for 2 months to Germany to strengthen his health (May 20, 1897, A-155).

²¹ The 3rd loan of 10,000 G can't be avoided. There can be no talk of ruining Lochau - or to whom does the house belong? Lochau has the advantage of having to pay fewer contributions, while Rome pays high interests. Certainly, it is high time to get money; for when these 10,000 are gone, what then? Of course you can't tell those house members such truths; but strictly speaking, that is the way it is (August 25, 1897, BL-117).

By order of Jordan there was a traveling brother continuously on the road for Lochau. However, Jordan requested expressly that Br. Rodriguez should not just collect alms, but also dedicate himself to selling periodicals and thus improve the empty coffers of the college (September 13, 1896, A-127).

²² See, A Closer Look: 4.10. Roving general consultor.

^{23 a} In Vienna there were difficulties with the confreres regarding clothing. Jordan had to keep to the order of the Visitor:

In regard to the hat question I cannot and I will not do anything; the matter is settled and I think, although it might cause difficulties, this should be accepted in the spirit of penitence, also because we have no prescribed works of penitence. *Conformitas* and observance will be a good mantle of protection for the individuals; you can see this! (May 20, 1897, A-155).

^{23b} See, A Closer Look: 4.11. Meseritsch (II).

Jordan also would have liked to go to Meseritsch. But the superior there was still fighting for the state permit, and the contract could not be completed. The Founder's hopes for the land in Moravia, lying fallow and yet so promising, were boundless: "Within 3 years we shall get several good brave Moravian priests, good sons of the Society. The ground of Moravia is fertile, pray, suffer and work with all your might." Jordan figured on a good harvest. "As far as I know Bohemia and Moravia, we could get over 100,000 cooperators" (July 9, A-164). But he always urged a good religious spirit, "so the building is solid." He could write the superior very clearly: "I don't like to see you absent from your flock so often and so long" (May 16, A-153). **See, 4.11. Meseritsch (II).**^{23b}

Jordan also looked into Hungary, asking Raich who was begging there:
I would like it if you could find out where in Hungary we possibly could erect a Hungarian candidature for our Society. I desire to erect such a community soon. Healthy location, near the traffic lanes, near a city, healthy waters are especially to be considered. Praying and suffering! (July 31, A-167).

At the end of his convalescence leave on May 29, Jordan went to Drogens to make peace there. He left Lochau on May 28 by way of Konstanz-Radolfzell (A-159).²⁴

At that time Lüthen wrote a letter to Jordan which deserves to be recorded. At the end of May, the bishop of Noto and his blood brother, the bishop of Grigent, enjoyed the hospitality of the motherhouse. First Lüthen told the Founder that of the loan of 10,000 fl., the sum of 3,000 fl.

²⁴ Lüthen had received a "quite unpleasant letter" from the superior of Drogens, who had "absolutely misunderstood" the vicar general when he answered an inquiry about his obedience toward the superior and the confessor. Lüthen requested from Jordan:

In any case you should set him straight personally so anti-Roman sentiments do not arise. Also in my regard he should get back in line: the latest letter is full of criticism. May God open this poor man's eyes (May 22, 1897, BL-114).

had already to be spent, and that Raich promised only a loan of 5,000 fl. Then he continued:

I spoke to both the bishops (very good) about our situation (visitor - money). The bishop too said; one has to pray! I told him that you are too pressured by the situation (under the Visitor) to pray as a founder, otherwise you would. (I told him, from the prayer of the Founder I expect everything). He would not admit that, but he said: "Then you should pray that God may remove the visitor," and then he prayed as if he were himself the Founder: Oh God, etc. That's my opinion, too. Everything depends on your prayer.

Our financial situation is deplorable. I am just reading the life of Dupont (the holy man of Tours!). Why should you not be able to do this, when we have to deal with necessities? (May 31, 1897, BL-122).

This candid letter of his bravest co-fighter must have touched Jordan's heart deeply. Within a few days he returned to Rome and consulted with him.²⁵ He agreed with him and Weigang about the General Procurator to the Holy See. But Fr. Antonio made difficulties. He did not want a confrere too young who would simply agree with Jordan in everything, especially as he would also have to cooperate with the visitor. Though the affair was postponed for several weeks, it was solved according to the mind of the Founder. **See, 4.12. The General Procurator.**²⁶

Jordan worried again about a community for Italian confreres. He considered Frosine. Msgr. Ottavio Cagiano de Acevedo had for a year also already been urging him to open a house there. The bishop of Veroli was

²⁵ On May 15, 1897, Lüthen celebrated his silver jubilee of priesthood. Jordan could not be present. *Der Missionär* pointed to it already on March 13 (MI 6, 1897, cf., Chr. Freiburg). Lüthen was already at that time suffering much and was considerably more burdened due to Jordan's grave sickness. He himself doesn't mention his jubilee. On the contrary, he wrote to the superior in Vienna X, with whom he got on well: "Today I have become 51 years old. Therefore, respect!" (May 5, 1897, BL-98). Lüthen liked inserting some jokes into his letters to this brave confrere.

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.12. The General Procurator.

all for it, but at that time Jordan had to say no. Now he wanted to take up this track and asked Lüthen to speak about it with Msgr. Cagiano in the Vatican (May 11, 1897, A-152).

For sick members he also looked for a better solution: "The responsibility is terrible, they are very dear to me." Jordan himself had already inquired in Lochau and in Freiburg. There was no room. Now he thought Raich should try in Meran. "This is pressing, what can be done? (May 11, 1897, A-152). [Note: Lüthen wrote to Raich, "Rome is Rome! How necessary a sound climate is for young patients!" (April 28, 1898, BL-197).]

About himself Jordan was able to report good results:

I feel nearly perfectly restored, the doctor found only a small defect on the lungs, sure to be cured, he doubted that I ever had even the beginning of TB; I had possibly breathed in and spit out again the germs they had found previously. My nerves are improving too. I should be away from Rome several weeks each year, but not be traveling always, etc. May God strengthen and console you! (May 11, 1897, A-152). [Note: to the contrary: "Rev. Fr. is very unwell with a fever, and will soon travel to Schlesien" (Lüthen to Raich, July 25, 1898, BL-231).]

Mother Mary was still plagued by the unsolved question of the mother-house in Rome. So she kept searching for ecclesiastical counsel. In spring there was a good chance for a discussion with the titular archbishop of Edessa and the president of the *Accademia dei Nobili*, from whom Jordan had rented the sister's house in Tivoli. He, however, pointed out that the authorities desired the separation of male and the female branches of the same foundations. Mother Mary found such insinuations totally revolting. She saw no help in a separation at this time, but a threat! How could the young institute exist without the spiritual guidance of its founder? Mother Mary could not be intimidated in any way, and she knew how to defend Jordan and his sisters' foundation prudently and courageously. **See, 4.13. Mother Mary seeks allies.**²⁷

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 4.13. Mother Mary seeks allies.

In the community of Madonna della Scala in Noto a hidden revolt by some confreres had been smoldering already for a year against the superior and his vicar. In June 1897, it came to an open breach. The dissatisfied confreres did not dare turn to Jordan, knowing well that he would not submit to their presumptuous demands. So they tried with Fr. Antonio who had now the unpleasant job of dealing with complainers.

In fall, Jordan could take over Seminary San Luigi in Noto which the bishop had almost forced on him because he trusted the work of the members of the Society of the Divine Savior, and also because he wanted to help Jordan financially wherever he could. **See, 4.14. Noto.**²⁸

On June 12, the Mission in Assam was destroyed by a terrible earthquake lasting about 5 minutes. At least no missionary suffered any injury, but everything lay in ruins. Not before June 21, could Münzloher send word by telegram: "Earthquake. Everything destroyed. Help!" So new worries were added to Jordan's cares: to rebuild the Assam Mission from the ground up. **See, 4.15. Earthquake in Assam.**²⁹

By July 25, 1897, Jordan dared to go on visitation. All the houses had difficulties crying for the spiritual father. First he went to the Prince-Archbishop of Brixen where he was always welcome. After two days he traveled through Switzerland to Munich. He was there from July 28 to August 10. He visited the archbishop and also the new nuncio, Benedetto Lorenzelli, who was, contrary to his predecessor, very amiable: "Just tell me where I can help you." Jordan did not neglect to thank the great patrons and benefactors in the Bavarian metropolis with personal visits. On August 11, he went to Lochau. There he experienced once more that he had not put his petition between the fingers of the statue of the Immaculate Virgin in vain: "In unusual straits our Mother has helped, so we could send 4,000 M. to the poor motherhouse" (August 15, G-2.2).

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 4.14. Noto.

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.15. Earthquake in Assam.

On August 19, he went to Freiburg, Switzerland; August 23-25, he spent in the boy's institute in Drogens, then he visited the Freiburg scholastics in their summer home in Hohenzelg. He left Saanestadt on August 26 for Lucern. The next day he was with the confreres in Lochau. He went to Vienna at the beginning of September, and from there on September 6 he went to Steinamanger where he stayed with Vicar General Stegmueller and met his "Begging Priest" Fr. Raich. Already on the next day the journey went on to Graz and Marburg. There the bishop wished to have a foundation and had already prepared a contract. This Jordan took to Rome for report and discussion.

He also visited the confreres who stayed at Castle Fahlburg, Prissian to convalesce. **See, 4.16. Sick confreres.**³⁰ By way of Tisens and Meran the journey continued to Trient. The Prince-Archbishop there unhesitatingly gave his permission for the Society to erect a novitiate and a scholasticate with its own teachers. With tempting offers but empty pockets, Jordan arrived again in Rome on September 13 (G-2.2).

By August 18, the sisters had begun their work in Uniontown, WA. But they had to leave Brunate again and moved to nearby Capolago where a foundation had been discussed earlier. Mother Mary had visited Brunate in July and August, when she had been invited home by her family. The occasion was the centenary of the Benedictine nuns in Liège who had run her boarding school. She was absent from Rome from July 22 til August 28, staying mostly in her home castle. On the way back she also visited the sisters in Drogens. **See, 4.17. Mother Mary's home visit.**³¹

Divine Providence granted the motherhouse something more lasting than mere money. Already in June, Raich had been received not only in Fahlburg Castle, but also again in the Villa Paulina in Meran. There the consultor general had described to the Baroness Lydia von Hoffmann

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.16. Sick confreres.

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 4.17. Mother Mary's home visit.

insistently the bad situation in Borgo Vecchio. He won the confidence of the charitable woman and she discussed it with her husband who had just returned from a journey. Without hesitation they put the extensive estate of the Villa Celimontana near the Colosseum at the disposal of the Salvatorians. The visit of the Founder in September 1897 sealed the mutual confidence. Soon a priest and some brothers had settled in an annex to the Villa and cultivated the garden and meadows. Cows came into their stables. The motherhouse suddenly had vegetables and milk without cost. The inhabitants could relax on free days in the extensive park. The scholastics spent every free day on the splendid estate. For Jordan 2 rooms were reserved. The von Hoffmann Family left the use of the estate to the Salvatorians until after WWI when their Roman possessions were confiscated. **See, 4.18. Baroness von Hoffmann.**³²

In June the Salvatorians in Brazil had asked to be sent more confreres, especially brothers, but Jordan had to put them off. St. Nazianz and the Mission in Assam came first. In the fall, however, he could send two priests to Quatis who were urgently needed in the flourishing community where many pupils had to be instructed. In addition, three parishes and several chaplaincies had to be cared for.

On September 20, 1897, Fr. Antonio demanded that the sick should be attended properly. He wrote Jordan:

I know that the orderly makes mistakes. One tells me that Br. Pr. is very negligent in his job, and that the sick are not sufficiently cared for. If that is the case he should be removed. I must say that I am not sufficiently informed. I have made no inquiries and shall make none, being convinced that Your Reverence will take sufficient measures. Furthermore, I hear that there are no less than 6 priests there without proper work. If that's true they could be sent to other houses where there is work to do for the moral and material benefit of all concerned and for the Society (D-727). **See, 4.19. Informers.**³³

³² See, A Closer Look: 4.18. Baroness von Hoffmann.

³³ See, A Closer Look: 4.19. Informers.

In Drogne the brothers were not satisfied with their superior. They turned to the founder who had been with them only a few months before. Jordan asked the one who had made himself their spokesman to submit to the superior,

. . . in all reverence and humility, all complaints of the brothers, and to ask for remedies. If it does not help, repeat your ideas and petitions. If this again does not help, write me again. Fr. Pachomius [Eisele] can for certain reasons not be superior. Fraternal greetings and blessings from your loving spiritual Father, Francis of the Cross (October 1, 1897, A-176).

The superior, however, was not ready to talk. So in March 1898, Jordan had to send Raich, roving Consultor General, as his personal Visitor to Drogne.

In summer of 1894, no one had thought that the Apostolic Visitation would become a standing institution. But Jordan had lived now already seven years under the supervision of the visitor. It certainly had been beneficial that Fr. Antonio in his great reports (1894, 1895, 1896) had refuted the unjustified and slanderous complaints lodged against Jordan. Yet at that time those who had complained were not called to account, nor was there any lack of human shortcomings. This allowed the Visitor to call the Founder to order and to decide matters for him.

Jordan tried his best to convince all confreres of the respect due to ecclesiastical authorities even if he granted disciplinary exemption for apostolic reasons. Still Jordan was unable to overcome the distrust of Fr. Antonio, for whom he was a pious priest with big apostolic plans but little talent for canonical regulations or solid financial administration. As long as he did not overcome his apostolic fantasies he remained for Fr. Antonio a subliminal danger to an undisturbed ecclesiastical enterprise.

Jordan would have been a healthy man if this state of affairs had not burdened and depressed him. Looking at his work as it had developed during the last 15 years, it was now like a bubbling mountain torrent caught and tamed by a channel. Instead of powerfully winding through

the valley, even if the waters would here and there wash over the banks, it now had to flow peacefully and safely in a regulated bed. The apostolic adventurer had been canonically tamed. Lüthen, who understood Jordan like no one else, spoke up freely for him wherever necessary. So he could write to a dissatisfied confrere: "One may really grant the Venerable Father some prudence, for no one else has his experience" (July 19, 1897, BL-132). He maintained this conviction even against Fr. Antonio. But he was frightened again and again by the secret despondency of the Founder. He thought of appealing to the pope to end the Apostolic Visitation. He sketched a petition in good Latin, writing:

Already for three years the Apostolic Visitation has lasted in our institute. In the beginning it was useful for our Society, but later it started to be a hindrance. It deprives our dear Founder not only of the serenity of mind needed in furthering the hard work of a new institution. It is also damaging discipline, for the authority needed by the Founder as well as by any other highest religious superior, is not only not stressed or nourished by the Apostolic Visitation, but it is obscured and suppressed. Therefore, the remark is often heard: I am going to Fr. Antonio (the Reverend Apostolic Visitor) and I am going to the Congregation. That was meant to frighten the superior. But what could be more embarrassing to a superior than investigations following accusations, as also confusions which were awkward either to the Holy Congregation or to the Reverend Apostolic Visitor, especially when they would encourage a certain distrust against the institute itself. Therefore, may Your Holiness, with your highest prudence not scorn to deliberate how provision may be made for the true development of the institute. Trusting the goodness of Your Holiness I do not fear that what I say out of love for Founder and his foundation may be misinterpreted. I am daring, in order to prevent great evils, to ask Your Holiness in deepest humility:

1. That the Apostolic Visitation formally be ended as quickly as possible, and if necessary, other quiet ways be found for the Venerable Founder to govern in a way more fitting to the church's laws and spirit.
2. That to strengthen his authority, the superior general should be given power to cancel temporary vows and dismiss members.

Above this petition Lüthen wrote: 1) Whether? 2) Whether thus? Hearty greetings, Fr. B" (E-54). We have no trace of the outcome of this petition.

We may presume that Jordan asked his faithful co-fighter to dispense with it for the time being. He may have feared (not unjustly) that Lüthen, too, might get into trouble over it.³⁴

For himself he expected little success, for the petition would have gotten stuck with church officials who in such matters listened only to Fr. Antonio. Jordan had no voice in the Congregation. The attitude of Fr. Antonio toward him had not changed. On the contrary, through the purchase of the Palazzo Morone and the Villa Lavaggi the debts of the Society had increased so much that Fr. Antonio was confirmed in his judgment that Jordan knew nothing about finances. Jordan, however, was glad that the visitor did not object to the daring purchase of the 2 houses, even though with his usual circumspection he refused any responsibility for such dealings. But for Jordan, without debts there was neither a claim to the help of Divine Providence, nor apostolic conquests, and for him only these things were genuine or had a future. Jordan left it to the Lord to bind or to release him.

After the Solemn High Mass on St. Francis Day the Roman community offered their congratulations to Jordan. He replied with joyful sincerity, leaving aside all personal reserve. In his typical urgency he implored

³⁴ Lüthen's retreat proposals of that year also fell within the triangle of his tasks and relations as #2 in the Society. As confessor and spiritual guide he proposed to himself: "daily (during the Office and Matins in chapel) study Moral: ½ hour." [Note: By order of the Founder, Lüthen inquired of all superiors: 1) whether all priests had studied the entire theology, resp. which tracts not; 2) whether all confessors had taken and passed the exam in morals. "By order of the Venerable Father—to be sent here before the end of the month. Lüthen" (August 3, 1898, BL-235).]

The "First Confrere" directed his intention: to practice the domestic virtues correctly, the example of Christ's first 30 years—obedient, reverent, amiable—Example: at table, etc." The vicar general admonished himself: to practice particularly humility: towards God (reverence towards Venerable Father, listen more calmly to reproach). Always in joy: "the will of God" (Ex. Spir., November 23-28, G-21).

them to gather in unity around him as Founder, and to stand together for the welfare of the Society. In all too obvious honesty he pointed to his own call as Founder:

It is a joy that you hold unanimously to your spiritual father and superior; and on that the well-being of the Society and of many others depends. . . . God has set me up here. . . . Hold fast and unswervingly to your spiritual father and superior—as long as it is not sinful. “Who is not with me is against me, and he does not gather with me scatters” (Mt. 12:30). I could write a whole book about this one truth, even if you cite all philosophers against it. I could almost say, the will of God has lately showed me with holy force: the Society has a high destiny! But it will reach this destiny only if you hold fast to your superior. Therefore, I ask and implore you on this feast day, hold to the love of the Divine Savior. And by everything else I can ask you, hold together in unity! Once more, hold together! Be united, united! This unity will help to brave the storms easily. . . .(cf., DSS XXIII, October 4, 1897).

Only rarely did Jordan stress his calling so openly. Apart from the ecclesiastical visitation such language can not be explained. In the midst of his pleading Jordan excused himself: "I am sorry to say this." Jordan often felt very strongly the burden of his vocation, and there were hours of doubt and depression. All the more grateful was he for every ray of grace which the Lord sent into his heart. At that time he wrote in his diary: October 25, 1897:

Oh Lord, You know, You know, I cannot express it! I can do all things in You! Oh God, oh Almighty one, Immensity, oh Jesus, oh Savior of the world! Here I am, send me for you, for souls, for the church of God.

All, oh Father, all, all; Oh God, all; Oh Jesus, all; Oh Savior of the world, I desire most ardently to save all!

Oh save souls! Oh save souls! I beg and beseech you, save souls! Cost what it may, save souls! (SD II, 12).

If there is anything like a charism of a Founder, then it has left here an insistent spur. In this stammering prayer one hears Jordan's sincerity of heart moved by the Holy Spirit and his insatiable hunger to give himself for God's honor and the salvation of souls. Like a single muffled cry the

five-fold "all" and the five-fold "save" stretches across the unlimited expanse of the world thirsting for redemption. For his spiritual sons and daughters he also longed for this: "Oh if we all had the zeal which the dear Savior wishes!" (to Raich, July 17, 1898, A-209).

On November 16, Jordan renewed again his pact with the All Holy God. Already on the Feast of the Immaculate, he sketched his thank you letter to benefactors and friends. This letter at the end of 1897 must certainly have touched them deeply. They must have felt that here somebody did not just knock at random to take advantage of the goodness of others. Here a man of God asked for a hand so that the Society of the Divine Savior would be able to carry on the apostolic burden imposed on her. What Jordan wrote was very candid and deeply touching:

. . . may the newborn Savior of the World grant you peace, grace, salvation and blessing, and make you happy now and in eternity! May he console you in suffering, strengthen you in the good fight, and grant you the grace of perseverance; oh may you never suffer shipwreck on the stormy seas of this life!

And I thank you all for the benefits with which you have favored me during the past year by supporting our Society. If you knew the pressure and the load which weighs so heavily on my shoulders, you would understand what consolation and what joy you give me through your help. Let me tell you, dear friends and benefactors, sometimes the load is very heavy. But let us trust in the Lord. And you, dear patrons, shall, as I confidently hope, also in the New Year where such great cares await me, energetically support me and enlist many new friends and benefactors. May the Divine Savior reward you! (E-177).

Jordan was never satisfied with what he had achieved. Certainly, good results were reported to his patrons, e.g., that in Quatis, Brazil the community had been opened with 30 boarding and 70 day pupils, or that Catholics in Assam now numbered already 1,360 (MI 4,5/1898). But new worries, too, were constantly presented to the cooperators, e.g., that in Assam earthquake damages still were to be repaired.

On February 26, 1898, the Cardinal Vicar acknowledged the Pious Union of Salvatorian Cooperators and their statutes. Now the patrons and

cooperators had the same recognition as the Guardian Angel's League. Jordan hoped that the church approbation of the cooperators as a pious union would not only further their spiritual cohesion, but also help in his financial needs.

A great worry was for Jordan the apostolic engagement of the sisters. The previous director of the teachers training school was superior in Tivoli since November 1896, and as such had enough work and cares with the Tivoli study house. On November 14, 1897, the sisters had lost their work in the Dormitorio San Guiseppe. All that remained was the somewhat unsatisfactory and poorly paid situation in the small Marocco Clinic. **See, 4.20. Sisters' motherhouse.**³⁵

On February 21, 1898, the 5 sisters from Akyab, India stood, quite unexpectedly at the door of Via Lungara.³⁶ The house was filled and Mother Mary had to send them to Tivoli.³⁷ Of the other 100 sisters only a few worked in the vineyard of the Lord (in the Mission in Assam, in the care of the sick in Milwaukee, in the households in St. Nazianz, Uniontown, Drogens, and the Children's Home in Capolago).

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 4.20. Sisters' motherhouse.

³⁶ Despite the active help of the bishop, the foundation in Akyab had to be given up after hardly 2 years. The sisters could not get on well in their apostolate and were in discord among themselves. Changing the superior didn't help either (June 21, 1896). At the end of 1897, French sisters again took over the school and the orphanage. The 7 sisters hoped to be received in nearby Assam. Münzloher, however, cabled back that he had no place. So Bishop Fallize and the local governor decided to send the sisters back to Rome (Dacca, January 21, 1898). Mother Mary excused this not completely "unexpected drawback" as conditioned by the climate (February 21, 1898, MMChr).

³⁷ Mother Mary had to continue renting the house from the Academy of Nobles in Tivoli. She did so hesitatingly always just for one year at a time, while the other side fixed 3 years, at the same time increasing the rent (December 8, 1897; March 16, 1898, MMChr).

The main obstacle to settling beyond Rome and Tivoli was the insufficient training the sisters received from their uncertified teachers' training school, as well as from their care of the sick where they were employed temporarily as helpers. Jordan as well as Lüthen tried at this time almost feverishly to solve that difficulty. The most satisfactory way would have been to train teachers and nurses in Germany where they would have to find housing in other convents with schools or hospitals attached. But all attempts remained without success. Jordan asked Mother Mary: "The sisters should pray in my intention for the Second Order of the Society." The superior in Meran too, Fr. Fridolin Cichy in Hungary, the superiors of Freiburg and Vienna were appealed to, to find proper employment for the sisters. **See, 4.21. Looking for sisters' apostolates.**³⁸

At the start of March 1898, Jordan received a strange offer. A young foundation in Coutras, Gironde wanted to join him. They were 4 men with good income who called themselves Missionaries of the Incarnate Word (*Missionaries du Verbe Incarné*) and they expected a youthful influx soon. Jordan thanked them for their trust, but he confessed that a union would be difficult, although he would be very glad in this way to take a foothold in France, but he wouldn't know how their spiritualities would coincide. He explained to them that his institute fit somewhere between Jesuit and Franciscan (March 7, 1899, A-114).

From April 20 to 28, Jordan stayed for visitation with the confreres in Madonna della Scala and in the Convitto S. Luigi in Noto. It was important for him to converse with the members. Contact by letter would surely cause some misunderstandings and was unable to remove the disagreements that arose from the incidents with Fr. Antonio.

How much Jordan suffered under the unkind and narrow-minded criticisms being reported to the Apostolic Visitor can be seen in his addresses to the Chapter of Faults at that time (cf., DSS XXIII). **See, 4.22.**

³⁸ ee, A Closer Look: 4.21. Looking for sisters' apostolates.

Intreccialagli.³⁹ Again and again he repeated how important it was that all should hold together within the community and with the superiors; that nobody had the right to storm against some regulation, thus undermining unity. Often Jordan spoke up against lying, especially against slandering and machinations against the Society and its superior.

Another point Jordan liked to touch on in his chapter talks was the lack of money plaguing his apostolic efforts. He never tired of admonishing every confrere to do his part to remedy the situation. He was not afraid to present his plans to lessen the debts in detail and thus to list the items yet to be paid. He asked each one to do his share, as far as possible, to lessen the indebtedness, emphasizing the fact that every-one has his part in the responsibility for the welfare and the prosperity of the Society.

Jordan, and more so Lüthen, like to see that permissions and controls even in small matters (*Kleinigkeiten*) were not neglected, especially with regard to holy poverty. They urged economizing and not wasting anything. Here the point was not only to lessen the common poverty. They considered even lesser offenses to be theft of apostolic vocations and an unjustifiable misuse of the kindness of patrons and friends of the Society.

Jordan never boasted of his knowledge of human nature, but he had perfected it considerably over the years. He also knew about human highs and lows from personal experiences. He understood that especially young people quickly felt overtaxed. So he was careful not to judge rashly or to condemn distrustfully. He tried to treat everyone justly. So it was all the more bitter for him when he himself was met with distrust.

Jordan never demanded that anyone follow his chosen vocation come hell or high water. He knew the mysteriousness of the human heart. But he was convinced that everyone at some point in his life had to decide and to bind himself fully, and that no one would be spared testing in his vocation. So he never tired of stressing in his addresses that everyone

³⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.22. Intreccialagli.

sooner or later had to undergo this test. He admonished all to prepare themselves for the hour of trial and to cultivate one's holy calling from youth with an open conscience and honest will, and not to endanger one's holy vocation and blessed possession foolishly or carelessly.

Jordan could become very indignant when confreres had to suffer in the community on account of their human weaknesses. He himself was grateful that those having business with him had to be understanding and patient with his weak nerves. He admitted to everyone his weak points and expected from individuals (and more so from the community) corresponding consideration and understanding forbearance.

Jordan did not recover very well from his severe sickness of the previous year (1897). His health remained affected, and that impeded his activity noticeably. In spite of this, caring for the internal and external welfare of his young foundations forbade him to take things easy. On the contrary, the steady watchfulness of the Apostolic Visitor as well as pressing financial problems prompted him to go out to the confreres in the developing communities. He dearly desired to strengthen the apostolic religious life in all the houses, and this not only to avoid any cause for Fr. Antonio to interfere. The empty coffers should not induce anyone to give up, but should kindle yet more confidence in Divine Providence and make the members inventive in tracking down more material help.

On May 18, 1898, Jordan undertook an extensive journey to confreres in Austria and Switzerland, to initiate new foundations, to promote existing ones, and above all to find possibilities to employ or at least train the sisters. **See, 4.23. Sisters.**⁴⁰ His way led through Trient, Meran, Lochau, Simbach, Vienna, Meseritsch, Jaegerndorf, Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Stuttgart, Freiburg i. Br., Drognens up to Douvaine Chablais.

In Trient he met with the Prince Bishop who gave him his final approval to found a house in Meran. Fr. Chrysologus Raich, the "roving consultant

⁴⁰ See, A Closer Look: 4.23. Sisters.

general" had already prepared the ground well in Turin and Meran. On May 24, the community was opened in the "Freihof" rented for that purpose. Jordan did not neglect thanking personally the good benefactors in the Tyrol, especially Baron Hoffmann.

He went on to Vienna on May 25. It was important now to obtain state recognition for Kaisermühlen; Raich had been in negotiations already for a quarter of a year. Msgr. Johannes de Montel, Lord von Treuenfest (cf., DSS XIV 179), had assured Jordan of his personal support. Lüthen had been praying for weeks that the Lord, "would turn the heart of the monarch favorable" (BL-176). [Note: "If God might inspire the Emperor! If you also now get to Meran somewhat later, it is probably God's doing; because [then] you could do something serious regarding finances." Lüthen to Raich, February 16, 1898, BL-179] So Jordan had good hopes. Cardinal Gruscha had promised him Kaisermühlen (Vienna II), but the Imperial offices took their time.

The Founder worked with the Count of Wimpfen on a possible site in the Hungarian Máslak. Negotiations went on for a time with the Countess Therese Györy about taking over the nursing in Muraszombat. In the end good results were reached (June 4, BL-215). **See, 4.24. Hungary.**⁴¹

From Vienna Jordan's visitation journey continued on to Meseritsch. There plans were also discussed to dare a foundation in Jägerndorf near Troppau at the Moravian/ Silesian border. The difficulties however, remained the same everywhere: where to get the money without incurring debts. **See, 4.25. Financial needs.**⁴²

From Vienna, Jordan took a side trip to Budapest, where Frs. Raich and Cichy had made initial contacts. Jordan visited the bishop and the relevant government ministry. He returned by way of Vienna, Munich,

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 4.24. Hungary.

⁴² See, A Closer Look: 4.25. Financial needs.

and Stuttgart. In Freiburg i. Br. he conferred with the auxiliary bishop.⁴³ In Fribourg, Switzerland the sisters were to take over a school; the Canton had promised financial help.⁴⁴

On Pentecost, Lüthen sent congratulations to the Founder at Vienna: "I am trying now to unite members in a secret prayer club that God may provide us means to regain our 'freedom' in the future." (May 26, 1898, BL-211). The Founder well understood his "faithful" companion's idea. By the beginning of June, Jordan was again in Vienna. From there he went to Freiburg, i. Br. The motherhouse of the Sisters of Mercy there was ready to train 3 sisters in nursing. On June 17, Jordan was in Swiss Freiburg and the day after in Drogens. There the roving general consultant on orders of the Founder had made the visitation, based upon which Jordan had given the superior clear directions for his community. In Freiburg the house of Msgr. Kleiser, the Old Mint on Stalden 145, was rented at a good price for that autumn.^{45a}

⁴³ Friedrich Justus Knecht (Bruchsal, October 7, 1839-1921, January 31, Fribourg) was ordained in 1862, and worked about 20 years in practical pastoral work. In 1882, he became Domkapitular, and in 1894, auxiliary bishop. The Liberal Badish government prevented his election as Archbishop of Freiburg. Bishop Knecht was one of the most renowned catechists (his *History of the Bible* became well known as a school text). In the Badish school controversies he fought courageously for confessional schools.

⁴⁴ From Fribourg, Jordan assured Mother Mary that he had everywhere thought about the sisters. But the result was still modest. In Freiburg, Baden he received the assent of the Vincentian Sisters, to receive the three sisters for training (cf., June 23, 1898, MMChr). "For Austria everything is dragging on." In Fribourg-Pérolles household duties for a hostel should be taken over (June 29, 1898, MMChr). But this failed here too, as trained sisters were required.

^{45 a} The house chronicle states: "September 1898: In this month the college has been transferred from nr. 58 Grand'rue to nr. 145, Stalden." On April 4, 1897, the chronicler narrates:

For now there is feverish activity in the community in regard to buying a house of our own. Almost each year this present enthusiasm, but each time the plan

On June 20, Jordan made a short side trip to inspect a small school in Douvaine near the French/Swiss border (Haute Savoie). There the desire was expressed to have priests of the same Society who worked so well in Drogens. He made only a short visit to St. Joseph Orphanage, Chablais. From there he returned directly to Rome on June 22. He had completed a visitation in 6 sites and had prepared 3 new foundations (MI 13, 1898).

Home again, Jordan told of his tiresome journey in his chapter talk. Since he did not feel well enough he spoke so softly that he was hard to understand. But everyone was listening attentively as he spoke proudly about the flourishing of the various houses, also about the good prospects of the further extension of the Society. He praised especially the willing sacrifices of the members, the work of the priests in Vienna in the confessional and school, and in their good example as religious. **See, 4.26. Visitation report.**^{45b}

This year, too, Jordan was sad when 3 newly ordained priests left the Society which had led them to the altar. But he was not unhappy that the community was freed from such burdensome confreres. **See, 4.27. Three dispensed priests.**⁴⁶ Also the exit of Fr. Eisele, a dishonest and unworthy priest who deceived both Jordan and Lüthen from the beginning, found in the end its solution. **See, 4.28. Pachomius Eisele (II).**⁴⁷

Jordan still suffered the consequences of his severe illness of February 1897, and complained of pains in the chest; and his old nervousness

failed due to empty coffers. Given our prospects, we must continue without a house of our own. The number of houses offered to us to buy is almost legion... .

^{45b} See, A Closer Look: 4.26. Visitation report.

⁴⁶ See, A Closer Look: 4.27. Three dispensed priests.

⁴⁷ See, A Closer Look: 4.28. Pachomius Eisele (II).

again showed itself.⁴⁸ Considering his ceaseless engagement for his foundations it was certainly a grace that he was able to endure so much apostolic strain and ecclesiastical humiliation in his poor state of health.

In June, Jordan celebrated his 50th birthday. There is no indication anybody had thought of it. Jordan himself traveled on this day from his hometown to the Freiburg of his apostolic apprenticeship. 20 years later Jordan would again be there to begin on his last journey. A few weeks after his birthday he wrote in his diary:

1) Purity of conscience. 2) Humility, the greatest confidence in God and distrust of men, i.e., do not put your trust in people. 3) Continual prayer, urgent and fervent. July 24, 1898 (SD II, 14).

We can only wonder at the import of this phrase "distrust of men."

Clearly, Jordan wanted his foundations to increase quickly and for his Society to spread far. But he could not be faulted for this, since he did all this not for the sake of prestige or success, but solely from his apostolic calling, and therefore not at the expense of religious spirit. For without this, there was for him no chance of following Christ like the apostles had. **See, 4.29. Apostolic houses of formation.**⁴⁹

Jordan and Fr. Antonio differed greatly in temperament. Jordan was unusually Petrine apostolic; Fr. Antonio loved the rational and measurable. Therefore, he kept an interior distance from Jordan's vocation. Fr. Antonio could not verify it, and perhaps Jordan's very self-assuredness made it seem to him like pious arrogance.

⁴⁸ "Venerable Father is still struggling against his pleurisy or rheumatism in his chest. Fr. Pancratius has become somewhat thin, much work" (July 18, 1898, BL-179). [Note: Also Fr. Paulus Pabst departed on July 4 for a holiday at home (recovery!) (Lüthen to Meran, July 5, 1898, BL-226).]

"Venerable Father is much strained in regard to his nerves" (April 15, 1898, BL-195). "My health is getting better, and so I hope to be able to take more care of the sisters" (Jordan from Freiburg to Mother Mary, June 19, ASDS).

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 4.29. Apostolic houses of formation.

But Jordan knew he had not been called to initiate a perfect religious society. His main goal to which everything (religious discipline, care of souls, mission, etc.) was subordinated, was to spare no effort to spread a worldwide net of plantations for apostolic religious priests. The mother-house was to remain its center and heart (TVU, *Domus Mater et Principalis*, August 23, 1898) to preserve and spread a uniform apostolic spirit. The educational institutions founded to promote such vocations, however, were to develop autonomously. This naturally demanded in these houses men of God who were enthused by the same fiery spirit as Jordan was himself. Not without reason was the principle feast of the Society set on the feast of Mary, Queen of the Apostles.

It is astonishing that at age 50, Jordan still had such bold dreams which could be started, but never realized. Though he was not the master of his own calling, the canonical guardian remained unable to mute Jordan's apostolic plans and prayers. Just at this time Jordan received a privilege (like that of the Abbot of Maria Stern in Banjaluka where he through Lüthen had inquired (May 28, BL-212)), to retain 30 centesimi of every stipend for himself, in order to lessen the debt. Lüthen saw in this ecclesiastical favor the only way to pay off debts, and also to bring an end to the Apostolic Visitation and receive the papal approbation he so urgently desired. Sad to say, these good hopes were not fulfilled (July 27, 1898, BL-234). Jordan was never completely freed of his name "of the Cross."

4. Sick and Pressured, Yet Always Moving Forward. A Closer Look

4.1/3 Meseritsch (I). Even before Jordan's departure to Meseritsch the local superior had expressed his impatience for being kept waiting so long by Rome in regard to taking over of the hostel. Lüthen, to whom he had turned, could only inform him:

. . . it is not at all our fault that your matters don't proceed, because always the sword of Damocles hangs above us. Venerable Father is certainly not pedantic. I think we will succeed in persuading Fr. Antonio to risk something. . . . In order to be able to talk with Fr. Antonio about the boarding question we must above all know whether you can live in Meseritsch without incurring debts. Otherwise he will hardly agree to the foundation (November 1, 1896, BL-67).

We do not know whether the *placet* of the Prince-Archbishop was sufficient for Jordan or whether he additionally asked Fr. Antonio for "ecclesiastic permission" for the foundation. In his notebook he only noted for the superior in Meseritsch if a clause specifying financial liability is omitted from the contract, "to tell him that I don't accept any obligation" (G-2.2).

At the very beginning of the coming year Jordan reminded the local superior of the proper purpose of the foundation Wall-Meseritsch: The candidature to be erected there is close to my heart. Don't forget that this is the main purpose and you have to work with all your energy to realize it. It will cost great sacrifices but the gains will be equally high. Therefore, go ahead in the name of the Lord according to the previously given instructions. [He added below:] As soon as the settlement is recognized by the state, a Bohemian periodical must be published there (January 11, 1897, A-139).

4.2/4. Winter travel 1896. About Jordan's journey from November 17 till December 8, we are best informed by him personally. He noted down the journey in some informative phrases (G-2.2). With these points at hand he reported to the community in Rome in detail at the weekly chapter talk of December 11, 1896 (cf., DSS XXIII). Jordan was obviously pleased to have been able to carry out his journey "with great profit to the Society and, as I hope, to the honor of God." The communicative Founder

wanted his community in the motherhouse to share his joy. He told of the "greatest kindness" he had met with everywhere in Vienna, particularly with Cardinal Gruscha and his vicar general. "Misunderstandings had arisen because of which I had to travel there. The matter has been cleared, and now they all are very well disposed towards us." Not only in Vienna X, but also in Kaisermühlen everything proceeds well, "our priests work bravely and keep strict observance. They get up at half past four, hold choal prayer and spiritual exercises till 6:00 and then go into the confessional which is much frequented."

From Meseritsch, the Founder reports that the community had been enlarged somewhat and that a boarding school and secondary school had been installed. "To my greatest joy I met there with peace, order and observance. . . . There is unity in the community. . . . In Meseritsch our Society enjoys high esteem." As a proof that the priests were enjoying confidence not only with the burgomaster, a clever politician, but above all also with the clergy, Jordan mentioned "that 12 priests of the surroundings made their confessions to them." In Meseritsch a piece of land was bought in order to erect a house of education for Bohemians and Moravians and for a new church." Then he spoke about his successful visit to the Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz. In his written notes he had added: "Kresier seminary – Prince-Archbishop 1 hour good – 8,000 fl., 2 houses Prosnitz and Ostrau (money – missions – publications)."

Then Jordan reported on Lochau and its solemn divine services in the "splendidly decorated chapel."

In Drogens the professed (three priests and six brothers) caused him "great satisfaction, they stick together, are diligent, very diligent . . . brave people . . . 2/3 of these [resident] boys will be brave and good again." In Freiburg I received the visit of the *Stadtrat*" [sic, *Staadrat* George Python]. The large boarding school, whose spiritual direction they wanted Jordan to assume is probably the trade school in Freiburg-Pérolles, which the priests took over in 1897.

From 1897 till 1916, they had also assumed the spiritual care of the cantonal prison Bellechasse. Soon the permanent chaplaincies at the cathedral (for the German-speaking part of the parish) were added, in the parish of St. Moritz, where in 1875, Jordan had become acquainted

with the press apostles Schorderet and Kleisser, and in nearby Dürdingen, where since 1895 the Villa Hohenzeig, Tafers was at his disposal as a home for convalescence until it was replaced with the one in Maggenburg, Tafers. Jordan insisted that only pastoral work should be accepted, as this would not prevent members from living as "at least ordinary inhabitants in the community" (A-131).

Bishop Deruaz,^{*} who deeply esteemed the involvement of the priests, naturally concurred with this wish. At that time he also asked Jordan for the Drognens community to take over the ordinary pastoral work in nearby Siviriez—probably the chaplaincy. Jordan left to the local superior to decide whether this task could be accepted (to Bishop Deruaz, A-102).

4.3/6. Pachomius Eisele (I) who had just returned from Cartagena, Colombia said Mass in Via Lungara on October 25, 1896. Mother Mary "introduced the sisters to him" (MMChr). For them this severe priest was quite a different type of a Salvatorian from the fatherly Thomas Weigang or the benevolent Lüthen.

Just at that time some over zealous sisters caused a pious stir in the community. Some were discontent with the "religious spirit" and one requested Eisele as confessor and also to preach strict retreats of conversion (October 30, 1896, BL-1453). Another sister, no less unbalanced, wanted to turn directly to the ecclesiastic authority.

^{*} Joseph Deruaz was born in Choulex, May 15, 1826. After his studies in Evian he continued his training in 1846 at the Jesuit College in Freiburg. In 1847/48 with the Sonderbund and Fribourg Revolution, the Jesuit college was swept away. Deruaz continued theological studies at the seminary of Annecy in Savoy and was ordained in 1850. After pastoral engagement in Rolle he was a diocesan pastor in Lausanne. He accompanied his bishop Marilly to Vatican I.

In 1891, he became bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, succeeding Msgr. Mermillod, who had been called to Rome as a cardinal by Leo XIII. Bishop Deruaz engaged skillfully in removing religious dissensions, the bad legacy of the *Kulturkampf*, particularly in his diaspora diocese. He died in Freiburg after a long illness, September 25, 1911, at age 85, after 61 years of priesthood.

"From November 6 to 12 we had holy retreats preached by Reverend Fr. Pachomius (come from Cartagena). First he inspected the entire house and everything, and spoke with each one separately" (MMChr). After the retreat, Mother Mary noted: "November 13, 1896 in the evening (Fr. Pachomius) I will stick to my first proposals here. If I have done things to the contrary, they are overcome by the progress of the Society and improvements. Resist doubts, revive trust in my superiors" (Tacc). "After the holy retreat several changes were ordered to make the house more religious . . ." (MMChr). "November 15, 1896: I will avoid any bitterness, restlessness, confusion. I will fight the aversion to my position, try to love and esteem it" (Tacc).

On November 17, Jordan had departed for Vienna. November 20, Weigang brought the result of the visitation: "(for this had been a visitation, and Rev. Fr. P. the Visitor); the result was good" (MMChr). On November 22, Mother Mary noted: "Today Rev. Fr. Pachomius read aloud the offices and everywhere things should go smoothly." Then followed the names of the consultors put at Mother Mary's side as well as their offices. So now the sisters, like the priests, had their "generalate." A local superior was also appointed, "so that I might have more time for the sisters and for the outside houses as superior general. The sisters should turn to that one and complain when the discipline is not good. By God's mercy, however, all went well" (MMChr).

By December 4, Mother Mary could state with relief: "Today Fr. Pachomius let me know that I should send no (Sr.) to him without his permission. (And he has only had the direction for 14 days)" (MMChr).

A few sisters complained that they were treated harshly by Mother Mary (D-460) and that she continued repeating her strong aversion to Tivoli even to the novices, who when sent from Rome to Tivoli were already somehow biased (D-464).

On her namesday Lüthen had wished that the Lord might give Mother Mary "youthful energy to carry on her heavy task blessedly for herself and for the group entrusted to her" (September 13, 1896, ASDS). Now he gave her quite practical directions as to how she should behave towards the sisters. Mother Mary wrote about this in all humility: "Upsetting little gems" (E-818). She assured Lüthen: "Your note, Rev., I still keep it in my pocket." She promised him to improve in regard to her

faults: "Often too stiff, maybe also impatient, could be friendlier, too much inner *grandezza** and then again too communicative (but only to those I trust). Then often a feeling of being offended (here intelligence can help me)." It shows greater inner maturity and humble sincerity, when she confessed: "my inner sins are known to God and to Fr. Thomas [Weigang]." Then Mother Mary asks Lüthen to be patient: "You mean well; of this I remain convinced" (December 18, 1896, E-676).

Already during the time of the visitation by Fr. Pachomius, when Jordan was absent and Mother Mary had to turn to Lüthen, she assured him of her grateful confidence. Mother Mary remembered her own long trial she had to endure in *Sacré Coeur* (10-15 years) and confessed:

Yes, this needs experience. Mary will help in everything. Am quite calm. Trust you as before. – You, Venerable Father, Fr. Thomas, Msgr. von Essen -- oh, how I like to remember everything of former times – but I want to trust Fr. Pachomius - and thank God. Until now everything has gone well with me before God. In old age one can certainly not become suddenly bad and quite silly. [She had now been engaged in this struggle for 8 years:] Today in 1888, we came to Tivoli - where Venerable Father in greatest politeness showed me the greatest poverty and greatly encouraged me to wait for Rome" (November 29, 1898, E-673).

Shortly before Christmas, Mother Mary had to call Lüthen for help against Sr. Ant., whom he had installed shortly before. Now she rankled in frantic restlessness, behaved insolently towards Weigang and Mother Mary, and wanted Eisele to denounce Jordan. Mother Mary had told her quite openly that she was lying, "although it can't hurt Rev. Fr. Pachomius, even if he also makes mistakes" (December 19, 1896, E-677).

[Editor's Note: from this point to the end of this excursus, Fr. Edwein retells the same basic story of the visitation but in somewhat greater detail.] It may be supposed that Fr. Antonio had insisted that Jordan, as the first competent ecclesiastical superior, execute a visitation in Via Lungara where complaints the had come from. (It is not to be ruled out that these were presented to Fr. Antonio.) Jordan consulted with Lüthen and Weigang. They had thought it prudent to nominate a

* Pfeiffer called this later "a natural defect of the aristocracy."

priest of the Society who had not stayed in Rome in the last years and would thus be considered impartial. Thus the recently returned missionary from Cartagena, Eisele (once expelled from Ecuador) received the task of Visitor. This young ascetic appearing priest was overly strict in his opinion about religious discipline and observance. First he made a visitation according to his own style and then held retreats of conversion (from November 6-12, 1896).

His report to Jordan was essentially good. As the Founder wanted to travel to Vienna a few days later, he consulted intensely with his consultants. It was decided to leave Fr. Pachomius for the time being as superior of the sisters in Via Lungara until the changes would have been effective.

For the direction of the house a sister superior (vicaress) was named. Mother Mary received 4 sisters to assist her. All were sincerely well disposed towards her and had the well-being of the Congregation really at heart. But one sting remained for Mother Mary: that Eisele could still have a say somehow, rendered her position among the sisters more difficult. As it turned out, even before Jordan had returned from his journey to Austria and Switzerland, Lüthen, certainly also urged by Weignag, had taken the task of custodian away from Fr. Pachomius.

After December 4, the restless sisters became active again. One of their leaders wrote to Lüthen about the split between Via Lungara and Tivoli, about too little piety and religious spirit. She compared the "order of the sisters" with a burning, sinking ship. She wants to turn publicly to the ecclesiastic authority: "I can also go to the Rev. Fr. Carmelite" [i.e., Fr. Antonio] (December 7, 1896, D-452). Lüthen must have made his stand quite clear to her, above all that the sisters might be taken away from Jordan if a few made unjust complaints outside. To depose Mother Mary would be quite irresponsible and a great injustice. A complaint to the Visitor or at the Congregation would only damage Jordan and thus all the sisters. She herself would not remain unscathed if this happened.

Lüthen assumed that a letter to the ringleader would be sufficient, and would immediately become known to her followers. But they did not yield. The ringleader turned to Jordan himself, who in the meantime had returned from Switzerland. First she found fault with the sisters who misused the goodness of Fr. Weigang. Then she requested

from Jordan an account for the fact that Eisele "could no longer be active as superior and that he was tired of his office after just 8 days." She asked Jordan directly:

Has now Venerable Father deposed Fr. Pachomius or are there other reasons why he cannot or will not fulfill his office any longer, or should Venerable Father's hands be really bound because of the money, so that you can't help us and leave things as they are?

The sister probably alluded here to the sisters' loan given to the priests to secure property. Then she spoke of Lüthen. "He said to me that it would be an enormous injustice if we deposed or refused Venerable Mother." She assured Jordan that none of the sisters wanted this, but that most of them wished that she get into line with the other sisters. Yes, Eisele had been severe; but this was "to our benefit" (December 16, 1896, D-456).

Lüthen, the representative of the generalate, had again to take up the task of defending Jordan as well as Mother Mary because they both were attacked. In all his kindness he gave most clear decisions and calmed the waves in the agitated minds.*

For Christmas peace had returned. Mother Mary lived through these weeks in an exemplary way. In all humility she let herself be corrected by Lüthen. In all faithfulness the 63 year-old carried on the cross of being the "Venerable Mother" without wavering in her trust towards the priests and sisters. She left it to Jordan to call to account the dissident sisters known to him and to herself. Her retreat resolution of that time was: "I must be more patient" (cf., Tacc, December 18, 1897).

From January 31, 1897 till January 31, 1898, the sisters' house in Tivoli (the motherhouse) had to be leased again for one year (MMChr).

4.4/10. Spiridion Schmitz's departure was an issue over which Jordan and the visitor disagreed (D-719). Schmitz had entered the Society at

* Mother Mary told Jordan hardly a year later (at various occasions) what she had suffered in her heart at that time: "Can this Reverend Fr. P. not be removed? You will get in exchange 4 brave humble ones [i.e., sisters]. Oh, this cold, strict, the outwardly deceiving military discipline, when it does not come from love and obedience!" (October 15, 1897).

age 15. At 17 he made vows and was ordained at age 22. The young priest continued further studies at the Gregoriana and was transferred to Freiburg in fall 1895. There the young doctor of theology could not adapt himself. By Christmas he applied to the Visitor to leave the Society.*

The very day after receiving this news, Jordan answered Fr. Antonio's inquiry: 1) I am content if this priest leaves. 2) I cannot allow him to stay outside the Society wearing the religious habit; this is against the interest of the Society. 3) But I can allow him to stay in the Archdiocese of Cologne, for there he is under continuous observation; this is required considering his former behavior (January 23, 1897, A-140).

In the meantime, Schmitz had again turned to the Apostolic Visitor: he wants to leave the Society and immediately abandon the community in Freiburg. He added a medical certificate, indicating that he suffered from his nerves and headaches. Fr. Antonio wrote to Jordan that Schmitz be allowed to spend one or two months in his family while wearing the habit of the Society until he would have found a bishop. Jordan should write correspondingly to the priest by order of the Apostolic Visitor. If Jordan agreed to Schmitz's leaving he should inform Fr. Antonio (January 31, 1897, D-720).

Jordan did not agree with Fr. Antonio's proposal that Schmitz could stay for some time at home wearing the Salvatorian habit and then

* The chronicler of Freiburg noted:

November 29, 1895: in the course of the day Fr. Sp. returned after his First Mass to our community which he was destined for. He was received fully in a friendly and kind way. December 1: Hardly 4 days have passed, and the college is experiencing something strange. Fr. Sp left the college after having celebrated the high Mass in our chapel. Fr. Superior found a letter on his table which somehow explained his disappearance; its contents are approximately: "Travel to Aachen—am unhappy; shall settle everything with Rome." This childish behavior had angered everyone greatly.

May 5, 1896. Rev. Fr. Sp. sent back from Rome to our community under duress.

February 9, 1897: During an absence of Fr. Superior, Fr. Sp. left the college and in this way, so to say, the Society. For some time he had felt unhappy and not called to the Society. He had also continuously asked Rome for his release and for dispensation.

leave. He turned to the pope and declared quite openly, that he as superior general could not bear the responsibility for Schmitz living temporarily outside community, because there existed great danger that this priest might cause a scandal (February 3, 1897, A-143).

The priest was soon received into the Archdiocese of Cologne and consequently dispensed from religious vows on March 7, 1897. This case shows precisely how the double track of visitor and superior general could become irksome to all parties involved. It also shows that Jordan, despite all obedience to church authority, did not in conscience renounce his responsibility. The fact of the visitor's tutelage was to him no excuse to abandon his fatherly duty as founder and superior.

4.5/12. Jordan's Health. In his notebook, Jordan wrote in trembling hand: 8th February. Being ill not celebrated [Mass] until March 19 [note: *Multa passus sum*. Much have I suffered].

March 19. Celebrated again the first time. Passage from the Missal (the first I read) Fortieth Sunday. You will call me, etc. [Note: 1st Sunday of Lent: "You will hear me," (Ps 90).]

March 25. The first time without a fever. Cardinal Vicar offered a portable altar. Great need of money.

April 8, to Tivoli for recovery following the advice of the physicians.

On April 12, Bishop Monti made a sick call to Jordan. On Holy Saturday, Jordan returned shortly to Rome showing up the first time again in the community on Easter. From 21 to 27, he again stayed in Tivoli to recoup, and the bishop paid him another visit. On May 5, he traveled to Lochau for further recovery, where he stayed till May 28. (G-2.2).

Mother Mary also noted in her chronicle: "Venerable Father unfortunately fell ill after returning from Tivoli. All prayed. I believe he got better at the intercession of St. Labre, where I, etc. made pilgrimage." (Jordan was on February 7, with the sisters in Tivoli for investiture and profession. Mother Mary noted this only on February 25. With "etc." are meant the companions of the pilgrimage). March 11, Venerable Father "is on the road to recovery. March 19, today, St. Joseph, Venerable Father

celebrated holy Mass again!" "April 25, unfortunately our Venerable Father could not celebrate the holy service, as he fell ill in Tivoli." Mother Mary then paid a visit to Jordan "in the house of the Venerable Brothers." She was accompanied by the sisters who had been invested and made their vows in the morning.

"July, our Venerable Father and Founder returned from Switzerland, thanks be to God, pretty healthy" (MMChr, remarkable how Mother Mary again and again inserts her aversion to Tivoli).

The best way to follow Jordan's illness is through the letters of Lüthen, his vicar general. Venerable Father "stays in bed with Tivoli-journey-fever. Seems not bad this time" (February 9, 1897, BL-80). "Venerable Father lies ill (not gravely), pleurisy" (February 14, 1897, BL-81). Jordan did not complain, so that Lüthen did not take the illness seriously at first. * On March 1, 1897, he wrote: "Venerable Father is still ill, very weak, we will call a doctor" (BL-83). "Thank God, Venerable Father is in Tivoli (for the feast). Thus the consumption can be considered eliminated" (April 18, 1897, BL-89). "Venerable Father travels to Lochau today or as soon as possible according to doctor's orders" (May 2, 1897, BL-96). "Venerable Father has left for Lochau, as the physician insisted on the journey to Germany so that he might be preserved from consumption" (May 5, 1897, BL-98). "Since Friday, Venerable Father is here again, healthy in regard to his lungs" (June 7, 1897, B -126).

Jordan again traveled to Lochau for recovery in early August (cf., Fr. Antonio to Lüthen, August 3, 1897, D-724). "Venerable Father returns on Monday. N.B. He was at Lochau, etc. for recovery (September 12, 1897, BL-139; September 13).

In *Der Missionär* of March 27, 1897, Lüthen published "public thanks that our dear Venerable Father has recovered from a six-weeks sick bed. We were not without concern for his precious life, when because quartan fever gravely menaced his health, already seriously undermined by work and preoccupations" (MI 7, 1897).

* The chronicler of Freiburg noted: "February 24, God has heard our prayer: from Rome we received the good news of the visible improvement of Venerable Father."

Pfeiffer, who immediately after his ordination assisted Jordan as his private secretary, observed the sick Founder first hand. From memory he later reported they seriously feared he would not recover. His forces were so weakened that he finally lost interest even in his foundations, which had been so close to his heart. Sometimes anxious question could be heard, what would become of his Society. Also one or the other of the creditors became rather restless and wanted to know what would happen if the Founder died. . . (PPP, 286).*

Jordan noted in his diary the last day of his illness: "Never complain, rather keep silent. March 25, 1897. From January 8 1897, til March 25 a time of sickness, etc." (SD II/10,11).

Jordan did not hide the state of his illness from the confreres: "Thanks be to God, I am up again; God has quickly helped against the expectation of the physician; but two months of recovery are still needed to secure complete recovery, if this is the will of God" (March 16, 1897, A-144, to the community in Meseritsch).

With the confreres in Brazil he excused himself for his somewhat late answer: "I have been ill, and while writing this I still have some fever, I hope, however, if God wills, to be in good health soon taking the necessary precautions; for five weeks I could not celebrate [Mass]" (March 28, A-145). To Vienna X he wrote:

Your great zeal gives me solace. . . . Don't lose courage, fight and work and never be faint-hearted for God's holy cause, even when dark hours come. . . . I am still suffering, having a fever now and then. Must leave Rome for some time, will try in Tivoli some days following the advice of the doctor (April 7, 1897, A-146).

I am still suffering a little (to his dear Fr. Felix Bucher, April 12, 1897).

* Pfeiffer's judgment can well be read with a grain of salt: of course, Jordan's activity was more than just limited. However, Lüthen kept the Founder informed about everything and requested his agreement for important decisions. Jordan himself for example transferred three sisters to Raliang on March 18 (G-2.2), encouraged the confreres in Meseritsch which was close to his heart: "I often think about Meseritsch. Pray and work!" (March 16, 1897, A-144).

With his personal confessor, Fr. Eubel in St. Peter's, he postpones by one day his usual confession due to Holy Week (April 13, A-147).^{*} What jumps out from the letters is his experience of difficult and "sad hours," his desire to celebrate Mass again soon, and his submission: "If it is the will of God."

4.6/14. Sisters' placements. The seven sisters designated for the USA left Rotterdam together with two brothers on April 28, 1897, and arrived safely at New York on May 10. The sisters remained with their fellows in Milwaukee for some time to get acquainted with American conditions and to practice the language. The two brothers and one sister traveled to St. Nazianz. On August 18, four sisters began their work in Uniontown, WA, in the home prepared there for boys. (They had been lodged in a large former monastery of Benedictine monks.) The planned takeover of a small hospital at Lewistown, ID was never realized (cf., MMChr, G-2.2).

While Jordan was still gravely ill,, Msgr. de Waal approached Mother Mary to assist the small private clinic of Prof. Marocco in Via Gioletti (on the corner of Via Margherita). The Cross Sisters, who had conducted it until then, wanted to withdraw. Msgr. de Waal worked to insure that the activities of the "German Sisters" in Rome should not be given up. On March 23, 1897, Jordan gave his consent, and Mother Mary released three sisters (and a night sister from Via Lungara) for the small hospital, which at that time lodged just three patients. On March 31, they replaced the Cross Sisters and began their service. Prof. Marocco showed himself frugal in paying for the easy service. He paid with courses in assisting the sick (three times a week), in which about 12 sisters from Via Lungra took part (MMChr).

^{*} Fr. Konrad Eubel, OFMC (1842-1923) succeeded Fr. Ludwig Steiner as Jordan's confessor and spiritual guide. In his free time Fr. Konrad worked academically (*Hierarchia Apostolica*, 7 volumes, and *Miscellana Franciscana*). Jordan and Lüthen both liked to see the confreres as well as the sisters going to this German confessor in St. Peter's.

4.7/15. Campos. The two SDS priests in Campos accompanied the local bishop on his mission journey through his diocese.* This happened probably toward the end of the year. Jordan, who always became restless when correspondence was interrupted, was impatiently waiting for a sign of life. The two scouts he had sent to Brazil lodged in the bishop's house. They had not yet described their impressions or plans. Jordan asked the superior for early news on January 29, 1897.

The Apostolic Visitor, Fr. Antonio, inquired from Jordan how the travel of the two priests to Brazil had been provided for (March 14, 1897, D-721). At the same time he sent Jordan a letter he had inadvertently opened because it had been delivered to him, addressed simply to "The Venerable Father." On March 26, Fr. Antonio sent Jordan an answer to a letter from Fr. Sabbas Battistoni, the superior of the foundation in Campos, with the request that Jordan pass it on to Battistoni (D-722).

The hostel at Quatiz da Barra Mansa near Rio de Janeiro had been entrusted to the priests by the bishop. Three Italians and three Germans were peacefully working together there. They were quite self-reliant, having the full support of the bishop who was well disposed toward them. Of course, they would have liked some brothers of their own to run an even more independent household. How very much Jordan would have liked to help them (letter of June 15, 1897, A-162).

4.8/16. New novice master. Lüthen wrote to the superior in Vienna: "Fr. Paulus [Pabst] is now *Magister Novitiorum* and certainly born for this position" (May 5, 1897, BL-98). In the meantime, Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli had replaced Cardinal Verga as Prefect of the Congregation for Religious. Jordan was still unknown to him at that time.**

* Francesco de Regio Maia was born in Pernambuco in 1849. In 1893, he became bishop of Nicthero, Rio de Janeiro. In 1901, he took over the Diocese of Bèlem de Parà.

** Serafino Vannutelli (1834-1915) was more of a church politician than his predecessor at the Congregation. After studies at the Collegio Capranico and the Collegio Romano he became by 1869, Apostolic Delegate in Lima (titular archbishop of Nicaea), then Nuncio in Belgium (1875-1879) and in Vienna (1880-

4.9/18. Lochau. On April 29, Jordan, who had returned to Rome two days earlier from Tivoli, announced himself to the superior of Lochau: "As I on doctor's orders have to go to a northern climate for at least 40 days, I shall, if it is the will of God, depart from here to stay for some time with you. I can't exactly indicate the day of my arrival. I will probably travel slowly" (A-158). Jordan departed on May 5 to Inzing, Tyrol where he visited with a benefactor. On May 7 he proceeded to Bregenz.

Jordan was hopeful of regaining his health. "I can also inform you that my health is really getting better, and I hope to recover completely in a few weeks. God has helped much," he wrote to the superior in St. Nazianz. He expressed his satisfaction that the confreres: "are living peacefully together in the community" and he wished to be able to stay with them once again (May 2, 1897, A-151). "I have a real desire for North America in this year. Who knows whether I shall not come once more," he confided a little later to the superior, Fr. Deibele. He promised to send some more brothers and asked him to open a novitiate there as soon as possible (Lochau, May 27, 1897, A-158).

1887); Cardinal in 1883, he was at first Prefect of the Index Congregation and in late 1896, Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. Since 1899 Grand Penitentiary, he worked from 1903 to 1908 as Secretary of the Holy Office ("deposed" by Pius X for differences). In 1903, he became Bishop of Porto and St. Rufina, and in 1913, of Ostia.

Serafino was a mild character who always tended to reconciliation. His family had influence in Roman politics. Together with his younger brother Vincenzo, he dedicated himself passionately to higher politics. Both favored the *Dreierbund* against Rampolla's church political majority of Rome. They were not intransigent but supported a conciliation favorable to the future. He preferred to leave internal church internal politics to his coworkers.

Vincenzo Vannutelli (1836-1930) was a professor at the *Seminarium Romanum*, lodging in the Collegio Teutonico; 1875 Pro sostituto; 1876 Sostituto; 1880-1883 Apostolic Delegate; 1883-1889 Nuncio in Lisbon; 1889 Cardinal in petto; 1890 Cardinal in Concistorio; Prefect of the Congregation, 1902; Prefect of the Congregation of Council, 1914; Datar, 1915; successor of his brother as Bishop of Ostia. Vincenzo supported the *Conciliazione*, which became a reality in 1929. He was considered very pro-German and kept good relations with the Jesuits.

4.10/22. Roving General Consultor. Fr. Chrysologus Maria Raich knew how to make himself more useful as roving general consultor than if he had remained in Rome for occasional general consulta meetings. Thus, although the Visitor could give orders, reality itself set other priorities. Hence by the second half of August, Raich was in Hungary. Jordan wrote to him from Lochau:

I am quite determined to erect a house of education in Hungary in the near future. Fr. Antonio himself is not against this, if only it does not harm the finances, that no debts be made, and that three priests be available for this purpose. Of course it must be self-supporting (August 17, A-171).

When Jordan on the Feast of the Nativity of Mary met with the archbishop in Villach, the latter invited him to found a seminary in Marburg. The Prince-Archbishop was most obliging and treated him most kindly as his dearest guest. Jordan himself was quite happy:

The dear Mother of God has helped. Today, at her birthday. Foundation day of the Marian College at Marburg (servant of servants). . . . Tribulations are evening exaltations. Thus we could immediately begin in Marburg. The problem is now to find the money for building later, but the motherhouse is not to be burdened by it. [Raich was to perform the miracle and procure the means] (September 8, 1897, A-174).

But in other places like Trient, there were only good intentions. From there Jordan wrote to Raich on the Feast of the Name of Mary that the bishop had given him permission to establish a house. But he hasn't allowed "the *Terminieren* as the mendicants practice it" (out of regard for those local mendicant orders). He added: "Prissian is now to me the most apt site for a formation house. I like the Fahlburg very much; fitting for a novitiate" (Trient, September 12, 1897, A-175). The begging general consultor was on the road in Hungary. "But business is flat" (letter of Lüthen to Raich, September 1, 1897, BL-138).

So Jordan had to bury his hopes for Marburg and Prissian. At that time, Raich's extensive fund raising trip, together with the press apostolate, was of great material help to the Society. For several months he traveled up and down Bavaria, Tyrol, Austria, and Hungary to gain friends and means for Jordan's work.

At year's end Raich traveled to Meran to Villa Paulina of Baron Hoffmann (cf., BL-157). Jordan asked him to explore the possibilities for a house of education in healthy Meran (December 15, 1897, A-187). But did not favor fund raising in Munich and Vienna "since we are begging there already so much." He recommends instead Innsbruck and Budapest (November 11; 13, 1897, A-182; 184).

Before Christmas Jordan had intended to recall Raich to Rome in the cold season, as his efforts were so essential for the life of the Society (December 15, A-187; this letter bears the greeting *Pax Salvatoris*). On January 8, 1898, Jordan thanked the fund raising priest heartily for the money sent to him: "There is pretty much money coming in, but we still need more" (A-189; in this letter he also mentions a special contribution of Prince of the Thurn and Taxis from Regensburg). Already the following day he asked Raich: "I am sorry, but I must ask you to continue your *via dolorosa* [the begging trip] for some time, since we just now need so much money," and added kindly: "Pray for me, do so!" (A-190). Raich traveled once more from Vienna to Budapest, where he had already been in August. On his way he wanted to try his luck also in Regensburg. But Lüthen admonished him to be cautious, because the attitude of the bishops was decisive everywhere. In early December he wrote to Raich: "Shouldn't you try to win the old bishop, and only then the canon! Before you go to the bishop you should pray much" (December 2, 1897, BL-152). Before Christmas, Raich reported that he had found a site for a foundation. Lüthen declined at once: "If we made ourselves ridiculous! Neither do I know whether anything can be accomplished under this Bishop Ing. [of Amrheim] regarding a house of education." He favors accepting, but at a later date, and also without a house of formation (December 23, 1897, BL-154). Since the Johannesbrunn fiasco 15 years earlier Lüthen still had unpleasant memories of the severe Bishop Senestry (cf., DSS XIV, 354ff).

4.11/23b. Meseritsch (II). In January 1898, Jordan again urged the superior of Meseritsch to think about building a proper house of studies. He proposed to buy a site "in Skachowitz or near the property of Weissak on the Prussian border on Austrian soil" (January 25, 1898, A-193). The superior showed no courage to grasp the project, preferring pastoral work in Bohemia. Lüthen supported Jordan. By order of the

Founder he sent a German priest, to whom of course it meant a sacrifice working in the Bohemian-speaking region. Therefore, Lüthen asked the superior to receive the Westphalian kindly, for "the Bohemians are as dear to me as the Germans" (February 26, 1898, BL-181).

Meanwhile, a Bohemian confrere had made use of the frequent absence of the superior to become active himself. He ordered building material transported to the site even before the construction had been planned. Lüthen admonished the superior: "Venerable Father doesn't like your being so often outside the house" (April 13, 1898, BL-194). He was sincerely pleased he had accepted his suggestion so well: "Thanks be to God, that you once more are 'going home.' Isn't it possible that you can always stay at home? I must not, I just ask much! *Multo melius.*" (April 13, 1898, BL-194). Unfortunately the superior hadn't the courage to reign in this building-happy priest. He feared that the latter would defend himself in Moravian newspapers, and he wanted to avoid a scandal.

Jordan was thinking about transferring this priest to Waissak for now, and to come personally as soon as possible. "At the visitation it all will be resolved quite naturally without being so odious as a denunciation in Rome," Lüthen wrote in advance to Meseritsch in a conciliatory way (May 19, 1898, BL-205).

4.12/26. The General Procurator. How seriously the Apostolic Visitor requested exact reports on the events in the motherhouse, is proved by the election of Fr. Beda Maria Hoffmann as general procurator to the Holy See.* Hoffmann was born in 1872 and made vows in 1890. That he was talented is proved by the fact that he had acquired a doctor's degree in philosophy and theology as well as the licenciante in canon law at the Gregoriana. Ordained in 1894, by 1895 he had become superior of the motherhouse, general examiner, and German teacher at the San Apollinare. During Jordan's absence Lüthen, who preferred to remain at home for health reasons, liked to send Hoffmann as courier to Fr. Antonio or to the Congregation. On about August 7, 1896, when Jordan was in North

* In April 1897, he had begun his second term as superior of the Roman Province, OCD.

America, Hoffmann took the liberty to talk about the Society with the Uditore of the Congregation for Religious, and in this connection complained that Jordan had been burdened "with two deputies" (Fr. Antonio and Fr. Meddi). "It was only *ad tempus*, the Uditore said, etc. In the end the Uditore patted Fr. Beda on the shoulder: a proof that he had liked him" (Lüthen to Jordan, BL-50).

In early May 1897, Jordan petitioned to approve the election of the just 25 year-old Hoffmann as general procurator to the Holy See. The petition was tabled; and on May 8, Fr. Antonio was asked for his *votum*. He was not against the appointment of this priest who he also esteemed. However, he found fault with Jordan for having asked only his consultants in proposing Hoffmann. A proper election had not taken place. Furthermore, Jordan had not discussed with him this important matter; Jordan had even kept it secret from him, probably out of fear that the visitor might have proposed another for this important office. Then Fr. Antonio continued:

. . . on the grounds of information I have received I know that Fr. Jordan had proposed only one procurator, contrary to what I had suggested at an earlier date. Fr. Jordan wants to have a defender of the Society for what happens in it and still more for what he orders, while he thinks it all good and according to the will of God. On the other hand, he considers as enemies all those who in individual cases have a different opinion than his. Out of this attitude Fr. Jordan takes Fr. Beda as the fittest. For, with the latter's good qualities, which are to be acknowledged, there comes an unlimited reverence for and trust in Fr. Jordan.

In Fr. Antonio's opinion such a procurator will hardly present his own judgment at the Holy See when it differs from Jordan's.

Fr. Antonio could not go along with the fact that the superior general had avoided deliberative judgment of his council. Therefore, he proposed to the Congregation: 1) that the superior general convoke his council and that this elect in a secret ballot and with absolute majority three members, who are the most apt for this office and propose them for approval to the Congregation; 2) that the Congregation select one of the proposed and entrust this office to him till the next general chapter (May 17, 1897, A Rel 12,533)

In its meeting of May 28, the Congregation decided Fr. Antonio should inform Jordan that the general procurator was to be elected by the council. Fr. Antonio was to convoke this council. The election was to be secret, the elected one was to be confirmed by the congregation. The election took place April 23. Hoffmann was elected on the first ballot and confirmed by the Congregation at its meeting of July 6.

Now Hoffmann gave up his teaching position at San Apollinare. He engaged actively in matters with the Congregation with and beside the visitor, to the great relief of the superior general and his vicar.

This election, added to other things, reveals how much Jordan was patronized and how easily his rights as Founder were restricted. It is surprising that Fr. Antonio on the one hand always stressed unity and harmony, while on the other he was prejudicially suspicious of Jordan's independent, even arbitrary procedures. Of course, Fr. Antonio agreed with Jordan when he was right, but only when this had been confirmed to him by subordinates. The fact that Jordan sincerely referred to the will of God bothered Fr. Antonio from the start, while Jordan often struggled for hours in prayer in order to recognize the will of God.

Raich could not be present at the election of Hoffmann as general procurator. Jordan wrote to him: "Fr. Antonio wants to have a meeting of the general council. As you can't take part personally, you can, if you wish, renounce your voice in regard to the point to be discussed. Please, your answer immediately." Jordan added below: "Our financial need is great; therefore I ask you, my dearest, to continue the collection trip (to Hungary) as soon as possible" (June 12, 1897, A-160).

Raich answered immediately. But his proposal was declined by Fr. Antonio. He ordered Jordan to telegraph Raich to come to Rome "or to withdraw from the matter." If he wouldn't answer within the necessary time, the election of the procurator should be performed without him (June 18, 1897, D-723). What Raich had proposed, is not known.

On the document of election the signature of the absent Fr. Raich is missing as well as that of the superior of Tivoli, who had certainly been called to the meeting. It is almost certain that like Fr. Antonio he objected to the Founder's procedure and in this way called the visitor's attention to the problem. In any case, Fr. Philipp Schütz did not vote for Hoffmann, but departed for home on the same day. It may be supposed

that he himself would have like to hold this office. On June 20, 1897, Jordan noted: "Election of general procurator. Fr. Beda elected with majority on first ballot. – 20th Fr. Philipp departed to Germany" (G-2.2).

4.13/27. Mother Mary seeks allies. On May 18, 1897, Mother Mary together with Sr. Clara, her preferred assistant, handed the Rule in Italian to the "President of the Academy of Nobles," Archbishop of Edessa.* She hoped to have found a friend in him. On the same day she reported to Lüthen on the two-hour conversation with the archbishop. "[He] asked me much: we talked a lot about experiences, not about other orders wanting approval." He pointed to the Vincentian Sisters, who under the leadership of the Lazarists were living "not quite monastically" and therefore were not approved. Mother Mary defended "in all modesty" and of course in full submission to the will of the holy Church, the "sticking together of the two Salvatorian branches, indicating also other examples like Lavigerie, Pallotines, etc: These were prospering just because of this" (E-678).

The next day she wrote a long letter to Lochau to her "Dear Venerable Father and Founder." She expressed her joy that he was feeling better again and assured him that sisters would pray much for him. Then she again mentioned some offers for a house in Rome. "But not good, I think, it must come from the First Order and the Cardinal Vicar" Then she reports in detail about her visit to the Titular Archbishop of Edessa, Filippo Castrocane degli Antelminelli.

Yesterday, dear Venerable Father, I was with Sr. Clara to present the holy Rule to President Archbishop of Edessa. It lasted almost two hours, spiritual conversation and questioning. Particularly I had again to explain and to cite examples (Cardinal Lavigerie, Palottines, the 2nd and 3rd Orders) how the venerable brothers and sisters working in common in and for God can correspond to the intentions of God and the church, if I can express my opinion. I could through my former broad reading, thank God, answer everything, which may have surprised him. [The archbishop led and thus knew the] *Sr. Sangue spargo* [sic!],

* The President rented Jordan the Academy's house in Tivoli.

who were compelled to separate—I suspect no separation and certainly suspect correctly (May 19, 1897, E-679).

It can't be stated clearly why the archbishop required Jordan's Rule for the 2nd Order. The Prefect had nothing to do with the Holy Office or with the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. He was just the President of the Academy of Nobles. (The Holy Office was at that time still called the *S. Romana ed Universale Inquisizione*.)

By January 25, 1897, Mother Mary had noted the visit of a "Rev. Dominican Superior of the *S. Ufficio*" who asked for instructions for a female convent. "The Dominican (*S. Ufficio*) also asked me whether I knew that the holy church wishes female congregations to be independent." The Dominican was Tommaso M. Granello, Titular Archbishop of Seleucia, Syria; he was Commissario of the Congregation and as such consultor and successor of Vincenzo Leone Sallua, OP, Titular Archbishop of Chacedon (c. 1896). It is remarkable that already two Dominicans had made the first cautious approaches in this matter. Another Dominican, who had just become a consultor at the Congregation for Religious and later played a decisive role in the Index Congregation will take up again in an aggressive but unsuccessful way the question of independence of the sisters, and thus their separation from the Founder eight years later.

Mother Mary never forgot to note in her Chronicle when she met with ecclesiastic or secular personalities. However, in her short indications she is not always exact enough.

4.14/28. Noto. At St. Mary's near Noto four priests had worked since October 3, 1894. With the scholastics, brothers and students the community totaled 20-30. The superior, Fr. Domenico Daunderer, was a very kind man. Among the other three priests there were Fr Simon Stein, whom we already met in Tivoli, and Fr. Willibald Bocka from Assam. The cook was an Italian, Br. Theodorus Spoto. In summer 1896, a new Italian priest, Fr. Urban Luongo ordained by the bishop of Noto, was transferred into the community. He brought trouble with him. In May 1897, it came to a break. The bishop defended the superior against Fr. Urban. Lüthen wrote to Jordan, who was still in Lochau recovering from his grave illness and

asked him: "Fr. Urban now wants to come to Rome! The superior wants to get rid of him. But here? With the other Italians! Through the cross to the light" (May 25, 1897, BL-117). On May 31, 1897, Lüthen communicated to the Founder: "Yesterday evening the bishop of Noto called me and informed me of his plan to entrust his Convitto in Noto to us, so one could found there a community of 3 priests and one brother. They would be able to save some money and in future to support the Scala" (BL-123).

Meanwhile, Bocka, as the spokesman for the three malcontents, had requested an apostolic visitation of the college by the Congregation (June 25, 1897). He said his reason was the discord between the superior and the members to the detriment of the religious spirit (A Rel 13,175). At the same time Bocka turned to Prof. Fr. Gennario Bucceroni, to whom he explained:

In Noto there are too many debts and too little income to feed 21 members. The local superior is the lord, pure and simple. He behaves like Patriarch Ignatius and demands the same obedience. However, St. Ignatius was prudent and fatherly, which is lacking in our superior. We are sons without a father. The 12 students don't complain: they have more holiday than school. The correspondence with the higher superior in Rome and with the Visitor is free but not certain. When Rome admonishes the superior, the membership has to suffer for it. Last year a priest who wanted to organize things left. It all became worse. In fall they want to open a second house in Noto, while they can't even maintain the first one.

Bocka sent the letter secretly, adding his post box address. Fr. Gennaro Bucceroni passed on the letter together with another petition to the Congregation on June 29, as proof of the deplorable state of the Society of the Divine Savior (cf., A Rel 13,142).

Fr. Antonio received it all on July 8, 1897, for his opinion. In his report of August 21, he at first summarized all accusations according to his usual procedure. The superior and administrator are better clothed. Both Daunderer and Stein treat severely those who defend themselves. The superior is a despot, the administrator is without experience or good will. Both lead a bad lifestyle. The administrator is a drunkard. The superior is informing outsiders about the discord in the house.

Then Fr. Antonio presents the result of his investigations: Only these three confreres are against the two in charge. The brother is known as a malcontent. Luongo has complained bitterly with the superior general about his brother. Now they are friends again. Bocka is a good religious, pious and simple, but inconsistent and domineering. His excursion to the Trinitarians three years ago lasted just three months. Then he returned contrite. Tomorrow he will make friends again with the superior. Luongo is the main opponent. He lets himself be carried away by passion, attacking the superior head on, more for imagined than real mistakes. He is the main source of the discord.

Stein is a good administrator and much esteemed. His defect is he likes wine. In the administration he is not at all parsimonious, sometimes even to the danger of the house. The debts at this moment amount to 5,000 Lire. The income is too small. Daunderer, the superior, is a much esteemed religious. He is too indulgent towards the defects of his members. Generally the house is not in a bad shape, and the accusations are unfounded. The bishop praises the priests absolutely and has now offered them the Convitto San Luigi.

Fr. Antonio had first asked the bishop for his opinion. He was full of praise. The priests have accomplished among the population what others had not reached in 10 lustrums. They have already held missions successfully in a number of parishes. The pilgrimage is flourishing again. Luongo is disobedient and should go back to Rome. The Sicilians like Germans (in contrast with the mainland Italians). The debts are understandable after such a hard a beginning. The young vocations are without money. But the creditors help much, for they esteem the Salvatorians as real apostles. The priests receive 1,000 Lire in alms annually and in addition cereals, oil, cheese, eggs. The people give quite freely despite their personal poverty. Taking over the Convitto shall improve the economic situation of the priests (Fr. Antonio's inquiry of July 22; the bishop's answer on July 27).

In his *votum* Fr. Antonio comes to the conclusion: No visitation is necessary. But the three accusers must be transferred. Stein shall be admonished because of his drinking. In regard to the debts there is no remedy at present. The Society is in a very bad financial situation

(August 21, 1897, A Rel 13,175; on August 31, treated in the meeting, information given on September 1).

Already on August 10, 1896, Bocka had complained to the Apostolic Visitator that the vicar of the house, Fr. Gaspar Flumeri, was not obedient and submissive to the superior, but played the role of superior himself. Luongo was this priest's accomplice. This made things difficult for the superior as well as for Stein. The superior was too indulgent. Bocka demanded either the transfer of the superior who was damaging the community, or the transfer of the vicar, or his removal from office. Otherwise the war in the house would continue (A Sc). At that time Flumeri was transferred—the one whom Bocka in his accusation of June 25, 1897 had affirmed had left the house because he had tried in vain to organize it (A Sc). Now Fr. Antonio arranged for the transfer of the three accusers (September 8, 1897, D-725).

On September 29, Jordan filled up the Scala again, leaving in place the exhausted vicar, while the kind Fr. Dominico Dauderer took over the Convitto San Luigi (October 3, 1897). There 50 boys were to be provided for. Half of them were instructed in the house, while the other half attended the local secondary school.

It seems strange that Fr. Antonio admonished Jordan on October 12, 1897, after everything had already been put in order, not to postpone the transfer of the three confreres from Noto: "I have received letters, and I know what I say. I ask to fill up the community so that the superior can maintain himself and govern" (D-728). This letter can only be explained if the three priests who had been ordered to leave had postponed their departure, while the new superior was already in the house and the former one had already transferred to the Convitto. So the new superior of the Scala, an Italian priest, had probably complained directly to Fr. Antonio (cf., D-129, October 13, 1897, where Fr. Antonio refers to a letter from the new superior in which he fully agreed with Jordan. It is about the priest who was to replace Luongo: he may be a German, but he was not to oppose the superior).

Fr. Antonio, by the way, was quite favorable to the priests' taking over the Convitto. But he put the condition that everything be regulated by contract with the bishop, so that the priests would not be put out on the street by the next bishop without grave reasons and

sufficient time. He expressed his surprised to Lüthen that Jordan had departed for Lochau without having concluded a contract with the bishop (August 3, 1897, D-724). Salvatorians ran the Convitto for only two years and then handed it back. It can be supposed that the secular clergy claimed their priority (cf., DSS XIV.1, ftn. 29).

4.15/29. Earthquake in Assam which destroyed the mission must have been terrible. More than 6,000 people were killed. The earthquake was followed by a violent and fierce thunderstorm. It rained cats and dogs. One of the sisters was pulled gravely injured out of the ruins of the demolished sisters' house. Within 90 seconds all the houses of the various mission stations had collapsed and the missionaries had become homeless. Aftershocks continued for 14 days. All the missionaries endured this trial courageously.

In their homelands, patrons and benefactors of the mission held together. In this way the reconstruction could be started immediately (cf., MI 13-15, 1897; PPP 215). Help for the mission came quickly and tangibly. *Der Missionär* reports gratefully about a family in Bavaria that had in 4 years contributed already 6,700 Mark for Rome and Assam (20, 1897). Archbishop Goethals of Calcutta expressed his sympathy to the "dear Fr. Angelus" by July 2, 1897. He at once sent some money (300 Rupies), as his diocese was less affected by the catastrophe. He also published Münzloher's report in the "Indo-European Correspondence" to seek help for Assam (A MA). Münzloher immediately sent Fr. Ignatius Bethan, his vicar, to Europe to solicit help.

Krishnagar was also hard hit by the earthquake. Bishop Pozzi asked Münzloher whether he could not give him some good addresses in Europe, so that he might beg for a one-time special help. He himself had received only 2,000 frs. from the Propaganda in Paris and 4,000 frs. from the Propaganda in Rome. The help Münzloher had received from the German mission societies would certainly have been more substantial. In a letter dated October 27, 1897, Pozzi lamented that his sisters had still no roof over their heads four months after the disaster (A MA).

4.16/30. Sick confreres in Rome this summer were sent some to Lochau, some to Tivoli. Already on May 31, 1897, Lüthen communicated to

Jordan: "Now all the sick have left" (BL-122). He was still concerned about the care of the young confreres. He asked the superior of Lochau to have all the sick well examined by the physician and to separate those with lung trouble from the others. "I'm sorry for having been compelled to burden you with so many sacrifices, particularly with the sick," and Jordan asked him once more to be strictly vigilant "that the patients suffering from tuberculosis may not infect others, and that they be given the necessary injections" (Freiburg, May 29, 1897, A-159).

Count Brandis offered Fr. Chrysologus Raich his Castle Fahlburg in Prissian near Tisens in Tyrol as a summer residence for the sick scholastics. The castle offered rooms for 30-40 persons and was in an enchanting location in the Etschtal between Bozen and Meran. Count Brandis offered the castle gratis, as he had another quite nearby. Jordan, however, feared that the patients with tuberculosis might contaminate the castle itself and thus cause damage to the proprietor (June 13, 1897, A-161). But the Count stood to his offer so that in mid June some scholastics with weak lungs could be sent there from Rome to regain strength for the next school year. In September one priest went with students from Tivoli to Subiaco for recovery (BL-140).

It was the task of the vicar general to provide a summer residence for the students. One didn't want to burden Tivoli and Noto. At first Bracciano was discussed, then the monastery of the Minorites in Lacciarolo was rented for four months for 500 Lire (May 12, 1897, BL-106). But this solution had to be dropped. "The vacation house is rented now at Vicarello on Lake Loncinne; the house is property of the Germanicum. Philosophers and theologians each [have] their own flats" (May 26, 1897, BL-119).

4.17/31. Mother Mary's home visit. Mother Mary was obviously pleased to be able to make a trip home once more. The journey was paid for by her family. Mother Mary was close to her family and in a good sense proud of her noble origin. She always shared with Jordan the joys and sorrows of her family. Towards Lüthen she was more reserved.

On July 22, she traveled to Brunate, "where the whole population, unprompted, received me in the evening with a procession, the children reciting poems, scattering flowers, even the music band, all this

till 11 o'clock at night. Oh, the good faithful mother superior, these people, this beautiful region."

Mother Mary also visited the bishop of Como and the authorities. Somewhat covertly she remarked already here: the directress "of the school wants to have an approved teacher from Lombardy." Mother Mary described briefly the great feast in Liège. Then I continued to my beautiful home castle, my birthplace, Liège my dearest father dead— oh, how sad an atmosphere!" Besides seeing relatives and families of sisters, she also visited the archbishop of Cologne and to the bishop of Trier. On the Feast of St. Canisius (August 19) Mother Mary was in Fribourg and Drogens. After a few pleasant days at Brunate, the superior general was back in Via Lungara on August 28.

She also noted: although the school examinations of the children in Brunate had been successful, the sisters had to leave. She hoped that the sisters would be able to take up an activity in Capolago. The pastor of Brunate was not happy with this solution. For the house in Capolago, Mother Mary asked the Cardinal Vicar on September 16 for a recommendation to the bishop of Lugano. Cardinal Parocchi was to sign it on October 5 (through the mediation of Fr. Simon Stein, who since August had transferred from Noto into the motherhouse. He had now to edit "Nuntius Romanus," to teach German at the San Apollinare, and to perform certain services for the sisters).

After her return on August 28, Mother Mary received the next day some kind lines from Lüthen: "Venerable Mother, my congratulations that you have returned in good health, i.e., passed strong and happy through 'storm and waves.' Kindly, yours truly, Fr. Bonaventura" (ASDS). What is hidden in the expression "storm and waves" is unclear.

On September 30, the teachers' training school was reopened. To Lüthen, however, this was just a stopgap. "If only the sisters finally had a German home! There they could be trained for this profession" (to Raich, September 1, 1897, BL-138). On October 4, the three sisters from Brunate took over the children's asylum in Capolago. But Jordan had to step in till Cardinal Parocchi sent his recommendation, September 11 (MMChr).

4.18/32. Baroness von Hoffmann, Lydia, was an American convert. Her husband Richard von Hoffmann was German and a Protestant. They

both were sincerely inclined to the Founder of the Salvatorians. Even when Baron von Hoffmann died everything remained as before. The two sons, Ferdinand and Philipp were no less connected with the Society.

Villa Celimontana had extensive parks. Until then only cardinals had free access. Once a week its designated parks were open to the Roman population. Now the villa was frequented by young religious who felt quite at home there. Jordan could also receive more important visitors there. The visit of the Bavarian Minister, President Dr. Held, and the Oberregierungsrat Alois Frank, both honest Catholic politicians, is memorialized in a photo. The motherhouse gained invaluable advantages from the use of Villa Celimontana. By 1898, the villa became a *Statio filialis* of the Motherhouse, and later the brothers' novitiate.

"Baroness Hoffmann is a great patroness of the Society together with her (Protestant) husband, quite pious: we have in the Villa (Mattei or Celimontana) a community (chapel and Holy Mass) for infirm members; the land there is free for our use" (Lüthen to the superior of Meseritsch, February 15, 1898, BL-178).

4.19/33. Informers. In neither case is it known "how far it was like this, neither who was or were the informers!" The Schematismus at the turn of the year 1897/1898 shows only two priests with no indication of any office. One of them was still studying. The other already a doctor of philosophy and Theology was preparing himself for the community of Mehala, Diocese of Csánad Temesvár, Hungary at that time.

Jordan could not, nor was he allowed to, investigate the source of the visitor's information. Often he seems to have had several informants. So he wrote to Jordan on December 1, 1897: "Contrary to the information received from X, Frater A. seems not to have returned to Rome and this not on his own, but with the permission of the superior general." Fr. Antonio asked for an explanation of this matter: "I am impatiently awaiting the answer" (D-730). Frater A. had already in the fall petitioned for dispensation: after having lived 5 years in the Society, he no longer had a vocation. Fr. Beda Hoffmann as the responsible procurator general presented his *votum* on October 24: Frater A. is morally all right, but has no vocation; he has already received minor orders. Fr. Antonio was more explicit: Frater A has never had a vocation.

Lately he had been bothering the confreres by his discontent. With the permission of the superior he left for holidays. A month ago he returned to Rome, but not to the motherhouse. He remained instead outside, as he affirms, with the permission of the vicar general. Fr. Antonio pleaded for dispensation (November 21, 1897), which the Congregation granted on the following day and communicated to Hoffmann on November 26 (A Rel 14,379). It has not been clear why Fr. Antonio after the ecclesiastic conclusion of the matter still bothered Jordan with the matter of Frater A. on December 1, 1897.

Here the case of Frater C. should also be mentioned, which shows well how the Apostolic Visitor followed up each accusation and how Jordan was made responsible for each "misdeed." The Frater had asked for dispensation in May 1897. On May 17, Fr. Antonio confirmed that Frater C. had not received any minor order and that he was without vocation. Thus the dispensation was given with the strange imposition that the vow of chastity continue (A Rel 12.603).

On June 29, 1897, Frater C. submitted a petition through Fr. Bucceroni. At his exit he was obliged to pay an additional 1,895 Mark. He considered this unjust. Fr. Bucceroni passed the petition on, and at the same time offered to convey the answer of the Congregation back to him. The Professor of Moral Theology added: "This document can truly prove what a lamentable situation this Institute has been in for years."

Naturally, the Apostolic Visitor had again to clarify and judge the matter. Fr. Antonio called one of the three priests who at that time had been active in the administration. Then he proposed his *votum*: Frater C. has in agreement with Jordan studied cheaply. The parents had fulfilled the obligation agreed on beforehand. Therefore, he had no subsequent obligation. The administrator whom he asked said: it is the custom of the Society that those leaving reimburse the expenses made for them. This view, however, is not sufficient to impose a real obligation. Any such obligation must be agreed on before entry. In fact, Frater C. had signed an agreement that after his ordination he would pay back 1,895 Mark, at 200 Mark yearly (June 4, 1897). But he claimed the administrator had put him under pressure. The administrator denied that. So one affirmation neutralized the other. But another confrere affirms that Frater C. had signed so that he might be able to depart. Otherwise the

administrator might not have given him the money for his travel expenses. Fr. Antonio requested that the Society should declare that Frater C. not be obliged to repay the 1,895 Mark the Society of the Divine Savior which should return the declaration he had signed (July 11, 1897).

On July 16, the Congregation decided: in spite of the signature given by the person concerned, it was not sure that the Society was right. This is to be communicated to the superior general (A Rel 13,142). Here it should be noted that Jordan at the time of Frater C.'s leaving was in Tivoli and Lochau recovering from his grave illness.

Since his appointment as procurator general, Hoffmann had continuously inserted himself. But the simpler cases were left completely to him under the surveillance of the Apostolic Visitor. This included cases of dispensation from vows for non-ordained members.

When Fr. Silvano Tosti left the still unresolved question of a separate house for Italians only was brought up again. Fr. Antonio's opinion was that Tosti was only outwardly content before his ordination. After ordination he expressed his displeasure at this and that; he was not always mistaken, above all in demanding a home of their own for the Italians. Fr. Antonio always favored such a solution and interested Jordan's interest in it. The latter found this to be a good plan, but he did nothing under the pretext of waiting for a good occasion to acquire a house (which unfortunately Jordan had not yet been able to do). Now the priest wanted to leave just when Jordan, after long hesitation, was going to meet Italians' demands. Fr. Antonio defended Tosti's critical attitude, although he could not approve of it in every detail (influence of friends, exaggerations, etc.) (August 16, 1897, A Rel 15,709; cf., A Rel 13,627). It is surprising that Fr. Antonio accused Jordan at the Congregation: "he did nothing citing this excuse!" This affirmation is in fact easily refuted out of hand by the existing documents.

4.20/35. Sisters' motherhouse. By summer of 1894, Mother Mary had exhausted all possibilities to get the house in Via Lungara recognized as motherhouse by the church, and finally to be able to give up Tivoli, which so wearied her. All her efforts, even the oblique ones, remained without success. When Msgr. de Waal, who interceded more in favor of the "German Sisters" since they made beautiful embroideries for him and

actively took part in his liturgical festivities (cf., his diary), petitioned the undersecretary of the Cardinal Vicar for the "Sisters of Fr. Jordan" to keep their house in Rome, he was told to take the usual way through the Congregation for Religious. But if he were asked, he could reply that the Cardinal Vicar would agree to it (July 20, 1897, TVU). Jordan's own petitions, on the contrary, were still lying in the drawer.

Jordan chose the way of finding an apostolate in Rome for as many sisters as possible, in order to make them indispensable to the Eternal City. But this strategy also failed because almost none of the sisters at that time had any special training before being received into the Society. Their training, started in Tivoli and Rome, was not conducted by specialists and was only a provisional solution.

On Christmas 1897, "Mother Mary of the Apostles and 40 sisters and 4 postulants" sent their good wishes to Jordan (D-App. 29). In the meantime the sisters, who had helped the Vincentian Sisters for three years with supply work in the large dormitories for elderly men, had been dismissed from there by the responsible Circle of San Pietro with a letter of recommendation and 2 papal silver medals (November 14, 1897). The twice-weekly training in the Clinic of Marocco was irregular, purely theoretical, and intended rather as compensation by the professor who paid no salary to the sisters (December 9, 1897; on April 7, 1898, he gave them by way of exception 400 Lire, remarking that he would pay more when he was able. MMChr).

4.21/38. Looking for sisters' apostolates. In the meantime, the superior in Meran tried to find something fitting for the sisters. "How pleasant, if in Meran we could also find work for the sisters! Here it is no good. The candidates can neither make examinations as teachers or nurses, nor can the professed get training!!! Or elsewhere. Maybe also in Switzerland! And where we are, provide a provisional house of the sisters" (February 25, 1898, Lüthen to Raich, BL-177). A little later he wrote the general consultant in Vienna:

Have proposed to engage the sisters in Munich. But we don't have the trained forces. Or should we let them be trained in an outside convent with hospital? Where they should work, this isn't possible. However, it is urgent to remove this great number of sisters from Rome, where they

can't learn nursing, or get practice for schooling, etc. What [other] candidates learn before the novitiate [ours] don't know here even when professed. The problem is getting increasingly urgent, as they don't earn their bread here and thus consume their money.

Raich should consider where he might find something, and also discuss the matter discretely with a practical person (February 21, 1898, BL-180).

4.22/39. Intreccialagli. Even when Jordan, together with his consultants, had regulated the elections and other matters canonically, Fr. Antonio insisted on examining the minutes, and being asked for his agreement. Fr. Antonio allowed the superiors of Drogens and of St. Nazianz to exercise their office for a second term each (February 15, 1898, BL-177).

After informing the general consulta of what the foundation in Meran had to live on, Lüthen remarked: "These payments are for Fr. Antonio, who is to be informed about everything" (May 5, 1898, BL-199). Since later on the general consultor (now serving as Commissar of Meran) had to stay far from Rome, the anxious question was: "*Quid Fr. Antonio?? Vedremo* if it is possible" (July 13, 1898, BL-227) It became possible because Baroness Hoffmann herself intervened for Fr. Chrysologus Raich. Fr. Antonio has heard of his long absence and does not find it to be in order; but for the time being it can't be changed" (July 13, 1898, BL-229).

In addition, "Fr. Antonio is against Fr. Chr. [Raich] becoming superior" (July 16, 1898, BL-229²). Renting the Freihof in Meran had "still to come to the general council and to Fr. Antoni" (April 29, 1898, BL-198). Thus in this skirmish with the Apostolic Visitor it was not surprising that Jordan spoke of the "ecclesiastic authority" while its representatives fashioned themselves as speaking in the "name of the holy Church." It seems, that Fr. Antonio sometimes feared for his honor as Visitor, and thus wanted to preempt any disagreeable surprises. Above all, he was afraid of being surprised by the unpredictable Founder making too many debts, and thus to compromise him before his ecclesiastic superiors.

4.23/40. Sisters. While Jordan was on his 6-week tour of visitation, Lüthen admonished him expressly in regard to the sisters:

Do not forget the sisters. I think it would be good to discuss this matter thoroughly with an experienced priest, what should be done—in regard to nursing the sick, teaching, etc. (May 22, 1898, BL-207).

Hope you will succeed in finding some places for the sisters and a place where they can be trained for some time in nursing. The matter is urgent: otherwise it might again come to a bad end. Venerable Mother is often very sad: Eat up everything, and then? Could our priests in Vienna find something? Also Hungary perhaps? Fr. Fridolin [Cichy] is teaching 4 sisters the Hungarian language (May 24, 1898, BL-208).

Also Mother Mary implored,

Dear Venerable Father and Founder: in the name of your heavenly Mother, whose protection and help you have experienced so often, I ask you also to remember the many poor sisters on your journeys in honor of Mary; that they, too, may expand, work apostolically and help to make Mary's help known to many, and so fulfill the holy purpose of your foundation.

Above all she wished for herself a foundation in Tyrol and in Hungary.

Oh, do not forget us, Venerable Father, we are 52 sisters, in Tivoli 19. Of these more than half could be sent out (May 23, 1898, on the day preceding the Feast of Perpetual Help, the day after the Feast of the Queen of the Apostles, E-682).

4.24/41. Hungary is where Fr. Fridolin Cichy had tried to make contacts since 1896. In late 1897, Mother Mary together with her generalate under Fr. Simon Stein's presidency (as delegated by Jordan) voted on preparing sisters for a Hungarian foundation. During Jordan's visitation journey a breakthrough occurred thanks to the engagement of Raich and Cichy. Fr. Antonio, too, showed himself favorable to Hungary (May 21, 1898, BL-206). June 4, 1898, Lüthen received the conditions of Countess Therese Györy for Muraszombat. He immediately sent them to Jordan in Vienna, so that he might respond to the Countess. Lüthen judged the conditions as good. His only question was about nursing those hospitalized with

venereal diseases. Jordan should decide in this regard (June 4, 1898, BL-215/216). Before that Lüthen handed the letters of the Countess to Mother Mary for inspection.

She noted full of joy: "Today has arrived the sure news about in regard accepting the First Foundation in Hungary" (June 5, 1898, MMChr). The "roving general consultor," who engaged himself so much for the sisters' foundation in Hungary, wanted to send his own sister, probably as superior. She was Mother Mary's first consultor. But Lüthen convinced him that at her young age she would be overburdened. According to the contract of the Countess the Hungarian language was required. "She will never learn it" (June 5, 1898, BL-217). On October 4, 1898, "M. Countess wrote from Hungary that now she wanted 4 of our sisters for Muraszombat" (MMChr). Negotiations went on for some time. Only on April 26, 1899, could the first sisters be sent. On July 1, others followed.

On July 28, 1898, another three sisters traveled to Milwaukee (MMChr). Already in May, Jordan had to replace the mother superior in St. Nazianz and promised to send a good superior from Rome with a sister as her companion (May 24, 1898, BL-208).

On August 11, 1898, Mother Mary traveled to Switzerland "to visit the houses as well as for health reasons." She spent the night at the hospice on Great San Bernhard, Simplon, met with the bishop of Sitten (who desired priests and sisters), made a stop in Brig, and stayed eight days with the sisters in Drogens. She also inspected the hostel in Freiburg-Pérolles, where the sisters (according to the superior of Freiburg) should take over the household. She returned home by way of Altdorf and the Gotthard. She passed the night with Nenzing Sisters in S. Maria at Bellinzona, then paid a visit to the sisters at Capolago, and was in Rome again on September 5.

4.25/42 Financial needs were taken up in almost every letter. Raich was indefatigably on the road. When one loan had been repaid, the next creditor was already at the door.

The lawyer here has us in his net: he requests 10,000 Lire by Dec. 31, otherwise legal proceeding!! You can imagine the situation we are in. Where to get so much money? He is indeed right: as he had to wait too long already without even one *ctmo*. Please an *Ave*. (n.d., BL-165).

When Raich as general consultor had to travel to Vienna to petition the Emperor about "Kaisermühlen," Lüthen remarked: "The petition matter will probably be to you the smaller cross of the many crosses which such a begging trip causes" (February 11, 1898, BL-176).

The foundation in Meran was given the same condition as the one in Meseritsch: no debts; modest beginning, "no more than that the 12 'apostles' began with" (March 23, 1896, BL-190). The superior in Meseritsch was advised to emulate Lochau: "Lochau always had a fund raising brother, Br. Rodriguez, and looked for 'large benefactors'" (March 27, 1898, BL-192). And "you can hardly fall back on our empty coffers. Think carefully where [you will get the means for sustenance] before putting your 'honor at stake!'" Lüthen jokingly admonished the superior in Meran (May 25, 1898, BL-210).

The vacation house was planned for Tivoli or Villa Celimontana. The decision was not easy, for "in our situation one must save each penny." But at Celimontana there might also be malaria toward fall. Noto (Scala) was out of question, for "it always cries for money" (May 30, 1898, Lüthen to Jordan, BL-213). "And the need for money is always great. Such a community costs too much. So, to arms!" Lüthen encourages the superior in Meseritsch to send Mass stipends to the motherhouse (July 26, 1898, BL-232). Also Jordan had repeatedly to admonish his superiors of the new foundations: "Do not incur debts you are not certain you can repay" (to the superior in Meseritsch, Vienna, June 4, 1898, A-200).

4.26/45b. Visitation report.

Now, I can tell you that the confreres are doing much good on the outside, especially in the confessional. This is particularly true in Vienna where it is a great apostolic endeavor to have so many children and such big schools. On the other hand, the situation in Vienna is very promising and above all the set up is quite monastic. In District X they have a big house that is quite suitably furnished to accommodate monastic observance. If God wills, a church will be built for us sometime through the church building association and the construction of a cloister will begin. In District II the priests are quite diligent! You can tell from the statistics that the achievements of the confreres are very great—and it is also very big. The confessions of children run into the

thousands with only one priest. And others told to me that the dean is also very pleased. Religious are so necessary, above all in pastoral ministry in various localities. And how easily, *quam facile homines confiteantur* "how easily people confide" in religious!

Now, however, I would especially like to stress another point. I found in Vienna how people watch religious, and how important it is to give good example. We should preach *exemplis*, "by example." That is the most important thing. If you could not preach at all with words, example alone is already a mighty sermon that would capture the spectator. Because a religious who lives according to the holy rule can accomplish great things. But this calls for a person to be out in the world. The dangers there are great, particularly if one doesn't know them, and if one is overly confident (DSS XXIII, July 1, 1898).

4.27/46. Three dispensed priests. In 1898, three priests of the Society were dispensed from their vows. Fr. K. soon after his ordination applied for admittance to the order of the Deutschherren. On May 23, the Hockmeister of Troppau gave him his consent after the consent of the Grandmaster in Rome (Prati). Jordan gave his agreement on July 20, because Fr. K. had a good spirit, although he had not always behaved praiseworthy in his religious life; above all he had been frivolous in regard to the vows of poverty and obedience. On July 27, the Congregation permitted his change from the Salvatorians to the Deutschorden (A Rel 17,031; Fr. K. is in no Schematism SDS listed as priest).

On April 29, 1898, Fr. Camillus Overbeck of Lochau petitioned for dispensation. He indicated that he no longer felt his vocation as a religious, and also Fr. Antonio had this confirmed to him. Fr. Antonio have given him hope through a priest who had presented this case to him. In his *votum*, however, he kept his distance in this regard. The priest should keep himself to the prescriptions of the decree "*Auctis admodum.*" Overbeck now asked the Congregation to be permitted to live outside the Society for some time in order to find a bishop (May 12). Jordan was opposed because he feared a scandal, since Overbeck was very frivolous and imprudent. Fr. Antonio was of the same opinion. On the other hand, if the priest no longer had a religious vocation, he should be given the opportunity to find a bishop.

Jordan had promised the Visitor to help Overbeck in this matter (May 20, 1898). The Congregation decided on May 22, 1898, that he could be given a dispensation only after he had found a bishop and his sustenance was secured. It is not known which bishop he found, but he left the Society in 1898 (A Rel, 16,364).

Soon after his ordination, Fr. L. also petitioned for dispensation for grave reasons of conscience (April 22, 1898). He asked permission to live one year outside the Society in order to find a bishop. Fr. L. Had held no office in the Society after being ordained. The Congregation requested the opinion of the Visitor (April 26, 1898). By January 1898, Fr. L. had procured a security of 3,000 Mark through his family. Fr. Antonio stated that Fr. L. had never had a religious vocation and had submitted to religious discipline only to reach the priest-hood; the petitioner, however, had first to find a bishop and to secure his sustenance (May 4, 1898). While the search for a final solution dragged on, Fr. L. asked for and received at least permission to celebrate Mass (*titolo caritatis*, as he had many expenses; May 6, re: July 16). On December 1, Fr. L. had to request prolongation of this permission, as he still had not been able to find a bishop. Meanwhile, Fr. L. had at least the position of a house chaplain with Sir Stanislaus de Hoyos at Lauterbach, Parish of Leipe (testimony of the pastor, November 20, 1898). So he was directed to his home bishop of Brünn who granted him faculties. About his definite acceptance into the Diocese of Brünn and his dispensation from vows there are no acts available (A Rel 16,282).*

4.28/47. Pachomius Eisele (II), the much feared superior in Ecuador and short term "superior" of Via Lungara (with full power as visitor) could hardly tolerate his quick transfer from Tivoli to Drognens. He felt set aside. On the other hand, he now renewed his connection with the Swiss Franciscan Sisters in Cartagena, Colombia (mother house in Altstätten on

* "Fr. L. himself asked the bishop to let him stay 'interned' in his Silesia home. Provisionally to be rid of him; why? What does this signify?" (Lüthen, February 15, 1898, BL-178)

Rhine).^{*} Eisele now took his future into his own hands. By September 30, 1897, hardly one year after returning from South America, he petitioned for release from his vows, saying he no longer had a religious vocation. In his petition to the pope he confessed having made his profession only externally like the others, but under the condition that he could find his happiness in this state; in conscience he confessed that he had not. He swore that he told no one about his "conditional" profession. Thus, he would seek the dispensation only with reservation, if this were necessary for greater security. On December 3, 1897, the Congregation commissioned Fr. Antonio to present his opinion after a discussion with Jordan.

The Apostolic Visitor declared that only Eisele could judge his own interior reservations, but this in itself did not negate the fact that he had taken vows 8 years ago. His conduct had never given rise to the suspicion that he was discontent with the Society. He had behaved in such an exemplary way that the superior general had entrusted various tasks to him. His renunciation of his property before profession on October 15, 1898, was quite free "*libere et sponte*" (Fr. Antonio quoted the entire document of donation –about 1,000 Lire– to the Society. In reality, Eisele had shown himself dissatisfied only recently and spoken about leaving. Various reasons, above all the diminished trust of his superiors, had upset him. Now he was in such a rage that he preferred to work on a road gang than to remain in the Society. As things are now, Jordan was fully in favor of his leaving, but the Visitor favors the dispensation under the usual conditions (December 12, 1897).

On December 13, the Congregation requested the relevant documents from Eisele, passed the decision to Jordan (January 9, 1898), and informed Fr. Antonio correspondingly (February 4). Hoffmann as the general procurator informed Eisele in an official form (January 17, 1898). On January 23, however, Eisele wrote to the Congregation from Lochau, where he had been transferred awaiting the outcome of his case. He complained that Jordan wasn't willing to hand him back his property

^{*} "In Drogens (Venerable Mother is annoyed) Fr. Pachomius has a candidate for the Franciscan Sisters in Cartagena, who is being evaluated and trained." (Lüthen to Jordan, May 31, 1897, BL-122).

of 6,500 frs., which he had made over to the Society after his profession. Even if his agreement were incontestable, since he was at that time still a minor, he had been missing the legally required consent of his parents. Eisele would be satisfied with the prompt payment of one half of the amount and an IOU for the other half. With this he could get a loan so that the bishop of Chur would receive him into his diocese. (In reality, Eisele had had no property when he had signed his renunciation. Later his parents twice donated to Jordan a remarkable sum on their own, probably animated by their son's enthusiasm for the Society.)

On January 29, Jordan was informed about the petition and Fr. Antonio was asked for his opinion. On February 7, the impatient Eisele renewed his petition of January 24 (sic!). He sent a copy of the letter to the Congregation in which he had answered a letter of Fr. Antonio (January 27). Fr. Antonio had in his letter expressed his opinion, that Eisele knew well what he did in 1889. The civil law could not intervene here. His parents later had the said money donated to the Society, and thus had fully agreed.

In his letter Eisele demanded instead that justice be done to him. He stressed that his parents agreed to yield the goods to the Society. But they had understood this only as usufruct. Furthermore, there had certainly always been the condition that he would remain in the Society. At that time he, like the others, had just copied a declaration without understanding its contents. In his naivete he had not been able to differentiate between donation and usufruct. The Society had manipulated his ignorance and thus deceived him. In addition, there had been *metus reverentialis gravis*. At any rate the renunciation of a minor had been legally invalid.

On February 14, the Congregation again engaged the visitor. Shortly after, Eisele renewed his petition that justice be done to him as soon as possible. As his address he indicated the Monastery Maria Hilf in Altstätten, Canton St. Gallen.*

On March 1, Hoffmann handed the opinion of the Society to the Congregation. He underlined above all that Eisele had voluntarily

* Motherhouse of Franciscan Sisters working the hospital in Cartagena.

renounced his properties before his profession. His parents had with his knowledge remitted 3,750 frs. on November 21, 1889, and in July 1893, 2,500 frs. to the Society. Both donations had taken place after Eisele's profession without any allusions to usufruct. At the time Eisele wrote his declaration he was already an adult, as he was born on January 10, 1868, and handed his declaration in on October 15, 1889. Hoffmann's opinion was that this request was unjustified, but that he would of course submit to the decision of the Congregation.

Now Fr. Antonio had a sufficient number of documents at hand for his opinion. First he answered Eisele's letter of January 27, and his rejection of February 7. Then he fully agreed with Hoffmann's opinion. He had also asked some of Eisele's co-novices, who confirmed that the novice master had quite exactly explained in German (Eisele's mother tongue) the difference between donation, renunciation of property, and renunciation of usufruct at the profession. Then Fr. Antonio examined in detail the inner reservation at making the vows, which Eisele confirmed by oath and he concluded: "What credit can still be given to Fr. Pachomius after all this?" Fr. Antonio is of the same opinion as Hoffmann: there exists no obligation of repayment (March 19, 1898). On March 27, a meeting of the Congregation decided that everything should remain according to the dispensation decree of March 7, 1898, and thus his file was to be sent to the archives (A Rel 14,747).

[The author now sets out the history of Fr. Eislel predating his request for dispensation detailed above.] Eisele had returned from Cartagena in the summer 1896, and first took a holiday at home. On July 31, he wrote to Jordan from Reichenbach: "Tonight arrived from South America." Jordan wanted to engage him at Lochau, but Eisele wrote to Lüthen that he didn't know Lochau and would prefer Frieberg (August 1896). On September 24, the superior at Lochau announced the priest's arrival: "His nerves are quite down." On October 17, 1896, Fr. Damasus Louis, Superior of Drognens, complained that since Eisele didn't want to break his contacts with the German Sisters, he could not remain there. The Founder called him to Rome, where on October 25, he celebrated Mass in Via Lungara (MMChr). In November 1896, Jordan entrusted him to give the retreats in Via Lungara and to take care of the sisters as far as necessary. Soon after, Eisele had to give up his work with the sisters (cf.,

MMChr, December 4, 1896). Now Jordan destined him as vicar for the house in Freiburg (December 1896).

When Fr. Damasus in late December suddenly asked for more forces for Drogens, Jordan sent Eisele. On January 4, 1897, they both departed Rome together with one brother and reached Drogens via Freiburg on January 6. Already in the summer Eisele was working to be received into the Diocese of Chur (Assent of the Ordinariate to Jordan, September 17, 1897). Eisele left for Freiburg in October 1897. On the 24th the Chronicle noted: "To the surprise of all, of many, Fr. Pachomius Eisele left Drogens and the Society. He has settled down as pastor in the Diocese of Chur" (Chronicle of Freiburg). The local superior wrote to Rome: Eisele must be called to Rome. He can't return to Drogens (November 12, 1897). Jordan sent the restless priest to Lochau until the question would be resolved. But the superior of Lochau also requested his dismissal as soon as possible (November 25).^{*} After the official assent of the bishop of Chur, January 24, 1898, Hoffmann sent the declaration to the Congregation that Eisele had deposited his patrimony at the diocese of Chur while staying at Drogens, and that the bishop would receive him into his diocese as soon as he had taken a loan of 8,000 M (already in January 1897). Already on September 17, 1897, the bishop of Chur had promised Eisele to receive him into his diocese. On February 11, 1898, the Congregation dispensed Eisele from his religious vows. On February 14, Jordan sent the dispensation to him in Lochau (cf., Catalogus SDS, February 14, 1898; A-Chur).^{**}

Eisele didn't remain in Chur for long. He was given a small parish Stürvois (Räto-Roman Stierva). Gottlieb Eisele did not speak this language. Neither is it clear whether he succeeded in his probationary

^{*} Eisele was deprived of faculties at Lochau. He was not allowed to go out: "You shall conscientiously keep to this order. I am sorry you have to carry this cross so long" (Jordan to the superior at Lochau, January 21, 1898, A-192).

^{**} "Fr. Pachomius was dispensed yesterday. Well, let all those leave who don't like being here" (Lüthen, February 15, 1898, BL-178). "Fr. Pachomius is now dispensed. Thanks be to God, that those who want to leave may now go their own ways" (Lüthen, February 16, 1898, BL-179).

period. In 1900, he felt the urge to return to Cartagena via USA, where he as Theofil (Gottlieb) served as the spiritual director and chaplain to the Swiss Sisters (Franciscans). The Foundress herself is said to have advised him to leave that place (Proc. Ord. SD Bern. M. Bütler).

4.29/49. Apostolic houses of formation. From early summer 1898, we have a list from Jordan in which he summarized the most important countries in which he desired to found apostolic houses of formation. At the same time he also included the names of confreres he intended as "founder" for each undertaking. The listed countries as well as the confreres are an eloquent testimony of how far his apostolic heart was beating and how much confidence he put in his young "co-apostles."

It is also noticeable that in culturally advanced countries he had always selected a "cosmopolitan city" as the place for a foundation—Paris, London, Barcelona, Budapest, Milan, New York. To pioneer the apostolic nurseries he selected the young forces he thought most capable, even to the detriment of the mission or of foundations already begun but not yet full grown like Vienna, Meseritsch, Meran, St. Nazianz, Lochau or Noto. He presupposed that the other members there could complete well what had been well begun. Lüthen also fully supported the Founder in this regard.

He headed a letter to Meran with the words in large print: "HOUSES OF FORMATION" (April 7, 1898, BL-193). Jordan and Lüthen more than once explained to the superior of Meseritsch that the proper aim of that foundation was a house of studies for the Society (June 4, 1898, A-202; May 17, 1898, BL-201: "*Sunt certi denique fines*" (There is at last an end!)).

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN

known in religious life as

FRANCIS MARY OF THE CROSS JORDAN

The Founder and the Confirmation of his Work:

Expansion and Crisis

1898 - 1906

DSS XVI Part 1 & 2

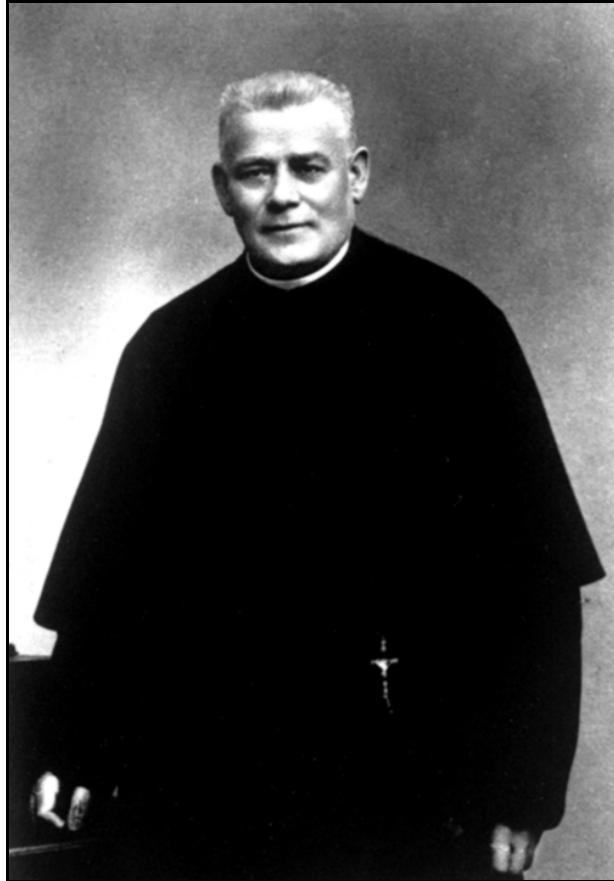
A Biographical Study

by

Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

1985

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Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

DSS XVI could not be published in one volume due to some difficulties. In the meantime we present here Part I. It deals with the rapid expansion of the Salvatorians –priests, brothers and sisters– between 1898 and 1902, a period ending with the First General Chapter.

DSS XVI Part II will chronicle the Society's crisis and maturation (1902-1914) and the last years of the Servant of God, Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan (1915-1918). Occasional repetitions in the reports or divisions within the excursus have been allowed for the time being. When edited into one comprehensive biography these duplications can easily be deleted or reduced. Please note that mostly for brevity's sake the names of the "minor characters" have been abbreviated. Those interested can easily find full names in the register of names and in the Schematismus.

An appendix has been added here of selected *capitula culparum* from the periods being described, as these are true and indispensable historical documents of the years 1898 to 1902. Finally, everything said in the preface to DSS XV remains valid for DSS XVI, particularly with reference to the Servant of God, with those who are met along the way, and with what remains reserved to Salvatorian monographs.

The thanks to the cooperators already expressed in DSS XV are sincerely repeated here.

Rome, March 19, 1985

Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

In this edition parts 1 & 2 are being published together. The excursus material is presented unedited, just as it appears in the original text, although the abbreviated names have been given in full. The appendix containing more chapter talks of the Founder has been omitted in this edition since the publication of DSS XXIII and its translation into English have made such an appendix redundant. Interested readers should refer to those volumes.

Unfortunately, the full project envisioned by Fr. Edwein was cut short by his unforeseen death. Hence, DSS XVI ends with the events of 1906. A very short DSS XVII.1 was published posthumously. DSS XVII.2 was completed by Fr. Mesiterjahn and will be published soon in German under the aegis of the International Historical Commission. With God's help it will quickly find its way into English, thus bringing this entire project to its completion.

Fr. Daniel Pekarske, SDS
Morogoro, January 2005

SHORT CHRONOLOGY (September 1898 - December 1902)

1898	September 6	Foundation in Torri (SDS-W)
	November 21	Foundation in Mehala-Temesvár
1899	April	Foundation in Budapest (SDS-W)
	May 25	Foundation in Cartagena, Colombia
	May 31	Inauguration in St. Nazianz, WI (first SDS church in USA)
	June 9	Approbation SDS-W (by Bishop of Tivoli - renewal)
	July 1	Foundation in Muraszombat (SDS-W)
	July 7	Giving up Capolago (SDS-W)
	July 28	Foundation in Campobello (SDS-W)
	July	Giving up the Convitto San Luigi in Noto
	August 5	Foundation in Jägerndorf
	September 17	Foundation in Keuterville, ID, USA
	November 26	Foundation in Vienna (Theresian Hospital, SDS-W)
	December 10	Foundation in Welkenraedt (Herbesthal)
1900	March 1	<i>Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen</i>
	July 9	Foundation in Hamberg
	August 8	Sisters' House in Milwaukee, WI (inauguration)
	October 7	Cornerstone laying ceremony, Vienna X (Church of Apostle)
	October 21	Foundation in Zagreb (foundation day July 5)
	October 21	Foundation in Krakow
	November 21	Foundation in Athus
	November 23	Foundation in Hamont
1901	August 15	Foundation in Wealdstone (foundation day July 8)
	September 24	Permission for the foundation in Trzebinia
	November 12	Foundation in Narni
1902	May	Foundation in Pe Ell, WA, USA; giving up Vancouver, WA
	June 24	Promulgation of the revised Constitutions
	October 5-18	First General Chapter (SDS-M)
	October 21	Pilgrimage to Subiaco

1903	April 16	Foundation in Rosolini (SDS-W)
	July 5	Foundation of St. Ninfa (SDS-W)
	August 3	Purchase of the house at the Salita San Onofrio
	August 4	Taking over the Church of the Immacolata in Noto
1904	January 17	4 missionaries sent to Assam
	May 7	Giving up St. Ninfa (SDS-W)
	May 15	Revised Constitutions of the Salvatorian Sisters
	October 16	Inauguration of the College at Hamont
	October 26	Moving in at Jägerndorf
	October 27	Foundation in Bloomer, WI, USA (SDS-W)
	November 11	Canonical erection of motherhouse in Rome (SDS-W)
	November 21	Giving up Tivoli (SDS-W)
	November	Foundation in Watertown, WI, USA (SDS-W)
	November	Apostolic Visitation of Assam Mission
	December 8	Foundation in Vienna Kaisermühlen (SDS-W)
December	Foundation in Overpelt (SDS-W)	
1905	April 25	Purchase of the Stalden in Freiburg
	May 27	<i>Decretum Laudis</i> (SDS-M)
	July 10-24	Apostolic visitation of Salita San Onofrio (SDS-W)
	September	Foundation in Whitelaw, WI, USA (SDS-W)
	October 12	Giving up Clinica Marocco (SDS-W)
	December 1-6	First General Chapter (SDS-W)
	December 10	Giving up motherhouse printery (SDS-M)
1906	January 2	Becker nominated Apostolic Prefect of Assam
	Jan/Feb	Press attacks
	February 17	3 missionaries sent to Assam
	April	Giving up Rosolini (SDS-W)
	May 19	Intreccialagli, Apostolic Visitor in Salita San Onofrio (SDS-W)
	June 23	Giving up Athus (SDS-M)
	July 10	Moving into the new building in Meran Obermais
	July	Foundation in O'Becse (SDS-W)
	November 7	Foundation in Almena (SDS-W)
	December 1	Foundation in Wausau, WI, USA (SDS-W)
	December 8	Foundation in Portorecanati
	December 8	25 year anniversary (SDS-M)

TRAVEL CALENDER

1898	October 14-26	Jordan travels to Meran and Freiburg, Switzerland
1899	July 18-Sept. 7	Jordan's visitation of Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, Switzerland, Tyrol
	Sept. 14-Oct. 23	Jordan visits Drognens, Budapest, Muraszombat and Vienna
	Nov. 24-Dec. 8	Jordan travels to Belgium, Germany and Austria
1900	Feb.12-15	Jordan travels to Tarent
	July 11 - 31	Jordan's visitation trip to Austria, Hungary
	Aug. 5 - Sept. 6	Jordan visits Drognens, Budapest, Muraszombat and Vienna
	Nov. 17 - Dec. 3	Jordan travels to Belgium (returns via Constance, Lochau, Meran)
1901	July 3 - Aug. 15	Jordan travels to London and visits Belgium
	July 24 - Sept. 9	Mother Mary visits Drognens, Vienna, Budapest, Muraszombat
	Sept. 9 - Oct. 2	Jordan's visitation of Austria, Hungary, Poland, Bavaria, Tyrol
1902	July 27 - Sept. 22	Mother Mary visits Drognens, Vienna, Budapest, Muraszombat, Torri, Tivoli
	July 10 - Sept. 9	Jordan's visitation of Belgium, Austro-Hungary, Poland, Tyrol, Switzerland
1903	July 2 - 9	Jordan visits Noto in Sicily
	Aug. 6 - Sept. 9	Jordan's visitation of Austro-Hungary, Poland, Tyrol
	August 9	Mother Mary goes to Drognens for one month
	October 9 - 24	Jordan visits communities in Belgium and Switzerland
	December 3 - 18	Jordan visits the houses in Hungary, Budapest, Zagreb, Temesvár
1904	Aug. 1 - Sept. 13	Jordan visits communities in Belgium, England, Austria, Tyrol

- Sept. 13 - Oct. 11 Mother Mary visits the houses in Austro-Hungary
- Oct. 14 - Nov. 2 Jordan visits communities in Zagreb, Trzebinia, Bohemia, Austria
- 1905 July 24 - Sept. 13 Jordan visits communities in Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Tyrol
- July 24 - Sept. 5 Mother Mary travels to Liège, Myllendonk, Drognens
- 1906 July 3 - Aug. 25 Jordan recovers in Drognens
- Aug. 1 - Sept. 18 Mother Mary visits sisters houses in Austro-Hungary

ABBREVIATIONS

See also DSS XIV, x; DSS XV, xii

A StN	Archives St. Nazianz (USA)
A Pa	Archives Austrian Provincialate
H-K	<i>Humaniora-Kommission</i>

1. "Apostolic Plantations Everywhere!"

Fr. Francis of the Cross was rather tired when he returned to the mother-house from his apostolic journey which had led him across the Alps to Moravian Silesia, the eastern part of Hungary, and across to Lake Geneva. Back home the 100+ students attending Gregoriana and other Roman schools, as well as the young philosophers in the motherhouse itself, moaned at the prospect of impending examinations. At the same time all were quietly rejoicing at the upcoming long vacation. Those who were healthy could go to Tivoli; those in poor health to Tyrol. **See, 1.1. Health concerns.**¹

Thus by early July things had become quiet in the motherhouse. Jordan stayed behind to catch up with business he had left behind before his journey, or what he had brought back in his luggage as worries and plans. But at age 50, the summer in Rome overtaxed his strength. He felt all the more tired when the others returned to the motherhouse with renewed energy. He wrote to himself:

In the future never stay in the Eternal City through the whole summer, unless it is absolutely necessary, this way you are able to work much more for the glory of God, for yourself, and for the salvation of others, and so forth. 21-9-1898 (SD II/14).

In September 1898, the sisters were able to take over a small children's asylum in nearby Torri. Jordan asked Mother Mary to involve herself personally in this matter, which the 65 year-old lady did with joy and skill. Both Jordan and Mother Mary were relieved that once more work had been found for some sisters, and that it was in the healthy Sabine Mountains so close to Rome. **See, 1.2. Torri.**²

Day and night Jordan was plagued by worries about the motherhouse finances.³ On September 16, he showed the Cardinal

¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.1. Health concerns.

² See, A Closer Look: 1.2. Torri.

³ To a confrere or collaborator he wrote at that time:
Don't forget also in future the necessities of the motherhouse wherever you can do anything according to God's will. It is of great importance that everyone intervene with great love and zeal for the motherhouse, for it always remains *Domus Mater et Principalis* (August 21, 1898).

Vicar a solicitation letter he was working on and asked him to add a recommendation. In this writing Jordan, as usual, gave a brief introduction to his Society.

It is one of the great number of religious organizations which began to flourish in these last years in the Catholic church, to assist the needs of unbelievers to be converted and to assist Christian countries so impoverished in religious orders. The Society has since 1881 given the church of God already 100 priests, and counts over 200 students on the way to this holy vocation. Special stress lies upon the motherhouse of the Society here in the Eternal City, as her pupils, as it were, at the heart of holy church equipped with apostolic spirit, are being sent out as apostolic laborers from the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles into the whole world. How concerned I must be that at my death I can leave the house, this motherhouse, firmly founded in the Eternal City, so that it will be able for all times to support and to train numerous pupils.

Jordan then asks humbly for the alms from souls willing to make a sacrifice and adds bravely: "Give to the man who begs of you" (Mt 5:42). Cardinal Parocchi did not hesitate to certify,

. . . Jordan's work holds an excellent position among the new religious communities with regard to the number of houses and members. . . . Therefore, I recommend it to the mercy of the faithful, so that, as long as your charitable love does not fail, the divine mercy will never be lacking (September 18, 1898, A-220). **See, 4.3. Solicitations (I).**⁴

The material needs of the motherhouse never made Jordan lose sight of the spiritual wants in the vineyard of the Lord: "I am sorry we have to turn away competent men who have already finished many courses of studies." His previous experiences had taught Jordan that Divine Providence is rich enough to sustain vocations to the

To the Lochau superior Jordan became truly annoying with his pleas for help:

Duty compels me to ask you for the third time to help us in our extreme necessity as much as you can, because in two days legal proceedings will be started against us unless we pay about 1,500 Marks. You may imagine my pain. Telegraph your reply to my letter immediately. Paternal greetings and blessing in love, Your Spiritual Father, Fr. of the Cross.

PS: If you think you can't donate to us, you may lend it to us (September 17, 1898, A-221).

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 4.3. Solicitations (I).

priesthood; the point is to win good Christians as tools of Divine Providence. And his dearest wish, along with his vocation remained: "May the Lord let flourish in all communities great plantations of sanctity" (September 11, 1898, A-217).⁵

For Jordan it was more important to be available to his spiritual sons as an understanding and fatherly pastor, than to appear as a cool organizer of his foundations. In the community at Vienna X the young, talented but somewhat touchy superior once again had difficulties with his confreres. He asked the superior general to transfer the dissatisfied ones and to replace them with new priests. Just as in the Roman community Jordan always had some confreres he had to put up with, so superiors in other houses also had to be burdened to the limit with difficult characters. Thus Jordan was not able to comply with the understandable wish of the superior of Vienna. He wrote him from his personal experience:

Try above all to lead the priests there with charity and patience on the road to salvation. For that much prayer and will-power is needed: these are the important means a superior has to apply. It is especially important that we help those confreres God has entrusted to us, to get on in the spiritual life. Don't bank everything on transfers and young priests. Those there surely once had good will. I know well that the office of a superior is a heavy one, but always seek the honor of God and the welfare of souls and reckon more . . . with the human wretchedness. . . . I shall be praying for you (August 26, 1898, A-216).

To the superior in Meran he gave his principle: "Incidentally, be careful about sending a *corrigendum* to another community;" the rule should be that he mends his ways in the place he has failed (September 16, 1898, A-219). But here too an exception could be the lesser evil. It was painful for Jordan, that before year's end two more young priests turned their back on the Society. **See, 1.4. Defections.**⁶

⁵ In writing the superior of the school at Lochau where only 23 pupils were instructed in 4 classes, Jordan broke a lance for late vocations even if they were too poor to pay fully. "It seems not quite right to me to give the benefit of free places to such young candidates, of whom in Don Bosco's experience, only 1 or 2 out of 10 reach the priesthood; also various teachers wish to enter" (A-217).

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.4. Defections.

Jordan supported his superiors as well as he could. Yet sometimes he had firmly to oppose rumors which through false news of debts or departures cause belly-aching and thus discouraged superiors.⁷

The Founder was grateful that the Congregation had given him powers regarding title and admission to ordination which ordinarily were reserved to communities with papal recognition. This he valued with good reason as a proof of confidence. His untiring apostolic involvement was thereby eased up in an essential sphere.⁸

Just as the motherhouse was always present in Jordan's prayers, so too was far off Assam. He often put a slip of paper with the single word "Assam" between the fingers of his statue of the Mother of God. Salvatorian magazines advertized steadily for benefactors for the earthquake-damaged mission which still had to defer urgently needed planning. Each penny received was transferred to the mission, usually two or three times a month. Nevertheless, the mission remained deeply in debt, especially due to rebuilding the stations. **See, 1.5. Assam (I).**⁹

St. Francis Day, Jordan's namesday, was celebrated this year most festively. His 50th birthday and his 20th anniversary of ordination were combined. In his thanksgiving address his apostolic heart again broke through all barriers of decorum expected on such an occasion:

My principal wish I want to present to you today is that all of you seek ever more to penetrate the love of the cross, that you may love

⁷ So he immediately informed the superior in Lochau, who complained about new departures: "Fr. F. has not left . . . only Fr. Pach. and Fr. L. are leaving. The leavings will become rarer in the future" (September 11, 1898, A-217). Jordan also calmed the superior of Vienna X who was made insecure by what was said about the debts of the Society:

I am sorry that you are suffering so much, as I see from your letters. The matter regarding the debts is an exaggeration, even if we counted all the property of the Society as null and void, it would still be an exaggeration. Don't be troubled about the Society and cast all your cares on the Lord. Do your duty and trust in the Lord! (September 21, 1898, A-222).

⁸ "The Holy See has granted me full powers for a great number of dimissorials and *titulos mensae communis*" (August 23, 1898; cf., letter to superior at Lochau, September 11, 1898, A-217).

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.5. Assam (I).

suffer-ing. If you do this I have good hopes that you will persevere, that you will attain your crown, and that you will lead very many into heaven. And if you want to go another way, I must fear! Now I wish you luck, peace here below, well being, happiness, and therefore, I wish that you more and more study the cross and suffering, and that you study the holy scriptures to know the sublimity of suffering, that you are con-vinced (later in your work) that the fruits of salvation flourish only in the shadow of the cross. . . . Become lovers of the cross! . . . I wish that everyone may follow our Savior in suffering like St. Francis. You know that the dear Savior has redeemed the world through his suffering. Would we then select another way? May the good Lord form you all into true steady lovers, imitators of the cross! (DSS XXIII, October 4, 1898, G-11.7)

From other houses too Jordan received hearty congratulations. The greetings sent from the community of Freiburg is a good representative:

To our Venerable Father for joy and consolation! October 4, 1898:
The spirit of our Venerable Father shall always and everywhere be the pole star and principle to the members of St. Mary's Community in Freiburg! In this spirit we want to live, work, die!
See, 1.6. Freiburg (I).¹⁰

Jordan thanked his "beloved spiritual sons" in a special circular letter in which he never looked back on what had been attained in the past.

In fact, Jordan never looked back, but steadily and always forward. Thus his thanksgiving letter turned into a truly Salvatorian appeal for both communities to prove the sentiments they uttered on his namesday by observing the holy rule.

Only in this way will the Society become strong and withstand all storms. Endeavor, with God's grace, ever more to advance in perfection, even if sufferings and difficulties of all sorts descend upon you. Don't lose heart. Trust the help of God and the protection of our heavenly patrons. Pray for me also in the future that the dear Lord may give me courage and strength that I may carry the heavy burden resting upon my shoulders, for the salvation of souls. Pray for the whole Society that it may take hold more and more and bear glorious fruits (October 10 & 11, A-223, ASDS)

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.6. Freiburg (I).

On October 14, Jordan was in Meran for a few days. He was worried whether the financial circumstances had been regulated well enough.¹¹ At the same time he was urged to meet the ailing scholastics on their summer vacation personally, before deciding whether they could take up their studies in healthy Freiburg. He also wanted to know whether the novices, transferred from Rome to Meran for health sake, now felt better. From Meran, Jordan went on October 18 to Trient for a short visit with the Pro-Vicar, Msgr. Hutter, and then on to Freiburg to have a close look at the new home in Stalden.

The scholastics rejoiced to have their loving father among them. Jordan could discuss his worries over some difficult confreres, and they too could talk with the Founder. With State Councillor Python he discussed the possibility of finding in Freiburg an opportunity for sisters to be trained as educators. **See, 1.7. A sisters' foundation in Freiburg.**¹² In the Colony St. Nicolas his visit was also expected. Renewed tensions there between the brothers and the superior endangered peace and unity. By October 26, Jordan had traveled back to Rome.

On November 7, Bishop Monti of Tivoli, stayed with Jordan for a visit.¹³ The bishop was very fond of the little seminary in Villa Lavaggi. But the small novitiate of the sisters gave him some

¹¹ Jordan was extremely conscientious in regard to finances. In Meran the plot of land acquired was indicated as *titulus sustentationis* at the Imperial Statthaltereie of Tyrol. But now the house at the same time was to be burdened with a mortgage. Jordan strove for an alternative solution. Lochau should help. It had been donated a small estate nearby. Jordan requested this from the local superior as substitution of sustenance in favor of the house in Meran (December 9, 1898, A-230; cf., BL-284 of February 11, 1899). Also in regard to the help of Mrs. Lydia von Hoffmann, Jordan got pangs of conscience, because the superior of Obermais/Meran had mentioned to him "that her husband should know nothing in this regard!" (October 11, 1898, A-224).

¹² See, A Closer Look: 1.7. A sisters' foundation in Freiburg.

¹³ The previous day Jordan had requested from Mother Mary the list of sisters who had entered since 1897, that is since Monti was their ecclesiastic superior (November 6, 1898, ASDS).

headaches. He was the responsible ecclesiastical superior of the sisters founded by Jordan. But their main foundation was now in Rome, and thus under the jurisdiction of the Cardinal Vicar. Jordan could only ask Monti to maintain what he had inherited from his predecessor until the sisters' motherhouse, practically already located in Rome, would be recognized canonically. The Cardinal Vicar did not wish to interfere in this, nor to relieve the Bishop of Tivoli (G-2.2).

On November 21, Jordan inaugurated the house in Hungarian Mehala, a suburb of Temesvár. He had sent 2 priests and one brother who were eagerly awaited by the superior for some months. The priests had charge of the churches in Mehala and Vadászerdő and taught catechism to about 400 children. Faithful to his apostolic strategy Jordan wanted to start in a modest way to avoid a false start with any apostolic plantation, something always contained in his planning. **See, 1.8. Temesvár.**¹⁴

In the next two years the ordination classes were rather large. This allowed Jordan to take one or the other place off his wish list of world-wide apostolic plantations and include them in his definite planning. He rationed his growing band of young apostles just as closely as he did the finances, in order to be able to save many souls. This easily made for difficulties when one or the other confrere unexpectedly transferred to a diocese or to an established religious order.

After two years of effort, Jordan had hardly succeeded to settle in Hungary when he turned his gaze to another continent. At the beginning of December, he asked Bishop Pietro Brioschi, who had just assumed his diocese in Cartagena, Colombia to open his doors to him. He reminded him of the priests who had in 1895 been driven out of Ecuador, and had found a warm reception in Cartagena. He also named two parishes he desired for his missionaries: Ss. Trinidad and Pié de la Popa. Jordan gave only two conditions: that the confreres be able to live in community, and that they be assured of what was necessary and proper to live (December 1, 1898, ASS-Grdg). Bishop Brioschi did not need to be asked twice and opened negotiations immediately. These succeeded within half a year.

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.8. Temesvár.

Foundation Day 1898, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, focused above all on the Second Order celebrating the 10th anniversary of its foundation. This was also a good opportunity for Jordan to designate the house on Via Lungara as the real motherhouse of the sisters. With the indulgence of both spiritual heads of the sisters' congregation, the Cardinal Vicar and the bishop of Tivoli, in this matter Jordan asserted his rights as founder. He did so not from self-will but because the new reality left him no other choice for the benefit of all those involved. He was only following the example of the ecclesiastical office for religious. It had taken his Society (now working on three continents) away from the Cardinal Vicar and, with the interposition of an Apostolic Visitor, put it somehow under Jordan's own control to the benefit of all concerned.

This autumn too, death snatched young sisters from the flourishing community. Two died in the Via Lungara, one from dropsy (August 31), the other from tuberculosis (September 15). On December 2, a third sister died in Tivoli, likewise of tuberculosis (MMChr).¹⁵

In these months of autumn, Msgr. de Waal was very concerned about the sisters. Mother Mary placed great hopes in his influence in Roman circles. On his part he told Mother Mary on October 6 that the sisters "soon would be approved in Rome . . . for 10 years: 1888-1898," she added meaningfully (MMChr). Mother Mary was unable to indicate the source of de Waal's "glad tidings;" it was almost too beautiful to be true. Jordan could still figure on her brave patience.¹⁶

¹⁵ One month later a health officer from Tivoli came to see if the house was "large and healthy" enough. Mother Mary wrote in her chronicle. He was "satisfied." Ten days later another official came, "examining the sanitary conditions of our home and found the house and everything very good" (MMChr).

¹⁶ The 65 year-old woman wrote at that time her retreat resolutions: Must better heed my position and must do more good in it, honor internally the Venerable Father. Must care better for inner humility. Often think how old I am already. Always be serene and trust - this is useful, the contrary only causes damage. Must love my mandate in order to make happy. I have received so many gifts of all kinds from God in order to sacrifice and to do much good with them. It is certain that in 15 years you will be quite old and spent. Therefore: zeal, zeal, zeal (November 16, 1898, Tacc).

Now and then the Lord presented Jordan with the grace to experience his vocation in its naked originality. It seemed to him then, as if divine lightening would light up the scene of his apostolic existence. Such a day of grace came on November 17, 1898. We find traces in his notebook:

To those who believe, all things are possible. The greatest possible glory of God. The greatest possible self-sanctification and salvation. The greatest possible salvation, that is, the salvation of as many as possible. Fight to achieve this, even to the shedding of blood, to death, to the most difficult martyrdom, always - always - everywhere. In the coming year you absolutely must attain these (November 17, 1898).

The next day he still was under the spell of his experience:

Trust in the Lord. Pray, suffer, endure, sustain, work, fight even unto blood; cry to God, run, fly, spend yourself totally for Christ, for the salvation of souls, and that you may accomplish those things which you resolved yesterday (November 18, 1898, SD II/16, 17).

Such apostolic stammering lets one imagine how deeply this Pentecostal hour had stirred his heart. At the same time it shows that Jordan was unable to bank the ember of his vocation burning under the ashes. He preferred to put up with whatever offense others took when in decisive situations he brought the full weight of his call as a founder to bear with clairvoyant clarity. All the more he tried to give his apostolic frankness great scope by humble and patient constancy. For his experience was: "Harshness and impatience work against the glory of God and the salvation of souls" (December 1898, SD II/17).¹⁷

At the start of Christmas novena, at the weekly chapter of faults, Jordan reminisced over the past development of the Society. He did this with humble and brave openness which touched the hearts of

¹⁷ Jordan noted all this in Latin for himself. He connected the two sayings of the Savior (Mt 19:26; Mk 9:22) as further proof of how much his praying was marked by the gospel. Then he added his "Ignatian maxims" which he always kept on his desk on a slip of paper. He assured the Lord anew of his readiness "up to bloodshed" (cf., Rule 1882). Again he inserted his universal "always and everywhere" (3rd Salvatorian Basic Rule) although its direct refer-ence to the coming year can't be explained. The hymnic psalm of November 18, 1899, is unique in its harmony of Pauline fervor and prophetic urgency.

every listener. He took the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the founding to point out insistently how the Society under storms from inside and out had been forced to grow and had grown up soundly, thanks to the noticeable help of the Lord. Even an official of the Congregation for Religious had to agree: "Had you not had protection from above the Society would have perished long ago." Again Jordan refused well-meaning proposals "to merge the Society with another," and thus to have it easier. He described any such notion as being against any experience of history. "It's like trying to tie two trees together to make them one tree." The Founder recalled that there is no authority "to which I had not turned, from emperor or pope to the lowest member of the Society."

How often was the danger, the need, so great that I could beg for help only from God. And nevertheless: when the waves rose ever so high, they subsided again without having done any damage.

How many pretended to know beforehand that now the Requiem for the Society would be intoned.

Yes, the Society had already come so far that some thought it was a good deed to destroy it. Do you believe that without protestation, help from above, the Society would be still in existence? This protection from above must strengthen and confirm our confidence that the Society is from God, and must encourage us to fight and to endure; and above all that you wane not in your fervor, and that you arm yourself against all dangers; as a weapon I advise you simply to trust in God! If critics or other fainthearted characters of any kind come to you seeking information: our help is in the name of God! Or if one or more confreres should resign: our help is in the name of God! In any case, do not judge an individual; we have no right to judge any individual. Therefore, if one steps out or agitates in any way against the Society, even if he considers it his duty. . . . The truth will come to light anyhow. Let's not pass judgment, let's excuse. Judgment belongs to God. . . .

Jordan concluded his address, which at the same time was the shocking confession of a persecuted apostolic man, with the appeal to his sons: "Stay firm, do not rely on men, but our help is in the name of God!" (cf., Ps 23:8; DSS XXIII, December 16, 1898).

In the second half of December, Jordan's health was again suffering. Mother Mary assured him in her letter for the New Year that all sisters had prayed daily for his health and had good hopes now "that our dear Venerable Father on the first day of the new year 1899

would be well again." After exuberant congratulations Mother Mary concludes:

Dear Venerable Father and Founder, may the sisters' 12 foundations, like 12 apostles, do well in all modesty, spread new branches in responding to all holy promptings. Trusting to advance in true apostolic religious fervor, [she signs as] the dear Venerable Father and Founder's most obedient and most grateful spiritual daughter Mother Mary of the Apostles with 43 sisters and 2 postulants (December 31, 1898, D-App. 48).

To his spiritual sons Jordan himself sent his good wishes on New Year's Day: "Harmony, good understanding with your spiritual father, and amongst yourselves fervor in observance and in apostolic work as true sons of the Society before God and men" (January 1, 1899, A-231a). Already on December 15 he had noted in his diary in big letters: "The reign of charity in the Society" (SD II/17).

Lüthen as co-founder and molder of the Society of the Divine Savior remained faithfully at the side of the Founder. Jordan could count fully on his devoted and selfless cooperation. He was priestly, conscientious, prudent and humble. Jordan was himself well aware that the Lord had given him just this saintly priest as an assistant so that he was able to start this work and carry it through.

When the Society started a great spiritual man asked me: Did you yet attract to yourself one who lives completely according to your spirit? And I responded: I now have only one who submits completely to me. And he told me: The Society is now established. And that was true. And that man is still in [the Society] precisely because he submitted, and he is Fr. Bonaventure [Lüthen]! Therefore, unity, and I say again unity, and again unity! (DSS XXIII, January 13, 1899).

Lüthen the elder, wanted to be obedient to the younger Jordan in order to give younger members the example of a spiritual son towards the spiritual father. In his retreat notes he always examined his relations to Jordan. He admonished himself to reverence and obedience as well as to kindness toward the Founder, yet without giving up his priestly dignity: "everything with priestly dignity;" nor the responsible decision in con-science: "Should I always to agree with Venerable Father? Give attention to his reasons! Decide then! As is the will of the church!" (G-2.1).

All the more important for the confreres were Lüthen's judgments of Jordan. He admired the prudence and courage with which Jordan attacked his plans, but also the boldness and persistence he showed in carrying through his apostolic undertakings. Lüthen also found Jordan's leadership style commendable:

Yes, only not absolutist. To rule means to serve! Always to ask! What an example is the Venerable Father in this! That creates confidence. . . . Humility in superiors works powerfully (Lüthen to Deibele, September 26, 1897, advising the St. Nazainz superior to befriend his priests).

Lüthen could reproach the same superior with his usual kindness:

Your character is just as mine was earlier, more quiet and short so to speak. Venerable Father has one quite different: he is affable, genial. Such characters as ours need steady overcoming of the temperament (November 24, 1898, St. Nazianz).

The co-founder always held to the founder, who "goes before us in word and deed" (ibid.).

At the beginning of the year, the Society's economic situation needed to be reexamined. Individual annual reports, signed by the General, had to be submitted to the Apostolic Visitor. The Vicar General wrote his fingers to the bone getting all the financial data from the different superiors (Fr. Antonio set great store in this, often demanding more clarifications.) **See, 1.9. Financial accounting for the Visitor.**¹⁸

Since at this time Jordan especially emphasized the sound development of the numerous new foundations, the debts of the motherhouse remained undiminished. The Founder accepted this, not only because he never lost sight of the proper values of the main house of the Society, but also because so far God's gracious providence had given him good and forbearing creditors. Looking mainly at the pile of debts and interest due, Fr. Antonio sympathized with the harassed administrator of the motherhouse who had always to report to him. Even so, both of them left the actual burden of paying to the superior general and his vicar. These two fulfilled their obligations often at the last minute. While Jordan implored Divine Providence and put his requests into the folded hands of the statue of

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.9. Financial accounting for the Visitor.

the Immaculata atop his desk, he was satisfied if the debts did not go beyond a tolerable amount. He thought it necessary for the fruitfulness of the Society's apostolate to suffer under lack of money. Therefore, he also accepted silently the often harsh reproach of the watchful Apostolic Visitor. **See, 1.10. Fund raising.**¹⁹ In other matters, too, the shadow of Fr. Antonio always hovered over the Society, especially concerning observance of ecclesiastical regulations regarding direction and the lamentable exits. **See, 1.11. Disaffected confreres.**²⁰

In the first months of the year, Jordan and Mother Mary were busy send-ing out as many sisters as possible from the new "motherhouse" on Villa Lungara into the apostolate or preparing them for new foundations. Almost feverishly the foundations in Hungary were promoted, since noble ladies there applied for Sisters of the Divine Savior and in a way guaranteed an economically secure start. **See, 1.12. Mother Mary.**²¹

On Easter, Jordan trusted to his diary an effusion of prayer which lets us into the emotion of his heart.

Oh Lord! Oh Almighty One!
In You I have hoped,
I will not be confounded for ever!
I can do all things in You who strengthen me!
Oh Father! Help me! You are my strength,
my firmament! Come, come, do not delay,
see this man of desires, arise,
help me! Oh my Father, the Almighty!
Oh Jesus! Oh Savior! (April 2, 1899, SD II/18).

The prayer of this "apostolic man" often throbbed with biblical power. His ego was deeply anchored in the All Holy God. The sigh, "Oh Jesus! Oh Savior!" was not only to turn the look of the Lord toward the poor man at prayer, but mostly to his work itself which did indeed dare to call itself "of the Divine Savior."

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.10. Fund raising.

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.11. Disaffected confreres.

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.12. Mother Mary.

In these Easter days Jordan again tasted his apostolic dreams. He felt again his ceaseless calling to start a mission, to launch into the “always and every-where.” Just as for St. Ignatius Loyola, so for Jordan, there were no restrictions to his apostolic goals. Jordan could not show a clear, finished apostolic plan. It always remained in the Kingdom of God, over the horizon. His apostolic activity was of course only day to day, step by step. All the more elated did he feel in his deep hours of prayer over apostolic initiatives. **See, 1.13. The master plan (I).**²² The rapid spread of Jordan’s work—a daring enterprise already at that time in church circles—justified the doubts of the ecclesiastic guardian. Some people simply didn’t trust that Jordan could provide sufficiently strict unity, without which the enterprise could not survive.²³

Shortly before Easter, Jordan confided to his diary again an almost shocking declaration of his charismatic confidence:

Strive for the goal and have confidence! Should every kind of suffering break upon you, throw yourself into the arms of God. Oh trust in Him, He is able truly to do everything and He loves you above all. Trust! Trust! Trust! (SD II/19).

The Lord alone knew what bitter experiences drove him so tempestuous-ly into the arms of God the Father.

On May 25th, Fr. Antonio sent the superior general his calling card with the short notice to send him today the prefect of theologians, for he needed information about some students (D-737). In May, Jordan finally got a foothold in Cartagena, Colombia. The start there was a timid but dogged effort, which with the years gained strength for the honor of the Society and the blessing of the church in this poor country. **See, 1.14. Cartagena.**²⁴

²² See, A Closer Look: 1.13. The master plan (I).

²³ A proof of this is the judgment Msgr. Battandier gives in his *Annuaire pontificale Catholique 1900* about Jordan’s work:

You see, this congregation which has only existed 18 years has known a rapid expansion, maybe too rapid. Because this scattering of its living forces in places far remote from one another makes it difficult to maintain unity and govern. But divine grace can supplement imperfect means (398).

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.14. Cartagena.

With the confreres in North America the Founder could keep contact only by letter. The 4 priests and 5 brothers at St. Nazianz soon realized that they, no less than the 6 confreres in Oregon and Idaho, had to stand somewhat independently in the New World. Rome lay across the oceans. Connections could be maintained only through slow letters. Jordan suffered from the fact that this situation could not go on without misunderstandings. So his desire was intense: "If it is the will of God, to visit America once more" (August 6, 1899, A St. N). Yet this wish could not be fulfilled. All the more was his prayerful heart with the confreres in the States. Incessantly he pleaded for unity with Rome and fraternal peace. The community in St. Nazianz soon grew fond of its special status and knew how to use it. All worked energetically to develop the foundation materially. Soon the young, self-confident superior, Fr. Epiphanius Deibele, dared to build a church. Dedicated on May 31, it was the first church to be owned by the Society. **See, 1.15. St. Nazianz (I).**²⁵ Yet the superior never forgot the material needs of the motherhouse and continually sent much longed for contributions. It was less urgent for him to erect an apostolic school of vocations, something Jordan was most concerned to do.

But there were also difficulties with Oschwald's community of brothers, especially on account of his last will. Jordan was afraid the old well-deserving members of the Oschwald Brotherhood could be wronged by his SDS especially as, in spite of good will on all sides, no satisfactory solution could be seen. The Founder wrote from Vienna to St. Nazianz: "Once everything is regulated concerning the Colony there, I hope that the community will flourish very well" (August 6, 1899).

The missionaries in the American Northwest remained few in number, yet they persevered, even extending their field of activities into the neighboring state of Idaho (MI 12, 1899). **See, 1.16. The American Northwest (I).**²⁶

Early in May (and once again before their return in summer) the bishops of Campos and Rio, Brazil visited Jordan in the

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.15. St. Nazianz (I).

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.16. The American Northwest (I)

motherhouse. The found-ing of a house in Quatis had practically failed for various reasons. The confreres themselves lacked mutual understanding, and the missionary activities impeded a good community life. The superior did not get on with the bishop or, for some time now, with Jordan. The Founder's deliberations with the bishops could only yield temporary results. As soon as good new priests became available Jordan wanted to submit to the urging of the bishops and risk a new start. He had really written off Quatis, and was inclined to prefer the bishop of Rio. In the meantime, the few confreres there still had to persevere. Jordan asked them sincerely:

If it doesn't work with the house in Quatis, we shall find other ways. Meanwhile, hold out in your position like good children, until things can be arranged. . . . The sufferings you have to endure shall bring fruits. Therefore, dear sons, trust in God. The matter concerning the house shall be settled (August 12, 1899, A-254). **See, 1.17. Brazil (I).**²⁷

On his birthday Jordan reminded himself, stirred anew in his prayer: "Speak- write- wherever you can; be a trumpet. Elias rose up . . . like a fire and his words blazed like a torch. . . . Write for the glory of God and the salvation of souls" (SD II/20; cf., Sir 48:1). So again he beat the big drum with Pauline fervor. **See, 1.18. Solicitations (II).**²⁸

Sadly, Jordan was not able this year to visit the confreres in Noto. They were all peaceably together that summer in the Shrine of the Madonna della Scala, after they had been divested of the Convitto

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.17. Brazil (I).

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.18. Solicitations (II).

San Luigi.²⁹ In early July, after arduous preliminaries, two sisters' foundations could be made in Hungary.

From July 18 until September 7, 1899, Jordan undertook his summary visitation journey which led him to Meseritsch whose superior had called him urgently. Jordan succeeded quickly in pacifying the confreres there. The Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz valued Jordan as his spiritual confrere and was ever ready to assist spreading the Society of the Divine Savior to more localities in Northern Bohemia. Jordan also put out his feelers towards Silesia where he saw with good reason a promising future for the Society. **See, 1.19. Meseritsch (I).**³⁰

The first few days in August, the Founder stayed in Vienna where every-one demanded an interview. The confreres there had to negotiate the tensions between community life and the pastoral demands of a big city. There was still the open question of the second foundation which had been accepted only provisionally. Especially after previous experience with confreres who had been incardinated by the archdiocese, Jordan was distrustful of some of the

²⁹ After only one year Bishop Blandini took the direction of the boarding school back from the priests. The bishop did not say fully why he was dissatisfied with their work. He just remarked: "Unless we get here zealous personnel, the boarding school will remain closed" (July 13, 1898). As the superior was on holiday, the vicar had to inform the students' parents. He wrote to Lüthen: "The boarding school is closed because of repair work," in reality however, the boarding school could not be reopened in the coming school term. "Consequently, Monsignore has not accepted the conditions set by Rome. Therefore, we are, willy nilly, forced to return the boarding school to the bishop after directing it for one year" (August 19, 1898).

The priests had to return to the Scala. There are hints there had been no unity among the priests in San Luigi. Jordan was advised to intervene with his episcopal friend. "If all the personnel stick together, we might be able to save our honor in a second year" (August 27, 1898). But the bishop did not comply with Jordan's proposal. He preferred to close the minor seminary in San Luigi for the coming school year (August 29, 1898). Cf., DSS XV 4.14.

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.19. Meseritsch (I).

ordinariate's promises. **See, 1.20. Vienna X, Kaisermühlen.**³¹ On the other hand, he was very concerned about opening the doors of Vienna to the sisters. Here, too, Jordan succeeded only because he was ready to assume labors in the vineyard which others considered too hard. **See, 1.21. Sisters into Vienna.**³²

From Vienna, Jordan went to Hungary, to the confreres in Temesvár. Their engagement there as well as the honest goodwill of the Bishop of Csanád gave him joy. Unfortunately, the Founder found no time to stop in Budapest or Muraszombat, where the sisters were about to settle down, learn the language, and take first steps in their new activity.

On the Feast of the Assumption, Jordan was again with the confreres in Vienna. From there he had to go again to Moravia and Bohemia to clarify pending questions about foundations which had been offered. Jordan went home by way of Munich. After a stopover with the confreres at Lochau³³ he hurried to Freiburg and Drogens. The scholastics in Hohen-zelg were glad to have Jordan with them even for a short time. **See, 1.22. Freiburg (II).**³⁴ Jordan had to worry especially about Drogens, where the superior, by high-handedly incurring debts, had unpleasant arguments with State Councilor Georg Python, a friend of Jordan's. Above all the superior, without his confreres knowing about it, had left for home. After he had lost face in Freiburg through "misuse of his authority" he resolved to leave the Society, having good hopes of finding a German bishop. Jordan had to calm the outraged councilor and to admonish the excited characters in the Drogens boys' school to carry on courageously. **See, 1.23. Drogens.**³⁵ The superior in Freiburg too was tired of office after 4 years of untiring and successful

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.20. Vienna X, Kaisermühlen.

³² See, A Closer Look: 1.21. Sisters into Vienna.

³³ At year's end the superior of Lochau announced 29 candidates in 4 classes. "The college enjoys the sympathy of the neighboring population and also most of the clergy are inclined to us" (January 25, 1900).

³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.22. Freiburg (II).

³⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.23. Drogens.

engagement, also because the thanks of the confreres seemed to him rather modest. The question of finding a place for the sisters in Freiburg also remained unresolved.

From Switzerland, Jordan went to Meran to the see the sick scholastics. He found none healthy enough to send to Rome or Freiburg. They were to be instructed there in the house. He also conferred with the able superior about settling sisters there, something which he had prepared so well in Hungary. He also discussed the possibilities of extending the college in Meran to relieve the motherhouse. But above all, Jordan considered transferring the novitiate for Italians there. **See, 1.24. Meran/Obermais superior Raich.**³⁶ On September 7, the Founder returned from his extended and strenuous journey through "Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Romania, Switzerland and Tyrol" (An 1899/III) back to Rome.

Already on June 9th the bishop of Tivoli had extended the approbation of the sisters for another 3 years. Yet he asked the Founder to release him from any future onerous obligation towards them and to accept all responsibility himself. This Jordan did without hesitation.³⁷ In any case the small community in Tivoli lived so far from the large house on Via Lungara. Jordan now had one less reason to worry: the sisters' mother-house in Rome was now a "fait accompli" arranged by Divine Providence and tolerated by the ecclesiastical authority there.

On July 7, 1899, the sisters' little home in Capolago had to be given up for the same reasons as its predecessor in Brunate. Subsequently, a small home was opened on July 28 in Campobello di Licata, Sicily. The pastor of the place, Teodoro Rosario, mustered the whole community to welcome the first two sisters, who had to accommodate themselves to a truly missionary style of life. "They

³⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.24. Meran/Obermais superior Raich.

³⁷ Since the sisters' motherhouse was now actually tolerated in Rome, the bishop of Tivoli wanted to free himself of any obligation for their sustenance. Jordan willingly gave him the desired declaration that he himself took over all responsibility in this regard, so that Bishop Monti was fully unburdened (July 11, 1899, A-241).

found it there very hot, dirty, untidy, poor; but 10,000 inhabitants: Much work to do, much to build up!" according to the superior's first report to Mother Mary (MMChr).³⁸

Back in Rome, Jordan did not fail to visit the scholastics in Tivoli. They had at the end of the school year to suffer from the great heat. Not a few had been plagued by the Roman Fever during the exhausting examinations. Jordan too felt the strenuous summer health-wise. "Very sick in the head!" he noted on September 20. On November 2, he judged his state of health during this fall as "*Infirmitas*" (November 2, 1899, G-2.3). Lüthen, too, wilts again in the fall, "Is sick and can do nothing" (October 26, 1899, A-254, G-2.3).³⁹

Jordan's namesday was again a "Feast of the whole Salvatorian family" as *Der Missionär* reported to benefactors and cooperators (MI 20, 1899).⁴⁰ The motherhouse was still filled to capacity: "23

³⁸ In summer the small establishment on Capolago had suddenly to be given up (July 18, MMChr). In exchange an attempt was made in Campobello, Sicily. Negotiations with the good pastor had been going on since April, as well as with a pastor near Piacenza. Jordan required that at least three sisters must stay together, that their sustenance be guaranteed, and that their travel expenses be covered by the parish. In Campobello he wanted to give his assent only for one year. Only then would he be ready to negotiate a contract for a longer period after consultations with Mother Mary (E-823). On July 26, 1899, three sisters traveled to Campobello (MI 15, 1899). They found it difficult to get accustomed: "It borders there with the African mission," was their first impression (July 28, MMChr), and Lüthen communicated to Jordan in Vienna: "In Campobello it is like African heat and people, monastery, etc., all *miseria* and nobody willing to pay for work! Don Rosario pious, but without consideration. . . . The sisters endure in obedience in spite of dirt, Freemasons, etc; the end can't be foreseen yet . . ." (BL-347, August 18, 1899).

³⁹ At that time some young priests wanted to engage in the apostolate of popular missions. Lüthen required that they should first take a period of preparation with experienced missionaries (to Jordan, August 18, 1899, BL-345).

⁴⁰ On Jordan's birthday Mother Mary remembered how her acquaintance with Jordan's foundation had determined her way of life 17 years earlier:

How much I heard against the Society in 1881 and 82, etc., which was just

scholastics are studying in the motherhouse (philosophy and natural sciences), 62 theologians go to the Gregoriana (MI 22, 1899)."

The sisters in Tivoli, too, were longing for a visit from Jordan. While he was still on his visitation journey, one of the 3 novices fell ill with typhus and died after a few days on August 31. Just two weeks before, Mother Mary had stayed during Assumption day in Tivoli and "found all well" (MMChr). But now one sister had again succumbed to the epidemic, and that in the sunny house into which the sisters had just moved the day before the feast of the Annunciation, and in spite of the good care of the new superior, Sr. Liboria.

Jordan consoled them as well as he could. Nobody could be blamed. Mother Mary was deeply touched, even more than in the summer 5 years previous; but her dislike of Tivoli grew. Lüthen did his best to help her cope with the mourning of her sorrowful heart. **See, 1.25. Tivoli (I).**⁴¹

At just the right time Jordan gave Mother Mary a job which occupied her completely. He asked her to visit the sisters' two Hungarian foundations and also to conclude the negotiations about the house in Vienna. On September 14, Mother Mary went to the sisters in Drognens. She stayed there nearly 2 weeks, which was beneficial to her as well as to the sisters there who were quite upset by the events of the last months. In Venice she took ship to Fiume and from there the train to Budapest where she arrived September 29. She was received kindly by Cardinal Primas Claudio Vaszary, OSB. The meeting with the noble ladies responsible for the foundations meant joy and honor for her. She noted her impressions: "Many hopes there, much to do, good people" (MMChr). On October 11, she was back in Vienna for the takeover of the Maria-Theresia Hospital. "Saw everything and deliberated, drafted contract." In Vienna she remained till October 16, and stopped on the way home in Bologna and Padua, then she stayed for 3 days with the sisters in Torri. She

what attracted me: [I] thought: *tanto mihi vilior, tanto mihi carior*, but I didn't want to say at that time; I heard in Bonn and from priests, e.g. arrogant Society, as heretic driven out from Munich. Oh, St. Ignatius, you understood the high value of persecution (to Lüthen, June 16, 1899).

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.25. Tivoli (I).

was back in Rome again on October 23, where Jordan awaited her visitation report eagerly. Deliberations over the hospital continued through the superior in Vienna X. On November 26, 7 sisters were able to take over the Theresia Hospital. **See, 1.26. Hungary visitation.**⁴²

In October the sister superior of Milwaukee asked permission to buy land to build a proper convent. She had already prepared everything to be signed. Archbishop Katzer too was in favor of her plans. But Jordan and Mother Mary were not pleased with this request. Some sisters had made serious complaints against their superior. Her term of office would soon expire and Jordan intended to relieve her then. So he hesitated to approve her well-made and justified plans. He wanted to prevent the sister from just going her own way. Mother Mary agreed with him. For her the sister had become too independent, and from Rome Mother Mary was unable to pacify the sisters' community there.

Jordan checked back with the archbishop who strongly defended the plans of the sister superior. Thus the Founder had no choice but to leave the archbishop free to act. He did not want to interfere with the prelate's benevolence towards the self-sacrificing nursing sisters. **See, 1.27. Milwaukee (I).**⁴³ Mother Mary was taken up entirely with her task of motherly care for 120 sisters. She was glad that she could always turn to Jordan. He continued to take the decisive final responsibility, thus relieving Mother Mary's inner tension. She could always ask Lüthen for good counsel and Weigang for consolation.

On October 26, Jordan returned Archbishop Ladislaus Zaleski's June 15th visit to the motherhouse before the prelate's return trip to Ceylon. The Apostolic Delegate agreed with Jordan about the further development in Assam. **See, 1.28. Assam (II).**⁴⁴

In the meantime, the priest the Founder had sent to scout the Belgian/ German border to find a favorable place for a foundation

⁴² See, A Closer Look: 1.26. Hungary visitation.

⁴³ See, A Closer Look: 1.27. Milwaukee (I).

⁴⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.28. Assam (II).

had made the acquaintance of a benevolent family: Cornel Ernst and Philomene Pelzer in Montzen. They had a small piece of land in Welkenraedt which they wanted to put at the disposal of Jordan for his plans. The Founder did not hesitate for a moment to make use of this favorable opportunity. In his first attempt to settle in the Diocese of Liège he had asked the Cardinal Secretary of State on October 12 to procure for him a recommendation for Welkenraedt from Leo XIII. Cardinal Rampolla promised to try. He declared to Jordan to his greatest joy that the pope “desires that the Society would spread over the whole world.” Above all, “it should do more yet in South America” (An 1899/III; G-2.3). On October 26, Rampolla called Jordan again. He assured him that the pope agreed fully with everything, but he could not limit the liberty of the bishops by making special recommendations. As far as he knew the bishop of Liège, he favored every good thing (G-2.3). In high spirits Jordan set off for Belgium on November 24. On the way he visited the new archbishop of his home diocese and spiritual patrons and benefactors in his homeland. He did not want to return to Rome empty handed. On December 1, he presented his request to Bishop Victor Josef Doutreloux who granted all his wishes. Joyfully he returned to Welkenraedt, where he had already met the pastor and had looked at the “site for the building and the house” provided by the Pelzer Family. **See, 1.29. Welkenraedt.**⁴⁵

He returned to Rome by way of Cologne, Ratisbon and Munich. In Cologne he visited the Vicar General, his classmate from Roman days. In Ratisbon he greeted the old bishop, von Senestrey, who was willing to accept a priest who wanted to leave the Society. For this Jordan could be only thankful. In Munich he discussed with Archbishop von Stein the humanistic studies of priests. After a short stop in Innsbruck he arrived in Rome the early morning of December 8, in time for the 18th anniversary of the foundation of the Society. **See, 1.30. Sisters’ annual report.**⁴⁶

Christmas was for Jordan an opportune occasion to present himself to the new Cardinal Vicar, Domenico M. Jacobini, and to deliver the

⁴⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.27. Welkenraedt.

⁴⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.28. Sisters’ annual report.

good wishes of his Society.⁴⁷ To mark the turn of the century he addressed his

. . . beloved sons . . . beloved spiritual daughters *in Christo*. . . May the jubilee year be for all a new incentive as true Salvatorians in holy loyalty to vocation and duty always to work and to suffer for the honor of God and the salvation of souls (A-262/3).

He again admonished himself: "Give yourself over truly to Divine Providence" (SD II/22). During the Holy Year numerous friends and patrons of the Society enjoyed the hospitality of the motherhouse. Many bishops met for discussions with Jordan or were visited by him. **See, 1.31. The Jubilee Year.**⁴⁸

On February 8, Jordan went to the Catholic Congress to Tarent. The Congress lasted from February 12 to 15, and the Founder was invited by its president, Al. de Matteis, to present his institution.

At the beginning of the year, the Apostolic Visitor again made himself felt, as usual. He scrutinized the financial reports and was hard to satisfy. Lüthen labored to get the necessary details from individual superiors and Jordan examined them conscientiously for validity and honesty. When this or that surprise came to light, the Founder had to account for it and be reprimanded. In spite of this Jordan did not lose his confidence. He did not figure backwards but forwards. "We hope that things will go better gradually, at least the debts decreased during the past year and this year we hope to pay off considerably," he wrote to one superior who had just helped him out of a financial pinch (March 3, 1900, A-269). He implored the heavenly mother of his foundations fervently: "Finances, Mary, Mother!" (prayer slips) and in his diary he noted "Bread, Father!" and on

⁴⁷ On December 18, Jordan greeted the new cardinal, who received him quite benevolently. On December 23, he paid his Christmas visit to Cardinal Francesco de Paula Cassetta, who as vice-regent (since November 4, 1895) had ordained many members of the Society and who had been created a cardinal only on June 19. [Note: Cassetta was a Roman citizen (August 12, 1841-1919, March 23) and after his ordination on June 10, 1866, professor at the Roman Seminary. On December 23, Jordan also visited Bishop Dessewffy of Csanád, who returned the visit to the Motherhouse the 26th.

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.31. The Jubilee Year.

March 4, five times the real credo: "Providence." He lived from the experience that thus far his faithful trust and childlike insistence had always been able to unlock the treasure house of God at the right time. But Jordan continued to beat the big drum for his foundations which served the cause of God.

In March, a separate magazine appeared for patrons and friends: *Salvatorian News*. See, 1.32. *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*.⁴⁹ By year's end the publishing department of *Der Missionär* was to be moved from the Bavarian to the Rhenish border where a separate press was to be opened. On the day of Mary's Assumption, the community of Welkenraedt was opened, and soon the printing press there was ready for business.⁵⁰

If the number of new priests in the past years was already considerable, the ordination class of the Jubilee Year was simply unique. 47 confreres celebrated their First Holy Mass. For Jordan this was the opportunity given by Providence to advance into virgin territory. So his apostolic fervor pushed him as it were to prepare new foundations quickly so that the young priests after completing their studies could be put to work immediately. At that he was as bold as ever, and as demanding. He expected every new co-worker to confront every apostolic difficulty in a "manly" way and to persevere in the storms that come at the start of a new foundation. Jordan however, thought little of soloists or wunder-kinds. For him the strength of any undertaking lay in the dogged unity of communities which, starting out small, expanded to a group of "apostolic extent." The earlier model he had dreamed of based on of

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.32. *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*.

⁵⁰ To the faithful director of the publishing house in Braunau/Simbach, Jos. Kastner, giving up the edition was a hard hit. Still on Jordan's namesday 1899, he reassured Jordan "to remain a loyal, reliable servant and a true friend to your holy work as long as I live and you need me" (October 5, 1898, D-1117; Jordan had paid him a visit from Munich in June 1898). For the new year he promised Jordan, "I on my part will cooperate diligently also in the new year to promote the interests of the Society . . . with diligence and honesty I will readily serve your holy cause" (December 29, 1898, D-1118). But to transfer to Rheinland was too much for the Bavarian. He defended himself to keep his good job.

the number twelve had vanished in rough reality. Jordan knew very well that the initial pressure on a young apostle had to be moderate:

If possible to assign new priests in large houses with good discipline, further training, confirming their virtues and learning. Where there are no solid virtues, peace and unity won't last long (May 31, 1900, SD II/24).

On July 2, Jordan asked all confreres at the beginning of the evening meal sincerely, to pray hard that he may fulfill God's holy will in assigning duties and houses to "so many" new priests (An 1900).

Jordan would have liked to travel across the ocean to visit his foundations. But these wishes remained unfulfilled. So he was all the happier that both superiors from the West and the Midwest of North America came to Rome in June of the Holy Year. Now they could talk things over and make new decisions. Regarding St. Nazianz, the matter of the late Fr. Oswald's will could be regulated. But the real goal of a school for candidates remained still in the distant future. Jordan was afraid too that the "Salvatorian spirit" so far from Rome would suffer damage or even remain undeveloped. The Founder had thus far always said no to the superior of St. Nazianz's request to involve himself in the government of the sisters, especially in Milwaukee. Deibele again received exact guidelines. He remained an advisor, dependent on the local bishop. The sisters kept their full independence. Deibele himself could always contact the archbishop of Milwaukee or even Rome.

In Oregon where no proper Salvatorian community could be formed, the priests remained missionaries in individual stations. Jordan now hoped to move his men into one foundation in Pe Ell to open a house of studies there in the future. The superior received corresponding directions. But pastoral necessities proved to be stronger than Jordan's wish to found in the West a house similar to St. Nazianz. All the more he urged Fr. Severin Jurek, the superior, to take care of the sisters foundation in Uniontown.

Jordan said goodbye to both superiors with a lighter heart. Always trusting in Divine Providence, his renewed hopes expanded excessively, and accompanied them. To the superior of St. Nazianz he heartily recommended establishing a novitiate. Jordan wanted such a house for brothers as well as one for sisters at St. Nazianz.

But the sisters' community in Milwaukee remained his problem child. Neither he nor Mother Mary were able personally to go there to solve the urgent difficulties on the spot. So they consulted and found it best to send an assistant with corresponding authority to Milwaukee. This sister succeeded in resolving her delicate task prudently and decisively. Jordan could now definitely set the switches for a good future for the sisters in the USA. No one in that community spoke any longer of separating from Rome. **See, 1.33. Sisters' visitation in Milwaukee.**⁵¹

This year the Founder invested only a few sisters. So again there was enough room at Via Lungara (**see, 1.34. Deaths among the sisters**),⁵² while the small novitiate in Tivoli could settle into its modest house for another winter. **See, 1.35. Tivoli (II).**⁵³

For the time being, Jordan had to neglect the foundation in Quatis, Brazil. He could only work to train suitable new priests for this task. He continued to encourage the sole priest stationed there now: "Don't lose heart if you have to go through some trying hours. . . . God willing new confreres shall go there this year" (March 29, 1900, A-271).

As the bishop of Campos came again this summer to Rome and urged Jordan, he could only assure the prelate that he would continue his efforts to re-erect a foundation there. **See, 1.36. Campos, Brazil.**⁵⁴ But Jordan directed his main attention to founding "apostolic plantations" in Europe itself. In doing so he was very circumspect, hoping in the long term also to be able to help the mission in Assam. **See, 1.37. Assam (III).**⁵⁵

⁵¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.33. Sisters' visitation in Milwaukee.

⁵² See, A Closer Look: 1.34. Deaths among the sisters.

⁵³ See, A Closer Look: 1.35. Tivoli (II).

⁵⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.36. Campos, Brazil.

⁵⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.37. Assam (III).

On July 11, Jordan started his great visitation journey. After a short stop in Bassano he met on July 15 with the bishop of Passau, and on the 17th with the bishop of Linz concerning the foundation of a study house in Hamberg. It was still in the Linz Diocese, but knocking on the doors of Passau. Jordan succeeded fully with his ideas. Thus a second community at the Bavarian-Austrian border was added to the one at Lochau near Bregenz. **See, 1.38. Hamberg.**⁵⁶

On July 18, Jordan traveled to Vienna. The next day he visited District I and Döbling. On the 19th he arrived at Meseritsch. On the 21st he conferred with the Prince-Archbishop of Olmütz about a foundation he desired at Hotzenplotz which he visited the next day. On July 24th he checked an offer at Leobschütz. Neither offer could satisfy him enough to start serious negotiations. **See, 1.37. Meseritsch (II).**⁵⁷ By way of Meseritsch he returned to Vienna where he held visitation on July 27 and 28. **See, 1.38. Vienna X (I).**⁵⁸

On the way back he accepted the invitation of the Prince-Bishop of Marburg who had pastoral wishes and made tempting proposals. But here too Jordan found that his real plans about later foundations of schools were insufficiently taken into account. By way of Laibach and Görz he arrived in Rome again on July 31. **See, 1.41. Spain.**⁵⁹

Jordan spent August in Rome. The scholastics enjoyed their summer vacations in Tivoli. Toward the end of August he visited them and the good bishop of Tivoli who liked to stay with the community and invited himself at the same time to their assemblies as he had on April 29.

It was a great sorrow for Jordan that in Tivoli two priests, age 33 and 29, and one scholastic of only 22 years had to be carried to their graves. In addition, one young priest from the community in Freiburg drowned while swimming. The number of those who had

⁵⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.38. Hamberg.

⁵⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.39. Meseritsch (II).

⁵⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.40. Vienna X (I).

⁵⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.41. Spain.

died in the Society from its founding until the end of 1900 rose to 11 priests, 19 scholastics and 5 brothers. Therefore, worry about the sick and ailing confreres remained such a potent concern of the Founder, that he could easily get on the nerves of superiors, infirmarians and cooks.⁶⁰

In the fall, the scholastics were again in the motherhouse: 60 theologians attended the Gregoriana, and 24 philosophers were instructed at home. Together with the 13 scholastics in Freiburg, 18 in Meran, and 8 in Noto, there was a total of 123 scholastics—132 in the motherhouse alone!

Jordan desired an official church approval to instruct philosophers in the house. The cardinal thought this was self-evident, but the Founder felt the need for at least the approval of the Congregation and applied for it on December 18, 1900. Fr. Antonio withheld the application, calling this a private affair of the Society (January 24, 1901, A Rel 25947/14). But he watched strictly that in the matter of foundations and of incurring debts he retained the last and decisive word. Nothing could be done if clever and aggressive superiors of new houses presented him with a *fait accompli*. But in doing so they had to realize that they were placing Jordan in serious trouble. Lüthen tried to restrain the young hotheads. And Fr. Antonio was ever-present, especially when posts were being assigned and when good and able priests exited, something which could easily stop the fast pace of apostolic engagements Jordan expected. **See, 1.42. Departure of the General Procurator.**⁶¹

In October, Jordan made preparations for future foundations in Zagreb (**see, 1.43. Agram**)⁶² and in Krakow (G-2.6). **See, 1.44. Krakow**

⁶⁰ Jordan had sympathy for sick confreres. But he was also faithfully convinced that the sufferings of the sick were a blessing to the Society (to Fr. Chrysologus Raich, superior of the community for sick confreres, January 2, 1900; DSS X, 492).

⁶¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.42. Departure of the General Procurator.

⁶² See, A Closer Look: 1.43. Agram.

(I).⁶³ In November, the Founder traveled to Belgium to use the favorable hour for his plans. On November 17, he went by way of Straßburg to Rougefontaine and Athus, where the local pastor, a patron for many years, had invited him. On November 21, he asked for and received permission from the bishop of Namur to make a start in Athus. Already on the 23rd, he applied to the bishop of Liège to approve a house at Hamont, where the dean and the local baron had already agreed. The bishop himself was glad that something was to be set in motion in a district which was turned usually more towards the little Dutch town of Budel.

Already on November 26, Jordan visited the house in Welkenraedt, still in the growing up stage. **See, 1.45. Athus and Welkenraedt.**⁶⁴ For the journey home he took the train up to Constance, the city of his first study years. After a short visitation in the Marian colleges of Lochau-Bregenz on November 27 (**see, 1.46. Lochau**)⁶⁵ and Meran/Obermais on December 1 (**see, 1.47. Meran (I)**),⁶⁶ he arrived again in the Eternal City on December 3. Since he was unable this year, overburdened with “Founders work,” to visit the houses in Switzerland (**see, 1.48. Freiburg (III)**)⁶⁷ and Temesvár, and the sisters houses in Hungary, he had sent his two general consuls there in summer. He also asked Mother Mary to visit the houses of the sisters in Pest, Muraszombat, and Drognens. There were difficulties in the administration of the two latter houses, while good Sr. Ambrosia in Pest quickly helped the foundation out of its initial difficulties. Mother Mary, now 67 years old, left Rome on August 5, returning only on September 8. On Jordan’s strict orders she took time off, in order not to be overloaded for health reasons. **See, 1.49. Sisters’ visitation.**⁶⁸

⁶³ See, A Closer Look: 1.44. Krakow (I).

⁶⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.45. Athus and Welkenraedt.

⁶⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.46. Lochau.

⁶⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.47. Meran (I).

⁶⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.48. Freiburg (III).

⁶⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.49. Sisters’ visitation.

At year's end Jordan could look back gratefully. Indeed there were no new foundations of the female branch,⁶⁹ but the male branch had taken hold in Belgium, Poland and Croatia. The inner consolidation of the Salvatorian communities also made noticeable advances. But the influx of students had halted, something which must have troubled Jordan. Compared with the great number of new priests and scholastics, the number of students had fallen back to about 40. Tivoli had less students, though in Lochau the increase was significant. The new foundations at the Bavarian border and in Belgium had hardly been born.

Jordan had sleepless nights because promising seminarians who were poor had to remain outside. He saw that greater control in admitting candidates was the only way to wipe out the debts and regain the attendant freedom of action. Not willing to give up, he looked at the example of the Romans in 1 Mac 8:4 "They conquered the whole place by their counsel and patience" (SD II/25). As past experience had taught, he noted again at year's end: "Through persecutions, obedience and prayer the Society is made secure and is strengthened" (SD II/25).

In these few years, urged on by the great number of ordinations, Jordan made the most foundations. Their inner and outer growth remained now his principle worries. Often his thoughts went to Belgium where three new places were sprouting. At the beginning of the year the editorial and distribution offices were already

⁶⁹ There were no new sisters foundations in 1900. The effort was to consolidate the young foundations in Vienna, Budapest and Muraszombat. Mother Mary noted now and then timid requests to get sisters, like in Crefeld-Linn (February 1, through her own sister) and in Munich-Pasing (March 17). But foundations in Germany were mostly made impossible by hostile state laws.

The pastor of Vedegheto near Bologna tried to get 3 sisters (January 12; May 18) without being able to secure the necessary quid pro quo. Msgr. Angelo Sinibaldi also requested sisters for Bocca, Sinibalda near Rieti to take over the children's asylum. I "think provisionally like Torri. You do good!" (March 26, 1900, E-828). Jordan, who was thankful to the papal house prelate for several mediations with the pope, immediately took up negotiations about the favorable offer (house for 20 persons with garden, near the church, modest salary and other income). But after having spoken with Mother Mary he had to refuse "because of lack of sisters" (March 31, 1900).

functioning in Welkenraedt/Herbesthal. Braunau/Simbach was downgraded to an agency.⁷⁰ The faithful co-worker there was indignant to be suddenly second fiddle. The Founder called on his Vicar General who was able to find a favorable solution.⁷¹

Jordan pinned great hopes on the young superior in Hamont, who soon presented plans to acquire land and build a simple new building. **See, 1.50. Hamont.**⁷² The seed in Athus in the diocese of Namur did not come up well and the “temporary” house there continued to stagnate.⁷³

⁷⁰ The new Salvatorian printery in Welkenraedt/Herbesthal was at once fully occupied. Its director, Fr. Lukas Burkard, did everything to make it a success. As a temporary solution they thought of having *Der Missionär* printed in Steyl (February 25, 1901, G-35). But then it could be done in their own printing shop. The colored title page showed the patrons of the Society, below St. Peter’s cupola, and in between a band of clouds with the inscription: “Queen of the Apostles, pray for us and for our benefactors!” The title page used until then was exchanged for the Madonna and Child flanked by the apostolates of catechizing and the press according to the fundamental rule: by word and script (*verbis et scriptis*). The edition of periodicals was indicated with 90,000; Simbach/Braunau was kept as a branch office of Herbesthal for the time being (SM June 2, 1901).

⁷¹ Joseph Kastner was not at all happy about transferring the Salvatorian publishing house and printery to the German-Belgium border. He defended himself against the demotion to being only the director of a delivery post of Salvatorian publications. Lüthen informed the Founder staying in Welkenraedt: “Kastner is writing against us” (November 20, G-35). He called his attention “in a benevolent manner to his letter against us” and asked him to terminate peace-fully. He assured him that the Society “would not put him on the roadside with-out subsistence after 10 years of self-sacrificing activity. (November 20,1900, G-35). The Society gave its faithful early cooperator good compensation and tried to find a new working place for him (Lüthen to Mrs. Huch, November 30, 1899). Kastner found a place that suited him in the Norbertus Printery in Vienna, which was also printing *Der Missionär*.

⁷² See, A Closer Look: 1.50. Hamont.

⁷³ It was not easy to get a foothold in Athus. Although the self-willed prelate Michaelis had put his house at the priests’ disposal, his successor was the sharpest opponent of Michaelis. Jordan asked the new pastor on May 7 kindly to receive the priest he was going to send,

At the beginning of the year, Jordan and Mother Mary worried especially about how things would turn out with the sisters in Milwaukee. Jordan had been prudent enough not to give in to the superior of St. Nazianz, nor to the counter-pressure of the sisters' superior in Milwaukee. He also remained reserved toward Archbishop Katzer, who initially appeared to him as too much on the side of the sister superior. The prudent intervention of the sister whom he had sent as a commissar helped to loosen the knot. Her reports were clear enough to dismiss the capable but over-bearing sister superior immediately (February 1901). The archbishop was glad to have been spared any responsibility. **See, 1.51. Milwaukee (II).**⁷⁴

In the beginning of 1901, Jordan had to undergo a severe trial. The third man in the Society, Fr. Thomas Weigang, exemplary in everything and esteemed by all, expressed his desire to leave. He felt he could do more as a secular priest, and still support the Society to the best of his ability. He had made arrangements with the Bishop of Luxemburg, and indicated to the Apostolic Visitor that he had had "trouble." What kind of trouble he probably told Jordan himself. The Founder did not want to oppose the decision of a priest so highly esteemed. But, urged by his administrative confreres, he withdrew his personal consent to Weigang's departure, and as superior drew the attention of church authorities to the severe consequences of such a departure even beyond the Society. Weigang retired to his hometown in mid January to reconsider his decision in quiet prayer. All who knew and loved him prayed along, especially Jordan and

. . . so that he might prepare a simple temporary home for three priests and a lay brother until construction of a proper religious house might be begun in or near Athus. Our intention is to erect a house on one hand to form students of our Society for priesthood, on the other hand to do supply work in pastoral care.

Jordan remarked expressly that "the bishop of Namur on his recent visit in Rome had again given his consent to start a foundation" (A-308). Fr. Anselm Schauff was again received by the pastor on May 13, 1901, and at a meeting of deans was introduced to neighboring pastors. The foundation was to be made independent of the prelate. Schauff was glad when Jordan released him from his mandate and entrusted the further preparations for Athus to Fr. Gabriel Hören.

⁷⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.51. Milwaukee (II).

Mother Mary for whom he was irreplaceable. At the beginning of May, Weigang returned to the Roman community without any ado, and again took up the cross of his office in the generalate and of the equally laborious duties as confessor and pastor of both Salvatorian communities. **See, 1.52. Fr. Thomas Weigang.**⁷⁵

As early spring drove out the hard winter, Jordan sent a good brother up to Germany to find material help for the motherhouse. The brother had recommended himself by his modest, simple nature. Still, Jordan asked the Cardinal Vicar for a recommendation letter to fund raise for the motherhouse. This was easily granted.⁷⁶

Another brother who had up to now successfully collected funds for the student community on Lake Constance dropped out at this time. Against the will of his superiors he let himself be misled to support the political press of Catholic Bavaria. Through this fact the Society got into difficulties in the public. On Easter Sunday, Jordan himself clarified his attitude in this awkward affair: "Don't talk politics!"

The aggressive brother defended his procedure as expedient for the Catholic situation in his homeland. In vain Rome tried to settle the affair amicably. A little press-war developed about this "Brother of the Apostolic Teaching Society" which lasted till summer. Finally the generalate published in the same paper for which the brother spoke, a declaration that he had no orders from his superiors for his action. This article offended the brother deeply, who was convinced

⁷⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.52. Fr. Thomas Weigang.

⁷⁶ In March 1901, Jordan sent his compatriot, the 30 year-old Aemilian Rempel, as collecting brother to Germany. Br. Aemilian had entered the Society at age 27, and after his first profession on August 25, 1899, worked in the forwarding department of the Motherhouse. Jordan gave him a recommendation for his job to disseminate publication of the Society and to receive alms for the Society (March 15). The Cardinal Vicar added: "the Society of the Divine Savior whose motherhouse is in the city deserve *"optime"* in regard to religion and the salvation of souls through its periodicals with religious contents. Cardinal Respighi Pietro" (March 23, 1901, TVU, n. 501). It is to be supposed that the brother first traveled to his home diocese, after Bishop Nörber had not refused a related request of Jordan back on November 26, 1898 (G-2.3).

of his political calling. With a heavy heart he submitted to the command of his highest superiors. **See, 1.53. Br. Rodriguez Übler.**⁷⁷

The economic report of the Society could be submitted to the Apostolic Visitor only belatedly. He scrutinized every figure and was very dis-turbed by the Society's economic status. He passed his concerns on to Jordan. For despite the promises and hopes raised by the great number of ordination in the past year, the debts of the motherhouse had not diminished considerably. In addition, important repayments loomed for which there were not sufficient funds.

Jordan took the admonition of the Apostolic Visitor very seriously. He even considered selling the motherhouse. He begged all houses, mem--bers and benefactors for increased help. Again in his worries he turned to the Salvatorian Press. He pleaded with his Heavenly Mother: "Mother! Oh pay the debts soon! - a sum! Oh Mother!" He pestered Divine Provi-dence day and night. And he always found ways to get over the hill, even if with difficulties. In the summer of 1900, the previous administrator who had worried over the debts and sacrificed himself and all his power to overcome them, resigned for health reasons. Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer became the new administrator of the motherhouse and the "temporal goods." Jordan had great hopes for him, not only because he was able and very talented, but also because he enjoyed the confidence of Fr. Antonio. The economic conditions of the Society were presented to him clearly. Fr. Antonio had no reason to fear that important matters would be withheld. **See, 1.54. The Apsotolic Visitor (I).**⁷⁸

The heart of the apostolic Founder rejoiced all the more when the yearly report was well received by the Holy Father. Jordan had passed the report to Leo XIII through the Cardinal Secretary of State whose ear he always had. Through Cardinal Rampolla the Holy Father thanked Jordan especially because through the members "as well as through the sisters of the same Society" so much good was being done. To "all Salvatorians of both genders" he imparted "a special benediction" (May 5, 1901).

⁷⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.53. Br. Rodriguez Übler.

⁷⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.54. The Apostolic Visitor (I).

Jordan had developed a fine ear for church-speak. So it is no wonder he expressed his joy that the Holy Father valued both communities as auto-nomous ecclesiastical institutions, each having its place in the church and fulfilling its purposes. Mother Mary was no less keen of hearing:

Today we received a very great favor – the Holy Father sent to the Venerable Father and Founder a special benediction and praise for him and for us, his sisters, named in particular (May 5, 1901, MMChr). **See, 1.55. Papal encouragement.**⁷⁹

During Lent and Easter, Jordan was again stirred deeply by his apostolic calling: “Now it is time –so be an exceedingly hot fire for– .”⁸⁰ Again he took time out for apostolic travel fantasies on his office globe, rechecking his universal plan in which his mottos “always and everywhere” and “with all the means the love of God inspires” fought for realization. He especially valued an increase in proselytizing by “preaching and writ-ing” as a lasting Salvatorian challenge. He never tired of encouraging oral teaching: “You cannot value catechetical instruction highly enough; oh, catechize!!! often, much, regularly! – March 15, 1901” (SD II/27). There was no limit to his plans for publications. With the help of the Almighty everything could be tackled. **See, 1.56. The master plan (II).**⁸¹

The Founder was in steady written contact with both groups of pioneers in North America. He was dissatisfied that the opening of an apostolic school in St. Nazianz was so delayed (**see, 1.57. St. Nazianz (II)**⁸²), and that the confreres in Oregon still could not have a community life. He insisted this be changed before he could be

⁷⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.55. Papal encouragement.

⁸⁰ SD 11/26; cf., SD I/161, 185: Jordan liked the image of the Prophet Elias described in Sirach 48:1 “Till like a fire there appeared the prophet whose words were as a flaming furnace.” Since his stay in Stella Maris Monastery of St. Elias on Mount Caramel (April 10-19, 1880) the figure of the prophet zealous for God had remained impressed in his soul.

⁸¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.56. The master plan (II).

⁸² See, A Closer Look: 1.57. St. Nazianz (II).

expected to send more members as reinforcements. **See, 1.58. The American Northwest (II).**⁸³

In June 1901, Lüthen took sick. Jordan sent him to Villa Celimontana.⁸⁴ He himself was gripped again by his "founding fever." Preparations to found in England seemed so far along that at the beginning of July that Jordan journeyed to London himself. But it was not easy to find a proper place for the English mission. He succeeded only on the fifth attempt to find a suitable site. The Founder was actively supported in his continuous struggles by Cardinal Vaughan. Himself the founder of a missionary society, Vaughan found in Jordan a kindred spirit. So in these tiring weeks Jordan always had access to him. On August 5, Jordan considered his task settled and left England. **See, 1.59. England.**⁸⁵

Jordan returned to Rome by way of Hamont, where the young with fervor and talent laid the foundations for a future student community. In Welkenraedt he was impressed and gladdened by the results of the new publishing house. He hoped that soon this press would work as successfully as Jansen's in nearby Steyl. In Athus everything remained stuck in preliminaries. Jordan found it hard that it was so difficult for his Society to take hold in the French-speaking territory. "In difficulty and trouble, embrace patience!" With these words he had encouraged himself before his journey to England and Belgium (SD II/29).

On the Feast of the Assumption, Jordan was back in Rome. The motherhouse was almost empty as the students enjoyed their summer vacations in Tivoli. He quickly cleared his desk. With so

⁸³ See, A Closer Look: 1.58. The American Northwest (II).

⁸⁴ In June, Lüthen fell ill. He tried to recover in Villa Celimontana. At first he was tormented by abdominal pains and an annoying diarrhea. Then came an abscess on the neck which although operated on, disturbed his night's rest considerably (June 12, 18, 20, 1901, to Jordan, BL-479 and 481).

In early June, Baron von Hoffmann also lodged in his villa, receiving on June 1, the Order of Pius from Leo XIII. The following day he was Jordan's guest.

⁸⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.59. England.

many promising new priests to be assigned, the Founder saw both the possibility and the obligation to bring his universal Society into reality, even geographically. In the shade of the Roman tree the tender seedlings in various countries were to grow autonomous. At that time, Jordan reviewed which study houses were just coming into being or just planned. To this list he added the personnel assignments which seemed to him to guarantee healthy growth for the young sprouts. Next to Rome, Tivoli, Lochau and Meseritsch we find names like Campos, Carnovia (Jägerndorf), Agram, Trzebinia, Narni, Hamont. Some names had also sneaked on to the list but remained vacant because they had not really been planned but only longed for—Metz, Barcelona, Portugal, Africa (August 28, 1901, B-41).

Jordan hid his unfinished sketch in his drawer again, to hurry where he could till the soil for a favorable sowing. At the beginning of September 1901, he went to Zagreb. With his usual frankness he reminded the arch-bishop of his ideas. The prelate remained kindly disposed, but passive, hoping that the young Salvatorians would fight through by their own energy. Jordan went on to Temesvár⁸⁶ where the foundation still was still stuck in start up difficulties. In the middle of September, the Founder visited the sisters in Budapest and Muraszombat. The point of this visit was to detach the sisters from dependence on the benevolent countesses and to integrate them canonically. A few weeks before, Mother Mary had visited the sisters and now they rejoiced all the more that they were able to converse with Jordan. **See, 1.60. Mother Mary's visitation trip.**⁸⁷ No less joyful was the Founder's reception by the sisters in Vienna. In the absence of the archbishop, Jordan could meet only with the two auxiliary bishops. In Vienna X the new superior continued the work his predecessor had begun. The city councillor also valued the work of the priests in Weldengaße. The building site for the Marian College and Church of the Apostles got the name *Salvatorianerplatz*. **See, 1.61.**

⁸⁶ Already on June 25, 1901, Jordan sent a petition to Bishop George Posilovič in Temesvár, asking for the bishop's assistance in overcoming his basic problem, namely, that the community in Mehala not remain stuck in parish work, but continue to become "a nursery of members of our Society." The bishop could assist in buying a modest house (December 15, G-35).

⁸⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.60. Mother Mary's visitation trip.

Vienna X (II).⁸⁸ From Vienna, Jordan traveled to Meseritsch and looked up Silesian Prince-Archbishop Kohn in his hunting lodge to obtain permission to open a study house in Jägerndorf. The archbishop consented. Jordan at once pushed on to Krakow where Cardinal Puzyna agreed to the Salvatorians opening a study college in Trzebinia. **See, 1.62. Krakow (II).**⁸⁹

Supremely happy over his victories in Silesia and Poland, Jordan returned to Rome via Passau,⁹⁰ Munich, Lochau and Meran. **See, 1.63. Meran (II).**⁹¹ Everywhere he conferred and planned with superiors, listened to and encouraged confreres, visited church offices and cleared up possible misunderstandings. He also personally thanked important patrons. His days were so packed he found nowhere for even a little relaxation. As soon as possible he stormed on. His visitation journeys were highly strenuous, physically as well as mentally. But his apostolic fervor knew no repose. **See, 1.64. Visitation of Eastern Europe.**⁹²

When on St. Francis Day 1901, the house community assembled again around the Founder, and Fr. Weignag offered good wishes on behalf of all, Jordan again took the opportunity to accent the Salvatorian ideal:

Like Christ you must love humility and poverty and know how to control yourselves. If we want to help the world, save souls, support the church, we must follow the way Christ and all the

⁸⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.61. Vienna X (II).

⁸⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.62. Krakow (II).

⁹⁰ The bishop of Linz requested security so the foundation at Hamberg would not burden his diocese economically. Jordan sent him the desired declaration that the generalate obliged itself to provide for Hamberg without turning to public funds. The Founder would temporarily send two priests and a brother to the new house. He also hoped that the government would soon give its approval (November 11, 1901). In addition, Cardinal Vicar Pietro Respighi had to attest that the SDS generalate was in a position to fulfill its obligation (June 10, 1902).

⁹¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.63. Meran. (II)

⁹² See, A Closer Look: 1.64. Visitation of Eastern Europe.

saints have gone. Then it is for us, scattered over all the world and yet of one heart and one mind, so necessary to join together closely and to subordinate our personal opinions and interests to the commonweal. Hold fast and unshakeably together with your God-given superiors (SM 1901, n. 6; DSS XXIII, 04/10/1901). **See, 1.65. Further papal encouragement.**⁹³

On October 12, Jordan could finally send a reliable priest as a scout to Brazil, before allowing other members to be sent. **See, 1.66.**

Brazil.⁹⁴ Also in South America, from Cartagena, "Good news" had come. There was "peace" (July 6, 1901, BL-486).

Jordan liked now and then to visit the rector of Campo Santo who always showed a lively interest in his apostolic undertakings.

Jordan was with me again to show me the letter of the Cardinal of Kr[akow] who gave him permission for a foundation in Poland; then we had long discussions about his further plans (CS, September 17, 1901).

How Msgr. de Waal assessed the Founder of the Salvatorians we can read in a note of the next day in his diary:

Ledochowska is, next to Jordan, a second soul who could be canonized one day and with whose work, as with Jordan's, I was allowed to collaborate from the beginning, poor me (CS, September 18, 1901).

Soon after Easter 1901, the bishop of Narni quite unexpectedly asked Jordan to take over the Sanctuary of the Madonna del Ponte in Narni north of Rome. The Founder was enthusiastic about being entrusted with a Marian sanctuary in beloved Italy. Yet he desired also the assurance that he be allowed to connect with it a home for his own candidates. The bishop quickly agreed along with his cathedral chapter. The consent of the Council Congregation arrived only after the holidays (November 12). Immediately Jordan transferred 6 members to the sanctuary, being glad Providence had again opened a

⁹³ See, A Closer Look: 1.65. Further papal encouragement.

⁹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.66. Brazil (II).

door in Italy. "Great fields of work in Italy!" (November 19, 1901 G-2.3). **See, 1.67. Narni.**⁹⁵

The Founder regretted that a visit to Noto was impossible this year. Following the bishop's wish the priests had rented a home in the city to be more available for pastoral service to the people.⁹⁶

In fall, the Jesuits offered to sell the sisters their small retreat house, Villa Cecchina, near Borgo S. Spirito, not far from Palazzo Morone. Jordan would gladly have taken it, but it was too small to accommodate the "hospice" located in Villa Lungara, which was itself only tolerated by the church. So taking over another house had to be clarified first.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.67. Narni.

⁹⁶ At the beginning of the year, Fr. Bruno Dempf replaced the former superior in Noto. Lüthen connected with that news greetings and blessing from "Venerable Father, who is much pleased that now things go on so well at the Scala. May God grant that it remains so." Jordan was especially concerned that those there should grasp the importance of catechetics (January 16, 1901, B-479).

The monastery of the Marian Shrine in Narni housed 5 priests, 10 scholastics and 7 brothers. The priests did valuable pastoral services in the environs and especially in the town. The bishop hoped a branch of the Scala community would be established in the town itself (January 25, 1901). The generalate willingly gave permission to rent a house. However, it proved unsatisfactory. At the beginning of the following year, the priests moved to another house, "Healthier than the previous one" (January 31, 1902). Difficulties came up again with Fr. Willibald Bocka. "He again wants to get free" (July 28, 1902, BL-498). In fall, when Narni opened he could transfer there.

⁹⁷ In fall, Jordan and Mother Mary considered buying a house for the sisters. The superior of Villa Cecchina, Fr. Radaeli, SJ, offered it for sale. It was situated near Borgo S. Spirito (Via Penitenzieri), Palazzo Morone, and the motherhouse of the Addolorata sisters. In this house Jordan, together with his two first companions had made 3-day retreats before starting his foundation on December 8, 20 years earlier. Mother Mary inspected it twice (October 7 & 30).

On November 5, Fr. Radaeli called on Mother Mary to win her for the purchase. Jordan negotiated with the responsible provincial of the Jesuits. He and Lüthen were, like Mother Mary, in favor of the purchase

In October, Jordan was startled when the Apostolic Visitor took drastic measures to save the Society from an impending material collapse. The hardest blow for the Founder was the order that from now on he could not accept into the Society anyone unable to provide his own upkeep until ordination. That would decrease the flow of students even more. (their total had now fallen to 50).⁹⁸ The other directives were less drastic, but did not lessen the debts as desired. In addition, Fr. Antonio demand-ed that the constitutions be revised in accordance with the new norms issued by the Holy See, and also that Jordan summon a general chapter for the next year to sanction these new statutes.

Jordan was glad he had been able to open the promising foundations of the last two years. Now he had to give his Society a canonically accept-able face. But he never lost sight of the real goal. Hardly had the orders of the Visitor crossed his desk when he wrote in his diary: "Oh Holy Providence! May the Society be a united and firm phalanx and devote itself totally to the end stated above" (September 25, 1901, SD II/30). This goal he had distinctly stated on November 17, 1898: "The greatest possible glory of God. The greatest possible self-sanctification, and the salvation of as many as possible" (SD II/16). For him the prerequisite and path to this goal was: "Perfect detachment from creatures. Perfect sur-render to Christ" (September 25, 1901, SD II/16). Important and decisive for his Pauline soul were the words: *quam maxima*, "greatest possible" and *totaliter ac prorsus*, "completely" which appeared twice in the Second Rule. **See, 1.68. Instructions from the Apostolic Visitor.**⁹⁹

(MMChr). But the planned transaction was never concluded. [Note: Enrico Radaeli, born June 8, 1850 in Cremona entered the Society of Jesus on October 8, 1871. From 1901 he was superior of the Retreat House (before that for 3 years rector of *Collegio Pio Latino Americano* from 1898). He died in Rome on December 13, 1926.]

⁹⁸ The superior of Lochau communicate at the end of the year: "Only one could be accepted, the others had to be refused mostly because of their poverty, or put aside till later" (annual report of January 10, 1902). The candidature on which the Society's future depended, housed 34 candidates.

⁹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.68. Instructions from the Apostolic Visitor.

November 28, 1901, was for Jordan a day of decisive importance. Since the sisters had moved from Tivoli to Rome, the Founder had lived in a certain conflict. The novitiate had to remain in Tivoli, since the local bishop thus far covered it canonically. In Rome, however, he had to go case by case to the Cardinal Vicar. This divided situation troubled his conscience. He presented all this to Cardinal Rampolla who unhesitatingly granted him all the rights of an ecclesiastical superior of the sisters. Of course, the Cardinal Secretary of State wanted neither to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Cardinal Vicar nor of the Congregation for Religious. But it was clear to him that he acted in accord with the mind of the Holy Father in deciding to declare as canonically correct what the actual situation demanded. **See, 1.69. Via Lungara.**¹⁰⁰

The previous day, Jordan had an audience with Cardinal Ledóchowski. After the substantial changes in the Assam Mission the discussion was helpful. The Founder regretted not being able to send out any new missionaries. He had assigned his best men to head new foundations; and many volunteers seemed to Jordan not properly prepared. **See, 1.70. Assam (IV).**¹⁰¹ Neither could any new foundations for sisters be made this year. The apostolic adventurer did not refuse offers from Galizia and Turkey out of hand. He examined them seriously but soon had to admit that the right members for such sensitive placements were still missing. **See, 1.71. Ruthenian Christians.**¹⁰²

On December 8, the male branch turned 20. Not only did his community remember this event with joyful gratitude, the sisters celebrated too. Mother Mary sent a moving greeting:

Your life, dear Venerable Father, the life of the First Order, is our life too. Through you, dear Venerable Founder, 13 years ago on this day, the Second Order came to life. **See, 1.72. Mother Mary's reminiscence.**¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.69. Via Lungara.

¹⁰¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.70. Assam (IV).

¹⁰² See, A Closer Look: 1.71. Ruthenian Christians.

¹⁰³ See, A Closer Look: 1.72. Mother Mary's reminiscence.

Already back in the end of November, Jordan had reminded himself again of his pact with the All-Highest: "Preach the Gospel to all creatures! Subject all men to God, so that they serve Him alone" (SD II/32). At year's end he resolved:

Take your resolutions to heart! Read them frequently! [With greatest confidence he threw himself into the arms of God.] Oh merciful God, rise up, help me! Oh Almighty Father, through the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ, help! Delay not, help me! Look upon the blood of Your beloved Son! (December 12, 1901, SD II/32, 33).

Jordan often leafed through his first diary (1875-1894) from the days the male branch of his foundation had come of age and the female branch grew up soundly. What through all these years had been the touchstone for his apostolic engagement, he now inscribed as his belief and standard at the head of his spiritual diary: "I approve what holy church approves and reject whatever the church rejects. Fr. a Cr. 1901" (SD I/1).

The year 1902 was totally devoted to the First General Chapter of the Society to be held in fall. Revision of the statutes according to the new orders of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious had been finished by Lent. Jordan was able to insert the previous basic rules completely, although he had to leave aside texts inspired by the gospels. Universality of means he could only save by adding a statute listing the apostolic activities which had priority. Concerning the new canonical part, his consultors (especially the master of novices¹⁰⁴) helped to insert all demands of the relevant church offices. Soon after Easter the statutes, here and there improved, came back from the Congregation and could be printed. Jordan was rushed to disseminate them among the members in time for the chapter. The Apostolic Visitor had suggested that the general chapter should itself first approve the statutes and then introduce them into the

¹⁰⁴ Paulus Pabst the novice master wrote in his personal notes: When in 1901, the *normae* were published for the approbation of new institutes by the Congregation of Religious, [Note: These congregational norms proceed as usual in the approbation of new institutes with simple vows, approved by the General Congregation, June 28, 1901] the Venerable Father charged me with adapting our Constitutions, under the surveillance of our Visitor Apostolicus, Fr. Antonio, OCD." [Note: The Founder also entrusted him with adapting the Constitution of the SDS Sisters to the new norms.]

Society. Jordan thought this to be only a formality for the Society. He thought that the new statutes (in reality the continuation of the previous ones) should only be introduced in the Society by the Founder and Superior General. That would strengthen his authority and at the same time prove that church authorities were in full agreement with his foundation. The Apostolic Visitor accepted these good reasons, and on the feast of his baptismal patron, Jordan was able to inaugurate the new Society's new Constitutions. **See, 1.73. Statutes.**¹⁰⁵

Jordan had halted the spread of the Society for the time being. Now his aim was to consolidate the young foundations and to confirm existing communities in the Salvatorian spirit. In the Americas he kept up relations by letter with superiors and confreres. He was glad that the superior in the U.S. Northwest developed the new station at Pe Ell.¹⁰⁶ In St. Nazianz the confreres worked at building things up inside and out. The sisters' superior there was able to arrange taking over an elementary school in the newly created Diocese of Green Bay, WI.¹⁰⁷ In Cartagena, Colombia the small group of missionaries struggled along splendidly. It was painful for Jordan again this year to leave Brazil aside and to leave the two confreres there more or less

¹⁰⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.73. Statutes.

¹⁰⁶ The superior in the Northwest had set up Pe Ell, WA as a pastoral center for more out stations (Frances, Roslyn Tacoma). The bishop of Nesqually had changed the contract by 1901. It was now accepted by the generalate and approved by the Propaganda. Canonical approval was intended by the Propaganda only on October 1. Fr. Severin Jurek was to inform the bishop in this regard. This left open the question of the previous main station of Corvallis, OR, which Jordan wanted to give up for Pe Ell (March 28; May 16, 1902, G-35).

¹⁰⁷ Jordan himself continued pushing for a study house for his own candidates (August 4, 1902, G-35). At that time the question arose whether the sisters might also claim a part of the Oschwald inheritance. It was good that this question could be discussed with Archbishop Katzer personally. The superior of St. Nazianz was informed: "Sisters were never mentioned in St. Nazianz regard-ing the use of the Oschwald heritage! Only to send priests," was requested (Lüthen, July 31, 1902, G-35).

on their own. All the more he implored the Lord in prayer that this tenuous connection between Rio and Rome would not break.¹⁰⁸

This year the bonds between the Society and the mission in Assam remained rather loose, much to Jordan's disappointment. Collections were indeed made but they never met the missionaries' expectations. In addition, no new priests volunteered as "Apostolic Missionaries" of the Propaganda as needed to fill the thinned ranks in Assam. Jordan longingly expected the arrival in Rome of the Apostolic Administrator who was to take part in the First General Chapter. Fr. Angelus Münzloher came to Rome in fall and was able to confer and take counsel with Jordan. **See, 1.75. Assam (V).**¹⁰⁹

Jordan found this year inopportune to hold visitation in Temesvár and Zagreb. The superior of Zagreb came for the chapter, as Fr. Fridolin Cichy was unavailable.¹¹⁰ Also in this year Mother Mary sent a good number of sisters into the New World.¹¹¹ Some sisters

¹⁰⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.74. Brazil (III).

¹⁰⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.75. Assam.

¹¹⁰ Temesvár and Zagreb remained more or less on their own. The superior of Temesvár wanted to buy a house in spring. Jordan advised him to stay in lodgings if good lodgings were available. Jordan wanted to buy a site near the church, where later a monastery might be erected. He didn't want to be limited in developing a house by buying one too hastily (April 18, G-35). In Zagreb the future of the new foundation continued to be uncertain. It was difficult to find enough priests willing to go to this mission or ready to accept all the difficulties just in order to get a foothold (Lüthen to Jordan, May 18, G-35). [Note: The bishop of Zagreb advised Jordan from his own experience. In Croatia accept young ones (6-8 years old), elementary pupils; older ones are difficult because of profession and attachment to the families; later select those with a vocation (Archbishop Stadler, April 4, 1902).]

¹¹¹ Archbishop Franz X. Katzer announced himself once more at the motherhouse on April 26. The sisters' community in Milwaukee was close to his heart. Having built a house for more sisters, Jordan should now send new forces. On May 11, the archbishop also presented his wish to Mother Mary. In the mean-time, the "vicaress" of Tivoli had been chosen to become the future superior of Uniontown, WA, and had already left Germany. On June 18 she traveled with four more sisters to the USA, three of whom were destined for Milwaukee.

however caused her considerable pain and worry. They became a scandal for the community and Jordan had no other choice but to dismiss such bad religious, much to the relief of Mother Mary. **See, 1.76. Dismissal of sisters.**¹¹² Some of Jordan's spiritual sons also were urged to return to the world.¹¹³ The Founder attended to each one paternally, whether in Vienna, Bohemia or Tyrol, in the motherhouse or in distant Brazil. He bewailed each exit deeply.

Jordan was never afraid to throw his authority as superior onto the scales when it was the question of protecting the well-being of the community or any individual. He did this mildly but firmly. Yet coming against a true moral dilemma he was quickly disarmed. He rather bore the reproach of outsiders that he was too soft and undecided, than that he would stand against "conscience and confessor."

Fr. Antonio helped him with prudence and support to arrange solutions which would spare those concerned and the Society, as far

Deibele in St. Nazianz had requested two teaching sisters for an elementary school in the town of Luxemburg, WI. Lüthen wanted "first to ask Mother Mary." She was on a visitation trip, as was Jordan (August 4, 1902, G-35). On the Feast of the Assumption of Mary another teaching sisters was sent: "it all happened in a hurry, because school begins soon" (August 15, 1902, BL-579).

¹¹² See, A Closer Look: 76. Dismissal of sisters.

¹¹³ Complaints about frequent departures often became emotional, generalized accusations against the Founder. Personally Jordan suffered most under this failure of the young foundation. Lüthen also noted after the First General Chapter, November 1902: "the Society has lost since its beginning 45 priests in all." And after New Year 1903: "In Vienna the Society has lost till January 1903, 13 priests and 4 brothers; about 7 priests would probably have remained elsewhere" (G-23).

In careful and laborious detail the assistant of the general postulator worked out all personal data of the members of the Society till 1902. This statistical study appears at the end of this volume, DSS XVI, 495f). It offers a realistic measure to set right the over- and understatement of SDS defections. In any case, even the most exact statistics have only relative value. In this and in previous studies (DSS XV) some of the leavings have been described briefly, making it more than clear that one can't just tally up fates of life.

as this was ever possible. Jordan was grateful to him for committing himself on questions of personnel for the well-being of the Society. But in judging the economic situation of the Society, especially the motherhouse, the Apostolic Visitor and the Founder each used different scales.

Jordan had matured through the cross of his lifework. Continually con-fronted with resistance and mistrust, he suffered much. Meanwhile, he grew accustomed to disapproval by this or that ecclesiastic personage.¹¹⁴ It remained bitter for him that some confreres in whom he placed highest hopes tired all too quickly of his apostolic storming and did not hesitate to stir up opinion against him both within the communities and among those outside. It was good that he always could implore: "Oh Lord, do not forget this poor one who is so greatly afflicted. In You is my hope and my confidence. I am Yours, I am Yours; guide and defend me! (February 17, 1902, SD II/33).

On the Feast of St. Joseph, 1902, Jordan called the First General Chapter of the Society.¹¹⁵ It was to take place October 6 in Rome. The superior general announced the relevant agenda items (the new

¹¹⁴ At the time of the First General Chapter there were also those con-sultors of influence in the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars who continued to mistrust the institute in Borgo Vecchio 165. The friends of the years 1893/4 (Lupidi, Meddi and Batandier) were no longer active. Don Corrado, Lolli and Bucceroni on the contrary were firmly in place. The latter (*Index Dominicaner*) did not disdain listening to the dubious motherhouse delegate. Thus the fate of the Salvatorians was more than ever in the hands of the Apostolic Visitor. Fr. Antonio was keen in listening and sincere enough to defend Jordan and his Institute. Only in financial matters did both Servants of God remain opposed. [Note: Sadly, a detailed life and work of Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli, OCD as province superior, consultor at the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, as well as Apostolic Visitor of religious communities and dioceses is still lacking.]

¹¹⁵ That same day, Lüthen also informed Mother Mary: "The title 2nd Order is no longer to be used. See to this everywhere! These expressions [First, Second Order of a Congregation] are no longer tolerated by the holy Congregation of Bishops and Regulars with new institutes. Greetings in the Lord, Fr. Bonaventure SDS. Title: "Sisters of the Divine Savior" (March 19, 1902, ASDS).

statutes) and called on all not only to present their proposals, but above all to invoke the assistance of the Holy Spirit on the coming event.¹¹⁶ His personal concern was the good preparation of each and all for the general chapter. He was feeling that so many things were yet unfinished and that he as founder was pressed for time.

Time is rushing toward the end! April 7, 1902.

All, all, oh all! May 20, 1902.

Oh Almighty God, help me that I may always do Your will!
June 8, 1902.

Time is rushing by, death and eternity are approaching with speeding pace! Oh Lord, sanctify me and receive me! June 8, 1902 (SD II/34).

Jordan felt very keenly how things got restless in the Society and how here and there, even in the motherhouse, prophets of doom and killjoys rose up. They were overly critical not only of the community but also of church circles whose benevolence was essential for the Society. Jordan himself was deeply hurt by this, but he could only steadily ask the superiors to avert damage. In his diary on July 22, 1902, he wrote:

Woe to you, superiors, if you are not vigilant over discipline and observance. Consider what enormous harm is brought on by dissension among persons especially if it happens with the superior; everything should be done to avoid it or (if it occurs) to

¹¹⁶ In the letter convoking the general chapter Jordan points to its canonical position within religious families in general and its importance for the progress in the Society in particular, because it was its first chapter. Its main tasks are the election of a superior general and discussion of questions important for the entire Society. The chapter is called to Rome for October 6. As the new Constitutions are not promulgated yet, the corresponding section, which treats the members of the general chapter will be anticipated. It briefly lists who is a member of the general chapter by virtue of his office and how to proceed in electing delegates. Each priest with 3 years of profession has active and passive voice. At the end there are prescribed prayers for the successful outcome of the chapter (April 20, 1902).

The superiors or delegates, who for grave reasons (office, too great expenses) cannot come to the chapter are obliged to present their proposals in writing, so that the chapter will be able to consider them (cf., Letter to the superior in Meran, May 5, 1902).

resolve it. Oh charity, Oh fraternal charity! . . . Oh, be a true father indeed to all your spiritual children (SD II/35, 36).

Fr. Antonio now kept discretely back, but he helped kindly whenever he could intervene for the Society with the Congregation. **See, 1.77. Election of chapter delegates.**¹¹⁷

By the end of July, Jordan undertook yet another extended visitation journey.¹¹⁸ Some days earlier Mother Mary had already started out for a visitation of the sisters' communities. On July 31, Jordan arrived in Athus; the next day he was in Hamont; and through the 4th of August he visited Welkenraedt. **See, 1.78. Visitation.**¹¹⁹

The next day he went to Frankfurt. His diary notes: "Suffer for Christ! Do not be disheartened." August 5, 1902 (SD II/57). The next goal was the Marian College in Hamberg. On August 9 he was in Vienna, from there he went on to Meseritsch; on August 16 we meet the Founder with the small group in Krakow, where he stayed until the 20th. On the 21st he returned to Vienna. On the 27th the Founder was in Meran. On September 1 in Lochau, from September 4 to 8 in Freiburg and Drognens, and on September 9 he returned to Rome.

This time the visitation journey was not only physically very arduous, but mentally too Jordan was strained to the limits. Everywhere he had to have time for superiors and confreres, to find a good way for members wishing to leave, to prepare a new nest for members not feeling well in their communities. Oftentimes a favor had to be begged from ecclesiastical superiors—these were decisive especially for the communities in Krakow, Vienna and Freiburg.

¹¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.77. Election of chapter delegates.

¹¹⁸ On the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, 1902, Jordan was visited by Maronite Archbishop Josef Debs of Beirut. Almost 22 years before, the now 70 year-old bishop had given a warm letter of recommendation for the superior of the monastery Ain Warga to the alert priest student. Thus dear memories were shared (SM 1902/4). [Note: Already on June 17, the abbots of Öhlenberg and Marianhill had visited Jordan.]

¹¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.78. Visitation. This excursus combines all the material from footnotes 119-123 inclusive: Meseritsch, Krakow, Vienna, Meran.

For Jordan it was very bitter indeed when community superiors gave cause for complaints, as happened especially in Freiburg. **See, 1.79. Fr. Otto Vogt.**¹²⁴ An instant solution satisfactory was anyhow impossible. The Founder had to ask for patience until he had found a way out, honorable and good for all concerned. He himself suffered most from his inability to remove the cross from his spiritual sons. But he was even more dejected when some let themselves be carried away, striking out against the Society, even encouraged by others who stayed undercover. His character was too sensitive and too open to remain cool in the face of such experiences. At the end of his visitation journey he wrote to Lüthen:

Directing the Society is hard on me, I am suffering even if I haven't told you. Things are working detrimentally upon my disposition and health. I have turned so gray that it is obvious even to me (September 3, 1902, A-362). [Two days later he confessed to his Vicar General:] My mind is very affected and certain wounds shall heal only very slowly because they have become physical (September 5, 1902, A-363).

Back in Rome, Jordan devoted himself totally to the solid preparation of the general chapter. **See, 1.80. Chapter preparations and humaniora.**¹²⁵ In the new constitutions the voting rights were the normal ones for religious communities. Even as founder Jordan had no special rights. Whether or not he would stay director of the Society he had to leave to Divine Providence. Yet he wanted to prepare everything so well that his founding spirit would not be endangered if he were replaced by a new man. **See, 1.81. Superior General for life?**¹²⁶

During Jordan's visitation journey Lüthen had with his consent set up a preparatory commission: Weigang, the young Master of Novices Fr. Paulus Pabst, two priests from the Vienna communities, and from the motherhouse Fr. Columban Brunner, a good but ambitious man. The motherhouse had also elected him as a chapter delegate, though Brunner already had one foot outside the Society.

¹²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.79. Fr. Otto Vogt.

¹²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.80. Chapter preparations and the humaniora.

¹²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.81. Superior General for life?

Jordan could only hope that no other grumblers would get a seat or a voice in the general chapter.

Jordan hoped the First General Chapter would strengthen Salvatorian religious spirit. On his part he had formulated proposals especially for the life of prayer, education, and initial and higher studies of religious candidates. By October 4, the Founder's namesday, most capitulars had already arrived at the motherhouse. The next day, a Sunday, the First General Chapter opened. 25 capitulars had arrived, 6 were prevented for good reasons (no representative from South America was present); the communities in North America had sent one delegate.

Among the participants were numerous pioneers of the Society. Thus there was a lively exchange of views, both in and outside the sessions themselves. The First General Chapter presented an astonishingly young appearance. Except for the three pillars of the Society, only one member was over 40. 14 capitulars were age 30 and below. The average age of the 22 young members was 30 years and 5 months; of the 3 "elders," the Founder at age 54 was the youngest.

Jordan opened the chapter with a Salvatorian sermon on the theme of the cross. He then resigned his office as superior general and declared every-one free to elect whomever they wanted. By acclamation the Founder then was elected superior general of the Society for life. Since, however, a "jurist" among the capitulars pointed out that the new constitutions demanded a secret vote, Jordan asked all capitulars to elect the superior general by secret vote the next day, so that any later doubt or objection would be dismissed. Afterwards the capitulars unanimously elected the Founder of the Society as the highest superior for life. (Jordan of course had cast his vote for Lüthen, his faithful co-fighter since the first days.)

All of the previous general consultors were re-elected, the novice master, however, was replaced by the superior of Lochau. Since the former procurator general had not appeared at the chapter, it was difficult to make a good selection. After some to and fro, Pfeiffer was elected the new procurator general, after Fr. Gregor Gasser, who had been named first, did not want to transfer from Vienna to Rome a second time. With Pfeiffer now present, the number of capitulars rose to 26 priests.

After the elections factual matters were addressed, but the sessions ran quietly. The discussions were in fact rather dull. The general chapter had few highlights. The new constitutions were accepted by all without comment. In prayer life and religious discipline there was little to change, most of what was practiced was already written down in regulations. But education and studies were discussed at great length. The results were meager and there remained some questions, especially with regard to initial studies (humanities). The task of solving the problem was handed over to the generalate, which was to form a small commission to assist. The economic situation of the Society was not seriously considered, but all promised to come to the help of the motherhouse as far as possible. The Mission in Assam did not turn up in the minutes, nor did any other particular community of the Society.

On Sunday, October 19, the First General Chapter was closed. Jordan again pointed with convincing insistence to the apostolic goal of the Society: all Salvatorians should be dedicated to this goal:

Expand your hearts. Try to be all to all, that you win all for Christ, under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Queen of the Apostles, and under the banner of the Savior of the World, praised and glorified forever. Amen (DSS XXIII, October 19, 1902). **See, 1.82. Men's First General Chapter.**¹²⁷

The Apostolic Visitor was satisfied with the elections, although he noticed at once how amazingly concise were the minutes taken by the delegate from the motherhouse. Notwithstanding, the ecclesiastical authorities saw the chapter as an important step manifesting the young religious institute's required canonical maturity. **See, 1.83. The mature Society, and Pfeiffer's reminiscence.**¹²⁸ Apart from recognizing the Founder as the highest superior of the Society for life, the First General Chapter was not a particularly great moment for the Society. Mother Mary was highly satisfied that her beloved Founder was confirmed in guiding the Society, as this also assured the female branch the continuity

¹²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.82. Men's First General Chapter.

¹²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.83. The mature Society, and Pfeiffer's reminiscence.

necessary for sound development. **See, 1.84. Mother Mary's reactions.**¹²⁹

The First General Chapter was as decisive for Jordan as it was for the development of the Society. Up until now Jordan had been recognized by the church as the first founder and as such highest superior of his foundation. Now he had been elected superior general by his Society itself according to the new canonical rules. Thus far the Founder had held the reins in his own hands. Now the penultimate word lay clearly with the superior general and his council. This was valid above all for the direction and administration of the Society as well as for new foundations. (For the time being the last word naturally still remained with the Apostolic Visitor.) All the more reason Jordan watched with jealousy that Salvatorian spirituality would not be lost. This prerogative remained to him as the canonically recognized founder. The apostolic sprinter had matured to become an apostolic trainer.

The superiors who had come to the chapter and consulted with the Founder extensively now hurried home to their communities. In two important communities new superiors had to be installed. The economic worries of the motherhouse also cropped up anew. It was good that the new procurator general and treasurer general helped to carry the load without many ands, ifs, or buts.

The internal fruit which ripened in Jordan during these two weeks of stress he indicated in his diary on the Wednesday after the end of the chapter: "Either to suffer or to die" (October 22, 1902, SD II/38). He foresaw that he had to stand even closer to the side of the cross-bearing Savior. Only in this way would the futility of some endeavors not discourage him and his apostolic endurance prove worthwhile. For "I can do all things in Him who strengthens me" (November, 1902, SD II/39). And the Lord had given his faithful servant much strength thus far.

Till mid November, Jordan was fully occupied in catching up with the general chapter. Only after that did he find a free day to reconsider his position in inner peace. On the day before the Feast of the Presentation of Mary he visited the sanctuary of the "Father of

¹²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.84. Mother Mary's reactions.

Monks," in Subiaco, spending a long time before the grotto of the conversion of St. Benedict. Once more the heavens opened: "Not a few graces did I receive today." He was gripped by the same Spirit who had dictated to him the Rule of the Apostolate in summer 1884. Returning home still filled with Pente-costal experience he noted in his diary a few single words of encouragement: "Write - speak - be urgent - in season and out of season - in all patience and teaching - entreat - and so on - trusting the omnipotence of God" (November 21, 1902). Then his glance fell upon his own little ego and he confessed to the Lord, childlike and undaunted: "Oh God, how poor and needy I am! But through You I can do all things. To You alone be all glory for ever!" (November 21, 1902, SD II/40). **See, 1.85. Subiaco.**¹³⁰

Jordan was again seized by apostolic fever. Yearnings without clear plans, which had plagued him often enough since Lebanon -but which he had pushed back into the subconscious by apostolic endeavors- rose up again forcefully and violently. "A new era is beginning on the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Jordan felt simultaneously shaken up and helpless. He resolved:

Renew your strength now and then by visiting the shrine! There pray earnestly with prayers and supplications to the Almighty! Yearn and implore with humility and confidence! (November 21, 1902, SD II/40).

The spiritual "high" was immediately followed by a spiritual low. "I am Yours, Lord! Help me, do not disregard the trials which surround me greatly" (November 28, 1902, SD II/41). These trials were of an apostolic nature. He suffered deeply from the unfaithfulness of so many of his spiritual sons. This wound broke open painfully as again four young priests turned their back on the Society, and others were toying with the idea. So Jordan addressed all his spiritual sons paternally, imploring them to stay true to their calling as Salvatorians. Exactly through the holy fire of sacrifice and humiliations, being a part of the apostolic state, this calling had to be purified and offered up to God as a pure sacrifice. **See, 1.86. Paternal admonitions.**¹³¹

¹³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.85. Subiaco.

¹³¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.86. Paternal admonitions.

For Jordan there was nothing more holy than the call to religious priest-hood. To help it develop in his own Society and to protect it against danger, he stood up always in prudent farsightedness and steadfast daring. Yet he always preserved reverence toward the mysteries of each individual's way through life. **See, 1.87. Defections and dismissals.**¹³²

On the Feast of St. Andrew, Jordan received a very serious warning, finally and energetically to pay off the debts of the motherhouse. Some days before, Fr. Antonio had been called to the Congregation where once again one Salvatorian had made verbal complaints against the Society. The Visitor had been summoned for comment. Fr. Antonio had a feeling that he was silently being accused by the Congregation of neglecting his duties as Visitor. At any rate, he now accused Jordan of not taking his orders seriously enough and of stalling him instead. The Founder could only keep silent and hold to his previous road. In addition, he hoped the resolutions of the general chapter in favor of the motherhouse would soon take effect. In his diary he noted only: "Storm heaven with prayer! Do not let yourself be hindered by anything!" (November 30, 1902, SD II/41). **See, 1.88. Apostolic Visitor.**¹³³

On December 4, 1902, the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, Cardinal Ferrata, came to Jordan in the motherhouse. The subject of their talks is not recorded. Jordan however, noted this "benevolent" visit gratefully (G-2.1).

What in Subiaco had sprung up in the heart of the Founder of the Salvatorian communities, later moved him, especially during the prayerful season of Advent. While the active element of his foundation shot up, the contemplative element seemed somehow neglected. At that time Jordan asked himself seriously whether a Salvatorian side branch, totally devoted to adoration, could not secure lasting fertility for the apostolic engagement of both his foundations. This is what he meant by the "new era" of which he himself spoke prophetically on the Feast of the Present-ation of Mary. In his prayer he could taste such generous desires. But

¹³² See, A Closer Look: 1.87. Defections and dismissals.

¹³³ See, A Closer Look: 1.88. Apostolic Visitor.

everyday apostolic tasks so completely overwhelmed all the spiritual and physical forces of the plagued superior general, that his heart's yearnings soon subsided again. **See, 1.89. A new era.**¹³⁴

¹³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.89. A new era.

1. "Apostolic Plantations Everywhere!" A Closer Look

1.1/1. Health concerns regarding scholastics the doctors considered at risk were a particular worry of Jordan's. He sent them to Meran, insisting that the local superior give them the best care. On July 15, 1898, Jordan petitioned the Apostolic Visitor (A-208) to allow three novices for health reasons to finish in Meran the novitiate they had begun in Rome on October 4, 1897. Jordan assured the Congregation that the doctor had urged the transfer of the young fraters to a healthier climate; they should be allowed to finish their novitiate (2½ months) with the local superior there. Permission was granted July 22. (A Rel 17179).

When shortly afterwards Jordan had to send two more, he wrote to the superior of Meran: "I am very sorry. I had to send you also these two. May God comfort you" (July 26, 1898, A-210). Already August 3, 1898, Jordan inquired: "How are the sick ones? You may perhaps have much trouble; don't lose courage, but trust in the Lord" (A-211).*

The fact that philosophy now was taught in the motherhouse spared the sickly students the trip to school. At the same time the grow-ing vocations were kept safe from various dangers. Lüthen's judgment at the time was:

Frs. Col. [Columban Brunner] and Pancr. [Pancratius Pfeiffer] are professors of philosophy. Everything at home. It is 1,000 times better; oh, the university! How many philosophers it has cost us in earlier times. Now nobody leaves during philosophy (February 9, 1889).

In regard to physical benefits, the young students were to lack nothing. In the kitchen nothing was spared. Because "without corresponding nourishment one cannot work mentally: the point is here to be prudent! What we have had to go through here! So!" This is how Lüthen describes the situation to the superior of St. Nazianz when admonishing him to insist on good food there (March 6, 1898).

* A few malingerer tried to exploit the fact that for Jordan the sick man was king. When the family physician, Dr. Gamba, couldn't diagnose any illness in a complaining patient he stated: "*Ma mai esagerare una cosa, mai, mai, mai!!!*" (S Chr 1916, 58), this became a byword among the motherhouse infirmarians.

In late fall, Jordan asked to be dispensed from producing dismissorial letters for 16 scholastics, he also requested permission to have them ordained under the title *mensa communis*. On December 10, 1898, the Congregation agreed after the Visitor had recommended it (A Rel 18595) as had already been done on March 15, 1898, and December 11, 1897, for 5 other members (A Rel 15787; 14748).

1.2/2. Torri. The archpriest in the Sabine Mountain town of Torri was looking for sisters to care for the children's asylum there and to dedicate themselves to home nursing. He turned to Msgr. Wilhelm Emil Schmitz, rector of the Bonifatianum, which had a daughter house in Torri. He in turn consulted with his superior, Msgr. de Waal. They were both enthusiastic about the pastor's plan. With Jordan's agreement the rector of Campo Santo turned to Mother Mary: "In addition, Msgr. de Waal communicated to me the good news of a foundation in Torri near Stimiglione –through Msgr. Schmitz the director of the Bonifatianum– Maria Hilf" (August 28, 1898, MMChr).^{*} On August 5 and 10, Msgr. de Waal negotiated in Torri on behalf of the sisters' foundation (CS). Both parties soon came to an agreement. On August 27, four sisters moved into their lodgings in Torri, and by September 6, they began their work there:
Arrival in Torri in Sabina; pleasant, simple, quite healthy hillside.
The sisters are there living poorly but pleasantly under the direction of the Most Rev. Bishop and by the benevolence of Msgr.

^{*} Wilhelm Emil Schmitz (1857-1916) was a Luxemburger active in Torri after his ordination in 1881, and later for some years in England and Brussels. From 1885 til 1888, he pursued his theological studies in Rome winning a doctor's degree in theology. From 1891 till 1901, he was director of the newly-founded *Collegium Bonifatianum*. Already in 1891 and again in 1903, he undertook extensive fund raising trips to the United States.

Collegium Bonifatianum was a private foundation of Msgr. de Waal, who at that time was very enthusiastic for the Northern Missions (England and Belgium). He rented a building alongside the chapter of St. Peter's and lodged there about 15 students who studied at various universities in Rome with the intention to work in the Northern Missions. Because of economic difficulties the *Collegium* had to be closed in 1902. De Waal never succeeded in getting the necessary material support from the German bishops, not having sufficiently discussed the matter with them. In Torri was a daughter house of the *Collegium* where students could transfer for intensive studies and for recreation.

de Waal. They already have 50 children in the asylum (September 21, MMChr).

In early October the two prelates endeavored with the responsible ecclesiastic authorities to regularize the assignment legally. Mother Mary petitioned the Cardinal Vicar. For this purpose she chose St. Michael's Day. Before that she made a copy of her request for Jordan and submitted it to Lüthen adding:

Please pray for this purpose; I hope, Reverend, that Venerable Father, you, Reverend, and the First Order D.S. generally may experience much joy with this first foundation near Rome (September 28, 1898, ASDS).

Msgr. de Waal handed the petition personally to the Cardinal Vicar (MMChr). He, of course, agreed, presuming the bishop of Sabina's consent (October 8, 1898, TVU n. 1569). Cardinal Mocenni, Bishop of Sabina, handed everything over to his suffragan bishop Bartolomeo Mirra, who had already been informed (October 4-6, MMChr).*

On October 18, Cardinal Parocchi came to Torri for the corner-stone laying ceremony of the *Bonifatianeum*, "and graciously let our sisters be presented to him blessing their work, the entire community." Msgr. Schmitz asked already on October 30, for a 5th sister (MMChr). The sisters quickly felt at home in Torri. They took care of 50 children in the asylum. Mother Mary praised the "healthy warm air" and liked to be with the sisters there: "Was again 3 days in

* Mario Mocenni (Montefiascone, 1823-1901, November 14, Rome) of a noble family had been a professor for 12 years at the seminary of Viterbo. Through Lodovico Jacobini, his personal sponsor, he came to Vienna as secretary at the nunciature. In 1877, he became titular archbishop of Heliopolis and Apostolic Delegate in Chile, and in 1882, Inter-nuntius in Brazil. On December 16, 1882, Cardinal Jacobini, now Secretary of State, called him to his side as an aide. When Jacobini was replaced by Rampolla, Mocenni became superfluous there. He became a cardinal and was finance minister of Leo XIII after having energetically put Vatican finances in order. Mocenni was a hard administrator but searched for negotiated solutions; he favored good relations between the pope and the young Italian State. Mocenni was responsible for German affairs; he spoke German fluently. Also under Rampolla he remained the confidante at the center of the Vatican. Cardinal Mocenni had his own life style. He was "rough" but open and honest. His passion was hunting; whenever possible he felt himself driven into wild nature, while so many of his colleagues made politics in the parlors. He like smoking his pipe and "smoked like a Turk." He was sincerely favorable towards Jordan.

Torri found everything well there" (April 23 and August 5, 1899). However, the sun was not always shining in the Sabine Hills. Towards the end of the year there were noticeable tensions in the community. At the beginning of 1900, Mother Mary herself had to attend to things. But peace among the sisters did not last long. While Mother Mary was visiting her sisters in Drognens, Vienna, Pest, and Muraszombat, the superior of Torri fled to her Swiss home (August 5, 1900, MMChr)– a blessing for the local community.

4.3/4. Solicitations (I). Jordan translated the solicitation letter into German and sent it out on the Feast of St. Luke to benefactors, promoters and sponsors, while the original Latin circular was sent to clergy (E-182). Jordan also directed a letter to Italian bishops, stressing that the Society had her apostolic mandate for the entire world and therefore needed the cooperation of each good Christian; an appeal by the bishops to their dioceses to support his work would be a great help (October 1898, E-58).

At the same time leaflets in various languages were sent to Catholic homes. That year Otto Hopfenmüller's publicity brochure saw its 12th edition. On November 13 (in the bad travel season), the 55 year-old Weigang again voluntarily undertook the arduous journey in order to knock personally at his benefactors' doors north of the Alps (November 14, 1898, A-228, G-2.2). Only on February 14 of the following year did he return to the Motherhouse (BL-286).

The efforts to find more supporters for Jordan's growing work did not remain without success. "The 3rd edition of our cooperator diplomas is out-of-print. Therefore, in a period of less than 1½ years, 30,000 new cooperators have been enlisted (since July 26, 1897, St. Ann's Day)" (MI, December 11, 1898). So Jordan had good reason to thank the cooperators in a particularly cordial Christmas letter (MI 24, 1898).

1.4/6. Defections. Two more priests joined the ranks of the four who had already left the Society in the first half of the year. One young priest from the Freiburg community, Norbert Rausch, made his petition for dispensation directly to Fr. Antonio, who asked Jordan about the matter on September 8. He was to ask the local pastor about the reasons for leaving. Rausch had indicated that family circumstances compelled him to leave. Furthermore, he had lost his religious vocation. Already on October 8, Rausch had inveighed with the Visitor, something Fr. Antonio took as proof that he had no

vocation (D-734). Received like some others before into the Diocese of Leitmeritz, he got his dispensation by June 27, 1899.

The other priest seeking to leave from the Marian College in the Weldengaße of Vienna X, had also turned to Fr. Antonio in late fall. Jordan simply allowed him to go home for 3 months to find a bishop. The priest would, in fact, certainly leave later, although the reasons he insisted on were not acknowledged at present (D-732). The priest found a post in the Archdiocese of Cologne, but could not be released from his vows until December 1909 (cf., D-735).

Already at the beginning of the school year there were more difficulties with Fr. Willibald Bocka, when Jordan by order of the Visitor had to recall him from Noto. He had assigned him to Tivoli in the fall of 1897, but the local superior who enjoyed the Visitor's favor, asked Fr. Antonio to arrange Bocka's transfer. Jordan could only send him back to Noto, because superiors of other houses were already burdened with difficult confreres. The two confreres who had allowed themselves be exploited by Bocka, had already been recalled from there to Rome. Fr. Antonio, however, was not satisfied with Jordan's solution. To him Bocka was "a religious of good spirit, but weak and inclined to be influenced by a confrere, who was false and not trustworthy." Thus Jordan should not expose him again to temptation at the Scala. If he "wanted to send him nevertheless, he may do so. But I decline any responsibility" (September 15, 1898, D-733). Jordan didn't hesitate to assume responsibility for his makeshift solution. When the Marian shrine in Narni was taken over, Bocka could be engaged there.

Bocka must have been a dubious character. In 1894, he had submitted accusations against the Society to the Congregation, which were immediately included in the "Corrado Report." As soon as he arrived at his first post in Assam the young priest had rebelled against the superior and had immediately to be recalled from the mission. In Noto he again tried to break up the community using the Apostolic Visitor. Why the superior in Tivoli removed him after only one year is not known. Jordan tolerated Bocka in admirable love. But it was difficult for the Founder to find a superior he could burden with this "cross."

1.5/9. Assam (I). At that time the Apostolic Administrator in Assam, Fr. Angelus Münzloher, considered the possibility of having a part of the large mission territory separated by the Propaganda. But the neighboring missions who themselves had difficulties with

personnel and finances showed no willingness to take over further territories. Münzloher first turned to Bishop Pozzi who answered from Hindapur that he couldn't advise him in this regard. He had better turn to the bishop of the nearer mission territory. Bishop Fallize, however, would not return from the USA until January 1899 (December 23, 1898, A MA).

Münzloher kept very good relations with his ecclesiastic neighbors, with Bishop Fallize in nearby Dacca as well as with Bishop Pozzi of Krishnagar. Also his relations with Archbishop Geothals of Calcutta was good now. This pleased Jordan. He himself kept good relations with the confreres in Assam through frequent letters.*

In *Der Missionär* reports with pictures from the Assam Mission continued to appear. The conscientious motherhouse administrator sent to the Mission administrator (punctually every one or two weeks) the contributions that had arrived. From spring 1899 on, he sent them directly through the Roman bank Nast & Kolb. He included a list indicating exactly the individual donors and their gifts, and in which he clarified the inevitable questions which arose (cf., Correspondence of the mission procurator, 1897-1900, A MA). How often the missionaries were nevertheless in need after the rapid reconstruction is shown by the report of the fiscal year 1898 of the mission station in Gauhati, which went back to Fr. de Broy. The local confrere pleaded urgently for money, as the debts together with other difficulties made his "life almost intolerably bitter" (January 13, 1899, A MA).

Already in the second half of 1898, two investigators sent from Rome had traveled through the western part of the mission and stopped at Fr. Gallus Schoeb's in Gauhati. On their way back from Darjeeling the brothers, Mariano and Antonio Tommaseo, also made a stop with Bishop Pozzi in Dacca. However, they never even mentioned the mandate they had received from Rome. Bishop Pozzi heard only a month later that the two missionaries were on their way. He immediately asked Münzloher to communicate to his superior in Rome that "it all had happened without me hearing" (April 15, 1898, A MA).

Immediately after their return to Europe the brothers Tommaseo sent a report to Cardinal Agliardi in which they proposed

* Sadly these letters have been lost. But most of the replies from Assam have been preserved.

that North Assam (toward Burma and Tibet) be separated and entrusted to the Benedictines, initially to those of Einsiedeln (Venice, February 12, 1899). The cardinal passed the report to the archbishop of Calcutta, where it was put *ad acta* (A PF 32582).

The mission superior was planning to erect a school in Shillong, to keep pace with the Methodists. From Bishop Fallize he asked for exact information about public help, kind of school, etc. The bishop gave him in detail the conditions for public support in regard to building and sustenance. The school was to be open for boys and girls without regard to religion (Dacca, June 4, 1898, A MA). On August 8, 1898, Münzloher proposed to the Founder to set one priest free for fund raising to find the necessary 30,000 to 40,000 frs. for the planned "higher school." The generalate requested an explanation about utility and rent-ability of the proposed institute as well as the opinion of the archbishop of Calcutta or other experienced bishops (September 3, 1898).

In mid January 1899, Münzloher again urged: as the school will be English oriented, wealthy British subjects should be approached to help (January 16, 1899, M-1). On September 13, 1898, the mission superior had already outlined a teaching program and installed a committee of 4 priests (A MA). But more important tasks continually arose. Archbishop Goethals, who until then had always addressed his directives to the *Administrator Apostolicus* of Assam, now wrote "My dear Fr. Angelus" and helped his "suffragan" however he could.

1.6/10. Freiburg (I). The inaugural address of the Freiburg community is found in *Scholasticus* (nr. 3), an internal publication of the local fraters with diligence and ability. It was intended to be the monthly organ of the *Academia Mariana*. On the Feast of the Assumption of Mary 1898, the scholastics founded this association in their holiday resort Hohenzelg near Schmitten. They gave it a proper seal with Marian insignias and the circumscription, *Auxilio divino nostroque ingenio*, "With God's help and our initiative." On the cover of each issue was an apostle as the patron of the month (a practice adopted from *Apostle-Kalender*). Each issue also contained a column "From the Chapters Talks of Our Venerable Father" as well as a Chronicle of the Marian College in Freiburg, Switzerland and letters written by Jordan to his spiritual sons in Freiburg. Already in the fall of the following year the periodical was given up. Only the chronicle

of the scholastics was continued. The superior stated that *Scholasticus* required too much time and effort, which took away from studies.

Whether the *Academia* lived on as such, or what special purpose it may have served is lost to us. It might have been intended as a kind of defensive maneuver for the students who at the start were compelled to insist on their Salvatorian spirituality against the Dominicans, Redemptorists and Spiritans who predominated at the university. Since the SDS came to study theology in Freiburg from Rome where they had studied philosophy, they were considered "infected" by the Jesuits with Molinism. Already when founding the house in Freiburg, Jordan found such difficulties. After having first accepted State Councilor Python's invitation, later in Rome he was dissuaded from the foundation "from a higher level." Thus he wrote to his scout in Freiburg on July 15, 1895, to hold off on making a foundation there because later differences might easily arise, or even splits among the scholastics of the Society because of a different teaching system at the Dominican School." Python hurried to dispel these concerns. However, the students of the Stalden had to suffer distrustful remarks by some zealots among the professors, as if they were disguised Molinists.

1.7/12. A sisters' foundation in Freiburg. Python had given Jordan hope that he would find something suitable for the sisters. The latter wrote confidentially to Mother Mary:

The well-being of the sisters is much on my mind. I hope to realize the foundation in Freiburg. However, it is better not to talk about it yet . . . until ready. So, don't talk about it to anyone (November 6, 1898, ASDS).

As usual, Mother Mary built "her houses" on Jordan's plans: "an important step to a firm foundation in Switzerland has been taken" (November 10, 1898, MMChr). When weeks passed with no news from Freiburg, Jordan wrote to his friend, Python, State Counselor for school matters. He referred to their recent discussion and "humbly" asked for the "highly favorable support for the intended foundation of the sisters of our Society in the Canton of Freiburg." His idea was,

. . . a female teachers' education establishment. . . I would consider at present only the foundation of a normal school for female teachers; and in order to complete the training of the teachers. There should be a school connected, either a boarding school or a girls' school.

Jordan planned to send the trained teachers to the missions.

[We] have already some qualified teachers, including one from Switzerland who is already qualified for German schools in Canton Freiburg. One should probably start with the takeover of a school or the foundation of a boarding school, and later add a female teachers' training establishment (November 8, 1898, E-821).

On February 11, 1899, Lüthen wrote to Meran: "Now Python too wants sisters" (BL-284). But things grew quiet. Python never succeeded in securing a place for Jordan's sisters. Teaching sisters (Ursulines) were not lacking there. Thus this third project to send sisters to Freiburg also failed (in 1895 an orphanage had been discussed; in summer 1898, the household at a boarding school). Jordan had to console Mother Mary with hope for the coming year: "I hope that in 1899 with God's help some new establishments of the sisters will come up. Steps in this direction have already been taken!" (December 20, 1898, ASDS).

1.8/14. Temesvár. Preparations had already been going on for a long time for an establishment in Temesvár. By July 12, 1895, Jordan had sent the linguistically talented Fr. Fridolin Cichy there to learn Hungarian on site (Temesvár, July 13, 1895). The young priest was well received by the pastor of Josephstadt. On November 30, 1896, the anxious Founder inquired from Bishop Alexander Dessewffy about the living conditions of the priest who was already 1½ years in his diocese.* Cichy had in a short time made such progress in the Hungarian language that the bishop had entrusted the zealous priest with the unmanned parish of Máslak (Blumenthal). Jordan received the best reports about the tempo-rary pastor. Cichy himself liked to be there very much and he would have liked to remain there. Urged by the ordinary (letters, May 30 & July 16, 1897), Jordan met in Vienna with the Bishop of Csanád, who in the fall 1897 had offered

* Alexander Dessewffy of Csernek and Taskeö (Posony, June 4, 1834-1907, December 5, Temesvár) was ordained on August 9, 1875 in Eger. He taught there as well as in Budapest (seminary and university). In 1866, he transferred to the diocese of Kaschau, working there as pastor and secretary to the bishop. Emperor Franz Joseph I nominated him Bishop of Csanád (with residence in Temesvár) on January 4, 1890. On August 31, 1890, he was ordained bishop. Bishop Dessewffy always remained truly connected with the SDS.

him a parish in the cathedral city. But the Ordinary had also told the Founder how difficult it was to get state permission for a foundation (Budapest, November 6, 1897; cf., PPP, 307).

Fr. Antonio, who had also to be asked, was against a foundation in Hungary. Cichy felt this was personal mistrust and complained to Jordan (November 28, 1897). During his visitation journey of 1898, Jordan again made a short visit to Temesvár (June 1898). Before that he had met once more with Count Siegfried von Wimpfen. The bishop preferred a foundation in Temesvár, but would have been very pleased to see the parish of Máslak taken over by a priest. Jordan left Cichy in Temesvár to find lodgings, and he soon did find a house with enough space for 4 persons. The Founder payed a call to the responsible authorities in Budapest, and his request was accepted; he thanked Providence for having finished the course more quickly than he had expected.

Jordan had hardly returned from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, when he communicated to the Bishop of Csanád that on his return from Temesvár he had received a favorable answer from the authorities there: "*Tolerari potest* - so we can come." In regard to Máslak he would be able to give an answer only later (June 23, 1898, A-Grdg.).

Following up, the pastor of Josephstadt succeeded in Temesvár to obtain the necessary certificate of sustenance for 3 to 4 priests and sent this very important document to Jordan. The pastor was quite willing to cede a part of his parish, namely Mehal, a suburb of Temesvár, to the Salvatorians. There was also a modest church available there (September 16, 1898, A-219). By November, Jordan sent two priests and a brother to Temesvár, where Cichy was anxiously awaiting them. The establishment was officially inaugurated November 21, 1898. Negotiations to assume pastoral care in Máslak remained without success.

1.9/18. Financial accounting for the Visitor. At the very beginning of the year, Fr. Antonio again drew attention to himself, stating that every effort was being made (for some time now) to keep him in the dark about the state of the Society. He was not convinced this was happening out of mistrust towards him, but only because some thought that in this way things would proceed more smoothly. This at least was the judgment of one priest who was esteemed by both Jordan and Fr. Antonio.

Then Fr. Antonio points with emphasis to his mandate as Visitor. As such he was not at all reassured.

Even more, I have every reason to be troubled about the turn I am told things are taking in the Institute. For I am conscious of my status, that I am made responsible at the Congregation for Religious. So I must insist on clarity, and therefore I am turning to your Reverence. For the present I limit myself to require the economic and financial situation of the motherhouse and of the other houses.

Fr. Antonio required (again?) detailed balance sheets of property and income (*sommariamente*) for 1897, indicating whether there was a profit or loss in comparison with 1896. Above all, Fr. Antonio required more exactly ("*più dettagliatamente*") indications for the financial year 1898 just ended; for the motherhouse, both consultors Fr. Heribert Prinz and Fr. Eusebius Zumkeller must sign, and Jordan is to co-sign; for the other houses he requests the signature of the superior or administrator as well as Jordan's countersignature.*

Fr. Antonio expected the balance sheets of the motherhouse and of the Italian houses within a month, those of the other houses within three months. As languages he requests Italian, also Latin or French for the non-Italian houses (January 20, 1899, D-736). Jordan hurried to satisfy the Visitor. All superiors were immediately informed:

Beloved son!

Rome, February 13,
1899

Having received from the ecclesiastical authority the order to present the financial state of the individual communities of our Society I ask you to send in an account as soon as possible in the following way:

1. Generally, how great was the value of the assets and the working capital (if there was any) up to January 1, 1898, and the amount of income and expenses in 1897; how great was the profit or loss, considering also the result of the previous years.

* It is surprising that Fr. Antonio does not mention the regular monthly reports he received or the finance report of 1897. Unfortunately, none of the letters of Jordan or the generalate to Fr. Antonio have been preserved. In his chronicle notes, Jordan keeps silent in regard to Fr. Antonio. Neither is the Visitor mentioned in the *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*.

2. More exact indications are requested for the year 1898, namely the value of the assets and the working capital (if there were any); how great and of what kind were the income and expenses up to January 1, 1899, and the amount of profit or loss, including the result of the previous years.

The account is to be made and signed by you and by the accountant of your community and translated into Latin, Italian or French.

Greetings and blessings, your spiritual father,
Francis of the Cross.

1.10/19. Fund raising. The Society, above all the motherhouse which often held back in favor of the younger foundations, continued suffering from lack of funds. Jordan, probably the most successful beggar for his Society, was pleased when others also dedicated themselves to this hard apostolate. After Weigang had returned from his collection journey, for part of 1899 he sent the successful fund raising brother of Lochau, whom he had secured for himself in the previous year.

Jordan wanted to assign long term to this work only those con-freres strong in their religious vocation. At that time the church and the German State had begun to defend themselves against fund raising activities of the many old and new "monasteries." They had become a public nuisance. So it was not always easy to find good pastures. "Your house will gradually become needy. Shouldn't you again undertake a begging trip to Hungary?" Jordan asks the superior of the Tyrol community in Meran, who at that time had to provide food for 30 to 40 men, and to whom again and again sick and weak members were sent from Rome and Freiburg (April 16, 1899, BL-306).

Above all, Jordan said all should feel responsible for the mother-house. The local administrator passed on Jordan's basic principle when he admonished others: "All members of the Society, wherever they are, must work for the motherhouse and are responsible for it, and must consequently take part in the debts, just because it is the motherhouse of all" (May 5, 1899, BL-316). To a superior who got upset about it, as he himself was mired in debts, Lüthen answered sympathetically:

Venerable Father is sorry about your sufferings. We will see how far it can be helped; at present it is not possible to smooth the matter. Don't lose courage! We still have a hard year before us until the great number of theologians diminishes here. Today God lets us suffer much from lack of money! (October 10, 1899, BL-362).

The priest who at that time was to start the foundation "in Belgium quite near the German border" became quite envious of the full coffers of nearby Steyl. He communicated to Rome "how they make much money with their periodicals." Lüthen told Jordan: "Our problem is therefore how to imitate them. It is about disseminating the periodicals, so that much money may result." It was evident to Lüthen that "we must forego religious matters in a strict sense; because preaching and catechism are not wanted." He proposed changing the format of *Der Missionär* by taking religion in a wider sense.

Paul earned his money by weaving carpets. We are in want of money. Young people are coming in fact; an indirect way to do much for the salvation of souls is consequently a periodical which is not only religious, but at the same time attractive through its manifold contents and therefore is liked to be read. Considering the immense sums which Steyl earns, one comes to another opinion: as difficult as it might become to distance oneself from the standpoint of apostolic preaching in the narrower sense; one reaches more people indirectly. This must be considered carefully (November 28, 1899, BL-378).

Just at that time Jordan was on his way to Welkenraedt, so the priest there could inform him personally in this regard. But Jordan was very prudent despite all his zeal. To those who wanted to fund raise he gave the necessary ecclesiastical documents of recommendation along with an official excuse in case of unintended offense against any order:

. . . in case the use of such means [the same means as other religious communities: periodicals, alms, etc.] is limited by the ecclesiastic authority, we ourselves don't want to give anybody the motive to disobey. We only ask for that help which can be given to us without offending the obedience owed to the ecclesiastic authority (E-189).

He was quite conscious, sincere and prudent in his appeals and recommendations and asked the same from the local superiors, whom he encouraged to proceed the same way. Another superior he admonished not to stress illness in his appeal to the benefactors; to speak of many sick in the Society might backfire. Neither should he stress the debts. "No one likes paying debts. They prefer cooperating in the formation of young people to become priests" (December 27, 1899, BL-390).

After this same superior had been so successful in Hungary, Jordan proposed opening establishments in regions where the

communi-ties could support themselves in order to unburden the motherhouse. In Rome and Tivoli not more than 100 persons should live together. A part of the Palazzo could then be rented out. He proposed the houses in Tyrol, Steiermark and Hungary (August 28, 1897). This proposal was certainly well intentioned. But how should youngsters be found to go there? And the foundations in Europe and America up to then managed to provide for their own sustenance, although worse than better,.

Occasionally one house had to accede in favor of another. The superior of Meseritsch had to continue waiting patiently, . . . for in Freiburg there is cruel need; I myself wanted already to send to him something out of our "abundance" . . . now, everywhere need! But this is the wonderful fact, at least God has always helped us through (April 3, 1900, BL-406).

In the most urgent cases Jordan had mostly to intervene personally, because the administrator of the motherhouse at that time was tired of grappling with debts. After the summer holidays the latter had to go home for a thorough rest. Jordan allowed him, in agreement with Fr. Antonio, to stay at home for two additional months (November 26, 1899, G-2.3). As the coffers were empty again, Jordan asked the superior of Lochau to help out with a sum: "Make efforts to help out the mother-house" (November 11, 1899; A-255). The superior immediately sent 100 Mark for which Jordan thanked him cordially:

By this contribution to the motherhouse may the gifts there increase a hundredfold. I also talked with Fr. Meschler* who particularly recom-mended the consolidation and funding of the motherhouse. Let us move courageously (November 16, 1899; A-256).

Jordan also counted on thinning out the boarders in the motherhouse soon. As many as 50 scholastics were nearing ordination to priesthood and consequently could be sent out in a foreseeable time. But with all the new foundations, retiring the debts of the motherhouse lagged behind. The former had to acquire land and erect the most urgent buildings in order to be able to develop their necessary independence.

* Moritz Meschler, S.I. (Brig, September 16, 1830-1912, December 2, Exton, Netherlands) was one of the most influential spiritual writers of the day. As a counselor to the generalate he was in Rome for a longer period, and above all the young Salvatorian novice master sought his advice. Jordan himself highly esteemed his judgement in regard to religious life.

1.11/20. **Disaffected confreres** wanting to leave often became a heavy burden to the community in which they had patiently to wait for the solution of their cases. This often resulted in considerable tensions between the leadership in Rome and the local administration of the affected house. Jordan never stopped admonishing them to patiently tolerate one another. He wanted to help everyone, but for the most part received little thanks from those involved. The limits set by canon law (*Decretum Admodum Auctis*) were often overlooked, as both parties were in a hurry to separate.

In one community two priests were awaiting their release from vows. For the community, matters had dragged on too long. The director of the school* wanted to turn to the bishop to order the Founder to remove the two priests from the community. Jordan asked the superior to inform the capable but impatient priest, that his request could not be fulfilled. "Also Fr. Antonio knows them somehow; we can let them go only when they have a bishop, which we are willing to do." Even a bishop could not order them sent elsewhere.

The consequences of this procedure would enormously damage the community, because "neither the bishop nor the Congregation will compel them to trade one evil for a greater one. I hope, by the way, that God will soon change it." Jordan assured the superior that the affair hurt him very much: "I share your suffering and would like to remove it from you, if I could." The only solution he saw was for each one to follow his superior and the Founder, not acting according to one's own will, but making efforts for peace and unity in obedience and selflessness.

If all efforts are fruitless and you have prayed often, then leave the matter to God and do your duty. Sometimes God comes sooner than we hope. You certainly have a difficult position there, but don't despair . . . I will pray for you (January 12, 1899, A-232; February 19, 1899, A-235).

In summer, the prefect of San Luigi urged again quite impatiently to be allowed to leave the Society. Lüthen hurried to hand in a petition to the Congregation. Before that he asked Jordan, who was on a journey:

* The priest in question was characterized by his superior:
I am not satisfied with him as teacher and educator. His consorting with the candidates, particularly with the younger ones, is to be reproved. His obedience is faulty. Capable, but very difficult and obstinate. For minors under 20 years no educator (August 31, 1899).

Shall he be allowed to look for a bishop also outside Italy? The bishop of Regensburg is willing (according to a document, copy verified) to accept him provisionally as chaplain at St. Johann in Regensburg. I am in favor and I hope also for an immediate answer. Unfortunately, he again threatens eventually to publicize derogatory remarks about the Society (to the Congregation?), if his case is delayed further (August 10, 1899; BL-342).

Now Jordan had to realize that his effort to keep the priest was in vain. In late fall, while returning from Belgium, he went via Regensburg to discuss the delicate case with Bishop Ignaz von Senestrey. He thanked the bishop for having entrusted a post to the confrere and asked him not to let it be "probationary."

Another priest caused Jordan special trouble. This Bohemian confrere had left his community hoping that the bishop of Brünn would accept him at once. Permission was asked for him to be allowed to live outside the community for half a year. But then the bishop hesitated to accept the newly ordained priest on probation.

[Fr. L.] has been without Holy Mass for some time. The bishop of Brünn has not, or not yet, received him into his diocese; he has also written to Fr. Antonio (Lüthen to Jordan, August 27, 1899; BL-349).

In the end the bishop extended his hand, as the only good solution was to accept the priest into his diocese.

In the motherhouse itself one restless confrere put almost all the residents to the hardest test; they had to bear his obstinate behavior for months. Jordan could only ask all for patience until the case came to an orderly conclusion. Br. Vitalis Ruggiero refused to leave the house after his dismissal from the Society (Decree of the Congregation, June 29, 1899). He requested 2,000 Lire as compensation. The generalate had advanced him 600 Lire through his lawyer. "He won't receive more! He is very annoying; we took the habit from him. We hope to get rid of him soon," Lüthen communicated to Jordan in Vienna (August 4, 1899, BL-340). The pig headed fellow from Avellino seemed to enjoy keeping the motherhouse in agitation.

Br. Vitalis still in shirt and trousers! *Pazienza!* Yesterday we had to hand in the recommendation to the Congregation. Now we have reported him [to the police], otherwise he won't leave (August 10, 1899, BL-342). [Later that month the poor vicar general sighed:] Br. Vitalis has been 2 months in the house by now, as a burden, still in shirt and underwear: Oh this slow procedure (August 29, 1899, BL-350).

Only 3 months later could Lüthen communicate to Jordan in Welkenraedt: "Br. Vitalis is condemned by the *guidice riconciliatore*; the judgment has not been made public until now, and then he will probably appeal" (November 28, 1899, BL-389). Exactly when the motherhouse rid itself of this annoying guest is not mentioned. This, of course, was a crass single case, which, however, burdened the motherhouse much and brought no honor to Jordan with the ecclesiastical authority.

1.12/21. Mother Mary had a bad beginning to the new year. On the Tiber Bridge she was thrown to the ground by four racing horses pulling two coaches and broke her arm. ("The case was published in all newspapers," MMChr). Lüthen at once sent a letter of sympathy to the "Venerable Mother," also in Jordan's name.

In February, the first floor of Palazzo Pace in Piazza Colonna was rented from Conte Ercoli through the mediation of the priests at the place: "A new, smaller, sunnier house" (MMChr). Their former house had become too large. They moved in on March 24.

Like her predecessor, Sr. K., the 3rd superior of Tivoli, lived in considerable tension with Mother Mary. She complained to Jordan because of "the continuous complaints from Venerable Mother's side in regard to the expenses here." In Rome it cost just 15 Lire for a sister, wine included; the novices were overly occupied in the garden and on the farm, "worse than outside." Sr. K. was at a loss as to how to satisfy Mother Mary. Even before arriving, the postulants in Rome had been prejudiced against the Tivoli novitiate by Mother Mary:

Also all novices noted that Venerable Mother had such an aversion to Tivoli. . . . It is always the only and continuous topic when Venerable Mother comes: she speaks of the many expenses, the scarce income and the garden (September 11, 1897, D-464).

The sister superior also insisted that one of the novices should prolong her novitiate, although Jordan and Mother Mary were against it (February 20, 1898, MMChr). The said novice was to be delayed a bit (April 5, 1898) in making her vows. One year later the superior packed up. Jordan released her officially from the community on March 29, 1899, and a day later one of her assistants also left. Even the sister prefect of the teachers' institute had intervened with Jordan in the quarrel about Tivoli:

It is no use prolonging things. Better for them to be trained in Rome. Novitiate is practically repeated in the teachers' seminary.

[The novices are] mostly so impractical, disorderly, unpunctual and superficial, also disobedient, stubborn, even quite mixed up (December 13, 1898, D-466).

Sr. Liboria took over the direction of Tivoli as the 4th superior. She excused her predecessor to Jordan, saying she had become convinced that Mother Mary only wanted novices capable of further studies. They felt this discrimination so strongly that her predecessor even wanted to dissuade one novice from entering the Society (May 30, 1899, D-474).*

Jordan suffered from the fact that the sisters' houses in Rome and Tivoli managed so badly between themselves. He was also concerned that so few candidates were coming. "It is quite deserted in the sisters novitiate" (Lüthen to Jordan, August 18, 1899). The rush of newcomers had stopped by then. Money too became more scarce (Lüthen to Mother Mary, January 14, 1899).

On the other side, the overcrowding of sisters in Via Lungara was lessened. Jordan received many requests for sisters, but he examined these all quite carefully before agreeing or negotiating a proper contract. In Hungary negotiations were under way for 3 establishments: Countess Szápáry underwrote Muraszombat; Dionis Testitits sustained Bogath; and Therese Györy, Budapest. Szápáry tried to secure the agreement of Bishop Cornelius Hidasy of Steinamanger** for the foundation at Muraszombat and for Budapest the agreement of Cardinal Claudius Franciscus Vaszary, OSB,

* In summer, Sr. Liboria was cited to Jordan for having given hospitality to her two brothers, who belonged to the First Order and had paid her a visit. Consequently, the superior of Tivoli asked Jordan for a penance for having given her brothers a plate of soup and a glass of wine: "My two brothers are innocent, they did not know, but I was sorry to send them off hungry" (July 7, 1899, D-480). This makes clear the petty criticism often found in heartless, closed communities.

** Cornelius Hidazy, born June 14, 1828 in Komárom and ordained on July 27, 1851, was active in youth education for 20 years; he was rector of the boarding school and director of the gymnasium in Esztergom and counselor in the Hungarian Ministry of Cult. Since March 15, 1883, he ministered as bishop of the Diocese of Steinamanger Szombatheli. He died on October 11, 1900.

Primate of Esztergom.* Jordan was quite thankful for their help (February 1, 1899, A-234). Lüthen shared his joy: "So things are going! Yes, even Budapest and Muraszombat at the same time" (February 3, 1899); "Venerable Mother is much occupied; and many sisters are departing," on February 9, 1899, three sisters to St. Nazianz; on March 23, 1899, three sisters to Milwaukee (MI 4 & 8, 1899).

The negotiations for Hungary were going on feverishly. For Bogáth the only question remaining to be clarified was whether it should really be a permanent foundation. The Countess negotiating the terms showed herself somehow difficult, so the foundation remained stuck from the beginning. Jordan and Mother Mary favored a children's asy-lum, because for real schools the state required permission. "In Budapest itself there will be a foundation for nurses" (Lüthen, February 12, 1899). "However, the yearly salary for the sisters has not been fixed yet on both sides" (Lüthen, March 1899). In April the "roving general consultor" was to go to Hungary once more to fund raise and "at the same time to do something for the 3 establishments of sisters, all of which are now fixed and sure, but are still dragging on somehow" (Lüthen, April 16, 1899). Then Countess Györy wrote quite unexpectedly that the sisters for Pest should come (April 17, 1899). Thus the first sisters departed to Hungary on April 26, 1899 (MMChr): "2 Sisters sent out from the motherhouse (now in Rome) to Hungary" (MI, September 1899).

On the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, like a flash of lightning arrived the news from Muraszombat: "Tomorrow sisters! So the 3 depart tomorrow" (BL-June 29, 1899). They assumed care of about 200 children. In July, after long discussions, a provisional agreement was reached with Countess Testatits. On August 26, three more sisters departed for Hungary to take over the third establishment in Bogáth (BL-349). Sr. Ambrosia became the local superior in Budapest, a post she formerly held in Via Lungara. Regarding the superior in Muraszombat a small power struggle arose. The "roving general consultor" wanted to have his own blood sister installed there, who

* Claudius Franciscus Vaszary, OSB, born February 12, 1832, in Keszthely, was ordained May 26, 1855. He worked as a teacher and formator, became Archabbot of St. Martin de Monte Pannoniae, and on December 17, 1891, Archbishop of Esztergom/Gran. On January 16, 1893, Leo XIII received him into the College of Cardinals. He died in November 1912.

until then had been first assistant. Mother Mary did not get on very well with this sister. She considered her a bigot, with little capability for leadership, and was too old to learn Hungarian. Jordan, too, was of the opinion that this sisters was not fit to be a superior. But in order to show sympathy to her own brother, who had worked so effectively for all three foundations in Hungary, he sent her tentatively as superior to Mursazombat (E-651 & 681; April 23, 1899, D-473). "How much the good Fr. Chrysologus has done for the sisters through his Hungarian journey. Let's hope that it will recommend itself further on!" (August 18, 1899, BL-345).

For Mother Mary, 1899 brought many strains. The overburden of work became noticeable in her relationships with her sisters (cf., April 23, 1899, D-473). Sometimes she was overcome by discouragement. It was good that she could always express her feelings openly to Jordan. He, however, could not remove from her the crosses— neither her energetic character which provoked resistance in some, nor her concern for the training of sisters or the corresponding cooperation in regard to new foundations. But he helped her sincerely:

Do not lose courage, when you are visited by temptations. To reach gentleness, which is so necessary for a superior, consider that in the Old Covenant a lamb was requested as Savior. Those who test our patience usually don't have bad intentions. Keep yourself prepared to suffer it all for the Lord, as if all people, even those nearest to you, came through God's permission to test your patience. I shall pray for you: never lose heart, but persevere in the fight for the good. Paternal greetings and blessing from your Spiritual Father Franciscus of the Cross! (April 2, 1899, ASDS)

On Holy Saturday, Mother Mary sent Jordan heartfelt wishes for Easter. She thanked him

. . . for the many troubles, concerns and sufferings which you for Jesus' sake and in his imitation have taken up also for us. [She promised in the name of all the sisters] faithful perseverance in work and crosses; so that the Society of the Sisters of the Divine Savior might have all over the world modest, sisterly apostles of Jesus, and followers of Mary (April 1, 1899; D-55; App. II).

On May 19, 1899, the Founder of Steyl, Arnold Janssen, visited Mother Mary. This prompted her somewhat distorted memories of the prior disillusionments God had willed through Janssen:

. . . with whom 25 years ago I was connected in regard to a foundation of a female branch of this mission society, when I

unfortunately had to use my beautiful monastery St. Barbarastift Neuwerk to accept *Stifts-damen* or secret sisters because of the Kulturkampf. But God has helped (MMChr).

God had helped through Fr. Francis of the Cross.

1.13/22. The master plan (I). A sketch showing how faithfully Jordan stuck to his "original" master plan bears the date Easter Monday, 1899. In 4 points he states his apostolic program. First he describes again his press apostolate. To him 6 periodicals seem desirable: *Der Missionär* for the cooperators; a guide for young men tied to the three Jesuit juvenile saints; an Agnes Messenger for young women; *Manna for Children*; a beautifully illustrated calendar and brochures appearing in 16 European languages. Jordan was dreaming about a mass propagation "by all means allowed" especially through an International Agency. Above all he intended to disseminate "short notices" about the Society "in mass-production *pro prudentia*," as had already been done for some years. He especially wanted to win seminarians for this task. As a student he himself had used his holidays for this apostolate.

Jordan then added further dream wishes: a printery for each language, and an annual report to the bishops requesting recommendations and blessings. He even thinks about "using orphan boys" as helpers in the print shops. (However, he puts a more than justified question mark after this idea.) He imagines the contents of the papers as "true and harmonious with the purpose of the Society."

One important thing would be winning cooperators "who write according to our spirituality." For this propaganda effort the overly optimistic apostle thinks about "agencies, information, travelers, lectures, associations, etc., recommendations in newspapers, etc., coupon booklets for subscribers." He even includes free samples as rewards for winning subscribers. In a second point he intends, "as soon as possible to make the rules and constitutions of the First and Second Orders" as well as to work out statutes for the boarding schools (interns and day students). As a third item he sticks to his principle: "accept all for the I and II Order if they really have a vocation and if they are fit, even if they are quite poor; however, each one shall contribute as much as he can." His last concern referred to the *Academia Litterarum*, the "International Scholars' Association for Promoting Catholic Learning." Jordan wrote on top of his sketch "SECRETUM" well conscious that at best he would be laughed at by

the “wise and clever” (cf., Mtt 11:25). To him such plans were just the extension of what the Savior of the World had begun when he sent his poor Twelve out into the world (Mtt 27:19). To Jordan it was impossible not to take this mission mandate of the Savior seriously, however impossible it might be to fulfill (April 3, 1899, B-30).

Another paper of that time shows this fundamental apostolic orientation. While the above sketch bears atop the letter A.M.G.D. (To the greater honor of God), this latter unfinished sketch reads at the top: *Deo adiuvante* (with God’s help). Jordan begins: “Pure intention, humility, greatest trust in God.” Then follow the headings: “1) cooperators in all languages; 2) book about the Society illustrated *a là* go forth into all the world; 3) papers and periodicals; 4) houses of formation everywhere.” There followed 12 more tiles from his apostolic world mosaic (n.d. B-31).

An annual report of April 1899, lists the 24 establishments of the First Order and the 12 establishments of the Second Order. Their pastoral and charitable activities are emphasized. Expressly mentioned is that catechism is taught to about 5,000 children; 80,000 periodicals were published; and 20,000 children were enrolled in the Angels’ League (E-184).

1.14/24. Cartagena. The official inauguration of the foundation in Cartagena was May 25, 1899. On May 3, three priests and a scholastic had departed for Colombia (MI 18, 1899). They took over two parishes: *de la Santísima Trinidad* and *Nuestra Señora de la Purificación* called *de Pié de la Popa* by the people. They also undertook catechizing about 350 children. The two parishes numbered about 1,600 faithful at that time. They had four churches and a chapel at their disposal.

After his expulsion from Ecuador, Fr. Macarius Dicks, had done supply work in SS. *Trinidad* from 1895-96. Thus he knew the situation somewhat, and the bishop more, who at that time had been vicar general. Dicks, therefore, became *vicarius in capite* of the small community.

Already in 1896, Dicks and Fr. Pachomius Eisele had desired to remain in Cartagena. Jordan planned that the two refugees from Ecuador should live as much as possible “according to the rule” and explore the possibilities for starting a candidature later. So they were allowed provisionally for 2 years, to start a foundation in Cartagena (April 17, 1896). But the two confreres could not get along any better than they had in Ecuador. Each had his own ideals. Eisele informed

Jordan categorically: "The foundation won't be accepted. This is God's will" (June 14, 1896). On July 2, 1896, he returned to Europe. Dicks asked Jordan either to recall him, too (July 1, 1896), or to let him begin there, if another priest and brother could join him (July 17, 1896). On July 22 he asked expressly for the newly ordained Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer, "a very noble soul." Dicks immediately found a house. As soon as there were two priests and a brother, they could take over the parish (August 3, 1896). But Jordan could not organize everything as quickly as was necessary to make a responsible foundation. So he recalled Dicks. The latter delayed his departure with the excuse that he had first to find a replacement for the parish (August 23 & 30, 1896). In the following weeks and months he continued urging Jordan to send confreres so that the foundation in Cartagena might be realized. But in early 1897, Dicks had to return home. He found work in the boarding school San Luigi in Noto-Urbe. His heart, however, he had left in Cartagena.

Already on May 8, 1897, Msgr. Pietro Adam Brioschi wrote to Jordan asking him to send Dicks back to Cartagena. The bishop wanted him as pastor of *Ss. Trinidad*. At the same time, he asked for two or three more priests for parishes. In 1898, Brioschi became bishop of Cartagena. In mid December 1898, Jordan made him a counter offer:

The moment was now favorable as he again had young priests at his disposal. Fr. Macarius [Dicks] had advised him to request the two parishes *Ss. Trinidad* and *Pié de la Popa*. Jordan would agree on the understanding that his confreres would be able to live together in a small community (December 1, 1898 minutes; letter, December 14, 1898).

The bishop agreed fully and was waiting anxiously for Dicks and the other priests (February 21, 1899). In late May, the beneficial work of the Salvatorians began in the important harbor city in Colombia with its unusually hot climate.

From the very start this young foundation also had to sidestep certain dangers. The confreres complained that cooperating with Dicks was impossible and requested a "prudent superior. Otherwise it will be a Babylon" (May 16, 1900). Jordan hurried to fulfill their requests, in part because the *vicarius in capite* himself agreed to it. The small community of Salvatorians soon accustomed itself to the unusual situations in the hot harbor city, and by their selfless service soon made themselves well accepted by the population.

1.15/25. St. Nazianz (I). The community of Fr. Oswald in St. Nazianz, WI, USA, had been content with a wooden chapel. Old diocesan pastor Peter Mutz also believed it was sufficient for now. However, the new Salvatorian superior, Fr. Epiphanius Deibele decided to build a spacious church. Once informed about this idea, the generalate in Rome insisted on seeing the plans (May 10, 1898). In the meantime, Deibele immediately went to work: "The construction of the church is proceeding rapidly. In 14 days the roof will be on" (September 19, 1898). Jordan enjoyed the construction of the church only half-heartedly:

I personally take a vivid interest in your community. However, until now I can't explain to myself the construction of the church, because in my opinion the construction should not have been made without us; I am in favor of beautiful churches, etc., but *attentis circumstantis* it seemed not correct to me (February 18, 1899).

Jordan indicates here two arguments: that the Oswald Brotherhood had been by-passed, and that Deibele had not waited for the permission of the generalate. By May 31, Archbishop Katzer blessed the church in St. Nazianz (MI 13, 1899).

That St. Nazianz repeatedly sent contributions to the financially strapped motherhouse was much appreciated there: "May God reward you for all you have already done for the motherhouse" (May 10, 1898). The superior, by the way, calmed Jordan by assuring him that the money sent by St. Nazianz was in no way coming from the Colony of Pastor Oswald, but that it was saved from their pastoral services (August 19, 1898). Jordan asked imploringly whether,

. . . [the local house vicar] in North America could not find means for the motherhouse part time, and simultaneously work for the interests of the Society? If it is somehow possible, I ask you and him urgently to do so. It is very urgent for us to ease our financial situation in Rome (February 18, 1899).

By "interests of the Society" Jordan referred above all to vigorously approaching the problem of new candidates so that St. Nazianz might soon have its own candidature and novitiate. "Why no vocations, no students? Germans in the USA don't like studying?" he let his vicar general ask (October 9, 1897). But Deibele had still too few forces at his disposal to start something like this, even less to continue responsibly each year. He would have had to enlist diocesan priests as cooperators.

During the church construction, Deibele was accused in Rome of having violated the statutes of the Corporation in St. Nazianz by spending greater sums. (Jordan immediately became anxious when complaints came up in financial matters.) Oswald's last will, which had led to the question, was not known in Rome. So the vicar general had to inquire:

Someone wanted to accuse you in regard to this case. Considering the deep trust I place in your character, I expect you to be brave enough to admit eventual mistakes in this connection (October 24, 1898).

Settling this matter took some time, something which depressed Jordan considerably: "Oh what a solace when everything there will be put right, when there is clarity regarding the Colony" (January 7, 1899; January 5 & August 6, 1899, A St.N).

The superior of St. Nazianz, suffering under repeated accusations in Rome, requested to be unburdened of this heavy office (January 22, 1899). Pastor Mutz was extremely distrustful towards him: "He agitates against us" (August 19, 1898). Diocesan Fr. Ludwig Barth, on the contrary, was quite favorable toward the Salvatorians: "It's a pity that we don't have him in our Society" (February 23, 1899).

In his will Oswald had left the properties "to his children." However, he obliged them to preserve it all for church purposes. Only if this would not be possible, should all the old members be paid off, and that for this purpose the goods would be liquidated (September 2, 1899). Jordan was considering a way out by merging the remaining Oswald Brothers to the Society as a kind of Third Order. Then clarifying the property situation would be unnecessary, and the old age pension of the Brotherhood would have been guaranteed (January 7, 1899).

During these first years the young Diebele also had difficulties with some confreres who disagreed with his "highhanded leadership style" and complained to Jordan. From Rome came the admonition: *Ut unum sint* (September 9, 1897). Lüthen wrote to the superior in sympathizing kindness: "Trust the priests more. Be more fatherly" (October 6, 1897). "Make these priests your friends, listen to their advice" (September 25, 1897).

One priest in particular, Fr. Ephrem Bohnheim, annoyed the superior greatly, although the latter never failed to be cordial. Immediately after his ordination, this priest had worked successfully by selling calendars, but he didn't get on so well in

pastoral work. In the middle of 1895, he volunteered for the mission in Assam. Jordan, however, could not take such a risk. Nor was engaging him as "*Kalender Kolporteur*" a solution. His blood sister, Rahphaela, local SDS superior in Milwaukee, urged him to let himself be transferred to St. Nazianz (April 2, 1896). Negotiations with all concerned went on for a full six months.

Bohnheim never felt up to the strenuous pastoral work in St. Nazianz, especially not to the demands of English. Furthermore, he practiced a childlike eccentric piety, such that priests declined his services and the brothers refused to listen to his sermons. In a kind of self-defense the priest behaved disrespectfully towards his superior and lobbied against him. Both sister superiors at Milwaukee and St. Nazianz felt they had to support the mis-understood priest (Deibele to Jordan, December 15, 1897; May 7, 1898). The discontented confrere remained "a real cross" (Lüthen, January 3 & April 30, 1898) and had finally to be recalled to Europe (August 7, 1898). On July 8, 1898, Bohnheim wrote to Jordan from New York that he was on his way back. He showed up at home to his surprised parents clad "in slippers and dressed as a Mason." They were outraged, sent a long letter of complaint to Rome, and included a photo of the "home-comer" (September 29, 1898).

With good reason Lüthen interpreted this event as the confrere's intention to expose his unbeloved superior. But the overly sensitive Founder made Lüthen ask how Bohnheim had found this Masonic outfit (October 10, 1898). The justly irritated superior still had trouble explain-ing to Rome that the said priest, as a former tailor, possessed many harmless civilian clothes. He had an unpretentious civilian suit made which he personally took to Milwaukee where, angry and embarrassed over his removal, he had moved to be near his sister. At the same time, Deibele had given him \$100 in gold for his journey home. The mason's suit was probably an old coat which Bohnheim had secretly taken from Br. Rogerius Kilinger before leaving (January 29, 1899). In Freiburg, where Bohnheim was transferred after his return, he at once showed his best side, such that the local superior immediately requested him as a consultor. The new confrere in fact showed childlike obedience and often spent days mending the habits of the scholastics (January 7, 1899). This was the same man who had earlier complained vociferously to Jordan about "the unkind procedure of Fr. Bonaventure against my suffering Sister R. . . my mistrusted sister" in Milwaukee.

Bohnheim wrote Jordan a rude, calumnious letter against the vicar general and the superior in St. Nazianz (November 23, 1898). (Jordan, by the way, honored the wish of the superior in Freiburg, without letting himself be misled by Bohnheim's childish inconstancy.) However, the general was glad to be able to build a bridge to a new start for the disappointed and humiliated man. The hard pastoral work in Freiburg often made him seek refuge in illness (December 23, 1900).

Deibele was particularly dependent on the brothers in his community, who were more sensitive and less willing to tolerate his moods. He "is often angry with us for weeks, doesn't look at us and does not greet us," they complained to Rome. Lüthen asked the superior cordially to refrain from his "natural inclinations" and always to be kind to all (January 6, 1898). At the same time, Deibele continued urging Lüthen particularly to send more brothers: "The confreres always ask where the Venerable Father sent the people he had promised to them" (November 22, 1898). Lüthen pointed to the unpleasant imbalance between priests and brothers:

Nobody wants to work; they all want to study. Consider the number of priests who will be added next year and who all need new communities to procure work for them, and thus always also brothers. One doesn't know where that will lead! Shouldn't you seriously consider this fact, and have sympathy also for us. Venerable Father, in any case, did not think that winning brothers for the Order was so difficult; otherwise he wouldn't have been able to keep such "promises." Let us intensively pray together that the Lord may send us brothers (December 14, 1898).

A good understanding was also still required concerning the sisters. Deibele was admonished not to meddle in their affairs, but to honor the autonomy of their mother superior (September 26, 1897). Jordan also urged him to regularize the monthly payments to the sisters as soon as possible (May 29, 1898). He insisted on a clear separation of the sisters' property from the Colony's, and an independent administration of the sisters (October 9, 1897).

The young superior experienced additional difficulties with the sisters from the fact that the "incorrigible priest" (Bohnheim) was the natural brother of the mother superior in Milwaukee. Thus, Deibele also developed a tense relationship with Sr. Raphaela. She clung to her brother and met with him for days behind the back of the superior. The mother superior of St. Nazianz also stood more on

the side of the mother superior in Milwaukee than of Deibele. Lüthen tried to mediate from far-off Rome (August 21, 1897).

Jordan wanted the superior "to restore harmony between St. Nazianz and Milwaukee" (January 12, 1898). The rupture displeased not only the archbishop but also the clergy: "In Milwaukee no one wants to receive vows" (January 12, 1898). Urged by Jordan, Mother Mary also had to intervene and prohibit the mother superior in Milwaukee "to correspond with the I and II Orders in St. Nazianz as well as to send correspondence" concerning the mother superior of St. Nazianz or neighboring pastors (October 16, 1898).

Deibele was embittered that the superior in Milwaukee, like her brother, spread the same calumnies against him, and also because she found a favorable hearing from Pastor Mutz. (Thankfully, the archbishop whom the sisters wanted to involve had "more important things to do.") Deibele complained to Jordan (March 13, 1899) that her silly report had got her brother expelled from St. Nazianz like a beggar, she had greatly damaged the community. It is not surprising then that the young superior was sometimes tempted to lay down his office. But Jordan was always against a missionary throwing in the towel. Lüthen had to write to St. Nazianz that it was still best if Deibele "remained at the helm" (October 6, 1897). So even after his first term of office expired he remained "*vicarius in capite*."

At first Deibele was irritated by this title. Lüthen had to calm him down. Both he and Jordan wanted him to be superior in "these difficult situations." But "the Apostolic Visitor wanted you to have this title because of your young age" (24). Lüthen asked him to abide in humility and obedience: he in fact enjoyed Jordan's confidence (November 5, 1897). The latter wrote to him thankfully later on:

It will be a great consolation to me if everything is going on well now. Try to lay a good foundation and let us be convinced that all depends on God's blessing. . . . I recommend all of you to our heavenly Mother (August 23, 1898).

And Lüthen advised him in brotherly way: "Let us carry our crosses patiently and let us often read the namesday address of the Venerable Father, who precedes us in word and deed" (November 24, 1898).^{*} He himself invited Deibele cordially: "Look up to the

^{*} The address Jordan gave on Salvatorian love of the cross on the Feast of St. Francis, 1898, was sent to all houses (cf., DSS XXIII, October 4, 1898).

Crucified, in whom we find power and strength" (August 6, 1899; A StN).

1.16/26. The American Northwest (I). The three priests and one brother in the American Northwest remained so engaged in their missions in Corvallis and the Siletz Indian Reservation that they could only meet occasionally to encourage one another. There was no chance of planning a house of studies. They visited the widely scattered Catholics and tried to secure the necessary means for their living. Since 1897, they were active not only in the Diocese of Oregon, but also in the Diocese of Boise City, Idaho. Bishop Alphonse Glorieux* requested more priests from Jordan, so that a true small mission station could be built up. Jordan agreed in principle and set the usual conditions (May 29, 1899). The bishop willingly agreed that the priests should definitely take over the station of Keuterville, ID which they had supplied from Corvallis for 20 years. Though the existing church remained the property of the diocese, any new construction would belong to the Society (July 18, 1899).

After talks with his consultors and Fr. Antonio, Jordan consented definitely to the bishop on October 10, 1899. Glorieux was highly pleased and at once sought the "*placet*" of the Propaganda (November 7, 1899). But the latter was not in favor of entrusting the mission to the Society forever. The priests should first be engaged as simple priests *ad nutum episcopi* (decree of Cardinal Ledóchowski, December 15, 1899). In the summer of the following year, the Prefect of the Propaganda confirmed his decision that no priest be sent to Idaho County without the express permission of the bishop, and that the bishop could also send a priest temporarily into another mission of the diocese. Thus future difficulties might be forestalled (July 19,

* Alphonse Glorieux (Dettingnie, Brussels, February 1, 1844-1917, August 25, Portland, Oregon) studied in Coutraï and at the American College in Löwen. Ordained August 17, 1867, Glorieux worked in the mission in the State of Oregon from 1867 till 1885. On February 27, 1885, he took over the region of Idaho as Apostolic Vicar. On April 19, 1895, he was consecrated bishop by Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore. On August 26, 1893, his apostolic vicariate became a diocese with its seat in Boise City. Bishop Glorieux worked as much as he could to create stable pastoral centers for the far-flung Catholics in Idaho, most of whom were immigrants.

1900). Already in early summer, *Der Missionär* announced the takeover of the new mission (MI 12/99).

Jordan named two new priests to help the superior in his wide mission territory. Preparations that summer were delayed (physician's report, travel money, etc., July 21, 1899, BL-335). The mission superior also asked for 3 brothers (August 22, 1899). Jordan was sorry to have to refuse this request: "At present impossible, because brothers are lack-ing." On September 17, 1899, the parish at Keuterville, ID was taken over by two priests. It had to serve about 400 Catholics among 7,000 inhabitants in a wide region. On October 10, Jordan sent a contract to Bishop Glorieux to regulate the pastoral relations of SDS priests in his diocese. On November 15, he could send at least one more priest to Idaho.

The priests soon tired of the ceaseless and exhausting vagrant life. They wanted to erect at least three main stations: Keuterville, Cottonwood and Greencreek and put a resident priest at each place. By enforcing community life, they would lose esteem in the entire mission and not have enough to live on. Jordan yielded for the time being in order to fulfill the wishes of the bishop backed by the Propaganda. This did not, however, grant the confreres the liberty to become rooted there, such that the Society would have been able to develop independently.

1.17/27. Brazil (I). The first attempt at a foundation in Quatis, Brazil, failed miserably. It is pointless to look for culprits. The Diocese of Nietheroy had been carved out of the Archdiocese of Rio de Janeiro only in spring 1892. In summer 1897, the episcopal seat was transferred to Campos (Petropolis). Nietheroy then became a suburb of Rio. The first bishop of the diocese was Francesco do Rogo Mais, consecrated bishop in fall of 1893. Mais was a pious man, but not up to the task of building up a poor diocese, which soon slipped into debts. His only hope to escape his critical situation was religious orders. He had already won Franciscans and Salesians as helpers. When in fall 1896, he personally asked Leo XIII for more religious, Jordan was prodded by the pope himself to assist the bishop. Jordan promised to send five priests and a brother as soon as possible. Two priests departed together with the bishop to Brazil, where they found temporary lodgings with him.

Jordan could only enter a very irregular contract with the poor bishop. The priests were first to help in pastoral work. Later they could think about a study house for their own candidates

(October 2, 1896). In addition, Jordan could only give vague instructions to the new house superior, since the bishop himself still had no clear plan. Barely arrived in Campos, the bishop handed to the two priests the pastoral care of 3 parishes in Quatis along with some chaplaincies (Schematismus 1898).

Local superior, Fr. Sabbas Battistoni, asked Jordan for a copy of the contract, to know his position. The Founder reminded the superior of the instructions he had given orally: to help the bishop for now in pastoral work, and of course to remain together as a community. As soon as possible they should consider a house of formation for their own candidates. Jordan didn't dare hand out the provisional contract itself without the consent of the bishop. The latter might feel offended (November 20, 1896). The superior could not understand why the contract was kept so secret. Disillusioned, he let off steam with his natural sharpness: "I must, and I can't but say: *Sia fatta, dopo quella di Dio, la volontà della P.V. Rma.*" (This happens more according to Reverend Father's will than to God's).

The bishop was truly convinced that his religious should be blind and lifeless instruments (*istrumenti ciechi ed inanimati*) at his disposal. This would at least free him from responsibility. The bishop, in fact, had mentioned that he would hand over some small parishes to the SDS. Battistoni, however, wanted a large, rich parish, where they could develop. Small parishes here were too dangerous to one's priestly vocation. The bishop excused himself: the question here is not about a large, rich parish, but about the terms of the contract. In any case, Quatis is neither first, nor second, nor third class (January 12, 1897). This letter crossed with a letter of Jordan's, in which he expressed his great desire that we soon "will have a house of formation in Brazil for candidates of our Society." He asked the superior and his cooperators not to lose courage with all the initial difficulties arising (January 29, 1897, A-141). In the same encouraging vein he replied to another highly stressed priest about whom he was concerned (not without reasons):

How are you, beloved son, in your field of work assigned to you by Providence? You will have to suffer much there, for if apostolic work already in itself brings so many sufferings, how many more will there be in those sad circumstances. But, my son, do not despair, fight and struggle *legitime*, and the reward will be great (February 1, 1897, A-142).

In the meantime, the superior had come to an agreement with the bishop and reported: "The community is already up and running.

The pastoral work is difficult. More priests are required" (January 22, 1897).

The bishop is in favor of the community, like Venerable Father. This is more important than several parishes! The college is promising. The bishop will negotiate with Venerable Father. He is friendly towards us, but reserved (Quatis, February 15, 1897).

The superior felt it unjust that the bishop did not negotiate with Jordan through him. Jordan required that the community remain independent from the bishop, under its own leadership. Jordan was to discuss this relationship with Fr. Antonio (February 28, 1897).

Soon Bishop Maia requested more priests to open a second community in Campos or elsewhere favorable for priestly vocations. He expressed his great satisfaction with the priests in Quatis and their *buono superiore* (October 28, 1897). At the very beginning of 1898, one capable teacher let himself be recalled to Rome for health reasons (elephantiasis), without consulting with the superior. The priest had arrived at Quatis only in late fall 1897, but could not become acclimated. That this priest was not replaced at once, increased the superior's unhappiness. After all, he had for a long time begged for priests and above all also brothers. Rome had to ask him to be patient (June 15, 1897, A-162).

The returned priest was not optimistic about the future of the community: the superior was ill, melancholic and more fit as moralist or jurist (to Lüthen August 13, 1898). Battistoni felt "depressed and full of fears when thinking about the situation here." No solution was in sight. A large parish would be the best (May 15, 1899). In time the discouraged superior also reminded them of the end of his term of office (June 12, 1899). Ordered by Jordan, Lüthen begged him to remain in office for one more year. In the coming year there would be 50 new priests. Then new forces would come to Brazil.

Meanwhile, two more priests there gave up the battle and asked to be dismissed. The superior was on the brink of despair. He wrote out all the bitterness which had piled up in his heart for almost three years:*

Most reverend and esteemed Father,

* This letter, written in Italian, remained untranslated in the German text, for fear of robbing it of its soulful shading.

In response to your letter in which you expressed your disappointment in me, I must say that I am also very disappointed in you, Reverend Father. You are holy and wise; but I have to confess that I do not understand your ideas, neither your letters nor your answers. If we go on in this way I will go crazy. You sent me here to Brazil without knowing anything, without wanting to let me know why and how to come, and my protests were useless. To avoid more evil we gathered in this house *ad interim* asking immediately for your plans and asking you to make immediate contact with his Reverend Eminence. However, nothing at all. No answer came. And until now I stay tormented by uncertainty. In the last period they were asking me for a financial report on the community. I answered that it is impossible to present it *per intanto* for the very simple reason that I do not know where the many expenses made by the house go. As if I hadn't written, Reverend Father complains about my way of proceeding and forces me again dryly to send the report. I already did what could, I cannot do more. Therefore, it is useless to torture me further. For a long time now I have been fight-ing against myself, without peace in my heart or even tranquillity of conscience. I can do so no longer and God does not want it. If you want to continue here, send other people in my place. Did the letter of Fr. Nazareno [Rocchi] arrive? And that of Fr. Albano [Wohlmüt]? I didn't expect it [i.e., their resignations]. They seemed to be doing well and were so happy. From this, Reverend Father, you can see well that if you want to continue the sacrifices of this house, it is absolutely necessary to send other priests to replace the superior and the two above mentioned. Maybe in Frs. Domenicus and Pancratius. Then you would have two good teachers and a good and wise superior.

If, however, you no longer want to continue, the matter is simpler and easier. I cannot do anything more about it: I have already suffered enough. Please come to an agreement with His Reverence in regard to this community or about another house. and then inform well my happy successor so that he is not obliged, as I was, to sail towards uncertainty.

I kiss your hand with respect and remain as the most
humble Son of Your Paternity, Fr. Sabba
Battistoni,
Quatis, 6.7.1899

Note: Venerable Father: Soli

Note: Fr. Lüthen: [I] have immediately written to him to explain the account report (and) Fr. Albanus. What will become of him and of Fr. Nazareno, I don't know

August 3, 1899, Fr. B.

Once the two young priests left, Battistoni stood alone with Fr. Ambrosius Mayer in the vineyard of Quatis. Fr. Albanus Wohlmüt wrote to Jordan that his parents were in great need; because of this he asked to be released (July 7, 1899). Lüthen asked Albanus' parish pastor for information. The latter gave him calming information. No need. The Founder made clear to the priest wanting to leave, that without a bishop or title, he could not get a dispensation from the Holy See, and he asked him to help out in Quatis in any case till then (Meseritsch, July 28, 1899).

Wohlmüt wrote back that Jordan's admonition had touched him, but his parents' needs urged him to take this step. He wished to work as a priest in Brazil. The community there had neither means nor candidates (Quatis, September 19, 1899). The priest soon found a post as a teacher of natural sciences at the seminary in São Paulo. As this, however, was to be shut just at that time because of the plague, the bishop sent him temporarily as pastor to Arêas, where he died even before receiving dispensation from Rome on April 7, 1900 at the age of 29 years, 11 of which he had spent in the Society.

The second priest who acted likewise, Nazarenus Rocchi, was an Italian. He hoped to be received into the Diocese of Tivoli (August 2, 1899, BL-339). Although he had already left the house in Quatis, his problem too could not be resolved as quickly as he wished.

On August 2, Bishop Maia visited Jordan in Rome where they discussed possible solutions for the sad situation in Quatis. Once back in Campos, Bishop Maia connected with Battistoni. The superior informed Jordan that the bishop agreed to close the house, and engage the priests elsewhere. He had finally accepted the proposal Battistoni had made from the start and repeated 1,000 times, one which the bishop however, had always declined as being contrary to the contract. The new house might be perhaps in Campos. This would be welcome, for Campos was the most populated and flourishing city in the State of Rio and had no religious until then. Also the climate was better than in Quatis (November 4, 1899). The SDS vicar general informed Battistoni that the general consultors had decided to close the house temporarily with hopes of being able to reopen it after some time. Until then the priests should continue work in the diocese (November 12, 1899).

There were only two now, after Brother Juventius Tumminelli, feeling very lonely, had also left (April 10, 1900).

On November 11, 1899, Jordan expressed his regret to the bishop of Campos for the priests' unwillingness to continue the boarding school in Quatis, and that the house had been temporarily closed. Wolhmut was leaving. "It is unfortunate that the superior is too inclined to pessimism and therefore encouragement was lacking for the others." Meanwhile, Battistoni and Mayer were active rather freely and independently in pastoral care. The lonely superior declared to Jordan once more quite emphatically: "Very Reverend General . . . we will never take over this college definitely." As reasons he indicated: dependence of the college on the faithful; now fewer priests instead of more: "thus debts are inevitable. The situation won't be different in a year" (January 13, 1900).

On June 26, 1899, the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro visited Jordan in the motherhouse to attract him into his archdiocese. Already on May 3, his auxiliary bishop had sounded things out in Borgo Vecchio 165.

1.18/28. Solicitations (II). Jordan never forgot to promote the Society. Leaflets appeared in various languages, "short notices." In summer 1899, he reminded all students and scholastics in a circular letter that the time for publishing *Apostel-Kalender* was again approaching. He asked them "to cooperate with greatest zeal in propagating our *Apostel-Kalender*." He also wished that all houses should look for still better ways of getting alms. *Apostel-Kalender* should "out of love for the Society" benefit the motherhouse. Jordan praised the work of spreading *Apostel-Kalender* as "a matter of honor and duty to the Society" (June 12, 1899; Schol. 12).

Jordan squinted with apostolic envy at other communities like Salesians. One of their brothers was said to have collected 16,000 Marks with the permission of the archbishop: "It must be admitted, however, that the archbishop had decided not to give any more recommendations, as the brother used them so well." All the more grateful was Jordan that the archbishop "didn't hinder him in begging" (at a visit on November 26, 1899). He was astonished that Janssen's Steylers disseminated 500,000 calendars among the Catholic population. Even Trappists had "agents, one in Switzerland, too. There is unusually busy activity." In this regard he had also gathered information at Herder's in Freiburg (letter of Lüthen to Lyons, November 30, 1899, A-258). Jordan never forgot to urge his

spiritual sons to pray gratefully for cooperators and benefactors (circ. letter, December 13, 1899, A-261).

1.19/30. Meseritsch (I). At the beginning of the year, Meseritsch caused considerable trouble after the quarterly report “illuminated its financial situation.” Jordan had to forbid the superior to incur high interest debts, *wechselschulden*. The community was constructing a new building at that time. Already the “*consensus coactus*,” the contract with which the building had begun, caused Jordan “much sorrow.” He had to account to Fr. Antonio, although he would not have prevented it. The 10,000 fl. debt was also an obstacle to assuming new debts necessary to complete the priest’s house. Lüthen complained per Jordan’s order, that the Founder would not have been able to intervene, as he had been kept in ignorance.

I only remember that (not you but) someone might blame Rome. I have written ad nauseam about the quarterly report which revealed every-thing. By the way, I am feeling cordial compassion with you (January 18, 1899, BL-274).

Two days later, Jordan was severely admonished by the Visitor for having left him in the dark about the finances of the Society (D-637).

The local superior wanted to pay off the old debts by solicitations. For this he ultimately needed the required state approval. Lüthen wrote to him on Jordan’s order:

It is not only in my heart, but also on my heart, as I share with you the situation you are in. Now, *cum Apostolo: In multis tribulationibus*. . . It is a real tight corner. Paying 2% more interest on such a high sum, and on the other side, the humiliation before the Prince-Archbishop! God must help in this need! The way out later! Begging for a new building (monastery) and using the money in fact to cover old debts was inadmissible, being premeditated (January 30, 1899, BL-279).

Jordan’s conscientiousness recoiled at such a procedure. He wanted the stressed but courageous superior to help by petitioning the archbishop to guarantee the debts: “If you feel before God that we can’t go back in this matter, we must in God’s name make the sacrifice, trusting that He will procure the money” (January 31, 1899). Recall here that one priest had interfered and was still interfering in the building and pension affairs, bypassing the local superior. Jordan was asked by the local superior to distance himself so that the Bohemian confrere would not damage the community in the papers.

But soon the measure was fully exposed and the priest was forbidden to engage in business (March 21, 1899, BL-293).

During the summer visitation Jordan returned to the behavior of this priest because he was not willing to yield: “[I] repeat my express order. . . .” (Vienna X, August 17, 1899, A-248/9). In the next quarterly report, Fr. Cyril Braschke could point to a property of 30,000 fl. and announce that the irksome debts were paid (March 23, 1899, BL-295). Jordan was pleased that the local superior had issued pictures of “building stones.” Lüthen thanked him in his jocular/sincere manner:

Well, you have also learned something in Meseritsch and then some! Haven’t you? Well, the future is ours! So on my doorpost: “O.s.o” [*Orate sine omissione*; pray without ceasing] (Lk 18.1). Discover that immediate-ly. With friendly greetings (April 11, 1899, BL-305).

Later the local superior had more difficulties with the incorrigible priest. Jordan had to forbid the man under obedience from having a certain female acquaintance (cf., March 3 & May 5, 1899, BL-291/2). The priest wanted to take revenge by “attacking” the local superior and the board-ing school.” Jordan hoped the archbishop would wish him dismissed and that the priest would find a place in the Diocese of Brünn. Lüthen soothed the superior in this disagreeable matter:

Thus the Society has lost a trouble maker. . . . No fear, if one does one’s duty! God protects us! Newspapers? These have also attacked the archbishop!! . . . Without a miracle or particular protection from God the Society cannot escape this calamity without damage. Pray to ward off scandals. Until now we have always escaped with half an ear (October 6, 1899, BL-361).

The irksome priest traveled to Rome to defend himself. This offered Jordan an opportunity to remind him in a fatherly but determined way of the duties he had assumed in his holy vows (October 24, 1899, G-2.3).

In March, Jordan was informed about some “grievances” in the house of Meseritsch. He immediately asked the superior to investigate “what the matter was about” and to do what was necessary” (March 16, 1899, A-236). During Jordan’s visitation in summer, the archbishop of Olmütz asked him “to send only good priests to Meseritsch” (Vienna, August 3, 1899, A-243). To the community in Meseritsch he wrote after his departure from there:

I arrived in Vienna today. I repeatedly think about that college which is close to my heart. So much, in fact, depends on all of them living and working as truly apostolic religious priests. His

Excellency said express-ly that I should send only good priests to Meseritsch; so may all of you prove to be such "before God and man" (Vienna, August 3, 1899, A-242).

Jordan later urged the superior: "Be firm in keeping order and discipline. Don't let yourself be discouraged; fight and struggle for God's cause. May God strengthen you in your difficult post!" (Vienna, August 17, 1899, A-249).

For some time now, Jordan had desired to penetrate Prussian Silesia. In doing so, he engaged above all the superior of Meseritsch. Fr. Cyril Braschke kept very good relations with the neighboring pastors, above all with Pastor Nathan in Waissak—a strict Bohemian nationalist against all "Germanizers." He considered supply ministry by a German priest, at least in the beginning, as almost a declaration of war (March 24, 1898). But he later came to understand that Jordan could not neglect pious Silesia. Jordan asked the superior of Meseritsch to look out there. The latter found Jägerndorf (Krnov) to be suitable. His procurator wrote to Jordan on May 20, 1899, that he was trying to get permission for a foundation there. At the same time Braschke, who wanted to set Fr. Zeno Benz free for the new foundation, requested that the priests there be allowed to wear hats like the diocesan priests: "the Roman hats provoke hostile sentiments against us even in the newspapers. The Social Democ-rats and the German nationalists suspect a Jesuit danger everywhere."

Braschke won his friend, Pastor Nathan's^{*} help to buy a plot of land at Jägerndorf from the Prince of Lichtenstein (June 29, 1898). Things then became quiet again in regard to this place. In July 1899, Jordan went to Meseritsch at the very beginning of his visitation journey. The local superior had urgently written that Jordan would be sorry if he did not come soon, but without indicating the reasons (July 11, 1899, BL-330).

From Meseritsch the Founder went directly to the prince-arch-bishop with his wish. "With pleasure" the prelate agreed to a second establishment in northern Bohemia. Jordan had an offer from Countess Desfours-Walderode (Castle Kretin bei Lettowitz, Diocese of Brünn) to settle in Prosnitz. He went there personally to negotiate, but "found the matter not yet quite ripe." With a heavy heart he had to decline, and consoled her till a later time: "God may grant that the

^{*} Already as chaplain in Branitz, Nathan was a cooperater of the Society (Admission, August 4, 1897, G-2.8).

settlement can be realized soon somewhere in northern Bohemia (Vienna, August 17, 1899, A-249; Beneschau, 19 & 20 August, 1899, A-250/1).

For in the meantime another possibility had arisen. The archbishop's own brother was pastor in Hotzenplotz in Moravian Silesia near the Prussian border. He had invited Jordan to discuss the plan with him personally. Jordan found the place extremely favorable. As a future point of entry he counted on the 100,000 Catholics in Prussian Silesia, which still belonged to the Archdiocese of Olmütz (Vienna, August 3, 1899, A-243). Back in Vienna, Jordan wanted immediately to send a capable priest from there to Meseritsch to begin the foundation at Hotzenplotz (Vienna, August 14, 1899, A-247). For the foundation day of the *Collegium Marianum Osoblaviense*, Jordan in courageous confidence anticipated the Feast of Our Lady of the Snows (August 5, 1899, B-29). But then there was silence about this foundation for a year. On Easter Tuesday of the next year, Jordan revived the plan. "This summer we will begin at Hotzenplotz," he wrote to the superior of Meseritsch (April 17, 1900, A-273). However, in the end Jordan had to drop this project which had seemed so promising to him, for lack of Bohemian priests. He succeeded instead at Jägerndorf. "Moreover the Venerable Father informs you that he will move on with Jägerndorf; this however, is still a strict *secretum*" (February 28, 1900, BL-397). As the archbishop's consent was not bound to any certain place, without a second thought Jordan transferred the foundation day of Hotzenplotz to Jägerndorf (August 5, 1899), where in the meantime something had already happened in Meseritsch.

Jordan also thought about turning to Cardinal Kopp in Breslau for at least getting permission to fund raise in his diocese. But the prelate had banned all religious. Only Janssen's Steylers had succeeded, having stepped in earlier (July 21, 1899, BL-335). Jordan sent at least the superior of Meseritsch for an exploratory trip and impatiently asked from Vienna: "What success have you had in Silesia?" (August 14, 1899, A-247).

In December, the superior in Meseritsch complained about the increasing number of "Prussian" members in the house. (Jordan had transferred two German priests into the community because he now had many newly-ordained priests.) The consequence was fewer Bohemian students and more mistrust among the Bohemian priests. Lüthen replied to these complaints on behalf of the Founder who was in Belgium at that time: "lamenting is allowed, but not

criticizing" (December 4, 1899, BL-383). Jordan cautiously asked the bishop of Olmütz how far "pastoral care was possible in Prussia by Prussian subjects living in a foreign country" (March 9, 1900, BL-398).*

1.20/31. Vienna X, Kaisermühlen. Already at the beginning of 1898, there was some upset about the provisional foundation in Kaisermühlen. Jordan wanted to recall the priests from there in the summer of that year. Already in the first settlement in Vienna X he had lost a number of brave priests. Although there was a quite regular community life there now, the Founder remained troubled. In Vienna II he had taken over the parish church, though not definitely. The exhausting pastoral work prevented good community life— something essential for young priests living in a large city. By February 28, the Founder informed the cardinal that he would recall his priests by the end of the school term. The latter had his vicar general inquire into the reasons (March 7, 1898). Jordan informed the Ordinariate quite openly about his view: the establishment had been founded only provisionally (since the Ordinariate was not willing to engage the priests permanently) so it would be better for the Society to recall its people before they would be sent away. "In addition, dangers for young priests in the big city are very great" (March 22, 1898).

The priests in Vienna were not fully united about what to choose. In the first house a community had finally established itself.

* George Kopp (Ruderstadt, July 25, 1837-1914, March 4, Troppau) could begin his study of theology only in 1858 because of his poverty. Several times after ordination (August 28, 1862) this zealous priest fell victim to *Kulturkampf* laws. Vicar general in Hildsheim since February 8, 1872, he was elected bishop of Fulda, November 15, 1881. As such he cooperated successfully in ending the *Kulturkampf* and in conciliating church and state. Soon he also played a decisive role in Prussian/ Vatican relations. Trusted by Leo XIII, the "State-Bishop" mediated between the pope and Bismark. On August 9, 1887, he became archbishop of Breslau, and as such even more closely linked to Prussian Catholic Church politics. Emperor Wilhelm II appreciated his help and urged the pope almost forcefully to give the purple to the most influential and deserving Prussian bishop. Kopp was created a cardinal on January 16, 1893. Cardinal Kopp was for "Throne and Altar" in stark contrast to the German Zentrum Party, which was to him too politically democratic and not denominational enough. Ecclesiastical life in his large diocese made great and lasting progress under his leadership.

The second didn't have the exhausting work of catechists in the schools, but took care of an established parish. The superior of Kaisermühlen was therefore more inclined to give up the foundation in Favoriten. Jordan answered him that such a solution would now be too late, since Vienna X had firmly established itself. Later on, when older priests were available, one might reconsider it. The negotiations went on, and when the school year ended the superior of Vienna II informed Jordan: "We can take over the parish of Kaisermühlen from the Ordinariate under the condition that they can only terminate us for important reasons" (July 7, 1898). Thus Jordan somewhat warily let the foundation continue.

The active superior of Vienna X had founded a church building association, and he could announce success (October 28, 1898). But by the Feast of All Saints he had to communicate to Jordan:

The erection of the parish (church and lodgings) has been postponed again. We didn't succeed in getting the 5 million loan of the City of Vienna from the government, which was included in our plans for the purpose (November 1, 1898).

Thus they had to be patient. Jordan urged them to keep separate the administration of the church building association and the community. The superior stood against this and pointed to other religious orders in Vienna. Jordan answered that he had been misunderstood. The other orders "have no higher authority hindering them" i.e., a Visitor (January 30, 1899, BL-280). The superior, Fr. Albert Hauser, also intended to fund raise in Germany. The generalate had to explain to him: "Germany is starting a new war against begging. Cardinal Kopp began, now they are following suit in Cologne, etc., therefore it is quite imprudent to introduce a begging campaign." Jordan intended rather a small bene-factor paper for Vienna and surroundings (March 5, 1899, BL-292. The project of constructing the church lasted for another 20 years.) On another matter, "Venerable Father recommends you most urgently to take more care of yourself" (April 8, 1899, BL-304).

Hauser felt depressed when another priest intended to leave. The latter was already living outside the community while still, however, serving as catechist at a city school. Although he had been ordained on the title of mission, the Propaganda did not pay support. Thus he had to find a bishop and a title, otherwise he would be a burden to the community. Jordan thought this was underhanded and for this reason could not consent to dismissing this priest who

urgently desired to leave (March 5 & 21, 1899, BL-292, 294). When he continued urging his civil rights, Lüthen answered for Jordan. He asked Hauser:

Tell him now your, that is, our difficulty. He shall resolve it by himself. He mustn't attribute unscrupulousness to us. The danger of leaving is the same with him as with others, even a little more so, because he has at least a piece of my stubborn head; most stubborn heads have already hit the wall of holy vows; there are only few left in the Society. Thus in spite of his religiosity he is not out of danger (April 27, 1898, BL-312).

As Jordan had no immediate replacement for this priest living outside the community, the superior complained that: spreading the Society was damaging its inner strengthening. Lüthen answered somehow annoyed:

This opinion is easy to say. But now then what would these critics do? The houses are full. Where shall the new priests go? They want work! Well, what to do now? There are already, and soon (Noto) there will be new priests again (and next year) the great great number!! Where to with them? One should only send to Vienna first class priests, who else-where would be good superiors, etc. But where shall the second and third class ones go? Therefore, [to] the new foundations (in addition to other reasons). Believe me that the Venerable Father thinks carefully about all this (May 3, 1899, BL-315).

This was no help to the superior of Vienna X. He punished the Founder by stopping the prescribed correspondence. Lüthen wanted to mediate between the sensitive superior and the afflicted Founder. "Venerable Father is waiting from post to post to hear from you; but in vain." He assumed that Hauser was "irritated." If he therefore wanted to bypass the Founder, he should exchange views with a general consultor (June 29, 1899, BL-327). Just three days later Lüthen asked again.

Still so taciturn. Certainly you have much work now; but it wouldn't have to be a long letter. . . . But first, *Causa silentii!* I hope with great desire for some lines to the Venerable Father! In the love of Jesus (July 2, 1899, BL-328).

The much desired letter arrived finally. Lüthen answered immediately:

Good that you have written again after so long. Making a month out of a week was too much!! If one speaks out, even if it is about

disagreeable matters, it is always better; behind silence one must certainly suppose something worse, although it may not be so.

Then Lüthen addresses the superior's reproaches. One refers to the affair with the Ordinariate in Vienna, which in the meantime had become moot. But this "has provided sufficient proofs that one must be circum-spect in this regard."* Lüthen likewise refutes as false the Ordinariate's position [on the length of SDS humaniora studies] which Hauser had passed on to Rome. Knowledge could not be measured according to the years of studies. "An 11 year-old boy will have to study his 9 years; but a 17, 18, 19 year-old young man certainly not." (Lüthen cites as examples the school Teutsch in Berlin, the procedure of the Jesuits and Salesians. The latter were conducting a seminary for late vocations with three years of Humaniora in Sicily.) Hauser had offered to resign his office. Lüthen on the contrary advised him to cut back on his work for the sake of the common good. The superior also mentioned the reason for his irritation: "Often [I receive] contradictory orders." Lüthen asks Hauser to explain what he means by "often" and "incorrect."

[For] my intentions are sincere. . . . We certainly would like to do what is right in everything. However, if one regards it as one's duty, one must change an order. In such a young enterprise, etc., changes must happen (a short time ago the Congregation withdrew a decree it had published just shortly before). (July 7, 1899, BL-329.)

Jordan highly esteemed the superior of Vienna X and could not accept the latter's wish to be replaced. On the contrary, he asked him: "Struggle *usquae ad sanguinem* [to blood] for the honor of God and the salvation of the neighbor. . . . Blessed the man who endures temptation. May God give you strength" (July 11, 1899, A-240).

1.21/32. Sisters into Vienna. Jordan worked hard for the sisters to gain entrance to Vienna. During his visitation trip he had already contacted the ecclesiastic authorities. He entrusted the superior of Vienna X with further negotiations in regard to a sisters' foundation. First the Arch-duchess of Württemberg was to be greeted. From Vienna, Jordan sent her his "answer to her *hochderselben* petition" to

* Lüthen touches here on a case in which the Ordinariate had somehow formally promised something, but then acted according to its own opinion.

Berlin (September 16, 1899, G-2.3). Further negotiations were to be made with the president of the Women's Hospital, Sidonie Baroness of Sommaruga. The generalate itself accepted the contract in order to relieve the local superior of the responsibility (October 3, 1899, BL-359).

Mother Mary also had to do her part to get the sisters admitted in Vienna. "Filled with gratefulness" toward Jordan she chose seven particularly fit sisters, so that there would be no obstacle to early church recognition (E-683). The sisters were to lodge in the Feldgasse and dedicate themselves to "home nursing." Therefore, their signage should read: "Private Clinic." "In this way a sisters can bring immense blessing onto the houses (grandmother, mother, father and child . . .) and in the end a good death!" At present the superior should not negotiate to be given a long notice prior to terminating their contract. The archduchess was personally to exert pressure on the Ordinariate.

[For] regarding sisters' establishments the church authorities, the cardinal as well as Bishop Schneider, are positive. In addition to a clinic hospital and home nursery, a children's asylum or the like should not be excluded" (Lüthen's directives to Hauser, October 10, 1899, BL-363).

On October 11, Jordan petitioned Cardinal Gruscha to "admit the Second Order in Vienna" (G-2.3) Unfortunately, Hauser had to inform Jordan:

The cardinal gives no permission for sisters. The sisters might come as private persons. If they behave well, the cardinal might change his mind. The name causes difficulties, as the sisters must be called with the official name (sisters of the same name are already listed in the Archdiocesan Schematismus). (November 11, 1899).*

* By 1894, Jordan had thought about introducing his sisters in Vienna. Someone he had asked to explore things reported:
It's too early for the sisters, before we ourselves [First Order] get a firm foothold. By the way, what shall they do? There are state laws to be observed everywhere. The Cross Sisters have been here for 25 years, just privately, and succeeded in creating a trade school in their own apartments. There are already sisters "of the Divine Savior" here. Consequently, also the name would have to be changed, etc. [The State Ministry of Sarajevo was responsible for introducing sisters to Bosnia and Herzegovina.] (Fr. Bonifilius Loretan to Jordan, November 15, 1894).

The last remark referred to an inquiry of Jordan, who intended to send sisters to Archbishop Josef Stadler of Sarajevo (cf., DSS XV, 282f, 302).

1.22/34. Freiburg (II). The Marian College of Freiburg numbered 6 priests, 13 scholastics and 2 brothers at that time. The great number of students demanded much from the community to procure its daily bread. Thus it is understandable that the superior, Fr. Canisius Werner, became tired of his office. When the turbulence in Drognens was added (i.e., the flight of the local superior, Fr. Damasus Louis) he asked a few days later to be released from his office. He had already been superior there for 4 years (July 31, 1899). Lüthen immediately passed the request on to Jordan, who was on a visitation journey.

Fr. Can. [Werner] wants to resign again. All right, but who fills his position? From Freiburg he could still keep an eye on Drognens. Now he might be very worn out physically. One won't be able to do without him. From Fr. Dam. [Louis] still no sign of life (August 2, 1899, BL-339).

On August 11, Werner renewed his request: saying that stepping down was a matter of conscience. When Jordan came to Freiburg, the superior unburdened himself to him. Jordan counseled patience in this difficult situation. October 15, 1899, Fr. Otto Vogt was named the new superior. Werner assured Jordan that he willingly submitted himself to him. He knew Vogt was a brave priest: "He was in fact director in Pérolles for one year" (October 16, 1899). But Werner immediately transferred to Lochau. One year earlier Vogt himself (as vicar) had judged his predecessor this way:

Fr. Can. [Werner] was a good educator and a father to his community. Kindness and love. Almost too indulgent. Taking care for recreation and holidays. Attached to the motherhouse. His defects: Very moody, hesitating and undecided, unforgiving, hard headed.

1.23/35. Drognens. Jordan had hardly returned to Vienna from northern Bohemia when a letter from his vicar general reached him saying:

Fr. Dam. [Damasus Louis] left without leaving an address (probably to Fraulautern). He wanted to stay until Python would call him. Python will write to you (according to a conversation with Fr. Can. [Werner]) that he didn't want him any longer, because in Drognens he had incurred 26,000 frs. in debts. Python suspected he would leave (August 1, 1899, BL-338).

Fr. Damasus Louis had been a late vocation; after his ordination he worked in Freiburg for a short time, and as a 29 year-old he was named by Jordan to serve as director of Drognens. Above all with the

help of the Brothers he quickly succeeded in transforming the neglected youth institute into a healthy youth home. Louis started the tasks entrusted to him with diligence and ambition. Unfortunately, he didn't always succeed in securing peace and unity in the religious house. He often caused friction through "his irascible and rough behavior. The heart runs ahead of the mind" (judgment of a confrere, July 13, 1895). The truth of this judgment is proved by his correspondence with Lüthen. The latter had defended a directive of Jordan's: "he had the right to order something which went further than 'God's commandments and morals'." Lüthen intended to say: what is prescribed to all Christians was not identical with what is required in religious directives. However, Jordan insisted on obedience in conscience toward the superior in external matters as well as toward the confessor in internal matters (cf., DSS XV).

Louis misinterpreted this opinion and replied: "Such a position is not only ridiculous, but directly shameless and wicked, placing your-self as absolute ruler above God's commandments and moral law" (letter to Lüthen, May 17, 1897). Several times Jordan had to intervene for the sake of confreres and sisters, even once through the Visitor. Louis summed up his bad experience in the same letter quoted above: "Until now, since I have been here, I have experienced only contradiction and rejection from Rome."

Jordan wanted to replace Louis sooner or later. But there was only one person ready to take his place: Fr. Chrysologus Raich. He was "ready to go to Drognens, because the conditions are so bad. Drognens might yield 10,000 yearly (according to Fr. B. [Lüthen]). Nevertheless, Fr. Dam. had 15,000 frs. in debt." Raich proposed a general commissar for Drognens (to Jordan, March 3, 1898). Unfortunately, Raich was a general consultor at that time and superior in Meran, and consequently not available. Regarding the debts, the creditors threatened bringing in a marshal to certify that Louis had no regular bookkeeping. He could only show his bills (1899). Not only Jordan, but also Python felt the development in Drognens was in jeopardy. He contacted the superior in Friburg to discuss the relevant finances, and Python presented the long overdue draft contract for the Colony (Werner to Jordan, January 23, 1899). When Jordan demanded the annual report of 1898 for Fr. Antonio, Louis answered that the annual report was in Python's hand for examination. "In regard to the contract, Rome wanted to undertake steps; but nothing had happened until now" (March 21, 1899). On April 14, 1899, Jordan sent one general consultor, Fr. Gregory Gasser

as “delegate of the superior general” to Drognens. There Louis defended his position:

I Inform you that before I can leave here I must first speak with Mr. Python; things are so complicated that I am obliged *sub gravi* to regulate the matter personally with Mr. Staatsrat [Python], whatever may happen by Thursday (to Jordan, April 21, 1899).

On the same day the local vicar, Fr. Michael Höss wrote to Jordan: “As Mr. Python has no difficulties with the decision of the Venerable Father, Fr. Dam. will depart in the next days.” Jordan considered sending Fr. Bonf. [Bonfilius Lorentan] as superior—a French-speaking Swiss confrere (April 21, 1899). But the “next days” became several months. Höss complained once more about the stubbornness of the superior, Louis “to manage independently,” expressly underlining this accusation (to Jordan, May 5, 1899). Jordan warned the already released superior in a fatherly way (May 13, 1899). Louis replied: “I must express my surprise, as I am not aware of the things. . . . I am charged with” (May 19, 1899).

The superior of Freiburg, Werner, passed on his experience to Jordan: “Fr. Dam. did whatever he could to remain at his post. He also told me Rome had no one comparable for this post. So he felt rather secure.” He again proposed Loretan as vicar and procurator (May 26, 1899).^{*} On August 1, Lüthen received another letter from Werner:

Fr. Mich. [Höss] and I have been with Python. Fr. Dam. has (without an address) departed to Germany with his papers. Python doesn’t want him back. He himself . . . will write to him. Thus you have to figure, Fr. Dam. has left. Who will be director now? This is the question which should already have been answered long ago. Rome knew that! Python will also write to Venerable Father in Vienna. Debts about 26,000 frs! The creditors are quite hostile towards him. . . . Who then has the cour-age to continue working with 90 centimes (this is what Fr. D. has left)? Fr. Conrad [Hansknecht]! Well, he may do it. I admire him. It is most urgent to act. NB: Mr. Python thinks Fr. Louis will leave (July 29, 1899).

^{*} When the superior of Vienna at that time asked in Rome whether some of his confreres might take a holiday in Drognens, Lüthen hurriedly nixed the idea: “To Drognens it is not possible, Python doesn’t want so many priests there (liberal newspapers were critical *de quantitate Patrum*” (July 7, 1899, BL-329). He discretely didn’t directly mention the difficulties in Drognens itself.

At that time Lüthen communicated his ideas to Jordan in Vienna.

Fr. Dam. cannot return to Drogens. But where to go? It seems to me, if Python doesn't want him any more, he will probably not return to Drogens, because it isn't easy to find a bishop. For the rest, one would have to wait, because one doesn't know anything for certain. In the meantime, I have written to Fr. Can. [Werner]. He might care for the Colony. (Fr. Greg. [Gasser?] excuses the great debts, saying they were building debts to be paid by Python) (August 1, 1899).

On August 27, Höss was named interim director of the Colony. Before that Louis had written from home, he wanted "to give his successor all necessary hints. The canton is administered strangely and only wants to make money off religious" (August 19, 1899).

Louis was looking for a pastoral post in Germany. Jordan received a note from Python that Louis had left debts of 40,000 frs. The Founder defended his former director of the Colony against Python. Louis had justified himself. He, Jordan, had to excuse him "somehow" to Python (September 15, 1900). Still on September 28, 1900, Louis reported to Jordan from Sigolsheim what he had accomplished: smithy, joinery, partial tailor shop, shoemaking, butchery, farm and bakery, kitchen installed, bought material for the school and other things without Python repay the expenses. "After the fire (April 26, 1897) everything was lost. The money had to be used for essentials. Drogens is now in a good situation as Mr. Python knows well" (September 28, 1900).

The next day Louis sent Jordan congratulations for his namesday and added a postscript: "for chapel purchases 5-7,000 frs (high altar, etc.)" (September 29, 1900). Already on August 9, 1900, Louis' successor asked Jordan to come soon to negotiate several items with Python.

The debts are almost completely paid and the rest is regulated. Now we could demand a stipend. It has been almost 5 years without anything fixed. . . . Also the number of children is growing from day to day, so that some capable Brothers would be quite necessary here.*

On May 14, *Der Missionär* had published a report about the "Correction and Education Institute St. Nikolaus in Drogens (45

* Still in January 1902, Python got excited at Louis for having built a water conduit which he felt had been a pure waste (January 20, G-35).

pupils, 20 German and 25 *welschen* Swiss" (MI 9, 1899). On July 9, shortly before the crisis, it reported about Drognens: "The Salvatorian priests have taken over its direction and are working systematically (20 French and 12 German [-speaking] pupils, 18 in the ongoing school, apprentices)" MI 13, 1899).

Both superiors, the one in Freiburg the other in Drognens, had worked whole-heartedly for the development of the Society. The superior of Drognens became a victim of his character and thus a proof to Jordan that a religious struggling for his personal sanctification gets overwhelmed by the apostolate and thrown off the track.

The sisters also met with difficulties in feeling at home in Drognens. On March 23, 1896, the men's superior wrote, "Sr. A. [sisters' superior] wants to borrow money and travel to Rome with other sisters." The discontent sister was called back to Rome. "It didn't go well with her. The young Sr. Gebh. was installed as superior" (MMChr, March 27, 1896). Already on July 17, 1897, the new superior fell victim to her own apostolic involvement. In May 1899, Sr. M. traveled from Drognens to Rome on her own. "She had absolutely to talk with the Venerable Father and with me. But after a few days she traveled bravely back" (MMChr, May 12, 1899). Because of her, two other sisters left there for Rome and wanted to be transferred. In the fall we again find the "brave" Sr. M. in Torri (from December 2, 1899 to January 6, 1900, briefly in Rome) as a governess (MM Chr). Now the new sisters' superior of Drognens couldn't acclimate. She talked more with the workers than with the men's superior. She was rude towards guests and her sisters, or so the new men's superior complained to Jordan (January 2, 1900).

1.24/36. Meran/Obermais superior Raich (since May 24, 1898) and fund raising general consultor (since early 1896), won great praise in those years by keeping the Society expanding from Rome, financially above water. Being Tyrolese, he understood how to use his acquaintance with the local *Landeshauptmann*, the Count of Brandis and his spouse Theresia, who ceded their Fahlburg Castle to him for the sick confreres in Rome. He was equally successful with Baroness Lydia von Hoffmann, who put her Roman Villa Celimontana at the disposal of the Society. In the same way he had good relations with influential, mostly aristocratic celebri-ties: Count of Padenegg in Vienna and in Budapest, Count Zichy, leader of the Catholic people's party in Hungary, and Countess Szápáry. Thus, it was more

important for Jordan to know Raich was on useful journeys than to have him sitting in Rome as general consultor. In Meran he also laid the foundations for a "study college for sick confreres" very cleverly and zealously.

At the beginning of the year the takeover of a boys' institute, Stadelhof, was being discussed. Jordan received a copy of Raich's petition to the Emperor. The Founder's love of truth would have liked to make two changes: "Although I am grateful toward the Emperor, this however was not the motive for taking over Stadelhof." As the purpose of the Meran community, Raich had indicated training brothers for Stadelhof." Jordan would have inserted "among others," "because it was not exclusively a seminary for brothers for the Stadelhof." But by then the petition had already been submitted. Jordan advised Raich in future, "to ask at least the vicar in more important matters and to let him read the draft as I myself do" (January 16, 1899, A-233). In regard to the contract for the takeover of the Stadelhof institute, Lüthen admonished him not to accept conditions which did not take into consideration the character of the Society. "At the end Fr. Antonio, too, will see it all before it is definitive" (January 28, 1899, BL-278). Raich knew about the necessity of his special apostolate. He confessed: "It costs me sometimes an heroic effort to beg directly. For I am quite fearful that I might cause damage to the Society by doing so" (Vienna, March 3, 1898). Jordan gave him repeatedly proofs of his trust: "I am pleased that you are helping to bear the cross" (May 7, 1899, A-237).

Already in February 1899, Raich had to set out; he complained, "for 6 years now weak nerves from mental stress" (to Dr. Mazegger, February 17, 1899). So he now asked whether he should remain as superior in Meran or return to his post as general consultor. Jordan and Lüthen agreed that he should stay in Meran, but the question remained, "Fr. Antonio??" (Rome, February 17, 1899, BL-287).

By then Raich was asked to think about the summer holidays for the ailing confreres in Meran (February 1899, BL-290). One priest had to be trained by Pastor Kneipp to tend to the sick, and rotated between Freiburg and Meran. He was allowed to try to treat serious cases with "the cure" in Wörishofen or in Matran near Freiburg. Obermais (and the Fahlburg) was to Jordan practically a TB sanatorium for who needed special care. "Consumptives are often impatient, symptoms of illness! A cross to their surroundings! Full of wild hopes" (Lüthen to Raich, February 23, 1899, BL-289).

The greatly preoccupied superior was quite late with his financial report: "There is still missing the report for Fr. Antonio *de statu finanziario*: it is very urgent. Please" (Lüthen, April 17, 1899, BL-310).

At that time, Jordan was also thinking about starting a novitiate in Meran. "It doesn't seem to us a good thing, with so much loss and other disagreeable consequences (departures) to let them all come here," i.e., to Rome (May 7, 1899, BL-316). At the end of May, Jordan suddenly had to send Raich away for recovery (May 28, 1899, BL-322). At the same time Fr. Antonio urged Jordan to fully staff the general consulta. So Lüthen wrote to Raich,

The [ecclesiastical] authority maintains that the status of the general consulta is not flexible. Someone else must be elected in place of Fr. Phil. [Philippus Schütz], and you [Raich] will have to stay in residence [in Rome]; the latter will not be easy because of your recovery. Venerable Father would like you to remain general consultor and as such fulfill your functions in Rome.

On the other hand, the Tyrolese community could not be abandoned. Raich was to decide.

Thus, if you want the beautiful land of Tyrol, you have to renounce your "beautiful" post and title [of general consultor]. Resigning! This seems to be your fate. First the post of magister and now the general consultor. Here a weak mind could faint! But, all joking aside. You may be convinced that the Venerable Father as well as myself would like you to be here! You can believe me about that! (June 3, 1899, BL-324).

On June 13, the superior of Obermais resigned as general consultor for health reasons (letter from Vollam near Lana), and "as your and Fr. Philipp's [Schütz] replacements we have elected Fr. Barnabas [Borchert] and Fr. Gregorius [Gasser]" (June 29, 1899, BL-326).*

On July 12, 1899, Raich was staying in Altmünster on the Traunsee to convalesce and at the same time to negotiate with

* The superior was in the summer replaced by Fr. Christopher Becker who immediately after his ordination (1898) had been transferred to Meran. Becker wrote in the annual report:

Obermais, December 24, 1899, Dear Venerable Father! Reverend Father superior [Raich] almost always suffering, and so I had usually to do his work too. During the 3 months of his absence from here through the summer I consequently had also the "enviable" joy to govern quite alone, but after his return I had to go the usual way of all temporal things and willy-nilly to hand the scepter back again.

Countess Testitits about the foundation at Bogath. Jordan wanted him personally to travel to Hungary to finalize everything for the sisters (July 18, 1899, BL-331). On August 4, Raich wrote from Vienna that he would like to meet with Jordan about this (A-244). As Raich was still suffering from the consequences of a sunstroke (July 28, 1899, BL-336; August 7, BL-341) he proposed that Jordan himself should travel to Hungary. As a route he would recommend Steinamanger, Bogath, Szesceny, Raba, Hidneg, Mu-raszombat (August 6, 1899). Jordan, however, could not fit the journey to Hungary into his plans and asked Mother Mary to substitute for him.

Beginning in September, Raich rededicated himself as well as he could to the internal and external development of the Meran scholasticate. At that time Jordan asked anxiously about his health. He consoled him: "There will be several crosses to carry; bear them with patience. *Ite et ascendite omnes!* Oh, that all may become fiery apostles!" (September 18, 1899, A-253). Lüthen also appreciated that the superior of Meran had engaged himself so self-sacrificingly and successfully for the Society.

May God reward you for all you have already done and suffered for the Society; I acknowledge it with sincere heart, because it [the Society] has to thank you so much. Greetings and blessings from the Venerable Father (October 14, 1899, BL-364).

1.25/41. Tivoli remained a psychic burden to Mother Mary. The wound of the typhus year 1894 never healed. Each case of illness in the novitiate meant looming danger.

Now there are 8 sisters in Tivoli. One died of pneumonia; now in August one of typhus: Sr. Dorothea. The house in Tivoli has been changed 3 times already, because the malaise was attributed to the house (August 26, 1899, E-686).*

The novice succumbed too quickly to the illness. "Oh, Great cross - today she died of typhus!!!" (MMChr).

Mother Mary was captured by deepest compassion for the young sister. Even more than in 1894, she now felt, "as if it were a piece of me." In her inner turmoil she tallied a death list of Tivoli comparing it with the deaths in Rome and sent it to Lüthen. In her

* In January, the men's superior in Tivoli inspected the lodgings to be eventually rented. Lüthen had asked him to do this so that no favorable offer to the sisters might be overlooked. The superior communicated the result to Jordan on February 1, 1899.

grief about the loss of sisters she overlooked in her list, however, that until the summer of 1894, there existed only the sisters' motherhouse in Tivoli, and that the sisters who died in the following years were not to be limited by comparing the two houses. But she bluntly complained against Tivoli:

With sadness in the heart, an improvement can now be expected, but only with sacrifices [the professed sisters remained in Tivoli for the time being] . . . and there were always sick ones there: rheumatism, fever, lung sufferings. . . . Sick ones came to Rome from Tivoli. . . . Here [Rome] the sisters are always healthy (August 28, 1899, E-686).

Lüthen could well understand the secret outcry of a sorely tried soul, but not the request: "With sadness in the heart an improvement can now be expected." He was certainly not guilty of the painful happenings. On the contrary, he had always been the driving force for better lodgings and good food. The place itself was at that time considered to be a health resort in comparison with Rome threatened by the *paludi pontini*. If guilt were to be divided, Mother Mary could not justly exclude herself. But neither Jordan nor Lüthen asked about guilt; they helped Mother Mary as much as they could to endure under the cross to the end.

Mother Mary's letter of complaint was one reason for Lüthen to examine his conscience. In addition, he requested the opinion of the former sister superior of Tivoli (1895/6). She judged the climate no worse than Rome: for lung patients Tivoli was better in summer, while Rome was to be preferred in winter. Her experience was:

. . . those sisters who were healthy in Rome were also healthy in Tivoli, and those who had been ill in Rome, were so in Tivoli: with the exception of the Roman Fever which stopped with the change of air in Tivoli.

She added a list of deceased sisters all of whom she had known personally. Since the foundation of the Second Order, 8 sisters had died of TB in Tivoli, in Rome 6 sisters. In summer 1894, 7 sisters died of typhus, and later one more. In Rome still another sister died of dysentery. "It should also be noted that sisters who were sent to Rome from Tivoli with sick lungs died, and vice versa." (Assam, Drogna and Esmeralda each lost one sister to death, August 30, 1899, E-825). When in late fall another sister in Tivoli fell gravely ill, there was at once the highest alert.

Sr. Angela had been given up by the physicians in Tivoli, unless she went at once to Rome –so I took her . . . to the hospital in Lateran– on the advice of the physicians and of Fr. Bonaventure– where she is very well cared for. . . . It is not so bad–probably soon healed (MMChr).

Lüthen himself immediately informed Jordan, who was staying at his “home” Freiburg i. Br: “In Tivoli, Sr. Angela is ill– likely to die. There-fore, we have taken her immediately to Rome, as turmoil is to be feared if another one would die so soon in Tivoli (November 27, 1899, BL-377).

1.26/42. Hungary Visitation. Jordan had asked Mother Mary to visit personally the sisters’ establishments in Hungary. On September 14, 1899, the Mother General began her journey. Her route was first through the Simplon to Drogens. At the “first foundation in dear Switzerland” she took some holidays. For Jordan’s namesday her only wish was:

I hope always to remain a true, good spiritual daughter of my dear spiritual Father and Founder, for a true child prays, helps, works, suffers willingly for those who helped her to live, and God hears a thankful child (Drogens, September 23, 1899, E-687).

From there the journey continued through the Gotthard Pass to Venice, where she took ship to Fiume, became sea sick, and had an accident. From Fiume she went by rail to Budapest where she was also received by the cardinal, and then on to Muraszombat. From Budapest, Mother Mary wrote to the sisters in Via Lungara what she had suffered at sea. One of the good sisters at once turned to Jordan: he should order Mother Mary never again to go to sea, . . . her health and her life cannot be compared to what she intended to save. Today she wrote that she had been in fear of death. There is al-most nothing else one might expect from her vomiting, which she gets at the least provocation (October 1, 1899, D-483).

Jordan immediately asked Mother Mary to take more care of her health and not to economize too much (October 2, 1899, D-481).

Lüthen too wrote to her quite concerned:

You must never again travel by ship, but you shall return by train. . . Try to organize everything so that you have some recreation at the same time, although you might return later, and organize it all so that your health may not suffer any damage and that you will

return to the Eternal City with strengthened health. Commending you to the protection of the holy angels, yours very truly, Fr. Bonaventure (October 2, 1899, ASDS).

On October 11, Mother Mary was in Vienna. Together with the men's superior of Vienna X, she negotiated the contract to take over Theresien Hospital with Baroness Sommaruga. On November 16, she traveled back to Rome. She stopped in Padua and Bologna and stayed in Torri for 3 days. In Rome she discussed everything with Jordan and signed the contract on October 28. On November 26, the 7 sisters traveled to "Feldgasse, District VIII" to take over the women's hospital. "There were 3 wards to be taken care of for about 30 patients."

On November 9, 1899, two sisters traveled to Uniontown, WA, USA. Before their departure Cardinal Parocchi had received them together with Mother Mary. He was just about to hand over his office to his successor and excused himself: "I have done too little for you; Em. Cardinal Jacobini, my successor will do much more" (MMChr). By February 1, 1900, Cardinal Jacobini was dead.

There was sufficient space now in Via Lungara. On December 8, 34 sisters renewed their vows there (An 1899; January 10, 1900).

1.27/43. Milwaukee. About the sisters in Assam and USA, Mother Mary left no notes that year, although disturbances were not lacking in either place. In Milwaukee after the arrival of the 4 new sisters in early April there were the usual difficulties of adjusting. One was pointedly refused by the sister superior, who had Archbishop Katzer transfer her to St. Nazianz in mid May.*

One letter from Jordan in to the community in Milwaukee written in mid June survives, throwing some light on the local situation:

Beloved Sisters in Christ!

* The archbishop had inquired beforehand in Rome what was wrong with the 3 sisters, as their superior was not content with two of them. Lüthen explained: "After consultations, Mother Mary and her assistants declared these sisters fit. As Sr. Raphaela holds Sr. G. is not fit, Your Archbishop Grace may kindly send her to St. Nazianz. Sr. A, is up to her work (formerly, however, she did give cause for complaint)" (April 9, 1899, BL-308; cf, DSS XV; DSS XVI 1.35).

Calm yourselves and be true children of the Society. My innermost wish is that all may soon again live in full harmony in the entire Society. Hold firmly together all of you, and take into consideration that in passing information misunderstandings can easily happen. You will see that this storm, which is equally bitter to your spiritual Father will pass. Let us try with all our strength to restore peace. Do not lose courage, and be convinced that you have here a benevolent, concerned father. What joy and solace when all sisters live together in full harmony! There will always be something to be tolerated from one another. Let us bear one another's burden. I shall not rest until I know you all are happy in the Lord. Fatherly greetings and blessing to you and to all sisters from your benevolent spiritual Father,

Fr. Francis of the Cross (June 16, 1899, A SDS).

In October 1899, the enterprising superior of the "Sisters of the Divine Savior, St. Mary's Convent" sent a long letter to "My dear Venerable Mother General" in which she explained her plans. She intends to buy a building plot of about 300 ft and to erect a new building with room for sisters' lodgings, a small nursery for the sick, and an operating room for a training school for nurses. The cost would be about \$15,000. The arch-bishop will permit a collection, which will certainly bring in \$4,000 to \$5,000. The current lodgings are too confining and unhealthy. Training sisters on the spot is necessary since their Roman training is quite insufficient. Sr. Raphaela Bohnheim intended to lay the foundations in fall and urgently asked for permission from Jordan and Mother Mary (October 15, 1899, E-826).*

One of the two general consultors noted: "Too early." Raphaela disagreed: "Venerable Father is much mistaken if he intends to introduce the Reverend Fathers, that is, the First Order, before the sisters." Mother Mary was inwardly opposed: "Please, think it over well. I shall admit ([I] take no pleasure in Milwaukee)." Her opinion is the same as the general consultor's: "After all she [Sr. Raphaela] will not submit to any priest of the First Order."

* At the end of the petition Sr. Raphaela relates a small incident: Very many ex-nuns come here asking to be received, thus a short time ago also an 'ex-Jordanist' came. When she saw our picture of Venerable Father (almost 1 m high) she asked who he was. When I said: our Venerable Father and Founder Jordan, she cried out: "Oh, but this is our Founder!" She was with the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother!

Jordan, of course, turned immediately to Archbishop Katzer (November 16, 1899). The latter gave his opinion in an 8-page letter: "A proper house for the sisters is quite necessary. They have indeed an extremely severe, self-sacrificing life," which they cannot endure in their present lodgings. Sr. Raphaela's plan is fitting and financially presents no danger. Whether a candidature and novitiate for the sisters shall be in Milwaukee or St. Nazianz, is to be determined by Jordan. In regard to schools, Milwaukee already had too many teaching congregations, so Katzer absolutely could not give permission in this direction. The arch-bishop points out that he was giving his opinion objectively, not influenced by Sr. Raphaela. He continues:

You may have heard several things against Sr. Raphaela; during the latest disturbances I made a kind of visitation in St. Nazianz and I have communicated my view about Sr. Raphaela. Before the last sisters came from Europe I had never heard of any complaint from priests or lay people. The impression of the visitation in St. Nazianz was that there was no reproach to be made of Sr. Raphaela. All of the former sisters seem to be quite loyal to her. The complaints of the Reverend Dean seem to be based on misunderstandings and false accusations. Sr. Raphaela seems to me quite a good superior who also understands the internal situations and knows to insert herself into them. During my visitation I heard that she was under suspicion, accused of wanting to make herself independent from Rome. But this is nonsense; for if she had this thought, I am here too; I don't want such a congregation. And now I will speak even more clearly. I was told that you, the superior general, planned to see whether you couldn't first settle the priests in Milwaukee. This was why you wanted construction in Milwaukee to remain suspended.

The archbishop then explained that already two parishes in Milwaukee were administered by religious, which upset the local clergy. He could only offer Jordan something which the diocesan clergy as well as the religious had despised, and which would also surpass Jordan's resources (December 3, 1899).

Jordan immediately sent a telegram to the archbishop: "Selection of place left to you; our [men's] foundation doubtful" (January 7, 1900, A-265). He hoped the archbishop would prevent any financial risk if he gave Sr. Raphaela permission to buy a plot and to start building.

1.28/44. Assam (II). 1899 was for the mission in Assam a year of quiet and circumspect development. In spite of the many ordinations, no missionaries were sent out because the young priests did not feel up to the hardships of this apostolate. So again this year the missionaries remained without the hoped for reinforcements. On the contrary, the mission lost one of its bravest missionaries, Fr. Johannes Gruchot, who had filled the void left by the sudden death of Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller in 1890, but after 8 years of exhausting activity fell victim to his missionary apostolate. He died on December 1, 1898, only 38 years old. In the middle of 1899, Br. Joseph Bächle left. He was a cooperator of the first hour. In the course of the years he grew increasingly affected by the lonely life of a mission brother. At that time Lüthen complained: "Why does the brotherhood in our Society not flourish!" (July 2, 1899).

In regard to material support coming through the Society's mission procura, the Apostolic Administrator was not fully satisfied. He asked the Prefect of the Propaganda for permission to found a separate association of benefactors for the mission. This Cardinal Ledóchowski willingly granted (March 10, 1899, A MA).

Fr. Angelus Münzloher himself began to publish a series of articles in *Der Missionär* about "the Mission of Assam and its history" (MI 5, March 13, 3ff). He also took over the administration of mission finances, which until then had been kept by Fr. Pius Steinherr. He asked Jordan to ask the pope personally for an extra donation (May 19, 1899).

Münzloher maintained good relations with his neighbors. It was a certain consolation to him that Bishop Pozzi of Krishnagar complained to him about the influence of Protestants, whose well-organized schools provided an ongoing incentive for his Catholics to apostasy. At the same time, Pozzi also informed him about the serious illness of Archbishop Goethals (May 26, 1899, A MA). July 6th was a day of joy in the mission: in Bondashill the new church was inaugurated (MI 17, September 10).

On June 15, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Ladislaus Zaleski, visited Jordan in the motherhouse. On October 19, Jordan had logged the visit. "He praised the mission in Assam" (An. 99). Before his return voyage, the Apostolic Delegate had a more than one-hour meeting with Jordan, who recorded it as follows:

Assam was one of the most important missions in India; quite well disposed; wants to come and see me once more before his departure. Extending the mission shall be gradual, not direct, where still no Catholic priests were residing. Up to 20 years would

be needed for the good development of the mission, one should be patient and not want too much success, etc. Accompanied me to the entrance door; encouraged me to make a journey to India (October 26, G-2.3; on October 19 Jordan had noted down a visit to the motherhouse of Cardinal Zaleski).

Jordan thanked the Lord that, in contrast to 5 years earlier, the Apostolic Delegate had made an about face in his position on the Assam Mission.

Later the mission superior had his difficulties with overly independent confreres. One complained about him to Rome, another directly to his Christians. Even the sisters worried Münzloher, especially by their noticeable need to attach themselves to this or that priest.

The sisters' superior acted especially deplorably. When Jordan refused her request to be allowed to travel home for recovery, suggesting that she should seek recovery in healthy Shillong or else in the Khasi Hills, this was enough reason for her to press for earliest possible release from her vows (March 16, 1899, D-471). In summer she had to be forbidden contact with the out stations by the vicar general, and it was made clear to her that in mission matters the Apostolic Prefect was responsible, and not the missionary stationed in Shillong, Fr. Ignatius Bethan, who liked to bind the sisters to himself and to exclude Münzloher as far as possible (August 14, 1899, BL-343).

Jordan endeavored to intervene with mild firmness. But having to rely on letters often gravely retarded necessary solutions. The mission superior, however, always needed the support of higher authority to assert himself toward some "disobedient ones."

1.29/45. Welkenraedt. Back in 1892, Jordan had asked Bishop Doutreloux whether SDS might settle in his diocese situated so favorably between France and Germany (February 4, 1892). At that time, his petition was in vain. Now Jordan made a new attempt, since in the upcoming year so many new priests would be at his disposal. He reminded the bishop of their personal conversation of April 28, 1892, in which the prelate had given him hope for at least one foundation "at the German border" later on. Now Jordan had found such a place. In Welkenraedt he wanted to erect a study house for vocations from Germany, and for this he requested the permission of the bishop (October 11, 1899).

Already since September, one priest had been there with the task of installing a printery and a publishing house. The generalate saw the publishing house in Simbach as no longer sufficiently successful. On October 12, 1899, Jordan also asked Bishop Senestrey to secure for him a recommendation for Welkenraedt from the pope. Cardinal Rampolla showed himself favorable and promised to involve Leo XIII. On October 26, the Cardinal Secretary of State informed Jordan that the pope was pleased about the expansion of the Society. But he could not pressure a bishop with his recommendation. He was sure the bishop was a good man and ready for whatever was to the benefit of the church (G-2.3).

On November 24, 1899, Jordan traveled to Belgium to clear away on site the last obstacles for a foundation. He chose the route via Geneva, Pisa, Pavia, Milan, Lucern, Olten, Basel and made a stop in Freiburg i. Br. (November 25). There he paid a visit to the new archbishop Thomas Nörber and to his friend, Auxiliary Bishop Friedreich Julius Knecht, as well as to some well-known chapter capitulars (Behrle, Schober) and to benefactors.* November 28, he continued his journey as far as Cologne. On November 29, Jordan met with the pastor of Welkenraedt, inspected building sites and the house, and on the same day traveled on to Liège. The next day, he held discussions with the vicar general, Msgr. Hütten. Jordan used the rest of his time for visiting churches.

December 1, Jordan was received by Bishop Joseph Doutreloux, who granted all his wishes: to erect a house of studies in Welkenraedt, a novitiate, and a printery. Highly pleased, Jordan returned to Welken-raedt and declared December 10 (Feast of the Translation of the House of Loreto) as foundation day. December 2, he was already with the vicar general of Cologne, Dr. Kreuzwald, a former study companion in Campo Santo. He requested faculties in Cologne for his priests in Welkenraedt, after approval in Liège. Msgr. Kreuzwald readily granted them.

In the evening, Jordan traveled to Mainz where he visited some benefactors. The next day he went via Darmstadt and

* Thomas Nörber, born on December 19, 1846 in Waldstetten, priest since July 24, 1870, worked as pastor of Thiergarten and Baden-Baden. After the death of Archbishop Johann Christian Roos, Auxiliary Bishop Julius Knecht should have succeeded him. However, he didn't get the archducal nod and only led the diocese *ad interim*. On September 29, 1889, Nörber was consecrated as bishop of Jordan's home diocese. He died on July 27, 1920.

Aschaffenburg to Würzburg, and on December 4, via Nürnberg to Regensburg. There, too, he had a chance to visit and talk to Bishop Ignaz von Senestrey and his vicar general. He also found time to visit benefactors (December 5). That evening, Jordan traveled to Munich. The following day he was received by Archbishop Franz Joseph von Stein with whom he talked primarily about studies.* The archbishop's opinion was that studies should be oriented to the different countries; but some members should also take the degree course. In the evening Jordan went to Innsbruck to a family of benefactors. On December 7, he went via Verona and Florence. On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and 18th anniversary of the foundation of the Society, he arrived punctually in Rome in the early morning.

From Liège, Jordan had informed his vicar general in Rome about the important happenings: that the bishop had granted all his requests for Welkenraedt (candidature, novitiate, scholasticate, printery, etc.). The bishop called the Society a work of Providence. He had also given permission for a future foundation in the interior of the country, once he knew the Society well (December 1, 1899, A-260).

Already on November 30, while still waiting to be received by Bishop Doutreloux (the bishop was that day at the consecration of the bishop in Namur), he wrote to Lüthen full of hope: "It is to our regret not to have begun earlier in the west; it is probably one of the most fertile fields. If we do not succeed here, we must try somewhere else" (A-258).**

1.30/46. Sisters' annual report. In mid November 1899, Weigang was conducting retreats. How secure Mother Mary stood in her vocation,

* Franz Joseph von Stein (Amorsbach, April 4, 1832-1909, May 4, Munich) priest since August 10, 1855, was professor and rector of Würzburg University. He was installed bishop of Würzburg by the King of Bavaria on May 18, 1879, and after the latter's death he was called to Munich-Freising as Arch-bishop by hereditary Prince Leopold on February 12, 1898.

** During Jordan's journey to Belgium some ladies wanted to meet with him— ladies interested in starting a mission in Baghdad. He, however, could not take seriously this immature matter (Liège, November 30, 1899, A-258).

but also what difficulties plagued her, is shown by her retreat resolutions:

A superior ought to be a loving mother, a clear-sighted judge, a clever doctor (November 15).

Not to show any impatience. To keep firmly to the Reverend Fathers and always to think well of them. Rome and Vienna are good. To continue up to death, work out of love of God, to love crosses, to work more—only in heaven is rest. I will always be cheerful, calm and full of confidence—child of God, obedient (November 17).

I will always love pains, not be afraid of anything (November 20, Tacc).

On January 10, 1900, Jordan received a detailed annual report of the “Second Order of the Society of the Divine Savior” which had succeeded in establishing four new foundations in the past year. It now numbered 120 sisters but only 3 novices. In the motherhouse, priorities for formation were candidature; a teachers’ training school; training in nursing; and embroidery for churches.

Furthermore the sisters worked in,

. . . the first rate institute for neglected boys . . . in the truly difficult and sacrifice requiring missions of India . . . in North America in home nursing, as well as through education and teaching poor orphans and caring for the aged and weak, and by directing an elementary school and a hostel . . . In Torri, where their love and care for the little ones requires their activity in a children’s asylum and for the poor in private homes . . . in Campobello. . . In Budapest 3 sisters are dedicating themselves to about 100 children by instructing them in needle work, etc., furthermore they care for the much neglected slum children.

In Muraszombat they practice charitable work to children and also to the poor. Finally, in Austria [Vienna], 7 sisters practice works of charity to patients in the Maria-Theresia Women’s Hospital.

Thus the All-benevolent Providence has also in this past year led the Second Order, protected, blessed and enriched with many graces for the interior and external life (E-688; cf., An IV 1899).

1.31/48. The Jubilee Year brought many visiting pilgrims to Rome. *Der Missionär* reported already in August that about 500 pilgrims had been provided for in the motherhouse. On September 25, there were

over 40 priests as well as other guests and pilgrims in the motherhouse (September 26, 1900, A-284). Many notables used this opportunity to meet Jordan; for example, on February 7, the influential and loved Burgomaster of Vienna, Dr. Karl Lueger.* There were also meetings between Jordan and higher ecclesiastics, among them the prince-archbishop of Trient, Bishop Anzer SVD, Apostolic Vicar of Shantung, bishops Dessewffy of Casnád, Johann the Baptist Scheider of Vienna (auxiliary bishop), Koloman Belopotoczki (Austrian military bishop), Severin Morawski of Lemberg, Karl Klein of Limburg, Philipp Steiner of Stuhlweißenburg, George Posilovic of Zagreb, Paul Wilhelm von Keppeler of Rottenburg, Bishop Francesco de Rego Maia of Campos, Bishop Ignazio Zuccaro of Caltanissetta. Jordan was especially happy to welcome the archbishop of his home diocese, Thomas Nörber on May 9.

On the Feast of Mary Queen of the Apostles, the Bishop of Noto, Giovanni Blandini, celebrated ordinations in the motherhouse (May 27). June 9, was the great ordination day in the Lateran. The new Cardinal Vicar, Pietro Respighi ordained eleven SDS priests.** All together in this Jubilee Year, 47 members of the Society were ordained priests. But Jordan could engage only a small number of them. Almost all had yet to complete their theological studies.

Also in Via Lungara the year 1900 was marked above all by the Holy Year. Wherever possible, Mother Mary provided opportunities for the sisters to share in the various celebrations of the jubilee year. But the house was overcrowded by pilgrims taking advantage of the sisters' hospitality. From the notes of Mother Mary it can be seen that often aristocratic ladies, relatives and

* Dr. Karl Lueger (23 October, 1844-1910, March 10) was a leading Catholic politician. He founded the *Christlich-soziale Volkspartei* and broke the predominance of the Liberals in Vienna. At first against the will of the Emperor this popular politician was elected mayor of Vienna. He gave the city a new face economically and technically as well as socially.

** Pietro Respighi was born in Bologna, September 22, 1843. After his studies there and in Rome he was ordained in Rome on March 31, 1866. He worked as Archpriest of Ss. Gervasio and Protasio in Pieve di Budrio and from December 1891, as Bishop of Quastalla. In December 1896, he came to Ferrara as archbishop. On June 19, 1899, Leo XIII nominated him cardinal and called him to Rome as Cardinal Vicar. Respighi left Ferrara on April 19, 1900, and governed the Diocese of Rome till 1906. He died on March 22, 1913.

acquaintances of sisters, and also priests or groups from places where the sisters had foundations stopped in the motherhouse of the sisters. Thus the disruptive catering to the pilgrims often overburdened life in the "convent."

1.32/49. *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*. The centenary year also brought changes in the Salvatorian press. Starting in March 1900, *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* appeared (in 1900 as a quarterly, from 1901 on every two months) as a special service to the cooperators. One sister took the job of writing about 2,000 addresses. The title page carried a drawing of the sending out of the apostles with the scripture banner "Proclaim the Gos-pel to all creatures." On the left side there was an angel with a trumpet and the scripture banner: "The work is great, the laborers are few." In the inaugural article Jordan's Society presents itself:

The name of the Society indicates quite well its purpose and task; in fact, it wants nothing else but to continue the work of the Divine Savior according to the measure of grace which the Lord will grant it; as a tool in the hand of Providence it wants to procure for people the grace of redemption. It is not a mere Mission Society, but it does not at all exclude foreign missions. . . . In its activity it is quite universal. [Note: this sentence is space typed.] By all means which the love of Christ inspires (and this of course can inspire only holy means), it will spread the Kingdom of God, promote the veneration of Mary, save immortal souls, and do this "everywhere" [again space typed].

In a special appeal the cooperators and sponsors are addressed as; Co-Apostles of the Society: . . They are directly under the superior general and consider themselves as brothers and sisters in Christ, who pray, suffer and work united for the sublime mandate of the Society.

In a further article, the "Central House in Rome" is presented as "the heart of the Society"; it is situated near St. Peter's: "how fitting for an apostolic Order!" Proper mention is made of the 20,000 children who have joined the Angels' League.

After the publication of the *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* the *Annales* became superfluous and ceased publication at year's end, along with *Il Missionario*. The latter was to be replaced by *Bollettino Salvatoriano* in 1901, for the few Italian cooperators and friends. However, nothing remains of it but the good intention. In this way the motherhouse was unburdened at least of the former expenses of

the Italian-language magazine for cooperators. Later, leaflets in various other languages were distributed among the population.

Special care was used in shaping the *Apostel-Kalender*. It became the family friend in many Catholic homes. *Der Missionär* appeared from 1900 onwards only monthly, but double the size.

The brochure wherein the Society presented itself as a “contem-plate active order” appeared in its 13th edition. But now the Third Order was omitted. This had “died out” a long time ago after failing to interest the clergy. Jordan willingly ceded the place to the Third Order of St. Francis, to which he had always been inclined.

1.33/51. Sisters’ visitation in Milwaukee. The superior in Milwaukee, Sr. Raphaela Bohnheim, also gave further cause for mistrust. But with the support of Archbishop Katzer, she continued her building project.

On May 27, in Milwaukee the foundation stone was laid for a new convent because the sisters could not remain in the old house. (In the foundation stone was inscribed the name of the Venerable Father and mine also). Venerable Father and I were against this at first (MMChr).

Jordan found it fitting to send a sister to the USA as visitator and to let her stay there for some time as a kind of commissar. Thus he hoped to find a solution for Milwaukee. He informed Archbishop Katzer that he was thinking of a visitator in Milwaukee, completely separate from the men’s superior at St. Nazianz, Fr. Epiphanius Deible, who was again advised not to meddle in the sisters’ affairs (October 17). Sr. Raphaela was also informed: “I have forbidden Fr. Ephiphanius to meddle with you and Milwaukee; sister is coming to regulate the question of the novitiate. Fr. Ephiphanius has no faculties” (October 26).

For this delicate task Mother Mary appointed Sr. Clara, the capable prefect of the teachers’ training school. She had been assistant to Mother Mary since November 22, 1896, and as such her right hand. Having seen the young sister through a difficult training, Mother Mary now all the more trusted Sr. Clara to represent her well in the USA.

Jordan gave the Sister Commissar in writing his “Directives for the General Visitation” (November 19). By December 14, 1900, Sr. Clara had really “begun her office” in Milwaukee (MMChr). The superior in the Northwest, Fr. Severin Jurek, was also informed that a sisters had been named as visitator for the sisters in Uniontown, WA.

On this occasion Jordan asked him once more to intervene with the bishop to indicate a place for a Salvatorian boarding school (October 26, 1900).*

1.34/52. Deaths among the sisters. The sisters' community was sorely afflicted by deaths in the centenary year. On April 20, Sr. Verena died in Via Lungara. "Ten days before she had been declared free of fever and she could get up. Two days later her legs began to swell and death approached with quick steps" (MMChr). In summer no fewer than 7 sisters were called home by the Lord in short intervals.

"On June 28, Sr. Superior Wyborada died in Campobello . . . venerated as a saint. On June 30, Sr Angela died at her home." By November 28, 1899, she was taken from Tivoli to the Lateran Hospital. "It is not so bad—probably healthy again soon." There she renewed her vows for another year. On May 5, she traveled "home again for a short time" (MMChr).

The news of the two sisters who died in Assam on July 30 and August 21 reached Rome only in mid November. On September 24, the sisters' superior in Drognens died, and on October 24, a sisters in Rome—both of tuberculosis. In early July, a sister in Tivoli fell ill; as there was suspicion of typhus, she was at once taken to Rome for better care. She recovered quickly, and on August 5 was "quite out of mortal danger." Mother Mary had postponed her summer visitation trips until she had no more fear for the sick sister.

Unfortunately, there were other difficulties in the communities of the sisters as well as in those of the men. Mother Mary made every effort to promote the peaceful unity necessary for fruitful activity. The small community in Torri displeased her and Jordan greatly. By changing personnel Mother Mary hoped: "Now peace may come" (January 20, 1900). While she was staying in Hungary, the sisters superior there fled into her Swiss homeland

* Sr. Clara was Swiss who Mother Mary tended greatly to favor. "But youth and a quick temper were still much in her" (June 5, 1895, E-651). When Mother Mary withdrew her favor which had "some-what coddled and spoiled" Sr. Clara, and when she even reversed that favor by sharply criticizing her, the assistant became quite discouraged and opened her heart to Jordan (June 20, 1897, D-463). When Bishop Maia de Rego on July 11, 1899, requested sisters for his Diocese of Campos, she presented herself immediately to Venerable Father "because she had prayed for this mission field for years" (July 12, 1899, D-481).

(August 29, 1900). During a visit at the end of the year, Mother Mary could state with relief: "Found it all better there" (December 29, 1900).

Also the sisters superior in Muraszombat had compromised herself. Lüthen had written "about it long before. But all in vain. Retiring from office seems to be the only solution!" (May 25, 1900, BL-419). On June 8, 1900, the good sister returned to Rome, because "the burden of the office of superior had become too heavy for her," as Mother Mary noted lovingly and indulgently (MMChr).

1.35/53. Tivoli (II). Already in March some unrest had arisen among the sisters in Tivoli because the "sunnier" house rented the year before was not so healthy. Mother Mary visited the sisters on March 19, and noted: "All well" (MMChr). But by March 26, 1900, the former 2nd superior in Tivoli had to re-examine her opinion of Mother Mary's report of August 28, 1899 (E-686), which she had presented to Lüthen on August 30 (E-825). Above all the vicar general wanted to know of what illness the individual sisters had suffered and what she knew about the pre-history of the cases of illness. Significant exoneration resulted for Tivoli. The second review, which Lüthen made in his conscientiousness, referred to the food in Tivoli and Rome. According to the opinion of the sister superior at that time, the food before the great epidemic "had been too little, not of quality, and after the illness . . . good care was taken in regard to food and health of the sisters" (E-829). At the same time the vicar general ordered the priest in contact with the office of health for Villa Lavaggi to explore once more why and how far Tivoli, and in particular the house of the sisters, were unhealthy. In the meantime, it had become known that at an earlier time another family had fallen ill of typhus in that same house.

On April 1, however, the lease was to be renewed. Fr. E. [Eras-mus Jungbauer?] had queried beforehand the 5 town physicians as well as two other sisters' communities in Tivoli dedicated to caring for the sick. The family doctor found the lodgings of the sisters not good because they were damp and cases of typhus had occurred there. The nursing sister said they agreed, our sisters were lacking the necessary activity. In the opinion of the townspeople the women were feeling almost better here than the men, unless they were suffering from lung diseases. The air was quite rough and changeable. Consequently, one had to assist with enough food. Fr. E. pointed out that the lease was ending on April 1,

and that the sisters should decide themselves whether to stay or to move somewhere else (March 29, 1900; E-830).

Lüthen ordered Fr. E. to look immediately for another house. He, however, could not find a suitable one so quickly and wanted for the proprietor's sake to extend the lease for at least one more month. The sisters' superior would explain more in detail (April 2, 1900, E-831). Jordan noted below in pencil that a lawyer had lived in the house for 30 years and that since his leaving no case of typhus had occurred. Pfeiffer was also asked to look into the matter. Fr. E. wrote to him:

I answered that the house was damp and just now the family of the lawyer had fallen ill with typhus and left the house. I am not against the house because it has been well varnished and cleaned and the sisters are in good health. The lease according to Venerable Mother's express wish was first concluded for three months, now already for one year (April 13, 1900, E-831).

The sister treasurer did not consent to this solution. She strongly protested to the men's superior: the house was damp in winter. He replied that she should ask for the opinion of the family doctor and send it on to Rome. He added: "With the lawyer 3 or 4 children had been ill of typhus. There is no more danger to be feared, because [it is now] well coated with varnish" (April 18, 1900, E-833). The next day, the superior, Sr. Liboria, answered Lüthen's anxious questions,

. . . [as he] feared that the doctor, according to Italian style, will not give you an answer quickly. . . . I asked about the dampness of the house as well as about the danger of typhus. He didn't find the former important, and in regard to typhus there was no danger The house was just too small for us.

She asked the vicar general to forgive her, because it was her fault "(at least partly) that the lease had been concluded for one year." The dormitory of the novices was "with the exception of the very friendly chapel, the most agreeable room in the house. The courtyard might perhaps be the worst, especially in winter." When the weather is damp, there is of course damp air everywhere (April 19, 1900, E-835).

On the following day the family doctor handed in his opinion. To him the house was certainly not damp. But in the downtown the air is not as good as in the higher situated quarters. To avoid cases of typhus all that was required was better food, more meat and wine. Of course it was advisable to choose a house situated

higher; then the danger of contagion would be less (Dr. Eugenio Sterlich, April 20, 1900, E-835).

Fr. E. was informed by the physician that he had written to Rome. He added his judgement: "There is no danger of typhus because of dampness. So one might well stay. In the lawyer's family there were various members of the same family ill. Otherwise there was no case of typhus" (April 29, 1900, E-836). Lüthen added below:

Conditions in regard to typhus: 1. Toilets cleanliness, 2. Food: eat well. 3. Tidiness around the house. 4 Close living together.

Drinking water: 40 Lire. Food ought to be good! Dampness no influence. Air not particularly good. Everything: somewhat close.

Correspondingly, he gave the sisters' superior instructions. Sr. Liboria hurried to indicate to him what was expended for the 7 sisters for food: ½ glass of wine (the housekeeping sister does not drink wine as it does not agree with her). The wine is sent from Via Lungara but is of a poorer kind than the one used by the sisters in Rome." She does not know the reason, but thinks probably "the wine becomes more expensive by being sent here." And 2 lt. of milk daily (3 lt. on Fridays). Meat 140 grams for each sister, an egg on Fridays. The monthly expenses for each sister amount to about 16 Lire. Sr. Liboria adds her personal opinion: "I don't think that any of the sisters is discontent. Should there be any sister who would need some more, then I think I could trust myself to notice it soon and take care of it immediately." After this understandable self-defense of the sisters, the superior added something she must have felt: "Dearest Venerable Father, our filial thanks for your kind lines. Never dared to hope to receive a personal letter from you. Your devoted and thankful, Sr. Liboria SDS" (April 28, 1900, E-837).

1.36/54. Campos, Brazil. The bishop of Campos, Francesco de Rego Maia, was also this summer in Rome again seeking help. He met with Jordan on July 3 and 8, and again on August 4 and 12. He intended to open a boarding school in Campos, where four or even more priests could find work. The youth were not influenced by free masonry as were 90% of the adults in Brazil. The future lay in captivating the young. Sisters, too, would find there a rich field of activity in Campos. Jordan hoped to be able soon to draw from among the newly-ordained a group of new missionaries for Brazil. In fact, he could no longer rely on Fr. Sabbas Battistoni, "a strange man from the start, who did not harmonize with Venerable Father, petitioned for dispensation" (October 3, 1900, BL-446).

The other confreres defended themselves against Battistoni, who appropriated for himself the property of the house in Quatis. He wanted to transfer to the diocese of Rio. Already in summer of 1901, the arch-bishop of Rio had engaged him in the parish of S. Sebastiao in Rio. The bishop of Campos complained to Jordan that it could not go on like this. Fr. Nazarenus Rocchi acted like Battistoni, and the third priest was *un ragazzo* and would leave like the other two. However, all three of them were good and zealous priests, so that they would be accepted into a diocese at any time (July 22, 1901).

By fall of 1901, Jordan could redeem his promise given that summer: "In October I will send a priest to prepare for a community" (August 9, 1901). Fr. Antonio, who had been particularly inclined to Battistoni while he was in Rome, handed his *votum* in only on November 9, 1901. Battistoni was a docile priest and had done much for souls. But in Fr. Antonio's opinion he had never had a religious vocation. This was certain at least since 1896. Jordan was not against his leaving, but was very sorry about it. The archbishop of Rio made every effort to get priests (A Rel 2793/15). Battistoni found a position agreeable to him as professor at the Archepiscopal seminary in Rio along with his "companion" Fr. Nazarenus Rocchi.

1.37/55. Assam (III). The Apostolic Administrator of Assam continued to look for ways to erect the planned secondary school in Shillong, reckoning on the support of the Society. The generalate set certain conditions: that the administration remain in Shillong, that no debts be made. The motherhouse itself could give no money but only help with personnel, with propaganda in *Der Missionär*, and the resulting contributions. No one opposed Fr. Ignatius' Bethan's going to England for publicity (January 18, 1900), although he had made a begging trip in Germany two years before. In summer, Fr. Angelus Münzloher asked Jordan to urge the Propaganda to give the mission more: 7,000 frs. yearly were just too little (July 16, 1900).

Münzloher at that time had to rely on himself even more. The Apostolic Delegate was sick again. Also Archbishop Goethals informed his "suffragan" that he had to travel to Rome again for his bronchitis. Münzloher should continue fighting courageously despite great difficulties. The archbishop too, had to deplore apostates in his archdiocese.

In summer, Fr. Markus Dombrowski had to petition Propaganda directly for permission to fund raise for the Assam Mission in Germany, Austria and Hungary. Cardinal Ledóchowski

wrote to the Apostolic Administrator that he had to refuse the petition, as this was against the usual practice (August 25, 1900). Jordan, however, took care that in the future "a begging priest for the Assam Mission" was active (cf., letter of Lüthen to Münzloher, September 9, 1900). Münzloher succeeded in installing a modest printery.

The sisters' community in Assam suffered heavy losses. Two sisters were carried away by tuberculosis on July 30 and August 21, 1900.

1.38/56. Hamberg. When Jordan met Bishop Franz Josef Doppelbauer of Linz in mid-April 1899, he probably presented him his plans for transfer-ring the publishing house in Braunau and opening instead a study house near Bavaria for candidates from across the border. The bishop of Linz was not against this plan, if the Bishop of Passau, at whose front door the planned establishment was situated, would agree. Jordan sent out Fr. Elisäus Gebelseder (just 24 years-old at the time) to explore.

On July 13, 1900, the Founder himself arrived in Passau, looked around as far as necessary, and already on the following day presented his wish to the bishop of Passau. Bishop Michael von Rampf answered Jordan "kindly: I am quite favorable to your Society. But I have enough religious in my diocese" (G-2.3).*

On July 16, Gabelseder led the Founder to the Dean of Scharden-berg, in whose parish the Hamberg Estate lay—the site he had selected for the foundation. The next day Jordan knocked at the door of the Bishop of Linz. He invited the Founder to dinner and gave him permission to get a foothold in Hamberg. Gabelseder also informed Lüthen that the little house could easily be transformed into a provisional monastery (July 17, 1900). By July 9, the impetuous Founder had set Feast of the Miraculous Appearances of the Mother of God as foundation day of the new Marian College. Gabelseder offered 16,000 Marks to purchase the land (July 22, 1900). Jordan

* Michael von Rampf was born in Munich on October 4, 1825. After his ordination on August 17, 1848, he took further studies at the University of Munich. He directed the seminary in Munich-Freising from April 1855. Then for almost 16 years he was archdiocesan vicar general. May 11, 1890 he was consecrated Bishop of Passau where he worked up to his death on March 29, 1901.

added the value of the small house, valued by Gabelseder at 6,000 Marks. He corrected: "about 21,000 Marks. Once and forever!"

As the estate was near the Bavarian border and the house just 5 minutes from the border, Gabelseder asked whether one should not name it *Collegium Passaviense*, which to Jordan would almost have been dishonest. He gave Gabelseder the definite order on July 25, to purchase the Hamberg site. On August 2, Gabelseder submitted his final report. From this resulted 22,000 Marks for the purchase and 3,000 for rent and furniture. At 4% tax and with the advantage of a farm it might be free of debts in 10 to 15 years, also there was quite a lack of priests in the region. To the priest's question whether to buy at once or to rent for the time being and to buy only on April 1, 1901 (August 22, 1900) Jordan answered: "Purchase is better! Then it is fixed. Before that regulate everything (with the bishop and governor)."

On August 28, Gabelseder communicated to Rome: "The bishop has agreed. It would be better to ask the government later." September 1, 1900, Gabelseder had the final contract notarized. But the Ordinariate delayed its approval. So Jordan himself made a petition to the bishop of Linz (December 12, 1900). He sent three more priests and one brother (November 23, 1900, BL-463/4) to Hamberg. They began quite patiently furnishing the house and looking for candidates.

1.39/57. Meseritsch (II) was to be the center of activity of Salvatorians in Bohemia and Hungary. "The main purpose of the establishment is the education of candidates for the Society, something they must never lose sight of," Jordan admonished the superior (April 17, 1900, A-273). Not without reason he insisted upon this repeatedly;

. . . firm, *consequente* and full discipline and observance as far as possible; then you will see how God will bless the house. To direct and lead Slavonians they must be treated kindly, more so than some other [nationalities] (September 23, 1900, A-283).

On July 19, Jordan arrived in Meseritsch for visitation. On July 21, he consulted with the prince-archbishop of Olmütz. He noted briefly:

Quite benevolent. 1½ hour audience, recommended expressly the foundation in Hotzenplotz and said I should just write to him if anything was missing. Recommended popular missions, strict discipline and observance. Also non-Bohemians might be sent. Disguise was necessary because of the Liberals (language and

nationality). Recommended boarding and secondary schools (Piarists). Let them be paid (G-2.3).

Via Troppau, Jordan went to Hotzenplotz, where the prince-archbishop's brother was pastor. But he could not fulfill the wish of the Kohn brothers –the prince-archbishop and the pastor. He had found it “not quite suitable for the foundation” (G-2.3).

On July 24, Jordan traveled to Leobschütz. By the local Dean, a sponsor of the Society, the Founder received an offer in Schochlowice. He found the village “very well situated, fitting, rich, Catholic (good). Good communications in various directions, etc., quite fitting for the foundation” (G-2.3). That same evening he returned to Meseritsch. There he stayed two more days. By July 26, he was back in Vienna X.

One question which was still unresolved was the acceptance of poor boarding students. As it was not about religious vocations for priesthood, Jordan “declined completely to accept those who could not pay fully for their upkeep.” However, the local superior made exceptions in favor of poor students, probably at the urging of their pastors. Jordan wanted the generalate to decide on this matter. When the finance report of the first half year showed 800 fl more debts than at the beginning of the year, the vicar general requested house superior Fr. Cyril Braschke to indicate his counter proposals so that a decision could be taken: “You may be quite sure of our sincere compassion in regard to your monetary calamity” (August 7, 1900, BL-435).

Jordan used to check whether the instructions given after visitations were executed, and admonished insistently that the local language be cultivated: “It is my express wish and command that the Bohemian language be cultivated and used also as the colloquial language” (October 24, 1900, A-288).

The superior made courageous efforts to reduce the mountain of debt. At the very beginning of the year his friend, Pastor Nathan, had 2,000 Marks entered into the land register as title of support in favor of the college. But the prince-archbishop protested and the pastor had to refund his generous offer (February 8, 1900). But the superior could at least pay back the impending debts, something about which Jordan expressed his special satisfaction. This in fact raised his esteem in the eyes of the severe Fr. Antonio (October 27, 1900, A-290).

Toward the end of the year the debt burden was reduced from 25,000 fl. to 13,000 fl. after a charitable woman had

donated 12,000 fl. Jordan was equally pleased when the college dared publishing Bohemian periodicals and a *Kalender* (December 19, 1900, A-297). Unfortunately, Jordan could not send a priest ready for Bohemian pastoral work from among his numerous new priests: "Your patience is greatly tested . . . do not lose courage!" (October 27, 1900, A-290).

1.40/58. Vienna X (II) community, after causing him so much concern, was now Jordan's great hope. On visitation his main concern had been to unite the members with their superior. The latter understood how to knit good relations with outsiders, but in doing so he neglected his confreres. They suffered under his "enormous sensitivity" and his "nervous excit-ability." As the superior behaved rather critically toward the Founder, Lüthen had to intervene repeatedly. He always tried to do so with winning frankness:

I have already written it all to you quite frankly, but I have had to suffer for it up to this hour . . . I humbled myself afterwards in regard to the style of my writing. But until now you have not forgotten it. You ought also to be ready to accept an order! This is the way you win over sub-ordinates. This is the way you prevent the endless writing to us! . . . You ought to be in accord with your vicar . . . you must try to win him, make allowances for him, even invite him to speak out, put confidence in him (he feels this very much, if you do not do it!) (September 12, 1900, BL-442).

The community was hit hard by losing the much appreciated Fr. Gregory Gasser, who had been elected general consultor in June 1899. Gasser felt out of place as general consultor. He longed to be back at pastoral work in Vienna X. The local vicar, Fr. Bartholomaeus Königsöhr dared to approach Jordan, telling him how in the cathedral city Salvatorians like Fr. Gregory are so needed:

He is a man you can rely on, consequently in acting, from whom one can get advice when and wherever needed. The "fertile field of activity" in District X was Fr. Gregory's heart's desire. [Then he directly implored:] Dearest Venerable Father, you must lead Fr. Gregory to us. You will make him and us happy.

He proposed the under-age Fr. Paulus Pabst as substitute general consul-tor. The latter would feel at home in Rome. Jordan might grant Königs-öhr a few months leave of absence and in the meantime, regulate the matter of Pabst's young age with the Congregation (Vienna, May 16, 1900).

The official change dragged on. Only in September 1902, shortly before the general chapter, did Pabst receive the requested age dispensation (A Rel 6291/15). In the meantime, Königsöhr was already active again in his favorite spot (probably since summer 1901).

On October 7 in Vienna X, the cornerstone of the monastery and of the temporary church "Apostles" was laid (MI 12, 1900; SM 3, 1900).

1.41/59. Various invitations. In this year Jordan was also planning to try something in Spain. Fr. Ildephonse Blank was to begin with two priests (October 24, 1900, A-289). But this wish was soon abandoned. From Pre-kär in Salesia another offer arrived. But Cardinal Kopp and the Prussian government in Breslau were decidedly against. On July 12, Jordan accepted an invitation of Msgr. Gobbi to open a house in Bassano. House and building site were offered gratis. There would be space for 30+ members. He was looking for pastoral care and a private secondary school (G-2.3). Prince-Archbishop Michael Nopotnik of Marburg invited Jordan to start a pastoral house in Cilli (Steiermark) engaging 7 priests. He offered two beautiful churches; in addition he would pay them for religious instruction in the schools. On August 5, 1900, Bishop Thomas Theophil Kulinski of Kielce paid a visit to Jordan to explain to him the "Russian conditions" of his diocese. On the same day, Bishop Joh. Bapt. Anzer, who was staying in the nearby Campo Santo, paid him a visit to speak to him about his mission in China. On October 29, the Rector of Rüthenian College invited him to a longer conversation. Jordan noted only: "Poles and Ruthenians get along badly. The Ruthenians being a minority are nationally very sensitive" (G-2.3).

At that time Msgr. de Waal was planning to erect a boys' asylum. On July 17, he turned to the superior of the Cross Sisters (Ingenbohl). She declined, "But she called my attention to the Jordanists, I hadn't thought of them, although this resource lay so near." In the afternoon de Waal met with Lüthen (Jordan was journeying in Austria). Lüthen "took up the idea with much warmth." Next the Rector of Campo Santo proposed his idea in a detailed letter to Jordan himself. De Waal thought Villa Celimontana to be extremely well apt for such a good work.

In the evening of August 13, Jordan paid a visit to the Rector of Campo Santo and "raised various objections and difficulties, which I tried to refute to him." After further considerations, Jordan

had to decline, because “such little children would be better cared for by female hands” (April 5, 1901, CS).*

1.42/61. Departure of the Procurator General. By summer 1899, the general procurator up till then, Fr. Beda Hoffmann, from whom the Apostolic Visitor asked additional information about finances, gave up his activity and was thinking of quitting the Society. The business of the motherhouse debt was wearying him. So a certain aversion arose toward Jordan and his vicar, who in Hoffmann’s his opinion should oblige the other houses much more to repay the debts. His opinion was simple:

All members of the Society wherever they are must work for the motherhouse and are responsible for it, they consequently share in the debts, just because it is the motherhouse of all (May 7, 1899, BL-316).

The major superiors shared fully this opinion. However, they also saw the other side: that the Society was also responsible for the debts of the individual houses. Thus it was difficult to shift the desired equilibrium in favor of the motherhouse, although the superiors of Lochau, Meran and St. Nazianz helped the motherhouse quite well. It still housed about 80 to 90 of the 120 scholastics of the Society.

Lüthen wrote to one superior who complained about not receiving thanks from Hoffmann for his material support: “One must let him alone, it is said here” (May 2, 1899, BL-314).

Already in summer 1899, Hoffmann had tried to find a place for himself in the New World: “Fr. Beda keeps silent; is he expecting an answer from America?” Lüthen wrote to Jordan after his concerned question (August 31, 1899, BL-351). Hoffmann was staying at his native home by that time. Fr. Antonio’s advice was to let him stay at home for two more months (November 11, 1899, G-2.3). From there he wrote for dispensation. Fr. Antonio added his *votum* on May 14, 1900:

* Afterwards, de Waal turned to the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother and to their director, Msgr. Jacquemin who then was living in America. The Rector of Campo Santo nourished great hopes, for “the sisters who have their name from our Pietà in Campo Santo and have been in contact with our house since their foundation; along with Msgr. Jacquemin, I was for a long time their director” (April 5 1901, CS). Already in 1898, Mr. Bennucci had contacted Jordan “regarding the hospice for neglected street boys (November 7, 1898, G-2.2).

Fr. Beda is good and esteemed. He has become tired from the different viewpoints and disappointments suffered, and he does not want to remain in the Society. The superiors have tried everything to sway him from his intention, but without success (May 14, 1900).

The Congregation allowed Hoffmann to stay at home for 6 more months under the supervision of his religious superior (May 24, 1900). On November 25, Fr. Antonio requested an extension, underlining the good behavior of the priest. This was granted on November 27, 1900, for a further 6 months depending on his superior. Finally, on February 19, 1901, Hoffmann was received into the Diocese of Leitmeritz, which received three more priests of the Society in that year. He was released from his religious vows on March 13, 1901 (A Rel 23696/14).

1.43/62. Agram. When Archbishop of Zagreb (Agram) Georg Posilovic was in Rome, Jordan approached him for permission to make a foundation in his cathedral city.* Jordan had no personal experience in regard to the situation of the Catholic Church in Croatia. But with God's help he considered foundations for religious priests not only as possible but even necessary everywhere in the world. The Society had already gained a foothold in Bohemia and in Hungary. Why not Croatia? The attempt itself was worth any sacrifice. The archbishop gave the desired permission on July 5, and Jordan took this as foundation day.

He assigned Fr. Ansbert Regensberger the mandate to travel to Agram and make a try (October 25, 1900, G-2.3). The 26 year-old priest was completely astounded by this, but "trusting in God and in obedience" he was willing to start in Agram (Pfunds, October 29, 1900).

Already by October, 20, Jordan had informed the archbishop that he had sent one priest to Zagreb "to learn the Croatian language on site and to make necessary preparation for a foundation." He recommended the priest to the "warm and fatherly benevolence" of

* George Posilovic was born March 24, 1834 in Ivanić-Grad and was ordained in Zagreb on August 8, 1858. After studies in Vienna, he was a professor of scripture at the seminary and at the University of Zagreb. In June 1878, he became Bishop of the Croatian town of Senj, Zengg, and in May 1894, Archbishop of Zagreb. There he died on April 26, 1914.

the bishop and added: "My thanks I hope to give personally later on." (In Meseritsch another priest was already trying to learn Croatian by order of the Founder. October 24, 1900, A-288).

Soon after his arrival, Regensberger visited the archbishop and reported to Jordan.

The archbishop seems to be not ill disposed towards us, but neither to be particularly favorable. On the other hand, he pointed out that the Jesuits just at present were beginning quite strongly in Agram, so that he thinks it advisable to choose another town; Croatia was large. The town of Sisek was quite near (November, 1900).

Jordan at once wanted to seize the opportunity and interest at least three of the newly-ordained priests for the foundation. But Regensberger had to explain to him that for the near future (1 to 2 years) three priests would not be allowed to come. The archbishop did not want to have four priests in a private house. The government did not know anything of us until now. The Jesuits had been active already for years without succeeding to get a firm foothold. Regensberger warned: "We can do nothing over hastily. The Germans are not popular, they can't do pastoral work. We are without means!" The archbishop had half empty monasteries at his disposal (December 1, 1900).

Regensberger also had to explain to the responsible general consultor (at Jordan's order) why he had found a place in the hospital of the Sisters of Charity. Simply put, Croats don't like Hungarians (December 27, 1900). The chances had not improved after the winter. Fending for himself, the priest had to communicate with the Founder: in Agram there is no future, but perhaps in another town ((March 22, 1901). Jordan did not want to give up. He was quite conscious that such foundations among an alien population need a long period of preparation.

1.44/63. Krakow (I). In view of the many priests ordained in 1900, Jordan also wanted to push toward Poland. This country appeared to him particularly favorable for religious priestly vocations. In summer he charged a scholastic from Krakow to see whether there was a possibility there. The young man's mother procured him a lodging near the university (June 29 & August 27, 1900). (Jordan checked back whether a rented room in the suburb would not be cheaper.) On August 13, he asked the cardinal of Krakow to permit him to send three priests there to learn Polish "so that they might become capable to build up our institute in Poland. Cardinal Johann

Kniaz de Kolzieńsko Puzyna agreed. Thus in September, Fr. Alfred Zacharzowski was sent to Krakow. On September 23, he had to communicate back that he had not yet found a cheap apartment and that prices in the suburb were as high as in the city. On October 6, 1900, Jordan urged him to solve the question of the apartment as soon as possible, so the two priests designated could depart to Krakow:

Oh, that the Society may soon flourish up in dear Poland and do much for the honor of God and the salvation of souls. Be quite humble and nourish great confidence in God. Write me each week (October 6, 1900).

On October 19, the two priests followed (Honorius Bugiel and Cesarius Woiczehowski) and the community was declared founded (cf., Schema-tismus). But in his notebook (G-2.3) Jordan recorded as foundation day for Zagreb and Krakow, October 21, the Feast of the Purification of Mary. Zacharzowski became *vicarius in capite* for now (October 21, 1900).

On November 13, Jordan asked the cardinal for the necessary faculties for his priests and obliged himself to maintain the members of his Society. Lüthen stated at that time: "Thanks be to God! In Krakow now well received. Prince-bishop is changed now . . . in Krakow there were enough; in the diocese still work to do (November 24, 1900, BL-465).

Jordan exhorted the Polish vanguard: "Do not lose courage, and always remain good Salvatorians. God will certainly show a way" (November 13, 1900). On November 29, the superior informed Jordan: The prince-bishop requires us to live in a monastery, because we are not received here. Meanwhile, the three would remain "temporarily" in their rented apartment in Ulica Szlakè 55. On April 12, 1901, Jordan met with the cardinal in Rome. He was inclined to allow a house for candidates, but not in the city itself, "as there are already so many" (G-2.6).

1.45/64. Athus and Welkenraedt. Fr. Anselm Schauff was already in late fall 1900, with Msgr. Michaelis in Rougefontain and Athus. Jordan had resumed his longstanding relations with this pastor with whose help he intended to get a foothold in the French-speaking part of Belgium. The pastor was ready to receive Jordan's scout as a guest for the time being. From March 1901, Michaelis wanted to put his house at Baatincourt completely at Jordan's disposal (October 29, 1900, BL-453). Toward the end of November, Jordan announced his

personal visit to settle remaining questions (November 13, A-291; November 16, A-293).

On November 18, Jordan traveled via Lucern, Strassbourg and Luxemburg to Rodange and arrived at Rougefontain-Athus on November 19. Already the next day he made his first inquiries and communicated his impressions and hopes to Lüthen (November 20, A-294). On November 21, he was received by Bishop Thomas Ludwig Heylen of Namur. He allowed Jordan to settle in Athus. Highly pleased, Jordan telegraphed Lüthen: "*Concessit*" (November 21).*

The sober-minded Schauff did not like staying with the quirky pastor Michaelis. He wished to return to Welkenraedt (October 22, BL-454). Jordan went together with Schauff to Athus and on the following day to Liège and Welkenraedt.

On November 23, Jordan again met with the bishop of Liège. Bishop Victor J. Doutreloux likewise gave his consent for a foundation on the border with Netherlands. Elated, Jordan again sent a telegram to Lüthen: "*Episcopus concessit*" and immediately traveled to Hamont, a site Fr. Virgilius Koelman, a native of Düsseldorf, had selected as suitable for a foundation. Jordan came quickly to an agreement with the local dean, and visited Baron de l'Escaille at his castle in Het Loo near Hamont. (The Baron, an engineer and Province-Counselor, declared himself at once a friend and sponsor of the planned foundation.) Jordan traveled back to Liège via Hasselt on November 24 and was again received by Bishop Doutreloux on November 26.**

The bishop fully agreed to the plan and confirmed his permission (G-2.6). Jordan despite his bad cold, held visitation in Welkenraedt. Somewhat hastily, the work of Braunau/Simbach had now been transferred to Welkenraedt/Herbesthal. Jordan took his return journey via Mainz and Cologne. In Constance he visited Deggelmann, his great promoter. At Lochau he held a short

* Thomas Ludwig Heylen (Casterie les Turnhout, February 5, 1856-1941, October 28) was a Praemonstratensian. Ordained June 11, 1888, Heylen was elected Abbot of Tongerloo in 1887. From November 30, 1899, he directed the Diocese of Namur.

** From November 24-26 Jordan lodged in Hotel du Midi and celebrated Mass in S. Maria des Anges, where he also preached on November 26 (G-2.6).

visitation. Via Innsbruck (November 30) he went to Meran (December 1). Here too Jordan stopped just for a short visitation. On December 3, he was back in the Eternal City.

Jordan put great hope upon the 3 Belgian foundations: 1) the formation community for German religious candidates in Welkenraedt, connected with the publishing house for *Der Missionär* (foundation day December 10, 1899); 2) the Marian College in Athus for French-speaking religious candidates (foundation day November 21, 1900); 3) the Marian College in Hamont for religious candidates from Flanders and Netherlands (foundation day November 23, 1900).

1.46/65. Lochau. At Lochau internal development went on rather slowly. The community numbered 40+ persons. But there were only 30 students. Whoever was unable to pay for his upkeep had to be refused. On the other hand, the 5 classes, though small, took great effort from teachers. Nevertheless, at that time the superior could again help the motherhouse in need with 1,500 Mark, to which Jordan replied a heartfelt "*Vergelt's Gott*" May God reward you (March 3, 1900, A-269).

During the summer the superior again had difficulties with Brother Rodriguez, community fund raiser (see, 1.53 below.)* Rodriguez had in the previous years won great praise in paying off the debts of the college. But he grew correspondingly self-important. The superior fully recognized his merits, but had also to state:

Together with his great zeal for the cause of the Society he has quite a particular, partly even really difficult character. He is too opinionated and sometimes sticks too much even to the judgments of outsiders, but then every so often he accepts advice. For collecting he seems to have special gifts, although he sometimes should show more prudence. His judgment is mostly harsh, especially when outside he hears detrimental remarks about the Society. At the same time, he gives everywhere a good example as a religious; he prays much and willingly, as I have often been told from various sources (January 30, 1899).

* Fr. Hilarius Gog was strict and at times sharp, but neither intractable nor hardened. Lüthen behaved correspondingly: "It is easier to negotiate with Gog by writing than orally" (Pfeiffer, An 1934, 60).

Half a year earlier, Rodriguez had even admonished the vicar general that these days demanded well-trained and thoroughly formed priests.

And in our midst there is such mismanagement! I am often so sad and demoralized that I lose all desire to work for such a Society. The homi-list at the First Mass of Fr. M. [Maximus Parolini], said in his sermon: "M., was the 300th priest ordained in this Society!" Of course, consequently over 200 have left, and what about the others? Our community is lacking the right secondary school formation. In Germany 9 years! Our secondary school formation is a mistake. Formation, this terrible bad situation in our Society, must be radically eliminated (to Lüthen from Augsburg, July 5, 1898).

Here the brother took up complaints he had heard from teachers at Lochau. They felt they had not been sufficiently formed for teaching above the 4th grade of secondary school (gymnasium). Parolini, the newly-ordained mentioned above, was one of the 18 ordained in 1898. In the previous years, 78 Salvatorians had been ordained. Of these 96, 22 had left. Parolini completed his theological studies in the usual way after his ordination and worked as a missionary in Idaho (USA) from the end of 1899. Among the prayer slips which the solicitous Jordan entrusted to his Lourdes statue there is still one with this confrere's name.

Somehow new tensions arose such that Rodriguez thought about leaving. He demanded from the college 20,000 Marks to repay him for his work. The superior sent the brother to Meran "for reflection." Lüthen asked the local superior to calm the brother through "ascetic treatment, so that he might understand his injustice and distance himself from 'complaining' against his spiritual father" (BL-437, early August 1900). As a result of Lüthen's instructions [to him in novitiate?], Br. Rodriguez was strongly convinced that, . . . the Society at the beginning had been a mission society, and I [Lüthen] departed from this idea (although the foreign missions have never, ever been our exclusive aim). From the very start we have taken into account all countries: Catholic, Protestant and Hindu (Ibid.).

As the Brother intended to assert his rights personally in Rome, Lüthen asked the superior in Meran: "I hope that you will succeed in calming the Venerable Brother Rodriguez and in regulating everything without his traveling to Rome. Recommend it to the dear Mother of God" (August 14, 1900, BL-438).

However, 2 days later he wrote: "Please, send Venerable Brother Rodriguez nevertheless! Send him alone, but soon. The heat let up long ago" (August 16, 1900, BL-439). The brother seems then to have become conciliatory. For in a letter to the superior of Meran (August 18, 1900), Jordan concluded: "Fatherly greetings to you all, also to Brother Rodri-guez, from your loving spiritual Fr. Francis of the Cross." (A-280).

1.47/66. Meran (I) numbered about 35 members, mostly ailing scholastics. On February 28, Jordan met with the prince-archbishop of Trient and regulated with him the ordinations of the members. In Easter Week, Jordan thanked the superior for his good wishes: "I would be very glad if you soon got a home of your own, but the matter must be thought over well from every angle" (April 21, 1900, A-274).

The scholastics spent their holidays in the Schmalser Valley. The very busy superior no longer enjoyed good health. The house vicar judged at that time: "I am quite dissatisfied with the administration of Fr. Superior. However, Fr. Chrysologus [Raich] is really suffering" (to Jordan, August 24, 1900). In mid August, Jordan had to press for the finance report because it had been over due so long, "especially because Fr. Antonio has given his warning long ago" (August 15, 1900, A-279).

Jordan continued to be concerned about those endangered from TB, and above all that the healthy ones not be infected: "Please, take special care in this regard" (September 22, 1900, A-282). Soon after, Jordan reminded the superior of another matter: "Must still erect a novitiate next year at the latest" (September 26, 1900, A-284).

On October 8, 1900, the new nuncio of Munich, Archbishop Cesare Sambucetti (1838-1911) visited the Freihof. At that time the superior was trying to acquire a small estate. He proposed his plan to Jordan, who, however had to get the approval of the Apostolic Visitor. Fr. Antonio allowed the purchase of the Unterstadlerhof. But he insisted that "two laymen gave their names as guarantees, so that under civil law we would appear only as leaseholders."

The superior accepted these conditions and bought the farm. He paid 2,000 fl. (4,000 Kr.). The farm consisted of a house and about 27,000 square klasters (land, wood and vineyard). On November 22, 1900, he communicated to the Founder: "The two men no longer want anything to do with these machinations, and want to withdraw their signatures. For us this is purely an advantage." On November

30, 1900, Jordan, returning from his extensive visitation journey, stopped at Meran for a few hours to be informed on the spot. In Rome he had to report to Fr. Antonio, who might have suspected that he had been cleverly exploited by the superior.

During this summer, too, the question of the Stadlerhof was also resolved. Considerable difficulties dogged the takeover of "this 2nd house near Meran" (June 24, 1900, BL-423). Not only the necessary sustenance was missing, but also the apostolate itself. Thus no complete community, as required by Fr. Antonio, could be opened there, and the superior had to bury his favorite idea (August 9, 1900, BL-423).

1.48/67. Freiburg (III). Jordan could not include the Marian College in Freiburg in his travel itinerary in the jubilee year. The house had 8 new priests that year, of whom three had been ordained by Bishop Senestrey in Regensburg, and five by Bishop Leonhard Haas of Basel in Solothurn. "Thanks to so many ordinations the debt burden of the college (June 1900) could be reduced from 12,000 frs. to 2,000 frs.," the house chronicler communicated with obvious satisfaction. At the end of the year, the superior, who assumed office in October 1899, with a debt of 13,000 frs., wrote to Jordan that the college now was now debt free!

That the house could sustain itself so well economically in spite of its approximately 15 scholastics, was mostly due to the tasks which the Ordinariate had entrusted to the priests. The chronicler enumerates: 1) director of the hostel of the agricultural school in Pérolles (fall 1897 till June 1903); 2) pastoral care in the prison of Bell Charre (since 1897); 3) chaplaincy in Diedingen (since 1898); vicarage at St. Moritz (since October, 1900); in addition to many pastoral supplies. In July 1901, the position of coadjutor at the Cathedral of St. Nikolaus was added.

The loquacious chronicler even reports what the kitchen offered: on ordinary days soup, 1 meat, 2 vegetables and simple wine; on feast days 2 kinds of meat, dessert, fruit and also better wine. Unfortunately, he had also to report that on August 10, a 24 year-old newly-ordained priest drowned while swimming in the nearby Saane, a small but rapid and therefore dangerous river. The Chronicle also noted that on the big "patronal feast of *Regina Apostolorum*, which reunited spiritually all members of our Society," Msgr. Esseiva, "who is well disposed towards our community, celebrated High Mass in our house chapel."

On August 21, the superior of Lochau arrived as representative of the superior general for the yearly visitation (August 7, 1900, E-60). On September 13, the chronicler noted the first philosopher enrolled in the Freiburg College. Until then all scholastics had studied philosophy in Rome and afterwards were sent to Freiburg to study theology.

Jordan was also unable to visit personally the Colony in Drog-nens that year. That visitation was also performed by the superior of Lochau. By then the home counted 70 pupils; most of whom had been remanded there by courts, police or municipalities.

Also Mother Mary stayed in Drog-nens in August to visit and to convalesce. "Venerable Mother arrived here tonight. Everything is going on well except Venerable Sister Superior," the house superior communi-cated to Jordan (August 9, 1900).

1.49/68. Sisters' visitation. August 5, Mother Mary dared to undertake a visitation trip. First she went to Drog-nens. From there she went to the sisters in Vienna and then to Budapest, where Sr. Ambrosia governed as a motherly superior, and to Muraszombat. Everywhere Mother Mary "met with holy zeal and great progress, and received also great honors." On her way home she again took the ship from Fiume to Venice. She made an excursion to the Marian shrine of Loreto and was back in Rome the night of September 8.

In the late fall, Mother Mary received many visitors from her beloved Neuwerk and from aristocratic ladies connected with her family. As was her custom she also greeted her local ordinary in Cologne, Archbishop Hubert Theofil Simar,* in office for just about one year. He also mentioned her "Neuwerk" where the Mission House of Steyl should have been erected in 1875 (October 26, MMChr). On November 18, she could speak with the archbishop of Calcutta, who however could not bring to her personal experiences from Assam. Still the meeting was heartfelt: "Baron Goethals, with whom I became acquainted already in Liège in 1852, at M. de

* Hubert Theofil Simar (Epen, December 13, 1835-1902, May 24) was a priest since May 2, 1859, and worked as professor of theology in Bonn. On February 25, 1892, he became archbishop of Paderborn, and (after the death of Archbishop Krementz) had to transfer to Cologne on December 14, 1899, where he worked for barely 1½ years.

Bellefroid's, put a crown on my head, which I fastened to the crucifix" (November 18, 1900, MMChr).

The retreats before the feast of the foundation of the Society were again conducted by dear Fr. Thomas Weingang. Of his insights Mother Mary noted: "The religious woman must (be) a monstrence, always calm and content with God; but her rays must shine." She also mentioned Weingang's explanation that the real superior of the convent was the Rule.

A review of her life forced her to exclaim: "Oh, God, I thank you unceasingly" (December 8, 1900, Tacc). Immediately after the 12th anniversary celebration of the foundation of the sisters' community she undertook the fatiguing journey to Campobello, Sicily, and "found it all better than I had expected." On December 22, she was back again to celebrate Christmas in the motherhouse.

1.50/72. Hamont saw its superior, Fr. Virgilius Koelman, making good progress. The bishop of Liège was partial to *Collegium Belgo-Hollandicum*, as he assured the superior during his late New Year's visit. Koelman already had clear plans. He wanted to acquire about 7 hectares of land and dare to construct a new building. He also sent a rough building plan to Jordan (January 20, 1901) who wrote back: "I am not against buying a plot of land, just don't incur debts." At the same time, he reminded the superior bishops' conditions "that we would not receive candidates under 15 years old from his diocese or from within 2 hours of the bordering diocese" (January 13, 1901, A-302).

Jordan wanted to found a small study house there already in fall; however, it required at least 7 pupils to insure education and perseverance. In regard to construction plans submitted, Jordan only remarked that they were still being examined. He was for "simple, practical, healthy, economical but decent buildings" (February 28, 1901, A-306).

In early August, Jordan, returning from London, made a short stop in Hamont. With great confidence he traveled back to Rome: "May the new nursery flourish well" (August 22, 1901, A-320). On November 30, Jordan asked the bishop of Liège whether he was satisfied with the activity of his priests (A-331). Bishop Doutreloux was content.

1.51/74. Milwaukee (II). Sr. Clara, the commissar representing Mother Mary in Milwaukee, soon recognized that the superior there

needed to be replaced for two reasons: she saw herself as indispensable in the new construction, and her term of office had expired in May 1895. Clara checked back in Rome (January 6, 1901). On January 13, 1901, she sent a detailed report urging Jordan to recall Sr. Raphaela Bohnheim as soon as possible, saying: The sister was neurotic and tyrannical toward the other sisters. She impaired their freedom of conscience and prevented their free communication with their superiors in Rome in many ways. She was, openly and secretly, aiming at independence and separation of the sisters from Rome. The financial administration was deficient. Her gossip endangered the honor of the house and of the congregation. The archbishop agreed on her removal if the finances were all right. Sr. Clara requested that new nurses should be sent as soon as possible. The house accommodates 50+ persons, but there is still a debt of \$30,000. Raphaela was on a *Kneippkur* since January 6, 1901 at St. Agnes Hospital in Fond du Lac, some hours outside the city. Sr. Clara proposed the sister superior of Uniontown be the new superior for Milwaukee.

Jordan let Sr. Clara know through Lüthen that Uniontown, WA should not be given up "unless forced" (January 27, 1901), and that she might provisionally nominate a superior there. She should seek advice from Frs. Jöhren and Deibele (February 18). Fr. Jöhren, who was the spiritual director of the sisters in Uniontown at that time, traveled to Milwaukee on January 30, 1901. Raphaela connected with him and won him for her defense against Rome. At the same time the "ex-Jordanist" greatly disappointed Deibele in St. Nazianz by talking irresponsibly about the Society: "He has made a story about the Society of earlier times," which even the archbishop had heard (to Jordan, March 2, 1901).

When Sr. Clara temporarily assumed the post of Sr. Raphaela, the latter expressed her desire to go to Uniontown. So on February 26, she left Milwaukee; she did so with a bitter heart, as she had in fact laid the foundations for this promising foundation.* On

* It was also Sr. Raphaela, who unintentionally had given the impulse for the priests to take over the Colony of Fr. Oswald. When she suffered an accident while visiting a patient, she sustained grave internal injuries. Her long sickness brought her in contact with the zealous and pious Fr. Ludwig Barth. Impressed by the engagement of the sisters, he also wanted to have Jordan's male branch in the archdiocese, and persuaded the archbishop to call the Salvatorians to St. Nazianz. They arrived there on

March 1, 1901, she arrived in Uniontown (MMChr). Back in St. Nazianz, Diebele was happy about his solution. "Sr. R., is now in Uniontown, and thus peace and order has been restored for the time to come." As for the new construction since much money still had to be borrowed, the archbishop had not been willing to let Sr. Raphaela leave.

Subsequently, Diebele himself secured the sisters' money in order to take this reason out of the hand of the archbishop. He now wished only "help by sending sisters. . . so Milwaukee may quickly become the most flourishing house of the Second Order" (March 2, 1901). On August 8, 1901, the sisters' new building was solemnly inaugurated by the archbishop. By July 5, sisters were on their way to Milwaukee from Rome (July 4, 1901, BL-484).

Sr. Raphaela was soon recalled to Rome, a move which greatly delighted the superior of Uniontown: "It is high time, because Union-town is no place for her" (to Mother Mary June 3, 1901). On September 30, Sr. Engelberta took over the office of superior in Milwaukee. Before that, Sr. Raphaela had left the USA and arrived in Rome on September 9. On January 1, 1902, the nervous and exhausted sister traveled home to recover. From there she returned to Rome for the first time three years later, on February 2, 1905, although not quite as a remorseful penitent.

Sr. Clara had been considering recruiting candidates from Switzerland like other congregations did, as in America itself candidates could not be found (cf., July 6, 1901, BL-485). On August 19, 1901, Sr. Clara left the USA. First she went home and then to Switzerland, where starting from Lucern she wanted to recruit candidates for Milwaukee. Her efforts remained without success. Instead, Msgr. Seeger's attention was directed to the Salvatorian Sisters. He wanted to have them in Lucern (April 17, 1902) and also paid a visit to Mother Mary. But it remained a non-committal, preliminary discussions. On December 11, 1902, Sr. Clara was back in Rome, where she resumed her post as assistant to Mother Mary and teacher in the teacher's training school.

1.52/78. Fr. Thomas Weigang on January 18, 1901, left the motherhouse, traveling to his native home with the intention of leaving the Society. On his way he paid a visit to the sisters in Budapest, to the greatest joy of Mother Mary. In the previous week

August 9, 1896 (SM 1901/6).

he had also been with the sisters in Torri. Mother Mary remarked eloquently: "We and all hope that this zealous priest will come back—pray for it" (MMChr). Weigang had spoken before with Jordan, at the latest after the latter's return from Belgium. In spite of all disappointment, Jordan had humbly accepted the 57 year-old priest's reasons for leaving the Society and didn't want to obstruct him if he was convinced to follow his conscience in this matter.

In his petition for release, Weigang had indicated that as a diocesan priest he could work more to the honor of God and for the salvation of souls. Such a reason was certainly vague. When asked for his opinion, Fr. Antonio testified that Weigang was a Godfearing and very zealous man. He had known him for two years. From one remark of Weigang's remarks he had to conclude that he had had troubles, but did not accuse the Society for this reason. On the contrary, even after his exit he would support the Society as much as he could. It cannot be explained what the troubles were. Only one critical remark of a discontent sister has been preserved. She got excited that the "little priest," counted for everything with sisters, beginning with Mother Mary. However, the prudent and pious Weigang really was the indispensable confessor and spiritual guide of many sisters.

At that time, younger confreres also often asked Weigang to present their wishes to Jordan and Lüthen. When these two asserted their mostly stricter opinions, Fr. Thomas demurred without ifs and or buts. Weigang kept to the Founder. Lüthen esteemed him as a man of concilia-tion: "Fr. Thomas is open to reason." In the community, however, several disappointed confreres argued: "Fr. Thomas has capitulated once more!" When Lüthen's voice was weakened, Jordan ordered Weigang to hold the important weekly chapters during his absence (An SDS II, 8; 1927, 197).

Looking back, it is surprising that Lüthen in his spiritual diary had noted in capital letters on April 1, 1898: "*ANABILIS ERGA P. TH!*" (G-21). In March 1900, he repeated in his spiritual diary: "Treat Fr. Thomas in a friendly way." However, he proposed to himself love and amiability towards all; "*amabilis erga omnes*" (April 1, 1898) "Love to all, especially Reverend Father and Reverend Mother" (April 3, 1900). Later we again find the proposal: "Towards Fr. Thomas be always friendly" (February 5, 1904, G-21). However, in none of the documents are to be found any traces of tensions among the three pillars of the Society. Weigang was neither bypassed nor slighted.

Fr. Antonio called Jordan who pointed to his confrere's zeal for souls and his great service to the Society. But the Founder also confessed that he sometimes doubted whether Weingang had a real vocation as a religious. In any case, Jordan did not want to oppose the expressed wish of the dear confrere. The Apostolic Visitor continues in his *votum*:

. . . afterwards Jordan spoke with two of the most important priests in the Society and communicated to me in a letter that for his own part, he was against a dispensation: 'His leaving would be a great scandal in and outside the Society and in relations with the secular clergy.'

Weingang's departure would shake the Roman community, particularly those on the fence. Then Fr. Antonio asks: "But nevertheless, can the requested dispensation be refused?" He lists the positive reasons and the negative ones in Jordan's letter, leaving the decision to the Congregation. The Apostolic Visitor adds: Fr. Thomas has already received the pro-mise of the bishop of Luxemburg for his sustenance, and he stands by his decision to leave (January 20, 1901, A Rel 22263/14).

On May 5, 1901, Weingang returned into the community and resumed his post: Today "arrived, thanks be to God, Reverend Father Thomas after 4 months of absence" (MMChr). How everything was re-stored to the best, has not been handed down. The reason for the absence of the beloved confrere had not been communicate to the community. If the *votum* of Fr. Antonio had not been preserved in the archives of the Congregation, we would not have had any notion of this hard test for Weingang as well as for Jordan.

Weingang resumed his usual services. Through his modest, mild, obliging, selfless character, "he enjoyed again the love and esteem of all having contacts with him. In Rome it was said: *Padre Tommaso e un santo*" (An SDS, II, 8; 1927, 197).

1.53/77. Br. Rodriguez Übler. The difficulties between Br. Rodriguez and his superiors flared up again in late fall 1900. The brother had not only a particular talent for collecting funds and propagating the Salvatorian press, but he also knew how to bind the cooperators to his task and how to organize them in an association. Already at the start of his activity as "begging brother" for Lochau, he received from Jordan a certificate authorizing him to disseminate writings serving the Catholic cause and to receive gifts for the Society (February 5, 1892).

In 1897, he worked out statutes for the "Association of Christian Cooperators" assisting Lochau, and had them printed in the mother-house. Übler did not limit himself to propagating the Society's religious tracts; he also took part in the political struggle of the strictly Catholic minorities. This led to tensions between him and his superiors. The latter contented themselves with an extremely mild reproach in order not to spoil their relations with this brave but sensitive and politically willful brother, on whose material success they depended. But the appeasement of summer 1900, seemed not to have fully satisfied the brooding brother. Lüthen assured him in regard to his superior, that he had never doubted his honesty, but he did insist that the brother should not restrict his aims to Lochau, but should recognize that this "Community had entirely the same purpose as the Society" (November 25, 1900). At that time Übler had the "Statutes for the Christian Cooperators" reprinted. Due to the unclear explanation of the term "religious" (appearing in the political section) these statutes were withdrawn. Greater care was taken in printing a new edition (Lüthen to Gog, February 19). The printery in the motherhouse edited the new statutes of the association and did not publish them in the form presented by Übler. This he could not get over: "I entrust the matter to the Lord; I have no better choice." In November 1902, the question of a new edition of the "Lochau Statutes" was discussed anew (November 26, 1902).

Übler, who around Easter 1901, "hawked and collected" in Munich for the Society, on April 4 requested promotional material for Msgr. Lorenz Huber to include in the *Neue bayer. Zeitung*. Übler had welcomed this new promoter and immediately sent him leaflets and allowed him to receive small contributions for his Catholic paper, "which like most Catholic papers is no bed of roses and requires great sacrifices in order to continue." At the same time he called his attention to the fact that being from families where the *Bayr. Kurier* is found, one should not accept contributions; he asked him to be very cautious, because the *Bayr. Kurier Konkurrenz-Blatt* was a rival paper, which used every opportunity to hound our papers. "I should be very pleased to get acquainted with you, when you come to Munich; then I hope to be able to show you my thankfulness for your friendly offer" (April 6, 1901). Übler justified his independent procedure later on the grounds that Huber's letter had been handed openly to him, as he himself had openly handed his offer to be forwarded to Msgr. Huber on April 4, 1901. "Thus my procedure was tolerated by Lochau as well as by Rome."

On Easter Day, Jordan wrote in his notebook "Don't do politics!!! April 7, 1901" (G-2.7). Afterwards, Übler zealously dedicated himself to promoting the Catholic newspaper *Neue bayer. Zeitung*. When in doing so he began insulting the *Juden-Blatt*, the Jewish paper *Bayr. Kurier*, a press war broke out between the two over the provocations of the enterprising religious Brother of the Apostolic Teaching Society, who at the same time was "Procurator of the Christian Association of Cooperators" of the Marian College of Lochau near Bregenz (July 5-10).

On July 18, Übler himself published a "defense of his person against the attacks of the *bayer. Kurier*." Soon smaller papers also took sides in the dispute. Lüthen was quite alarmed by the information that two Munich papers were in open warfare because of "Br. Alphons [Übler] of the Apostolic Teaching Society, president of the Christian Cooperators Association." He knew how such events upset Jordan. On July 14, 1901, Lüthen wrote to Jordan in London about the matter: "Un-fortunately, we, too, are touched. I informed Lochau immediately so that they might consider what can be done" (BL-489). Two days later the vicar general gave the superior general a detailed report:

The Rodriguez story (he is said to have worked with "lies and calumny" against the *bayer. Kurier* in favor of the *N. b. Zeitung*) has grown to greater dimensions. All papers condemn rumor-mongering by a religious brother. I am waiting for news from Lochau about what is being done in the matter; as I don't know whether the *Kurier* is still standing on good Catholic ground. Nothing can be undertaken from here. The best would be to get rid of the man who caused us so much trouble. Unless he submits, it will certainly be his end (July 16, 1901, BL-490).

The vicar general put the letter aside to add more exact news. He told Jordan that the aggressive paper had also damaged us. Its accusations were: too brief a course of studies, hawking calendars, no ecclesiastic approbation: "Unfortunately, Br. Rodriguez has spoiled our relations with a great part of Bavaria" (July 24, 1901, BL-495).

Hilarius Gog, superior of Lochau, wanted to reply immediately to the "*Kurier* article . . . because the Society was attacked in such an insolent and offensive way." But then he thought it better not to put more fuel on the fire. Otherwise, "the enemy of the Society would have taken up this justification and published a still worse article, by which the evil would just have been compounded" (July 23, 1902).

Gog recalled Übler from Munich. (From the start, Lüthen's opinion was that the whole matter should be left with the superior of Lochau.) The brother arrived July 23, and after a detailed discussion with his superior, Gog communicated to Lüthen:

After all that I have heard and read in this matter, I think it better not to make a press release from our side. The story will pass away in smoke. But we cannot proceed against Br. Rodriguez, as his statutes have been approved by his superiors, and because the entire second part of these statutes occupies itself with the bad press. It won't be advisable, that now Br. Rodriguez as director of the Association should not care about propagating the good and repressing the bad press. However, the mode of his proceeding must be exactly determined.

Direct agitation should not be allowed. On the other hand, he can hardly be forbidden to recommend the good press occasionally during his travels. . . . Br. Rodriguez wanted to take legal action against the *Kurier* for defamation, but he could be dissuaded (July 23, 1902).

As Jordan's return from London was delayed, Lüthen, the once responsible editor of *Ambrosius*, felt obliged to send an explanation "to the *Kurier* and Bavarian newspapers." He did so on July 23, the same day Fr. Hilarius Gog spoke with Übler. Lüthen pointed out in this declaration that Übler had no mandate either from Rome or from Lochau to meddle with political papers (E-193; cf., July 16, 1901, BL-490).

The *Kurier* containing this declaration was forwarded at once to the superior of Lochau. Gog was "terrified . . . that from Rome such a declaration had been submitted to the newspapers." He had wanted to wait. Now he was "perplexed," feeling himself bypassed by Rome. From his viewpoint he had to oppose Lüthen's procedure as mistaken. "I ask for further precautions in this matter. Is Venerable Father back in Rome again"? (August 2, 1902).

Lüthen noted about his answer to Gog's letter of August 6, 1902: "I have explained it all to him! I am against Br. Rodriguez's political activity." He had already written to Jordan in London: Unless Übler gives up his political fight in the political arena, "he must leave. We cannot go with him in this regard. I have postponed it all for your decision" (before July 23, 1902, BL-496). But by then Übler had partly anticipated the decision. He felt that the declaration of the vicar general in Jordan's absence was "one of the grave trials on his thorny path of life." After his way to priesthood had been barred, his ideal had been,

. . . to work in the world as a lay-apostle by collecting gifts of charity for the propagation of the Kingdom of God, by propagating the Christian press, and fighting and ousting every kind of press hostile to religious.

This was also the reason he founded the Christian Association of Co-operators (Übler's memo on "press wars," Lochau, August 2, 1901).

After Jordan's return, Lüthen asked the superior of Lochau "not to let Br. Rodriguez return to Munich" (September 19). On November 7, the superior of Lochau wrote to the Founder that he had forbidden Übler to go to Munich where,

. . . the affair is not to be dramatized. Br. Rodriguez shall dedicate himself to the interests of his Society. He deplores that he had gone to Munich after the first article; several difficulties might have been prevented.

It is not known how or why Übler again contacted the Catholic press in Munich at that time. It might have been in connection with founding the Catholic Press Association, called into existence by the bishops of Bavaria to defend themselves against the predominance of the Liberal Bavarian press.

When on November 27, 1901, *Augsburger Postzeitung* published a call to join the *Katholischer Presseverein für Bayern*, Übler's wound broke open again. His Association of Christian Cooperators, started in Lochau in 1897, had exactly the same aim as the new Catholic *Presseverein*.

After Rome [i.e., the generalate, esp. Lüthen] had been with iron firm-ness against printing the statutes in the form absolutely necessary for the intended purpose, and all remonstrations had remained without success, a proper committee to found an association suitable for the purpose had been formed in the here reported Catholic *Presseverein*. Br. Alphons Übler. [Rodriguez's note on the margin of the appeal.]

Übler continued quarreling with the procurator general who opposed his collecting too exclusively for the foreign missions. At the end of 1902, he justified himself to Lüthen:

I find my great benefactors only under the title Mission Monastery. I have always begged this way since 1893. The blessed archbishop of Munich and many pious priests, diocesan and religious, have simply assured me that I might with a completely tranquil conscience say "Mission and Mission Monastery" although only

some of our members go to the foreign mission. Introducing oneself under the title of an ordinary monastery is forbidden by law.

Übler admitted that in 1892, Jordan had let him collect for the formation of religious priests; but that remained without success. So he asked Lüthen what he should do now; he did not want to get re-involved with the district attorney or with the lower court (Lochau, December 28, 1902).

Jordan as well as Lüthen resisted Übler's reasoning as dishonest, and it would have pushed both the Lochau community and the Society into the quite impossible situation of having to refund completely all the money received for the foreign mission.

1.54/78. The Apostolic Visitor (I) studied the 1901 financial report conscientiously and expertly, and was forced to conclude that economic improvement had not been realized. Instead of reducing the debts of the motherhouse, Jordan had dared new foundations. Above all, Fr. Antonio was concerned because the debts of the motherhouse had exceeded $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million Lire, and because in 1901 two repayments of 75,000 and 65,000 Lire were due. He stressed once more that the purchase of the Palazzo Morone had certainly not been made through his efforts or according to his advice. Jordan had at that time tried to downplay the Visitor's concerns. But the promised success had not been realized. Also the 80,000 Lire hoped for in the past year and expected from the ordinations of numerous new priests failed to materialize.

Then Fr. Antonio states that his orders of that time: 1) not to receive anyone who could not pay fully, and 2) not to accept obligations which could not be fulfilled, had been insufficient to reach the intended aim. The Apostolic Visitor required that every effort should be made to avoid public scandal, which would also cause damage to the existence of the Society. Jordan should also seek advice from his council and from experienced confreres on how to find a remedy, and he should present exactly the result of these deliberations.

Fr. Antonio returned to the possibility of selling Palazzo Morone to absolve the debt burden. The yearly debt of several 10,000 Lire for repairs, taxes and interests was simply too high. Then he asks concerned: what human hope is there to solve these difficulties in the future? (April 20, 1901, D-738). Jordan took the Visitor's letter very seriously and immediately proposed: "Financial consolidation of the

motherhouse (*urgentissime*) April 21, 1901. All members *efficacissime*" (G-2.7).

After the departure of Fr. Beda Hoffmann, procurator general since summer 1890, the direction of the Society's finances and particularly of the motherhouse had been entrusted to Fr. Pancratius Pfeiffer. The 28 year-old, multi-talented priest soon familiarized himself with his new task. Lüthen, who until then had cooperated decisively, assisted him by word and deed. Jordan had complete confidence in the new administrator of the motherhouse and of the "temporal matters" of the Society.

So far Fr. Antonio had good experiences with Pfeiffer, who understood the visitor's financial policies better and whose temperament was more like Fr. Antonio's than his predecessor's. (Hoffmann had actually been more audacious like the Founder.) Pfeiffer tried skillfully to conciliate the differing views of Jordan and Fr. Antonio. Since both of them recognized this, Pfeiffer's influence as procurator rose decisively, which could only be advantageous.

The results of the discussions Fr. Antonio had urged the Founder to hold with others have not been handed down. From the beginning, Jordan had refused to consider the Visitor's idea of selling the motherhouse. The mere fact that it was situated in the shadow of St. Peter's was to him indispensable to the apostolic orientation of the Society. A good financial solution could not be found overnight, because even if the motherhouse were sold a new home of the same size would have to be found. Thus the expenses, whether debt interest or rent, would not essentially diminish. On the other side, selling the motherhouse would have been a negative affair, something the Society could not cope with at that time. Besides, 100+ persons would have to be provided for either here or elsewhere. Jordan saw only one way out: to increase the efforts already being made; expand the press, cultivate sponsors and benefactors, stress the co-liability and cooperation of the other houses (excluding the missions) and of each individual member. Jordan often scrutinized other religious congregations to learn from them. In the end, however, he realized they all were in the same boat.

1.55/79. Papal encouragement. Jordan asked the Cardinal Secretary of State to submit his annual report to Leo XIII. Rampolla did not refuse this request, and had an appreciative letter sent to Jordan:

Most Reverend Father!

The annual report of the Society of the Divine Savior, founded by your Most Reverend Paternity, has come to the

venerable hands of the Holy Father. His Holiness saw from this with special joy how ever more good is done by the membership of this well deserved institute as well as by the sisters' congregation of the same name. Therefore, he congratulates your Paternity, and wishing you ever more rich fruits, he gives you and all male and female Salvatorians a special blessing.

While communicating this to your Paternity, I have the honor to sign with the expression of excellent esteem,

Your Paternity most devoted in the Lord,

M. Cardinal Rampolla.

Rome, May 2, 1901.

To the Most Reverend Jordan, Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior in Rome.

Jordan was grateful to the Holy Father from the bottom of his heart for having included his sisters' foundation. This gave him also greater assurance against one or another consultor of the Roman Congregation, who would have liked to take the direction of the sisters away from him. In this way, too, the question of the motherhouse of the sisters in Rome was settled. Its recognition by the ecclesiastic authority had become just a matter of form to him, something he could quietly await.

Radiant with joy, Jordan showed the letter to Pfeiffer his new procurator general. "To me this letter is worth more than a million." To the latter this evaluation was just then incomprehensible. "We were in great financial need, and I replied: I would prefer a million Lire. Who was right? In reality perhaps the Venerable Father" (An II, 5 /1921, 72).

Jordan lost no time in communicating this recommendation of the highest authority to his friends and cooperators by a leaflet.

[For] the harvest is great, the laborers are few. Of the more than 1,500 million people living on this earth only about 245 million, not yet a seventh of the population, belong to the Catholic Church. Consequently it is terrible, how many people die each day without faith or baptism!

Then Jordan again tried to win candidates for his apostolic Society:

We take youngsters of 14 years old; however, the Society, considering its manifold activity, can also receive those of later years who feel called to religious life and priesthood. The duration of study, novitiate included, lasts for those having made no studies before entering the Society, considering their age, talents etc., 9 to 12 years. The best time for entering is the month of October, because school begins in October. As far as material means allow,

less provided or poor youngsters are also admitted. In this case, however, they should look for benefactors in their surroundings, which is usually successful.

Of course the leaflet drew attention to the periodicals of the Society. On the title page it presented quite impressively and effectively the mother-house, and above the Queen of the Apostles and the two Princes of the Apostles (E-194). In his notebook Jordan noted:

With all strength work to consolidate the *Collegium Internazionale in Urbe*. – Prayer – huge trust in God. To be active – Keep here only the necessary personnel until it is materially consolidated (March 15, 1901).

The last remark might be a hint that the discussion to which Fr. Antonio pointed in his admonishing letter of April 20, had already taken place. The following day Jordan added: “1) Brothers and priests traveling–book peddlers; 2) propagate Salvatorian information; 3) circulars” (G-2.7).

1.56/81. The master plan (II). From that time there has also been preserved a universal plan of Jordan’s, which reflects how far he was driven by the glory of God and the salvation of souls. To him this impossible task was not just a planning exercise. He felt obliged to aspire to this aim with all his strength even though he might make himself ridiculous. Others might dismiss all this as fantasies. Yet Jordan sticks to his plan for what the Society should be concerned about: press apostolate in 13 languages; international college attended by all nationalities (similar to the one of Propaganda); articles in Catholic newspapers of all languages; in the above languages “Salvatorian Information,” calendars and popular writings; strong book peddlers (trustworthy brothers); mobilizing all forces for the cause of God, not supposing that everything must be done by its own members; recruiting learned candidates (through the publications) (B-119). With a certain apostolic envy he noted the editions of the *Maison de la Presse*, and others whose almanac circulation was 2,000,000 in addition to 22 newspapers (G-2.7).

In this quiet time of Lent, Jordan made another dream journey around the globe he kept beside his desk, noting the countries there was a possibility to attempt an apostolic study house (March 14, 1901, G-2.7; cf., *Collegia educationis erigenda 1901*, B-38). Jordan was happy to have at least made a start with God’s help. Above a list of the 21 study houses already started by the Society he

wrote humbly and hopefully: *Domine, Tua sunt* 1901, Lord, they are yours! (B-37; cf., G-2.7: 20 Study Houses).

The same day he wrote his long term strategy: every country with its own national house of studies. To begin with three priests and one brother to the best possible places where there are vocations, means, etc; healthy region, water, good transportation, not too expensive. The houses of education would send professed members to the international college for higher studies, providing for their expenses. In determining provinces (something Jordan had intended already for some time) he commends a certain mixture of different nationalities: "to preserve discipline;" and as an example he notes Sicily. His long term objective is: The provinces should possibly take over foreign missions of their own (March 14, 1901, G-2.7).

1.57/82. St. Nazianz (II). Takeover of the Oschwald legacy in St. Nazianz was still not completely regulated. Epiphanius Deibele pushed; Jordan hesitated. He agreed that the whole property should be taken over, independent of "archepiscopal consensus," which had been required at the initial take over. (Then Archbishop Katzer had been the necessary ecclesiastic sponsor for both parties, but this was no longer justified.) However, the rights of the members of the Colony had to be fully met (December 21, 1900; G-35). Jordan's opinion was that not all doubts had yet been eliminated in regard to the property rights at St. Nazianz, and so he postponed a final solution out of con-science, although such wavering provoked Deibele's annoyance (February 20, 1901).

Diebele continued urging that new forces should be sent. So far 4 priests and 5 brothers were working there. In addition, they hosted 4 or 5 candidates from Europe. Jordan was particularly concerned because the candidates he hoped would come from the USA itself never appeared. He requested a memorandum from the house administration indicating the required reinforcements, so that the generalate might take decisions (December 21, 1900; February 20, 1901, G-35). Furthermore, Jordan made clear that the superior alone should not be the present and future owner of St. Nazianz (February 20, 1901).

Ever concerned when news was missing for too long, in August, Jordan asked:

How are things going on in St. Nazianz? Two points, dear son, will make that foundation great like all the others: religious observance and learning. Unless the former is good, it becomes shallow and

loose; if the latter is missing, one cannot cope with all the needs of our time.

Jordan gave Diebele the mandate to hold visitations "as if I myself conducted them." Above all he warned him to avoid wherever possible "overly protracted pastoral supply commitments" as they might easily damage the religious spirit (August 27, 1901, A-322).

1.58/83. American Northwest (II). Jordan was sorry for "not being able to come personally for the visitation" to Oregon (August 27, 1901). On one hand, he was pleased with the missionary involvement of the confreres in the American Northwest. But on the other hand, he was sorry that his proper concern of erecting a study house for his own candidates was prevented by the bishop who wanted to have the priests stationed at individual outposts. Therefore, Jordan hesitated to send the reinforcement requested by Fr. Severin Jurek. He made his vicar general inquire: "How do other orders act? We cannot send new priests. How are we accepted in Oregon? *modo Sac. saecular??* like secular priests??"

On August 23, 1901, Bishop Edward J. O'Dea of Nesqually (residing in Seattle) offered Jordan a foundation in Pe Ell, WA, where mostly Italian and non-English speaking immigrants (above all Poles) need pastoral care. Jordan requested in return to be allowed to erect a community for candidates for the Society. The bishop consented, and the Propaganda granted the necessary permission. And so Jordan gave up the diaspora station of Corvallis, OR, and in the following year founded a house in Pe Ell, WA with four priests and one brother. Only Fr. Felix Bucher remained on the Indian Reservation of Siletz, OR.

On September 3, 1901, even before he could move to Pe Ell, Fr. Ludwig Müller died at the age of 34 in Cottonwood, ID. During all his years as a priest (since 1894) he had worked with exemplary apostolic zeal in the mission in the Northwest. Jordan felt the loss of this young priest in the depth of his heart.

1.59/85. England. Even while opening houses in Belgium in late fall of the previous year, Jordan had cast a longing glance toward England. As was his habit, he gathered useful information. In his notebook he recorded the result of a visit with Fr. Widmer:

Essex County good, healthy. 2) Living in England not more expensive than in Italy. 3) At the beginning better no parish, because great burden and much to be contributed. 4) Can sustain

themselves. Cardinal Herbert Vaughan is good to religious (January 18, 1901, G-2.7).

Jordan even made notes on the simple English cooking, the cost of rent in London's suburbs, about the expenses for each person, etc. On January 31, 1901, he met with Cardinal Vaughan personally at the motherhouse. The prelate invited him to London for a visit: "I shall write to him when I come." On May 28, Jordan petitioned the Cardinal to found there a house of studies. While up till then Jordan had made his summer visitation journeys to Austro-Hungary, this year he felt drawn to England.

On July 3, he started from Rome, paid a short visit to Freiburg and Drogens, then stopped in Freiburg i. Br. till July 8, and then went on via Brussels, Gent, Ostende. On July 9, he reached London. Jordan had already from Rome provided for lodgings, which he found in the Hospice of St. Bonifatius. On July 11, he was received by Vaughan, who gave him some hints about places to look for a foundation. He concluded the interview expressing the wish that he not be obliged to take over a parish. On the same day he sent a telegram to Fr. Odo Distel, who was staying at his home in Germany after finishing his theological studies, to come immediately to London (cf., letter of July 11, 1901, A-312).

Meanwhile, Jordan scouted out the suburbs and the environs of London. On his way he also visited houses of other religious congregations like the Oratorians, the Franciscans in Ascot, or the Pious Society of the Missions in Hattengarden. The Cardinal had recommended Hattengarden to the Founder as a possible site, after he had looked around in Barking and Upminster. At first sight he found Horn Church near Romford "fitting": 1) far from Mill Hill; 2) near Romford, Upminster, etc; 3) healthy site; 4) cheap . . . ; 5) more available to us than a big city" (G-2.7). But then he found the place not to be good. He informed the cardinal correspondingly, who directed him to Dunmow and asked him to take over the mission there for one year (July 24, 1901). There was a little church for about 18 Catholics. "It's mission territory here" (to Lüthen, July 26, 1901).

The cardinal had been invited to the Duke of Norfolk's for some days. This offered Jordan the chance to look around more carefully. In the meantime, Distel had arrived. When the Founder presented himself to the cardinal again, the prelate retracted his promise. He apologized to Fr. Odo for this error (July 29, 1901) and directed them to Willesten Green to start a small mission there. But there, too, they found "insurmountable difficulties." And so Jordan had to bother the cardinal and look for a fitting place the 5th time.

Now the well disposed Vicar General gave them a recommendation to the pastor of Harrow, who received them with open arms and even accompanied them looking for lodgings in nearby Wealdstone. Jordan found the place agreeable, and with thanks took leave of the cardinal. After staying so long in London he felt drawn back to Rome. On August 5, he left London leaving further steps to Distel. Before Jordan left England he cast a longing eye over to Ireland: "As soon as possible erect a study house in Ireland; this is of great importance. London, August 4, 1901" (G-2.7).

Jordan traveled to Hamont via Brussels. Lüthen wrote to him: "London has certainly cost a long time; may God grant that now every-thing succeeds well" (August 6, 1901, BL-502). On the same day, Distel informed the Founder about a possible lease in Harrow on the Hill. He rented the house Avendale in Wealdstone (August 15, 1901) and opened there St. Joseph's Catholic Mission (letter, August 16, 1901). Jordan wrote back to him with joy: "So travel to your destination as soon as possible. Imitate the first missionaries to England and be prepared to suffer much for Christ and his holy cause" (September 1, 1901, A-324). Before doing that Distel found temporary accommodation in Harrow, Roxborough Park.

Jordan sent Distel two other confreres. He fixed July 9, the day of his arrival in London as the foundation day of Wealdstone, Middlesex County—the Feast of Prodigies of the BVM. (Each foundation was to begin under the special protection of the Mother of God, and Jordan loved to fix as foundation day the closest Marian feast, however small.) The three priests were busy practicing the English language, helping at the same time in the diaspora (cf., Schematismus 1902; G-2.6). From London, Jordan wrote to Mother Mary:

I have been in this big city almost a fortnight to plant our Society here. I repeatedly thought about introducing sisters on British soil. I hope this will become possible in a few years with God's help (July 22, 1901, ASDS).

By fall, Jordan thought seriously about sending sisters to England. Lüthen made corresponding investigations with the superior, Fr. Odo Distel. He declined, and his reasons were understandable: "I can in no way guarantee the sustenance of the sisters. They have to do this by themselves. Private schools must perform the same as state schools. The cardinal must give his assent beforehand" (October 10, 1901). Lüthen also asked Mother Mary whether she knew anything about future possible resources. Mother Mary referred to the church

agency for north-ern missions in Paderborn as well as to some interest on the part of the Westphalian aristocracy having relatives in England. She herself was eager to dare something in England, and she intended to if the travel expenses could be found along with 1,000 Lire for something to live on at the beginning. One might begin quite modestly. "Furthermore, one should know whether there was no hope at all to get something sure for sustenance." At the same time she proposed three sisters, two of them by name, who had already some knowledge of English and who in regard to character would be fitting for such a foundation. "Finally, I commend everything about us to your concerned and priestly heart" (October 16, 1901, E-693). However, such wishes were premature as long as the priests were only concerned to get a foothold in England.

Once back from England, Jordan reported enthusiastically on his experieinces in England to the motherhouse community in the weekly chapter of faults of August 16 (DSS XXIII):

We met insurmountable obstacles. . . . Had we not endured to the end, the whole matter would have come to nothing. The difficulties were indeed very grave. Thus you, too, shall need perseverance everywhere.

Jordan was full of praise for the country and its people: "The English are not so fanatic like the Germans." Above all he praised the active ecclesi-astic life. He was particularly impressed by the Oratorians. In another chapter talk (August 23, 1901) he described their love of the Blessed Sacrament and their strict orientation to their Roman motherhouse as an example to his own confreres to imitate.

On his return journey from London he had made short stops at Athus, Hamont and Welkenraedt. In the chapter of August 16, 1901, he also spoke about these visits:

Welkenraedt will have a great future. Athus and Hamont have great language difficulties. Language is so important! Hamont and Welken-raedt are financially so well that in a few years they will be a support to the Society. . . . The French house will proceed somehow more slowly, because the French are always a bit wary of things Germans.

1.60/87. Mother Mary's visitation trip. On July 24, Mother Mary under-took another visitation journey. She stayed almost 2 weeks with the sisters in Drognens. After a short stop in the "truly Marian College Lochau" she went to Vienna. There she was invited to take over, among others places, a sanatorium in Mödling. With the

examination of this hospital she connected a visit "to the large and beautiful Mission House of St. Gabriel."

Also in Muraszombat the sisters were offered a hospital. On her way back Mother Mary accepted the renewed invitation of the Arch-priest of Vedegheto, who urged the sisters to take care of the children and the sick. Mother Mary was picked up in a decorated ox cart. "A cleric was always walking beside the cart." She remained in Vedegheto three days. "May Jesus grant us to do good there." On September 9, she arrived back in Rome.

Mother Mary helped Jordan to carry his concerns about the sisters. In the course of that year Jordan again invested 12 novices. Sr. Clara busied herself with the sisters in USA as commissar. In Drognens there were difficulties also with the new sister superior (letter of the superior, January 2, 1901). Mother Mary asked Lüthen to arrange that the men's superior should admonish Sr. Dom. "severely to be more respect-ful and serious (not a foolish superior, but firm, quite good, etc.)" (April 18, 1901, E-692). But the vicar, Fr. Conrad Hansknecht, did not yield and demanded her replacement: "It is absolutely impossible with Sr. Dom" (May 7, 1901). "She must completely get away from here" (May 22, 1901).

The community of sisters in Vienna quickly became popular when they declared themselves ready to do home nursing among the poor and the sick when requested by the *Wohltätigkeits-Verein* (July 6, 1901, BL-486). On the other hand, difficulties again arose with Countess Györy in Budapest. Already the previous year she had denounced the sisters to the Primate. Towards Mother Mary the cardinal excused the lady "she is also a nun, holy, but severe" (April 18, 1901, E-692). Consequently, Lüthen urged the sisters to become independent from the Countess and was glad that they were already listed in the Schematismus of the diocese. Mother Mary, too, was dissatisfied that the Countess as president of the *Elizabethan-Verein* paid so little to the sisters that the superior, Sr. Ambrosia, had to fund raise: "Once the sisters were able to send money to Rome; now there are difficulties. . . . If the sisters remain under the Countess they had better leave!" (April 18, 1901).

There were also different opinions in regard to the spiritual director of the sisters. Mother Mary, who had become acquainted with the cardinal in the previous year, actually favored him. But the superior declined to accept his assistance based on her experiences. Mother Mary asked Lüthen to solve the problem. She explained to him that she pre-ferred Jesuits who, although without external

severity and cowls, were after all the “practical ones in everything” and at the same time the “most devoted ones to the core.”

Jordan and Lüthen valued the charitable work of the sisters very highly and urged “proper courses for them. For the care of the sick, etc! It is necessary to train our sisters well in the individual branches of charitable activity” (August 20, 1901).

1.61/88. Vienna X (III). Having bought a parcel of land for a future monastery and church in Weldengaße 13, the superior was fully absorbed by his very active church building association. October 7, 1900, Auxiliary Bishop Johann Baptist Schneider oversaw the “provisional inauguration of the *Apostelsaal* as chapel for the monastery of the Marian College of the Society of the Divine Savior” (SM 4, 1901). Following the motion of the city councilor, the Vienna Municipal Council named “the new land on which a small monastery and a church of the Salvatorians shall be built . . . *Salvatorianerplatz*” (SM 1901/6).

On March 30, 1901, the well deserving superior, Albert Hauser, was transferred. Back in January 13, 1901, Lüthen had announced the plan and assured Hauser that he might retain the Church Building Association for the *Apostelsaal*, which had become so near to his heart. “You have worked and suffered much in the college. God will reward you” (BL-471).

The new superior, Fr. Bartholomaeus Königsöhr, showed much understanding toward the outgoing superior, who, at first tired of his office, found it difficult to get used to his successor. Jordan fully understood this. He wrote him a kind letter to inform him,

. . . you enjoy my benevolence and sympathy; I suppose that you are in need of mental and physical recreation. I would like to talk with you personally, which unfortunately is not possible at present, maybe this summer. Keep firmly to God and to the superiors given by Him, and you will see that it will be good. May the holy guardian angel tell you everything I would like to tell you, my spiritual son. Listen attentively to him. I assure you of my sincere love (June 13, 1901, A-311).

The new superior soon succeeded in convincing his sensitive but capable predecessor to remain there.

1.62/89. Krakow (II). After the cardinal opposed the priests staying in Krakow itself, the superior was looking for a suitable place between

Krakow and Silesia. He sent Jordan a short report that he had been looking around in Krzessowice and in Chrzanów (April 22, 1901).

April 29, Fr. Alfred Zacharzowski met with the cardinal whose first comment was that he had already spoken with Jordan in Rome. The prelate had requested information about the small community he had allowed in Krakow (May 2, 1901). Jordan had been quite satisfied about his discussion with Cardinal Puzyna. The latter was not against founding a house of studies in Trzebinia. However, Jordan wanted to examine the matter more carefully and intended to travel to Poland again in summer. "In the meantime, you can gather information about the climate, etc., of Trzebinia, and above all pray much." Jordan was already making further plans and wanted the cardinal's consent "that in addition to the house in Trzebinia, we might also have a small house for professed members attending the university. However, "keep this a secret," he wrote to the superior in Krakow. At the same time he lobbied for an early edition of *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* in Polish (May 11, 1901).

On May 22, the three priests moved into a fitting house in Ulica Lenartowicza, 8 (July 19, 1901) which Zacharzowski had found particularly suitable for a future house of formation. On September 9, 1901, Jordan informed the superior about his intention to travel to Krakow in mid September to negotiate with the cardinal and the government. On September 22, he arrived at his confreres'. The next day, he went together with the superior to Trzebinia in order to decide on the spot. He congratulated the superior for his good choice. On September 24,

... on the Feast of Maria de Mercede we were with Reverend Cardinal Puzyna. He insisted that we remain in Krakow: "Leave your people here, I need them." In regard to Trzebinia he would then send a written answer to Rome, which he will probably be quite willing to grant (to Lüthen, September 24, 1901).

By October 1, the cardinal sent to Rome his agreement to found a study house in Trzebinia. To Jordan this letter was a welcome present on his namesday. For the meantime, however, the priests remained in Krakow to prepare themselves still better for Polish pastoral work. The superior pressed for going to Trzebinia; but Lüthen warned: first to greet the pastor, and only then look for lodgings. At the same time, keep in mind the future purpose of the foundation (October 15, 1901).

1.63/91. Meran (II). The efficient superior of Meran had bought a farm. He had to take action because the chance was favorable and downright necessary to sustain the community better. Now he presented a petition to Rome to be allowed to buy a building site. The general consultors agreed to the purchase, but there was still the Apostolic Visitor to be asked. "I deliberated this morning how to proceed with Fr. Antonio. Fr. Beda Hoffmann's opinion is that we had better not tell him now, because he might think he had been cheated. (By this he had certainly not meant the purchase at that time, when he indicated a *modus*)" Lüthen criticized the superior (April 3, 1901, BL-475). A few weeks later he again wrote, . . . by order of Venerable Father, just to keep a good mutual relationship with Fr. Antonio. He doesn't even know yet anything about the purchase of the farm, and now we must consider well how to inform him about it. Consequently, do not buy at any cost a building site at present. Furthermore, Venerable Father has again been asked seriously to take care of paying off the debts (May 1, 1901, BL-477; cf., warning of the Apostolic Visitor, April 20, 1901, D-738).

Thus the superior again faced the moral dilemma of whether simply to create a *fait accompli*.

On another issue, the Meran priests requested the same right as those at Lochau: a fortnight's holiday with a friendly pastor. Lüthen supported their request to Jordan "out of fairness" (July 14, 1901, BL-484).

1.64/92. Visitation of Eastern Europe. Jordan undertook a whirlwind apostolic tour to the Balkans. From Rome he went to Ancona, from there by ship to Fiume and then by train to Zagreb. The wearisome journey lasted two full days. On September 11, Jordan had a 1½ hour audience with Archbishop Georg. On September 12, he went via Sissek, Brod, Theresiopol, and Szeged to Temesvár. He stayed three days with the confreres in Mehala and also visited Auxiliary Bishop Josef Nemeth of Csanád. There the local superior concerned Jordan, for having "partly lost the former [good] reputation among the clergy (G-2.6).

On September 15, Jordan began his return journey. He stopped at the sisters in Budapest where Mother Mary had been a few weeks before. The problem was to make the sisters, who until then had been just guests of Countess Györy, independent and recognized ecclesiastically. This way there would no longer be any

danger the Countess might simply send the sisters away, as Countess Testitits had done to the sisters at Boghan. The local clergy stood on the side of the sisters against the Countess (cf., Lüthen April 3, 1901, BL-475; MM April 18, 1901, E-692).

From Budapest Jordan went back to Vienna, where he was expected by the priests and sisters as well. Jordan was received by auxiliary bishops Johann Baptist Schneider and Gottfried Marschall. He didn't neglect to visit his old friend Franz Kornheisl. In the evening of the same day, the Founder reached Meseritsch. Back in spring, Jordan had asked the superior not to lose sight of the study house for candidates of the Society. He warned the superior that he was too often out on parish supply work instead of being in the community (May 13, 1901, A-308).

It was important to Jordan that the prince-archbishop stick to his assent to Jägerndorf. On September 21, Jordan went to see him at this hunting lodge in Hochwald. Prince-Archbishop Kohn willingly renewed his consent (cf., Jordan to Lüthen, September 24, 1901 from Krakow). From Silesia Jordan traveled to Krakow where he met the cardinal on September 24, and returned via Passau. On September 25, he arrived at Hamberg, where already on September 22, two church bells had been installed at the remodeled monastery. Via Munich he went to Lochau where Jordan asked the local superior in vain for the travel money to Rome. This hurt him considerably (A-363).

From September 30 till October 1, he stayed with the confreres in Meran, where in summer a new superior had replaced the pioneer of the foundation (August 27, 1901, BL-504). On October 2, the Founder was back in the motherhouse in Rome just in time for his namesday.

1.65/93. Further papal encouragement. Jordan felt deeply touched by the letter Leo XIII sent to the superiors of orders and religious institutes (June 29, 1901) in which he encouraged them to serve the church faithfully in spite of all hostilities. He pointed particularly and expressly to the vocation of their founders:

And now, you religious Christians of every age, young and old, lift your eyes to your noble founders. Their principles speak to you, their statutes lead you, their examples show you the way. Let this be your most heartfelt and most holy aspiration: to listen to them, to follow and to imitate them!

The Founder was startled. He saw in the papal letter also an appeal of highest value to his two "battle lines." *The Nuntius Romanus*

immediately published the letter (*Annus XX*, 145ff), and Mother Mary confirmed to the Founder that she had not only received the letter of the pope to religious superiors, but that she had also taken it to heart.

At that time, Salvatorian spirituality searched ever more courageously for its own distinct profile. In doing so, it let itself be completely led by the Spirit and by Jordan's principles, which he used above all as the basis for his chapter talks. The fact that in these talks he repeated himself time and again animated some, while others felt it just a boring assault on the ears. To the latter he answered: *aut sint aut non sint!* Either they are nor they are not!^{*}

It was obvious that the faithful had let themselves be infected by Jordan's "spirit" by the way they expressed themselves. Thus Lüthen evaluated one priest Jordan had sent as his representative for the visitation to Temesvár (1900): "Fr. Gr. has worked for the Venerable Father and according to his spirit" (G-35).^{**} And to one superior he wrote: "I was particularly pleased he was making progress in "Salvatorianism," the highest philosophy of life!" (October 24, 1900, BL-451).^{***}

1.66/94. Brazil (II) was not forgotten by the Founder. In summer he admonished himself, "Found Brazilian Athenaeum. Where? Campos?" (G-2.7). Only in fall did Jordan try to retie the severed threads to Brazil. He sent Fr. Philibert Schubert there with the title of commissar. He departed on October 12 and reached Santos (Petropolis) on November 5. He connected with Fr. Ambrosius Mayer (and Fr. Nazarenus Rocchi) and passed his first impressions

^{*} "His well known saying" (S Chr 1916, 40): They shall be as they are, or they shall not be (Jesuits), Clement VIII is said to have agreeably assured the general of the Jesuits, Lorenzo Ricci on January 27, 1762, when the political battle about dissolving the Order was still going on. Pius XII, by the way, reminded the 30th General Congregation of the Jesuits of this episode of their history (September 10, 1957). Clement VIII had expressed himself: Either they are or they are not! Jordan liked to use the more pithy but grammatically less exact formula: Either they are what they should be or they needn't be at all (SD II/98).

^{**} Like Jordan, Fr. Gr. stressed, "besides piety also learning (modern priests!)" (G-35).

^{***} Lüthen referred to a confrere of the superior, Fr. Bl.

on to Rome (cf., December 11, 1901, A-334). He tried to get in contact with German immigrants in Ponzio Alegre, helpfully advised by Fr. Hielscher, guardian of OFM in Rio (cf., November 27, 1901, A-336; DSS XV, 4.7).

The small place, Ponzio Alegre, was unknown in Rome and consequently mistaken for Ponto Alegre. Meanwhile, Schubert had spoken with the archbishop and also with the nuncio and was encouraged by them (cf., February 8, 1902, A-339). Jordan was rather disappointed. "Ponzio Alegre seems to have not even a telegraph." He wrote to his Brazilian scout that he could best decide which place would be favorable, but reminded him once more of the condition: a house of formation: "Healthy climate, means, and work; the possibility (in 1 or 3 years at the latest) to increase the community up to 7 priests." Jordan himself was in favor of Rio de Janeiro where communication with Europe would be easy. But he also wondered why no congregation had dared a foundation there. So Jordan urged a "concrete plan" before Schubert could undertake "anything binding" (March 4, 1902, A-340). Personally he preferred to erect "Athenaeums at the main points of the globe" (G-2.7).

1.67/95. Narni. On April 22, 1901, Bishop Cesare Boccanera of Narni approached Jordan with the request to take over the shrine of Madonna del Ponte. The Founder asked about the conditions. The bishop invited him to visit (April 29, 1901). On May 5, they negotiated. Jordan noted:

Healthy region, fund raising allowed with episcopal recommendation. *Santuario* with parish 900 Lire without stole fees. Shrine is frequented. Candidature later. Lodging primitive (for 2-3 priests) (May 6, 1901).*

On May 7, 1901, the bishop again turned to Jordan about the Marian shrine. He immediately answered: "*siamo disposti*." He just wanted assurances on a candidature. On May 9, Jordan informed the bishop that he accepted if he were allowed to open a candidature, make collections like other mendicant orders, and receive a parish if they asked for one later. The bishop agreed, but had still to get the

* Cesare Boccanera was a Roman (June 24, 1840-1915, February 27) and pastor of S. Maria Maggiore. On February 11, 1889, he took over the diocese of Narni. In November 1905, he resigned his office and retired to Rome as titular bishop of Nicosia.

agreement of the Episcopal Chapter as well as of the *Congregazione del Concilio* (June 10, 1901).

The Chapter of the Cathedral decided to entrust the Shrine Madonna del Ponte *in perpetuum* to the Society of the Divine Savior, excluding the garden by the river. Any new construction would require a new agreement (decided June 25, 1901, executed June 27, 1901). Lüthen passed the good news immediately on to Jordan in London: The chapter has "undersigned and wishes haste!" (July 28, 1901, BL-498). On November 12, 1901, the *Congregazione* also agreed. Jordan at once took over the foundation with 4 priests and 2 brothers and destined it as a future *Collegium educationis Italicum centrale*.

1.68/99. Instructions from the Apostolic Visitor. On October 21, Jordan received the result of a prior discussion with the Visitor. To avoid the necessity of giving orders which would embarrass and shake the Society, Fr. Antonio gave the following instructions: 1) Nobody shall be accepted who cannot pay for his upkeep to priesthood. 2) No new foundation shall be made unless it can support itself and be profitable from the very start. The Society has enough space in its 35 houses to lodge all its members. 3) As few members as possible are to be left in the motherhouse and in Villa Celimontana. 4) In addition to the measures, which Jordan had presented to Fr. Antonio through Pfeiffer, the procurator general, Jordan shall motivate all members, above all the superiors, to assist the mother-house personally or with the help of benefactors. This is in fact in the common interest. 5) The local treasurers shall not be changed easily, because much experience is needed for their job. On the other hand, they are to be supervised so that they fulfill their task with care and zeal.

Fr. Antonio also points out the Society's still imperfect efforts be improved by perfecting their constitutions according to norms approved by the Congregation for Religious on June 29, and by enforcing their full observance. To avoid trouble the revised constitutions were to be approved by a general chapter. This extraordinary chapter should take place in 1902. Jordan could choose the most favorable month (D-739).

With the exception of point 3, the Visitor's instructions on finances were not new. The number of members in Villa Celimontana was always modest (6 at that time) and only relieved the motherhouse. The number of members in the motherhouse after

assigning the newly-ordained priests had already been reduced from over 130 to about 90 at the beginning of the year.

Jordan considered the first instruction damaging to the welfare of the church. The poor could not be excluded from the priesthood, rather the people of God had to provide for these vocations. Quite a few of his bravest members had been students without means. And how many great pastoral leaders, even saints, the church would be lacking if this principle were generally applied. Jordan of course complied with this rule, while searching indefatigably for ways to take the edge off it.

In regard to the second instruction, Jordan fully agreed. Despite all circumspection he had used in preparing and opening foundations it was unavoidable that the needs of the local Christians or the political and economic situations obscured the clearest plan. Much as with a family, a religious community, too, could only be founded when all economic risks were excluded. To Jordan the poorest foundations had the best future.

The second part of the Visitor's letter concerned matters he transferred to the generalate on reworking the Constitutions. Accordingly, they had to approximate the date for the upcoming First General Chapter of the Society.

Jordan had the following proposals regarding points 1-4 of the October 21 instructions presented by his procurator general: third persons or existing houses of the Society could also intervene to guarantee the necessary boarding and lodging expenses of poor students. All houses were obliged to a definite contribution to the motherhouse. Fr. Antonio praised these proposals. "The true sons of the Society, superiors and subordinates, will say yes to them" (December 20, 1901, D-740).

The first proposal simply spelled out on paper what was already being done. For a long time already, appeals had been made for fixed fees for candidates of the Society with the help of the houses and above all of *Der Missionär* and the almanacs. The second proposal changed the hitherto voluntary assistance of the houses into an obligation. But needy houses which even before had been unable to help, were again released from this obligation. In principle the directives were well intended, but they failed to thicken the soup. It

the end, church authorities could wisely curb the decision. However, as before, Divine Providence had to cover the Society's shortfalls.*

Jordan had bound his work so closely to Divine Providence that he was prepared humbly to accept any defeats it sent his way. Happy at the success of his foundations, he was never obsessed with success.

Again he entrusted his financial concerns about the motherhouse to the Mother of God. He put a note into the hands of the Lourdes statue: "Intention of those benefactors who have guaranteed the corresponding sum, October 30, 1901." Jordan also discussed the first instruction with the procurator general who later confessed:

As treasurer I myself agreed with this opinion [of the visitor] more or less. The Venerable Father remarked at that time: "You will see what situation we shall get into, when later we won't have any more people!" The moment he foresaw became true (An III, 2, 59).

1.69/100. Via Lungara. Up to then, the sisters' house in Via Lungara was still not recognized as an independent ecclesiastic institute. Jordan had to reach, step by step, the desired aim of ecclesiastic approval for the actual motherhouse. Already at the beginning of the year, Jordan petitioned to permit the sisters' chapel to be declared semi-public, thus freeing the sisters from having to go to the parish church of S. Spirito to fulfill their Sunday obligation. The cardinal had the chapel inspected to see whether it corresponded to the ecclesiastical requirements and gave consent on March 8, 1901(TVU).

March 16, "Sisters of the Society of the Divine Savior" received for "the Oratorium of their hospice" permission of the responsible Con-gregation to reserve the Holy Eucharist there for 5 years, should the Cardinal Vicar agree (E-838a). On March 26, the Cardinal Vicar granted the requested permission (E-838b).

On November 28, Jordan was with Cardinal Rampolla, who gave hi a hearing whenever asked. He succeeded to get church confirmation of his position as Founder and Superior of the sisters. The Secretary of State allowed him: "May always invest, etc. Do everything definitely." Already before that, he had given an account

* Compare the insistent illustrations of the Founder about the economic situation of the motherhouse and the cooperation of all in procuring help in the chapter talk of December 3, 1897, and January 21, 1898 (DSS XXIII).

of his previous procedure, which was shielded through the bishop of Tivoli or, from case to case, through Cardinal Vicar Parocchi: "*Omnia vota omnino tamquam ecclesiastica acceptavi*" (I have all vows absolutely accepted as ecclesiastical, November 22, G-2.3). In January 1902, the conscientious Jordan returned to the important permit of Rampolla: "I have accepted and confirmed the vows of all sisters as ecclesiastical ones" (January 24, 1902, G-2.3).

1.70/101. Assam (IV) news was satisfactory. The annual report showed 1,536 Catholics cared for by 9 priests in 7 main stations. 9 churches or chapels, 13 schools with 280 children, 3 orphanages with 72 children were being served.

The mission superior urged development of new funding sources. Already in March he himself had turned to the *Kindheit Jesu Verein*, but complained in summer that he had received no answer. Until then the treasurer of the motherhouse had been a kind of mission treasurer insofar as he punctually and conscientiously passed on the contributions coming in, above all through the *Der Missionär*. Since the previous year, Fr. Angelus Münzloher had been using for a proper traveling mission-treasurer to find new financial sources for Assam (June 20, 1901, BL-481).

By September 9, 1900, Lüthen had assured him: "We are looking for a Begging-priest" (G-35). Jordan immediately accepted this wish, greatly supported by Lüthen: "It must definitely be someone else [other than the procurator general]! How can he provide for Assam when he does not know where to get money for himself" i.e., for the motherhouse (July 13, 1901, BL-488). Earlier, Fr. Sev. had been designated to collect for the mission. But he did his job listlessly, preferring pastoral work. "It would be better if he returned to fund raising. Venerable Father doesn't find it correct that he turned to pastoral work instead. . . . Assam relies on him, and now it is delayed," Lüthen admonished the responsible superior (April 3, 1901, BL-475).

On November 6, Jordan nominated Juan Capistrano Schärfl as new mission treasurer—someone from whom he expected more involvement (cf., November 2, 1901, A-329). But he, too, failed to meet the expectations of the mission superior. Even many years later he judged his confrere: "He stayed quiet and didn't even do the book work" (A MA).

At the beginning of the year the archbishop of Calcutta fell gravely ill. The Apostolic Delegate too felt poorly and was planning

to return to Europe. Archbishop Zaleski returned home in May and paid a visit to Jordan on June 1, to talk with him about the mission in Assam. In summer, Münzloher was thanked for sending the catechism; he received instructions in regard to the mission property and the monthly reports, and it was made clear to him that all religious had to give an account also to their superiors (Ordinariate, Fr. Marchal, OP, August 27, 1901).

Archbishop Goethals died July 4, 1901. In late fall, Bishop Pozzi informed Münzloher from Krishnagar that the rector of St. Mary's College was being discussed as successor for Calcutta, and that the Apo-stolic Delegate would also be changed (October 7, 1901, A MA). At year's end the Propaganda also gave its opinion on Münzloher's yearly report. It stated with regret, that the Protestants in Assam were more successful. However, he and his confreres should not lose courage because of this (December 9, 1901, A MA). The missionaries were not at all discouraged, but in spite of that some of them caused Jordan considerable concern. On November 29, he discussed this matter with Cardinal Ledóchowski, the Prefect of the Propaganda.

1.71/102. Ruthenian Christians. On October 29, 1900, Jordan had a longer conversation with the rector of the Collegio Ruteno about the Ruthenian Church community. Jordan suffered from the fact that there was no religious congregation dedicated solely the concerns of the Ruthenian Church: "Ruthenian society needed in Bosnia. Ruthenian communities without priests; danger of apostasy" (G-2.7). The archbishop of Lemberg, the general procurator of the Ruthenian bishops, and the rector of the Ruthenian College all tried to win Jordan as a cooperator. He would willingly have helped them. But, . . . still much prayer is needed! Introduce a prayer association among the Ruthenians for the above purpose; also an association among the Ruthenians for the above purpose; also introduce an association of cooperators with a Ruthenian magazine (March 24, 1901, G-2.7).

Jordan was sorry he couldn't find fitting confreres to motivate and set free for such a special task. In addition, he lacked the means to continuously support such an apostolate. But Ruthenian Archbishop Andreas Szeptycki did not give up. Still on November 29 and December 3, he talked with Jordan and asked him not to lose

sight of his concern (G-2.3). However, Jordan could not come up with the forces necessary for such an undertaking.*

At year's end 1901, the German Embassy in Constantinople turned to Jordan offering him a pastoral post in Koniak near Smyrna (November 23, 1901, G-2.3). Jordan felt attracted to Asia Minor no less than by Galizia. He discussed it with Cardinal Ledóchowski, who advised him to request information from the archbishop of Smyrna. The archbishop let Jordan wait for months and then gave him his assent "to make a foundation near Smyrna, precisely in Koniak" (E-228). In the meantime, the priest who had initiated it all through the German Consulate in Turkey made contact once more.

Lüthen passed this priest's request on to Jordan who was on a visitation journey. The Founder asked his vicar general what this priest's intentions were, whether the desired foundation should assume pastoral care of the local Germans or of native Christians (Lochau, September 3, 1902, A-362). The priest's answer must have been favorable, for Jordan answered through his secretary:

We now intend, after checking back with the new Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Gotti** to establish a new foundation at the place indicated. However, we can start there only with a small beginning, maybe with two priests and one brother, and also this only after some years. Later we would, with God's help, erect an alumnate for the formation of candidates of our Society to the holy priesthood in order to enable us, if God wills, to expand further in

* Andreas Szeptycki was a Basilian monk of the Greek Ruthenian Rite. Born on July 29, 1865 in Przysbice near Przemyśl (as Romanus Maria Alexander) he completed his studies as a doctor of theology at the Gregoriana. He became superior of the monastery St. Basilus in Lwów (Lemberg) and Bishop of Stanisławów on June 19, 1899. Already on December 17, 1900, he was nominated Archbishop of Lwów and thus responsible head of the United Greek-Ruthenian Church in Galizia.

** Girolamo Maria Gotti (Genoa, March 29, 1834-1916, June 19, Rome) baptized Johann Anton Benedict, became a Carmelite Scalzo (November 7, 1850). As priest (since December 20, 1872) and superior general (October 1881 and May 1889) and since 1884 consultor in some important congregations, he became Inter-nuncio in Brasil (Titular Archbishop of Petra/ Palestine) on April 19, 1892. Leo XIII created him cardinal November 29, 1895, and entrusted him with directing the Indulgence Congregation and Propaganda Fide on July 29, 1902. His titular church was S. Maria della Scala, home of his confrere Fr. Antonio.

Asia Minor. May God grant us His holy blessing for this task! (E-228).

The priest's concern, however, was not Jordan's own long term planning, but immediate pastoral help. Thus it all came to nothing.

1.72/103. Mother Mary's reminiscence. On November 13, 1901, Mother Mary noted, not without pain and nostalgia:

Today my good sisters celebrated quietly the 25th anniversary of my final leave taking of my papa and the beautiful home-castle with chapel to begin the foundation of a monastery for missionary sisters at first in the monastery of Neuwerk, once a Benedictine abbey, which I had bought according to the advice of the papal prelate Msgr. von Essen. Until holy obedience called me to Rome (MMChr).

In her old age, Mother Mary's thoughts were more often on her child-hood home. So she sent Lüthen a photo of her home castle, adding some memories of her youth (April 18, 1901, E-692). On the Feast of Andrew the Apostle, Mother Mary made, together with her secretary, a fatiguing pilgrimage to Subiaco.

To the 20th anniversary celebration of the foundation of the First Order, Mother Mary sent a declaration of faithfulness to the Founder, which must have touched him deeply:

J.M.J. Rome, December 8, 1901

Dear Venerable Father and Founder!

Oh how much I like to express also in writing my quite filial heartfelt congratulations to the 20th anniversary of the foundation of your holy order, the First Order of the Society of the Divine Savior. Venerable Father, who else should remember even more gratefully the day of foundation than we, your spiritual daughters! Oh dear Venerable Father, the Divine Savior will certainly reward all pains, sufferings, sacrifices which the holy foundation of the First Order caused you. In fact, you already see all the sprouts of the great good which your Society will do and accomplish in God's holy church. We also promise to give you solace with whatever is to the best of our ability. Your life, Venerable Father, the life of the First Order is in fact also our life. Through you, dear Venerable Founder, on today's feast the Second Order, too, began its life 13 years ago. In the name of all my sisters, your spiritual daughters, I thank you, dear Venerable Father, I ask your pardon for all our faults, while wishing a still more radiant and more consoling 25th and possibly 75th anniversary of the foundation of the Society of the Divine Savior founded by you; and

to you, dear Venerable Father, better health, and to the noble and devote membership true holy firmness, increase, and strength of the foundations, and the lasting special protection of Mary, the Immaculate Conception. [I] also beg humbly for the paternal priestly blessing as the dear Venerable Father's first and most indigent spiritual daughter,
Mary of the Apostles.

From December 12-19, Weigang conducted the annual retreat at Via Lungara during which Mother Mary made the following resolutions for herself: "I must be more affable, more ready to write to the other houses . . . and have more cheerful trust in God" (Tacc).

1.73/105. **Statutes** could be revised quickly. Because of the church norms issued on June 28, 1901, the statutes were to be split into two parts. What had been the rule up till then (Common Constitutions) became the first part of the Constitution. It treated the goal, the identity, and life of the Society of the Divine Savior. The second part dealt with organization, government, and other juridical religious requirements. In this way the rule of life was utilized for a code corresponding to Canon Law.

But since the Congregation required him to cancel all charismatic explanations, the great rule of poverty and apostolate had to be returned to the Founder's drawer. Equally, the universality of the goal and of the means was limited by the new article as a precaution: "Above all, the members dedicate themselves . . ." [Note article 4: *Praecipue incumbunt . . .*]. Also the hitherto "too free" authority of the Founder was reduced to the limited authority of a superior general, as Jordan had practically learned in the school of the Apostolic Visitor. However, the three principles of the goal, the centerpiece of the Salvatorian rule of life since its first approbation in 1886, remained untouched (cf., Synopsis: Statutes concerning "idea and goal" FS, IV, 1, 67).

Already in Lent the new SDS Statutes were submitted to the Congregation which examined them, made some corrections and approved them for enactment. The Apostolic Visitor wished that they first be approved by the General Chapter before coming into effect, thereby avoiding certain disadvantageous difficulties. Jordan and his consultors disagreed. They thought it would be easier to eliminate these difficulties (it is not indicated which ones) if the revised Constitutions (*Costituzioni reformate*) were put into effect at once. Fr. Antonio withdrew his request mostly because such a

procedure would not prevent the General Chapter from approving the new statutes "inclusively," while deliberating whether the approbation of the Holy See should already be requested. Pfeiffer might communicate his answer regarding the two presented questions to the superior general and his consultors (S. M. della Scala, April 24, 1902, D-741).

Jordan was happy with this solution. He was convinced it would strengthen his authority as Founder if he could present the statutes— which in fundamentals, the Salvatorian rule of life, were his work— to the membership independent of the general chapter. For the coming general chapter they could already be presupposed as legally in force. So Jordan promulgated the new statutes solemnly on June 24, 1902. They remained in force till after his death. In 1911, only the ecclesiastical province law was inserted, and unessential adaptations were made.

Lüthen passed on an effusive comment to Jordan in Vienna: "Msgr. Melata writes: Best wishes, due respects, best regards, congratulations for the excellent compiling/editing of the Constitutions" (August 10, 1902, BL-578). Jordan appreciated the fact that the new statutes had so quickly met with the ecclesiastical acknowledgment: "Thanks be to God, that our Society has proceeded so far, having now a firm, very good rule capable of being approved" (July 6, 1902, A-351).

1.71/108. Brazil (III). Fr. Philibert Schubert as commissar in Brazil was left even more on his own. Fr. Ambrosius Mayer continued his activity and kept warding him off. On May 14, 1902, Schubert wrote from S. Jose de Bicas to Jordan, that he would settle down there. Jordan didn't want to agree to this plan. ". . . Bicas won't suit us. I return to my earlier letter, namely, to choose one of the healthiest places of Rio de Janeiro itself." He asked his scout to turn to the archbishop in regard to a foundation in the city itself. "Starting from Rio, the Society can expand in Brazil later. Rio is also the place to work through the press." Jordan added a personal request to the archbishop to be submitted by Schubert (June 17, 1902, A-340). Mayer also received an encouraging letter from Jordan, communicating his firm conviction that Schubert would be able to find a "stable location." "We finally decided on a healthy place in Rio de Janeiro" (July 6, 1902, A-351). Mayer showed little interest in Jordan's plans. In his seclusion at Campos he was understandably tempted to leave.

The generalate had elected Mayer as a delegate to the general chapter. Lüthen communicated this decision to the Commissar: "And you are alone in that wide country. But no! God is with you. Be steady trusting in God, sincere toward the Venerable Father. Write often, however briefly!" (July 25, 1902, BL-569). Mayer, however, did not come to the First General Chapter. He had set a new course for his life and did not want to endanger his decision to leave through a personal meeting with Jordan. Toward year's end, Mayer informed the Founder that he intended to leave. Jordan was deeply affected:

You have sent me, beloved son, the painful news that the son wants to leave his father to go into the world; do not do it, stay with us! Be convinced of my love and of my benevolence towards you.

Jordan besought him "by the Crucified" not to take the "fatal step" (January 29, 1903, A-375). But Mayer had quickly found a bishop ready to receive him.

Immediately after the general chapter Lüthen again connected with Schubert in loving concern:

General chapter ended some days ago: think of that! Without you! Thanks be to God, everything proceeded well. The resolutions will be printed soon. Venerable Father has been elected for life. And now! What are you doing? Everyone's eyes are directed to you. Lodging rented? Etc. Please, news at the earliest... (October 27, 1902, BL-587).

By September 14, Schubert had moved to Rio but found no time to write to Rome. Worried, Jordan wrote to him:

In anxious expectation I am waiting for your news. I am wondering about your long silence. I hope you are not ill? . . . Write very soon and do not lose courage, especially not self-confidence . . . take care of your health. . . . Be a holy apostle! For Brazil (December 5, 1902, A-365).

But Jordan knew all too well, that the only solution was to send out more confreres to Brazil as soon as possible. In the meantime, Schubert took over a parish school in Rio (January 21, 1903).

1.75/109. Assam (V). Procuring the expected and necessary money for Assam required further great efforts. The Prefect of the Propaganda gave Jordan a meager special help of 1,000 Lire for Assam (March 18, 1902). Jordan could not find young priests that year who he judged fit for the mission. The confreres in the mission itself remained self-willed and were not actually subordinate to the mission superior who demanded Fr. Dombrowski be recalled because he wanted to leave. For the present this was mediated, and the danger to the mission was averted. While the mission superior was still at home in Europe after the First General Chapter, his vicar, Ignatius Bethan, telegraphed that peace reigned in the mission (November 5). But the confrere wishing to leave continued insisting, although the Propaganda declined to have him recalled. The troubled mission superior Münzloher refused all intervention by the Propaganda and demanded that Jordan should decide (November 14, 15).

On November 20, the mission superior announced: "Fr. M coming." But Jordan could not contravene the order of the Propaganda and informed the mission superior: "If Fr. M., wants to return, we will go to the Propaganda and see" (November 25). In the meantime, this unfinished matter continued seething.

In addition, now there were no brothers in the mission. Of the 3 sent there, two had left and one had returned to his home (Noto). On November 13, 1902, one of the brave missionaries fell victim to his apostolic labors. Fr. Thaddaeus Hofmann died at his station in Raliang. Since as of January 1895, it had been impossible to send out any new priests, and so only 8 remained in the Assam Mission. Jordan suffered under this disparity. The Society was neglecting the foreign mission too much in its "world wide apostolate."

Though Fr. Gebhard Abele was an elected delegate to the general chapter, Propaganda did not give him permission for the journey home because Münzloher could not find a substitute for his mission station (A PF n. 50191, 50637, July 10; August 4; August 10, 1907, BL-578). Thus only the apostolic administrator of the mission came to the chapter. In Rome he presented the concerns of the mission emphatically.* Only two years later was Jordan able to send four more priests to the Assam Mission.

* The First General Chapter did not discuss directly the Assam mission.

1.76/112. Dismissal of the sisters. In that year, some sisters who had already caused Mother Mary trouble for a long time had to leave the community. Jordan decided on a clean up, which was beneficial to all concerned. With a heavy heart he dismissed three sisters, who were not only brave and talented, but who also had true vocations. They let the vows of a fourth expire. But in the course of the years they didn't find their personal wishes fulfilled as they had hoped; neither had they the strength to recommit themselves to the hard religious life or to humble themselves enough to conform. Each one of them was so entangled in her own personal difficulties that they united in their common opposition to Mother Mary. When the dismissal had become unavoidable the sisters were already away for some R&R. The dismissals were communicated to them while they were at home. The disadvantage, however, was that those concerned made even more audacious requests from there.

Sr. H. had entered Tivoli, November 1891. Mother Mary had come to know her mother when she had prevailed on the sisters' hospitality during the Holy Year, 1900. Shortly afterwards, Sister H. was granted a home leave. She repeatedly postponed her return. "Today Sr. H. has returned after an almost 11 month's absence [when she wanted to return, she fell ill each time]. Some obstacle always came up!" Mother Mary noted eloquently on May 13, 1901. But she remained only a few weeks. "Today we had to allow Sr. H. to travel to Silesia again (she didn't want to eat and was quite downcast, physically and psychologically" (June 24, 1901, MMChr). From home, Sr. H. complained that she had arrived in Ritbor in a miserable state. All were surprised, "that I looked so miserable and that I had declined so much in such a short time in Rome." She wanted to be transferred to Vienna, because in Rome they talked so badly of her (July 16, 1901, D-497).

At year's end, Jordan dismissed Sr. H. Her mother immediately required the refund of her dowry. Lüthen had Mother Mary make an account: it amounted to 3,161 Lire in expenses (1 Lire per day): "So she has earned nothing as she occupied herself only with herself." Sr. H. did not accept the accounting report, but turned to Fr. Antonio. He let himself to be dragged into the case and answered accordingly. She thanked him for his letter, requiring her dowry notwithstanding. Pfeiffer sent 1,400 Mark, asking her for her signature beforehand, which she gave.

Now, however, Sr. H. wanted to complain at the Congregation about the injustice she had suffered from Mother

General. She stressed that her signature to give the dowry to the sisters had been forced the first time (September 21, 1894) and that the second time (March 23, 1898) she had signed only out of fear that she might be treated even worse than before. Her letter cast Mother Mary in a most unfavorable light (June 18, 1902, E-840). At her request, Fr. Antonio gave Sr. H. the exact address of the Congregation for Religious, but advised her to abstain from such a useless complaint (June 29, 1902).

On New Year's Day 1902, the deposed superior of Milwaukee, Sr. Raphael Bohnheim "traveled to her home for the necessary recovery" (MMChr). Repeatedly over the ensuing years she, too, found reasons to postpone her return to the convent. She was embittered because her complaint about having been deposed unjustly had been refused. So finally the skillful and ambitious sister found herself inactive in Via Lungara, which also did not satisfy her. Mother Mary had let her go in peace and was glad to be rid of a difficult sister under the same roof. Back home, Sr. Raphaela continued to have good relations with the sisters, especially with those whom she felt understood and pitied her (D-498; E-481).

On February 3, "Sr. A., was called home in a great hurry by her brother." Back when she had been removed as superior from Tivoli (January 18, 1896), Mother Mary had followed the advice of a physician there and sent her home "to recover" (July 20, 1896, MMChr). After a month, Sr. A. returned in good health, "strong but needing rest." Though she taught again in the teachers' training school, she grew increasingly self-indulgent, becoming a real scandal to her co-sisters. On June 21, 1902, "the former Sr. A. was dismissed, after many sisters had suffered from her bad behavior!!!!" (MMChr). Sr. A. also requested reimbursement (June 23, 1902). Pfeiffer accepted "once and forever the satisfaction of all demands" and had the transfer confirmed (June 30, 1902).

On April 9, 1902, "Sr. B. traveled home for recovery" (MMChr). On December 28, 1902, she was dismissed from the congregation after her vows had expired. Jordan already on December 28 of the previous year had not admitted her to final vows, permitting only renewal of vows for one year. Sr. B., was among the sisters who in January 1897 had been sent to Akyab, India. She was one of the main ones responsible for the disharmony of that community, forcing Bishop Pozzi to dissolve the foundation. On June 22, 1900, she was transferred to Budapest as a 4th salaried sister. "However, Sr. B., remained here [Rome] instead of resuming any

activity. She was stubborn and also corrupted others, especially younger ones, in her sly and hypocritical manner" (Mother Mary to Jordan, E-844). She also protracted her home leave.

In October she wrote to Mother Mary that she had a bad cold, and they should send her a coat. In the same letter she affirmed: "Oh dearest Mother, I long to be with you, I hope you will soon inform me when I shall be allowed to travel." Mother Mary only noted: "Quite clever" and had her sent a coat pattern to sew. She reminded her: "You know that your holy vows will end on December 28 (Venerable Father does not want you to come to Rome)" (letter, October 7, 1902, E-841).

Following Jordan's instructions, Pfeiffer asked Mother Mary whether or not she agreed with the dismissal of the sister. Mother Mary was to send him her opinion together with those of her three assistants. All were unanimous in their judgment of dismissal (October 10, 1902, E-844). Sr. B. accepted the decision and requested from Pfeiffer her clothes, certificates and books (December 6, 1902 E-843).

By order of Mother Mary, her secretary answered Pfeiffer: the sister had brought only 150 Mark with her. Her trousseau had to be completed in Rome. The books belonged to the mission and were returned there. Some books had already been taken home by the sister in April. The Society could demand 2,000 Mark for training, and 2,000 Mark for food, clothes, etc. "So she would have to repay 4,000 Mark to us." But then she had to add Mother Mary's judgment: "She shall be compensated for her shawl which can't be found, and for her books. But now she is trained and can earn her own sustenance" (December 10, 1902, E-844).

Sr. B. was informed of all this by Pfeiffer. But she defended her-self vehemently and denied owing anything for her training. Then she referred to other sisters, e.g., Sr. A., whose demands had been completely fulfilled at their leaving. She demanded energetically that "by Christmas everything should be settled" (December 15, 1902, E-845). The long discussion ended when Mother Mary gave 37 Lire to Pfeiffer to send Sr. B., 30 Marks sent as indemnity. The secretary wrote on top of the letter with a sigh of relief "*Deo gratias!!!*" (December 19, 1902, E-846).

Mother Mary felt these departures very deeply. She examined her conscience seriously in this regard, and assured Lüthen:

Before God I am sure of this, [I] was rarely mistaken. It is true, until now I have had to behave as I did for the honor of the order. Other

good sisters who saw how the instigation of these weak ones was damaging the order are also of this opinion. (As they don't want to perish, the congregation shall perish). How much experience I have through all this Your Reverend will hardly believe. Because Your Reverend already knows: Srs. R. A. B: the instigators (ASDS).

1.77/117. Election of chapter delegates gave rise to certain agitation and upset. It was not easy to consider all the members fairly because, while all countries had to be represented, the Society still had no provinces. Fr. Antonio kept himself cleverly in the background, but through him the Congregation was always available to clarify questions about elections.

The election of the motherhouse delegate caused special difficulties. As those in the motherhouse entitled to vote were comparatively strong, Jordan wanted the generalate itself to have the deciding say in the election of this delegate. Thus he even floated the idea that he himself might be able to cast 2 votes! The Congregation nixed this. Jordan was in fact absent at the election for the delegate. It wasn't even clear whether the general consultors had the right to vote in the motherhouse. The Congregation had to be asked (August 5, 1902, BL-574).

Lüthen wrote to Jordan on visitation in Vienna: "Here they are pushing for the house election" (August 5, 1902, BL-574). A few days later he asked again for Jordan to decide. They could not wait for his return.

Annoyance is uttered repeatedly. Certainly, while elsewhere everyone is working for the chapter, here the delegates, *quia non est*, can gather nothing. Therefore, please, your decision. Fr. Antonio, too, asked. It seems to me that the election for the motherhouse must take place at once (August 8, 1902, BL-576). [Lüthen assured Jordan:] I take care for punctual execution of all matters, for the general chapter one must be exact (August 10, 1902, BL-579).

Jordan answered Lüthen from Krakow: "If you consider it necessary and appropriate you can allow the election. In fact, you know the situation" (August 17, 1902, A-356). Lüthen held the election immediately.

The coming general chapter cast its ominous shadow over the motherhouse in other ways, too. For the length of his visitation journey, Jordan had named the young Pfeiffer as *vicarius superior domus* (the proper vicar, Fr. Beda Hoffmann, was at his home.) The general treasurer was not always gentle in executing his temporary

rights. Jordan was reproached for favoring Pfeiffer, particularly because he signed himself "superior of the motherhouse:" "It was immediately interpreted that one [Jordan] wanted to bring one more into the chapter" (Jordan to Lüthen, Lochau, September 3, 1902, A-362). Even before, difficulties had arisen when the *vicarius* "local superior" had held the weekly chapter. Lüthen drew Jordan's attention to this item on the first Friday after his departure:

Regarding the *capitulum culpae* it seems to me that some decision should finally be made. This question has in fact always been urgent. But now, as Fr. Pancratius represents you as *superior domus*, the preparation of the chapter is in fact given over to him. Fr. Thomas [Weigang] then simply stays away; after all, it seems to me that the *casa generalizia* (in the strict sense) cannot be together with the other house [motherhouse] in the *capitulum culpae*; though it can be at meals and choir. I put aside Reverend Father Thomas for today. Fr. Thomas, otherwise, agrees to any solution (August 1, 1902, BL-571).

Jordan hurriedly sent special greetings to Wiegang (Vienna, August 22, 1902, A-357). A further canonical change concerned Lüthen himself: "Following the new norms, the Admonitor Vicar is abolished" (August 24, 1902, A-359). But this did not change anything in the close collaboration of the two, who had become a fine team to the benefit of the Society.

One concern was particularly pressing before the approaching general chapter: "We must bring order to the motherhouse and send people away from the motherhouse; otherwise the other communities could say we should first bring order into the motherhouse" (Lochau, September 3, 1902, A-362). Jordan was thinking above all of the three young priests who interpreted in their own way the strict discipline in the motherhouse. One was chaplain to the sisters in Via Angelica and had money sent there for himself. When the sister superior had given him notice "in a kind manner," he provoked a scene with Lüthen.

He will probably appeal now, which is good. This nightmare with the Congregation is no longer so frightening, since Fr. Antonio is favorable toward us. . . . *Militia vita hominis super terram*, this is certainly doubly valid in regard to the highest superior (August 6, 1902, BL-575).

The priest immediately complained to the Congregation about superiors in the Society. His appeal was denied. Even more, the Apostolic Visitor issued the order to warn him in the presence of

witnesses because of his “disorderly and scandalous life,” under threat of canonical punishments. At the same time, the Congregation required Jordan to transfer the priest out of Rome. Fr. Antonio, who called the priest, proposed to Jordan to transfer him to Lochau: he had his own reasons for this (September 24-25, 1902, D-742/3).

The three priests “frequented an inn on Monte Mario” (Freiburg, September 5, 1902, A-363). To Jordan it was bitter to hear of such dis-orders in the motherhouse during his absence. In fact, one of the three, Fr. Columban Brunner,* had very good relations with a

* Fr. Columban (Gottfreid) Brunner, born January 18, 1874 in Ergolding near Landshut, entered the Society in Rome as a student at the age of 13, and made his first vows at the age of 16. After attending the Gregoriana he was ordained at the age of 23 (June 15, 1897). Before that he had acquired a Ph.D. in philosophy and theology and baccalaureate in Canon Law. From fall 1898 on, he taught logic, metaphysics, ethics and mathematics in the motherhouse. From 1899 on he was editor of *Nuntius Romanus*, prefect of the printing office, and German teacher at San Apollinare. In summer 1902, he was elected as delegate for the First General Chapter by the motherhouse. During the chapter he kept the minutes as chapter secretary. Immediately after the chapter, Brunner left the Society. By December 29, 1902, he was incardinated in the Diocese of Civita Castellana. He found lodgings in Palazzo Lancelotti (January 1903 till November 1906), then one year with Msgr. Benigni (Via Corso Umberto I, nr. 113). From November 1907 till April 1913, his address was: Via Condotta 41, the convent of the Consultor Fr. Esser.

As a teacher at San Apollinare and editor of *Nuntius Romanus*, the highly talented priest looked for and found connections with Roman circles which could offer him more than the insignificant religious community, which had raised the poor student. He soon had excellent relations with the new consultor at the Congregation, Fr. Thomas Esser, OP, as well as with the editor of the *Corrispondenza di Roma*, Msgr. Benigni. Sponsored by these men, he found incardination into an Italian diocese surprisingly fast, as well as lodgings with his new friends. The pontificate of Pius X saw the rise of the “Integralist fanatics” among whom Msgr. Benigni was an unchecked influence. Msgr. Bressan, the papal private chaplain, used their anti-Modernist activities to procure for them any desired “papal” backing. (Cf., Josef Schmidlin. *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, 3 vols, 164ff, where he denounces the activity of the “hyper-papal zealots” (82) and “super-Roman Sion custodians” (166); the church historian points to these: “Msgr. Bressan as papal private chaplain, and the Index Dominican Esser, together with his famulus Brunner an Ex-Jordanist, Msgr. Benigni as “leader” (166). Only after the death of Pius X did Benigni’s “hidden power” ring collapse. Benedict XV got rid of them all at the start of his reign.)

consultor of the Congregation for Religious, to whom he willingly offered his services for special tasks. On the basis of this activity, this priest enjoyed a special status. He was not only a professor of philosophy, but also a teacher of German at the Roman Seminary for the previous three years. After his return from visitation, Jordan immediately canceled this position.

[The Prefect of the] Schools of the Papal Roman Seminary, Francesco Bertaccini, was informed by the Cardinal Vicar about this justified procedure of Jordan. He was sorry that Jordan was not able to offer another German teacher and thanked him for all the good work in the past years (October 8, 1902, D-1128).

Jordan was deeply wounded whenever he heard voices disparaging the Society and trying to influence the general chapter. He complained to Lüthen: "At the Congregation someone had said that the general chapter was the last hope or the only means of salvation for the Society. You can imagine the effect, in places like Meran, where this became known" (Freiburg, September 5, 1902, A-363). Already during his visitation of the Belgian houses Jordan had to state, how listless some were in their involvement in the Society and how weak their trust was into its future. As usual, he unburdened his heart to Lüthen .

For a long time I sensed a dangerous cliff for some in the Society. It is the pessimistic view of individual members who could cause much damage. A few days ago I glimpsed a letter in which someone wrote, when Venerable Father closes his eyes [i.e., dies], the Society might come to its end! How much damage one single such doubt can provoke in young and inexperienced people! (Hamont, August 3, 1902, A-354).

For the proximate preparation of the general chapter, a duly elected com-mission was to begin its work in the motherhouse. Lüthen

After this, Brunner found no welcome in Rome (added to the fact Italy had entered WWI against Germany). From June 1915 till 1916, December 1, he served as castle chaplain to Earl of Schönburg-Glauchau (Castel Wechselburg, Diocese of Meissen). He was later accepted into the Diocese of Trier (December 1916 - 1920 November). From July 1922 -1927 June, Brunner worked as editor of the Catholic *Germania* in Berlin. By April 1927, he asked for readmission to the Salvatorians. In doing the necessary background checks, the generalate had to request, and he received, from the Cardinal Vicariate of the City of Rome the *Nulla osta* (October 25, 1927). In 1928, he began a shortened novitiate in Steinfeld but didn't persevere.

thought it prudent to keep himself off the commission along with the previous procurator with the Holy See, Fr. Beda Hoffmann, to whom Lüthen had written: "Are you coming soon? General Chapter!" (August 5, G-35). Jordan didn't like the two experienced collaborators backing out. So he was grateful, when the former general consultor, Fr. Gregory Gasser, assented. He enjoyed Jordan's full confidence. Lüthen had also proposed Fr. Hilarius Gog, the superior of Lochau, who sometimes had acted quite independent of Jordan. Jordan answered somehow soberly: "You may take him into the commission if you like" (Freiburg, September 5, 1902). Other members of the preparatory commission were Weigang and Pabst from the generalate, Columban Brunner from the motherhouse, and the superior of Vienna II, Theophilus Muth.*

* Almost 30 years later Pfeiffer, who at that time had been the new procurator general, recalled this about the First General Chapter:

While Jordan endeavored to promote the Society and realize his plans one by one, in the Society itself the opinion became more and more predominant that one should at least introduce the so-called general chapter— an essential part of the inner organization of every religious congregation (PPP, 289).

For such a vague and general statement no clues are to be found in internal SDS documents. We only know the proposal of the Apostolic Visitor: Jordan should be ordered to convoke a general chapter within a short time, because left to him-self he was no in a hurry to do so (meeting of November 16, 1893).

In the previous years, Jordan had almost worn himself out anchoring the Society worldwide and inspiring Salvatorian spirituality in it. Fr. Antonio kept quiet for 8 years. But in October 1901, he ordered what he saw as the long overdue general chapter for 1902. Jordan couldn't but thank the Lord for having been given enough time for the Society to mature, so that a general chapter would not endanger, but strengthen its spirit.

Only after the Apostolic Visitor had ordered the general chapter in 1902, did this event occupy people seriously. At the same time, it had a bad effect in that one or the other critical spirit now found a hearing in the lobby of the Congregation, and thus found his agitating zeal confirmed. The deeper was then the disappointment, when they had to state that they (there were mainly three of them) didn't get a chance in the general chapter, and that only one capitular kept swimming against the Salvatorian tide.

1.78/119-123. Visitation. The result of the visitation in Athus satisfied Jordan. "The Arthusers enjoy a good reputation as brave and capable religious" (Hamont, August 3, 1902, A-354).

Jordan hoped Hamont would develop to be as good and secure as Lochau. To the superior he forecast a great future for the foundation, if he bore the sacrifices and sufferings of the first years in the spirit of Christian humility and patience. "It is a great privilege, to be able to co-operate in a foundation. . . . We may not call ourselves Salvatorians and imitators of the first heroes of faith unless we are also prepared to make great, similar sacrifices." At the same time, Jordan encouraged the superior to trust his view of the situation. It was inevitable, "that subjects only recognize the range and the aims like those standing at a certain vantage point. That's why God demands that subjects willingly submit to the orders of their superiors."

On July 12, 1902, he announced his visit to the Belgian communi-ties (A-352). With satisfaction he could state at the same time: "It is going on well" (August 3, 1902, A-354).*

In Welkenraedt the superior made efforts to improve the college externally. But Jordan also wanted to know the opinion of the other confreres. "Venerable Father will continue to think about the purchase; however, he will first examine personally or by a representative the whole matter of Welkenraedt, which is so many-sided" (May 9, 1902, BL-555). As Jordan could not come before summer he ordered Fr. Beda Hoffmann to discuss community matters with each one. "All may meet him openly!" (May 26, 1902, BL-558). In early August, the members there presented their plans, wishes and sorrows to Jordan himself.

(120) Meseritsch still had administrative difficulties. Jordan urged the superior to use his consultants more so complaints about too little savings and the farm being insufficient might prove to be unfounded (Vienna, August 23, 1902, A-358). Jordan continued to encourage the superior to develop the foundation into a "house of formation for Moravia and Bohemia." He suggested a special construction fund to be built up through the sale of periodicals and building stones. Jordan estimated that they could reach 100,000 Kronen at least, if all of them got involved. He pointed to the Trappists of Mariannahill,

* On the Feast of Maria de Mercede, September 24, 1902, the house chapel was inaugurated.

also in Bohemia, whose Abbot Franz had visited Jordan in June (Rome, December 7, 1902, A-366).

Jordan was pressed a second time to assume the pastoral care in Prossnitz. But he couldn't accept. Only in 1932, could the Society start a foundation there. Jägerndorf remained peaceful for the time being.

(121) Krakow. Jordan communicated to Lüthen: "In Krakow very well received by cardinal and auxiliary bishop; we decided for Trzebinia and expressly against Chrzanow." Earl Potocki of Galizia with whom Jordan had met in Rome in May, had recommended Trzebinia. Jordan wanted "to buy 2 to 3 hectares of land later" and begin with a small building (to the superior in Krakow Rome, May 3, 1902, A-345).

(122) Vienna. At the Viennese chancery, Jordan had to present two requests, one about the ecclesiastical recognition of the sisters. Already in early March, Jordan had requested Cardinal Gruscha "graciously to grant the Venerable Sisters of the Society of the Divine Savior (Salvatori-ans) episcopal permission for the Archdiocese of Vienna." He mentioned that the sisters had been active in the Maria Theresia Women's Hospital in the Feldgasse already since 1899 (February 25, i.e., March 8, 1902, E-839). As the cardinal had shown no hurry to fulfill Jordan's request, he planned to make a personal appeal during his visitation journey. "The sisters will probably be introduced canonically; I shall perhaps go personally to the cardinal, who is staying at Kranichberg" (Vienna, August 24, 1902, A-359). On August 26, he took the trouble to visit the cardinal in Kranichberg, his summer residence where he received the prelate's oral assurance (Vienna, August 31, 1902, A-361).

The second request was to clarify the status of the temporary foundations in Kaisermühlen:

Have now declared to Reverend Bishop Schneider that [we] won't take over Kaisermühlen as a parish; we may not do it in conscience. Now he will want to get rid of us soon, and Kaisermühlen will then become a parish already by New Years (Vienna, August 24, 1902, A-359; cf., Vienna August 10, 1902, A-355. "We will probably give up Kaisermühlen.")

The priests there favored giving it up and reenforcing Vienna X, where the *Apostle Kirchenbau Verein* of Fr. Albert Hauser was very active (cf., Rome, December 9, 1902). But the chancery kept delaying

the matter. They were in no hurry to take this poor parish back from Jordan.

(123) **Meran** had lodging for about 35 members. The newly-assigned superior, Fr. Christophorus Becker, energetic as ever, was planning a second foundation in Eppan. This was for him a chance to remain independent. Jordan was reserved. He wanted to know,

. . . exact numbers about what we get, what is sure and what is prob-able, etc., then what obligations we would assume. A new foundation is now very difficult because of lack of personnel, etc. You may present this matter also to Fr. Superior (Rome, January 19, 1902, A-338).

Jordan was planning to replace the scholasticate there with a study house for candidates. The healthy scholastics were to transfer to Rome in fall, the weak ones to Freiburg. The superior hoped to be able to accept 10 to 20 candidates (Vienna, August 24, 1902, A-359). During his Meran visit, Jordan had to change his plan again because Freiburg was threatened by a turbulent autumn. So Jordan decided to start at least the candidature near Meran: "The scholasticate will probably remain here this year and Karthaus will accept 15-20 candidates" (Meran, August 31, 1902, A-361).

From Vienna, the Founder had complained that in Freiburg there was "too little discipline" so that "already this year" more scholastics should be sent there (August 22, 1902, A-357). From Meran he traveled to Freiburg where he visited the scholastics, who in that year spent their holidays not in Hohenzelg, but in Bonnefontaine. The superior had rented a country house there with a chapel. Jordan thoroughly discussed matters with the priests in the Stalden. The result was that the scholastics of Meran were to remain there.

1.79/124. Fr. Otto Vogt rose too quickly within the Society. Hardly 23 when ordained, he immediately became director of the girls' school at Pérolles. When Fr. Canisius Werner gave up his office as superior of debt ridden Stalden, Jordan could find none but Vogt courageous enough to take over the management of the community. He became superior on October 15, 1899, not yet 25 years old. With energy and success he dedi-cated himself to paying off the community's debts. At the same time, he took over the position of coadjutor at the nearby Cathedral of St. Nicolas. His local community numbered 9 priests, 12 theologians and 3 brothers. Vogt's admonitor was the childlike Fr.

Ephrem Bohnheim, vicar at the nearby parish of St. Moritz.^{*} To Jordan the college remained a problem even under the new superior, the more so because complaints continued to come in. The alert superior accepted Jordan's warning with only halfhearted submission, and tried to find a supporter in Lüthen:

I like my community very much. Venerable Father shall also hear the opposite viewpoints. He always simply accepts accusations without listening to the other side. The accuser doesn't have a sound judgment about the spirit in the Freiburg community. . . . If I had never been proud, I will be so now and say that I am a good Salvatorian, and I have become so in the "ill reputed Freiburg," and with God's help I shall not desert (July 18, 1901).

However, the director of Drognens also complained that Vogt disturbed the peace in his house, above all by binding the sisters to himself. The confreres in Freiburg complained that Vogt took the liberty to hear the confessions of girls in his room (December 12, 1901).

Jordan had no other choice but to admonish the young superior sharply but in all kindness. The latter defended himself vehemently: "Although I can bear much, the hostilities of the last months were too much and too malicious for me to continue without making myself unhappy. Everything has its limits." Fr. Otto asked to be transferred:

Until summer I will keep on with the help of God, but then only "extreme obedience *sub voto*" could force me to keep my position any longer. I have been in Freiburg for 8 years—quite a long time.**

Vogt complained particularly about an "ugly, mean accusation" that he had visited the sister of a confrere: "Shame, the wicked accuser!" (January 15, 1902). Lüthen now urged Vogt to give up spiritual direction at the girls' school in Pérolles (February 11, 1902).

^{*} Bohnheim connected Vogt with his own sister (Sr. Raphaela), the deposed superior in Milwaukee. The vigilant Lüthen did not hesitate to warn Vogt about this (February 28, 1901, G-35).

^{**} "Reverend Father Otto is quite in favor of Sr. Dom., it is good to know this. He shares pious thoughts, etc. with her, almost as to Sr. Raf," Mother Mary explained to Lüthen. In fact, she hoped the young priest would be a helpful influence on the sister superior of Drognens (April 18, 1901, E-692).

On May 2, Vogt sent Jordan "happy news that today, the Feast of *Regina Apostolorum* our dear Marian community is completely debt free" (May 2, 1902).

In the first days of November, Jordan stayed in the community. Vogt's term of office was coming to its end. Jordan wanted to set the future course. He knew that he had to act, and at the same time to avoid any sensation. The First General Chapter delayed a timely solution. Vogt took part in the chapter *ex officio* (*domus formata*).

In the meantime, the vicar general of the diocese got involved. He reproached two priests for "the whole imprudent relation of Rev. Fr. Otto with women." The priests saw their honor attacked and together rose against their superior: He had "over years kept irresponsibly care-less and dangerous relations with young girls." One girl's shameless accusation to the chancery against Vogt became known to the clergy, although, unfortunately too late, it was proven to be a maliciously invented defamation by the girl's lover (Bürger to Jordan, December 16, 1902). Hardly returned from the general chapter, Fr. Otto had to leave his dear community pell-mell.

He declared to Lüthen under oath that it was all lies; but he accepted the cross of calumny (Lochau, December 22, 1902). The new superior of Lochau received Vogt at present as "procurator without pastoral work" (Fr. Bonfilius Loretan to Jordan, December 18, 1902). The priests in Freiburg were greatly relieved when the truth became known: "Thanks be to God! We have succeeded in eliminating the grave suspi-cion from Fr. Otto. We have a written declaration in our hands" (Bürger to Lüthen, December 29, 1902).

The austere, but overly just Lüthen stood up for the contrite Fr. Otto, and reproached the priests in Freiburg for having condemned their superior too hastily. They defended themselves quite decidedly. They had always opposed Vogt's "relations with the young girls, and had to oppose them because they were against all priestly prudence." They found it more than strange that Fr. Otto, "has also the sad courage to justify himself and to minimize his irresponsible levity as some 'impru-dence??' A man does not act like this!" (Bürger to Lüthen, January 19, 1903).

The contrite priest remained an ostracized confrere. He was closely watched, and passed from community to community. Soon there again lay on the table the charge of "an imprudent communication with women," which was a reason for demanding a transfer. Jordan engaged himself in a fatherly way in favor of the

sidelined confrere, whose "sentimentality alone had played a nasty trick" (May 2, 1908). The superiors who were asked only promised to receive him on the condition that Jordan assumed full responsibility for any such transfer (Vienna, August 20, 1908). At last Vogt gave up. He wrote to Jordan: "I have "decided to leave the Society and try to find my happiness as a diocesan priest, because in my sad condition I know no other way out. I feel unhappy, even if it is my own fault" (Vienna, November 21, 1909). Fr. Otto immediately received permission to look for a bishop. Vienna was inclined to accept the 35 year-old but "at the last minute" the chancery withdrew the promised post (Königsöhr to Jordan, March 13, 1910).

After further diversions, the good superior of Hamont accepted the confrere. Vogt could tell Jordan with relief: "Lovingly accepted in Hamont" (April 25, 1911). But that was only a stopover. On May 19, 1913, we find Otto as a novice with the Piarists, and at the same time a prefect in a hostel in Vienna VIII. "Fr. Francis Xavier" worked there until his death there, just having turned 50, on February 2, 1925.

The tragic life of this priest was described briefly here because it strained the fatherly Jordan over the years, but also because it exemplifies how fragile the honor of a priest was at that time. Such events were unfortunately always grist for the mill of those who liked to accuse Jordan of lack of knowledge of human nature for entrusting responsible positions to young priests without sufficient apostolic experience. Jordan could not but keep silent and ask the Lord with a ready heart to enlighten him how to connect apostolic zeal and apostolic prudence in a better way in the future.

1.80/125. Chapter preparations and the Humaniora. On July 25, the superiors and the delegates to the First General Chapter were insistently urged by Jordan to prepare themselves well. He ordered all superiors to hand in the personnel and financial reports of July, together with their reports on religious discipline and the observance of the new statutes, particularly about choral office, *capitulum culpae*, the frequency of consulta meetings, the recent norms from the Congregation prescribing one-hour of meditation, any grievances, etc. Superiors of formation houses were required to submit their *ratios* and *curricula*. Both superiors and delegates were requested to submit proposals on how to protect and to preserve religious discipline according to the new statutes and the still to be composed

Constitutions, how to improve the financial status of the houses in general, and of the motherhouse in particular (July 25, 1902).

Returned from his visitation journey, Jordan dedicated himself fully to preparing for the chapter. He examined previous practices and identified the main hindrances to the smooth development of the Society (B-120). He outlined how the Society might propagate itself better (*modus propagandi Societatem*, B-122) and sought for fundamental regulations of the humaniora (secondary education), which had to correspond to the various countries (B-123).

At that time, Jordan thought it was enough for students to complete the humaniora in six years (Italian model). But in German-speaking countries these studies were highly esteemed. In fact, the German *Abitur* (final examination for entering university) was more highly prized than Roman doctorates in philosophy or theology. Thus teachers from Lochau especially lobbied to prolong the humaniora up to school leaving (cf., An SDS 1929, 59). A further drawback of the current policy was that most of the priests working as teachers had had only the classical formation without the *Abitur*. Thus the upper classes of Salvatorian schools lacked specialists in the natural sciences. Faced with all these difficulties the general chapter balked. They handed the problem back to the general-ate to entrust the solution to a study commission (HK).*

1.81/126. Superior General for life? The new Constitution required a “legally elected superior general (n. 205). But is this rule also valid for the Founder? Or had he just to step aside? Was there a middle course to elect him for life? What happens if one of the Founder’s “spiritual sons” is elected to the highest office as superior?

Already in April, Pfeiffer had received, in the absence of the *per se* responsible, Fr. Beda Hoffmann (procurator general whom Jordan had sent for visitation to Welkenraedt) the charge to request

* Immediately after the chapter, Jordan asked the president of the Inter-national Antonius College, who was at the same time Definitior OFM, about the position of his order on some questions. He noted the following points:

- 1) Foundations only if there is hope they develop to a convent.
 - 2) The teachers of high and low leveled studies are to be dispensed on school days (i.e. from the choir).
 - 3) Have many parishes, although, according to the general rule we are not to accept.
 - 4) Give no permission to the individual to pass the night *extra communitatem* (but with us special cases are allowed)
- October 31, 1902 (G-2.7).

Fr. Antonio's opinion on this matter. The Apostolic Visitor, in the name of the Congregation gave the following answer:

. . . it is quite evident that the Founder [retaining this office] as long as he lives dedicates himself to the highest direction of the Society, unless he made a justified objection, or lacks the capacity and strength to fulfill the duties of his office. It is also quite natural that the Founder himself, if the Society is in order and has considered its law, does not shirk them, but on the contrary is the first to wish their full observance, also if he (as in the present case) has to make a sacrifice of self love.

With this he not only loses nothing in the Society, but he gains (as is just) more authority and honor. Consequently, the Society can, if it honors and loves its Founder, elect him in the manner that this election, insofar as it is for the Society itself, be also for life. If one wishes, one can also consider, whether such an election for life seek the agreement of the Holy See. An election performed in this manner would be the most splendid expression of love and appreciation of the Founder.

1.82/127. Men's First General Chapter, a brief sketch. On Sunday, October 5, Jordan celebrated a Solemn High Mass. Afterwards the Litany of the Saints was recited in front of the open tabernacle, and the Founder intoned the *Veni Creator*. During the hymn the 25 capitulars proceeded to the Aula, while the community remained in front of the tabernacle. In the chapter hall, Jordan made a speech to open the First General Chapter, which he framed wholly in terms of Paul's words, "I myself will boast only of the cross of Jesus Christ our Lord, by which the world is crucified to me and I to the world" (Gal 6:14).

Dear Sons!

I sincerely welcome you all who have come from the farthest regions to Rome in order to hold the First General Chapter to the greater honor of God and to the advantage of the Society. We intend to strengthen our Society in the spirit of the Savior of the World, in the spirit of Jesus Christ the Crucified, the spirit which is contrary to the spirit of the world. Far be it from me to boast of myself but in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified to me and I to the world. Therefore, exclude the spirit of the world, of pride, of exuberance, of vanity, of exaggerated liberty; we may be filled with the spirit of Jesus Christ, which is the spirit of humility, of renunciation, of prayer, of obedience.

May no one try to diminish this spirit of Christ, which would mean to tear down the Society from its height and to throw

it down to the ground, so that it might be crushed by people. May no one try to introduce the secular spirit into the Society. The more the spirit of the world is introduced into the Society and the less the spirit of Christ Crucified dominates in it, the less it will flourish, the less fruit it will produce, the more it will be punished through lack of vocations and deprived of the heavenly blessing. The more we approach the suffering and humiliated Savior, the richer fruits will come out from our work in the vineyard of the Lord.

As we cannot pray through whole nights, we will at least dedicate some hours to meditation and to the Divine Office. As we cannot climb up to the highest grade of humility and renunciation, of the suffering and patience with the Savior, we will at least make efforts to become similar to the humiliated and crucified Christ by the small and few humiliations, which our rules and our life style bring along. This spirit, which I always preached to you, dear sons, you may always keep in mind, when you want to promote our Society by your advice and your voice. Promote to the first places in the Society those who are inspired and filled by this spirit, although, on the second place prudence and experience must adorn it. Those are in fact real Salvatorians, disciples of the Divine Savior.

Finally, dear sons, you may also remember that the spirit of Christ is a spirit of universality, not of particularity, for Christ has died for all, and thus our Society has a universal character; its laws must therefore not exclusively adapted to one or the other nation, but the whole earth and the needs of our holy Mother, the Church, are to be kept in mind, which needs so much apostolic laborers, and this on the whole earth, so that the faith be revived among Christians and propagated among the heathens. Enlarge your hearts and make efforts to become all to all, so that you may win all for Christ under the protection of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Queen of the Apostles, and under the banner of the Savior of the world, who be praised and honored for ever and ever. Amen (cf., DSS XXIII, 1902/10/05).

Then followed the roll call of the capitulars. Six had indicated in advance their reasons for being prevented and were excused. The previous procurator general, Fr. Beda Hoffmann, had indicated grave reasons, about which "religious secrecy" was to be observed.

The 5-member preparatory commission (which had been elected in the absence of the Founder) was dissolved and a new commission was elected by the chapter to steer its proceedings. Jordan then renewed his vows before the chapter (C-74), and all the other capitulars followed suit. Then the Founder declared that he resigned the office of superior general; the capitulars were quite free

to elect the superior they wished. The superior of Lochau explained in the name of all that they preferred to re-elect the Founder by acclamation. But in order to do justice to the canonically prescribed form, a secret ballot was to be taken. Then Fr. Hilarius Gog asked all capitulars to stand up as a sign of gratitude and filial reverence. This also happened.

The sitting general consultor and novice master, Fr. Paulus Pabst, who had just turned 30, found this gesture somehow shabby. He explained to the capitulars that according to Fr. Antonio the Apostolic Visitor, the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars allowed Founders of Religious communities to be elected for life terms. He proposed that the chapter should elect the Founder of the Society as superior general for life by acclamation. They all stood up to show their agreement. Then Pabst proposed to ratify this act by secret ballot.

If in the secret ballot the majority were affirmative, the acclamation remained valid. If the majority were negative, a proper secret election would be initiated. 22 yes and 2 no-votes were cast. Thus the acclamation was valid. Jordan announced the result of the balloting and accepted the election. Lüthen intoned the *Te Deum* and the capitulars went into the chapel, where the newly-elected received the promise of fidelity from the capitulars and the local community.

When the capitulars reassembled the next day, Fr. Gregory Gasser proposed to repeat the election of the superior general by secret votes, as the Constitution expressly demanded that all chapter elections be secret. In this way any possible later objections caused by a mistake of form could be avoided. Thus Jordan declared to the capitulars:

Because a doubt has come up to one of the capitulars, whether the form of my confirmation as superior general of our Society for life was incontestable, and with this whether all possible questions are avoided, and all were satisfied, I invite the capitulars to a secret vote for the election of the superior general, as it is prescribed by the Constitutions.

In this secret vote, 24 ballots were cast for Jordan and one for Lüthen. With this the Founder was elected superior general of the Society of the Divine Savior for life. The result of this quite ceremonious but virtually unanimous election was to the Founder unexpected proof of confidence. However, both election days bore the thorn of the "letter of the law."

The Apostolic Visitor was then dutifully informed about the election and congratulated the Founder and the capitulars. The chapter thanked him in an address of gratitude "for all he had done and borne for our Institute." Fr. Antonio was very pleased by this attention. He himself did not show up at the general chapter, restraining from any mixing in.

On October 7, more elections were held. Lüthen was elected First General Consultor with 21 votes. Weigang was elected 2nd Consultor only on the 3rd ballot with 11 votes. The Superior of Vienna X, too, was elected only on the 3rd ballot with 12 votes, although all during the pro-cess he was the front runner. Nevertheless, he declined election. While in bed with a fever that afternoon, in his place was elected the superior of Lochau as 3rd Consultor. But he too declined the election. The capitulars, however, refused him what they had granted to the superior of Vienna.

As 4th Consultor the superior of Tivoli, received 12 votes in the second ballot. Difficulties arose in the election of the procurator general. In the first ballot Pfeiffer received 4 votes. In the second ballot he tied with his predecessor Gasser, 7 votes each. On the 3rd ballot he won over his predecessor by one vote. With 8 votes he became the new procurator general. Hurriedly, a request had to be made to the Congregation for him and for Gog for an age dispensation. These were granted at once (October 1902, A Rel 6969, 6697). From the afternoon of October 15 onwards, the procurator general could take part in the sessions as a capitular. By declining to accept his election as procurator general, the noble Gasser opened the way for Pfeiffer, who in the following years worked decisively to shape Jordan's two foundations.

After elections, other matters regarding the Society itself could be treated. The first item was prayer life. The superiors were forbidden to introduce new practices of piety not mandated in the statutes. Then instructions for common choral office were treated. They reconfirmed that so far things were functioning well. Those in final vows before the introduction of choir were not obliged to it, but were sincerely invited. Choir is omitted when fewer than 4 members were present. Superiors can dispense teachers from choir on weekdays. It was further stated that the sick were not obliged to participate and that superiors can limit choral prayer for scholastics. It was also underlined that choral prayer had to recede into the background in case of more important business, particularly pastoral

service. This was to hold not only for individuals but for the whole Society (cf., Const. 93).

A second item of debate was the *votum* deliberations and decisions of consultors which superiors had to follow. It was stressed that superiors shall listen not only to their consultors, but also to the other members, particularly priests. They returned to the strict instruction in which Jordan, on May 13, 1901, limited absence from the community to 3 days, at the most to 5; for a longer period, prior permission should be requested. The chapter then gave superiors with their council the right to allow members to stay *extra communitatem* up to 10 days for pastoral reasons. For any longer absence permission of the superior general was to be requested (17 yes, 7 no, Weigang was absent).

A long discussion followed about adapting clothing of one's host country. No decision was taken. They retained what for all practical purposes was the regulation in effect up till then: following from time to time the local situation according to circumstances, with the approval or tolerance of the superior general.*

After discussing other disciplinary affairs the question of studies finally arose. Jordan started with the proposal to erect a *preparatorium philologicum* for the formation of teachers of humanities (high schools). In doing this, he admitted that the question of place and personnel would be difficult to resolve. It was decided that the

* Wearing the habit was basically regulated by the new norms: it shall be worn in and outside the house. Jordan liked the Salvatorian habit. He seldom and only unwillingly dispensed others from wearing it, and then required a clerical suit adapted to the country. The attitude of the Apostolic Visitor in this regard was stricter than Jordan's.

Unfortunately, confreres in the communities often quarreled about mantel, hat or shoes. In these cases, like it or not, Jordan had to say a clarifying word. In this, he was in no way stubborn. Already in 1894, he had allowed the confreres in Vienna to wear an overcoat with sleeves. During the hot summer-time the Salvatorian mantel was worn in Rome only at official happenings, and Tivoli and Noto took the same liberty. He personally like the wide Salvatorian mantle with the "Roman pilgrim's wrap," which reminded him of his fundamental Founder experiences in the Holy Land and Lebanon. At a later date the Salvatorian mantle was separated from the religious habit with reference to a canonical instruction, which spoke only of a religious habit. In regard to adaptations to host countries, Jordan made no objection (cf., question about hat, Vienna 1900; Meseritsch 1899; S. Chr. 1919, 226; An 1920, 32 & 1934, 62).

generalate should empanel a study commission to work out a plan for the humanities and to present it to the generalate for approval. The generalate was charged to erect a "preparatory school for the formation of teachers in the humanities."

The study commission (HK) should be active till the next general chapter. The humaniora should be covered within 6 years (2 for philosophy and 3 or 4 for theology—short and full course). No tract is to be omitted and no exam to be cut. To pursue a doctorate, permission of the superior general is needed. The one applying must first declare in writing that he aspired to this honor only for the greater honor of God and the benefit of the Society, that he would learn and work academical-ly in the spirit of the church, and that he would not assume a lectureship without the permission of the superior general. Then followed extensive discussions about the teachers in apostolic houses of formation.

In principle Jordan linked virtue and study. At the center was learning for faith: knowledge serving the proclamation of faith. So an opinion of the North American delegate was expressed quite according to his heart: "Those priests with middle level training in the sciences accomplish the most (G-2.7). That same month during which General Chapter I met, Jordan insisted that more than anything else he had called the whole Society to: "consider catechetical instruction as a main task of the Society of the Divine Savior, October 30, 1902" (SD II/38).

On October 17, 1902, the chapter moved to the financial situation of the motherhouse. It decided that all the members should propagate the Angels' League and the Institute of sponsors and cooperators, as well as the Salvatorian press. Net income from the press should be faithfully left to the motherhouse. It was also recommended that all members, above all superiors, support the motherhouse as much as possible.

These were the first decisions to be made unanimously by the chapter. Until then there had always been at least 1 to 3 dissenting votes. Recruiting brothers and training them in a craft was also accepted unani-mously. Only on the second last day was a commission of 3 nominated to examine the accounts of the Society. Gasser reported on the financial status of the Society. Muth, superior of Vienna II, declared in the name of all capitulars that the report indicated the Society was also well formed in temporal things. All of them thanked with applause all those engaged in administering the temporal goods of the Society.

Sunday, October 19, 1902, the minutes were read and accepted with one negative vote. At the conclusion, Jordan recited the Apostles' Creed, repeated by the capitulars. The Founder reminded them once more to observe the new statutes, recommending brotherly love, the spirit of prayer, of unity with the center and head of the Society, above all with the superior general, finally reverential love toward the Holy See and to the Holy Father. Then he declared the First General Chapter closed. Singing the *Te Deum*, the capitulars moved to the chapel.

On November 17, 1902, Jordan promulgated the decisions of the general chapter as binding ordinances, along with the Constitutions. Lüthen was satisfied: "The General Chapter has gone well" (to Fr. Prot., October 20, 1902, BL-586). For Jordan little changed in his daily duties, which the chapter had just interrupted somewhat. He had used every chance to discuss and consult with the individual capitulars, above all with those who had soon to return to their responsibilities.

1.83/128. The mature Society, and Pfeiffer's reminiscence. When *Der Missionär* published in its column, Salvatorian Chronicle, the report on the Society's 21st foundation anniversary (December 8, 1902), it commented: The Society had "through the First General Chapter been so strengthening that now it could certainly claim to be adult" (MI 1902/92).

After the chapter, the Salvatorian advertizing brochure also adapted itself to the new realities. It appeared under the simple title "The Society of the Divine Savior (Salvatorians), 14th edition, Rome 1903 by a Member of the Society." The subtitle, "a contemplative-active order" is missing from this edition, nor does one see First and Second Order members, Angels' League, as in the 1900 edition, but just Salvatorians, their collaborators and sponsors,* the Angels' League, and the Sisters of the Divine Savior. The troublesome search for a name is not overlooked: "Finally (in 1894) the Venerable Father gave the order the beautiful name *Societas Divini Salvatoris*."** Regarding "Purpose and Aim" the Society puts itself completely in line with "like-minded apostolic orders." "One of the tasks" of the Society remains recitation of "choral office." Now the principle feast

* The word "members" is no longer used (as it was still in 1900).

** Here the word "order" is used in it purely popular sense.

is “Mary, Queen of the Apostles;” Pentecost is not mentioned expressly, but further on the brochure does bear the Pentecostal seal, and of course the banner of the *Regina Apostolorum*.

It is worth mentioning how Pfeiffer, looking back as a 70 year-old, judged the events of 1894 to 1902, which he had experienced as a scholastic, as a young priest, and soon after as a favorite collaborator of Jordan and Lüthen. When reminiscing (December 1942) his judgment was quite conscientiously careful and balanced. He summarizes in 4 points the serious complaints, which had come up, above all among the German members: 1) in an effort to accelerate the formation of priests, Jordan had shortened humaniora studies and too easily admitted to final vows those who then did not persevere and left in great numbers. 2) Consultors were lacking who might have been able to evaluate the superior general’s actions, realistically criticize and moderate him, and present the legitimate wishes and the understandably various tendencies of subordinates. Above all they were displeased that Jordan’s closest and most intimate (in fact his only) adviser had been Lüthen. 3) The ease with which Jordan had accepted students without considering their financial situation was judged harshly. 4) Because its religious spirit and unity had been in danger, the Founder had introduced choral prayer to give the Society a more pious image and greater firmness. This innovation was not well received. The fact that the “Roman religious habit” had been required for all houses of the Society, was interpreted by many as the motherhouse’s intransigence and lack of understanding, something which held the members up to ridicule in other places.

For these reasons, many had insisted on convening a general chapter. The Founder had resisted probably out of fear that some envisioned a Society different in spirit from that desired by the Founder. In the First General Chapter these sound and reasonable critics had been treated correspondingly. The Founder was elected superior general for life. Lüthen again became the first general consultor. However, three more consultors, and a procurator general were put at his side. Studies were reformed, and it was generally agreed to be more reasonably flexible regarding the peculiarities of the various nations (Sum § 47-53). Pfeiffer points out that these justified grievances had been stopped not by the Apostolic Visitor, but by the general chapter (Sum § 47).

It is easy to understand how the events in Pfeiffer’s report—things he had heard and experienced years before (1892-1902)—could

have been mixed up in regard to time. As Jordan's first successor in the office of superior general he was, out of conscience and responsibility, careful to develop the purpose of the Society in line with Jordan's legacy. But as a human being, he could not completely escape the danger of abbreviating and rearranging his memory of some of the events before and during the general chapter, and thus presenting them not quite chronologically. Thus at least the following can be stated.

Before 1902, the question about humanistic studies was tabled only for Lochau, which tried to adapt itself to the South German school system. Priests without a high school diploma who left the Society and looked for a bishop in Germany were at a clear disadvantage. Jordan thought the Italian model was sufficient (i.e., 5-6 classes following up the *Plan Santoro* of March 1887; cf., DSS XV, 35ff) when complemented with studies during philosophy. Urged by the priests in Lochau, he seriously considered the graduation diploma. But neither he nor the First General Chapter found a solution within the Society. Upgrading to a Catholic high school required an inspection which few communities were prepared for. (At that time the school at Linz was discussed most favorably. But the Salvatorian priests needed to teach the two upper classes gave up in the face of the efforts required to win the high school diploma). Those responsible did not finally crack the nut of the "humanistic studies" problem until some years after the First General Chapter.

Pfeiffer is not quite correct in saying that the lack of general consultants was only resolved at the First General Chapter. Jordan had had his complete general council since 1895, including the general procurator and general treasurer. However, it is true that Lüthen as co-Founder pre-dominated in the council and in the government of the Society. But it is easy to demonstrate that even this was beneficial to the Society in those stormy years. After the First General Chapter the co-Founder retained his predominance. He was the mild but uncompromising custodian of religious discipline, and for just this reason somewhat unpopular with certain members after the First General Chapter as well as before. At the Second General Chapter he was sidelined.

In regard to accepting poor students, Jordan did not agree with the Apostolic Visitor for reasons of conscience and of vocation. This stance proved to be of great benefit to the Society and to the church.

Choral office had been introduced by Jordan not as the superior general but as the Founder. It remains questionable whether and how far it was appropriate. Practical solutions to some of the problems entailed by this practice developed quickly and were promptly approved by the First General Chapter.

The “intransigence” with which the uniform religious habit was required at that time was caused by the Apostolic Visitor, who warned the yielding Founder (letter of April 28, 1896, D-709). Note that Pfeiffer does not ascribe the letter as coming to the Founder but to the “motherhouse.”

Pfeiffer, who experienced only the last 5 days of General Chapter I as a capitular, assigned those days a role they did not play and an importance they did not have. Unfortunately, he does not explain what he meant by the “legitimate claims of the subordinates and the peculiarities of the various nations,” which in future were “to be considered in a reasonable measure.” The chapter minutes give no indications. This does not mean that the reported grievances were not endangering the inner life of the Society. But the historical contours given by Pfeiffer must be drawn more sharply. He credited Jordan and Lüthen too one-sidedly, leaving other co-players, including the Apostolic Visitor, in the shadows. Thus Pfeiffer’s account (the capitular often regarded as the best informed witness) unfortunately lacks historical balance.

1.84/129. Mother Mary’s reactions. Lüthen hurried to inform the sisters of the general chapter election:

Ven. Mother, I inform you and the Venerable Sisters that Ven. Father, after resigning his office in the General Chapter according to usage, has been elected Superior General for life unanimously. Greetings in the Lord, Fr. Bonaventure, SDS, General Consultor (October 9, 1902, ASDS).

Mother Mary noted the election result in her notebook with great satisfaction. Under October 5, she remarked (subsequently):

Our Venerable Father and Founder was elected unanimously and for life by the assembled chapter (26 Ven. Fathers from all foundations of the order). In the evening at the Angelus bells the election was ended, then with Te Deum and Magnificat of the Ven. Brothers. I could take part, equally at the closing October 19, hence it lasted 14 days (MMChr).*

* Jordan was of course not “re” elected as superior general. It was his first election for this office. There were also 26 capitulars only during the

Mother Mary was 70 then, and still vigorous and healthy. Only her eye sight diminished rapidly. Jordan was grateful to her that she also in this summer took the trouble of visiting the sisters' foundations. July 27, 1902, she set out. As usual, she enjoyed some days of rest with the sisters in Drognens. Then she went on to the blossoming foundations of Vienna, Budapest* and Muraszombat. On her way home she paid a visit to the "Venerable Brothers" in Meran.

She made a further stop in Assisi to pay tribute to "all shrines." The last task was to pay a visit to the sisters in Torri and Tivoli. On September 22, Mother Mary arrived in Rome and assured Jordan: "I found all of them in holy zeal and our work in progress" (MMChr).

On Christmas she presented the usual wishes of the sisters to the Cardinal Vicar and to his predecessor. The latter said to her "*E mia con-solazione che le ho fatto venire a Roma,*" and wished "further foundations in Italy." "Oh, Mourning! 3 weeks later Eminence died" (MMChr).**

Also that winter Mother Mary enjoyed the retreats given by Weigang. Her resolutions were those of an aged woman whom the Lord had led along a troublesome and often humbling way of life to let her ripen to holiness, but who also felt the burden of the years, which could transform her apostolic engagement into something new. So Mother Mary proposed to herself: "1) Must do as much as I am able to; 2) Not think I will or I must be exhausted; patience" (December 1902, Tacc).

1.85/130. Subiaco. Jordan made a short pilgrimage to Subiaco, November 1902. [Note: The previous year Mother Mary had made a pilgrimage there, November 30, 1901.] He passed the night with the

last five days of the chapter.

* Already on June 25, Mother Mary had sent 3 sisters to Budapest.

** What Cardinal Parocchi said in his memoirs, that he had let the sisters come to Rome, is not to be taken in a strict sense, but shows his great kindness which the conciliatory cardinal had shown toward Jordan and his foundation since 1886. When the events of summer 1894 let the sisters look for refuge in Rome (against the will of church authorities, but then with benevolent toleration) has been illustrated in detail elsewhere. In the course of years this toleration developed into a tacit recognition of the new "motherhouse" in Via Lungara.

monks, and on the Feast of Our Lady in Jerusalem he remained a long time praying near the grotto. In front of the statue, in which Raggi, a pupil of Bernini, presents St. Benedict as a young man standing in the middle of the bare rock, he renewed his own call. He took the basket in which the hermit Romanus had lowered the food to the young Benedict as an image of Providence, and the crucifix of stone, which fascinated the young Benedict as the cross of salvation.

Visiting the monastery at once animated Jordan's own planning: "To make great efforts for getting as vocations already well trained priests and students. Subiaco, November 21, 1902." Jordan prayed quite care-fully his Rule of Apostolate and was deeply dissatisfied because so little happened in this world for the honor of God and the salvation of souls. "Storm on for the honor of God and the salvation of souls." He spurred himself to more press involvement, and to that end he wanted, "to prepare well the entire writing apparatus and use it diligently." He asked himself again: "How can the Society be supported and enhanced?" And admonishes himself: "Be shrewd in all!" but this remark does not at all fit into the experience in Subiaco: "Oh, who takes care of the poor street urchins?" Perhaps on the way to the shrine he met youngsters roaming about (November 21, 1902, G-2.7).

1.86/131. Paternal admonitions. Soon after the pilgrimage to Subiaco, Jordan outlined a circular letter in regard to religious vocation: 1) value of religious vocation; losing it. 2) Damage, materially to the Society and spiritually . . . *scandalum*. Mother having so long nourished, etc." Then he indicates some helpful measures: 1) prayer, 2) observance; 3) no relations with those who have left; 4) *concordia*, settling quarrels; 5) never tolerate critic, etc. (G-2.7) In a Latin letter "*Maximo animi dolore*" he wrote from his heart the sorrow, which had oppressed him for many years because of members leaving, above all priests:

Hardly admitted to the altar they already think about how to get freed from their vows. Woe is me, a father who has given such sons to the Society, who forgets the benefits to a sword, with which they pierce my fatherly heart.

Jordan affirmed that he had to resist such abuse by all means. And he called to all: "Oh, that you may recognize the gift of God" (cf., Jn 4:10). To preserve faithfulness to the vows, he especially urges prayer and religious discipline. He warns against staying outside the community, and of relations with malcontents and prophets of

doom. He asks all to practice good relations with the superiors and particularly with himself, Father and Founder. The superiors themselves he reminds of their responsibility: "A severe judgment is awaiting those presiding." Then Jordan addresses in fatherly sorrow those intending to leave:

You, beloved son, who are already pondering in your heart to leave the Society and are seeking, inventing and stating reasons which shall pave your way into the world, stop and consider what you are planning to do! Consider what thankfulness you owe not only to Divine Providence, which had chosen you since eternity out of so many, but also to your Mother, the Society, who has carried you in her womb, nourished and trained you, who in tender love has put the crown of priesthood on your head.

Then Jordan deals with the pretexts which were always used: the superiors have no trust; religious life is too severe; as a diocesan priest I can work more. He countered saying:

Led by obedience you can earn more for eternal life by your modest work than a secular priest through great deeds. Has not Christ spent 30 years of obedience and only 3 years of apostolate? If your superiors consider it to be a good thing for you to continue your studies or to learn new languages beforehand, there is no contradiction: your duty is to obey, not to decide. The time will come when you will accomplish great things in the Lord's vineyard; now your time has not come yet.

Jordan implores them again to make every effort to eliminate the evil of apostasy from the Society (November 1902, A-370).

1.87/132. Defections and dismissals troubled Jordan greatly. Again and again he examined his conscience to discern what might have played a role(cf., DSS XV). The following four causes seemed to have had an essential influence: 1) the young men who turned to him in Rome were often sickly, suffering from the new climate; as foundations were missing in their home countries, solutions had to be found mostly outside their communities. For life in a strictly religious boarding school their characters were still too immature (*testa confusa*). 2) Being a new institute, his work was criticized and questioned. This was detrimental to the favorable growth of religious vocations. 3) Jordan had to defend himself against attempts to alienate his students from him. 4) The continuous mistrust from the side of certain church authorities toward the institute and its Founder contributed to the wavering of some vocations. Jordan

stated as a sad result: such reasons can and must make young people waver and fall. When the foundations are undermined, the weeds shoot up: half-heartedness, negligence in the spiritual life, etc. (n.d. B-121).*

With good reason, Jordan did not list as reasons for defections the system of schooling or the debt burden. The humaniora followed the Italian model (and the ecclesiastical prescriptions). The young people in the motherhouse knew about the debts only by hearsay; they had not suffered because of them. Formation corresponded to the other schools of apostolic religious of that time. Religious life in those days was generally crowded with community devotions.

The discipline was militarily severe. Ideological influences were ghetto-like—sheltering yet somehow aggressive. Any other model or even any freer form of education would have been considered heretical. As a consequence, most graduates underwent a post-ordination maturing process. The young people of that time were hardly rebellious toward their barrack-like training. They accepted it as a necessary part of life.

It was hazardous for Jordan to call to Rome young people from all over Europe. But the failures were only partly due to Rome; the essential reasons were to be found elsewhere. The success of this Salvatorian early epoch was considerable. The Benjamin among new apostolic foundations of that time had grown into a strong youngster. The Salvatorian family was working worldwide. All its male members had grown up in the motherhouse. And the fact that so many former members, now brave diocesan priests, could not and did not deny their Salvatorian imprint also counts as success. For many, their personal, divinely-inspired way to the altar led indirectly

* The reasons Jordan gave here came from years of bitter experience. Sufficient proof of points 1, 2 and 4 can be found in the events already reported. For point 3 there is this example from the clearly impartial account of the Servant of God, Paolo Manna. As superior general of the Milan Mission, and even more as Founder of *Unio Missionaria Cleri* he often came to Rome where he always visited Palazzo Morone. Jordan's successor in office recounted that in 1921, Fr. Paolo had "confessed" to him: "He did not know even today why he had left our Society at that time. His confessor (from outside) had said to him at that time: 'Leave the Society!' He had answered: 'I have no sufficient reason.' The confessor, however, insisted and he left" (An II, 1/1921,109).

through Salvatorian religious life, so that by far not all the departures should be considered institutional failures.

To Jordan the motherhouse—given the maturity it had acquired through painful experiences over 20 years—was in need of an overhaul:

In Rome the international college is to be enlarged so 15 year-old oblates of all nations can be received and the teaching and study model might be kept like the one of Propaganda where students of all rites are accepted. Italian is the colloquial language and medium of instruction. The sustenance: 1) contributions of the student; 2) affiliated ones who pay 1 frc. annually; 3) more substantial contributions; 4) to the benefactors is sent the yearly report as far as possible. *Romae, Festo Epiphaniae Domini 1903 (G-2.7)*.

Jordan had regained his stride. According to his character he once again had to set his aim too high. Only this animated him to a more than mediocre start.

1.88/133. Apostolic Visitor (II). On November 26, 1902, Secretary of the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, Msgr. Filippo Giustini, called the Apostolic Visitor, Fr. Antonio. A Salvatorian accuser had obtained a hearing at the Congregation. The financial situation was described as particularly alarming. The following Sunday, Fr. Antonio sent Jordan a less than flattering letter. The oral accusations couldn't fail to make a bad impression on those officially appointed to see that no religious community gave cause for it to be seen as unworthy or despised, especially to the point of damaging other religious institutes.

Fr. Antonio defended the Society of the Divine Savior at the Congregation against these accusations. But in regard to the accusations of the bad financial situation Fr. Antonio had to keep silent. All the more did he express his annoyance in his letter to Jordan:

He [the complainer] certainly succeeded in making himself heard on this point. Nevertheless, I am conscious of having done my duty, although I have displeased Your Paternity. You have not taken my responsibility in this regard seriously enough.

Fr. Antonio was particularly irritated that his silence had been interpreted by outsiders (i.e., the secretary of the Congregation) as collusion with Jordan. The Visitor wrote:

. . . this makes me sick. But it makes me even sicker that I could not manage the financial improvement we had hoped for but missed;

thus I could not be released as I had wished from my office as Visitor, which had already lasted so long.

Fr. Antonio continued in a commanding tone: "One must move, Most Reverend Father; one must act energetically." Referring to his letters of April 20 and October 21, 1901, the Visitor again demanded that action be taken although it might be painful. Above all, he again urged the sale of Society houses which were too indebted. Furthermore, the Society should leave all places where the members could not sustain themselves and had to be supported by the motherhouse. New foundations were not to be planned; in exceptional cases he reserved that decision to himself.

Having hoped for great financial improvements, the Visitor called the finance report of the first half of 1902, total disillusionment.

I remained discouraged. They will tell me the assets had grown, but I consider this little or nothing. Has the value of the immovables and of the movables prevented you from incurring debts? Not at all!

Fr. Antonio would have preferred that one third of the debts had been paid off instead of the assets being increased. Thus he would in the future tolerate "only absolutely necessary acquisitions and expenses." For the rest the demand was only to save and to pay off debts. "So much on my part," Fr. Antonio concluded his reproach curtly and definitely (November 30, 1902, D-744).

The tone of the Visitor's letter was cool and harsh. Jordan was sorry the circumspect Visitor met with displeasures at the Congregation. This, however, was no reason to give up hopeful foundations. Long term debts were part of any apostolic venture. Only when the esteemed creditors themselves presented complaints, did Jordan hurry to satisfy them. So in January 1903, he turned to the superior of St. Nazianz with the request to procure him a favorable loan for the motherhouse (March 31, 1903). It should be noted that the new general treasurer, Pfeiffer, was soon thinking aloud about giving up foundations like Noto, Narni or Zagreb. Jordan, on the contrary, did not give up his apostolic desires so quickly just because debts.

1.89/134. A new era. In May 1895, the expression "new era" first appeared in Jordan's Spiritual Diary. It remained quite enigmatic. On the day of pilgrimage to Subiaco, Jordan once more used this term

(taken from the vocabulary of the *Kulturkampf*) without revealing the mystery. But every-one felt it was to be explained in light of his fundamental orientation, "God's glory and the salvation of souls." As Advent approached, Jordan occupied himself, somewhat awkwardly and searchingly, with his concern that behind the fighters there should be the adorers:

I intend to found an order of holy virgins and an order of men who will praise Your name day and night and devote themselves to suppliant prayer to You. . . . December 10, 1902 (SD II, 42).

A week later he sketched quite vaguely a spiritual sketch of these groups of adorers (SD II/43). In his notebook he set out the key word of this dream foundation: "*Adoratrices Divini Salvatoris*" (G-2.8). The male group had already disappeared from his spiritual horizon. But still at Christmas time he allowed himself to dream about Adoratrices: (cf., SD II, 44; June 15, 1906; SD II, 99). Even during the general chapter Jordan had written in his diary:

Oh Lord, to You alone may praise be given day and night. I set a guard over Your walls, Jerusalem: all day and all night they will not cease to praise the name of the Lord. December 9, 1902 (SD II, 38; cf., Jes 62:6).

This remark is certainly to be seen in connection with the discussion of choral office in the general chapter. But the solution found there seemed to Jordan to be neither fish nor fowl. Consequently, the above note points directly to his holy dreams, which Jordan encrypted under the term "new era." But the new era pointed not only to "Adoratrices," but still more through these means to get from the Lord courageous leaders of apostolic nurseries.

After this Advent-Christmas excursion into the noble fields of adoration, Jordan roused himself to return to the reality of the Apostolic Teaching Society: "Catechism - Catechism! December 28, 1902" (SD II/44). After New Year he was quite awake again: "Rise up like a fire!" (January 3, 1903, *ibid*; cf., Sir 48:1; Jo 5:35; SD II, 26).

2. "Advancing in the Lord Despite All Adversities" (SD II/ 91, 104)

Fr. Francis of the Cross was always compelled by apostolic fervor to find ways to engage himself for the Kingdom of God more effectively and more extensively. He watched vigilantly what was happening in the Catholic world and reacted to every suggestion which could possibly expand or deepen his Society. Jordan liked to read the reports of other religious congregations and noted their numbers with pious envy. He even considered whether it would be helpful "to arrange agencies (*Agenturen*) for the motherhouse" (G-2.7). See, 2.1. New initiatives.¹

In January, the bishops of Panama and Belém Pará, Brazil urged Jordan to assist them with priests. He was sincerely sorry he had to refuse.² In ardent prayer the apostolic man cried out to heaven:
Oh Almighty Father, look upon the blood of Your only begotten Son! Look upon the wounds of Your only begotten Son. Look upon Your only begotten, crucified Son. Look upon Jesus the Savior of the

¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.1. New initiatives.

² On January 22, 1903, the Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs, Archbishop Gasparri, asked Jordan to see him. With him was the Bishop of Guatemala, Francis Xavier Junguito, S.J. The latter had come to know and esteem the Salvatorians in Cartagena and now wished to have 5 or 6 priests for his city through the mediation of the influential Vatican archbishop. He is said to have "*grandissima stima dei Salvatoriani.*" Jordan had, nevertheless, to refuse: "I was sorry not to have been able to accept for the present" (G-2.4).

On January 24, Bishop Maia de Rego asked him "most insistently to take over a church (of the Carmelites) and a College in Belém Pará; he wanted to give 3,000 Lire for travel expenses and said we could even maintain a community in Europe from the earnings in Belém Pará" (G-2.4). Bishop Maia had tried already on December 11, 1902, in a "long conversation" (G-2.1) with Jordan who reproached himself for not being in a position to help.

But after the First General Chapter no more new foundations were possible. Those which were only partly finished had to be consolidated first. The growing houses of studies dared new buildings. The number of new priests, down because of the prolongation of their studies, had to be increased again.

World. Hear me! Hear me! Rise up and come to my help! Help me with Your strong hand! Oh Mary, Mother of God and my Mother, intercede for me! January 29, 1903. Oh Father, I want to save all. Miracles! (SD II/46)

He felt so burdened with apostolic responsibility:

You are a debtor to all, to all, to all, to all! Oh! Souls are perishing! Lament and weep bitterly! February 12, 1903 (SD II/47).

Candlemas Day was the 25th anniversary of the election of Leo XIII to the Chair of Peter. This occasion brought many large groups of pilgrims to Rome, oftentimes led by their bishops. The motherhouse was occasionally crowded with German pilgrims and Jordan had many visits from bishops and other Catholic notables. **See, 2.2.**

Jubilee pilgrims.³

But Jordan continually found himself confronted with confreres, even local superiors, who rejected his initiatives as too daring, and took offence at his obstinate perseverance in the face of difficulties. At those times he had to wait patiently for a good time to talk, and meanwhile he had to cling to the Lord. "Turn to God, people will not understand you! From Him come light and strength" (February 21, 1903, SD II/48).

Jordan knew well from bitter experience how much the peace and well-being of a community, the development and the footing of a foundation, depended on its superior. He never tired of speaking gently to superiors, to strengthen their authority and to assure them of his trust. "I know the sorrows and the sufferings of a superior! Be convinced of my love and my paternal benevolence!" he wrote to the superior in Meran (February 7, 1903). For his namesday he wished him health, ". . . that you may help me to carry my burden. How I would love to spare you many a care if I could. But we know well enough that God's work prospers only in the shadow of the cross" (July 23, 1903). He sincerely asked the superior of Vienna X: "Don't let yourself be discouraged by difficulties; without difficulties

³ See, A Closer Look: 2.2. Jubilee pilgrims.

nothing great will be done for the glory of God and the salvation of souls (March 1, 1903).

It was no wonder that with such merciless involvement and the attendant mental strain, Jordan's health was increasingly affected especially his stomach, lungs and nerves. So he admonished himself: "Care for your health! March 6, 1903" (SD II/49).

He had to bury his travel plans to South and North America, and Assam. He was grateful Fr. Hilarius Gog took it upon himself to visit the Belgian and Swiss houses. The Consultor General did this with responsible thoroughness and was on the road from February 23 to May 28, 1903.

Annual reports were carefully examined before they were submitted to the Apostolic Visitor. They revealed again the material needs. The lively building activities of the study houses was always daring. Paying off the debts of the motherhouse was too slow. The Roman fund raising brother headed north by March and finally returned from Germany after successful efforts at the end of November.⁴ The communities outside were also asked to cultivate and widen their circles of cooperators.⁵

Jordan exhorted himself on Maundy Thursday: "Trust in the Lord, trust in almighty God. April 9, 1903." And below this entry he drew

⁴ Br. Aemilian Rempel usually spent the winter in the motherhouse and started his travels again in early spring (March 6). Lüthen kept good contact with him, urging him to win good vocations as brothers. Rempel's main work, however, was propagating the *Apostel-Kalender* and *Der Missionär*. Only on November 28, 1903, did he return to the motherhouse.

⁵ Jordan still saw the best way to consolidate the motherhouse and the growing communities economically was by winning more Salvatorian cooperators: "Many years' experience has shown us that increasing our sponsors and cooperators is one of the most effective and lasting means to reach this aim." Therefore, he urged once more "to introduce these auxiliary troops everywhere" and "for Christ's sake not to shun any sacrifice or difficulty in order to strengthen and increase this group for God's holy cause" (circular letter, April 25, 1903).

with very simple lines a pair of scales with the pan of confidence rising as the weight in the pan of divine care pressed downwards (SD II/50).

On the Monday after White Sunday, Jordan also noted in the second installment of his Spiritual Diary the text of the Pact "between the Almighty and His lowliest creature" which he was prompted to enter almost 12 years before on All Saints Day 1891 (SD II/52, 53). In these years of testing and probation he had to keep it always near at hand.

The patient search for a sisters' motherhouse finally bore fruit. Jordan found a roomy, well situated house in the Salita San Onofrio. He asked Mother Mary to inspect it. The 70 year-old was all afire and seemed younger in her zeal to win a motherhouse for her beloved daughters—by now the community numbered 150+ sisters. Jordan ordered Pfeiffer to arrange for the purchase. Mother Mary invited her sister, the Mistress of Myllendonck, to show her the house and to come to an agreement about payment of her inheritance which now would be necessary. By summer the purchase was concluded and by the end of September the first sisters moved in. Now they had their own mother-house only a few minutes away from the men's. Even Lüthen was enthusiastic: "The good sisters finally have acquired a neat house opposite the Dorotheans" (September 3, 1903). **See, 2.3. The sisters' motherhouse.**⁶

Jordan like to look in now and again at the Marian College in nearby Tivoli. The house was destined for training belated vocations from the German-speaking districts and had already sent many hopeful young men to the Roman novitiate. The new superior there had ideas about a thorough reorientation of school and education. The present approach seemed to him too amateurish. He suggested to Jordan as well as to Lüthen a thorough rethinking. But he presented his plans in an arrogant and hurtful manner.

Jordan had learned to be reprimanded now and then by his spiritual sons. But Lüthen defended himself. He was not only an obedient and submissive religious who was fully taken up by his duties, he also

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.3. The sisters' motherhouse.

knew himself always to be co-Founder and second man in the young Society. Just in these stormy years he never lost sight of this God-given calling of his. He stood bravely at Jordan's side. Therefore, he knew himself in conscience obliged to put the reforming superior very clearly in his place. **See, 2.4. Disagreements in Tivoli.**⁷

Since Jordan was no longer able to guide the young Salvatorians personally on their educational way, he learned to know them in most cases only when they were on their way to ordination. Before that he had to rely on the judgment of their superiors, formators and teachers. When it came to their first assignments Jordan generally received from them a quick and carefree "Yes." For all, the sobering daily routine came often too unexpectedly, amidst the human life of a yet unfinished community, and the hardships of a demanding apostolate. Some ripened in brave perseverance. Others hit the skids and were tempted to give up. Jordan cared especially for the latter with devoted attention. [Note: Because Jordan's fatherly heart was so unduly touched by these, they were also granted more latitude in their digressions than those Salvatorians who withstood their apostolic tests with the Lord's graces.]

On July 1, the priests moved from Krakow to Trzebinia— for Jordan a decisive step to making a foothold in Poland. **See, 2.5. Trzebinia (I).**⁸ During that summer, Jordan was also again strongly tempted to settle secretly in force in Prussia, but state laws prevented any halfway responsible and promising access.⁹

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.4. Disagreements in Tivoli.

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.5. Trzebinia (I).

⁹ On June 20, 1903, Jordan met with Cardinal Fischer of Cologne. "He was very kind and proposed that we open a house in his archdiocese," if the government agreed. On June 28, the newly-created cardinal made his congratulatory visit to the motherhouse (G-2.4). Already on June 22, Jordan had congratulated the new cardinals Novella, Cavicchioni and Fischer (G-2.4).

Jordan turned his eyes not only to Cologne but also to Berlin. After the reconciliation between the Vatican and Prussia he saw a chance. He noted the name of the man responsible for Prussia, a "President Marsdorf,"

From July 2 to 9, Jordan was in Noto where his episcopal friend awaited him almost more eagerly than his confreres did. Already in April the sisters had opened a small station, St. Rosolini, near Noto. In July, Mother Mary took over another station in St. Ninfa near Palermo. **See, 2.6. Sicily.**¹⁰ The priests were to care for the city itself in the Church of the Immacolata. In the Scala, peace among the confreres had to be strengthened. Jordan lobbied for a small Sicilian study house and was fully supported by Bishop Blandini. The bishop was so dependent on the parochial help of the Salvatorians that Jordan was almost overburdened by his expectations. But he was grateful that this hot July week in Sicily still brought so much blessing. Once back in Rome Jordan remarked: "Traveling is very useful for promoting God's holy cause. Do not neglect it, even if it is difficult for you." July 12, 1903." (SD II/56). **See, 2.7. Noto.**¹¹

On July 21, 1903, Jordan could give thanks to the Lord for 25 years of priesthood. The formal celebration in the motherhouse had to be transferred to the fall, since Leo XIII had died the day before, and Rome and the Catholic world were mourning. But numerous congratulations from his spiritual sons reached Jordan. In a circular letter he expressed his sincere thanks for "solemn assurance of sincere loyalty" at the occasion of his silver jubilee of priesthood. He implored all, especially the superiors, to conform with his plans—that "must" ordered by the Lord, "to erect in all nations houses for the education and the training of our young blood." Specifically he asked for strong financial support of the motherhouse. **See, 2.8. Circular letter.**¹²

By the end of July, the cardinals assembled to elect a new pope. Jordan, who expected from the future pope the papal approbation his predecessor had left open, prayed hopefully: "We await the

but he could not connect with him (G-2.4).

¹⁰ See: A Closer Look: 2.6. Sicily.

¹¹ See: A Closer Look: 2.7. Noto.

¹² See: A Closer Look: 2.8. Circular letter.

Sovereign Pontiff whom You, Lord have chosen" (August 1, 1903, SD II/58). And three days later he noted: "Cardinal Sarto was elected Supreme Pontiff today. Pius X. August 4, 1903" (SD II/59).¹³

On August 6, 1903, Jordan began his tiresome annual summer visitation journey. He took his usual way through the Tyrol and Bavaria. He celebrated Mary's Assumption with the confreres in Vienna X. The day after, he continued to Meseritsch and Jägerndorf. **See: 2.9. Meseritsch.**¹⁴ On August 19, he was with the confreres in Trzebinia and on August 21, with the community in Hamberg (**see, 2.10. Hamberg (I)**),¹⁵ arriving at Lochau on August 31. **See: 2.11. Lochau (I).**¹⁶ On September 3, he went to Meran-Obermais. He returned to Rome on September 9.

In almost all the houses Jordan visited, building problems had to be discussed, even in Vienna X. Yet what challenged the Founder most, were the complaints of superiors and confreres, mostly younger priests who could not agree with superiors, or who found it hard to feel at home in the new communities, or could not comply with the requirements of the pastoral work (often with a second language), or who were tempted to leave the Society. Jordan found such immature Salvatorians in all the communities he visited during these 5 weeks.

¹³ Giuseppe Sarto, born June 2, 1835, in Riese near Treviso, became a priest in 1858, bishop of Mantua in 1893, Patriarch of Venice and cardinal in 1893. He became Pope Pius X on August 9, 1903, and governed the church till his death, August 20, 1914 (beatified 1953; canonized 1956).

Pius X was a pastor-pope; he enhanced above all the formation of priests and ecclesiastic discipline, catechesis and liturgy. He opposed perseveringly progressive Modernism. The church remained clerical, its Roman government centralized. One of his first measures was a strict visitation of his Roman diocese (*Sacra Visitata Apostolica*).

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.9. Meseritsch.

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.10. Hamberg (I).

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.11. Lochau (I).

Deciding how to help individuals and the community in the best way caused Jordan sleepless nights and made him pray for strength and understanding. Again and again he experienced that his apostolic involvement and his paternal endeavors were not in vain. "One must travel," he wrote to his vicar general from Vienna on Assumption Day.¹⁷ And in his diary he stated: "Work, suffer, endure, pray, sigh, trust in God, do all, all for Him! Oh how good He is toward you. If you could only comprehend this better, August 20, 1903" (Hamberg, SD II/59).

Jordan was very affected this summer by news that the 3 confreres in Wealdstone wanted to give up. They could not cope with the language or the pastoral work, and so felt out of place. Jordan appealed to each one to stay. But he understood that another solution had to be found. If one is not devoted body and soul to his job, he may be able to operate within a community, but he cannot plant a new Salvatorian enterprise in a foreign country. So he called for help to the superior of St. Nazianz, Epiphanius Deibele. He in turn assigned, even if very reluctantly, one of his confreres who had already a firm grasp of English, Fr. Sturmius Härtel, to be superior in Belgium. **See, 2.12. Wealdstone.**¹⁸

Jordan had asked Deibele to come to Rome for a conference and had urged him to stop in at Wealdstone personally. Deibele, however, went directly to Rome. Jordan was glad the superior of St. Nazianz had recommended his vicar as superior of Wealdstone. He had called the superior of St. Nazianz to Rome not only on account of Wealdstone. He also wanted to clear up some questions of Salvatorian religious discipline in a personal discussion, and to lay down some practical directives for St. Nazianz. He worried especially that the brothers would be taken up so much with their work that they would not find sufficient time for recreation and

¹⁷ During Jordan's visitation trips, Lüthen was informed about every-thing and was asked for his advice or agreement. He also had to pass on important orders of the Founder and to keep him updated about developments in the Society during Jordan's absence from Rome.

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.12. Wealdstone.

prayer. Their spiritual care and religious development should be guaranteed in a sound regularity.

Already in the summer of 1903, Jordan had been induced to admonish the brothers in a letter. The superior did not publish the letter at all, but defended the lifestyle at St. Nazianz. Jordan did not agree with this sort of action at all. Now he summed up in a short declaration 8 points which seemed to him imperative for Salvatorian religious life as he desired it to be lived in St. Nazianz. Deibele promised to sign the declaration and to carry it out in the community, but then dodged his verbal promise. **See, 2.13. Discipline at St. Nazianz (I).**¹⁹

In September 1903, Jordan consulted thoroughly with Münzloher before he returned to Assam with 2 young missionaries. **See, 2.14. Assam (I).**²⁰

The superior in Rio de Janeiro, being all alone, had bravely persevered. Now Jordan could finally send him 2 newly-ordained priests to help. The three priests succeeded, at a second attempt, to get a firm foothold in Brazil. They worked splendidly among the youth and the sick. But a real apostolic plantation there remained only a dream. **See, 2.15. Rio.**²¹

After general chapter, a superior for the motherhouse was appointed. But he did not fully satisfy Jordan. "If he is not open, then confidence is not complete. He will, in case of differences, pull certain people to his side." (Meseritsch, August 22, 1903). But only in the following year was a better solution found. **See, 2.16. Motherhouse "minister."**²²

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.13. Discipline at St. Nazianz (I).

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.14. Assam (I).

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.15. Rio.

²² See, A Closer Look: 2.16. Motherhouse "minister."

On September 30, the Cardinal Vicar honored the motherhouse with his visit, he celebrated Mass with the community in the early morning.²³

Mother Mary hoped to transfer the novitiate from Tivoli to Rome as soon as possible after the purchase of San Onofrio, and then to sell the house in Tivoli. But Jordan could only ask for canonical recognition of their motherhouse from the Cardinal Vicar after the move had taken place. But before this was possible, so many novices had enrolled that Jordan requested Mother Mary to provide for more room in Tivoli. This she was unwilling to do. Jordan consoled her, saying this was only temporary and that recognition of San Onofrio certainly would be granted soon.²⁴

²³ The Cardinal Vicar celebrated Mass for the local community September 30, 1903, at 7 a.m. (G-2.4). On November 7, Jordan received a visit from the auxiliary bishop of Straßburg, Msgr. Zorn von Bulach. The following day he announced himself to the archbishop of Salzburg, who had paid him a visit in the motherhouse on July 25. Now the cardinal invited him to Salzburg: "We shall meet again in Salzburg" (G-2.4). The archbishop of Salzburg counted on a house of studies for scholastics, who then would attend the future Catholic University (invitation of April 7, 1902, G-2.7). The attentive Jordan also personally congratulated cardinals Merry del Val, Taliani and Katschthaler (November 10 & 11, G-2.4).

²⁴ The summer of 1903 saw a large number of girls applying to novitiate. Mother Mary had to make more room in Tivoli. The sister superior investigated with the proprietor Conte de Pace about renting rooms on the lower floor: "I have always been successful with Count Pace." Thus Mother Mary was able to get space for a larger chapel and a spacious dining room. Although she did not like making these changes, she had no other choice, "as unfortunately all are to go to Tivoli." She longed for the day when finally all the novices might get their formation in the motherhouse. "Sr. Bonaventure, novice mistress in Tivoli, is excellent; but most of them come back here [to Rome] quite dizzy and almost silly: no work. Well, thanks be to God that it lasts just one year" (March 6, 1903, E-703). On February 7, 1903, there were investitures; and on July 13 and November 5 there were more, so that at year's end there were 25 novices in Tivoli.

Though the sisters communities in North America developed very promisingly,²⁵ Jordan wished all the sisters were better trained. In November he reopened the teachers' training school in the recently occupied Roman motherhouse. Sad to say, the teachers trained there were badly suited for their tasks. **See, 2.17. Sisters' health concerns.**²⁶ For the nursing sisters there were good training possibilities in the sisters' own hospitals in Vienna and the USA.

Beginning on October 9, Jordan visited the houses in Switzerland and Belgium. In Drognens he allowed himself a few days of rest. On October 20, he was in Welkenraedt. **See, 2.18. Fr. Beda Hoffmann.**²⁷ There Jordan renewed his resolution: "Oh suffer, pray and work for the holy cause of God and trust firmly in Him; He can do all things" (SD II/62). By way of Athus (**see, 2.19. Athus**)²⁸ and Hamont (**see, 2.20. Hamont (I)**)²⁹ he returned home, and was back in Rome on October 21.

November 29, Pius X granted the Founder and his community a special audience. Jordan was supremely happy to be allowed to present to the pope 70 members. Already Jordan venerated Pius X as a saint (SD II/66).

²⁵ June 4, 1903, seven more sisters could be sent to USA to strengthen the local communities, above all Milwaukee and another in Luxemburg, WI. On July 27, Fr. Faust, the pastor of Uniontown, WA, personally brought 3 candidates from USA to Rome. These were the first fruits of the St. Boniface School directed by the sisters there. On September 19 in Whitelaw, WI, a fifth community of sisters in the USA was inaugurated. The two Hungarian foundations developed so promisingly that on March 21, 1903 the site for a planned convent was bought.

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.17. Sisters' health concerns.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.18. Fr. Beda Hoffmann.

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.19. Althus.

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.20. Hamont (I).

Jordan had wanted to visit the Hungarian houses that summer, but only in December was he able to free himself. He started out on December 3, and arrived in the evening at Fiume. From there he went directly by way of Budapest to Zagreb arriving there only after midnight. In Agram Zagreb the confreres were still getting used to each other and daring to take their first timid steps in the Croatian pastorate. **See, 2.21. Zagreb.**³⁰ From Zagreb he went on to Mehala. There the confreres had already gotten used to Hungarian pastoral care. By Christmas, Jordan was again in Rome (December 18).

The language academy after Epiphany 1904, was arranged around the theme of the missions, on the occasion of sending out four confreres to Assam. On January 16, Jordan was allowed to present the missionaries to Pius X who gladly gave them his papal blessing for the journey. The next day the young confreres left for India.

The papal jubilee of 1903 was followed by the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The mother-house again welcomed many groups of pilgrims and guides, and Jordan had to devote himself to many notable guests.³¹

On the Feast of the Apparition of the Immaculate Conception at Lourdes, Pius X ordered a canonical visitation of all parishes and religious institutes. The Cardinal Vicar sent out an extensive questionnaire and set up a special calendar. He was satisfied with the responses given by the motherhouse and abstained from a proper

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.21. Zagreb.

³¹ In the Jubilee Year, motherhouse priests served as guides, and its printery, supported by confreres, composed a helpful guide book: *The Eternal City, Romalbum* (377 pages, 228 pictures, price 4 Mark, edited by the Marian College of the Salvatorians in Rome, by Jos. Kösel, Kempten).

From March 10-23, 28 workmen on the pilgrim's train, Haidhausen, lodged in the motherhouse. There followed 5 professors with 38 students of the University of Freiburg i. Br. from March 23 till mid April. From April 30 till May 10, 18 Polish pilgrims were lodged in Palazzo Morone. On May 8, Jordan greeted the bishops of Lemberg, Tarnow, Krakow and Spalato, as well as Cardinal Fischer of Cologne. In addition, some prelates of the Curia came (SM 4, 1904).

visitation, since Jordan's community was already being looked after by an Apostolic Visitor. **See, 2.22. Visitation questionnaire.**³²

On February 20, 1904, the pope received Jordan for a confidential discussion. The Founder had been asked by his local bishop to present a request to the pope (SD II/72).

Deibele, the superior of St. Nazianz, could still not be moved to sign the "declaration" agreed upon in Rome back in December 1903. He believed he was mistrusted in Rome. Jordan was deeply hurt by this unpleasant tension and after declaring himself ready for any helpful agreement, he asked the superior humbly and honestly to be good to him again.

That summer St. Nazianz was offered a parish 200 km to the north. The superior requested priests from the generalate, thinking that taking over this parish would be a good thing. Jordan, however, could not spare any-one and had to say no. Deibele was again annoyed. But as soon as priests did become available, Jordan sent some to St. Nazianz not to administer distant parishes, but to open as soon as possible the apostolic school he desired. **See, 2.23. Discipline at St. Nazianz (II).**³³

The superior of St. Nazianz had further disagreements with the sisters. From the beginning he had tried to support their cause as Jordan's vicar. Yet there were communication difficulties with Mother Mary, whose poor eyesight created plenty of trouble in replying to all the correspondence of the sisters in their numerous houses. Additional rebellion arose when the sisters received news that the former representative of the USA had been transferred there. Worse, news of this transfer had never been communicated to Deibele beforehand. Now some of the sisters blamed him for this transfer, which in their eyes was a mistake.

The men's superior of St. Nazianz now urged Jordan finally to send a sort of provincial to relieve him, at least to avoid a separation of the

³² See, A Closer Look: 2.22. Visitation questionnaire.

³³ See, A Closer Look: 2.23. Discipline at St. Nazianz (II).

USA sisters from Rome. **See, 2.24. Sisters in USA.**³⁴ Jordan remained deaf to all such petitions. He simply did not have anyone to replace Deibele or do any better than he had done over the years. Jordan was glad the golden jubilee of the Oschwald Colony had been celebrated grandly with bishops in attendance, and that the Salvatorian contribution had been properly acknowledged. In the fall, Deibele began with a new building, which had been planned and authorized for a long time now. For Jordan this was an important concrete step towards "the apostolic school."

After their ceaseless wanderings, the missionaries in Oregon desired a chance to live together in a small community. But the bishop, supported by the Propaganda, was opposed. The priests blamed Jordan for stalling them in spite of many promises. Fr. Severin Jurek, the brave superior, felt particularly hurt at always being put off. He expressed his bitterness often, sometimes by unpriestly requests.³⁵ This year the sickly apostle of the Indians in Siletz, Fr. Felix Bucher, took his first furlough to his homeland. The Superior of Pe Ell would

³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.24. Sisters in USA.

³⁵ In Oregon a proper foundation was further hindered by the bishop who preferred SDS to be involved in far-flung pastoral work. When Jordan finally insisted on a community the bishop gave in a little. But since there were already three religious communities in Seattle, he proposed Tacoma (August 10, 1903). The superior, always on the road as a missionary, asked to be released from office as the condition was not going to change (Pe Ell, December 24, 1903).

In the summer of 1904, the superior requested a home leave for the often ill Fr. Felix Bucher, after 12 years of working among the Indians. Once the latter had happily arrived in Rome, the superior asked Jordan (through Lüthen) to reconsider whether Bucher should return to Siletz at all. He had accomplished much and was an exemplary priest despite his generally modest formation. He had been ill twice already. His suffering was rather of a mental kind, the physician remarked. If he was not quite healthy mentally, it would certainly be better for him to remain in Germany (South Bend, WA, September 26, 1904).

On June 28, 1905, Bishop O'Dea discussed matters with Jordan. But the question regarding Tacoma remained open. The superior wrote to Jordan resignedly: "It is 12 years since we came to America. We had imagined every-thing quite differently" (Roslyn, July 25, 1905).

have liked Jordan to keep Bucher back in Europe, but the missionary deliberately ignored such hints.³⁶

On the Feast of the Queen of the Apostles, Jordan promulgated the newly revised, provisional constitutions of the Salvatorian Sisters (in Italian) distributing them to the sisters in the Salita San Onofrio on May 26, 1904. At the same time he demanded that the generalate of the sisters now be completed according to canon law. Mother Mary was not so very happy to have so many helpers and advisors around her. She had always felt badly letting sisters at her side have a say, since they were all a generation younger than she. Apart from Sr. Ambrosia, no other sister had her full confidence. But Jordan helped her overcome this obstacle, too, through humble obedience.³⁷

³⁶ The Indian Apostle, Fr. Felix Bucher, enjoyed his first home leave in the fall of 1904. As he had been sick several times, Jordan hesitated to send him back. Bucher traveled to his benefactors in South Germany. [Note: The Arch-episcopal *Leopoldinenstiftung* in Vienna supported Bucher's Indian Reservation with certain regularity. Jordan was thankful to the responsible prelate.] Jordan, with whom he met in Vienna gave him permission to visit Krakow, too (Vienna, October 19, 1904).

In early November, Bucher was in Rome, where the scholastics listened avidly to his Indian Reservation stories. On November 6, he participated in an audience given by Pius X to the community of the motherhouse. Already on November 10, he returned via Freiburg and Drogens (November 14) to "Siletz" (G-2.4). After a stormy voyage he arrived in New York, December 18. Due to heavy snowfalls, he could leave for Oregon only after New Years 1905.

³⁷ Already since 1902, the novice master, Paulus Pabst, had been working to revise the Constitutions of the sisters according to the norms of 1901. Mother Mary required the rules to be clear; some of them were quite difficult. Again they considered adapting the purpose of the sisters congregation.

When the sisters took refuge in Rome in 1894, home nursing and work in public hospitals was the only possible way for them to earn money. Mean-while, the sisters had got footholds on three continents, dedicating themselves to their purpose: education in orphanages and girls' schools, as well as nursing. Mother Mary wished that pregnant women and those living a bad life not be mentioned in the same breath, and that no sister be left alone with a sick male patient (July 31, 1903). She met with Jordan's full

This spring, Jordan was very worried about his sick vicar general, who was tormented by an undiagnosed fever which subsided somewhat but returned in late summer. But Lüthen could hardly be checked in his untiring efforts at Jordan's side. What would Jordan have done especially in these stormy years, without the man who by his calling and his responsibility was fully and totally united with his work!³⁸

Jordan believed that the time was now ripe to request again the longed for papal approval. It was now 12 years since he last applied for it in stormy naivete only to get the Apostolic Visitor instead. In the mean-time the Salvatorians had grown to be a considerable apostolic army, fulfilling the conditions regarding organization and canon law. Jordan could be sure of the support of the Cardinal Vicar.

However, it was more important to win over the Apostolic Visitor and thereby the Congregation for Religious. Fr. Antonio had no valid reason to deny his consent. Yet his mistrust of Jordan remained since, honestly, the Founder had not completely succeeded to check his worldwide apostolic impulse. But the Apostolic Visitor did see fewer houses and less debt. He also had to admit that Jordan's Institute had grown to such an extent that it was an honor to the church and therefore worthy of papal approval. The religious administration fulfilled its responsibility, and the superiors of the

support. But he did not want nursing limited to hospitals belonging to the sisters, for which the material means and trained staff were lacking.

Distributing the new rule was delayed. It had first to be translated into German and Italian. Jordan fixed the date of promulgation to the patronal feast, Queen of the Apostles (May 15, 1904); but he could only distribute the Constitutions solemnly on May 26.

³⁸ That year the health of the 58 year-old Lüthen was as poor as Jordan's. In spring, he was suffering a feverish sickness and had to pace himself (May 13, 1904). He relapsed in late summer.

As for me, I was ill once more by God's providence. I was almost completely restored: my bronchial catarrh began leaving me. Then I was taken again by typhoid fever as three years before; at that time the vein in the hollow of the right knee was closed; now it swells again and must be massaged daily (to Br. Aemilian Rempel, September 8, 1904, BL-726).

main houses earned confidence. The Procurator General and Third General Consultor agreed with Fr. Antonio and would know how to avoid a “repetition of old mistakes.”

After Easter, Jordan contacted all bishops in whose territories Salvatori-ans were working and asked for their recommendations in favor of the *Decretum Laudis*. After his return from visitation in the summer, Jordan formulated his petition to the Holy See and discussed it in the general-ate. He also submitted it to Fr. Antonio and to his own council for their approval. On the last day of September, the whole generalate signed the petition and the Procurator General submitted it to the Congregation. Cardinal Ferrata accepted it kindly, even favorably, and instructed Fr. Antonio as the Apostolic Visitor of the Salvatorians to work out the necessary report for the Congregation and to submit it. Jordan recom-mended this decisive matter to the Immaculate Mother of God that she might in her year of jubilee which he celebrated so sincerely, lead everything to the best.

Fr. Antonio was especially glad that Jordan had humbly and honestly confessed in his petition:

From inexperience the Society has in the past had stormy and troubled periods; by the mercy of God it believes it has finally gotten through this time; thanks is due to God in the first place, and then to the ecclesiastical authorities who at several times assisted us in our necessities. **See, 2.25. Renewed request for *Decretum Laudis*.**³⁹

The Apostolic Visitor regularly pressed for lowering the debts of the motherhouse. The new Procurator General had succeeded soon after the general chapter to gain better control of the debts and to lessen the pres-sure from creditors. Thus, the mountain of debt was eroding slowly but steadily. That calmed Fr. Antonio quite a bit. Since starting as Apostolic Visitor it was his nightmare that the flourishing institute on Borgo Vecchio would have to close simply on account of economic failure. That would have caused a scandal in the heart of the Catholic Church.

³⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.25. Renewed Request for *Decretum Laudis*.

Jordan did more than constantly worry about debts. Again and again he succeeded to get hold of money to pay bills coming due; his name alone meant credit. So it was unavoidable that the debts of the new foundations were entered under his name. For a creditor like Jordan enjoyed confidence not only with bishops, but also with Catholic personalities in politics and the business world. For Jordan himself, Divine Providence remained always and exclusively the true guarantee. His letter box was the little desktop statute of Our Lady of Lourdes. Always little slips of paper were in her hands to remind the Immaculata not to lose sight of his economic needs, and to help in due time: "Mother!!! To pay debts! Pay off debts!" **See, 2.26. Debt extension for the motherhouse.**⁴⁰

In August 1904, Jordan started out on another tedious visitation journey. On the 1st he took the train to Pisa, arriving at Vienna, August 5th. With Fr. Theophilus Muth he discussed the sisters' foundation planned for Vienna II. The sisters were to take over from the priests the care of the children and girls in Kaisermühlen. Canonical admission of the sisters was still pending at the diocesan authorities.

From Vienna the Founder went straight to Belgium, arriving in Hamont on August 11. He was glad to see the new building progressing and thus more doors opening to the apostolic school. **See, 2.27. Hamont (II).**⁴¹ He could only praise the involvement of the priests in settling the labor dispute at the zinc factory in Overpelt. He was very satisfied with the erection of a nice home for the sisters.⁴² In

⁴⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.26. Debt extension for the motherhouse.

⁴¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.27. Hamont (II).

⁴² The superior of Hamont had a contract worked out for the sisters in Overpelt. Mother Mary signed it in her laborious and shaky script. The directors of the zinc works did not accept these "hieroglyphics." Mother Mary should let it be signed by someone on her generalate. At the same time, the superior asked Jordan to put in writing the rights of the local sisters' superior, so she could identify herself at the factory and to draw the sisters' salary. "In the works, where there are 1,000 workers, everything runs quite exactly, especially because everything is regulated according to

Welkenraedt there was another useful meeting with the Pelzer Family, the community's great benefactors. In the house some things had to be set aright. Above all, Jordan urged the superior to be more solicitous of community than of business affairs.⁴³

The Athus visit was hard for Jordan, as the local superior cared little to build up the unfinished plant. Jordan had a premonition his foray into the French cultural milieu would, with this superior, come to naught.⁴⁴

On the Feast of Mary's Assumption, Jordan went to Harrow-Wealdstone. He was glad to see how the superior Fr. Sturmius Härtel, newly-arrived from St. Nazianz, was very active in building up the foundation. The community now stood together. The superior had plans for a building but no building capital yet. Archbishop Bourne of Westminster later said appreciatively: "I am truly glad to have these priests in my diocese" (to Jordan, November 3, 1905, G-2.5).

German usage (February 6, 1905, E-908).

⁴³ Jordan was in Welkenraedt/Herbesthal in August 1904, where he also met with the Pelzer Family (August 21, 1904). They promised to donate land—10 acres of which was on German soil. By selling some lots, the superior should acquire some means to build the new community (August 21, 1904).

⁴⁴ Fr. Gabriel Hören, superior of Athus, renewed his reproach against Jordan and tried to prove it. He wanted to have 2 brothers, as his solitary loneli-ness might endanger his vocation. Further, his 21-page complaint alleged that the formation and work of the priests contained dangers. In the principles of the direction of the Society there was no justice any more. So the whole foundation of his trust in superiors, and thus in the Society, was gone (March-April. 1904).

In July, Hören proposed to Jordan to erect a small public study institute. Rome declined: "In itself quite good. But the forces? For such an institution they would have to be quite capable." At present there were, first of all, to be trained teachers for the already existing houses of education (Lüthen, July 13, 1904). In August, Jordan visited Athus. He found the superior sickly and listless. Also the finances were in a bad state (August 10 & 14, 1904).

From London, Jordan went to Passau. The new building in Hamberg advanced well. By way of Munich he went on to Lochau. There, too, the noble college building was nearing completion. The new building in Meran, too, where Jordan arrived the day after the birthday of the BVM, filled him with great confidence. After a visit with the prince-bishop of Trient, Jordan arrived again in Rome on September 13, 1904.

In mid October, Jordan visited the confreres in Poland and Bohemia, going by way of Agram (October 14). There the priests worked hard to cope with their difficult mission. After that, Jordan spent several days in Vienna.⁴⁵ On October 21, he was in Meseritsch. There the Bohemian student hostels still stood firmly against an apostolic seminary for Bohemian candidates. Even the confreres there thought the time for a religious school had not yet come. With the superior of Meseritsch, whom Jordan in May had named commissar of Jägerndorf, he discussed how to end the "strike and fights" in the community.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The men at Salvatorian Place in Vienna were completely dedicated to their exhausting, widespread pastoral work. The report of activities of 1903 notes 183 lessons of religious instruction of 5,400 pupils; 354 First Communions; 280 Confirmations. Special mention was given to leading Catholic unions. A day shelter for 50 boys of poor workmen was attached (MI 3, 1904).

From October 17-20, 1904, Jordan stayed in Vienna for visitation. Auxiliary Bishop Schneider asked him to take a new parish. The superior in Vienna urgently needed 2 priests, "as 2 or 3 schools are without a catechist" (October 21).

The sisters, too, were waiting for the Founder who continued to work for their canonical introduction into Vienna. It was granted only in 1906. When Auxiliary Bishop Schneider was in Rome in December, he gave exuberant praise to the priests, above all to the superior, while he was visiting Jordan and Cardinal Steinhuber (December 12, 1904).

⁴⁶ In the summer of 1904, Jordan returned tenaciously to his fundamental concern, opening an apostolic nursery in Meseritsch, even though one might be compelled to start modestly: "Unfortunately, one cannot begin with the perfect, and how often the best is the enemy of the good, that is, because one requests too much at the start, it is abandoned completely."

From Meseritsch, Jordan went to Trzebinia, where the confreres had dared to acquire their own home even though state permission was still pending. **See, 2.28. Trzebinia (II).**⁴⁷ From Trzebinia he went to the newly built community house in Jägerndorf where they had moved in just a week before. For the Founder this was a hard road. Would he succeed to lead the insubordinate confreres back to obedience? Since spring they had been openly feuding with him, having secretly started to build a community house giving no indication of it to Rome. For this they had without qualms incurred debts in the name of the Founder. Before that, they had succeeded to borrow a considerable sum from a great benefactor of the community in Meseritsch in the name of its superior. However, they used this sum not as agreed for building but for themselves.

Jordan was appalled to learn what was going on in Jägerndorf. His first reaction was to refuse all responsibility. But the shrewd priests there referred to a 1904 New Years letter in which the Founder had expressed his desire that in Jägerndorf soon a Silesian House of Studies could be erected. They claimed this text permitted them to build, but they refused even to lend this letter to the Founder or to the generalate for inspection. They tried to cover themselves by a common solemn declaration. Sadly, one priest dominated the others, completely holding in his own hands the reins to everything. He was known as self-willed and considered Jordan his personal enemy. For years already he missed no opportunity to hurt the Founder. The

With this remark the Founder passed on wise experience. Nevertheless, he did not plan just for today to tomorrow, adding that Meseritsch students of the 5th and 6th class of secondary school could be sent to Rome (July 14, 1904). On October 21, 1904, Jordan arrived for visitation. In the meantime, the superior had again shirked the beginning of a proper study house.

In 1905, the superior, who dedicated himself fully to pastoral work, became commissar *ad tempus* for nearby Jägerndorf. Thus he found neither desire nor time for changing anything in his own house. The 4 priests cared for about 35 boarders, who attended the Imperial Bohemian secondary school and who were much engaged and appreciated in pastoral work. Two brothers and two brother candidates were also working in the house.

⁴⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.28. Trzebinia (II).

guileless local superior had indiscriminately entrusted this priest with the direction of the building and was now powerless, although now even he, with all his "tricks," did not feel at all well. The real leader and troublemaker enjoyed as administrator and builder his triumph over the pitiful Founder.

Jordan entered the new community on October 26, 1904. He had understood in the meantime that only in all humility could he mediate and move them to obedient surrender. This he did in order to save what could still be saved, and above all not to risk the very existence of the Silesian foundation. The superior and also the other confreres gave in, since everything went off without any further reprisals. Jordan took over the total building debts in his own name, and hoped that the priests in Jägerndorf now would devote themselves to a school and to candidates.

From Jägerndorf, Jordan went directly to the prince-archbishop of Olmütz to reassure him that the unpleasant building affair now was settled to everyone's satisfaction. Then he hurried by way of Vienna and Hamberg to Rome, arriving All Souls Day. There he persuaded the generalate to grant the superior of Jägerndorf belatedly a credit of 26,000 kronen. In the coming year the building debts had to be paid under much pressure and mostly with loans. Even before Jordan had started out for Jägerndorf he had put two slips of paper into the hands of the statue of the Immaculata: "Jägerndorf, Oh Mother of God, help quickly. Save your college in Jägerndorf!" He knew that the Mother of God would stand at his side in this painful battle to preserve an apostolic school from ruin. **See, 2.29. Jägerndorf.**⁴⁸

To his regret Jordan was not able this year to visit the two Swiss houses, especially his beloved Drognens (**see, 2.30. Drognens**),⁴⁹ nor was there time enough for Noto. There the priests had been able to move into a new home in the city. Sad to say, the houses of the Scala and the Imma-cuata (that is to say their superiors) had a petty quarrel. Jordan gave full independence to each of them, so as to make

⁴⁸ See, A Closer Look:2.29. Jägerndorf.

⁴⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.30. Drognens.

them free from each other, yet the friction remained. Jordan was untiring in urging peace and reconciliation. **See, 2.31. Noto (II).**⁵⁰

During this year new convents could be opened in Bloomer, Watertown, Overpelt and Vienna-Kaisermühlen.⁵¹ Therefore, there was now sufficient room in the Salita San Onofrio. Mother Mary demanded to transfer the novitiate as soon as possible from Tivoli to Rome. She would have loved to give notice over night. Yet before that Jordan had to get papal approval. The landlord in Tivoli, too, fought against it, insisting on his lease. Now in month-long to and fro's the procurator general had to regulate the juridical notice of the house in Tivoli. **See, 2.32. Tivoli.**⁵²

After her namesday, accompanied by a consultor, Mother Mary went to Austro-Hungary, visiting the communities in Budapest, Muraszombat and Vienna, returning to Rome by October 11.⁵³

At the beginning of November, Jordan was able finally to realize his long standing desire to have the sister's motherhouse in Rome. On November 7, Pius X gave his permission. Finally the motherhouse

⁵⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.31. Noto (II).

⁵¹ In USA, new foundations were started in 1904. On November 3, eleven sisters went to the New World on the ship "Hohenzollern." In Bloomer, WI, 4 sisters dedicated themselves to children and the sick. In Watertown, WI, some sisters took over domestic work in Sacred Heart, a seminary run by the Fathers of the Holy Cross (MMChr).

The priests in Hamont had also prepared a foundation for the sisters in Overpelt, a workers' settlement. On December 28, 1904, 3 sisters traveled to Hamont; in January 1905, Overpelt was inaugurated.

⁵² See, A Closer Look: 2.32. Tivoli.

⁵³ From September 13 to October 11, 1904, Mother Mary was again on a visitation trip together with an assistant. Once more they took the boat to Fiume and became very sea sick from stormy seas. Mother Mary visited the sister's communities in Budapest, Muraszombat and Vienna. There she also paid a visit to the priests in Vienna Kaisermühlen, who were preparing a foundation for the sisters. Before December 8, the sisters moved in.

and novitiate of the Salvatorian Sisters were canonically erected in Rome. On the Feast of the Presentation of Mary the novices moved from Tivoli to Salita San Onofrio. **See, 2.33. Sisters' motherhouse (II).**⁵⁴

After 12 years of unrest in Assam, a new storm was brewing, jeopardizing the very existence of the mission. Jordan had hardly sent 4 new missionaries there, when he had to recall 4 of the mission's pioneers. Each one of these had committed himself for many hard years to the development of the mission. But all had become too independent, and each had succumbed to his own weakness of character. One of them did not restrain himself politically and picked a quarrel with the colonial authorities; another became violent and excessively defensive. The two others, mutually hostile, appeared in an unfavorable light through their behavior with women. For a long time already the mission superior had been powerless against them. He called for help to the Apostolic Delegate who simply sent a complaint to Propaganda about the anarchy in Assam. In it he condemned the Mission globally. The mission superior was outraged at such offensive and unjust condemnation of the whole mission and demanded a visitor.

Jordan assigned this tricky task to Fr. Dominic Daunderer who had arrived in the mission only in February. He only confirmed the troubled situation. Indeed he had resigned himself to the thought that under such conditions the mission would have to be given up altogether. Jordan sensuously objected to dropping a mission the Society had built up with such sacrifice and effort. To him it was unworthy of an apostle to quit. "We shall do everything to hold the mission," he assured its superior.

Cardinal Gotti from Propaganda ordered the Archbishop of Calcutta to go to Assam as Apostolic Visitor. Just that April, Jordan met and conferred with Archbishop Meulemann. So he placed his hopes on this universally highly esteemed bishop of the ecclesiastical province to which the Apostolic Prefecture of Assam belonged.

⁵⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.33. Sisters' motherhouse (II).

In the meantime, Jordan had recalled three missionaries. At first all resisted. However, in the summer, Fr. Gebhard Abele left the mission, but with the intention once in Rome to demand the restoration of the rights the Apostolic Delegate had taken away from him. In mid September 1904, Fr. Markus Dombrowski followed. Only Fr. Ignatius Bethan wanted by all means to stay in the mission.

Archbishop Meulemann traveled through the Assam Mission in November. He was received by the missionaries still present with open arms as their helper in such great need. They described everything that bothered them. Only Bethan and some sisters tried in the beginning to slip out of the nets of the visitation. Yet they, too, had finally to give up. Even Fr. Pius Steinherr was brought by the archbishop who knew human nature, to ask voluntarily to be recalled from the mission.

From Calcutta the Apostolic Visitor sent his report on Assam to Propaganda. He added his recommendations for the best way to help the mission. With that he insisted, however, that the four missionaries who now had to see their failure, not be allowed to return to Assam. He also proposed relieving Münzloher as mission superior, as he lacked the steadfastness necessary for an ecclesiastical superior.

Cardinal Gotti agreed fully with the proposals of the Archbishop of Calcutta and instructed Jordan to take the steps necessary for the mission to regain its equilibrium. Jordan promised to do everything in his power to follow the instructions of the Propaganda.

Under this new test Jordan groaned inside. He sought refuge in nightly prayer and put his prayer slip into the hands of the Mother of God: "Assam, by the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ!" He would have loved to offer even his own life to help the mission out of this ruin. He felt the heavy responsibility just now of sending good religious to the mission whose very existence depended on it. At the same time, Jordan greatly feared whether he would succeed to bring the four returnees to an examination of conscience and back to good priestly ways. At the first opportunity he met with the two who had already returned to Europe. But he felt at once that in these hearts

Salvatorian fire no longer burned. He could only offer his hand to help them to new shores. But this hand, trembling with compassion, was roughly refused. Yet the blessing and prayer of their spiritual father accompanied them. **See, 2.34. Assam (II).**⁵⁵

In the motherhouse there were still about 100 people to be cared for. Each contributed his mite towards the hungry house treasury. The numerous pastoral services which in those days were rendered by the priests of the motherhouse are impressive. Through them Salvatorians became almost indispensable in many places in the Eternal City.⁵⁶

This year Jordan was almost monopolized by the secret of the Immaculata. To him something essential seemed missing in any Salvatorian expression without a strong Marian character. So in this jubilee year of the Immaculata he hoped for a Marian renewal for the whole Society. To prepare and implement the celebrations in Rome

⁵⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.34. Assam (II).

⁵⁶ Toward the end of 1904, the motherhouse still lodged about 100: 17 priests, 41 scholastics, 9 brothers, 27 novices. The pastoral services performed by the priests, besides their official tasks, were many: pastor at Salita San Onofrio, Monastery alle Vaschette, Hospital Santo Spirito, Orphanage of San Lorenzo in Piscibus, Poor House of St. Anna, Congregation of "Mother Most Pure," Brothers of St. Francis (Brothers school), refectory for the sick in the Vatican, hospice for abandoned youth, Torionia Hospice, Manicomium S. Spiritus (for personal and sick people), School of St. Aloisii (Celimontana).

From July to October, they also worked: Chapel St. Martin (Swiss Guard), Paulina Chapel (priests' refectory in Vatican), maternity cloister, Sisters of Cena-colo, St. Maria dell' Anima, Hospice for unemployables. They worked regularly in the Dorothean Monastery, Monastery of St. Bridget, Church of S. Spiritus, Campo Santo, S. Anna "dei Parafrenieri" (Msgr. Bisleti); Peter's tomb, daily Mass, in the summer, too. Sometimes they assisted in St. Peter, San Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Maria in Trastevere, night school, Belgium College, Institute in Via Conte Verdi (SM 2, 1905).

itself he was ready to give any help. **See, 2.35. Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception.**⁵⁷

After Candlemas 1905, Fr. Antonio had concluded his report and sub-mitted the generalate's petition for a *Decretum Laudis*. In it the Visitor briefly outlined the eventful growth of Jordan's foundation and listed the present personal and material status of the Society of the Divine Savior. He stressed the fact that the activity of the Society is oriented towards certain pastoral services. He speaks in detail about his role as Apostolic Visitor. It had been marked by harsh action against the inexperienced Founder whom he characterized as "very pious, zealous and energetic, but not equally prudent and not always sure of his steps." As proofs he lists again Jordan's well known "cardinal sins:" that he had started his work with "3 grades," and had petitioned for the "*Decretum Laudis* at the most unfavorable moment;" also that the first sisters' foundation had been taken from him, furthermore that he dared a worldwide extension too early, and without sufficient means, yes without being afraid to incur debts of irresponsible amounts. All this shows him to be a "rather inexperienced" Founder. Through the prudent and energetic input of the Apostolic Visitor, the Society had now ripened to its present state: an institution working with zeal in the vineyard of the Lord. Fr. Antonio, therefore, supported papal approval as well-earned recognition and helpful encouragement. For the Founder is not alone responsible for direction and administration, but is bound to his general council. And in this generalate are now really some men "with their own head." But Fr. Antonio thinks it advisable to tie the cancellation of the visitation to the conditions that the debts be paid off and that sufficient priests be available before new foundations could be undertaken.

Jordan was grateful to the Apostolic Visitor for his favorable report. He accepted in silence that once more his "failure" was stated officially. This simply added to the contradictions and pain which as Founder he had acquired over many years. Jordan knew he had in no way been called by God on account of special talents or special knowledge, but always through unmerited grace. It remained for

⁵⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.35. Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception.

him a painful experience that Fr. Antonio even now failed to understand the universal character of his calling and its inseparably need to challenge Divine Providence. The report of the Apostolic Visitor was printed at the motherhouse and thus remained no secret. On the contrary, the modest evaluation granted by Fr. Antonio to Jordan as Founder was accepted by many in the Society as officially valid, and later on was often enough used against Jordan.

Now Jordan was only animated by his wish that the male branch of his foundation would be recognized by the universal church. On April 15, 1905, Pius X gladly granted this long desired favor. On May 27, Cardinal Ferrata issued the *Decretum Laudis* for the Salvatorians. He in no way hid the fact that the Society had not been spared “testing in temptations,” that it had developed with God’s grace more than in a mediocre way (A Rel 14558/15). The final approbation of the Society and its Constitutions would await “a more favorable time.” The Apostolic visitation was not mentioned in the *Decretum*, but remained in force. Jordan would soon realize that precisely this *Decretum* should soon prove to be the best protection for the Society.

In a circular letter Jordan announced the papal commendation to the confreres with grateful heart, and appealed to them now all the more as “true Salvatorians” to follow the Savior and to serve His Kingdom so as to be able to stand up before Him as the Eternal Judge (May 29, 1905). **See, 2.36. The Visitor’s votum.**⁵⁸

In spring the print shop of the motherhouse was moved into even bigger rooms, but it was closed by the end of the year. In order to save money, the Salvatorian Press became dependent on other printers. **See, 2.37. Salvatorian Press.**⁵⁹

Jordan was always mindful “to take great care that your spiritual child-rem always work and act in full harmony with the bishops and the diocesan clergy and, above all with the Holy Father, the Vicar of

⁵⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.36. The Visitor’s votum.

⁵⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.37. Salvatorian Press.

Christ" (SD II/76). He himself was in contact with all competent ecclesiastical superiors, who esteemed his obedient openness and never neglected to visit Jordan in the motherhouse when in Rome.⁶⁰

By the end of July 1905, Jordan started on his arduous visitation journey. Healthwise he did not feel well at all. "Have just suffered too much in my health; should have some rest" (Lochau, July 28, 1905). By July 24, Jordan had arrived in Lochau, his first stop. General Consultor Fr. Hilari-us Gog had already been there since April. As former house superior, Gog was well acquainted with the situation of the community and its outside relations. Now he supervised the second building phase which advanced to completion. The ailing local superior had begged Jordan already for two years finally to replace him with Gog. But Jordan could only lend him the general consultor for the time being, to manage the immense debts of the building. **See, 2.38. Lochau (II).**⁶¹

⁶⁰ This year, too, many bishops knocked at the motherhouse. The Bishop of Tivoli liked to alight in Borgo Vecchio. Jordan now received several visits from Archbishop Sogro-Adami, who worked in the Vatican. With the Archbishop of Agram also came Bishop Nakić of Spalato and Bishop Anton Mahneć of the Island Veglis/Krk. Others were Bishop Franz Xaver Nagl, Bishop of Trient, whom Jordan knew since his days in the Anima when both were studying at the Roman Atheneum, as well as Bishop Rössler of St. Peolten.

In mid June the Founder received the Syrian Maronite Patriarch Elias Petrus Hayek, Archbishop Josef Erstefan, and other dignitaries from Lebanon.

The day before the Feast of Assumption, a Maronite prelate presented himself once more. But Jordan was on a visitation trip. In November came George Mundelein, Archbishop Chancellor of New York-Brooklyn with the wish, that Jordan should start a foundation there. The Founder liked meeting German bishops, so in that year he met with Albert Talhoff of Bamberg, von Korum of Trier, von Schlör of Würzburg, and Dingelstadt of Münster. Also some general superiors visited Jordan: the general superior of the *Figli del S. Cuore di Verona* (February 19, 1905) and Arnold Janssen, Founder of Steyl (May 24, 1905).

⁶¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.38. Lochau (II).

From Lake Constance, Jordan went to Freiburg and Drogens. Already in April both houses on the Stalden could be bought. Now renovation and upkeep were urgent. The local superior, Guerricus Bürger was a practical man, but with too little authority owing to his lack of approved academic training. He suffered from the fact that not only the confreres but also the scholastics let him feel this inferiority. Jordan would have liked to free him from this burden, but he had great difficulties to find just now the right priests for the overdue change of superiors. So he had to ask Bürger to be patient and content, thus maturing as a priest in a thankless position. **See, 2.39. Freiburg.**⁶²

On August 2, Jordan went via Metz to Belgium. In Athus he succeeded at least to encourage the listless superior somewhat. In Hamont he could state: "Here it goes well, great things are being done!" (August 6, 1905).

In Welkenraedt the printing press was closed, as it had been working at a loss and was a burden for the community. With the benefactors of the house, the Pelzer Family, Jordan concluded and notarized the promised donation of both houses, which so far they had rented. The new superior took all pains to keep the community together. Jordan encouraged them finally to erect the study house. [Note: In Welkenraedt, Jordan met with Ignatius Bethan, returned longtime vicar mission superior from Assam.] **See, 2.40. Welkenraedt.**⁶³

From Belgium, Jordan hurriedly turned his mind to Wealdstone; there wasn't time for a personal visit as there had been the year before. The priests at St. Joseph's Mission were untiring in finding ways and means to establish a proper school and a small church. Archbishop Bourne gave them his backing which encouraged them

⁶² See, A Closer Look: 2.39. Freiburg.

⁶³ See, A Closer Look: 2.40. Welkenraedt.

and eased Jordan's worries about the survival of the English seedling.⁶⁴

From Belgium, Jordan journeyed to Austria. In Cologne he visited Cardinal Fischer, who when in Rome never neglected to honor the motherhouse and also the sisters with his visit.

In Frankfurt, Jordan broke his journey to Austria to meet the superior of Vienna X. Jordan remained there for a good week filled with discussions and visits. Jordan now loved to be in Vienna. Both the superiors were true to the Society. The Salvatorian communities of priests and sisters enjoyed increasing prestige with ecclesiastical and civil offices. Their pastoral and catechetical involvement made them popular with young and old. The sisters had opened in Vienna Kaisermühlen a "Protectorate for Children" which was soon all hustle and bustle. **See, 2.41. Vienna II.**⁶⁵

With a heavy heart Jordan left Vienna to begin the visitation in the north. In Meseritsch he was expected most eagerly. The superior did not know anymore how to check the rebellious priests in Jägerndorf. By their doings the reputation and honor of his community, too, was in danger. Jordan needed a little time to think about saving Jägerndorf. "Even if there seems to be no way out, trust in God and do your duty. The Lord will help you!" (Meseritsch, August 19, 1905, SD II/92).

⁶⁴ On May 29, 1905, Archbishop Franz Bourne held canonical visitations in St. Joseph's Mission in Wealdstone. Through his intervention the priests bought land for the mission and for themselves. To raise the 1,000 Pounds, they appealed to the Catholics in London (July 17, 1905). The erection of the little church and school was somewhat hindered by the national school fight in England. Nevertheless, Härtel could solemnly inaugurate the church and school (for 80 children) on July 14, 1906. In summer 1906, the priests moved into another rented house. Their yearly reports were similar: "Many apostolic efforts, but little success" (1906/7). On November 3, 1905, Bourne visited Jordan in the motherhouse and was full of praise for the work in Wealdstone (G-2.5).

⁶⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.41. Vienna II.

From Meseritsch he went first to the confreres in Trzebinia. There the community was in a crisis and Jordan had to convince the brethren: "The more the religious life is lived and fostered, the fewer will be the crosses, and vice versa" (SD II/91). From Poland, Jordan journeyed toward Jägerndorf and visited Pastor Nathan in Branitz. This patron and friend of Meseritsch had been exploited shamelessly by the inexperienced and yet so self-assured priests of Jägerndorf. Jordan could only thank heartily the esteemed priest for his conciliatory and patient kindness. Jordan now asked himself what he could achieve in Jägerndorf with his principle: "gentle of character and firm in direction" (SD II/91). Finally he found it most prudent to invite the confreres who were ready for a new beginning not in Jägerndorf itself but in Branitz.

The Jägerndorf priests, who had remained somewhat united by their secret building project, lived together afterwards in selfish and even hateful conflict. The rebellious ringleader behaved so scandalously that the superior and one peace-loving confrere had moved out, while the fourth priest had gone off to his hometown. Just one year before, these two had been good friends united in their agitation against Rome. Subsequently they had become deadly enemies.

Jordan could only ask the superior and his confreres to come to Branitz for a helpful talk. The priest who kept the house refused even to greet the Founder. With a heavy heart Jordan returned to Vienna. Day and night he spent prayerfully reflecting how the Silesian foundation could be saved. Added to the worries about the community in Jägerndorf were those about paying off its overdue debts. But "most urgent" remained "a new superior" and the transfer of the troublemaker. The current superior gave Jordan a vague signal of his willingness to step down. This renewed the Founder's hope: "it doesn't seem to be so bad, at any rate it seems to be untrue that he [this priest] has lost his faith" (Vienna, August 31, 1905).

Jordan was able to persuade one priest from Vienna to go to Jägerndorf temporarily as superior: "Guide the community according to God's holy will, so that it may flourish spiritually and materially" (Vienna, September 2, 1905). Jordan heaved a sigh of relief: "May God grant that now everything will be successful! We

have worked much" (to Lüthen, September 2, 1905). **See, 2.42. Jägerndorf, Frs. Pientka and Kneringer**.⁶⁶

From Vienna the Founder went to Passau. At Hamberg a change of administration was due; after some initial reluctance Fr. Canisius Werner was persuaded to take charge temporarily (August 25, 1905). His main job was to arrange a 4-year course for late vocations (minor gymnasium).

From Hamberg, Jordan returned home by way of Lochau where the consultor general had urgently called him. There were difficulties to be settled to arrange an additional 4-year course for pupils of advanced age in addition to the normal high school course. **See, 2.43. Hamberg (II)**.⁶⁷

After celebrating the birthday of the BVM, Jordan went on to Meran, where the new building went steadily ahead. The school was still limited to a four-year course. A special burden were the ailing priests who could not be fully employed. Some fell to the temptation of destructive criti-cism. But for the time being Jordan had no possibility to accommodate confreres in need of care. On the contrary, these tried everything to get to Obermais. **See, 2.44. Meran**.⁶⁸

Announcing his arrival in advance, as usual, he mentioned to Lüthen that he was leaving for Rome "not so joyfully as previously" (Meran, September 11, 1905). Loaded with many worries Jordan arrived in Rome on September 13. He had to encourage himself to be faithful to the preaching he gave to his spiritual sons:

I ask you for one thing, my beloved son, never let yourself be depressed. We just have to suffer much if we want to do great

⁶⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.42. Jägerndorf, Frs. Pientka and Kneringer.

⁶⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.43. Hamberg (II).

⁶⁸ See, A Closer Look: 2.44. Meran.

things for the glory of God (to the superior of Vienna X, September 14, 1905).

This visitation journey had been for Jordan more trying than all previous ones. It tested his calling and his confidence in God like a fiery furnace. Jordan emerged well enough, but not without internal wounds. More and more, his health was impaired: "I am suffering much and it is hard for me to work; it is just too much; nature is giving up" (Vienna, August 14, 1905). After his stay with the pastor at Branitz he reported to Lüthen: "I am still suffering though things are better. Scirocco winds and thunder day and night naturally don't help one's health" (August 24, 1905).

The three priests Jordan had sent to Madonna del Ponte found a very modest dwelling. But as the Founder suggests, in winter it was not only uncomfortable but unhealthy. Jordan urged the superior, Fr. Protas Schmitzhuber, to improve the lodgings. But he was undecided. He preferred to build a proper house. Yet the income was modest, offering just enough to live. It also took some time to clear the title. The Apostolic Visitor would have liked Jordan to give Narni up again as the small community had no chance to grow as desired by canon law. But Jordan did not want to give Narni up again. The service at a Marian sanctuary, however small, was for him an honor and blessing for the Society.

Since the superior refused to remodel the dwelling to a bearable living standard in wintertime, the second priest turned to the Apostolic Visitor. There the dissatisfied complainer found a willing ear. Fr. Antonio reproached Jordan for being so inhumane as to leave his priests in such poor housing instead of simply withdrawing them. At the same time, Fr. Willibald Bocka complained that his confrere was a drinker, and that the superiors just watched this evil passively. Fr. Antonio demanded harshly that things be put in order, but without punishing the complainer for his information. Jordan let Bocka know that he soon would be transferred from Narni. The priest immediately informed the Apostolic Visitor who was indignant and demanded Jordan to reverse this decision. He should not fall back into his former mistake of considering those to be poor religious who dared to denounce disorders. Instead Jordan might consider confronting the other priest

for his improper drinking if nothing else would help with canonical redress, and reminding the superior of Narni of his responsibility.

In the Founder's absence Lüthen had opened the letter which was really erroneous and unjustified. He dared in humble frankness to explain to the Apostolic Visitor that the superior of Narni was no weak superior; he himself had often strongly demanded Bocka's transfer and it had nothing to do with what Fr. Antonio or Jordan and he himself suspected; nothing had been left undone to assist the wine-loving priest and thus to prevent a scandal. Lüthen sent to Jordan in Belgium the harsh and offen-sive letter written to the Visitor. The Founder insisted with a heavy heart on his view of the things in the visitor's letter: the priest is no drinker, so many precautionary measures! Jordan opposed the demands of Fr. Antonio to threaten the weak priest with a canonical process. For a sick confrere (and that is how Jordan saw this priest) must be helped within the community with all patience. **See, 2.45. Narni.**⁶⁹

For the whole year the distressed Assam Mission did not leave Jordan's mind or prayers. Propaganda demanded, as proposed by Archbishop Meulemann in his report, sending more missionaries and also some teaching sisters. Jordan ordered 2 sisters from North America to go to Assam, since no trained sisters were available in the motherhouse. In a circular letter to all members he begged for volunteers for Assam. At first some volunteered who were indispensable at home. Finally in the fall, Jordan was able to assign 2 young, capable priests to Assam.

On May 28, 1905, the Propaganda demanded that Jordan should propose a new prefect for Assam, a man of kindness and firmness. Jordan knew that the weal and woe of the stressed mission would depend on the one he would now install as the new mission superior. He thought it over intensely, asking for advice even from the Immaculata: "Assam Prefect! Mission Superior for Assam!" By year's end he decided with his general-ate to propose to Propaganda Fr. Christophorus Becker, superior of Meran, as the new prefect of the mission.

⁶⁹ See, A Closer Look: 2.45. Narni.

In the meantime, the “mission superior in waiting” tried hard to prevent further damage to the mission. Back in their homelands, the recalled missionaries agitated amongst the local Christians against their confreres who had remained in India, saying that with their withdrawal the whole SDS mission would collapse. Jordan had to defend himself against false rumors that the mission would be taken away from the Society. He implored each of the missionaries to stand by his post “fully and totally as good Salvatorians” (Rome, May 6, 1905). **See, 2.46. Assam (III).**⁷⁰

The priests recalled from the mission did more than agitate among the Christians against their once cherished mission. They also accused the superiors, especially Jordan, at the church offices and tried by calumni-atory machinations to arouse malcontents within Salvatorian communi-ties against the Founder and his work. Jordan did everything to level the way for them to start anew. Only one accepted help. The other three not only left the Society, but fought against it and its Founder. Jordan feared for their salvation, for which he would be jointly responsible before the Eternal Judge. **See, 2.47. Biographies of 3 ex-missionaries: Abele, Dombrowski, Steinherr.**⁷¹

In July the visitation took place in the motherhouse of the sisters at Salita San Onofrio, ordered by Pius X for all Roman religious houses. The Cardinal Vicar had engaged Fr. Thomas Esser, OP, Consultor of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, as member of this *Sacra Visita Apostolica*. He carried out this order with all thoroughness. The result was a long list of regulations not only of a disciplinary kind.

Above all, Esser found the purpose Jordan had given the sisters was too multi-faceted. He wanted it restricted to the education of girls. He there-fore asked the Cardinal Vicar to revise the Constitutions which Jordan had given the sisters along this line. A general chapter of the sisters would also be called. Cardinal Raspighi was to name Esser chapter president so that he would be able to bring a good

⁷⁰ See, A Closer Look: 2.46. Assam (III).

⁷¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.47. Biographies of 3 ex-missionaries: Aberle, Dombrowski, Steinherr.

conclusion to his renewal efforts, started with the visitation. The Cardinal Vicar agreed with Esser's proposals and gave him the authority he requested to call a general chapter of the sisters and to preside over it.

The zealous innovator wanted to get busy at once. But in the evening of the day the visitation had ended, Mother Mary left for Belgium to meet Jordan who was visiting the sisters at Overpelt. Jordan, of course, was against any such one-sided limitation of the sisters' purpose. Meanwhile, the impatient Visitor pressed for the general chapter be called as soon as possible. On the last day of August, Mother Mary sent out from Drogneux the letter convening the chapter for December 1, 1905.

By mid September, Jordan was again in Rome. He conferred with his confreres and also with Fr. Antonio on how to retain the existing well-balanced purpose of the sisters. All agreed it was not the business of a visitor to change the purpose of a foundation as long as the Founder was still alive. But no one knew exactly how to make the tough Visitor see the point. Finally, the procurator general took heart and met with Esser without the Founder or Fr. Antonio knowing it. Esser simply threw the unwelcome young priest out. Fr. Pancratius now went straight to the Cardinal Vicar and explained to him the case. Only now did Cardinal Respighi recognize the real problem and decided without any further ado in favor of Jordan; he founded the sisters, from him they received their constitutions, he gave them their purpose; and all this was canonically approved. If therefore, the purpose should be changed, Jordan would be responsible.

Jordan was happy about this solution brought about by the courageous procurator general. The existing purpose remained, with only one change desired by the Cardinal Vicar: for each case of serving the sick in public hospitals, sisters needed permission of the Holy See. Cardinal Respighi thereby gave in to the demand of Esser who absolute-ly insisted on the withdrawal of the sisters from the Clinic Marocco, since its owner did not deserve to have sisters because he exploited them selfishly.

Cardinal Respighi notified Esser that the sisters in their general chapter would have to vote on the purpose given by Jordan the Founder and now slightly altered. He assured Jordan again not to worry about the purpose of the sisters; everything would be done as he wished (November 26, 1905). **See, 2.48. Sisters' visitation.**⁷²

All these adversities overshadowed the Founder's namesday celebration. Fr. Francis of the Cross desired no festivities (Trzebinia, August 22, 1905). On the evening before, 16 novices were invested; on the day itself the Founder received good wishes from the community. He thanked them in a circular letter, recommending harmony and peace. "Let us now work patiently, especially if we meet great difficulties and adversities in fulfilling our vocational duties!" Most of them understood why Jordan stressed just these values. **See, 2.49. Namesday letter.**⁷³

According to the sisters' new constitutions, in the general chapter Mother Mary had to resign from her office to which she had been named by the Founder 17 years before. Esser had it made clear to her and to the capitulars that it was the wish of the Cardinal Vicar that Mother Mary should remain free from the burden of her office. Mother Mary thanked all sisters for their love and devotion and resigned. At the same time, she asked the sisters to consider her age and her weakened health and to forego her election. The voters were very unsure; did they have to follow the wish of the Cardinal Vicar, or were they still able to elect Mother Mary? The result of the first ballot was split. The superior of Budapest explained now with courage, and much to the president's displeasure, that it would be gross ingratitude not to vote for Mother Mary and expel her, as it were. The sisters understood; in the second ballot Mother Mary garnered all the votes. As a matter of course, the purpose as it had been laid down by Jordan was confirmed unanimously. This way a disastrous split of the community into nursing and teaching sisters was avoided.

⁷² See, A Closer Look: 2.48. Sisters' visitation.

⁷³ See, A Closer Look: 2.49. Namesday letter.

Unfortunately, even before the beginning of the chapter some sisters had become fond of Esser's idea to limit the purpose of the sisters to the education of girls. They had already spoken in some houses about the upcoming innovation and had caused considerable unrest in some communities. But Jordan quickly cleared up misunderstandings and squelched false hopes. **See, 2.50. Sisters' First General Chapter.**⁷⁴

After chapter, Esser thought he was still charged to execute its resolutions. That burdened Jordan and hindered Mother Mary and their consultants. Remedy was needed. But how? Finally, the Cardinal Vicar and also Fr. Antonio were convinced that it would be a blessing for both foundations to be supervised by the same Apostolic Visitor. Fr. Antonio, as longstanding visitor of the Salvatorian men now also became visitor for the Salvatorian Sisters, replacing Esser in May 1906.

Jordan could now breathe a sigh of relief. From the depth of his heart he thanked the Divine Savior and His Immaculate Mother for preserving the female branch of his foundation from such an ominous crucial test. But the fight for the purpose and thereby the future of the sisterhood had dealt a heavy blow to his sensitive and weakened nature: "Much suffering, also health much weakened (November 12).

For some time localized pains in the head, changing here and there. Especially when I am speaking seriously, under mental stress. Oh God, all for the love of Thee! (November 19, 1905, G-2.5).

This last and truly foundational sense of his self-sacrificing life he noted in his diary in threefold emphasis:

Detachment from all creatures!
All out of love of God!
All out of love of God!
All out of love of God!
October 31, 1905 (SD II/93)

⁷⁴ See, A Closer Look: 2.50. Sisters' First General Chapter.

The Divine fountains out of which he nourished his apostolic everyday life were “the most Blessed Sacrament, the Cross, the Mother of God” (September 24, 1905, SD II/92). And always, Fr. Francis of the Cross lived under the demands of his Pact with the Almighty:

Oh Lord, Almighty God, how I am constrained! See, here I am.
Behold the blood of Your Son (December 10, 1905, SD II/92).

2. "Advancing in the Lord Despite All Adversities," A Closer Look.

2.1/1. New initiatives. Looking for even more effective ways and means to form laborers for the vineyard of the Lord remained the desire and need of Jordan's heart. On the Feast of Epiphany 1903, he rededicated himself to his apostolic dreams. He was tempted to enlarge the mother-house to provide space for students from all nations and rites. From the age of 15 they should be accepted. The course of studies would copy the one of the Propaganda. Jordan also thought about where the means to maintain poor students would come from. However, he said nothing about the necessary teachers.

Two days later, he sketched a leaflet about the apostolate of the Society. Predominant characteristics of the Salvatorian apostolate were to him universality, heroic spirit of sacrifice, great confidence in God, good religious discipline, and vigorous recruitment. At this point Jordan became quite eloquent: "Call like the angels calling to judgment, so whoever can cooperate may cooperate." Immediately after that he felt worried for having reached too high. So he defended himself with the Lord's word: "He who is able to receive, let him receive it. This is a hard saying. I can do all things in Him who strengthens me" (cf., Mt 19:12; Jn 6:61; Phil 4:13; Jordan smuggled in *forsitan*, a word missing in the Vulgate, in whose language he fluently prayed. G-2.7).

Jordan also wondered whether "brave members" should not promote "the Society" through lectures. Individual communities could and should "produce fiery brochures and move courageously" (February 18, 1903). Incited by the upcoming "Congresses" he considered whether "a yearly international Salvatorian Congress in Rome" would not be a favorable venue, where one could discuss the means to promote the works of the Society;

. . . followed by a general audience with the Holy Father and visits to the holy shrines. The double purpose, pilgrimage and meeting, would greatly enhance the honor of God and the salvation of souls (G-2.7).

Jordan made for himself—for personal humility and encouragement—statistical annotations about the Franciscans of the Tyrolese Province and of the Holy Land, about Salesians, Assumptionists, Brothers of Christian Schools, and others.

2.2/3. Jubilee pilgrims. Pilgrims flocked to Rome for the pope's silver jubilee. On March 1, a train arrived from Berlin. Of its 600 pilgrims, 60 found quarters in the motherhouse. On April 18, 500 pilgrims came from the Swabian region, of whom 60 found places in the motherhouse, and 120 were provided with meals. They all were "very satisfied," Jordan could state with fatherly pride. The Directory of the Pilgrim Train from Cologne also settled in the motherhouse, as well as the General President of the Swiss Association of Journey-men.

Jordan met and held discussions with numerous princes of the church. Already on January 12, Bishop Cassiano Spies from St. Ottilien, at that time Apostolic Vicar of Zanzibar, was his guest. On February 17, followed Bishop von Korum of Trier. Thereafter the flow of important guests never lets up: the "very kind" Cardinal Puzyna (February 27; March 6), Cardinals Gruscha and Kopp (February 27), Prince-Archbishop Jordan von Görz (February 27; March 4), bishops Nagl (March 27-28) and Rössler (February 27), and bishops Henle from Passau, Jeglić from Laibach, von Lingg from Augsburg and Bishop Schöpflcutner (March 4), Brück from Mainz, Willi from Limburg, Likowski from Gnesen, Doppel-bauer from Linz (May) (G-2.4), Heinrich Doulcet, Passionist, Bishop of Nikopolis, Bulgaria (May 5, MI 9/1903).

Jordan was especially happy with visits of the bishops from his home and from Rottenburg (April 27), Archbishop Nörber and Bishop von Keppler even made an excursion to the community in Tivoli on May 7. Catholic aristocrats and German Catholic notables looked in at Palazzo Morone, in particular the Director of the Catholic publishing house, Friedrich Pustet, who was to take over *Nuntius Romanus* from Jordan on January 1, 1906, as well as the Cologne editor Bachem (June 30, G-2.4).*

Mother Mary, too, received relatives and nobles related with her family as dear guests in Via Lungara in that jubilee year, among them the family von Galen. Thus she was not forgotten in her

* In April, the German Emperor with his wife also arrived in Rome, causing excitement and enthusiasm in the German colony. "We all have seen the Emperor. Everyone is captivated by him. Half of Rome was at the station" (Lüthen to the fund raising brother in Germany, May 7, 1903, BL-631).

homeland. *Kölner Volkszeitung* published in early February an article about the foundation Jordan and the “*Reichsfräulein v. W., Castle Myllendonck*” had called into being. However, she remarked in this regard:

I never wished to be different but to be with brothers and sisters like the time of Jesus and the apostles. Afterwards began Steyl 1875–I in 1876 in holy obedience (toward Msgr. von Essen, the inspiration behind Steyl). But only Venerable Father was destined by God to the foundation and execution. Thanks be to God (to Pfeiffer, February 15, 1903, E-701; cf., already earlier CV II, April 25, 1892).

Mother Mary’s imagination extended her sense of common understanding with Jordan into the familial realm. “Venerable Father has only 4 brothers, I only 4 sisters. Venerable Father no sisters, I no brothers, thus I heard” (February 6, 1903, E-703). At the same time, she could easily have learned that Jordan had only 2 brothers and no sisters.

2.3/6. The sisters’ motherhouse. For some time, Jordan searched for a building in Rome able to house the motherhouse and novitiate of the sisters. At the beginning of 1903, Mother Mary urged Pfeiffer, “Our Motherhouse is too small. Please, please, take care!” (February 15, E-701). Over a dozen candidates were allowed to go to Tivoli for investiture. The jubilee year also brought a constant stream of pilgrims, so that in Via Lungara temporary shelters were installed. Most of all, Mother Mary, who had turned 70 on February 19th but didn’t find time for great celebrations, would have tried to build on her own: “Oh, if I could just build on the Janicolo in holy Rome” (March 6, 1903, E-703).

When the offer of Salita San Onofrio was on the table, Jordan first wanted more clarity before telling Mother Mary about his plans. She, however, had already heard about this matter somehow and urged Pfeiffer, whom Jordan had charged with exploring the offer further:

With the house, at last, at last we too [will be] in Rome! Must I speak with Reverend Father Bonaventure himself (?). Oh, if only the small spark of joy were a little greater, clearer: where, how much—one may know nothing, only Lent in everything (March 23, E-705).

But by Good Friday she could briefly inspect the house under consideration (MMChr). April 25, Jordan told her he was determined to acquire this house. Mother Mary was at once ready to purchase the building with her patrimony. On May 5th her sister, Baroness von Böselager, arrived for a 10-day visit. She was now in charge of Myllendonck and as such also trustee of Mother Mary's patrimony. They both soon came to terms on the 20,000 Mark, which Mother Mary could still receive from her patrimony. (Another 20,000 had already been transferred to her by her sister soon after her father's death.) Now she gave notice to her sister for the 2nd third of the inheritance (July 11, 1903). The rest remained irrevocable according to the Baron's will.

Jordan had mentioned a purchase price of about 60,000 Lire to Mother Mary. She wondered how to raise that amount in three instalments. Now that it was fixed at 65,000 Lire, Mother Mary had to fall back on the dowry of two sisters. Sr. Benedicta and Sr. Theresa (who, however, left in the course of the year) agreed to let Mother Mary sell their securities to pay the whole purchase sum to the bank (May 15, 1903).

The decision to list Mother Mary on the deed as owner became a headache. Some voices cautioned against indicated that she was the buyer, as the weak woman would probably die soon. The 70 year-old defended herself energetically against such considerations:

Why does one think so much of my good days. Already 40 years ago I was asked "why so much planning? The weakling would die soon." I answered: I can still live another 30 years—about which all wondered— now 40 years have passed, even 45, and I am stronger than before (the Holy Father was as old as I (poor woman) am now when he ascended the throne (June 8, 1903, E-707).

On June 12, Mother Mary inspected thoroughly the interior of the house in Salita San Onofrio. Already on June 30, the purchase was settled and confirmed by a first instalment. Mother Mary found it difficult to agree on two sisters to co-sign the purchase as Jordan had ordered. Only when the purchase was to be executed, after a sleepless night, did she decide in favor of her secretary, Sr. Elizabeth, and Sr. Johanna (July 31, 1903).

But she became even more undecided when she came to change her will. (Jordan required each sister to decide from her own free will.) Mother Mary felt sorry she was not able to retain her

existing will (1899), and had to substitute the name of the sisters for the name of the priests. She would still have liked to leave her share of the house to Weigang. She had already declined the two co-sisters. They were good-hearted and practical. "But in both of them I do not see higher aspiration or monastic spirit in spite of all the good" (to Lüthen and Pfeiffer, July 31, 1903). Finally, she decided in favor of her esteemed novice mistress, Sr. Bona-venture, to inherit her share of the house in Salita San Onofrio.

On August 3, 1903, the house in Salita San Onofrio was listed at 65,000 Lire and listed in the land register with the names "Baronessa Maria Teresa di Wüllenweber, Luigia Albertsky e Teresa Mai," and a first instalment of 20,000 Lire was made. The next day Mother Mary changed her will of February 19, 1889, in favor of Sr. Bonaventure:

The third part of the house in Via San Onofrio Nr. 11, I leave to the Signora Anna Zenker, daughter of Augusto of Ückendorf-Neckendorf, Westfalia, now staying in Tivoli, Rome, August 4, 1903, Maria Teresa di Wüllenweber, of Teodoro.

With this will, her last, Mother Mary expressly abrogates all her previous wills. She only kept her wish "to be buried in Campo Santo near St. Peter's." After bequeathing her property to the sisters, these could not "deny her these expenses" (to Jordan, Lüthen and Pfeiffer, July 31, 1903).

Mother Mary was glad to leave a motherhouse to her sisters. She asked Pfeiffer to take care of remodeling and to give notice to the tenants that she wished to move by September: "May St. Joseph help, bless, strengthen and comfort you, Reverend, as his follower" (to Pfeiffer, July 12, 1903). On August 9, she left for Switzerland for a month's vacation. She dropped her plan to visit Muraszombat, Budapest and Meran.

September 10, 1903, Mother Mary paid the last instalment for the motherhouse. She noted with a relieved "Thanks be to God." This was the last entry she herself made in her chronicle, which now in fact belonged to the growing Congregation of the Sisters of the Divine Savior.

Her eye disease made reading and writing more and more painful. In the evenings she dictated to her secretary: "For, as a Christmas present I suffered again a shot of flame in the other eye, and although I otherwise can see well, I must abstain from reading

and writing." The physician spoke of a growing cataract. Mother Mary accepted this resignedly: "May God's holy will be done in everything!" (MMChr).

During her holiday in Drogens, Mother Mary had relied completely on Pfeiffer to remodel the motherhouse. He looked after the workmen and dealt with tenants. Somehow there was a lack of understanding with some of the sisters who wanted to have a say. Mother Mary returned from Switzerland and hurried to assure the procurator general of her full trust.

"To the silly, however good sisters" she said directly: "What Reverend Father Pancratius does is good, what else do you want." She invited Pfeiffer expressly to her namesday—the last to be celebrated in Via Lungara (September 11, 1903). Again she asked: "Please go on very zealously taking care of the sisters' motherhouse. Let resistance and critics be to you nothing but encouragement and praise" (September 20).

Mother Mary was now often in the new house, neat and tidy, and passed her wishes on to Pfeiffer: "I hope that you, Reverend, continue taking care of all that has been planned. Joseph-like (brotherly and fatherly). I still understand little there. . . ." (September 22). The exertion of course had effected Mother Mary's health, worsened by the fact that after returning from Switzerland she had caught a bad cold. Further-more, she suffered from heart trouble. But she did not want to coddle herself and assured Pfeiffer: "The troubles are not caused by running and age" (September 22, 1903), but just (something she did not say) by the concerns besetting her.

The sisters in Via Lungara were already packing in September and preparing for the move. On September 27, the manageress of the house took permanent lodgings in Salita San Onofrio together with two other sisters. Once more Mother Mary left for a new place as she had in the founding years of the Barbarastift. But this time not as a leap into the void, but as the fulfillment of her life-work: "In the new monastery I feel like in Neuwerk, thankful" (September 26, 1903). "The house in Rome our hope; you, Reverend, our St. Joseph; thanks be to God" (to Pfeiffer, September 11, 1903).

In October the move was complete. The sisters wanted to move into the new house in procession. The secretary proposed: Cross in front. Mother Mary replied, Madonna in front (September

11). Out of gratitude Mother Mary invited the general procurator to celebrate the first Holy Mass there. As he was unable, Weigang was invited (October 8). On Saturday, October 17, the first Mass was celebrated in Salita San Onofrio (the festival program included the German Mass by Haydn and of course the Te Deum and Magnificat (October 14, 1903, E-853).

At month's end the community in Salita San Onofrio sent the general procurator, "in deepest respect and gratitude" an artistically painted thank you card: "Thanks to the helper, the St. Joseph of our small sisters' community." There followed the signatures of the 28 sisters and 7 postulants, headed by "Mother Mary of the Apostles" (October 31, E-868).

Jordan and Lüthen were no less delighted and thankful that the sisters now had "a house of their own; . . . Pfeiffer has done it (Salita San Onofrio, beautiful view from the terraces)," Lüthen communicated to the superior in Rio (October 13, 1903, BL-670).

2.4/7. Disagreements in Tivoli. The First General Chapter had also put in the men's community at Tivoli a new superior who enjoyed the confidence of the Founder. Lüthen, however, soon had to warn Fr. Orgenius Bartsch not to risk this trust, and to communicate openly but modestly with Jordan (January 16, 1903, BL-599). The superior came to Rome in late January for a personal exchange of views with Jordan (G-2.4).

In spring, Lüthen thought it useful to insert himself personally as mediator between Jordan and the local superior. In his letters the superior had expressed opinions apt to offend Jordan as well as Lüthen. Jordan kept silent, but Lüthen dared to say an "open word" about the rough tone of the superior:

Humility, modesty, reverence are missing. Look, I don't want to talk about the Venerable Father; in fact as Founder of our Congregation he should stand above you! He stands, by the way, high enough so that I needn't say more about his personality but just this.

And me? I am 57 years old, was the best qualified in the final examinations of secondary school, studied pedagogy many years as a priest. I have been in the Society for 22 years, always active as educator, 20 years active in governing together with the Venerable Father. During this period we have experienced and learned much. In general administration one is often judged wrongly; this is natural, because one has often to consider other

points of view, which subordinates do not know; therefore one should not judge at all (May 31, BL- 629).

When the superior affirmed his goodwill, Lüthen replied that nevertheless, true humility was lacking:

I am very sorry that during your formation of character in the scholasticate you have taken a direction which stunted the lovely virtue of humility, which makes us agreeable before God and man (June 5, 1903).

The superior, together with 4 priests, had to teach about 20 students with the individual formation each had received in the humanities. As their students were generally late vocations from German-speaking regions (most were already adults), this required a correspondingly sympathetic educational approach from their teachers who were more or less the same age. Jordan insisted that no student should be accepted who just wanted to become a priest, but could not find a possibility elsewhere. In summer 1903, he urged Lüthen while admitting new candidates: "So take care that only those with vocations may come" (Vienna, August 24, 1903). Jordan's principle was: "to follow as far as possible the national program for high schools" (July 14, 1903, G-2.7). The limitation "as far as possible" was meant purely ideologically. He wanted to exclude from his curriculum Liberal influence by teachers and books.

Tivoli received a new bishop in July.* Jordan and his two houses there soon enjoyed his benevolence.

2.5/8. Trzebinia (I). On July 1, 1903, the Krakow community moved to Trzebinia. Since foundation day 1902, Feast of Our Lady of Ransom, the day Cardinal Puzyna gave Jordan oral permission for a house, Jordan had occupied himself much with the new community ("This house is developing. Healthy climate," he noted for Schematismus 1903, B-42).

Fr. Alfred Zacharzowski, superior of the new foundation, had to secure a permit from the responsible authorities. Jordan

* Prosper Scaccia (Citta della Pieve, April 30, 1857-1932, September 29, Siena) succeeded Bishop Monti in Tivoli, June 22, 1903. He was transferred to Siena on June 5, 1909.

wished to begin building a proper study house with a church. He thought about fund raising in Silesia (B-157). The superior, who worked out a corresponding contract, planned on a large scale. Jordan expressed some concern: "What will happen if construction can't be finished, or if we pull out on our own because we can't reach the goal?" To Jordan the purpose was quite clearly the formation of Salvatorian priest vocations. The superior hoped to gain more respect from the locals by starting a circle of "honor-ary" community members. But for Jordan what counted was active help: "Honorary members are not benefactors, consequently they neither share the graces, etc." (B-158).

In an undated "to do list" for the superior, Jordan set out 12 indispensable points. Above all he insisted on unity with Rome and the motherhouse, and on regular correspondence with the generalate. Then he warned against rash procedures in buying, borrowing, or selecting architects or builders. "Take no bungler nor anyone who is not completely solid." Some rather strange things also color his admonition: "Don't do business with women or Jews, e.g., in obligations in house construction. But behave as a servant of Christ towards all." Or his remark: "be very careful regarding drifters and those you don't know well!" (B-159).

2.6/10. Sicily. The superior of Noto, Scala was approached by the pastor of Rosolini requesting sisters for the school and care of the sick. When asked about it, Lüthen sighed: "Rosolini! Oh, if only we had sisters! One will have to wait a little, which makes me very sorry. Venerable Mother is greatly embarrassed." Mother Mary had started a small foundation in St. Ninfa without consulting Lüthen "as always:" "Thus the matter was not clear." Lüthen greatly favored such small foundations benefitting children and the sick: "In each larger place we should have German or at least German-Italian mixed sisters. Something not so essential in Sicily" (February 9, 1903, BL-605).

February 14, 1903, Lüthen wrote to Fr. Bruno Dempf, superior in Noto: "On February 20, we received the answer from St. Ninfa" (BL-607). After Easter, Mother Mary sent three sisters to Rosolini. The reception was Sicilian solemn: 6 state coaches took the sisters to their small monastery, St. Catarina, accompanied by aristocrats, clergy, some prominent citizens, and music (April 16,

MMChr). Bishop Blandini thanked Mother Mary personally and celebrated Mass in Via Lungara on June 7, 1903.

On July 5th, three sisters left for St. Ninfa near Palermo where they took over the boarding and day school for girls. "The 7 noble nuns" now entrusted with the work were also allowed to lodge in the beautiful monastery. But the sisters were not up to the "difficult work" and consequently "this very dubious foundation" had to be given up, May 7, 1904 (G-31; May 8, 1904, E-884). The municipality expressed its displeasure about the sisters' exit, and at the same time thanked them for their help. Unfortunately, one of the sisters left the congregation and remained in the Girls' Home of St. Ninfa. Pfeiffer immediately sent her dowry to her of 6,500 Mark (May 31, 1904, E-885; G-32).

The foundation at Rosolini also failed to get a firm footing. The Children's Asylum there was all in confusion. In addition, the sisters defended themselves rather poorly against the home's favor-seeking benefactors. Lüthen urged Mother Mary to take all measures, but there was no hope for true improvements (G-32). In April 1906, the foundation was given up definitely (resolution of the sisters' First General Chapter, December 1905).

The men's superior of the Scala wanted to convince Mother Mary to take on the reform the Tertiary Sisters of St. Paul in Noto. Jordan had left the regulation of this matter to Lüthen. The latter did not want to decline the offer out of hand, but wondered whether Mother Mary was up to the task. He explained this to the superior in his own manner:

You know Venerable Mother, her ways, her character. Do you think she would have influence? Of course, she would need help. A fitting older sister, who would have to be sent from here, is unfortunately not available. Venerable Mother might eventually take with herself a stricter sister for support.

The superior of the Scala should, however, send more details: How many sisters? Do they wish to be reformed at all? Aristocrats? Occupations, income? Also the bishop would have to be consulted.

Lüthen had already discussed the matter with Mother Mary. She intended to visit the establishment in Sicily in February 1904. Then she would stay with the Tertiaries for a month. But the bad start of the two houses in Rosolini and St. Ninfa rendered her visitation trip superfluous (July 31, 1903, BL-653).

2.7/11. Noto (I). Life in the community of Madonna della Scala was at times rather turbulent. Already in summer 1902, the superior had simply sent an unruly confrere back to the motherhouse. Jordan could not countenance such a procedure without looking into it. The local superior, quite without reason required instead that his own authority be increased. Not wanting to compound the "blunder" (August 12 & 15, 1902, BL-579) Jordan intended to travel personally to Sicily as soon as possible. He planned to close the scholasticate there and start a study house: "Is there no possibility of an Italian candidature?" (February 22). But the Founder could not free himself for the trip as quickly as he had wished. On June 3, 1903, Bishop Blandini paid a visit to Jordan in Rome to request sisters and also brothers "to teach Sicilians farming" (G-2.7).

On July 2, 1903, Jordan finally traveled to Noto where he was personally received by the bishop in a coach. He had to spend the first night in the seminary. The bishop urged Jordan to take over a church in the town. From June 3-9, he stayed at the Scala where he succeeded in persuading the superior to start a small house of studies in fall. Jordan only let the theology students in the last year of studies before ordination stay at the Scala.

On August 4, 1903, a few priests took over the service in the Church of the Immaculata in the City of Noto. The superior intended to recruit students through newspapers. Jordan asked him just to present the Society, but not to recruit (September 17, 1903, BL-677). He reminded the superior of what he had warmly recommended during his visitation: to be less "absent" and make serious efforts to become "one heart and one soul" with the confreres (September 14, BL-666). In the fall, a small candidature with half a dozen Sicilian candidates was inaugurated.

2.8/12. Circular letter.

Fr. Francis of the Cross Jordan

Superior General of the Society of the Divine Savior, to his beloved sons, greetings in the Lord and fatherly blessings.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you, dear sons, who have so kindly expressed your congratulations on my 25th anniversary of ordination; it is with great joy that I receive, approve and bless your solemnly tendered assurances of sincere fidelity at this occasion.

While your goodwill and filial devotion fill my heart with deep joy, I must admonish you, dearest sons, to translate these feelings into action by your efforts to complete in courage and unity what I have continuously planned and tried to realize and execute with all my strength in these 25 years. I do not know, whether God will give me another 25 years, or whether an early death will call me out of this life.

Therefore, I ask you insistently, dearest sons, above all you superiors, try to fulfill with zeal the task I have entrusted to each of you, particularly those whose task it is to erect new houses for the formation of our junior set.

No one should be surprised if his work, so extremely effective and useful for the benefit of our Society, can only begin by overcoming grave obstacles, and be continued and executed under great difficulties. The entire history of the Society shows this, most of all the foundation of our Roman community which hell itself seemed to resist.

Please avoid criticizing me for incessantly insisting on erecting houses in every nation for the education and formation of our juniors. On the contrary, especially those members in such houses should make use of all means, through prayer and fund raising, through common consultations and encouragement, to work toward the goal of beginning the work entrusted to them for their nation— opening a house of formation— as soon as possible.

Although the undertaking might not seem favored by success, you should nevertheless not abandon the work begun, but continue with even greater zeal and greater prudence. Work like ants continuously and indefatigably until God rewards the trust and confidence of his workers with extraordinary support.

May all make this intention of mine their own, promote it and put it into effect. I am quite willing, if it is God's will, to work on and to care and sacrifice for another 25 years, if only I can complete my work to the honor of the Divine Savior.

In conclusion I ask you, dearest sons, as it has repeatedly been recommend, to support the motherhouse in its financial situation as much as possible.

Rome, July 25, 1903

Fr. Francis of the Cross Jordan

Superior General SDS (A-389, German An, VI, n. 7, 298ff).

2.9/14. **Meseritsch** still awaited an answer to the question of a house of studies for Salvatorian candidates. On June 10, 1903, Jordan met with Prince-Archbishop Kohn. He urged a solution for the coming year. The current boarding house was to be administered for one more year. The local superior had wanted to close it down already this year because of difficulties that had arisen in the educational sector. However, the priests there seemed under involved in solo pastoral work, in part because some still needed to progress in language studies, something which went more easily in conversation with Bohemian youth.

The superior, a pastor body and soul, set aside Jordan's proper plan. Jordan wrote Lüthen:

I worry about Meseritsch the most, even though it might have an excellent future. The superior says he had to travel much, and the young priests are left by themselves. If only we had a fit man as superior, even if he were a German,

He esteemed the superior, Fr. Cyril Braschke, as an exemplary priest who had weathered all storms (cf., September 12, 1903, BL-663). Still, he was rather disappointed; priests and brothers staying in Meseritsch are good, but there should be an older superior who stayed at home (Hamberg, August 29).

On December 31, Jordan met with Prince-Archbishop Kohn in Rome. He noted the result of their conversation:

Building in Jägerndorf on the site that has been bought; perhaps pastor-al work later and when the church [is built], the house might be used by the sisters, who are necessary for Jägerndorf. For W. Meseritsch make only the necessary expenses (G-2.4).

On New Year's Day, Jordan communicated the most important points of his discussion with the prince-archbishop to the superior of Meseritsch. As his Excellency had requested more frugality, the Founder urged the superior to begin with the house of studies in the fall at the latest, even if it at first had to be run along side the hostel.

In this way, all the priests of the community would also have something to do. Jordan did not exclude Silesian and German candidates, but humanistic studies would have to be in the Bohemian language. Again he requested that Bohemian and Moravian cooperators be recruited. He was convinced that without co-operators and without advertizing "the community would hardly reach its goal." Jordan assured the superior: "Be convinced of my benevolence" (January 1, 1904). On April 14, 1904, Archbishop Kohn met once more with the Founder.

2.10/15. Hamberg (I). At the end of March 1903, Fr. Hilarius Gog remained a general consultor, but living in Hamberg. The priests had resisted their overly self-willed superior, Fr. Elesius Gabelseder. The college already counted over 15 students, mostly belated vocations. Therefore, a new building was planned. The rough estimate was 55,000 fl. (without chapel 40,000 fl.). The superior "was dejected and fed up with things" by the outcome of the visitation and asked Jordan for a transfer (April 8, 1903). The Founder, however, mediated once more.

Jordan visited the community on August 11, 1903. He found the new construction to be necessary. The generalate would have to decide soon to start the building to be ready "for occupancy in the fall of 1904, if everything goes well." This remark addressed the delicate question of the community, which was living in tension with its superior and among the members (Vienna, August 11, 16, 27; Lochau, September 1, 1903).

Jordan paid a second visit to the house on his way back to Rome (August 27, 1903). "The Hamberg matter is not easy and it can hardly be changed before the construction is finished," he wrote to Lüthen before making his second stop at the college. The question was not about building plans, but about the delicate question of the best way to help the confreres for their benefit and the benefit of the community. Returned to Rome, he made a new petition to the Governor of Linz to allow the residence to house 10 to 14 priests, since it was a school for religious candidates. It would not require general charity (October 8, 1903; cf., Petition of March 7, 1902).

2.11/16. Lochau (I). The Marian College in Lochau on Lake Constance numbered about 50 persons at the beginning of 1902. The new

building had already become too small. The 10 priests had difficulties providing for the nearly 3 dozen students who payed little. "The financial situation of our house is so bad that without extraordinary support we are just headed toward ruin," the superior warned Jordan and protested against the admission of so many non-paying students (December 15, 1902).

Jordan felt uncomfortable that Br. Rodriguez Übler continued collecting funds "for the missions." He asked the superior no longer to use the expression "Mission-House" or "Mission-Monastery" in refer-ring to Lochau, even though the Society celebrated daily Mass and a yearly Requiem there for benefactors. Only if these stipends continued coming could construction begin—after there was the moral certainty the Marian College would not stay continuously in debt (February 11, 1903).

In summer 1903, the superior Fr. Bonfilius Loretan fell seriously ill. The dean of studies, Fr. Justinian Pfeiffer, insisted to Jordan that unless the superior were fully better he would not be able to fulfill his official duties (August 15, 1903). By July 13, Jordan sent general consultor Fr. Hiliarius Gog to substitute for Loretan (G-2.4, September 3, 1903, BL-659). On September 1, Jordan stayed in Lochau for visitation. That day Gog and Loretan signed the contract with the builder. On September 15, Gog started excavation. In late fall 1903, just before winter, foundation work for the expansion of the building was finished. By fall 1904, the 2nd and 3rd wings were to be covered. In October the community sent the third "small group of candidates" to the novitiate in Rome (SM 2, 1904). In summer of 1904, Gog had to replace the ailing superior.

2.12/18. Wealdstone. In May 1903, the superior in Wealdstone received the offer to take over the German church in White Chapel, London. The Carmelites had agreed, but proposed only Dutch priests. But among German Catholics this would cause a "revolution." Fr. Odo Distel was in favor of the take over. Jordan willingly agreed (May 11, 1903). Also in May, the mission superior of Assam stayed in Wealdstone to explore the possibilities of English support for the mission.

The foundation in Wealdstone struggled to get a foothold. The superior could not accustom himself to the English lifestyle and wanted to return to the Continent. In summer, Distel declared to

Jordan that he did not want to continue as superior, for reasons of conscience and because of his weak health. He asked for a priest from St. Nazianz (July 4, 1903). He continued urging Jordan to transfer him: he was not up to the work (August 25, 1903), and his health failed him (October 27, 1903).

Another confrere could not bear the local climate. Jordan stated: "It isn't the climate, it's the people and their lifestyle" (to Lüthen, Lochau, September 1, 1903). Of course the third priest, too, did not feel like holding the fort alone. Nevertheless, Jordan asked him to replace the superior because the latter,

. . . had to renounce his office because of health reasons and had to go to another house for a longer time to recover with more rest. I cannot call a priest from America; on the other hand we must not give up what we have accomplished.

Jordan entreated the young priest to make this sacrifice for the common good and "not to desert him in this critical situation" (Lochau, September 1, 1903). Fr. Leodegar Gütlein, however, wanted to leave England. Jordan recommended that he hold "a novena to Mary, the Immaculate Mother of God, Patroness of England, who is so concerned about the erring children of England." At the end of this novena the priest might write the result to him;

You will, if it is God's will, be transferred at once. We cannot give up that foundation. You will hopefully understand, that the higher superiors have decided. The beginnings have always met with extraordinary difficulties, and various foundations now flourishing would not exist if one had yielded because of the cross and great obstacles (October 20, 1903).

Gütlein gave up and transferred to Vienna II. The other priests remained "England weary."

Jordan saw no other way but to turn to the superior of St. Nazianz for help. He asked him to go personally to Wealdstone: "The matter of Wealdstone being urgent, go there as soon as possible. After some months you may return to St. Nazianz" (November 7, 1903).

Deibele could release one priest from St. Nazianz to serve as superior. Jordan had just recently sent the former superior of Drognens to St. Nazianz (according to his wish) as a brave collaborator. Deibele traveled quite unwilling to Europe. He met

with Jordan in Rome in December, traveled back to his home in Germany on December 23, and then to Wealdstone in order to get a view on the spot.

Jordan was glad Fr. Odo Distel, superior of Wealdstone, still showed some patience. By November 11, 1903, Jordan had spoken with the successor of Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop Bourne, about the foundation in Wealdstone (G-2.4). The superior had even succeeded in winning the sisters of the *Congrégation de la Ste Chrétienne* (motherhouse in Metz), expelled from France in the fall, to take over the school (MI, January 1904).

Deibele arrived in Wealdstone from Rome on January 7, 1904. He promised, as negotiated in Rome, to send Fr. Sturmius Härtel. Distel urged him to name this priest as superior at once (January 28, 1904). However, he had to be patient for a few more months until Härtel arrived. Sturmius too wanted Distel to stay on and help him. But Distel, who was seriously ill (G-37), left for Hamont (July 12, 1904).

Even before returning to St. Nazianz, Deibele regretted having yielded to Jordan by promising him Härtel for Wealdstone. He demurred that his consultors could not be brought together. His "offensive" letter to the superior general required Jordan to anticipate Härtel's travel expenses. Jordan did not yield, but demanded that the new superior for Wealdstone should depart as soon as possible. "The travel expenses can't be paid at present by the poor community in Wealdstone." Distel, who because of illness had asked to be transferred, was already in Hamont (May 13, 1904). On the Feast of the Assumption, 1904, Jordan traveled from Hamont to Harrow Wealdstone. Before that, he had discussed things with Distel who was of the opinion that the English community was promising as there were good sources of income. Now Jordan wanted to meet with the new superior, and above all clarify whether and how the foundation could be built up.

2.13/19. Discipline at St. Nazianz. Deibele was reappointed superior of St. Nazianz on January 3, 1903. At the end of January, Jordan again begged for support of the motherhouse (G-2.4). In spring he sent one new priest to St. Nazianz. He also discussed matters with the new local vicar of St. Nazianz, who had come through Rome on his return from his holiday at home (March 1903). Jordan was anxiously

waiting for the opening of a study house, a "holy nursery of true Salvatorians" (to Deibele, March 19, 1903; cf., letter, April 29, 1903). Jordan was glad that Deibele was at least not stingy in giving financial help. On September 16, he delightedly thanked the superior for "having sent such a great sum for the motherhouse." But he could not suppress the wish of his heart; "Oh, may it become a nursery and exemplary school of apostolic Salvato-rians for the United States." The superior had great plans. "St Nazianz now wants to build a large monastery" (July 5, 1903, BL-644).

On July 20, one day after the death of Leo XIII, Archbishop Francis Xavier Katzer of Milwaukee died in Fond du Lac, WI. He had been "a great benefactor and friend of the Society," as Jordan noted in an obituary (MI 9, 1903).

On July 28, Jordan was compelled to admonish the brothers in St. Nazianz severely to be moderate in the use of alcohol. He asked them to consider how long before they might be able to ban the vice of drink-ing completely from their midst. The superior had not the courage to read this warning from the highest superior to his brothers. He excused their behavior to Jordan by pointing to the lifestyle, which was not the same as in Europe. The brothers there often labored hard in the farm taken over from Fr. Mutz. They had become used to quenching their thirst with more than healthy water.

But in Rome one also drinks wine. A little gin as medicine or at times of hard work like threshing and hay-cutting no one could withhold from the laborers. The superior stressed that his brothers were not drink-ers, that the reporter had distorted the facts. This "more or less unde-served reproach" might estrange the brothers from Jordan. At the end of the ten-page letter of defense of his brothers Deibele asked Jordan "not to judge minor faults too severely" (August 17, 1903).

In the late fall, Jordan sent two priests to USA, the transferred superior of Drognens to St. Nazianz, and one priest to take care of Polish emigrants on the West Coast.

When the confreres in Wealdstone, tired of the struggle, urged to be transferred, Jordan urgently summoned the superior of St. Nazianz to Rome (November 7, 1903) and asked Deibele to free an excellent man for Wealdstone to save the foundation in England (cf., 2.12). Jordan had not only to save Wealdstone, he remained disturbed that St. Nazianz might increasingly distance itself from the

strict discipline of the motherhouse. This was a delicate theme for Deibele, who clearly saw that Salvatorian discipline in the States was incongruent with Roman ways. Nevertheless, he reached an agreement with the Founder's nonnegotiable demands. In nine points Jordan laid out directives of the Constitutions he thought were quite self-evident, important and indispensable for St. Nazianz. Above all, Jordan had at heart at least good care for the brothers (on-going religious formation, sufficient free time for prayer and recreation). This "clarification" fit onto just one page.

Deibele begged to go home. He wanted to celebrate Christmas and New Year's Day with relatives. "Because of the hurried departure no copy [of the clarifications] could be made" (Jordan). However, Deibele promised to send one to Jordan as soon as possible. He traveled home on December 23, 1903, and to Wealdstone after Epiphany 1904. Neither at home nor on the ship back to USA did he find the few minutes needed to copy the few sentences. Deibele was angry with the Founder, and when he was angry, he was angry good and long. His confreres in St. Nazianz could have said a thing or two about that.

2.14/20. Assam (I). The mission superior of Assam had traveled to his homeland after the general chapter to refill the empty mission coffers. Jordan requested from him a "map of Assam with all stations." He also urged the mission procurator to take more care of mission benefactors: "Edit a yearly report: 1) What has been accomplished with God's help; 2) What was still to be done" (G-2.7).

On the last day of August, Jordan and Münzloher had met by chance at Munich's main train station. The Apostolic Prefect was return-ing to the mission via Rome to call on Propaganda once more, and also to discuss his future plans with the Founder. On September 18, Münzloher went to Naples with two young confreres to board the ship to Bombay. Previously he, together with the two new missionaries, were received in audience by Pius X. (Fr. Marcelline Moltz, who had also raised funds in Europe for some time, had returned to his mission station in Bondashill already in summer.) During his stay in Germany the mission superior had published in the Salvatorian press in Herbesthal a richly illustrated booklet about the history and the development of the mission (1903).

Back in the mission, Münzloher met with the old difficulties, which had dogged him on his home leave. Lately, his vicar had been singled out for attack. The other missionaries, who were not well disposed toward Fr. Ignatius Bethan, insisted that he be immediately recalled; they reproached him for showing too little restraint toward the sisters. Such accusations were not new to Jordan, who until now he had listened to the mission superior. (Although once before he had opposed Jordan's allowing Bethan's return to Assam after home leave.) Even now Münzloher had no clear solution because some points had improved. Others could only be eliminated by transferring the priest. But this would not be easy because it would provoke a revolt among the local Christians (Herbesthal, June 15, 1903). Bethan had already decided to mobilize the sisters and lay Christians against his recall. Yet, a massive front began to form against him, especially during the absence of the mission superior (fall 1902 to fall 1903). The three rebellious priests had him secretly watched, and stopped the mail coming to him from Rome, along with letters from Mother Mary to the sisters (Shillong, November 12, 1903). The mission vicar in Shillong was not at all careful or cautious. He liked "chatting," which was rather often slanderous or even amounted to calumny.

2.15/21. Rio. Fr. Philibert Schubert remained by himself in Rio de Janeiro, but had great plans. Jordan was still hoping Fr. Ambrose Mayer would remain in the Society. Just at the beginning of the year he sent an inviting telegram to Brazil; at the end of the month he wrote an insistent letter to the priest urging him to stay (G-2.4). Mayer kept silent. Still in summer Lüthen asked Schubert: "Fr. Ambrose has given no answer as to where he was going. What are his intentions?" (July 5, 1903, BL-644). In October, Mayer received permission from the Congregation to leave the Society. He did so and remained in Rio.

Schubert was fully engaged in the school which he had started. He requested one priest for music, mathematics and physics. Jordan, however, still had no such "wonder priest" at his disposal: "We willingly give what we have." He admonished Schubert to be cautious in completing the foundation. Above all, he insisted "on making a firm stand, a foundation for a future larger community. Going slowly, this is the best maxim at founding. Therefore, do not

start with a secondary school or the like" (February 25, 1903, BL-610). To Jordan it was evident: "For Rio de Janeiro we need principally solid people. . . . In Rio de Janeiro we must begin from scratch" (to superior in Noto, February 22, 1903).

Finally on March 30, one of the two promised priests departed for Brazil from Genoa. Jordan was glad once Fr. Serapion Ewald had safely arrived in the capital of his future apostolate. He wrote to the superior on May 1, 1903:

Now it is necessary to keep together *in Domino* and to form a good point of crystallization for the gigantic imperium of Brazil. Hold fast to your spiritual Father and to the Society. . . . May the holy Guardian Angles give you all the guidance I would like to give you.

On July 15, Lüthen announced: "Fr. Eucher [Merker] is coming to Rio after his vacation in August. Greetings to the second *par nobile fratrum*" (noble pair of brothers, BL-646).

Deep inside, Jordan feared whether the foundation in Rio would succeed on the second try: "Oh how much would I like to visit you and to inspire courage in you," he assured the superior (August 1). Back in December 1902, he had noted: "The month of April is the most favorable for the trip to Brazil" (G-2.7). But he could not free himself. Even more so because he was no longer up to such strains.

The third confrere arrived in Rio on October 2. The three priests dedicated themselves with enthusiasm and passion to their apostolate "most of all to the youth," which not only relieved but also pleased the Founder (to superior, November 10, 1903).

The priests in Rio desired a house of their own, but where could one get 40,000 to 50,000 dollars? (January 11, 1904). Thus they could not yet hope for a school of their own (March 20, 1904). The search for a suit-able place for a future community continued. The superior was offered a house at a good price, but it was too near the Redemptorists. Jordan asked them to look for a place in another parish. It was to be "healthy, free of fever, and suit our purposes" (April 15, 1904, BL-706). Also any confusion of names with the Redemptorists should be avoided. In summer, the superior negotiated for a site (8,000 m² for 30,000 Mark). As Brazil was in financial crisis, all hope was on the general procurator. But at that time it was impossible for Rome to secure a loan (June 25, 1904).

Jordan repeatedly reminded the superior, almost imploringly, not to lose sight of their proper purpose: "to get in Rio a

favorable center for virtue and learning, where good religious discipline together with academics are flourishing, radiating light and warmth all over Brazil" (September 20, 1904). For this reason Jordan was also opposed to the superior having additionally taken over the office of confessor for three categories of hospital patients. This was the task of the responsible pastor. Jordan feared the danger of contagion to the superior; thus endangering the foundation again. He again clarified Schubert's man-date: "to start an apostolic nursery in Rio" (November 2, 1904, BL-745). Unfortunately, Jordan could not fulfill Schubert's wish to send more priests again in 1905. New priests were too few, and the Mission in Assam had priority (April 20, 1905). Jordan also had doubts about the tropical climate. He made Lüthen ask whether full blooded people could endure the local climate (April 2, 1905, BL-770).

In fall, the superior of Rio sent a plan for Minas Gerais, which, however, never materialized (October 11, 1905, BL-807). In the spring of 1906, Schubert asked to be allowed to buy a building site.* The laconic answer was: Fine, but no debts! (March 21, 1906). This was no help to the superior. He renewed his petition. Lüthen could only answer:

The houses in Europe have built much and courageously made debts. One case is particularly striking. Fr. Antonio heard about it, and that is the end of buying and building. If you have money, there is still the possibility of an exception (November 30, 1906, BL-907).

Thus the Apostolic Visitation's brake effected South American Missions.

Schubert begged regularly to be sent good forces for the school (July 15, 1906). For now, Lüthen had to give the disappointing answer: "Sorry, there aren't any!" The parish school was already attended by over 100 children. The priests also made self-sacrificing efforts by attending the sick and dying in their homes.

* Cardinal Joachim Arcoverde de Albuquerque Cavalcanti, Archbishop of Rio, visited Jordan on December 9, 1905, and again on February 10, 1906, to discuss the modest, but hopeful foundation of Salvatorians in his city. The meeting was cordial as between friends (G-2.5).

The confreres in Cartagena, Colombia were fully occupied pastorally. Planting an apostolic nursery was far off! In late September 1904, one new priest joined the two, who until then had courageously kept to their post. Archbishop Brioschi came to the motherhouse July 1, 1905, and requested more priests and brothers for Colombia, no fewer than for the archbishop of Rio had requested.

2.16/22. Motherhouse “minister.” After electing the local government in Palazzo Morone there was some wrangling about titles and competencies. Lüthen was against the motherhouse superior calling himself “superior,” and the general consultors agreed. So Lüthen petitioned the Congregation for Religious in his own name and in the name of the other general consultors to call the local superior “minister,” following the usage in similar institutes in Rome. But some members of the house requested confirmation by higher authority. Lüthen asked the “Holy Father to eliminate this defect.” The Congregation passed the petty petition to the Apostolic Visitor for consideration (July 7, 1903). He held that a confirmation by the Congregation was superfluous. In session they decided: “Not to be executed at present” (July 14, 1903, A Rel 100 72).

The few priests who absolutely wanted Fr. Johannes Capistran Schärfl to bear the title corresponding to his rights as local superior accepted the judgement of the Congregation as they construed it, and reproached Lüthen for disobeying the Congregation for Religious for insisting on the title of minister. Lüthen vehemently defended himself against this “misunderstanding” in a memo. The answer of the Congregation had been that the matter was “quite our problem.” A “somebody” in the Society made a “friendly accusation” to the Apostolic Visitor. Lüthen explained emphatically to Fr. Antonio: “Nobody has annulled the decision of the General Consulta up to now” (E-68).

The somehow obstinate “superior” (Schematismus 1903) was transferred to Hamberg and replaced in March 1904 by Fr. Clemens Hofbauer Sontag, editor of *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*.. The newly-named local superior received the title *Präses* (Schematismus 1904 indicated as reason the “special dignity of the house”).

2.17/26. Sisters’ health concerns. In Salita San Onofrio general consultor Fr. Barnabas Borchert re-opened the teacher’s training

school November 12, 1903. That winter, Mother Mary was considerably annoyed with the former Sr. Commissar of USA, who after her return from there found it difficult to resume her work in the school. When the new school year began that fall, she took refuge in illness and wanted to call in Lüthen. He, however, sent the young Fr. Pfeiffer. But neither he nor the house doctor, Constantini, nor Mother Mary found out what was wrong with her. Sr. Clara had nightmares (October 23, 1903, E-709) and now and then a slight fever. Meanwhile, she received a special diet. The sister felt neglected by Jordan, and Mother Mary had to suffer for it, although she was pleased that Jordan had personally intervened. Mother Mary saw clearly enough the sister would not leave the congregation because at home "she had no family connection any more" (November 10, 1903, E-712). Consequently, on Jordan's orders she allowed the discontented sister to depart for USA for the present "to recover" (March 9, 1904, MMChr). Other sisters in the motherhouse let themselves be influenced by Sr. Clara and also began to malingering. They harried the over-burdened sister infirmarian, leaving the healthy sisters swamped with the work of moving in and setting up.

One sick sister behaved "quite un-sisterly." Mother Mary asked Lüthen to bring her back to her senses (November 16, 1903, E-715). But when sick sisters complained, Lüthen now regularly sent in Pfeiffer. Mother Mary had great confidence in the new family doctor who was inclined to take her approach and did not let himself be alarmed so quickly. He mentioned to Mother Mary, who at the time personally "suffered much from colds and coughing," that the whole city was afflicted by such feverish colds. She thought activity was the best remedy for simple illnesses, and passed her experience on to the young Pfeiffer:

I am particularly familiar with patients, working myself for 50 years: poor people in the monastery (*Sacré Coeur*), in Neuwerk, my sick sister, should always [come] to Rome. Oh, my good Rev., how much have I studied various sick persons and books here.

(November 23, 1903, E-717a).

December 27, 1903, Pius X received Auxiliary Bishop Kohl and Prelate Nemes from Budapest. They took with them to the audience Mother Mary and Sr. Hilaria, who had shortly before arrived from Budapest. They expressed their complete satisfaction with the sisters' activities in Hungary. Mother Mary was extremely happy with this favor. The next day, Pius X sent the sisters in Salita San Onofrio "a

small barrel of wine from the papal gardens” as a Christmas present (MMChr).

2.18/27. Welkenraedt and Beda Hoffmann’s departure. Even before the First General Chapter the general procurator, Fr. Beda Hoffmann, had reported that the printing house in Welkenraedt was working at a loss— over 2,000 Mark yearly (June 1902). The superior there did not favor combining a house of studies with a printing house. On the other hand, the press was a great moral gain for the region. Fr. Hilarius Gog visited the community from April 12-20, 1903. He confirmed that the printery was unprofitable and had consumed 3,000 Mark of the income of the college. In addition, the superior was arbitrary and did not give his confreres a say (April 17, 1903).

At the end of October 1903, before Jordan began his return from Welkenraedt to the south, he met with Hoffmann. Beda had taken his holidays in summer, but then postponed his return without being able to give a sound reason. So Jordan insisted on a personal exchange of ideas. Unfortunately, this did not bring about a clarification. Hoffmann then “tiptoed out” of the Society he had felt so happy in for so many years.*

* Fr. Beda Hoffmann, first general procurator, had left Rome already on June 18, 1901. As reason he indicated having to regain his Bavarian citizenship in the German Federation. In late fall, he communicated to Jordan that he was “free from infection” in regard to health (November 22, 1901).

On February 5, 1902, he explained to Jordan that due to a delay with his documents an early return was almost impossible. Br. Aemilian Rempel, having met with Hoffmann on Jordan’s orders, asked the Founder to be more obliging toward him; as Fr. Beda was true to Jordan. His heart should not be estranged (Landau, February 14, 1902). It is not noted what Hoffmann had complained about to Br. Aemilian. Despite Jordan’s requests, Hoffmann avoided General Chapter I. Jordan excused his absence “under gravest religious secrecy.”

In the new year, Jordan sent his good wishes to the former general procurator (G-2.4). On February 27, 1903, Fr. Antonio requested the new procurator to have Hoffmann petition the Congregation for permission to continue living *extra communitatem*. Hoffmann explained to Pfeiffer that the Visitor was wrongly informed. On Easter he would be able to communicate that he would certainly return to Rome within 3 months

(March 5, 1903). But if Fr. Antonio insisted, he would make the petition (March 8, 1903). But then Hoffmann repeatedly postponed. Jordan asked himself much concerned: "Will Fr. Beda come back?" (Vienna X, August 16, 1903). Jordan had travel money sent to him, which Hoffmann sent back. As his presence in his own family was not needed, Jordan could not understand the enigmatic behavior of his faithful collaborator (August 24, 1903, G-36). Hoffmann got permission to stay at home for another month (September 1, 1903, G-37), toward the end of which Lüthen asked by telegram whether he was coming now or when? (September 25, 1903, G-37). A second transfer of travel money was announced on September 22. From October 9 - 31, Jordan made a visitation trip to Belgium. He intended on this occasion to meet Hoffmann personally. Lüthen informed Beda about this: Venerable Father will be there in one or two weeks (October 10, 1903, G-37).

Already on November 4, 1903, Hoffmann had assumed the position of house chaplain in Surenburg near Riesenbeck, Westphalia. On December 1, 1903, he received permission to live outside the community for family reasons. Mean-while, it was rumored that he had left. Lüthen contradicted this rumor sharply. He pointed out that Hoffmann,

. . . in spite of the very poor circumstances has been holding to his vocation with rare fidelity, but now is staying *extra communitatem* for a while due to family matters, but with the permission of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, and in agreement with the superior of the Society (January 22, 1904, BL-694).

On Easter 1904, Jordan sent Hoffmann his good wishes. Beda's answer noted particularly that Jordan's Easter letter "is intentionally missing any other kinder expression" (May 19, 1904). On November 26, 1904, the permission of December 1, 1903, was extended a further year. But Hoffmann no longer wanted to return to the Society, and explained to Jordan his reasons for leaving (March 9, 1906). Eager for a way out, the homebound priest negotiated with the bishops of Metz and Leitmeritz (to be received into a German diocese he lacked the German *Abitur*). He asked for a *saecularisatio perpetua* so as to be able to keep his castle chaplaincy (without incardination in the diocese). His successor in office, Pfeiffer, had to explain to him that such a status was not possible. He received this news quite indignantly. Now he asked to be allowed to live *extra communitatem* for three years so as to get his *Abitur* (November 21, 1906). Jordan had no choice but to yield, as Hoffmann had already begun studies for this purpose (March 17, 1906). Fr. Antonio opposed this at first, because he had been excluded from discussing the previous permission (November 21, 1906, D-763).

Subsequently, Hoffmann decided not to write Jordan any more (November 22, 1907), something he felt sorry about:

2.19/28. Athus. On April 1903, Jordan sent the 3rd general consultor for the visitation to Athus (April 20-24). The superior there, Gabriel Hören, had a difficult and proud character. He was severe and therefore feared by the confreres. So for him the visitation was quite untimely, and he tried to influence the confreres against the visitor (visitation report of Fr. Hilarius Gog). All confreres had, of course, difficulties with the French language, and consequently found no sufficient work. Soon after the founding, Jordan had to recall 3 priests. Thus only 3 priests and 1 brother remained in the community. Very soon after the expulsion of all religious from France, 80 foundations had sprung up in the neighboring diocese across the border. This made it hard for the Society's house in Athus to stand its ground. In addition, the ailing superior was doctoring himself. The sensitive man blamed everything on Rome, which he said did not support him as it should.

Oh, how sorry I am for the Venerable Father. He may have put hopes on me formerly, and now this disappointment! But I cannot act differently. I cannot unburden myself of the stone burdening me by simply rolling it somewhere others wished it to be (January 29, 1909).

What Hoffmann meant here, is enigmatic, for his family was not unconditionally dependent on his help. To the cardinal of Cologne he explained: "Neither the institute nor any superior of the Society has caused the situation I am living in."

From April 4, 1910, Hoffmann was house chaplain at the Marian Hospital in Brühl and attended the University in Cologne. From 1910 on, he was no longer listed among the members of the motherhouse (Schematismus). In 1912, the now 40 year-old could take his *Abitur*. Still in late 1910, he asked for permission to live outside the community (December 11, 1910 to February 26, 1911). On February 15, he requested a *triennium academicum*. As the Archdiocese of Cologne assured him of a later acceptance, his wish was granted (April 10, 1913). By June 5, 1912, Hoffmann became Präses of the city alumniate in Brühl. He died as pastor in residence on February 5, 1933 in Brühl.

Fr. Beda Hoffmann actively contributed to the benefit of the young Society as educator and teacher, and then as procurator general. He was one of those Jordan believed to be trustworthy. He was also one of the few who never threw a stone at Jordan to justify his leaving. His memory remained honorable, although Jordan felt very hurt that this exemplary priest had so secretly deserted the Salvatorian front line troops.

In regard to questions and advice “for continuing our work for the French-speaking nations” he remained mute. The superiors in Rome concluded from such behavior, that Hören had lost his will, and Lüthen wrote to him: “From this I conclude, that you probably do not work with joy at your post any longer, something which is necessary to promote the difficult matter. If so, tell me openly!” Hören would then be transferred and could become active in pastoral work (January 15, 1904, BL-692).

In his unhappy mood, Hören objected to Jordan that his principles were immoral. Thus Jordan affirmed to him that the honor of God and the well-being of the church justified the foundation of a house of education for religious “even if one had to fear, that one or another vocation would thereby be lost” (April 12, BL-704).

Lüthen took over the job of clearing up the “misunderstanding.” He requested the letters to be sent to him for inspection,

. . . out of which you use the points to direct so many heretofore unheard of accusations against the Venerable Father. What this has to do with diplomacy I can’t understand. To find out the truth is certainly not diplomatic! Venerable Father must certainly be interested if he takes these very depreciatory judgements about himself from you. On the other hand, it is his duty as Founder of a congregation to leave a spotless name to his descendants (June 11, 1903).

The reason for Hören’s accusation was only that he had again requested a brother as cook, after the former brother cook, like his predecessor, had left Athus after just one year. Jordan thought it was a good idea for the new brother to have a few lessons from the brother cook in Welkenraedt. Hören had no patience: as a priest he could not eat “in a public house!” In an angry tone he wrote back: “God will not let such circumstances [to be without a cook] go unpunished or unatoned,” but he refused to send the required letters. Lüthen did not want to extinguish all good will in the embittered confrere; but this was no reason for attacking the honor of our “Venerable Father” (April 30, 1904, BL-708). Jordan sent a third “brother cook” on January 18, 1904.

Probably in connection with the differences with the rebellious superior in Athus, Lüthen asked a local confessor what

mostly provoked this opposition. He received the following answer: the superior criticized the way the general superiors governed and extended the Society; the insufficient formation of priests; the way communities were started. Any order from Rome met with mistrust. The superior's opinion was: if one knows and discovers the mistakes and weaknesses of the Society, only then does one come to love it truly. So Lüthen feared: "the priests will become prejudiced against the Society," adding: "With me, he [the superior] is not in good harmony" (n.d., BL-707).

2.20/29. Hamont (I) community numbered 6 priests and 3 brothers. Jordan wanted to start a study house there as soon as possible. But the superior, Virgilius Koelman, thought rightly that his confreres lacked preparation and training. Although Fr. Dorotheus Brugger had prepared the school's advertizing brochure, Hamont would not print it before securing trained teachers. Koelman demanded that they practice French more seriously through longer term pastoral work in France and the Netherlands. They had stayed briefly with the School Brothers to get more language practice in their houses. Later they also wanted to go to England for the same purpose (February 21, 1903).

From April 3-11, 1903, Fr. Hilarius Gog stayed in Hamont as Jordan's visitor. His opinion about the building: compared with "his construction" in Lochau he found Hamont built too flimsily. Nevertheless, construction would cost over 70,000 frs; the chapel, on the other hand, would seat 400. The superior was not particularly praised by the visitor. He had done great things in constructing, but was too head-strong and self-reliant, not fatherly or kind enough. Above all, Brugger did not consult enough (April 10, 1903).

2.21/30. Zagreb. The four priests in Zagreb still felt tempted to start something elsewhere, perhaps in Sissek. In Zagreb they scraped along.

The populace is against us, no help at all comes from the archbishop. There is no trust in the clergy. Only the help of religious sisters gives us aid in our bad situation (Facundus Peterek to Jordan, January 10, 1903).

The priests began feeling increasingly bitter that they were just tolerated. They also had language difficulties. In the meantime, they

persevered, but kept their bags packed (February 11, 1903). In the fall, the superior, Ansbertus Regensburger, traveled to Split to reconnoiter, for we would please the archbishop if we left again (October 27, 1903). However, the exploration in Spalato was not favorable (November 15, 1903).*

In spring 1904, by order Emperor Franz Joseph I, "By His imperial, royal apostolic majesty, through highest decision of April 12, 1904, was granted the introduction of the ecclesiastic Society of the Divine Savior into the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (*Amtsblatt*)."

Soon after, permission arrived from the royal Croat-Slovenian-Dalmatian government for a foundation of the said Society in the royal capital and city of Agram" (April 26, 1904). The Archepiscopal Gazette now officially listed Salvatorians in the diocese (May 11, 1904).

On June 1, 1904, the priests moved into their own house (*Selska cesta be 3*). Jordan came to Zagreb on October 14, and was received with joy by the confreres. He came primarily to examine the situation. The superior showed little pioneer spirit and asked to be recalled. On November 16, 1905, his former vicar assumed office. This, however, was no solution. They still lacked an older, observant and energetic superior (Peterek to Jordan, August 24, 1905).

The priests took care of the churches of Sts. Vincent, Mark and Roco, as well as of a chapel and the public hospital. Only women and children responded. Pastorally the priests led a true "gypsy life" to earn their living. Again and again the old archbishop obstructed the community's work: "Patience, patience, hold on for a little while" (July 12, 1907).

The "Swabians" as the Germans were contemptuously called, suffered even more from the question of nationality. Everything German and Hungarian was hated, especially by diocesan clergy. The next general chapter decided finally to suppress this hopeless foundation.

* His notebook shows how perseveringly Jordan clung to the possibility of an apostolic nursery in Zagreb: Salesians in Turin installed a candidature, that is, *Scuola Apostolica*, for Croats and have already 26 students (March 11, 1906).

2.22/32. Visitation questionnaire. On February 11, 1904, Pius X ordered his Cardinal Vicar to examine all monasteries and religious houses in the Diocese of Rome. Together with the decree of execution of March 8, 1904, Cardinal Respighi sent an extensive questionnaire. Jordan left answering the 51 questions to the local administration, which handed the answers to the Cardinal Vicariate on May 29, 1904. It was signed by Fr. Clemens Hofbaur Sonntag as rector and *Präses*,* as well as by his consultors: Frs. Paulus Pabst and Benignus Dziadek. A proper visitation was omitted because an Apostolic Visitor of the Congregation for Religious was already active. A second questionnaire from the *Visita Apostolica* went to the parishes and public chapels. Its 43 questions were answered by the *Präse* on May 31, 1904 (TVU).

The sisters were not forgotten by the *Sacra Visita Apostolica*. They had to fill out the questionnaire of the Congregation every three years. Among the 98 questions were inquiries about the view through windows and balconies from neighboring house, etc. The Cardinal Vicar sent the answers to the first "*Garnitur*," Fr. Thomas Esser (July 1905).

2.23/33. Discipline at St. Nazianz (II). Since his trip to Rome (December 1903) the superior of St. Nazianz remained a difficult and cross correspondent. But he retained Jordan's full trust. The Colony of Fr. Oschwald still counted 19 brothers and 25 sisters. They administered themselves, but were very dependent on the help of the Salvatorian priests, brothers and sisters of the St. Mary's Community. Only on May 17, 1908, did the property of the Colony become property of the Society through a nominal purchase transaction.

On February 20, 1904, Jordan sent a registered letter requesting "the promised copy of the obligations agreed upon," including of necessity a "seminary for the youngsters of the Society." On April 13, Jordan renewed his request. That same day, Deibele objected to Jordan quite rudely. He had been made a fool of,

* Fr. Clemens Maria Hofbaur Sonntag (1865-1951) joined the Society as a late vocation at the end of 1896, was ordained in 1903, and nominated *Präses* of the motherhouse (and rector at the same time) by January 1904. The mature, 39 year-old was ill prepared for such a task but he did his best, so well that he was elected general consultor by the Second General Chapter.

and his trip to Rome had been “colossal foolishness.” From his description one could easily conclude that this was all caused by a pack of misunderstandings and misinter-pretations. Jordan wrote his “*Soli*” atop the rude letter and remarked: “In love reprimand, etc., and cleared up. May 14, 1904.”

On April 20, 1904, Deibele gave vent to his indignation in a further letter, saying that he had been called to Rome “only because of Weald-stone.” A friendly diocesan priest had put this flea into his stub-born opposition to Rome. Jordan answered soothingly:

Dear Son,

I wrote you in early April asking for various information; instead of giving me an answer in regard to these items, you wrote to your spiritual father a letter whose impression I do not like to indicate. What gives the letter a particularly offensive tone is the fact that you took the judgment of a [diocesan] priest, not knowing the facts of the case yourself. And that you have such counselors makes me sorry.

I had sufficient reasons for calling you to Rome, even without taking into consideration England at all. By the way, the absence of a superior for a few months cannot be so bad if his consultors are familiar with the situations by regular consultations, and if there is a trust-worthy vicar as in this case of yours.

Some years ago, you were also absent for months. That in addition each order is to be taken with a grain of salt (even when given in virtue of obedience) is quite obvious and, yes, telegraphic information would have been possible. Fr. Bonaventure [Lüthen] says that he had never said your having come had been colossal foolishness. I was, in fact, pleased that you obeyed so readily. The selection of Fr. Sturmius [Härtel] for England was proposed by you yourself, and a consultory decision could have taken place, even though one consultor could not participate, so at least the *votum* of the consultors could have been sent in. If one can't do everything, one must do what is possible. . . .

With fatherly greetings and blessings,
Your loving Spiritual Father,
Franciscus of the Cross

I am sorry, that such a tension has come up with [me] the highest superior. I ask you for Jesus' love, do whatever you can to eliminate it. God bless you and grant you this great, the above, grace.

Fr. Bonaventure has been ill for a fortnight. The fever remains the same in spite of the medicine (Rome, May 13, 1904, A-418).

On May 3, 1904, Deibele communicated to Jordan the result of the "election of officials" for the Colony. In doing so, he continued sulking:

As long as I have no explanation to my questions and letters, I cannot make up my mind to sign, as I have come to know that you haven't believed me and still do not. Consequently, sign, but what for? Building became impossible in the spring because of my trip to Europe. In the fall we hope to begin the substructure, so that in spring the upper part can proceed speedily.

Deibele kept his distance. In mid July 1904, he urgently requested from Rome permission to take over a parish in the Diocese of Marquette, Michigan, 150 miles north of St. Nazianz. He asked for 2 or 3 priests to staff the parish in Manistique. Jordan telegraphed. "No." The superior was disappointed and saw in this another proof of "how difficult the foundations in America were accepted." He had wished for a telegram with "Yes" (July 29, 1904).*

In early September 1904, the golden jubilee of the Oschwald Colony was celebrated. Messmer, the new Archbishop of Milwaukee, and Bishop Fox of Green Bay, as well as 30 area diocesan priests came to the feast (September 7, 1904). On October 4, Deibele returned once more to the still open matter of Manistique.

From Vienna where he had arrived the previous day, Jordan immediately sent a telegram, "by no means now" (October 19, 1904). Returned to Rome, Jordan dared once more to demand from the angry superior a copy of "the points, which had been agreed on during your presence in Rome."

Make a clear breast of it! It is almost a year since I wrote to you. I must know the situation, so that I can look into the future with

* Bishop Eis of Marquette had noted to Deibele, that he excluded a canonical handover of the parish of Manistique. He wished to avoid any mis-understanding from the start and insisted on the liberty to give notice to one another. An agreement might be made for 3-5 years and prolonged by mutual consent (July 6, 1904). On July 28, the bishop asked the superior whether he could count on him or whether he should search elsewhere. Jordan asked him to refrain; no priest could be set free.

confidence. . . . I can't let it go on without sinning. So answer to the relative letter soon, at least an open discussion. For security reasons, I will have this letter registered (November 17, 1904, A-460).

On November 10, 1904, the superior of St. Nazianz sent Bishop Eis' petition to Jordan to open a parish in Manistique. A second petition to consider the matter kindly was signed by the 5 priests of St. Nazianz. Jordan was sorry to have to explain again that he would have liked to take over the parish,

But now it is quite impossible. For various reasons the number of new priests in the next years is very small, and we can't even fulfill all the obligations we have. Propaganda wants us to send more priests to Assam, and St. Nazianz itself should also receive more priests.

To Jordan it was important to start a study house in St. Nazanz soon. In a few years he hoped to see again many junior professed, as he "had received already about 80 candidates this year." Jordan expressed regret that the requested copy of the 9 clarifications was still missing.

You know, how much trust I have shown you, how much we have suffered together. Should you not succeed to fulfill this, what must I request? Follow your spiritual Father, who means so well toward you.

By the "point" Jordan meant "compliance with the constitution," as he had agreed with Deibele in Rome (December 5, 1904, A-462).

Already on March 2, 1905, Jordan assured Deibele: "How happy I would have been if we had been able to accept the offer" (i.e., the parish in Manistique). At the same time, he pointed vaguely to his urgent concern about the apostolic seminary: "What about St. Nazianz as a place for [training] priests?"

Deibele could not decide whether to comply with the legitimate request of the superior general. The *Declaratio* of December 23, 1903, remained unsigned. Jordan was sorry the somehow unresolved matters (alcohol use in St. Nazianz; the status of Wealdstone and Manistique) had embittered the superior so much he remained unapproachable.

2.24/34. Sisters in USA. Deibele took much care and made great efforts for the sisters' foundations in the USA. He welcomed above all the fact that the sisters took over elementary schools. But he also complained quickly when Rome did not readily agree with his good proposals. In regard to Bloomer, WI, there was a longer to and fro. The quick-tempered Deibele wanted finally to give up:

I almost believe, that is Venerable Mother's opinion, that it is my task to fight for every school. Better I not be concerned, if Venerable Mother is not anxious at all or not much in regard to schools (April 10, 1904).

Despite all this, on October 27, 1904, the house in Bloomer was opened. But unnecessary frictions soon arose between the sisters in charge. Sr. Liboria and Sr. Christine practically worked against one another in Luxemburg. Sr. Christine wished to be transferred. Jordan admonished her to remain at her place: "I know, that you do not like to be there; but when God poses a cross onto us, let us carry it patiently. How often one meets a still heavier cross when one throws one off." However, the sister should not hesitate to write her reasons to him; he would then decide (November 3, 1903). Deibele, became convinced: "Sr. Christine and Sr. Liboria will not be able to live well together in the future" (April 4, 1904).

Deibele had managed well with Sr. Clara when she, representing Mother General, resolved the difficulties of the sisters' communities in the USA so prudently (1901-1902). When Sr. Clara could not re-acclimate herself to the motherhouse, Jordan returned her to the USA. In doing so, he counted especially on Deibele's cooperation to help the sister start anew. He even thought "to please" Deibele by this transfer (May 13, 1904). Thus, he had not even considered asking him in advance. But some of the sisters suspected (quite without reason) that the superior of St. Nazianz had lobbied for the return of this sister.

When the news arrived that Sr. Clara had been transferred to the States and was already on her way, Sr. Liboria was indignant. She wrote Deibele "an impudent letter," because she suspected him to be behind it, and wanted Sr. Clara removed. To Sr. Engelberta, the sisters' superior in Milwaukee, she wrote that she was willing to bet \$20 that Sr. Christine and Sr. Clara couldn't talk together for 5 minutes. Deibele didn't conceal the fact from Rome that he could never understand why Sr. Clara had been sent under the pretext of

health reasons. He also considered the superior of Luxemburg diffident, obstinate and fussy. The superior in Milwaukee was intolerable to the sisters because of her extravagances (April 10; December 4, 1904).

Jordan suffered under the renewed frictions among the sisters in Milwaukee. He advised Deibele to ask the kind Fr. Ludwig Barth to take greater care of the sisters there. Rome was not blind to the fact that Sr. Raphaela from her home was "agitating" against Sr. Agnes (Lüthen to Deibele, October 17, 1904, G-38). Deibele asked Lüthen to arrange naming a good provincial superior for the USA Salvatorian Sisters (December 4, 1904). Jordan was quite open to this. But Mother Mary hesitated; the matter was not yet ripe (December 23, 1904, G-37). It was further post-poned, because in San Onofrio an Apostolic Visitation was due. Jordan asked the men's superior of St. Nazianz to assign the teaching sisters for the new school year, so that they fit better with one another.

Sr. Clara found herself unwelcome in USA, even slighted and superfluous. She tried to join another congregation. Deibele asked Lüthen to comply with her wishes and to help her, so that she might change her decision (March 25 & 26). The superior hoped to be able to retain the sister, "if she gets a position that suits her" (June 21, 1905).

Jordan had decided to call two teaching sisters back from the USA to engage them in the girls' school in Shillong, Assam. Lüthen consulted Deibele on whether to give up Uniontown, WA, in order to get the teaching sisters; at present "just a thought" (June 6, 1905, G-38). The superior of St. Nazianz was quite happy to give up far-off Uniontown.

Jordan reconsidered the question of paying the sisters caring for the elderly brothers and sisters of the Oschwald Colony. The sisters had had no wages already for 8 years. Their two houses were insufficiently provided for. The contract had stipulated maintenance and free lodging as well as a half-yearly sum of money for each sister. Deibele was to make a good proposal, but without involving Fr. Mutz, the village pastor (June 9, 1905, G-38).

Deibele proposed buying, in addition to the hitherto existing sisters' lodgings with a garden, two more houses for \$3,000. But before that he would have to know what Mother Mary's intention was in regard to St. Nazianz (June 28, 1905). She should also finally

decide once and for all whether a novitiate should be started in Milwaukee, and whether she was also in future interested in schools (July 1, 1905).

After the sisters' general chapter, Sr. Liboria became Commissar in USA (summer 1906). It was not easy for her to make her case with the sisters' superior. Deibele attributed this mainly to Mother General, who favored some sisters while blaming others, even when there exists no reason. "If the sisters in the West abandon the Society, and this is to come, Venerable Mother won't be able to absolve herself from blame" (August 16, 1906). Sadly, the combative and pessimistic Deibele, who quickly became allergic to Rome, proved to be a prophet. The sisters in the Northwest did finally separate from the congregation in 1909.

Meanwhile, Deibele's relation toward Sr. Liboria had improved, and he had proposed her as provincial. He was pleased that the sisters' general chapter gave more attention to schools: "Once Venerable Mother wrote to me, that schools were not foundations" (September 15, 1905).

Not infrequently, Deibele wearied of his office or, better to say, revolted at so much quarreling. In connection with his obstinate refusal to sign the declaration agreed upon in Rome, he asked Jordan to relieve him of office because, "in Rome I am considered to be a hindrance to the progress of the St. Nazianz College" (November 16, 1904). On January 28, 1905, he renewed his request to Jordan to be relieved, but in vain.

2.25/39. Renewed request for *Decretum Laudis*. To renew the petition for the *Decretum Laudis*, and connected with that the end of Apostolic Visitation, the agreement of Fr. Antonio was unavoidable. In the spring of 1904, common agreement had reached the point that Jordan could turn to the bishops of the dioceses where the Society had foundations to ask for their recommendations. On April 12, 1904, the general procurator sent the petitions to the bishops.* They answered

* Pfeiffer wished to have the *Decretum Laudis* ready "before the office holidays." but Jordan was on his visitation trip. And when the procurator general pressed him, Jordan just said there would be time enough to submit the petition after he returned to Rome (Meran, September 6, 1904).

more or less quickly. By summer all recommendations had arrived. Only the Apostolic Delegate of India refused a recommendation in spite of repeated requests. His disappointment in the Mission in Assam was too great.

After his return from summer visitation, Jordan drafted the proper petition. The entire generalate signed the petition for the *Decretum Laudis* and for the abolition of the Apostolic Visitation. The general procurator submitted it to the Congregation on September 30. The latter requested the *votum* of Fr. Antonio before deciding whether or not to second the demand and have the prefect of the Congregation propose it to the Holy Father.

A 30-page report on the status of the Society was added to the petition. These indications were adopted by Fr. Antonio in his *votum*. It is surprising to find clearly expressed within the Society's apostolic purpose its "special means" as well.

The further purpose of the Society is to promote preserving and spread-ing the Catholic faith in every way and by all means the love of Christ inspires. Members dedicate themselves especially to priestly activities, to the Christian education of youth, to directing spiritual retreats, to the missions among infidels and non-Catholics (Cons. 3/1902).

In the chapter about spreading the faith, Jordan remarks:

"Foundations have been requested by more than 20 bishops, but in order not to disperse the forces, we proceed slowly in opening new houses."

Regarding the first foundation of sisters it was only stated: "due to lack of experience, and maybe still more based on misunderstandings, this foundation had to be handed over (*abbandonare*) by invitation of the Cardinal Vicar to a priest who was named to be their superior." To the second foundation of sisters, Jordan remarked pointedly: "The Founder gave it the same purpose as the first foundation" (A Rel 14558/15).

The same personnel numbers were given as at the beginning of 1904: 174 priests, 168 scholastics, 81 brothers. In the Roman novitiate were 21 clerics and 6 brothers; in study houses, 95 candidates were being instructed. There were 17 brother candidates and oblates (*Schematismus*).

The yearly report (December 31, 1903) listed 12 communities and 8 mission stations. In the Angels' League 28,000 children were

enrolled. About 10,000 boys and girls were being taught catechism; and more than 160 sisters were active in 19 foundations.

The economic status of the Society also had to be presented in detail in the petition for the *Decretum Laudis*:

17 Colleges had loans	Active (loans in Lire)	Passive (loans in Lire)	Persons
Hamont	173,000	80,450	8
Jägerndorf	93,000	60,500	5
Mehala/Temesvár	19,600	9,500	3
Zagreb	24,900	3,000	3
Lochau	784,000	200,000	70
Rome, Casa Madre	561,700	461,700+	98
Hamberg	145,500	126,000	29
Meseritsch	65,000	29,400	10
Meran	415,400	258,400	33
Trzbinia	56,000	3,300	7
Narni	1,816	368	4
Freiburg	75,700	55,700	17
St. Nazianz	328,000	130,000	15
Cartagena	2,000	500	3
Welkenraedt/Herbesthal	107,400	81,100	12
Tivoli	158,000	11,700	9
Celimontana	12,700	700	3

+ 2 down payments of 150,000 Lire; twice lent money each time 50,000; loan of Heine 61,700 Lire.

Nine houses had no debts: Drogens, Noto Scala and Città, Porto Recanati, Vienna X & II, Wealdstone, Rio and Los Angeles (E-70/4).*

The outstanding loans of the Society grew from 1,263.000 Lire in 1902, to 3,168,000 Lire in 1907. The passive loans grew from 883,000 Lire in 1902, to 1,480,800 Lire in 1907 (yearly information 1908, E-70/5). That means in a good 5 years, growth of around 1,300,000 Lire.

2.26/40. Debt extension for the motherhouse. The new general procura-tor managed after the First General Chapter to get an extension on the debts of the motherhouse. The Works of St. Paul in Turrin assumed the first loan owed to Prince Massimo (April 28, 1904). In March 1903, the Roman Agency assessed the price of Palazzo Morone. Afterwards it was reassessed at 20% less because of the age of the building, and there remained only 556,171.24 Lire as a tax. They had to change much of the wood structure of the roof, the floors and broken stairs and so on. The Duchess Cafarelli agreed to extend her loan. For the first time in the beginning of 1904, she showed herself understanding. On January 1, 1904 the situation looked like this:

Currents Debts	42,141	
Loan of Heine	61,500	(to 1914)
Loan of Gebr. Mayer	52,500	(to 1907)
Loan of benefactors	1,000	
1 st down payment: Prince Massimo	150,000	
2 nd down payment: Duke Cafarelli	150,000	
Loan Sisters	50,000	
Loan St. Nazianz	50,000	

Assuming the first down payment “by the pious supporters” in Turin was such a big advantage that in the next year they only had to

* This undated table comes from around 1907. The General Procurator had completed his basic list starting with 1904/5.

rely on 2 supporters. Now they could take care of their current debts. In 1904 and 1905, this was successful. The income in 1903 came to 160,000 Lire. The usual expenses for around 90 persons was 100,000 Lire. They added extra expenses of 15,000 Lire. Pfeiffer wanted more playing room in case of unexpected expenses from the houses with building projects, so that they could meet these eventual expenses.

Now we struggle earnestly to get the motherhouse free of all debts. We managed already much of it, but we need more. . . . We couldn't afford to support the expenses of other houses (June 8, 1904, BL-711).

2.27/41. Hamont (II). The community of 8 priests and 2 brothers, was very active under its energetic superior, Virgil Koelman. They administered 15½ acres of land. The building proceeded rapidly. On October 16, 1904, Bishop Martin Rütten of Liège inaugurated the chapel. It occupied the first floor of the new house (30X12 m) and accommodated 500.

But Koelman was in less of a hurry regarding the "apostolic seminary." Already in January 1904, he pointed to the lack of trained teachers. So one could not think about a school. The large building was at present populated by 3 or 4 late vocations. Each of them formed his own class. Jordan was unhappy about this and urged them to recruit more vocations. Beginning in fall, just 8 pupils were taught in 3 classes.

Despite their modest priestly activity, community life was stressed. The superior had more contact with the outside than with the confreres. Jordan urged Lüthen to warn them. The superior was not deaf, and the confreres, too, were always ready to yield. Thus Jordan found a good community at his visit in mid August 1904. Only smoking seemed to him somehow exaggerated (Hamont, August 14, 1904). Unfortunately the peace was disturbed once more by the superior. In the spring of 1905, it came to a serious family quarrel. Jordan asked the mild Fr. Odo Distel to settle the argument. The superior soon sent a telegram: "We are reconciled" (April 10, 1905).

In the meantime, the priests had taken over the pastoral care of about 140 workers' families living by the zinc works in nearby Overpelt. The factory director was socially minded. He entrusted the superior with building a proper church for 1,300+ souls. On July 30,

1905, the corner-stone was laid for the central nave (37.5 m long, 600 seats). Bishop Rütten inaugurated the church in the fall of 1905.

Since spring 1904, Koelman had been negotiating for a sisters' foundation in Overpelt. The little children and the sick of the workers' settlement needed better care. The director quickly agreed (June 1 & 11, 1904) and had a home built for the sisters which was to be ready in the fall. At the turn of the year 3 sisters moved in. They were soon appreciated, and felt at home (February 28, 1905). During his visitation Jordan also inspected Overpelt and was quite satisfied.

2.28/47. Trzebinia (II) carried some of Jordan's greatest hopes. The meeting with the cardinal of Krakow on July 17, 1902, remained unforgettable to him. The prelate "very kind, embraced me, wants to help us find a suitable building site" (G-2.1). In the fall of 1903, the superior made efforts to get a building site for 10,000 Kronen. But for this, government recognition was needed. Jordan petitioned the governor of Galiza, Andreas Count of Potrocki (September 9 & 13, 1903). The petition was still pending in 1905.

News from Trzebinia remained scarce and Jordan asked to be updated (May 8, 1904). In the first days of May, short visits were made to the motherhouse by the bishop of Tarnow, by the archbishop of Lemberg together with his auxiliary bishop, as well as by the auxiliary bishop of Krakow. Only news from Trzebinia was missing. Jordan wrote again: "With great desire I am waiting for news from you. . . . Let someone else write if you are ill." At the same time he reminded the superior of his obligation in conscience to send no priest out to pastoral work before finishing all their studies (May 14, 1904). The superior remained a dilatory letter writer.

In the summer, Jordan had again to inquire about how far they had got in buying and paying for a site (Meran, September 7, 1904). On October 23, he came to Trzebinia for visitation. With relief he could state that the building fund had increased to 15,000 Kronen. Together further plans were made. Back in Rome, Jordan waited in vain for more news as had been agreed on. "I am sorry. . . . I must officially order you to write to me. . . . What about the mortgage and the building fund?" (December 11, 1904). A few days earlier Jordan had received the archepiscopal chancellor of Krakow, Msgr. Bandurski for a visit (December 6, 1904).

Only in the spring of 1905, was the building site bought with the help of a loan (April 20). Toward the end of April, a new petition was sent to Andreas Count of Potrocki in Lemberg, together with a recommendation of the cardinal of Krakow (April 28, 1905). By June the superior could inform the Founder: "Our little monastery is ready to the point, that we will soon be able to move in. Then our disagreeable exodus comes to an end" (June 27, 1905).

In summer 1906, two priests fell ill and needed medical care for months: the superior in Meran, Becker, and in Obernigk, Fr. Cäs. Thus the young foundation fell into considerable debt (about 10,000 Kronen).

2.29/48. Jägerndorf. On June 6, 1903, the imperial government in Troppau approved the erection of a foundation in Jägerndorf. The 4 priests proceeded more courageously than those in Wal-Meseritsch. Jordan had informed the superior, Fr. Zeno Benz, that Prince-Archbishop Kohn was in favor of building in Jägerndorf. The enterprising superior, Jordan's fellow countryman, supported by his confreres took the positive word of the prince-archbishop of Olmütz as permission to begin. He soon handed in a construction plan, which the generalate put on hold (September 12, 1903). But there was no restraining Benz. He communicated to Jordan: "The monastery comes to 50,000 Kronen. Pastor Nathan lends us 20,000 Kronen for one year. We already started the building on April 5, 1904. Venerable Father may come for a visit" (July 8, 1904). When Prince-Archbishop Kohn visited the community in Meseritsch in June 1904, the superior there asked him intentionally what he thought of the building of the confreres in Jägerndorf where the rafters had been set. The bishop answered evasively: "Well, I don't know, I don't know anything about what they are doing" (Fr. Cyril Braschke. to Jordan, June 23, 1904).

Fr. Hilarius Gog, 3rd general consultant, communicated to Benz on Jordan's orders that he had never ordered this construction. Therefore, he could not approve of this matter or assume any responsibility for it. The procedure of the priests in Jägerndorf hurt him very much (Lochau, September 1, 1904). Gog received a self-opinionated, crude answer in which the superior immediately justified himself to Jordan, saying that since as superior general

Jordan was unable to give permission to build, they wanted to act in the interest of the Society.

The priests in Jägerndorf had interpreted the silence of the generalate as secret consent, along with a letter "Confidentially, to such dear sons. . . ." According to them, Fr. Antonio's intention had itself already be trammled and Jordan should disregard it if necessary as Founder, if he could not reach his aim as superior general. They would assume direct responsibility before the Congregation (September 12, 1904).

Lüthen remarked to this letter: "Sophistry—how then, without accusing Venerable Father?" Jordan was very perplexed by Benz's attitude. Even during the visitation the previous year he had decided that no construction would be allowed until half the money needed would be available. Not only Fr. Antonio, but also the Congregation for Religious had been informed that the superior of Jägerndorf was already building with neither the plan nor the rough estimate of costs approved by the generalate beforehand. Jordan requested from the superior:

Send me the letter you are referring to. I shall then send it back to you again. I must inform you, dear son, that I have never had the intention to induce you to begin this building as you did; I prefer dying to being disobedient towards my superiors (September 17, 1904).

Here he meant above all the Apostolic Visitor whom the priests in Jägerndorf wanted to play off. Jordan did not send the letter written in this sharp form, but gave it a milder tone. However, this highly personal confession shows his absolute "yes" to canonical obedience.

The local superior (in agreement with his confreres, even urged by them) refused the Founder's justified request:

Unfortunately, fulfilling your wish to send in the confidential letter of January 1, 1904 to Rome, is outside our possibility. We believe we acted according to your opinion and in our interest, and don't under any circumstances surrender a secret entrusted to us (September 21, 1904).

The community of Jägerndorf added a sworn affidavit that the letter of January 1, 1904, had in fact motivated them to erect this college.

Lüthen explained to the superior that there was no secret to be kept from the author of the letter, and that a sworn affidavit could not

substitute for presenting "the concerned object," i.e., the letter of January 1, 1904. Benz should not refuse his obedience to Jordan. If listing in the land register was necessary now, it should be done as usual in Jordan's name (September 26, 1904).

But the superior was no longer master in his own house. The real ringleader was now Fr. Blasius Pientka, recently transferred from Meran to Jägerndorf, a malicious wrongheaded fellow. When Lüthen, on Jordan's behalf, ordered him to submit the building plans at least after the fact, Pientka answered harshly: no time because of building; the master builder warned twice already, had not yet completed the plans (July 18, 1904). Lüthen stated: they "have built! And still big debts; he is the capo for the building! Consequently also for paying!!" (July 24, 1904). To others Pientka said quite openly: the house has been built very secretly; in Rome they heard of the building only when we were already under the roof; we move in September (n.d. 1904). "One is not sorry that it has happened." Jordan felt such an attitude was directed against the spirit of the Society: "Fr. Blasius causes damage; he had better leave the Society" (Obermais, September 7, 1904). The superior of Jägerndorf was burdening Jordan so terribly that Jordan considered whether it would not be better to change the entire staff of the house (September 17, 1904).

Jordan's letter with which the confreres justified their action, however, had to arrive in Rome in October. In any case, Jordan asked his vicar general "to send a transcription of the Jägerndorf letter to Vienna X" (Agram, October 14, 1904).

On October 20, the community of Jägerndorf moved into their new home. Jordan, who was just staying in Vienna, paid a visit to the confreres on October 26, while returning from Trzebinia. He found the priests in a conciliatory mood and thought he had smoothed the waves for the present: "The matter is, thanks to God, put straight now. The priests will apologize to Fr. Hilarius [Gog]" (Jägerndorf, October 27, 1904). On October 28, Jordan settled the unpleasant building matter with Prince-Archbishop Kohn.

Back in Rome, Jordan requested the agreement of the generalate to give the superior of Jägerndorf an additional credit of 26,000 Kronen "to purchase the site (with house)" (November 17, 1904). By January 14, 1905, Jordan gave the additional permission to buy a neighboring piece of land for 3,000 Kronen in his name. Shortly after this, the superior requested more money from Rome: "In the

coming fortnight there are to be paid 6,000 Kronen to professionals, and by April 1, 1905, 25,000 are to be repaid, which have been taken up for the building in IOU's."

As the generalate "does not at all agree with the priests in the building matter," they were unable to pay. "We ask therefore, the Rev. Father Superior General, being the proprietor of the house, to pay the sums indicated." It was signed "in deepest reverence" by three priests, the superior noting: "Fr. Ub. [Ubaldu Kneringer] is absent at present" (January 26, 1905). Benz reminded them that he was the superior; and not all had to write, but he alone had to negotiate with Rome" (G-37). Jordan forbade any further building activity for the time being (March 2, 1905).

2.30/49. Drognens. From March 1-4, 1903, Fr. Hilarius Gog was staying in Drognens for the visitation. The general consultant requested a change of superior. He judged the current superior, Michael Höss, was insincere, sly and harsh toward the confreres. Höss himself asked to be relieved (March 8, 1903) and Fr. Conrad Hansknecht assumed direction of the Institute.

Actually, the Colony St. Nicolas was only accepted provisionally and without a contract with the Canton. The yearly report of 1902 stated:

Here in Drognens everything runs well; also in regard to the financial situation we must be quite satisfied now. State Counselor Python says no more about a contract. The superior asked whether he should push again in Freiburg (January 12, 1903).

In the fall, Python suddenly announced he would replace the administration of Drognens with a 5-member board, without indicating what role this commission would have in the direction of the institute (November 3, 1903). Hansknecht's opinion was that Python just wanted to exploit them (January 23, 1904). In December the same year, this cantonal commission showed itself favoring agriculture. Fr. Conrad found this completely insulting and gave the Staatsrat a clear, definite answer (December 24, 1904).

When Jordan turned to Bishop Deruaz for a recommendation for the *Decretum Laudis* (April 12, 1904), the chancery asked Hansknecht, the Director of the Institute of Education of St. Nicolas (Drognens près Romont, Canton Freiburg) to present an overview of SDS work in Drognens. In his report Hansknecht especially pointed

out that a new method of education had been introduced into the lives of the boarders of the Colony St. Nicolas (April 14, 1904, Episcopal Archive of Fribourg).

Unfortunately, Hansknecht and the sisters' superior didn't understand one another. Further on Lüthen tried to mediate: "*Pax!*" (November 20, 1903). "Let's try again with Sr. Dominica. You will report again. Ven. Father is very interested in the matter" (March 18, 1904). When the former superior of Milwaukee, Sr. Raphaela Bohnheim, came to Drogens to re-cuperate, the sister superior could no longer be helped (April 16). Mother Mary, on orders of Jordan, had to recall her (June 11, 1904). She gave her an influential position in the motherhouse, which reconciled the sister, but without changing her character. Agreement concerning the sisters' wages remained unresolved despite Rome's continual insistence that "it was all definitely cleared up" (Lüthen to Hansknecht, October 10, 1905).

2.31/50. Noto (II). Since taking over of the settlement of the Immacolata (July 1903), the priests lectured in the episcopal seminary (dogma and liturgical music). They had already abandoned the formerly rented house in Noto on April 15, 1903, for two free rooms in the episcopal palace, together with a small kitchen in the *convitto* (July 17, 1903). Unpleasant tensions soon arose between the two houses of Scala near Noto and Immacolata. Therefore, a *superiore provvisorio* was named and put directly under the general administration. The new superior, however, refused to accept the office (July 25, 1904, BL-725) or to publish the respective decree as ordered (July 18, BL-722). In his letters to Rome he let his dissatisfaction be known. Lüthen remarked benevolently: Your letter "contains some 'rude' expressions, but one swallows them, as you are not mischievous but mean it well" (August 24, 1904, BL-727).*

In the fall of 1904, after the priests of the Immacolata had settled in their new house, the superior again complained to Jordan

* A priest at Scala again asked Rome (quite unnecessarily) whether in summer one might wear just a cape instead of the "Roman mantel." The Vicar General answered this was not possible. They should go out in the heat without any overcoat (except of course on official occasions) as was done in Rome or "Germany" (he probably meant Austria or Switzerland and Belgium) (June 21, 1904, BL-716).

about the superior of the Scala: he should not meddle in the matters of the house; he himself felt up to his task (October 10, 1904). But the discord between the two communities continued. Jordan urged reconciliation. Above all, the two superiors should be considerate towards one another (March 25 & 30, April 2, 1905, BL-769, 771).

The superior of the house in Noto, communicated to Jordan before Easter 1905. "We are here in perfect peace. The Scala has pulled back from everything under the pretext, Rome wants it" (April 2, 1905). But the rivalry continued to smolder. Rome continued its efforts at mediation and above all to meet the very self-conscious superior of the foundation in the City of Noto (April 13, 1905, BL-775; June 17, 1905, G-38). But then, unfortunately he also fell out with the bishop.

In the fall 1905, 7 Lazaraists took over the instruction and administration of the seminary, and 5 School Brothers the classes in the *convitto*. To the house this meant an annual loss of 500 Lire (October 7, 1905). The three priests now rededicated themselves fully to pastoral work "at the largest and most important church, *San Francesco, vulgo Immacolata*" (March 7, 1906). Jordan remarked in this annual report: "Careful! Only provisional!"

2.32/52. Tivoli. When on October 15, 1903, the sisters moved "into their new motherhouse near Porta Santo Spirito at the foot of the Janicolo" and enjoyed "the beautiful view and the fresh air" (SM 1, 1904), Mother Mary urged the novitiate be transferred from Tivoli to Rome. Her opinion was: there is "no further blessing at all on Tivoli, as known. All that is good generally strives for the steadfastness of Rome. When the roots are firm, one can branch out." Mother Mary had to admit that the current novice mistress had "best intentions." However, she remained disappointed at the immaturity of the novices returning to Rome after a year's stay in Tivoli. "Even the monastic spirit has suffered as well as the grasp of our Congregation." Mother Mary complained of the defective discipline: "too little supervision and common sense there, and the novices have too little work." The novices, of course enjoyed this easy life and sometimes even did such things as hiding a ball in order to prolong recreation. The severe Mother Mary was not shocked at such behavior (February 19, 1904).

Pfeiffer was ready to handle the problem of the house in Tivoli. But first he wanted to be informed in writing whether and how well the novitiate could be accommodated in the Salita. At that time

there were 22 novices in Tivoli; in summer there might be just a dozen (MM, March 15, 1904). The general procurator immediately turned to Count Pace, land-lord of the sisters' convent in Tivoli. Mother Mary hoped to give notice before April 1, 1904. The previous day she had gone to see the Cardinal Vicar to wish him a blessed Easter. She used this opportunity to ask permission to have all novices in Rome. Respighi graciously consented (MMChr). However, the bishop of Tivoli, Cardinal Ferrata, and last but not least Pius X, also had to agree (E-752). Mother Mary knew how to encourage the general procurator in her own way. "Here St. Joseph must help me again" (February 1904). "Long live St. Pancratius!!!" (April 5, E-734).⁵

But Pfeiffer could not perform miracles. The Count pointed to the great debts caused by the repairs and alterations in the previous year. In addition, the contract was silent about any period of notice before termination. A year before, on April 1st, Mother Mary had renewed the contract for one year in the belief she would be allowed to leave whenever she wished; she had arranged the notice just orally with Conte Annibale Pace. The repairs made over the previous year had only improved his home. The question was how to insert into the contract a 3-months' notice of termination. The general procurator called in the bishop to reach a deal with the Count more quickly. Unfortunately, the sisters were also in arrears on the rent (March 18, 1904, E-731ff). However, Mother Mary now hoped, based on the renewed contract (April 28, 1904), to be able to leave on October 1. At first she considered leaving by July 1 and to pay a penalty (E-755). In the end all were glad when the novitiate moved from Tivoli to Rome on November 21, 1904.

The sister superior/novice mistress was quite put out by this to and fro, particularly as some sickly candidates had entered the novitiate. Above all, Mother Mary left her the task to come to an agreement with Count Pace's agent, who worked diligently for his

⁵Domenico Ferrata was born in Gradoli, Montefiascone, March 4, 1847, and ordained on September 18, 1869. He was professor of theology and canon law at the papal San Apollinare. Then he worked at the papal nunciatures of Paris and Bern. In 1885, he became nuncio in Belgium, and in 1896, in France. Nominated cardinal in June 1896, he headed the Congregation of Sacraments. In 1899, he replaced Parocchi as Cardinal Vicar. He died in Rome, October 10, 1914.

master. Sr. Bonaven-tura complained quite sincerely to Mother Mary that she was always the first one up in the morning and the last one down at night, although she herself felt so unwell that she would like to stay abed.

Sometimes I feel so disgusted I would like to let it all go, not to care for anything any longer, that it seeps over also into my limbs. If faith were not holding me up! (April 6, 1904, E-890).

This only confirmed Mother Mary's inner grudge against Tivoli; she remarked on the letter: "What misery, sisters here are healthy, sisters there are sick. And always so."

Mother Mary's eye disease was slightly improved by medical assistance: "I can write soon. It's slowly getting better; but to read I am not able" (February 16, 1904). She usually dictated to her secretary and added her remarks in large letters along with her signature or occasional-ly just the latter without any remark. Lüthen admonished her to have her letters read by an older and discreet sister (G-32).

In keeping with the sisters' new constitution, the house admini-strator was promoted to local superior. Several difficulties arose before anything was functioning well. Mother Mary's full confidence began to wane in the superior in Drognens, where she like to spend her summer holidays. "She now uses her authority to support what is wrong. Who was again the promoter of local discipline? Sr. Dom." (January 16, 1904, E-725).^{*} Lüthen mediated. The local superior should be responsible for order and neatness in the house as well as for the taste and purity of the food. "Venerable Mother accepts the complaints of all involved" (G-32).

Mother Mary had until then only her two assistants. At the end of May, Jordan instructed her to fill out her generalate following canonical prescriptions. She and her two assistants submitted their nominees and let Jordan decide. In doing this, Mother Mary admitted that it was painful for her "to understand that everyone here should

^{*} Sr. Dominica was replaced in Drognens on June 14, 1904. On August 5, she took over the office of 3rd assistant and local administrator in Via Lungara. After the general chapter she went to Wausau, WI (departure January 12, 1906). She was counted among the sisters who, led by the ambitious Sr. Raphaela, at first were against the election of the aged Mother Mary as general superior.

know what happens in the administration." But at once she added in humble submission: "Well, *fiat*" (June 1, 1904, E-739).

Also in Salita San Onofrio, no less than in Via Lungara, the sisters, especially the sickly ones, carried their complaints to Palazzo Morone. Lüthen was thankful for being able to pass everything on to Pfeiffer. On July 9, Lüthen communicated in writing to Mother Mary that he "did not worry about the sick sisters, but about Fr. Pancratius" (G-32).

2.33/54. Sisters' motherhouse (II). After Jordan got the green light for the canonical erection of the sisters' motherhouse from the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, he officially petitioned the Cardinal Vicar. He asked that the house (erected 10 years earlier without permission but tolerated) be listed as canonically erected (*domus*), and that a novitiate be allowed, separated of course from the community according to canonical rulings (TVU). The Cardinal Vicar sent his secretary, Msgr. Francesco Faberi, to inspect the proposed motherhouse and the rooms of the sisters' novitiate (mid November). He was satisfied, and Jordan submitted a second somewhat longer petition to the Congregation for Religious. On October 27, 1904, Cardinal Respighi attached his recommendation. Cardinal Ferrati presented the matter to Pius X on November 7. He gracefully gave his consent, but allowed his Cardinal Vicar to decide whether to allow both according to his prudent judgment. Cardinal Ferrata summoned Mother Mary and carefully discussed with her the sister's community. He declared finally: "You are now canonically firmly in Rome along with the novitiate" (MMChr).

On November 9, Jordan stayed in Salita San Onofrio where each sister could speak to him individually. On November 11, the rescript was executed. Pfeiffer immediately passed the good news to Mother Mary. She wrote it down in her chronicle and gratefully noted in her spiritual diary: "November 14 .-God gave- all from Him" (Tacc). The Cardinal Vicar signed the document November 18. On December 12, Cardinal Ferrata gave them the official permission canonically to erect a motherhouse and novitiate of the sisters "*in Urbe*" (A Rel 16803/15).

To Mother Mary the annual retreat given by Weigang (November 10-19,1904), which just happened to occur in those eventful days, as like "wedding joy" (Tacc). At last the foundation in

Holy Rome, after 10 years of ecclesiastical tolerance, was canonically recognized by the pope him-self. While she had made no proposals at all in the retreats of 1903, now she made almost too many, but quite serious ones:

Who is not with Jesus cannot be Mother. I must pay more attention to patience (November 12). Humility and trust in God are the principal virtues in making foundations (according to Jordan, November 14). I don't want to occupy myself with thoughts of offences; to have only thoughts of love. . . . Nothing done badly, everything done well, accept and interpret (November 17, Tacc).

She concluded these pleasant days in a more grateful and humble attitude with a heartfelt Magnificat (November 9, 1904, MMChr).

2.34/55. Assam (II). Hardly back in the Assam Mission, Fr. Angelus Münz-loher had again to confront the old dissident confreres. Some refused to follow his instructions either as mission or religious superior. Münzloher had agreed with Jordan that the office of mission superior be separated from that of religious superior, something Jordan wanted to give to Fr. Dominic Daunderer. Münzloher also requested the authority to transfer missionaries without always being compelled to ask Propaganda (December 21, 1903). But all these well-intentioned measures were a dead letter since the missionaries had made themselves virtually independent.

At that time, Münzloher had a particularly sharp discussion with Fr. Gebhard Abele. He had started a mission newspaper, but afterwards added a political section. The mission superior, urged by civil authorities, had to intervene. Abele defended his two-track press product. Münzloher asked the Apostolic Delegate for help (December 30, 1903). The latter made the following decisions: Abele had either to obey his superior or to leave the mission. No missionary is allowed under any pretext to mix into "Baboo" politics. The newspaper in question is to be suppressed, or if this is not possible because of the "Baboo," any connection with the mission is to be broken off publicly and emphatically (Calcutta, January 5, 1904).

Münzloher, however, had been powerless over his independent confreres for quite some time now. The Apostolic Delegate turned to Cardinal Gotti: Assam needs 9 missionaries, but brave ones. The present ones are thick-headed; Archbishop Zaleski pointed to the opinion of the deceased Archbishop Göthals (+1892):

The mission superior was behaving like a chaplain. Abele was like a stubborn child and not very bright; Fr. Marcus Dombrowski was half crazy. (He knew these three missionaries personally.) Then the archbishop pointed to the progress of Protestants. He requested an Apostolic Visitation by the archbishop of Calcutta. The Apostolic Delegate also noted that Jordan should not be told anything about his report until after he had sent another report from Sri Lanka. In this he would indicate the best means for overcoming the sad situation (Allahabad, February 26, 1904).

Complaints were also presented against the second priest of the main-station, Ignatius Bethan. Jordan asked the mission superior to transfer him to a station where there were no sisters; he himself should choose the place (January 9, 1904, G-37). Bethan reacted vehemently against any transfer from Shillong.

In the meantime, the Propaganda decided that Abele should travel home "to recover." His return to India was uncertain (January 16, 1904, G-37). He received the order from Jordan corresponding to the directive of the Propaganda. Münzloher would provide for his supply at the station of Laitkynsew (January 17, 1904). Still a fourth priest had to be recalled from the mission. As his case was particularly delicate, Rome had difficulties to indicate a reason that would still preserve the man's good reputation (February 26, 1904, G-37).

Abele defended himself sharply against being recalled. He complained vehemently against the mission superior and his vicar (January 9, 1904, G-37). Jordan asked him to come immediately to Rome where it could all be discussed (February 27, 1904).

On April 23, Jordan discussed this in detail with the archbishop of Calcutta, Meulemann. He underlined the role of the "most important and most hopeful mission in Assam," and praised above all the engagement of the local press, especially as a counterweight to the Methodist press (G-2.4).

Now Abele asserted that the property of his mission station was his private property, having used his patrimony for the mission while his father was still alive (June 4, 1904, G-37). At the same time, he again opposed his superior in the mission in a long missive. "What to do with it?" Lüthen asked Münzloher (June 10, 1904).

Dombrowski was recalled from the mission by Jordan, June 15, 1904. But he, too, resisted as long as he could. Münzloher could

only sigh and hope: may it be soon for both Fr Abele and Fr. Dombrowski!

In the summer, the mission superior asked Jordan to send a visitator for the confreres and sisters. He proposed Fr. Hilarius Gog (June 4, 1904) complaining, "I am sick and tired of directing the mission." The mission had to be freed from these missionaries, who had become a scandal. He asked for four more missionaries like the previous four. "Then the mission can be resurrected" (Shillong, June 14, 1904).

August 4, 1904, Jordan named Daunderer as visitator. He could only confirm what the generalate already knew. But the mission needed more help than just an internal visitation without true competence to act. The archbishop of Calcutta had been staying in Europe since spring and did not want to return to the mission from Belgium before fall. Cardinal Gotti^{*} intended to send the Apostolic Delegate himself to Assam to look after things there. But he declined, saying the travel was much too tiring for him. The archbishop of Calcutta should personally assume this urgent matter after his return, "for Calcutta is nearer" (July 6, 1904). On August 24, 1904, the Propaganda charged Archbishop Brizio Meulemann with the visitation of the mission in Assam either personally or by a vicar.

In summer 1904, Jordan tried once more to turn to the Apostolic Delegate for a recommendation for the *Decretum Laudis* of the Society (June 4, 1904). Archbishop Zaleski again refused a recommendation as he had in March: for in an inexplicable way the mission in Assam is in a kind of anarchy; the direction is weak, and there is neither discipline nor harmony among the missionaries. For 12 years I have tried to help the missionaries (Sri Lanka, July 6, 1904).

Münzloher forcefully defended the mission against the Apostolic Delegate's unjust judgment. The bishop of Dacca was receiving 28,000 fr. from Propaganda and the whole of Assam only

^{*}Giovanni Antonio Benedetto Gotti was born in Genoa on March 29, 1834. In 1851, he entered the Discalced Carmelites, and in 1856 was ordained a priest under the name Fr. Girolamo. At first he worked as a professor. In 1872, he became general procurator, and superior general in 1881. He was a consultor with various congregations, including the Congregation for Bishops and Religious and with the Holy Office. In 1892, he became Internuncio in Brazil, in 1895 cardinal and Prefect of the Propaganda Fide. He died on March 19, 1916.

7,000 fr. He had now 25 years of missionary effort and experience. The best missionaries had died.

I don't know where the Apostolic Delegate was getting his information. Why did he not come personally to Assam in January while he was in Calcutta? He only visited large cities, where encouragement is not necessary, and poor Assam is forsaken, and he believes any gossip (Shillong, August 25, 1904).

In Jordan's absence, Lüthen assured the Apostolic Delegate Dombrowski would remain in Europe, even before there was any definite decision whether he should return to Assam. The difficulties between the superior and the two priests were known. An English police officer had already requested his recall for health reasons. Jordan got the corresponding agreement of the Propaganda, after giving as his reason: "his danger of insanity" (notice, July 1, 1904). The four new missionaries had acclimated themselves quickly and quite well in the mission. Jordan had named a visitor. He asked for time to put everything in good order in Assam. Lüthen refers to the petition of a recommendation for the *Breve di Lode* (August 5, 1904).

The Propaganda passed the Apostolic Delegate's complaint to Jordan without indicating all the specifics. He was only informed that complaints about the mission had been submitted: 1) that there were too few missionaries; 2) that the mission superior was not qualified to administer (not one per parish); 3) that an Apostolic Visitor be sent (August 12, 1904). Lüthen immediately informed Frs. Münzloher and Dauderer to help both of them to prepare themselves in the best way for the Apostolic Visitor from Calcutta. Above all, Fr. Pius Steinherr was finally to be removed from the mission, as he was no longer up to the dangers, nor were his relations with the sisters in Shillong to be the topic of further bad gossip.

The Apostolic Delegate continued to bluster without being able to be of any help. "The setup is wrong, the foundations were laid wrong," he objected to Lüthen; the Society was too young to take over this mission. In the mission a spirit of insubordination arose, crippling the work. Jordan had sent dangerous "silly asses." He pointed to Dombrowski and Abele. The latter was the most disorderly of all, defying all logic. Then the Apostolic Delegate requested that Dauderer let himself be advised by the archbishop of Calcutta and the bishop of Dacca before undertaking the canonical visitation (Sri Lanka, September 7, 1904).

On August 26, 1904, Dauderer received the letter in which Jordan gave him the difficult mandate of mission visitation. "It pressed and pressed the tears out of my eyes, but in the name of God I will submit to the task. I ask you, Venerable Father, be prepared for sad news." Until then he had kept silent because he did not want to play the accuser from the start. He had often warned the mission superior and his vicar, but in vain. Münzloher never came to terms with Abele or Dombrowski. Dauderer had already faced the possibility of recalling all missionaries and of being compelled to have to transfer the mission to others (Laitkynsew, August 27, 1904). By October, Dauderer had submitted his visitation report (Laitkynsew, October 13, 1904).

Münzloher was getting tired of these eternal accusations. He asked Jordan to give the mission an ecclesiastical guardian before it would be taken away completely from us (September 12, 1904). At that time, Jordan found the negative attitude of the Apostolic Delegate toward the Society confirmed through Münzloher. The Delegate had written to the mission superior:

. . . take notice, that I could in conscience not give Fr. Jordan the *Breve di Lode* he asked from me. I have indicated my reasons. I hope that Fr. Ab. and Fr. Dombr. won't be sent back into the mission. I feel a deep veneration toward your superior general. However, he shall send missionaries having more ecclesiastic discipline and who submit themselves to their superior (Sri Lanka, September 16, 1904).*

As a result of Dauderer's report of October 13, 1904, Lüthen had even more questions for the to explain to the Apostolic Administrator. Among others, Münzloher was to justify why he had not forbidden Abele to mix into politics? Why had he given so much preference to Bethan as his accusers affirmed? Why had he not removed him from caring for the sisters and girls long before? Why had he declared himself to be unqualified for the direction of the mission? (October 22, 1904, G-37). This rehash was as such superfluous and not helpful to anyone.

Jordan was shocked that the brave missionaries had resigned themselves to giving up the mission. He assured Münzloher: "We will

* On November 27, 1904, Jordan dared once more to send a petition to Archbishop Zaleski to recommend the Society for the *Decretum Laudis*.

do everything possible to keep the mission." Although Dombrowski and Abele are "openly against us . . . we shall not give up the mission" (October 29, 1904).

Archbishop Meulemann arrived in Shillong in November. He traveled round the whole mission, sparing no effort to get an idea of the life and work of the missionaries as well as their dangers and difficulties. Back in Calcutta he compiled his visitation report for the Propaganda.

Relatio Visit. is Ap. ae in Miss. Assam. si peractae ab Archiepiscopo Calc. si, October-November 1904

SDS in 15 years hardly 2,000 Catholics: why so few? The conversion of Moslems and Hindus is difficult. The Salvatorians are working for the conversion of the 50,000 Khasi in the mountains. In the tea plantations there are many immigrants, often already Christians. The influence of the Calvinists Gallenses (Welsh) is great; they have been working here already 75 years and have rich means. Our missionaries are often poor and administer badly. Catechists are lacking.

The priests live at 7 stations, never meet, not even for retreats or conferences. Among those who obey the superior, there is no holding together. Among the others there is conspiracy and fraternizing. Frs. Abele, Dombrowski, and Steinherr form a gang against the superior, and support one another in doing so.

The priests are independent of the superior. They receive only 50 Rupees and thus are forced to beg, which they do on their own (build-ing churches and schools). They dedicate themselves to their apostolic activities as they understand them. They don't let themselves be influenced by their superior, almost not at all, because they have little trust in him and consequently do not ask anything from him; on the contrary, they don't recognize how far obedience toward the superior reaches, and accept his interventions unwillingly or with doubt, like Fr. Abele and Fr. Dombrowski. The missionaries live alone. They like and defend their independence; at their infrequent gatherings they conspire against the superior.

The superior is a good priest and cares for the well-being of the mission; mild but not firm or strong. He has a timid spirit. Furthermore, his responsibility as superior and administrator apostolic is ill defined. So he himself is not sure what he is allowed to do, and his subordinates doubt whether he acts on the basis of his responsibility. He is conscious of his helplessness, which hinders him in assisting his dependents as they expect. Protection from the side of the general superior is lacking. He does not give him true

directions or send the necessary personnel or any money. To decide how far this excuses the weakness of the superior is not my task.

Two cases are to be mentioned here particularly. There is the first case of Fr. Ignatius Bethan. For years, up to the latest months, he was too familiar with the sisters in Shillong. He spent recreation together with them (*solus cum solus et etiam cum sola*) permitting also tenderness. Of the 4 sisters only one resisted. Fr. Ignatius has also treated 3 sisters medically (given injections). Fr. Angelus and the missionaries were aware of it. The superior has not intervened. Also the superior general let Fr. Ignatius return to India a few years ago not recalling him, although he had been informed. Lately Fr. Ignatius has been more careful. Fr. Ignatius must leave the mission at any rate, the sooner the better.

The other case is Fr. Pius Steinherr, suspected by the missionaries and by the faithful to be the father of a child, and the mother, a former orphan, led his household in Iowa and later in Raliang. There he presented the girl as the sister of his cook. The superior has not forbidden the relation. In the meantime, Fr. Pius has petitioned to be released from the congregation. His removal from the mission is urgent.

In both cases the mission superior cannot be excused for not having intervened. In two further cases the behavior of the superior has brought about a crisis, namely with Fr. Abele and Fr. Dombrowski, who have already returned to Europe. In both cases the superior has justly requested their immediate release from the mission, because they both have endangered the mission by their imprudence.

Fr. Gebhard [Abele] published in his paper what the government justly felt as a great offense. Fr. Marcus [Dombrowski] endangered the life of a native by his imprudence. They both behaved in such a way that a repeat of their actions was to be feared. They are ill-disposed toward the superior. The proof is that they and the other missionaries had native Christians spy on him [Münzloher].

Thus of 8 missionaries 4 failed. The reason for this is that they had been left to themselves without receiving spiritual or brotherly support. Neither had they to give an account. They were badly prepared for religious life and for apostolic service. They seemed not to know what religious poverty, obedience, or submission mean. Sending such men into the mission is probably founded on the hope that they might be useful in distant regions, because their attitude makes them undesirable and unsure in Europe. [As remedies the archbishop proposes:]

- I) better religious formation in the Society itself;
- II) greatest concern of the general superior for the Assam Mission.
This shall not be done only in words, but
 - 1) in prudent selection of the men to be sent out;
 - 2) in the leadership to be granted to the mission superior;
 - 3) *addendo animos omnibus*;
 - 4) by financial means.
- III) In the mission itself:
 - 1) the authority of the superior is to be better described and perhaps enlarged;
 - 2) in it there must be more firmness and moral authority toward the subordinates;
 - 3) he must actively supervise and direct; subordinates must submit and yield to him in money matters and in their tasks;
 - 4) two missionaries should be assigned each mission station;
 - 5) gatherings of missionaries for retreats and conferences;
 - 6) better schools, the Khasi are eager to learn;
 - 7) more catechists;
 - 8) less strictness in admitting catechumens (on the contrary, more strict in the admission to baptism than until now);
 - 9) the houses of the sisters are to be reformed.

The following remarks to the last point: there are three convents: Shil-long, Raliang and Laitkynsew. The sisters are simple and good. Of the 4 sisters in Shillong there are 3 who stuck to Fr. Ignatius (also against me as visitator) and they should be removed from the mission. The SDS sisters are generally not sufficiently formed and are mediocre teachers. The sisters take care of boys and girls. In Shillong one sister sleeps in the dormitory where boys sleep (among them 13 and 14 year-olds). The three houses depend on the local missionary, who gives them the money. It would be better to close the houses in Raliang and Laitkynsew, other-wise a kind of sisters' provincial superior should direct the houses (but not priests).

December 6, 1904

Bishop Meulemann, S.J, Archbishop of Calcutta

In meeting January 3, 1905 (A PP 64341)

B. Meulemann, Archbishop
Calcutta, December 7, 1904

The good priests of the SDS received me very well. Account 650 frs.

The missionaries are more or less in suspense because of the results of the visitation. Two of them already have the means in hand for urgent constructions, but now they hesitate out of fear that the mission might be taken from them. Thus the decision of the meeting is to be communicated to the priests immediately. Fr. Pius departs from Bombay on December 15, 1904. In agreement with Fr. Angelus I sent him home at once.

Arch. nr. 64236

January 31, 1905. The Congregation thanks and sends the money for the journeys. Cardinal Gotti.

Münzloher could heave a sigh of relief after the Apostolic Visitation. He felt himself fully understood by Archbishop Meulemann. But it remained unclear to Münzloher what decision the Congregation would take. "A change will be made; at any rate new missionaries are needed. You may well understand that I am somehow depressed," the mission superior confessed to Jordan (Shillong, November 3, 1904).

Regarding Bethan, who now was to be recalled from the mission, Münzloher suggested sending him to the Indian Mission in North America. Then he won't resist being transferred (Shillong, October 10, 1904). For Fr. Ignatius will have to leave, along with two sisters.*

* Münzloher was asked to send Bethan back to Europe because this had been requested by Propaganda; he should, however, proceed prudently (January 14, 1901, G-38). Bethan, however, wanted to keep his position in Shillong by hook or by crook. On April 8, 1905, Jordan had to recall him by telegram under obedience (G-38). The ex-missionary finally returned. He went directly home to his relatives without announcing his arrival to the superiors in Rome, and with-out indicating his home address (cf., June 21, 1905, G-38). Jordan wished to meet with him on his trip to Belgium.

Lüthen forbade Bethan severely from gossiping about Fr. Pius, who was not "an apostate." At the same time, he gave him the following directives under vows: no longer to collect for the mission; to say nothing detrimental regarding to Fr. Pius or the mission; to supply his address immediately: "Your papers are false, for you are not a missionary anymore." Lüthen would inform him where he could talk to Jordan. The letter went through the parish of St. Gertrudis, Essen (July 30, 1905, G-38).

Jordan asked Bethan to go to Hamberg for the present. In the meantime, St. Nazianz was convinced to receive him. On November 29, 1905, he left Hamberg and arrived in Rome. From there he traveled to USA

Assam needs 6 new brave missionaries, a capable superior, and one or two sisters. "All this costs money." The sisters must give up their out stations. Münzloher urgently needed money for a larger convent in Shillong and an orphanage on Khasi Hill. He was thinking of a loan in Germany (Shillong, November 7 & 21, 1904).

Münzloher illustrated the awkward situation of the mission in a letter to Jordan after the visitation by Archbishop Meulemann, which is worth considering. It is, in fact, an eloquent testimony of the clear vision and patience of the courageous mission superior. In spite of the shameful attacks against him, and his personal and material

on December 6. By fall of the next year he had connected with the new superior in the Assam. He declared to Becker that he was not a mission wrecker as Münzloher claimed. His wish was to return to the mission. He still worked for the mission of the Khasi (St. Nazianz, September 17, 1906). But first he would wait for at least 5 years, as it had not yet provided for Steinherr and Abele (Marshfield, WI, February 14, 1907).

On March 30, 1909, Bethan repeated his request to be allowed to return to the mission. The Apostolic Prefect informed Jordan, but he added that the case of Abele had to be resolved first. The Archbishop of Calcutta was also against the priest's return, neither would the Propaganda allow it. But the superior of St. Nazianz also asked the Apostolic Prefect to receive Bethan again. When at last Becker invited Bethan to return under the presupposition that he would go any-where (January 31, 1912), he declared himself ready to return (March 13, 1912). Just three weeks later he communicated to Becker that he was unable, because he was giving lectures to the Franciscan Sisters who worked as teachers. He would be ready to go anywhere, but not near the ex-missionaries Steinherr or Abele (Alverno, WI, April 9, 1912).

In the summer of the same year, Bethan was transferred as superior to Wealdstone (already a citizen of the USA since June 4). But he still desired to go back to India (August 30, 1912). In November he wanted to resign as superior; he had difficulties with a "holy Salvatorian" in Wealdstone, who agitated and murmured against him. Jordan and the provincial of St. Nazianz refused the petition. Bethan hoped "to find his heart's peace in the Gentile Mission" after the end of his term of his office on December 21, 1914 (January 16, 1914) when Becker indicated to him that there were difficulties against his return, he gave up. In the meantime, he took care of the students sent to London by Becker. The First World War brought the forced end of the flourishing Assam Mission, and thus also finally cut Bethan off from ever returning.

obstacles which so limited his freedom of activity to carry the burden of his office, he was resigned to the will of God.

Prefecture Apostolic of Assam,
Shillong, November 24, 1904.

Dear Venerable Father!

Please, don't forget to provide me with money; my situation is getting more and more uneasy; already Fr. Marcus [Dombrowski] has left behind debts to me, and travel money was added; further travel money for Fr. Gebhard [Abele]. Now Fr. Pius [Steinherr] is leaving and makes me the heir of his debts, and travel money in addition. I do not know what I ought to do. I have written to Rome repeatedly, unfortunately with no response. I would also ask you not to make public what is decided in anyone's case. Just now Fr. Pius writes that he already knew the decisions which had been taken in his regard in Rome. Fr. Marcus listens to everything in Rome, inquires and reports to Fr. Gebhard what you yourself say, etc. It seems that Fr. Gebhard now behaves as he formerly did here in Assam.

As I have heard just now, he writes letters with loutish expressions against you and me, he boasts of it; e.g., he would not let himself be interned in Lochau, did not answer letters, writes an open sultry post-card to Fr. Marcus, in which he wishes good luck to his hitherto success; he would stay at home until it gets too cold, and then return to Assam, and if he would be driven from there, he had already looked around for another place. This looks just like Fr. Gebhard. It would be in his own best interest to be transferred somewhere under obedience; he certainly is not healthy. If he makes further mistakes, he will certainly get into trouble with church authorities, and that is to his own damage. Unless energetic steps are taken the evil will even increase; for now comes also Fr. Pius, and then all three of them will unite. If only I had money, I would advise Fr. Ignatius [Bethan] to leave; then at least some instigation would stop. Fr. Ignatius seems anyway ready to leave. I have written already before, that I am in want of money to make some changes in the mission, which would be to the advantage of our mission. Once Fr. Ignatius leaves, some evils will come to an end; as Fr. Pius leaves, there is an urgency in regard to Fr. Ignatius; otherwise new instigations will arise. Because Fr. Ignatius behaved imprudently with the sisters, and in any case returned to Assam only by grace. It was unfortunate that I, out of lack of personnel, had to name Fr. Ignatius my vicar. I just could not do otherwise. The archbishop himself expressed his own compassion to me and about my

unpleasant situation, and his secretary said several times to me: "I would not like to be superior in your mission."

I have repeatedly written to Rome, that it is difficult to found a new mission. The difficulty was even greater because in Rome itself few priests were available. Out of lack of experience also many mistakes were made. To send sisters of a newly founded congregation into a mission in 1891 was of course a mistake: such sisters had not yet entered into the spirit of religious life and had to entrust themselves to be guided by a priest who also had no experience in this area: unfortunately, their superior at that time was Sr. Laurentia, whose difficulties with her women's health problems became a trap for the sympathetic Fr. Ignatius. The principal evil has been caused just through this sister. Sisters should be selected carefully and only those should be sent who have been tested for a longer time and who in addition to piety also have good formation. Then no priest will have to help and advise them step by step until familiarities arise. Too frequent contact often leads to this quite naturally, and this danger is the greater if the sisters belong to the same Society. I would like the sisters to be cut off as much as possible from the priests; the sisters should have more autonomy; I prefer having no sisters at all or sisters from outside.

The archbishop told me he insisted that the motherhouse support the sisters of his mission. In this way one can promote a mission. I have been criticized as a bad financier; the archbishop has not spoken to me like that. I am really glad that the archbishop has come; he is a mission superior himself and knows how much one can expect from a mission superior; therefore, a just opinion is to be expected in regard to the accusations which particularly have been made against me by the Reverend Fathers Gebhard and Marcus.

Remember me in your devote and fatherly prayers

In SS. Cord. Jesu et Mariae

Yours loving spiritual son,

Fr. Angelus, SDS

P.S: As Fr. Pius, through the mediation of the archbishop, leaves the mission of his own free will, it might be prudent to treat him mildly. He may perhaps find his way into a study house as a teacher, a position, where he is less exposed to dangers and where at the same time he can accomplish something.

On December 3, Lüthen, on Jordan's order, thanked Münzloher for his clear and sincere confession. However, he would have to wait for the decision of the Propaganda. Then they could inform the *Accusatores*

contra Rmum Patrem, that they (Dombrowski and Abele) would not be allowed to return to the mission (G-38). Through his secretary, Cardinal Gotti of Propaganda immediately gave these instructions to Jordan:

Rome, January 30, 1905.

To Fr. Jordan: Instructions of the Propaganda Fide, based on the report of Archbishop Meulemann:

In the 15 years, since the Society has been in charge of Assam, the number of Christians has always stayed small. Besides the external circumstances, here are listed in particular the internal ones:

- 1) The 7 stations are situated far from one another and the missionaries seldom meet for retreats, etc. The missionaries left to themselves have made themselves independent spiritually as well as materially.
- 2) The mission superior is zealous, but he has not taken a serious enough stand toward his missionaries. He is soft-hearted by nature and he has too few means at his disposal to help the missionaries.
- 3) The sisters have too little training, especially as teachers. Their houses are not adequately separated (distant) from the lodgings of the priests (no choice of a confessor).

To remedy this, continuous and promising progress in the Assam Mission is needed. The Congregation considers it necessary that Fr. Jordan recall Fr. Ignatius from the mission and that Frs. Gebhard, Marcus and Pius be not allowed to return to the mission. Because the mission is so important, the greatest possible number of other appropriate missionaries must be sent instead. It is desirable that the means for the mission increase continually and that the mission superior himself administers and distributes them. Jordan should propose a man as mission superior who unites mildness with steadfastness. Finally, a sisters' provincial shall be named for all sisters' houses, who cares for discipline and prevents missionaries from intervening in material matters (A PF 64541).

Jordan thanked Cardinal Gotti for "wise advice and the instructions to the benefit of the Mission in Assam." He promised to do his best to execute everything as the Prefect of the Propaganda wished. Other missionaries could not be sent out before fall because of the unfavorable season, but at least all stations were staffed (February 7, 1905, A-467).

Ordered by Jordan, Lüthen immediately passed on to Mother Mary what the Propaganda stressed in the report of the archbishop of Calcutta: the sisters in Assam were not trained with the quality

education or adequate formation required by the school of Shillong. Propaganda also requested a kind of sisters' provincial for all three houses in Assam. Mother Mary might consider someone for the present. Meanwhile, they should wait for Münzloher's report (February 6, 1905).

Münzloher was immediately informed that the Propaganda had decided Abele and Dombrowski must not be allowed to return to the mission (January 14, 1905). Lüthen informed the mission superior in detail about the report of the archbishop of Calcutta. But for the present he concealed from him that the Propaganda requested another mission superior, who would show more firmness than he (February 4, 1905).

2.35/57. Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception. On December 8, 1904, the whole Society celebrated the 50-year jubilee of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Already on April 21, Jordan had in a circular letter called on all to distinguish themselves in celebrating this jubilee. He pointed to the papal commission which helped prepare the celebrations throughout the world, and to the Marian World Congress, which was to be held in Rome.*

Fr. Ethelbett Hurler, SDS, provided the German edition of the jubilee publication "The Immaculate Conception." Pius X thanked the Society expressly for the copy sent to him: "*Qui elucidant me, vitam aeter-nam habebunt.*" From November 10 to December 4, a Marian Congress was held in Rome. Hurler was a secretary in its press corps

* July 1, 1904, Jordan visited the superior of the *Figli di St. Maria Immacolatae*, FSMI, Fr. Antonio Piccardo (1844-1925). More than the jubilee had led the two priests together. Jordan was above all impressed by the apostolate of this new priest-institute: to give young men access to ecclesiastical studies. The founder was Giuseppe Frassinetti, a brother of the foundress of the Dorothean Sisters (three more brothers of the family also became priests). As prior of S. Sabina in Genoa, Frassinetti founded in 1861, a "pious union for taking care of poor boys of the Papal State." On January 14, 1866, he changed it into a free priest community. In 1902, Leo XIII gave these priests a study house in Rome (December 8, 1902, diocesan institute). Already on May 21, 1904, the superior, Fr. Piccardo, received the *Decretum Laudis*. Jordan noted this with understandable envy: "The Institute has just 9 priest and 40 *convittori* and already enjoys papal right" (G-2.7). This papal favorite received final approbation June 4, 1910.

(SM 5, 1904). The painter, Br. Aegidius Röder, succeeded in making a remarkable picture of Mary, which held a place of honor in the Lateran exposition (SM 2, 1905).*

2.36/58. The Visitors' votum. The Apostolic Visitor had been ordered to draw up an opinion about the Society of the Divine Savior so that those responsible in the Congregation for Bishops and Religious could have at their disposal true and accurate information about the Institute which had asked for the *Decretum Laudis*. Fr. Antonio was fully in favor of the Society receiving this long desired papal commendation. His presentation of the Society of the Divine Savior was based on his 10 years experience as visitor. Jordan himself did not take a position in this regard. He had satisfied himself with a humble petition to give the Society the *Decretum Laudis* and to end the Apostolic Visitation.

On Epiphany 1905, the Apostolic Visitor asked to inspect the general consulta book (D-750). A little later he urged the general procurator "Hurry to get the recommendation of the Propaganda, because I want to finish the work for the Society, as I must soon leave Rome for another *Visita Apostolica*." Then he gave the advice to get in writing a permit from the Cardinal Vicar allowing Jordan and other members of the generalate (i.e., Lüthen, Weigang, Pfeiffer) to continue in their "known direction" of the Salvatorian Sisters (January 22, 1905, D-752).

By this Fr. Antonio wanted above all to block the objection of the consultor at the Congregation, Fr. Esser, by mentioning this permission of the Cardinal Vicar in his *votum* for the *Decretum Laudis*.

* Brother Aegidius Röder (born October 30, 1865) joined the Society at the age of 21 and made his profession on March 9, 1888. He had a special talent for drawing and painting. Jordan was keen for the brother to develop his gift to benefit Salvatorian magazines. He also gave him advice based on his own professional experience. Röder made astonishing progress. Lüthen calls him a "proclaimer by God's grace, pious, but of light blood" (September 3, 1903, BL-659). Röder's health was weak, having only one lung. In summer 1903, he was first sent to Schalders, Brixen and then to Wörishofen. On his way, in Lauaterbach, he must have attracted attention somehow. "One could weep at this light hearted-ness. Let's pray for him! Genius usually needs much prayer," Lüthen remarked (September 13, 1903, BL-665). He died September 11, 1928, at age 62.

Fr. Antonio dis-cussed this with Pfeiffer during his visit on January 25, 1905 at 10 o'clock to get an insight into the church's confirmation of the Angles' League, and the indults for its cooperators and for others (D-754).

On February 3, the Visitor finished writing his opinion. His report is in many matters quite informative. The Congregation, in fact, looked at the Society through the spectacles of its approved consultor.

First the Apostolic Visitor indicates short dates about the origin and name of this young Society. Then he touches upon its special purpose and the corresponding means. While originally an embryonic rule had called for spreading the Catholic faith, to defend and to strengthen it "by practicing church doctrines by preaching and writing," now it expressed itself in a more moderate way. In the current valid Constitution the main and secondary purposes (self-sanctification, and leading others to holi-ness) contain nothing to be objected to legally. The means to reach the "secondary purpose" (consequently the proper purpose of the institute) were indicated as follows: "Above all, the members dedicate themselves to Christian Education of youth, to leading retreats and popular missions, to literary activity, and to missions among heathens and non-Catholics."

In a further section Fr. Antonio touches on the first difficulties, which the still inexperienced Founder encountered. The Visitor characterizes Jordan as,

. . . a man, who from the very beginning was considered as very pious, zealous and energetic, although not furnished with prudence, and in his heart not always sure of his steps. So the first difficulties he had to confront consisted in planning and realizing his works.

Then Fr. Antonio covers the growth of Jordan's two foundations: he had planned a Society of 3 grades. The First Grade should include priests and lay people, even women, who, bound to God by vows, dedicate themselves completely to the purpose of the Society.

In a Second Grade he wanted to gather Catholic academics. The Third Grade was to include Catholics of every sex and status. Their duty should be to care actively for the spiritual health of those entrusted to them. The Founder in his burning zeal had asked the Holy See for approv-al of his plan, but of course had been refused; for in these first years he had hardly been able to give "the first lines" of his work.

After this first failure, the Founder silently went his way for some years. He was forced by the unavoidable difficulties, which opposed him in reaching his ideas. Partly they were not yet digested, partly he was often badly advised; he was also hindered by those he had rashly received into the Society, and so he was engaged in building up, in changing, and partly also in demolishing what he had built. What remained unchanged in him was only the desire to work hard for it. He needed much time for his main work, the male branch of the Society of the Divine Savior, to become well ordered and mature. When one reminds him of the past, which had caused him innumerable pains, he confesses it all happened to him because he had had no experience.

The Apostolic Visitor goes on to speak about the membership of the Society. He describes briefly the actual way priests or brothers join the Society. Then Fr. Antonio speaks about the spread of the Society:

In his zeal to work much for the honor of God, Fr. Jordan dreamt of and dedicated himself for many years only to new foundations. He needed time to let himself be convinced that the Society was still too young and had too few members, and that he, therefore, should make new foundations very carefully. That this conviction now had got through, is demonstrated by the report to the Congregation, signed by the Founder and his General Council, from which results that 20 bishops had proposed new foundations, but that "one had to move slowly in opening new houses so as not to disperse the forces of the Institute."

Then the Visitor listed the 26 houses of the Society, in 21 dioceses. The consultors of the Congregation were sent the *Schematismus SDS*, 1904.

Regarding Narni, Fr. Antonio remarks particularly that the local lodging situation is quite unhealthy. In regard to the Assam Mission, he mentions that because of the growing number of faithful and of the work, soon more missionaries were to be sent out. In particular he added that Propaganda Fide had a short time ago been concerned with some complaints which one missionary had presented against another confrere and particularly against the prefect. But the Apostolic Prefect was without blame, and the objections against that confrere were equally mostly unfounded as was shown by the Apostolic Visitation on the spot.

The Visitor stated expressly that the actual 418 confreres can well staff all the foundations of the Society. However, further foundations should be omitted for the time being, with the exception of an eventual foundation of extraordinary need. Then Fr. Antonio stresses that today's members were much different from those who formed the Society a few years ago. Jordan had formerly opened the door too wide, just because of his desire for as many cooperators as possible, and still more out of inexperience and in good faith. Consequently, many had entered and few remained; and among those few there were some whose remaining was based exclusively on human considerations.

Instructed by these defective results, the superior had slowly changed his system. Already for some years he insisted on a good selection. The novitiate was led very well. Care for the scholastics had improved, and generally there was good discipline on the basis of improved rules. Thus they now had religious capable of doing something to the benefit of God's church. For about 10 years (the duration of the visitation), the exits of dissatisfied members have slowly diminished and were now not more than in other religious institutes.

In a special point, the Visitor speaks about the other activities initiated by Jordan. In doing so, he wants to mention only those which have continued. First the Visitor names the Addolorata Sisters, who were taken away from Jordan soon after their foundation by the then Cardinal Vicar. As the reason, Fr. Antonio accepts unchallenged the affirmations of the second "Corrado Report" May 11, 1894 (cf., DSS XV, 2.47, Commission's response to Lupiti's votum): "The sisters had suffered from hunger and immoderate contact with the male branch." He added that he was personally told that the superior along with some other sisters had resisted Jordan when he wanted to depose her as superior. That is why she had appealed to the Cardinal Vicar. The Fr. Antonio suggests: whatever the motive may have been, the Cardinal Vicar had forced Jordan to give up any further care of the sisters; this congregation was developing now very well under the direction of Msgr. Jacquemin.*

* It is surprising that Fr. Antonio did not adopt the more noble reason which Jordan had indicated in his petition in regard to the separation of the first sisters. Instead he warmed up the unfounded version of events

Then the Visitor briefly mentions the new "Second Order of the Society of the Divine Savior," which Jordan, not at all discouraged, had founded in Tivoli. This Institute, too, was developing quite well. Now it also has an improved Constitution and is consequently independent. The Founder helps the sisters within the powers the local bishops grant him.

Finally, Fr. Antonio touches on the union of the cooperators of the Angels' League. These were essentially a copy of the Salesian cooperators. The Angels' League had been approved canonically (1886).

The Apostolic Visitor explains the economic situation of the Society in a separate section: while the income of the Society was about 1,845,000 Lire, the debts were 900,000 Lire. He refers to the financial report submitted by the Society and only gives some explanations about Rome and Tivoli: the motherhouse is still encumbered with 350,000 Lire, and Villa Lavaggi with 42,000 Lire. To these come other debts of about 60,000 Lire. The Apostolic Visitor stresses that in the last 6 years much had been spent in remodeling and repairs and that still debts of 120,000 Lire had been repaid. From 1902 to 1904, on an average 60,000 Lire was raised for the liquidation of the Roman debts. For the coming years one could count on 65,000 Lire annually, so that the debts could be paid in a relatively short time. By way of a compliment, the Visitor refers to the fact that in the last years much had been built, and that the communities in Lochau and St. Nazianz were financially healthy and able to give some support to the Society.

Next the Apostolic Visitor praises the moral and disciplinary state of the Society. He points to the recommendation of the bishops in whose dioceses the Society was active and cites some excerpts from the laudatory letters. These evidently confirm what he had reported about the moral state of the Society.

from the Corrado Report and finds it worth repeating the gossip of a prelate regarding Jordan's being resisted when he intended to depose the sisters' superior. He mitigated his illustration with the personal remark: "Whatever the motive may have been. . ." But the very fact of bringing into such a *votum* false and burdensome remarks is disturbing, especially this uncorroborated generalization.

The actual Constitutions, the Apostolic Visitor affirms, were good and essentially conform to the new norms. Small corrections could be inserted when it is presented for final approval.

Finally, Fr. Antonio speaks about the apostolic visitation itself. First he cites from Jordan's petition for the *Decretum Laudis*:
Out of inexperience the Society had had in the past stormy and unquiet periods. By the mercy of God it hopes to have them overcome definitely; for this it had first to thank God and then the ecclesiastic authorities, who have assisted us in our various times of need.

The Visitor underlines, that he takes note of this "with pleasure."
[For] the humble declaration honors the Society. After all, it is perfectly true what is affirmed here. The Society was a victim of many storms and much turbulence, above all shortly before it had repeatedly made the petition for the *Decretum Laudis*. And was it not due to inexperience that it handed in the petition just at quite unfavorable moments?

Then Fr. Antonio mentions the bitter happenings from 1892 to 1894, which caused not only the double *Dilata*, but also the undesirable Apostolic Visitation.

Then Fr. Antonio refers to the fact that in the visitation (summer 1904) he had to state that many accusations made against the Society were true; however, it seemed to him that any evil was curable and that the Society would be able to bring more order, firmness and capability to reach its aim. He had delayed a bit in installing a director and counselor (cf., Meddi, DSS XV, 3.5, 16, 20) at the inexperienced Founder's side in the belief that the Apostolic Visitation could be ended. However, the religious he appointed had taken little or no notice of Jordan or his Society; Fr. Antonio could not indicate why. When Fr. Antonio himself had heard from other sources that his task had not ended, he had been at a loss as to how to be of further assistance beside the counselor to the Society. When that religious finally considered his task fulfilled, Fr. Antonio became somehow more free. And after the former's death, he regained his full activity. The Visitor summarizes his judgment:

The superiors of the Society at first found it very difficult to convince themselves that what was wanted from them was in their own interest; much time was needed to assure them that just my harsh actions toward them in some situations belonged to my good will

and to my duties to help them get out of the difficulties they were in. If now the visitation comes to its end, we will separate as good friends.

Fr. Antonio is of the opinion that the present state of the Society bodes well for a better future; he could not believe that there was a way back. The experience of the contradictions and pains gathered in so many years and still more the orderly direction, and the good discipline existing now in the constitutions and in practice seemed to exclude such fear.

Then the Visitor delivers his decision: as the petition for the *Decretum Laudis* was signed and submitted not only by the general superior but by the whole general consulta, he favors the *Decretum Laudis* and ending of the Apostolic Visitation. In regard to the first, he points out that the aim of the Society is a holy one, that the Society had extended itself sufficiently and that its membership is proportioned to the existing houses, that the discipline is good, that the bishops praise the apostolic activity of the members, and that the economic state, although not very good, did not cause any concern. He points out that the Founder, though inexperienced, had always been zealous for the honor of God. The former insecurity he had felt when he began his intended job, were now well planned and defined. He underlines that the *Decretum Laudis* by the Holy See would mean recognition and encouragement to the Society and its priests, who for many years worked zealously in the Lord's vineyard.

Regarding the second point, lifting the visitation, the Apostolic Visitor states that the Society now was in good order and that he for some time had nothing more to do but to listen to some small complaints, because the Founder kept almost all the discontent members in Rome, as he prefers to have the unpleasantness and discord himself than endanger the concord and peace of the other houses. Although the Founder in the past had no good program for how to govern and direct, he is now subject to the Constitution and has a general council elected by the general chapter at his side, and the majority of this council consists of persons who think with their own heads. The experience of the past and the fear of falling once more under the Apostolic Visitation will make the superiors very careful not to repeat former mistakes.

Fr. Antonio makes a proposal to insure that Jordan would not flirt with some of his old and dangerous errors, which he, Fr. Antonio,

had mostly to tackle himself.. One order from the Congregation to the general consulta would be sufficient: that no new foundations were to be made until the number of priests would have markedly increased and the greater part of the debts were repaid; and that any new houses should be started only near already existing ones.

So much for the report and the *votum* of the Apostolic Visitor. It is pointless to return to this or that affirmation in an attempt to rectify or improve it historically. In this regard the explanations of Fr. Antonio must be measured by what until then had been presented in historic fidelity. Fr. Antonio relied on the documents deposited at the congregation but which were incomplete because the already deceased Fr. Meddi had withheld the third visitation report (1896) as well as other important documents (cf., footnote on page 28 of Fr. Antonio's report) and on his 10-year experience relating with Jordan and the members of the Society.

The Apostolic Visitor could also in good conscience recommend the Society of the Divine Savior for the papal confirmation it requested because the bishops in their recommendations had already indicated the direction to him. Members of the Society had for years been working in the vineyard of the Lord and the Christian people felt edified by their exemplary way of life. However, in his report Fr. Antonio had also to show fully the correctness and success of his Apostolic Visitation. He did so at the expense of the Founder. Not less than six times he pointed out Jordan's inexperience or how Jordan seemed to him "not so experienced." According to the Visitor, Jordan still lacked the necessary prudence for governing his foundation well. To prove this, the Apostolic Visitor indicates the following "failures."

Already Jordan's plan for three grades and his petition to the Holy See for approval of his undertaking (justly refused in 1883) was a testimony to his pious but imprudent super zeal. Then church authorities had to remove from him the first foundation of sisters. Building up the male branch was marked by uncertain groping; and Jordan presented his petition for the *Decretum Laudis* at the most unfavorable moment (1892/94). All this shows his incapability clearly to direct and orient his religious institute. Furthermore, Jordan dedicated himself to a premature and therefore irresponsible expansion of his Society, which again shows his lack of prudence. Irresponsible, too, was his excessive indebtedness. Jordan is also to be

reproached for his rather indiscriminate reception of members and the frequent exits that caused later on. Only after the visitor came to office did exits diminish. If the Society today is what it is, the Apostolic Visitor has the main merit. In his activity he met with considerable difficulties in asserting himself against Jordan and Lüthen. Sometimes he had to intervene hard. This he did only when driven by conscience and duty.

Fr. Antonio saw a secure future for the Society after the hoped for ending of the visitation, above all by the fact that "the majority of the newly-elected general administration" would decide everything according to their own heads. It is not mentioned who the visitor counts in this majority. It has already been mentioned elsewhere that the newly-elected generalate was the same as before the First General Chapter with only one exception. We may suppose then that Fr. Antonio did not count the co-Founder Lüthen among the majority with their own heads, but among the less capable "superiors of the Society" against whom he could assert himself only with great effort in order to serve to the benefit of the Society. In fact, Lüthen was "one head" with Jordan.

The Apostolic Visitor handed his report to Jordan through Pfeiffer for a look and for his opinion, as well to be printed. Jordan read attentively the expositions of the self-assured Fr. Antonio. Now he saw how he looked to the Congregation for Religious: an under-talented general superior, unable to work effectively. But why should this defenseless man justify himself? What counted for him was the positive *votum* of the Visitor. He was grateful from the bottom of his heart. Nevertheless, he as well as Lüthen found some exaggerations in presenting the Society. They changed, according to their conscience, Fr. Antonio's over-favorable judgment. He had written: "With the good spirit there is good order in all houses." They corrected: "With the good spirit there is good order in the Society." Fr. Antonio underscored: from the letters of recommendation of the bishops "one can see much better than from our report, what the moral and disciplinary state of the Society is like." Jordan and Lüthen reduced: "These letters of recommendation also report on the Society's moral and disciplinary state."

At the Congregation meeting of April 14, 1905, the petition was treated. The presidency was held by Cardinal Pierotti, OP, the referent was Fr. Bucceroni, SJ. To these were added 4 Italian, one

German, and one French consultor. One opponent of Jordan's spoke sharply against. But the group favored the *Decretum*. By April 15, the Prefect of the Congregation, Cardinal Ferrata, presented the matter to Pius X who gracefully and willingly agreed. On May 27, a *Decretum Laudis* was issued (cf., An, March 25, 1955, 154f). This decree praises the fact that all members observe their own Constitutions and lead a perfect community life under the direction of the general superior. It is also mentioned that the growing Society was not past "experiencing temptations," but that it was beyond mediocrity, and was active already on 3 continents. Definite approval of the Society and its Constitutions would be postponed to "a favorable time."

Nothing was said about the second point of the petition: ending the Apostolic Visitation. In this regard, Fr. Antonio's *votum* was burdened with so many reservations the meeting thought it better (more prudent) to let the visitation continue for the present. Thus a certain seed of mistrust was kept alive at the Congregation.

Jordan shared this joyful development with the members of the Society in a long circular letter which also admonished them, in his usual insistence, to be loyal to the Society and to their vocation generally. He knew the places of weakness in the Society, and he knew that the end of the *via crucis* had not yet been reached.

To the Beloved Sons, greetings and fatherly blessings!

We communicate to you, dear sons, the joyful news that by Decree of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious of May 27, 1905, in the audience of the Holy Father, Pope Pius X, our Society was given the first approbation (*Decretum Laudis*).

Let us thank our Lord and Savior, who has honored and confirmed our Society with such a blessing.

Should we not now, strengthened by this confirmation, observe our Society's statutes with even greater zeal? Or could we disappoint the hopes which our Holy Mother Church puts in this new child, from whom she expects new growth for the salvation of Christians and of heathens? Never, never shall this happen! We shall rather with new love, new zeal and seriousness honor and observe our Constitutions approved by the church. We will disregard nothing!

In particular we admonish you again and again to perform the spiritual exercises conscientiously, namely annual retreats, weekly confessions and daily hour of meditation. These spiritual practices are the kernel of our life and of our Society.

In the lord, we entreat you superiors who support us in direct-ing the Society, to promote strict observance of our constitution as well as the customs in the houses of the Society through true watchfulness, through paternal admonition and correction, through shining example and steady prayers. Thus you turn away from that saying: "The judg-ment will be hard for those who preside," and it will become true of you: "You good and faithful servant, because you have been loyal in small things, I will entrust you with much."

If you consequently, dearest sons, have the spirit of gratitude toward God, Holy Mother Church, and the benefactors; if you wish to console our fatherly heart, which so often has been filled with deepest pain by the infidelity of sons fled back to the world, but also by the negligence and tepidity of those who more or less despise and break the holy laws of the Society; if you consequently wish to console our heart; if you want to care for your happiness in life, for your peace in dying, and for your happiness in eternity, then do not despise one single rule, then do not neglect even the smallest obligation.

Whoever is observant builds up; whoever is not observant destroys. And what does he destroy? The work of God in himself as well as in others. Oh, what an account of the graces received will such a one have to give on that terrible day to the Eternal Judge, quite apart from the scandal of the confreres and from the greatest damage resulting from it for our Society for years, maybe even for centuries.

So let us insistently pray that God may avert this judgment from us and give us His grace abundantly so that we may courageously follow our Savior and be true Salvatorians in life and in death, to the edi-fication of our confreres, to the growth of our Society and to the salvation of uncountable immortal souls!

In concluding, we order that in all houses of our Society a common thanksgiving be held. Oh Mary, Mother of God, Queen of the Apostles, assist us with your motherly help!

Rome, in the main Marian College, May 29, 1905

Fr. Francis of the Cross, Superior General, SDS.

(An, VI, 1956, n. 4; 154ff.)

The friends, cooperators and benefactors were also informed. By the *Decretum Laudis* of May 29, 1905, the Society was received among the religious communities dependent on the Holy See rather than on the local bishop, and took an important step in its development (SM 4, 1905).

In his memoirs Pancratius Pfeiffer, general procurator at that time, assigns the role of Apostolic Visitors equally to Fr. Antonio Intreccialagli and Fr. Luigi Meddi. The Carmelite had been named for disciplinary, and the Piarist for financial matters (Sum, § 45)*

* Pancratius Pfeiffer was not yet 30 years old when he, with ability and perseverance, took over the administration of the temporal goods of the Society and the task of paying off the motherhouse debts. The general procurator was the liaison between the Roman Congregation and the Society. Jordan as well as Lüthen put great hopes on this young co-fighter, and weren't disappointed. He quickly gained the confidence of the Apostolic Visitor, which his predecessor, Br. Beda Hoffmann, had never enjoyed. Fr. Antonio soon recognized the talents of the young priest, and was glad when he saw him changing fully to his wave length in business and juridical matters. In regard to character they resembled each other. They both rather disliked Jordan's temperament; they even faulted his clear openness. It was the influence and the merit of the saintly Lüthen that made Pfeiffer in no way doubt the authority of the Founder and fully engaged himself for the interests of the Society. So from 1903, he became the successful bridge builder between Jordan and Fr. Antonio, and thus between the Society and church authorities. Nevertheless, he looked at the Founder more through the eyes of the Visitor than through Lüthen's. Only later, when he had also grown more in spiritual responsibility, experience taught him to better distinguish spiritual wisdom from practical prudence.

Pfeiffer saw how Fr. Antonio, along with the Founder, was decisively co-responsible for the troubles of those growing years in the Society. In fact, Jordan "was a man of a holy life, but did not always keep his goal in view, or the proper means to achieve it. On many account he lacked the marks of a guiding talent (a man of government)" (Sum § 47). In this connection Pfeiffer indicates the four "grievances," which are said to have led to the First General Chapter (cf., DSS XVI, 1.82, First General Chapter).

Jordan was certainly not a cool planner who wanted to or could work from a ready-made model. He was a proud, tenacious molder of apostolic tasks, at the same time bringing to bear his sound human intelligence. But he was too sincere and conscience-bound to be called "efficient." His style of direction was not determined by success, but often enough was influenced by the human heart. He could demand things not only quickly but also persevering-ly and insistently. His prudence was not self-assured, but was simple and considerate.

Paulus Pabst, the second chief witness of the founding years, expresses himself still more restrictively and modestly:

Fr. Antonio does not speak of two visitators in his report, but only of himself as an Apostolic Visitor. He speaks of Fr. Meddi, on the contrary, as a director and counselor of the general superior named at his suggestion. Pfeiffer justly values the apostolic visitation as providential. So the ecclesiastic authority could convince itself, . . . that the Founder was a man of absolute good faith and of correct intention, who submitted perfectly to church authority; if he

In regard to the governing of the Servant of God generally, I must say it was always somehow criticized, not because he was lacking personal talents or capabilities (*doti o virtù*), but because his scruples and timidity often made him undecided and drove him to the point of talking almost exclusively with Fr. Lüthen, something not everyone liked. These complaints of subordinates along with several defects which arose mostly in regulating studies and in administration caused the Congregation to name an Apostolic Visitor, towards whom the Servant of God always showed deepest submission and humility (Sum § 113f).

This declaration of the esteemed novice master of the young Society is harsher than Pfeiffer's. But it is balanced and consequently more just. Incidentally, these two chief witnesses were also among those who transferred from the humaniora directly to university without a final examination. But they made every effort to fill the humanistic formation deficiency, and succeeded effectively. Pfeiffer's concise statements to the ecclesiastic court should consequently be supplemented by other testimonies he wrote. So from 1919:

The order, e.g. regarding prolonging our humanistic studies runs like a red thread through the general chapters, and even the non-initiated recognize that the pressure came from subordinates. The question, however, was this: will we proceed faster if we at present shorten the humanistic studies until we have more people? (An, III, 1919, 242).

One must not confuse the spirit of a man with his mode of governing, or let us say with its details. In this regard, too, the Venerable Father had his peculiarities, and which of us who had to work with him did not meet with difficulties, sometimes quite great ones. Who would affirm that reason had always been on one side! Now it was on this side, then on the other. It would be unjust to exculpate ourselves completely: but it would also be unjust to ascribe all guilt to us (as far as one can speak of guilt in the daily living together and of cooperation). Working together even with saints, is not always easy. If we want to stress what is called governing wisdom or prudence, then we should above all point out what is personal virtue and holiness for a religious superior. And in this regard the Venerable Father was master, and whoever had to separate himself from him, felt this loss more than anyone else. (An III, 1919, 243).

somehow made mistakes, this happened out of inexperience and because of the little knowledge of church laws (Sum § 6).

Pfeiffer proved to be trustworthy and successful. Jordan trusted him fully. Pancratius was sorely challenged not only to repay the motherhouse debts (done as planned) but also to purchase the motherhouse of the sisters in Salita San Onofrio, and to collect the episcopal letters of recommendation for the *Decretum Laudis*. So it was not surprising that his health was over-strained. At the start of July 1905, the house doctor had to send him to his home "because of a suspicious fever" (July 19, 1905, BL-792). Pfeiffer recovered quickly. On a journey to Belgium, Jordan met him in Metz: "He is well" (Athus, August 3, 1905). August 26, he returned to Rome.*

2.37/59. Salvatorian Press. Msgr. Gaetano Bisleti inaugurated the rooms in Rome on May 24, 1905.** But already before the end of the

* By the beginning of 1905, Pfeiffer had introduced a uniform account book. More importantly, he had let himself be infected by the trust in God of the two Founders. He later confessed that just this experience made him persevere.

We felt, of course, the heavy burden and suffered much under it, but together with the Venerable Father and Fr. Lüthen I firmly trusted in God. Their word and their example was my guarding star, and with God's help I remained faithful in this. I always felt it one of the greatest graces that I could witness their continuous trust in God, and I owed my perseverance in many difficult situations to this training (DSS III, 141).

In describing the financial situation before taking over his office he writes:

I was at that time appointed assistant to the administrator. I, too, saw no way out of the difficult situation. What made the deepest impression on me and preserved me from discouragement was the virtue of Fr. Jordan and Fr. Lüthen. I thought it quite impossible that such men, who carried the whole world, would ever be insolvent! (DSS III, 67)

** Gaetano Bisleti (Veroli, March 20, 1856-1937, August 30, Grottafer-rata) became in 1887, Papal Private Chamberlain; in 1903, *Maestro di Camera*; in 1906, *Maggiordomo di Sua Santità*. On November 27, 1911, Pius X nominated him cardinal deacon. From 1915 on, Cardinal Bisleti was President of the Academia of St. Thomas Aquinas, and in 1918, he took over direction of the Congregation for Seminaries and Universities. In 1908, he called the capable Pfeiffer to his service (Anticamera) and thus became a

year the press was sold. *Nuntius Romanus* was taken over by Pustet and incorporated into the *Acta Pontificia seu Decreta SS. RR. Congregationum*. The general procurator opposed unprofitable printeries. So the *Typografia Salvatoriana* experienced the same destiny as the one in Welkenraedt, which had been closed already in July 1905. *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*, which had been printed there since spring 1903, was now produced in Munich. The equipment at Welkenraedt was sold according to the decision of the generalate of April 3, 1906, as well as the machinery in Rome.

2.38/61. Lochau (II). At the end of July 1905, the superior of Lochau, Bon-filius Loretan, urged Jordan, in the interest of the construction, to replace him completely with Fr. Hilarius Gog. The latter helped him especially with the construction and its financing. He stayed in Lochau from April 10 to November 8, 1905. Jordan, who was in the community for visitation, took this wish with him to Rome. But the generalate named Fr. Ethelbert Hurler as the new superior (October 1905).

In the fall, most of the new building was completed. At the beginning of September 1905, Jordan visited the building. On October 12 the chapel was inaugurated by the Dean of Bregenz, and on October 18, the altar was consecrated by Auxiliary Bishop Zobl of Feldkirch.

By the end of the year the college lodged 13 priests and 44 students. From fall on, the community taught the 4 lower classes. Jordan wanted the study house to be fully occupied as soon as possible. It offered space for 60 pupils. The Hamberg school, too, was only half occupied. "It is sad," the Founder complained to his vicar general (Freiburg, July 29, 1905). He wanted, above all, to keep all ways open to late vocations.

The priests were willing to start a 4-year course for older students in addition to the current course planned for 6 classes. "We must do the utmost in order not to be compelled to refuse good people," was the Founder's principle (Vienna, August 29, 1905). Of course, the teachers at Lochau could not at once realize this two-track

friend and patron of the Salvatorians. In 1921, he became Protector of the Society, and in 1932, of the Salvatorian sisters.

“miracle” high school. Later Hamberg took over the training of late vocations.

In order to reduce the yearly tuition for poor students, Jordan quite modestly asked permission of the general procurator. He, in fact, had to fill the holes in the students’ cash box and protect himself against the Apostolic Visitor.

At that time, Jordan noted, as a “personal reproach,” the successful activity of the Institute “of the Holy Family (Missionaries) in Grave, Netherlands: 110 youngsters without regard to means or nationality, if only they are not subject to military service” (G-2.7, in early 1905).

2.39/62. Freiburg. The new superior in Freiburg had to assume a difficult legacy. Through the failure of his predecessors the house had lost its good reputation. Fr. Guericus Bürger himself was without experience, did not speak French, and had still to take his examination for hearing confessions (January 23, 1903). So his authority remained modest in the house as well as outside.

One still unresolved question concerned a proper community house. The college had no debts but had gathered only 3,500 sfr. in its building fund (January 13, 1903). The superior would have liked most to buy a building site.* But the priests in the house were against buying the old mint and Canisius House situated in the poor lower town and lacking a large gardens. The two proprietors, Python and Bossy, as *Stadträte* (city counselors) were working closely together and wished to keep the priests in the Stalden (June 2, 1904). Jordan gave permission on February 13, 1904 to buy the Stalden. The superior wanted to remodel but Rome protested: first buy; rebuilding and finishing can follow later (June 17, 1904).

From December 13, 1904 to February 1, 1905, Brüger collected funds in his native Bonn. He wanted to collect 25,000 sfr., the amount required for purchase. On March 9, 1905, he again came to Rome with his building plans. Fr. Antonio vetoed them, so the superior had to remain with his building fund (March 14). He complied with a heavy heart (March 29) complaining bitterly: “In Rome one has to act with

* From February 25 to March 11, 1903, and again on May 19, Gog was in Freiburg as visitor for Jordan. From October 22 to 26, 1903, Jordan visited.

diplomacy" (March 31, 1905). This was directed to Lüthen, who had the thankless task of passing down disagreeable decisions of the generalate or Apostolic Visitor in agreeable packaging. The superior wanted to apply to the city authorities to hold a lottery. He counted on a probable gain of 35,000 sfr. However, holding a lottery would also oblige him to build; Jordan should decide the issue (March 31, 1905).

On July 4, 1905, the superior had to report that the city council had not agreed to the lottery idea. "A hard blow for our college; simply to give away 30,000 to 35,000 francs profit; it is a heroic sacrifice." At the same time he praised the community who had received the news "with exemplary tranquility and without critics" (April 7, 1905).

In March, the general consultor stayed in Freiburg. Thus Fr. Hilarius Gog could give Jordan his opinion about buying or selling. By order of the Founder he negotiated with Python regarding the differences of opinion between the board of directors of Pérolles and the priests whom Bossy had pleaded with Python to dismiss. The priests were not happy with the two gentlemen because they stood to lose a good source of income. On the other side, the behavior of the former superior had greatly weakened the position and esteem of the priests.

On April 25, 1905, the purchase was made for 67,000 sfr. Consequently, the community was immediately encumbered with a mortgage of 43,000 sfr. Brüger reported the matter to Jordan the same day: "The Freiburg community now has its own house. Today the purchase has been concluded. . . . God's providence is inscrutable!" (April 25, 1905). The superior immediately began connecting the two houses with a covered passage. "We can never thank God's providence enough for having bought the Stalden; in doing so we have done a jolly good business" (July 4, 1905). The house chronicle noted with satisfaction that the house in the Stalden had finally been bought" (May).*

* By 1903, Msgr. Kleiser had offered to sell Stalden. Jordan would have liked to pay as little as possible for the purchase. The generalate decided never-theless: if otherwise the Stalden would be lost, one should agree (telegram and letter of April 6, 1903, G-2.4). Python intervened as middleman. He absolutely wanted to prevent the priests from leaving the

From May till December, extensive changes were made: electric light and hot water heating were installed. This year the scholastics returned to their usual *villeggiatura Hohenzelg*.^{*} This summer 1905, Jordan considered exchanging the superiors of Drognens and Freiburg. Freiburg required much from a superior. Jordan had to admit, "Fr. Guericus is not up to the task; he also suffers physically." In Freiburg, Fr. Conrad Hansknecht could do further studies, and in addition would be the right man to start a philologicum for training teachers in the Stalden. Clever priests could train themselves by special studies to become special teachers at their own gymnasium (Drognens, July 30, 1905). However, the superior of Freiburg would not have been up to the demands of Director in Drognens (August 1, 1905). So everything remained as it was.^{**} Hansknecht, however, was

town together with their scholastics. For, after the good reputation of the college had suffered such great damage in 1902, there were rumors that the scholastics would be open to another university. Msgr. Kleiser, who on December 6, 1904, during the Marian Congress in Rome, paid a visit to Jordan noted later:

Then it happened that the Salvatorian Fathers needed a larger house, and they explained to Mr. Python, that they would leave Freiburg, i.e., the university, unless he helped them get one. Python at once came to me, visited the Canisius House and the old bank and offered me a deal. As I saw its suitability for a religious community, I always was afraid that the house might fall into secular hands. I saw in this the finger of God and agreed to the purchase: both houses at 40,000 sfr; (he) also took over a debt I was burdened with by the Pauluswerk, 3,000 sfr. Later the Salvatorians themselves bought it all, made repairs and gained much space. Also the location is quite fitting for them: good air, space, and they are between St. Nikolaus and the Mauritius Church, where priests are often are needed for pastoral work. (Autobiography of Prelate Joh. Ev. Kleiser).

^{*} From 1902 to 1904, scholastics enjoyed their summer holidays in Villa Bonnefontaine. From 1905 to 1910, Hohenzelg was selected again. From 1911 onwards, Maggenburg near Tafers substituted for the former places for vacation.

^{**} Jordan often met with great distress in transferring members. For many young priests no house could be found to suit them. Jordan suffered most in this regard: "The problems of superiors and transfers are very difficult. May God help us!" (to Lüthen, Lochau, July 24, 1905).

always to keep an eye on Stalden. On January 15, 1906, he held the visita-tion of the Freiburg community ordered by Jordan.

2.40/63. Welkenraedt. In January 1905, Fr. Lucas Burkard resigned his office as superior. The new superior was admonished: "Try to treat your predecessor with sincere love; he also has great merits; and he has endured great hardships." Burkard had built up the printing shop in Welkenraedt with a loan his parents had given him. Now the press was to be given up as unprofitable. The general administration urged a solution as soon as possible.

Jordan wanted to transform Welkenraedt into a study house and to erect a new chapel for this purpose. The superior, whose time of office had elapsed, was offended because his whole troublesome engagement had been in vain. The generalate now expected "that he might leave and request the money his parents still had in the press" (January 17, 1905, BL-755). In the meantime, the new superior, Fr. Anselm Schauff should pay the interest to Burkard's parents for the sum they had put into the press (February 2, 1905).

Schauff was given plenty of advice: "Don't let yourself be carried away by your lively temperament, especially in this critical time." He was asked to work out a plan for the construction of the church and the college. The generalate was thinking of a building like the one in Hamont; the church should be separate from the college and not as expensive as the one in Hamont (February 2, 1905, BL-757).

Burkard, the former superior no longer felt at home in Welken-raedt and therefore wanted to live outside the community until he could find a bishop. Another priest who had lost his vocation joined him. Following to the new stricter rules of the Congregation, Rome ordered them not to leave Welkenraedt: they had to look for a bishop by writing (March 5, 1905, BL-763). They both found bishops the following spring (Baltimore, Kansas, USA and Salzburg).

On August 8, 1905, Jordan legally concluded in Dolhain the act of donation "among living persons and irrevocably" with the families of Cornel Ernst and Philomena Pelzer. Both houses, rented until then, now became property of the community.

But the new superior had troubles in his house. He did not like building. The 5 priests contented themselves with pastoral supply work.

In 1906, Jordan had to forego a visitation trip for health reasons. He sent the superior of Drogens as his personal representative to Welkenraedt and Hamont "to benefit the colleges and the peace among their members!" (November 24, 1906, BL-903). Unlike Hamont, he could only report good news about Welkenraedt. The present superior was taking care of order and discipline. The members were content. The new developing college would be wonderful (Drogens, December 5, 1906).

2.41/65. Vienna II. The parish in Vienna II was getting an increasingly secure foothold. At the same time Vienna kept its bad reputation in Rome. Even before the latest rash of departures, Fr. Antonio had called it "the tomb of vocations" (Lüthen to Muth, November 27, 1902). Muth defended himself against such a generalization. He requested two priests to give religious instruction there to about 2,000 pupils. After the Vienna parish had provided rooms for a boys' home, on December 8, 1904, the sisters took it over solemnly. Toward the end of 1903, good contact had been established with the archdiocese: the Society would take over the pastoral care of the parish on the conditions that religious instruction would be paid for, a building site for a parish house would be included, and the *Kirchenbauverein* would raise 4,000 Kronen annually (October 8, 1903).

The superior also intended to erect a health center and turned for this purpose to the Archduchess Maria Josepha, who preferred sisters of another Congregation (February 13, 1905). In April, Fr. Theophilus Muth could begin building the community. State approval for the sisters was delayed due to the missing chancery approval. Due to the death of Auxiliary Bishop Schneider much remained unresolved there: "Oh now I must have patience" (Muth to Jordan, March 10, 1905). On May 23, 1905, the superior inaugurated a children protection station for 50 poor girls (6-12 year olds) and had it opened by Burgomaster Lüger.

After the sisters' general chapter, the men's superior of Vienna II worried that they would give up the care of the sick. He turned to Jordan to prevent their leaving. This, in fact, would have been the best support to the *Los von Rom-Bewegung* (Free From Rome Movement) (January 14, 1906). To Jordan, the superior's concern seemed unfounded: "was not healthcare in Kaisermühlen already in place before the chapter? It has not been given up." Muth was eager to

keep the Maria Theresien Hospital. Auxiliary Bishop Marschall only shook his head about such "directives" coming from a sisters' chapter. He simply called it short sightedness, and Muth asked Jordan (January 13, 1906) to petition the Cardinal Vicar to acknowledge the sisters in Vienna.

Jordan charged Mother Mary to take care of it. She simply told the superior: "The cardinal may give his blessing and permission for Vienna IV orally" (March 12, 1906). This did not help Muth at all. He asked in return why the Cardinal Vicar was against the canonical introduction of the sisters in the Archdiocese of Vienna. He could ask the nuncio for support; But before that he wanted to know whether Cardinal Respighi "was against the introduction of the sisters generally or only against their work in nursing the sick" (March 26, 1906).

At that time, the sisters were quarreling with the doctors who were vexing the sisters for wanting to play physician. Muth warned Jordan: If the sisters leave, secular forces will come or *Diakonissen*. The sisters had to mellow, especially their superior. "Lately she seems to lack mildness and humility. As much as the sisters had been praised until now, so much they will soon be criticized" (March 23, 1906).

"Most fantastic rumors and suspicions" prompted by the intervention of the Apostolic Visitor, Fr. Esser OP, and the sisters' General Chapter were delaying the approbation of the sisters in Vienna. On her visit there, Mother Mary herself "hardly calmed" the men's superior "by her diplomatic answer" (October 10, 1906). He now chose to go through Pfeiffer, who soon gave him a favorable answer: the sisters would not give up their activity in Vienna. Thus he could initiate the canonical introduction of the sisters there.

The 4 priests enjoyed their new home, which offered space to 20 people. They also took over pastoral care of Bohemians. In 7 schools they instructed over 2,600 pupils. So each priest had to give about 30 lessons weekly. Activities of the Catholic associations was greatly appreciated.

How highly the work of the priests in Vienna was esteemed was shown by the celebration of the patronal feast of Sacred Heart Church. Mayor Dr. Lüger joined the great procession as well as Nuncio Granito Pignatelli di Belmonte. A company of Hungarian Infantry, Regiment Nr. 101, fired the salute (SM 5/1904). The priests in Vienna X experienced the same esteem, when the nuncio celebrated

Mass on the patronal feast of the Society, Mary, Queen of the Apostles. Also on June 24, 1906, the nuncio stayed with the priests in Vienna II, and on June 29, in Vienna X. In January 1907 the sisters took over the direction of the home for female workers in Vienna IX (Roßau).

In Vienna X, 9 priests and 3 brothers were active. Over 6,000 pupils were instructed in 220 weekly lessons. (Among the city schools was also the distinguished but unrelated school of the Daughters of the Divine Savior.) The church building association of Holy Apostles counted 1,700 members. The various Marian sodalities as well as the young men's association were taken care of with particular love and blessing. The boys' home for 30 boys was always fully occupied.

In spring, the superior of Vienna X received an offer to take over an orphanage. Jordan had to decline as he had no forces at his disposal (April 27, 1905). What caused him still more concern was the unrest of two highly esteemed pioneers of Vienna X. The former superior and current director of the church building association asked for transfers. The former general consultor wanted to transfer to an older order. Jordan had to refuse their requests and ask them to struggle against such temptations. "We must suffer very much for the cause of God. . . . We must persevere according to the will of Providence." To their common superior in whom he could fully trust, he confided: "How often, my son, would I have had to leave the Society at the many contradictions we can't avoid meeting in this world," and he asked him heartily "to carry on the burden of his office" (cf., January 17, March 27 & 30, June 15, 1905).

2.42/66. Jägerndorf; Frs. Pientka and Kneringer. In May 1905, an alarming letter reached Jordan from the superior of Meseritsch, who as commissar since May 28, 1905, had to oversee Jägerndorf. Pastor Nathan in Branitz had given 20,000 Mark for the new construction in Jägerndorf on the signature of Fr. Cyril Braschke, who had repaid Nathan the interest. Fr. Zeno Benz had promised to repay the loan in full by April 1, 1905, and for this purpose said he intended to take out a loan on the new construction. This loan, however, had already been taken on Christmas 1904! But the priests had used the money differently without saying anything about it to Pastor Nathan. Braschke demanded that the two priests, Blasius Pientka and Ubald Kneringer, be transferred immediately—these "rough people full of

artifice." He also said Benz was incompetent and had let himself be led completely by Pientka, his bad spirit (May 17, 1905). Rome had no possibility of raising 20,000 Mark so quickly. But 5,000 could be sent. The superior of Meseritsch reported to Jordan:

The priests in Jägerndorf have no possibility to pay the rest of about 15,000 Mark to Pastor Nathan. They are embittered because Rome does not give the guarantee, but wants to set an example. The priests would defend themselves to the utmost and also go to the Congregation.

Fr. Cyril asked Jordan not to extinguish the smoldering wick, but to help them so as not to lose Silesia for centuries (May 24, 1905).

In early June, Braschke visited Jägerndorf. Only Pientka was at home. The superior had already been out for a few days, Pientka did not know where. Braschke informed Jordan of this and noted: during a visitation the priests were away with the excuse of supply work. Kneringer had taken lodgings at a local hospital and refused to return to the community. His excuse was the cook (female). Pastor Nathan still had to get 12,000 Mark by June 17. Benz had probably left because Braschke had announced his visit beforehand. In the coming week, the archbishop was to be in Jägerndorf. "One hopes they will be at home then" (Troppau, June 9, 1905).

Without giving notice, Benz had departed for Rome to make a report. He wanted to reconcile, but at the same time to ask for other confreres (June 10, 1905). On June 12, he started his return journey. Then from Jägerndorf came the unbelievable news: Benz and Pientka were making peace. Lüthen communicated this to the commissar in Meseritsch: "At present I cannot keep silent about it" (July 3, 1905, G-37).

The two priests who had remained in Jägerndorf continued their trouble making. The superior of Meseritsch nearly despaired. He begged Jordan to help: the superior of Jägerndorf was still "run away." The Prussian clergy were against him and on the side of Pastor Nathan. He now intends to go the district attorney against us. Now the very existence of the foundation depended on repaying of the debt of 12,000 Mark within 2 months. In Jägerndorf all sources are exhausted by the "latest strike and discord of the priests." The archbishop will not help. Rome is the only solution. Braschke did not know what to do.

The thought, that the two months might pass without being ready to repay the 12,000 Mark to Pastor Nathan is already making me frantic, and I really do not know what I shall do then. I would thank God if He let me die in his grace before.

In fact, the community in Meseritsch would also lose face and be finished. "To have worked for 10 years here, and then to drown so miserably, that would be too sad!" Then Braschke proposed as the last possibility to cover this difficulty, that Jordan should personally assume the guarantee to Pastor Nathan, that he would get his money by September 1, 1905. In fact, the honor of the Society, of the Founder, and "of my honor and my future" were at stake (June 15, 1905).

Rome had ordered Kneringer to leave the hospital. He, however, refused to return to the house because of the "women matters," and simply left. Braschke met him by chance on the train: "At present he does not know where to go" (June 19, 1905). Kneringer traveled to Vienna in order to leave the Society. In Jägerndorf everything remained "higledy-piggledy" (Braschke to Jordan, June 21, 1905).

Jordan wrote almost daily to this or that confrere in Jägerndorf (June 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18). But the "inferno" raged on. "One has sworn the downfall of the other," Braschke described the relation between Benz and Pientka (June 23, 1905). Braschke received from the generalate the order to reside in Jägerndorf. He refused for reasons of conscience. At that time nobody could keep his place in the house except Pientka and the cook. With the Leobschützer Bank a delay on the repayment of 12,000 was reached, but with the threat of foreclosure if the terms were not observed. The superior of Meseritsch traveled as "Msgr. Everywhere," as Lüthen nicknamed him, through Silesia and Hultschiner Land, to find some help.

Benz and the peaceful Fr. Sulpicius Breitkopf were ready to reenter the college in summer. But they requested the transfer of Pientka. He, however, defended himself violently: "He won't go away from Jägerndorf, even if he were to shoot a bullet through his head" (July 10, 1905). Jordan was conscious of his defenselessness against such priests: "One has to be careful with these people in order not to embitter or provoke them" (Drognens, July 31; Athus, August 3).

On July 23, the superior of Meseritsch asked Jordan to come immediately, as Pientka refused to accept the transfer. If suspended, he would remain in Jägerndorf as a layman and work against the

Society and Benz. In time, Pientka became more tractable in regard to his threats, but he continued fending off a transfer. Now he pretended to have heart troubles (August 8, 1905). To Jordan this was no reason: "He had heart trouble already here at the general chapter (he had had an attack)."

The generalate wanted to transfer the restless priest to Meseritsch; the superior of Vienna II had proposed this to protect his own community from such a confrere. But Braschke defended himself desperately against this "quite common subject," who was not worthy to wear the habit of a religious priest. He found it sad the Society had no means of taming such a man without ruining a whole community. He again reminded everyone that by September 1, the 12,000 Mark were to be paid, "or else the college would come under the hammer without mercy" (August 11, 1905).

On September 1, Braschke was with Pastor Nathan in Branitz and from there wrote to Jordan that the pastor was expecting the check (Sep-tember 1, 1905). In the meantime, a loan of 12, 000 Mark had been found.

Jordan had wanted to visit Jägerndorf in August (Vienna, August 17). From Trzebinia wrote to Rome that he would go to Jägerndorf the next day (August 22). First he paid a visit to the shamelessly misused Pastor Nathan in Branitz. But he did not find the inner strength to go to the new community itself: "I shall not go to the college;" instead he let the priests (with the exception of the rebellious Peintka) come to Branitz. Two (Benz and Breitkopf) showed much good will and confessed their mis-takes" (August 25). Benz exchanged assignments with a priest from Vienna, who temporarily took over direction of the college (September 2, 1905). The new superior, Leodegar Gütlein, no less than his predecessor, demanded the transfer of the two troublemakers (September 18, 1905).

Gütlein, who was helping out in Jägerndorf only temporarily, refused to accept the two priests Becker had wanted to send. He refused this as chicanary. Jägerndorf was not a dumping ground for priests disagreeable to the superior of Meran (September 25; October 1, 1905). Gütlein himself was considered to be a capricious hothead, energetic, but suspicious; so he would not be the right full-time man for Jägerndorf (Braschke to Jordan, September 21, 1905). He himself continued urging Jordan to get new personnel as soon as possible. The Founder could only beg insistently for him to have patience: "You

won't doubt my good will to help you, but I cannot *ultra posse*. . . . You certainly act unjustly if you now leave the battlefield." Jordan admonished him to mildness and firmness (October 13, 1905).

Nor could Gütlein immediately come to an accord with the superior of Meseritsch as commissar. He accused him along with Jordan of instigation against him (November 6, 1905). He even threatened "if the matter of the transfer of the two priests was not resolved, he would "leave the college after December 1" (November 21, 1905). A week later, that threat was followed by a further extortion; he requested by telegraph the answer in regard to a ready remedy, or he would go back to Vienna (November 28, 1905).

Just in this critical time, Jordan could not force a transfer. Gütlein objected to Jordan: "I think that your delaying is partly responsible for the ruin of the college because my proposals do not find a ready ear with you" (December 8, 1905). However, he declined every confrere offered to him from Rome as not agreeable (December 19, 1905).

At the beginning of the new year Gütlein reminded Rome he could not raise the interest on the loan of 12,000 Marks (December 28, 1905). Jordan won the always helpful Weigang to involve himself in repaying the debt to Pastor Nathan. Despite his age, Weigang traveled in the nasty months of October to December to South Germany (Saulgau, October 11 to December 23, 1905) to knock at his friends' doors. The rest of the due sum he should get as a loan from good creditors. For his part, Pastor Nathan met Jordan to ward off impending disaster for the Jägerndorf community (cf. November 24, 1905, G-39).

The three confreres, who along with the local superior, Fr. Zeno Benz, had built the house in Jägerndorf to the debt of the Society and to the regret of Jordan, no longer felt at home in the Society and by 1906 found "benevolent bishops," one in Leitmeritz and two in Prague.

In *Fr. Jordan and his Foundations*, Pancratius Pfeiffer in noble regard to surviving "co-actors" plays down the Jägerndorf building scandal, saying: the young priests wanted to prepare a pleasant surprise to the Founder by suddenly presenting a finished house. Such an evaluation is kind, but not historical. Here follow biographies of Pientka and Kneringer with special regard to their recall from Jägerndorf.

Fr. Blasius (Adolf) Pientka was born June 29, 1872, in Bittkow, Upper Silesia. After elementary school he studied gardening (January 1, 1887-1889, December 31). Through *Apostel-Kalender* he heard of the Society. On March 15, 1890, he joined in Rome and made profession on October 4, 1891. He at once began with philosophy and earned his PhD. and in summer 1896 he was ordained. In 1898, he came to Vienna II, and in the following year went to teach in Meran. He was Meran's delegate to the First General Chapter where he made himself leader of the opposition.

After a disagreement with the superior of Meran, Pientka came to the new foundation in Jägerndorf. From there he defended himself (October 8, 1903). Lüthen tried to explain to him: "You have offended Fr. Christopher [Becker] by your letters, and me too. I hope that you will fix it" (December 26, 1903). Pientka wanted to initiate a process before the ecclesiastic authority and asked Pfeiffer about the *modus procedendi*: claim-ing the superior of Meran was incompetent for his office because he had kept silent in regard to a scandalous relation known to him. Scornfully he added that Jordan had confronted him once because of an amorous story: "Now I am also clued in, especially as this is about more than just an amorous story" (January 25, 1904). Pfeiffer advised him not to dredge up the past (January 28, 1904). Pientka raged on with Lüthen against the superior of Meran, who to him was a "rascal." In regard to the building in Jägerndorf, Pientka confessed self-consciously:

The trust of the priests here has put the main burden of the building on my shoulders. We manage by ourselves and I was put in charge of building, which means that all joys and sorrows of the building are to be born by me first and mostly quite alone (July 10, 1904).

In a letter to Lüthen he complained of being continuously misunderstood:

Before the general chapter, Satanic malice made me the "greatest agitator" who wanted to bring down the General. Now they go even a step further and mark me as a liar. Last summer I put my health at risk for the Society, this now is the reward. I feel that one wants me sickened out. Is this Christ's spirit?

He threatened that if Lüthen continued protecting criminal confreres and oppressing unwanted ones, "Satan's blessing would not be missing" (1905).

After these happenings Jordan had to recall him from Jägerndorf. He resisted and assured the Founder: "The tricks I have made I have repented of several times before the Heart of Jesus, and I am ready to do penance." But a transfer was a punishment which would deprive him of all his priestly honor with the people.

I shall now appear as a sacrilege without being able to defend or justify myself. This is the bitterest to me of all that I have experienced until now! I implore you, Venerable Father, in the name of all that is holy to you, do not take away from me my honor.

He pointed to his weak heart. He would either not outlive this shame, or he would have to bear the consequences throughout his life.

I beg you, Venerable Father, with God the Almighty, do not trample my life. The thought of being dishonored is terrible to me, and I ask you on my knees, Venerable Father, suspend the sentence till the visitation.

He assured Jordan that he had made complete peace with the superior and promised to abstain from all his faults (Petersdorf, July 5, 1905). He wrote similarly to Lüthen on the same day. He threatened to shoot a bullet through his head, if he had to go (July 11, 1905, G-38). Rome took seriously this threat of a psychologically unstable man.

Lüthen wrote to the superior of Meseritsch to revoke the "three-fold admonition" and to treat Pientka "with patience, not to provoke him further" (July 26, 1905). He tried to appease: "Fr. Blasius [Pientka] acts in blind zeal; his stories are warning shots, which he may get patented." As the generalate did not react to his "Act of Contrition," Pientka continued defending himself by saying that he could not travel.

To go into death is what not even the pope can order me to do. And should it be, then I shall be carried out of this college as a corpse; this is not refusing obedience, this is God's help, whom I have asked to protect me against these rascals (August 1, 1905).

He requested 30,000 Kronen as repayment for the good health he lost while building, and for when he would be thrown out of the community and would have to lodge privately in Jägerndorf. At

present his doctor had told him he should not get excited for fear of a heart attack. To the superior of Meseritsch he wrote that he would only be able to travel to Vienna when his heart was well again (September 6, 1905). Lüthen only remarked: "Driveller!"

The superior of Jägerndorf continued urging a transfer for the sake of the honor of the community and for the Society itself (August 31, 1905). On this occasion, Fr. Zeno Benz asked Jordan "once more to pardon all the injustice he had done." In the future he would only cause Jordan much pleasure (August 31, 1905). Jordan admonished the latter's successor: "Arm yourself with great patience and do not let yourself be irritated by Fr. Blasius. Do not provoke him in any way, but pray for him. At any rate, he must leave Jägerndorf" (Rome, September 18, 1905).

Pientka was for the present (and only temporarily) transferred to Vienna X (Meran, September 11, 18, 24, 1905). He however, did not want to be assigned a definite job and wrote to the superior: he could not accept to teach, as he was ill; but he needed a room, beer and cigars. The superior explained to Jordan: "Fr. Blasius gets like the others 24 -26 lessons. Work, in fact, makes life sweet" (September 4, 1905). Now Pientka went to Vienna, slept in a hotel, and stayed in Vienna II during the day. Jordan ordered his transfer to Hamberg to get him out of Vienna, where he nowhere complied (October 26, 1905). This transfer caused him "such excitement, that he visited various towns to get calm again" (December 10, 1905). On December 10, 1905, he showed up in Vienna X, but only as "guest."

Pientka won the superior of Vienna II to put in a good word for him with Jordan. He wrote that Pientka was still ill. He was not a saint, maybe not even a good religious. Perhaps he was looking too much for comfort, did not speak "reasonably," swore and belittled sacred things. But accusations that he had lost his faith, or that he wanted to commit suicide, could not be sustained without compromising him in every way. He had made mistakes and offended authority. If he had been given the occasion, he would have humbled himself and confessed his mistakes. Without knowledge and without the order of the higher superiors, he had been accused, charged and in a certain sense even sentenced. The superior had not called his attention to his mistakes, but even cooperated (Vienna, September 29, 1905). This support from the superior of Vienna II was laudable but flew in the face of the facts.

Pientka finally had to submit and transfer to Hamberg. From there he asked Fr. Columban Brunner in Rome to submit for him a petition for dismissal. He wished to enter the Diocese of Passau.

The way you have taken, I intend to take too. With all my good will, it is not possible to stand it. I still suffer the consequences of the general chapter and shall escape persecutions. . . . Must I inform Fr. Jordan before? (January 9, 1906).

The letter reached Pfeiffer who passed it on to the Congregation (January 20, 1906). They requested an opinion (February 8, 1906, A Rel 231/16).

Pientka explained his situation to Pfeiffer. He was currently on his way to Altötting for retreat. His leaving was self-evident following the treatment he had experienced. People just wanted to get rid of him.

How did Reverend Fr. General vent his anger against me in Branitz? Why was the principle *Audiat et Altera pars* trampled on? The information of Fr. Leodegar, that I was transferred from Vienna to Hamberg, has shocked me. I was not able to read the letter of Reverend Fr. Lüthen in Vienna. Up to now I do not know what was written in it although I stayed in Prague for some days to calm myself down.

Vienna II wanted to help him but could not. In Vienna X he had been refused. In Hamberg he was not able to stay. "With Vienna one has made a fool of me, putting me into a house of study where he didn't want go." Now, at the age of 34 he would have to begin as a *Cooperator*. "But when in need Satan eats priests. To me the dilemma is now: salvation of soul or getting bogged down morally, to which idleness has naturally inclined me" (Hamberg, January 23, 1906).

Back from Altötting he again vented his anger that Jordan did not even want to see him in Branitz, but that he had to make room for the young Fr. Suplicius Breitkopf. "So my action is just one facet of the whole treatment, and the treatment has one purpose: to harry me out. Oh, unchristian in a Christian monastery!" (to Pfeiffer, Passau, February 5, 1906). He found a position in Laurahütte, Silesia.

Pientka continued defending himself against the calumnious talk, which was circulated against him in Jägerndorf. He threatened to proceed against the gossips. To tag him as the composer of the *Twentieth Century* article, "this is, modestly said, vile" (to Pfeiffer, Laurahütte, March 7, 1906).

Lüthen informed the superior of Vienna II, who was the best at managing Pientka, that he had left. One should send him his certificates (if they were there) to Laurahütte. Then Pientka requested his certificates from Pfeiffer. He underlined:

I have not repented my step even for one moment. Fr. Cyrillus [Braschke, superior of Vienna X] and Fr. Bartholomäus [Königsöhr, superior of Meseritsch] had him on their conscience . . . In pastoral activity he had found his satisfaction. So God has directed everything to the best.

He again threatened a legal proceeding against the confreres in Jägern-dorf if they continued spreading calumnies against him (Auscha, June 5, 1906). The superior of Jägerndorf denied to Jordan that the house had calumniated Pientka in town. To the contrary, Pientka had calumniated him to Fr. Cyril Braschke. The superior demanded that Pientka's address be sent to him so that he could clear up everything (June 11, 1906). Lüthen noted on the letter briefly "Prudence surpasses frankness."

The former Fr. Blasius Pientka later became pastor of Lewin, Bohemia. From there he requested from the Czechoslovak government the certificate of his studies. (The *matura* it should be indicated, sounded so good.) Fr. Theophilus Muth in Vienna had at that time not allowed him to take the *Abitur* (January 1925). Later he sent money to the general, for he wanted to keep the image of Jordan in honor. Pfeiffer thanked him: "Stay a good Salvatorian in your heart!" (December 12, 1931).

Fr. Ubald (Winfried) Kneringer was born August 9, 1875, in Soldern near Pfunds in Tyrol. After elementary school he spent six months at the teachers' training school in Innsbruck (September 1892 till Candlemas 1893). After his father's death he was without any means (his mother remarried; there were many brothers and sisters). On February 2, 1893, he joined the Society and dedicated himself to the *humaniora* for three years. On October 4, 1896, he made his profession and was ordained on June 9, 1900. The last two years of theology he studied in Freiburg.

Fr. Ubald now came to Meran as a teacher. Because of his quite peculiar family situations and because of one acquaintance, Becker requested his transfer (to Jordan, November 17, 1901). Jordan sent him to the new house of Jägerndorf, where he really didn't like it.

The superior could not use him as he wished to be employe (Benz to Jordan, April 12, 1902). Kneringer wanted to return to Obermais-Meran, but the local superior there defended himself: "I think, that he will still cause much trouble! An unclear, stormy head and, in addition, arrogant (to Jordan, May 1, 1902). But Kneringer did return to Meran. The superior was upset about this scandal (to Jordan, May 30, 1902). This could not be tolerated: otherwise we get "the reputation for having no discipline, being governed by our subjects; back to Jägerndorf, at least for half a year" (to Jordan, June 7, 1902). The superior of Jägerndorf agreed: "Transferring Fr. Ubald back will diminish his pride." When he is "converted," the superior in Meran will re-accept him (Benz to Jordan, June 13, 1902).

Soon difficulties arose in Jägerndorf. The superior complained that Kneringer was too free in his contact with women and that he had enemies in the community (Fr. Ladislaus Gollais) who attacked his honor (to Jordan, September 30, 1903). Also from Meran came accusations. Kneringer threatened to go to church and civil courts as these accusations were nothing but Becker's revenge (Benz to Jordan, October 17, 1903). In Rome the priest's procedure against Meran was judged as "quite unjust" (Lüthen to Benz, October 20, 1903). Kneringer found help through a sister in the hospital who defended him and attacked both Benz, the house superior, and Fr. Blasius Pientka. Ubald remained a difficult confrere and exploded at "mild disapproval" (Lüthen, March 27, 1904).

In spring 1905, he decided to petition for dismissal. He wrote to Jordan, Lüthen and Benz: "Fr. Blasius has often in the community said that Fr. General had said, 'it would cause him only joy, when priests leave, even if there were 60.' In the Society I have not met with justice." He was fighting against Byzantines and Pharisees. He required the removal of Pientka and the female cook. "I can no longer enter the house without the fear of being shot down or poisoned. A man like Fr. Blasius with his irascibility is capable of murder. His every second word is revol-ver . . ." (Jägerndorf, June 7, 1905). Lüthen noted on this letter: "Fr. Blasius has threatened several times," and called as witnesses the superiors of Jägerndorf and Meran.

In July 1905, Kneringer had withdrawn to his brother, who was chaplain in St. Martin near Schwaz. From there he informed Jordan that the abbey and convent of Stams had agreed to receive him, and the Bishop of Doubrava as well. He managed to publish an article

“Bernatzky und Pientka” in the Arbeiter-Zeitung and in Silesian Volkspresse.

He felt he had in fact, to defend his honor. He could not be made “honor-less and defenseless” by a woman. Kneringer requested again the removal of Pientka and the cook from Jägerndorf and his reassignment there, or as a way out, his transfer to the USA on condition that announcements would appear in the newspapers of Silesia. If they did not accept, he would ask for dispensation to be received into the Diocese of Köing-gärtz (St. Martin, July 29, 1905). Jordan wrote with trembling hand on the letter: “For trial entry . . . allowed with the Cistercians. August 6, 1905.”

A month later, Kneringer renewed his petition to be transferred to the USA. It was his duty to save his priestly honor, something Jordan could decide without his consulta. Jordan, however, could not let himself be put under the pressure of conscience.

Kneringer went to Stams to ask for admission (Stams, November 12, 1905). There too, things did not work out as he wished. Pfeiffer stated: Fr. Ubald can leave if he finds a bishop (May 17, 1906). He tried in Russia but soon returned home. “There I would have got lost physically and psychically.” He now tried to be admitted into the Archdiocese of Prague (Prague, St. Emaus, August 25, 1906). He became chaplain in Graszitz (September 27, 1906).

Already on August 29, Pfeiffer, based on the special power given to Jordan by the Congregation, had sent Kneringer a certificate that he could change over to the status of diocesan priest. The archbishop requested him to make up for the *Abitur*. The latter declared himself ready to take the *Matura* within 2 years (March 12, 1907). Then he began work in the Diocese of Prague.

On October 27, 1923, Archbishop Franz Kordač received him into the Diocese of Brixen. Now Fr. Winfried Kneringer became associate pastor in Silz. On July 30, 1924, he asked for re-admission to the Society of the Divine Savior. In doing so he confessed:

Fr. Jordan had asked me not to take this step; I laughed at him almost shamelessly and strode past him. Then he stretched his trembling right hand towards me to bless me saying quite quietly:
You will return!

As proof of how the two troublemakers of Jägerndorf anticipated back in 1903 the press attack which broke out in 1906, there follows a

faithful summary of Kneringer's self-defense. The forum he used to deliver this was a phoney "house chronicle."

Several times, particularly in 1902-03, Kneringer was reported to higher superiors for causing scandal through "certain tactlessness" and "other liberties in communication," which endangered his priestly honor." The immature and self-righteous priest grew furious over such accusations and requested exoneration in a canonical procedure. In invincible pride he rejected the admonitions from Rome as unjustified. The confrere he thought to be his main accuser, he denounced in Rome as having betrayed the seal of Confession. Lüthen tried patiently, but in vain, to bring Kneringer to reason. But to the contrary, in January and February 1903, he wrote his self-defense to "make a way to the truth" and so later to experience a more just judgment.

Kneringer packed his libelous pamphlet into the form of a *Chronik des Salvator-Kollegs Jägerndorf* for the two years 1902-1903 in a rather odd way. As he only arrived in Jägerndorf at the end of June 1902, he intentionally altered the house chronicle, rewriting selected passages of the real 1902 house chronicle up to August 1902. He called him contemptuously "our famous informant," for he was in a hot feud with him. Kneringer's chronicle had nothing to do with a true house chronicle. He chose documents and events which seemed to support his aim: to highlight his personal sincerity, to point out the confrere odious to him (particularly in the generalate) and especially to attack and to compromise in a shameless manner Jordan and Lüthen. The pamphlet, as it is preserved, comprises 46 folio pages, 8 of which are missing.

He wrote about himself in the third person, but as chronicler he inserted, wherever it seemed opportune, sarcastic comments which are revolting to read. Above all, he attacks the Byzantine and egoistic self-promotion, the "dark room of the *regimen Romanus*." He selectively cites from the letters of Jordan and Lüthen. To an admonition of the latter, that the confreres of Jägerndorf should "be all one, like me always one with the Venerable Father!" he lets follow the commentary: "Bad tongues! Admit that Rev. Fr. Bonaventure governs the Society along with Fr. Pan-cratius Pfeiffer. According to this version it would in fact be very simple and easy 'to be one with the Venerable Father!'" In his malicious "stray-ings" Kneringer compares at some time with a "certain Hofbauer," who in 1802, "with

his limitless cohort of fanatics arrived in the Wallfahrtskirche in Fribourg: "if one inserts 1902 and Fr. Jordan, the matter fits perfectly. His driving force is not the *zelus domus tuae*, but the money bag!"

On March 8, 1902, Kneringer was transferred to Jägerndorf. First he went to "his closer home." Only on April 11 did he arrived in Jägern-dorf via Munich (Hofbräuhaus!) and Vienna. 3 weeks later he returned to Meran. Kneringer added that Lüthen had left the decision to him to return to Meran, if he did not like being in Jägerndorf (April 26, 1902). He had made as his condition to be able to work in the same position. Rome had not been against it. He returned to Meran. The local superior there put in his veto, "Which one could eventually throw against a criminal." Knerin-ger called his "humble subjection" a pure "politics of eat crow or die." After retreats with the Jesuits in Feldkirch, he declared himself ready to return to Jägerndorf. But he also set conditions for remaining there: a trained cook must come; one confrere must be transferred out; the superior had to show more strength.

If these conditions were not fulfilled, I would doubt my vocation to the Society. These lines won for me the nickname 'volcanic spirit' and occasionally the claim that I knew how to run the word.

The pages that follow contain absurdities of a man who was psychologically unbalanced. He could not restrain his poisonous remarks. So he flew into passion about the "green table politics" of Rome, when he received a letter barring him from taking a position as catechist in Vienna. "For whom do we sacrifice our energies? Not for immortal souls? According to the principles of Rome, probably for Mammon." In regard to Jordan's visitation in August 1902, he remarked: "It is almost general conviction of good and bad sons, that this journey had been a provocation and not a visitation, and that in any case it had been better not to make it."

With this the first 17 pages of this pseudo chronicle conclude. The next 20 pages copy the *Meraner Notizen* of Fr. Blasius Pientka—the notes on Jordan's visitation trip in 1902, as well as his "counter-protocol" to the First General Chapter. Only on page 37 does Kneringer return to his self-defense and lampoon of others. As camouflage he added some items from the foundation: building plan, cook (female), etc. Odious remarks against "cold and heartless" Rome and Lüthen's letters are also included. On the last 5 pages Ubald dedicates himself completely to his defense and to con-demning his

confrere. (The accusation that he broke the seal of Confession was considered unproven in Rome.) In the end it was the word of one man against the other. With indignation he states: "Rome would hardly let its creatures fall, liars and hypocrites. . . . Lying, hypocrisy and base senti-ments have triumphed once more over the truth."

In regard to his own cause Kneringer painted himself not only unrealistically, but cynically repulsive and ambiguous:

Having passed such a school in the Society, I don't mind whether Rome considers me to be an adulterer, a forger, murderer or arsonist; before God and my conscience I am who I am, and not who Rome would like to make me; I am not weak and miserly like other people.
Vae Pastoribus!

Jordan was defenseless against the morbidly self-assured, ambitious and unkind priest. "One must be very careful with these people so as not to embitter or provoke them," he noted on a confidential letter of Kneringer from St. Martin (Athus, August 3, 1905). Here he had to let Divine Providence set the course.*

2.43/67. Hamberg (II). The visitation of Hamberg by General Consultor Fr. Hilarius Gog in January 1905 was again unsatisfactory. He demanded the transfer of the superior, of the entire team of teachers, or at least of one particular priest (January 26, 1905). However, the superior, who was in the midst of his building activity would not step down; so they had to wait till the end of his term of office. Neither was Hamberg approved as a teaching institute because it lacked several certified teachers. Jordan contacted the bishop of Linz who

* Under his code word "Rome" Kneringer meant Jordan and Lüthen. In his badly composed *Chronik der Selbst-verteidigung* he gave vent to his hatred again and again. So he described a threat of his own superior to turn to the chan-cery or Congregation, if a certain confrere would not be transferred, as follows: "This helped, for Rome fears the holy Congregation and the truth more than Satan himself." For Pientka, and above all Kneringer, had wanted for some time to get rid of this priest. "Rome, however wants to keep him in order to have a Judas! Rome did not and does not want to let the hypocrite fall!" Such language alone prohibits further discussion here of the *Jägerndorf Hauschronik*, quite apart from the fact that almost half of the pamphlet contains the *Meraner Notizen* of Pientka, which have to do neither with Kneringer nor with Jägerndorf.

was willing to put one professor at his disposal. But the new superior suddenly feared a school in Hamberg-Lochau might endanger the place where he had previously taught. Therefore, he proposed instead to erect in Hamberg a novitiate for clerics (September 15-23, 1905).

Jordan, however, did not want to give up his "plan to erect a study house for candidates of our Society and to do pastoral supply work in Upper Austria near the border of Bavaria." Finally the Statthalterei declared that it would be satisfied if the superior took an examination at the chancery to be recognized as a state approved religious teacher for Austrian secondary schools. Having done this, he might serve as the responsible director of the school, because the candidates, too, were German-speaking (September 24). The superior declared himself ready to take this examination (October 15, 1905).

When Jordan visited Hamberg in September 1905, he was also thinking of a novitiate for brothers (Vienna X, August 15), as despite the number of brother candidates, he was convinced this would prepare them better (Lochau, September 6, 1905). Also that summer the appointment of the house superior was due, because the community now numbered 12 priests and 2 brothers. Fr. Canisius Werber, former superior of Freiburg and now esteemed history teacher in Lochau, could fill this office (August 15, 17, 25 & September 4, 1905).

Jordan wanted finally to realize a 4-year program. In the fall of 1904, a first class with 16 pupils could be started, but for the school year 1905-06 only 2 pupils enrolled. He hoped the new superior would be more successful in recruiting. There was space for 30 students. By fall 1908, the Society's Humaniora Commission had to provide for certified teachers in time. Those in charge were also deeply concerned about the persisting question of space, in addition to the repayment of debts.

2.44/68. Meran in the fall of 1902 opened its study house. In the school year 1903/4, 22 pupils were instructed in 2 classes. The community in the crowded Freihof had to house and maintain from 40 to 50 confreres. On March 7, 1904, the Freihof was given 6 months notice to vacate. When no suitable lodgings could be found, Jordan lobbied for a new building on the farm in Obermais. The superior handed in good plans but the generalate made many changes. Jordan informed the superior: "Sorry, but many corrections had to be made to the building project"

(June 1, 1904). Fr. Christopher Becker was also asked to present the plans in all modesty to the confreres: "Only may peace not be disturbed!" (June 9, 1904, BL-712). One full week later, Luthen could tell the superior: "The house construction is now approved, but reduced; Rev. Father has now decided. It is a small sacrifice for you to give up a pet project; but: for God's sake (build on the site)!" (June 17, 1904, BL-714).

Becker asked the generalate to reconsider whether the "house of education was really in the interest of the Society" (to Lüthen, August 16, 1904). During his visit in Meran from September 9-12, 1904, Jordan purchased some more land. On his way back he made a stop in Trient to greet the new prince-bishop, Cölestin Endrici. The latter honored the community with his visit on November 22, 1904.

In addition, at the beginning of the year a foundation of sisters was under discussion. They were to take over the orphanage in Eppan. However, they could not find the requested personnel (a certified teacher and a nurse) and had to decline (April 21, 1904).

The 1904 school year began in the fall with only 15 students. Jordan was very upset that "again more than one third of the students had left. He demanded an investigation into the causes. At that time the college housed 17 priests, 3 scholastics, and 5 brothers. Among them there were a great number of sick who were consequently unable to be used. These considerably burdened the college. Jordan was often vexed by the thought "it is not good to keep all these in one house. More and more want to go there, and in the end this will cast a bad light on the Society." He promised the superior he would look for a better solution to moderate his difficult task. He pressed all the more for a new building "for a truly monastic setup." He was thankful to the superior for his agreeing to Rome's suggestion "to build the college more simply. I believe that this decision will bring blessing" (Jordan to Becker, December 19, 1904).

At the turn of the year there were well over 40 members on the Freihof. At the end of February the building was to begin. The building fund had reached 80,000 Kronen. Becker favored a new building. Jordan wanted a "house of education" for 50 to 60 persons. The superior asked himself, not without reason, whether a study house in Meran (in addition to the ones at Lochau and Hamberg) would have a future. Besides, there was no lack of religious schools in Catholic Tyrol. "I cannot pretend that sooner or later the house might

not fall into a financial crisis," he warned Jordan, and requested at least a strong fund raising brother (March 8, 1905).

The longstanding unresolved question in Lochau and Hamberg now came to the fore also in Meran: the lack of specialized teachers (botany, mineralogy). Becker (as president of the Humaniora Commission) reported to Jordan that the mood among the teachers was getting more and more pessimistic. For in spite of the general chapter three years earlier, nothing had been done to get certified teachers. Those available lacked training (April 29, 1905).

In fall 1905, Jordan sent 10 more candidates to Meran. Each was required to raise his own school fees "almost all or at least 200 Mark yearly." Jordan also appeared concerned about the influence of some confreres who had found a temporary shelter there and whose presence might be detrimental for the youngsters. "I suppose that one can *tuta conscientia* send them there in spite of the 'Wantler' we are not able to remove from you." He assured the superior: "I share your joys and sorrows and I admire you; may the Lord give you strength!" (Vienna, August 31, 1905).

From September 9-12, 1905, Jordan stayed in the Marian College in Obermais. The house was overcrowded; 14 priests, 6 brothers, 3 sick scholastics, 27 students (in 1st, 3rd and 4th class). This made Jordan happy about the new construction (in the German Renaissance style). He did not neglect to visit the prince-bishop of Trient, Cölestin Endrici.

In February 1906, Becker again had to take over direction of the college from his predecessor, after another priest, who had been named for the office resigned from the very start. Jordan asked Becker: "Be always *forma gregis*" (February 27, 1906; cf., admonitions to a superior, December 1, 1906). As Jordan himself was not up to the mark in regard to health, Jordan sent a general consultor for the yearly visitation. On July 10, 1906, the community left the Freihof and moved into the new building. On September 16, 1906, the first candidates from Meran arrived in the Roman novitiate (SM 4, 1907).

2.45/69. Narni. The superior of Narni, Fr. Protasius Schwartzhuber, wanted to build and solicited Jordan (and even the pope) for help. Jordan requested that he first present his plans. If at the shrine a house were to be built for the priests, "a committee under the bishop shall be formed; if a house for formation is to be built there, the Holy Father

can't be asked (January 4, 1903, BL-598). Jordan himself was in favor of erecting a small study house. "We must provide for Italian candidates" (February 11). So the problem was with the superior again, who was not very experienced in building (cf., May 30, 1903, BL-643).

In summer, there was excitement because of a libel. Jordan was quite against the superior accusing the slanderers in court. In any case, one had first to speak with the bishop. The superior could hardly be calmed when the community was also attacked in the local press. Jordan advised him to be silent, as it was more important that nobody should take offence at our life (July 16, 22, & 28, BL-647ff).

In the meantime, the superior had cleared his building plans. Jordan, however, could only advise him to ask the Mother of God, so that the Lord may "send us the necessary means to construct an Oblatorium" (September 30, 1903). But Schwartzhuber now wanted to fund raise locally. For this Jordan requested him to get the permission of the bishop, also because in the meantime doubts had arisen about who owned the buildings where the priests were lodging. Clearing up the problem took some time. In summer, Lüthen asked the superior: "Has the bishop, that is, the chapter, known, that it gave us in a solemn contract a property with a questionable title, and thus betrayed us?"

The superior wanted the SDS to acquire a house of its own. To Jordan the prerequisite was: "Is the activity of the priests at the Ponte so important that without an Oblatorium a property without a specific apostolate can and will be supported? Is there enough work for a (full) community?" (July 6, 1904, BL-719). For the present Jordan again requested the superior to remodel the lodgings at the shrine. Above all he should finally eliminate "the untidy kitchen and install a good one, as Jordan had requested for some time," Lüthen admonished (November 12, 1904, BL-747). About a month later Jordan inquired, "why was nothing done in regard to kitchen and dampness" (December 11, 1904, BL-750).

Only in summer of 1905, did it become clear that the cathedral chapter had been the indisputable owner of the shrine it had given to the Society (*pro foro ecclesiastico*). Now the donation was to be also legally recognized. In return for this the Society was obliged to do certain repair work at the church (September 13, 1905, BL-804).

Now, however, there was Fr. Antonio's wish on the table to ex-change Narni for Porto di Recanati. Pfeiffer was in Lochau on holiday for health reasons. Lüthen sent Jordan in Belgium the letter of the Apostolic Visitor of July 24, 1905. The Founder thought "the plan of Fr. Antonio in regard to Porto di Recanati might be advantageous" (Hamont, August 6, 1905), but he was not in favor of closing the house in Narni. "There are several more reasons for keeping the shrine than against it." Above all, he wanted first to greet the new bishop, Moretti, and hear his opinion (December 2, 1905).

The divisions within the community in Narni concerned Jordan more than their poor lodgings. Above all, one priest, Erasmus Jungbauer, found it difficult to live in the community. Jordan had to prohibit him under obedience from involving himself with treating the sick. The priest had already dabbled in this in Tivoli and had been transferred to Narni because of it. Jungbauer also looked for patients beyond the little town. He increasingly let himself be overcome by good wine and in this way repeatedly caused scandal. Jordan ordered the superior not to let the confrere out alone. But this was seldom observed. Fr. Willibald Bocka, Jungbauer's known accuser, turned again to Fr. Antonio, who simply ordered Jordan to do something (July 24, 1905).

Jungbauer, unable to see where to go or what to do, in March 1905 petitioned for dispensation from vows, saying he no longer had a vocation. Jordan was against this step, taken only on account of his known "weakness." The Congregation denied the petition (March 11). Then Jungbauer withdrew his petition for dismissal and asked to be transferred to another house where he might persevere (A Rel 18591/15).*

* Already in Tivoli, Jungbauer had made a disagreeable impression because he liked wine. The superior urged a transfer. Fr. Anselm Schauff in Welkenraedt was asked to receive the confrere in part because no wine was served there (October 6, 1904). The superior declined, and Lüthen, as vicar general responsible for questions of personnel, asked himself sympathizing: "Erasmus? Where to now!" (October 13, 1904, G-37).

The good superior of Narni opened the door, but Bocka refused at once. He wanted to enlist Fr. Antonio in defense. Lüthen asked him to wait a while: "Venerable Father is coming back this week" (September 11, 1904, G-37).

Attached to his letter of July 24, 1905, the Apostolic Visitor sent Bocka's letter of complaint against his confrere. He urged Jordan to find a way out corresponding to the complaint, but without even the slightest trouble touching the accuser. In his letter, the Apostolic Visitor also touched on another matter: the possible transfer of the community from Narni to Porto di Recanti.

On this occasion I remind you, already reasons of human nature prohibit religious from living in the house in Narni, who suffer so much because of the unhealthy rooms, above all in winter. Write to the bishop, that you will be forced to transfer your religious to another place if it proves im-possible to fix the rooms. If you wish, you may also use the name of the Apostolic Visitor. Do not think, Father General, that I am not well informed about the state of the house in Narni. More than one of my confreres, who know the place well, have confirmed to me what I have several times heard from yours. If you want me to go there nevertheless, in order to see it myself with my own eyes, I will go there. But you will understand, that it would be superfluous.

So act resolutely, the more so as the religious in Narni can easily be transferred to a large place in Porto di Recanati. In fact, Msgr. Budini, who has spoken with me and whom I have informed about the idea of a transfer stipulates that the religious have to live without falling back on the support of the Society. Meanwhile, he cares about it; and if things are possible he will send a formal request to me. In Porto di Recanati the religious would live in a small convent with church, only a few meters from the sea. So you see that the transfer would be useful, and this also from a moral point of view (D-755).

Not only the choice of expressions and underlinings, but also the hand-writing itself shows that the letter was written in deep anger.* Jordan's answer is not preserved. But on mostly blank page 4 of the Apostolic Visitor's own letter, he sketched the first point of his answer:

Fr. Erasmus is not an *ubriacone*. –Tivoli. So many measures of caution. I do not know where to transfer him. –In the meantime I try

* Since General Chapter I, Fr. Antonio always wrote to Pfeiffer. Only 2 more letters went directly to Jordan, including the "farewell letter" written after his *votum* for the *Decretum Laudis* and to end the Apostolic Visitation.

to find an-other priest for Fr. Willibald. –Bishop of Narni Visitor
(Holy See . . .).

Jordan could not but ask the lethargic superior to carry the cross a bit longer (by which he meant the two confreres). Jordan had already begun his summer visitation trip in Lochau (July 24). Lüthen sent the ungraceful letter to Belgium where Jordan planned to arrive in early August. Mean-while, Lüthen informed the visitor that Bocka would be transferred since he was not able to live with Jungbauer under the same roof.

Fr. Antonio asked quite surprised, where the idea came from to remove a priest from Narni only because he had faithfully informed his superior about the local disorder.

Punish, threaten Fr. Erasmus with being expelled; but keep in Narni the one who behaves exemplarily and who inspires the others by his good example. Persevere, for the love God, (*per carita*) not with the old erroneous system to consider as bad religious those who turn to their legal superior in order to correct disorders; punish instead the disorders and make efforts to abolish them.

In regard to Fr. Erasmus, I am also somewhat informed by the bishop of Tivoli. He cannot continue the bad wine drinking. He must be reprimanded, one must insist, one must threaten him with a canonical process. I see that the local superior is weak and wants to have his peace. Otherwise he would have already turned to the superiors and probably also have prevented the disorder of Fr. Erasmus (Rome, July 26, 1905, wherein Fr. Antonio insisted on his order of July 22).

It is incomprehensible why Fr. Antonio here returns to his old and unproven objection against Jordan and Lüthen and now speaks even of an “erroneous system” in the Society. The real problem here is a rather crude and unjustified prejudice of a man who was more concerned with canonical order [Fr. Antonio] than with the trouble of conscience of a good but, in regard to wine, weak priest.

Lüthen hurried to explain to the Apostolic Visitor that in transferring Bocka he had in no way been moved by resentment as the visitor supposed. The matter is like this:

Willibald wrote repeatedly to the Venerable Father and to me that he wished to be transferred from Narni. The latest letters are of July 4 and 9. It was he who raised the alternative to take to Rome either

him or Fr. Erasmus. Otherwise he would write to the Apostolic Visitor.

Ven. Father wrote to him, I wrote to him to have a little more patience. As we did not yet know where to send Fr. Erasmus; he himself might lovingly care for Fr. Erasmus to improve him. So we thought we had calmed Fr. Willibald. We didn't want him in Rome with his discontent (*malcontento*) character. If he now absolutely does not want to live with Fr. Erasmus, what else can we do but remove Fr. Willibald? In regard to the superior, I think we may count him among the better superiors. He is brave and zealous in religious discipline. Maybe he omitted (something) in the latest case. I am still waiting for his reports. Until now he has always informed us in regard to Fr. Erasmus, and we have given the corresponding orders each time.

Fr. Erasmus had been prohibited under vows to visit families or restaurants so as to prevent him from any occasion. If he transgresses these prescriptions, steps will certainly be taken against him. Fr. Antonio may believe that Fr. Erasmus had already given so much trouble, that it would be a grace of God to be freed from him. But being from Munich, if he did not find a bishop, "he would certainly fall into a great scandal. But *sunt certi denique fines*" (July 26, 1905).

Bocka now urged the Congregation for Religious to issue a treatment order for Jungbauer (July 31). During his visitation trip Jordan inquired about treatment possibilities for priests. The information he received by hearsay was poor (Vienna, August 15, 1905). Jordan could not shake the fear that a priest would be too abandoned in such a center. To him Jungbauer was not bad, but ill. And a sick man could be better helped with his weakness in a community.

Lüthen asked Jordan whether one could send Jungbauer to Hamont where they do not drink wine. Under obedience he should renounce alcohol and satisfy himself with substitutes (August 15, 1905, BL-795). With the superior of Narni he spoke seriously:

Fr. Erasmus caused scandal once more on the occasion of a feast. Fr. Antonio, OCD, wanted an account. He is informed about everything. Fr. Antonio wants Fr. Erasmus transferred to Porto di Recanati (August 5, 1905, BL-795. Lüthen, however, preferred Hamont, if possible).

For the day of pilgrimage of the Feast of the Nativity of Mary the superior was to send Jungbauer to a priest who would guard him. "I am really afraid. For all that, Fr. Antonio is still sitting in my

stomach. If any-thing happens" (September 5, BL-802).^{*} On November 6, 1905, the superior of Narni and Jungbauer stayed in Rome to talk with Jordan. Only on March 24, 1906, could Jordan transfer the unhappy Bocka temporarily to Noto.^{**} Later, when an opening arose in Porto di Recanati for Bocka, Jungbauer found a new home in Noto (November 28, 1906).

In early December 1905, the Apostolic Visitor himself went to Narni to inspect the lodgings. The priests were waiting for a decision in regard to their plan for a new building. Fr. Antonio had to explain to the superior that he had to submit a plan that would be more economical and realizable. Fr. Antonio was not convinced people could remain in Narni because, considering the plan materially, there was too little hope the priests could teach there (to Pfeiffer, December 9, 1905, D-758).

On March 20, 1906, the new bishop of Narni, Archbishop Cesare Boccanera visited Jordan. It was evident to him that the Shrine of the Madonna would again be a burden to the chapter if the SDS left (G-2.5).

Now the superior considered building. The Apostolic Visitor set out his preconditions (January 13, 1906, BL-824), and Jordan wanted to wait before constructing. He had no money. And building without money was forbidden (March 27, 1906). He also lacked the right man for starting such an undertaking. In addition, it was not clear yet whether the parish connected with the shrine was large enough to occupy a priest as pastor, so that he would get a state stipend (April 27, 1906, BL-850). So Jordan found it better to remodel the present lodgings (April 27, 1906).

On May 13, Jordan traveled to Madonna del Ponte to see matters for himself, before the generalate decided. In summer, the superior began to remodel "the present rooms accordingly." In fall 1906, the Apostolic Visitor inserted himself anew. Jordan asked the superior of Narni:

^{*} When going to St. Peter's, Lüthen prayed at the holy water basin, above which there is the statue of S. Theresa of Avila, to this great saint of the Carmelites, that she might implore the grace for the visitor to take the right decisions in his office (DSS III, 126f).

^{**} Bocka traveled via Rome to Noto on April 1, 1906 (G-2.5).

Inform me immediately how far you have come with the remodeling, with regularizing the lodging, etc, what are your intentions, and how about the money? Lately I have again received a serious warning from Reverend. Fr. Antonio. Is it absolutely impossible for you to prepare a comfortable home? (October 12, 1906).

Pfeiffer, who usually intervened in such things, again had to ask for breathing space. "He cannot any more." Lüthen admonished Fr. Protasius to submit a report on his building plans in good Italian for Fr. Antonio, OCD (October 15, 1906, BL-894).

2.46/70. Assam (III). After the delayed return of the mission superior, Fr. Gebhard Abele, the "hindered delegate" to the General Chapter, traveled to his native place. Jordan did not want to send the restless priest back to Assam and felt it was a question of conscience that the priest should cease collecting for the mission in his home place (August 1, 1904).

Jordan met with him in Lochau. Abele asked the Founder to let him return to the mission. He complained about the bad influence of a co-missionary, who would also be ordered home. This priest, a man who liked adventures said quite clearly to the Founder that he would leave the Society unless he were sent back to Assam or to another mission (Vienna, October 18, 1904). Immediately after this missionary's return, on the occasion of a visitation in Tivoli, Jordan informed him he would not be allowed to return to the mission.

As two more missionaries were to be recalled, Propaganda urged the Founder to send new missionaries to Assam. In a circular letter Jordan asked volunteers to come forward, "so that he might select some of them in the Lord" (February 16, 1905). Fr. Conrad Hansknecht, superior of Drognens, applied at once. Jordan of course had to refuse because the boys' Colony St. Nicolas could not spare him: "Behold, your India" (April 9, 1905). Also General Consultor Hilarius Gog was ready to go to Assam. But Jordan could not accept his offer because Lochau did not want to forego his help (Lochau, July 24, 1905).

Jordan encouraged the missionaries in Assam to persevere at their places and "in the spirit of Jesus Christ to pray, work and suffer like *alter Salvator*" (April 28, 1905). However, well aimed false rumors caused confusion and unrest among the missionaries. Jordan feared

that these "might weaken the missionaries' zeal and readiness for sacrifices." He encouraged each one "to do his duty as a good Salvatorian, fully at his post." He made clear that the Propaganda had never even hinted at taking the mission away from us. However, Frs. Abele and Dombrowski would not return, Fr. Ignatius Bethan had been recalled, and the former Fr. Pius Steinherr had left the mission and the Society (May 6).

Deliberately planted rumors about an uncertain future for Assam also made some Mission benefactors shy to give. Jordan clarified things:

As there are misunderstandings regarding our mission personnel in Assam, we hereby inform the benefactors of the mission that at present only the following missionaries belong to the Apostolic Prefecture Assam entrusted to us by the Holy See: Frs. Angelus, Gallus, Marzellinius, Cor-binian, Dominicus, Stanislaus, Bernardin and Chrysologus (8 priests). Over the winter, mission personnel will be increased again (SM 6, 1905).

Confusion also arose because the 3 missionaries who were not allowed to return to the mission, but at all costs wanted to return, kept knocking at the doors of the benefactors. Münzloher complained about the devilish quarrel which was still raging in the mission. The new missionaries were depressed and desired to return home. If the quarrel continued, the ruin of the mission was certain. Münzloher requested decisive action, so that one might know who was governing here.

As my removal is decided, I do not consider necessary any more to concern myself with further planning. I must just express my displeasure that my enemies are served with such news, while I am thrown aside and kept in the dark. Have I earned this from my spiritual Father? To be just handed over to my enemies like a lost son? I am not against my removal and ask you only to send a new superior soon; but I am against the *modus*. As superior I had the misfortune to be compelled to write against priests lacking discipline, and now I am handed over to those very ones (Shillong, April 21, 1905).

To Jordan such a confession must have caused the more pain as it was true. But how could he prevent such barbed indiscretions, whether they were true or half true?

Abele continued in good relations with "his Christians" in Laitkynsew; telling them that his being removed meant great damage to them; and it might well be that the mission would be taken away from the Salvatorians completely. Dombrowski also introduced great confusion into his former station. "These two are revolting against the mission," Münzloher reported to Rome (May 28, 1905, A PF 67007).

Bethan defended himself against a transfer or even removal (Gauhati, March 16, 1905). A revolt arose among the Christians in Shillong when he explained to them that he would be recalled although not guilty. "The sentence of the Propaganda has shocked him deeply" (Shillong, March 27, 1905).

Münzloher demanded from Jordan that Sr. Laurentia finally be recalled to the Motherhouse (Shillong, May 8, 1905). But she refused, for she had to resume her service in June. In doing so, she behaved even insolently and aggressively against the sisters' mother general (April 22, 1905, G-38). Lüthen asked back: if she had to stay in Assam, then she had to consider leaving! (July 8, 1905). Sr. Laurentia, however, had no other choice then but "to leave [the congregation] and to remain here, a matching set with Steinherr." She turned to the gentleman, to whom she had bound herself (Calcutta, August 14, 1905).

Bethan finally left Shillong. Arrived home, he avoided meeting the superior. Quite unnecessarily he talked badly about Steinherr. The latter defended himself to the Archbishop of Colonia, responsible for Essen. During his journey on August 11, 1905, from Belgium to Austria, Jordan paid a visit to Cardinal Fischer. The latter demanded strenuously that Bethan retract his untrue calumnies against his co-missionary. Jordan willingly promised to intervene. From Vienna he wrote immediately to Bethan and explained to him exactly, which calumnies he had to correct, for he was very sorry, "that the good reputation of the spiritual sons would be so damaged" (August 13, 1905).

Jordan promised Cardinal Gott, that he would as soon as possible propose to the Congregation a priest for the office of Prefect in Assam (*abozzo* of June 30, 1905, A-476; letter of June 28, 1905, A PF 67155). The Prefect of the Propaganda informed Archbishop Meulemann: "The orders to the SDS have been given according to the visitation report of the archbishop. The present prefect can, of course, remain in the mission" (July 4, 1905).

Münzloher thanked the Vicar General for his clarifying letter of June 10, 1905, but stated once more: the general consultors had not kept silent as it had been their duty (he pointed to the "Hilarius [Gog] letter" to Abele; and a letter of Fr. Barnabas Borchert to Sr. Constanzia, Shillong, July 7, 1905). In summer, Münzloher visited the Archbishop of Calcutta. The latter was pleased, as he had wanted for some time to meet him (Calcutta, August 4, 1905). From there he wrote back to the "mission superior in waiting," that he would stay put until the matter had been regulated with the other priests. Still, the archbishop had been surprised Münzloher was now being replaced (Gauhati, September 1, 1905).

In summer, Assam was upgraded politically as a proper "Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam." Dacca was the capital of this province with 32 million inhabitants. Shillong remained the summer residence of the government, which stayed 6 months at a time in one or the other city (Shillong, September 12, 1905).

The search for a fitting man to be new mission superior occupied Jordan almost through the whole year. At first he thought of Fr. Dominic Dauderer. Münzloher asked the archbishop of Calcutta for his opinion. He was not against Münzloher's replacement, but it should not be done behind his back. Münzloher also turned to Cardinal Gotti, the one ultimately responsible: "I think the Congregation doesn't want the General Superior to tell me anything about my removal." But Abele had come to know it through Gog, "I do not know why" Münzloher confesses:

I know very well my defects and weaknesses. I have taken up the office at the age of 24 without experience. I beg you to pardon me, if under these circumstances I have acted unhappily. But the procedure of Fr. Gebhard [Abele] is objectionable because it undermines the authority of the church among the people (Shillong, May 29, 1905, A PF 66962).

Münzloher also once again explained to Jordan his difficult situation as superior. Jordan answered immediately:

Dear Son!

I have received your letter. Certainly we must energetically exert all our strengths on this important mission to make it flourish. I am of the same opinion as the archbishop of Calcutta to erect a community and eventually a scholasticate in Shillong, where the entire observance is fulfilled and where the missionaries must return from time to time, which is also prescribed by a papal order.

Propaganda reproves this independence as it existed partly in Assam; as soon as a good religious life flourishes, apostolic activity flourishes as well.

Pray and pray, so that I might be able to send the right men there. If at all possible, this coming fall some brave sisters for schools will also come. The Propaganda wishes this. I shall call two sisters from America who in fall will travel to Assam.

Let us stand firmly together *in Domino* and try, so that each and all may do his duty at his post. I greet and bless you all.

Your loving spiritual Father, Fr. Francis of the Cross.

PS: As much as I know, the Khasi are limited to our mission and they have only sporadically immigrated to Dacca (June 10, 1905, A-935).*

Lüthen excused himself to Münzloher about the silence of the generalate regarding his replacement: "We did not write in order not to discourage you. We do not know yet whom to name as superior" (June 2, 1905, G-38). A week later he officially told Münzloher in the name of the generalate of Propaganda's desire to replace him. At present people were mentioning Gog as his replacement (June 10, 1905, G-38).

The question of a new mission superior was still unresolved in the fall. Once again Jordan asked Münzloher who he thought was the best replacement, particularly whether he thought Dauderer was fit. The Propaganda required "mildness of character and firmness in direction" (Lochau, September 6, 1905). Münzloher avoided taking a clear position.

Unfortunately, Bethan's bad gossip did not all prove to be false. The errant priest, Fr. Steinherr, also wanted the Society to take over his financial obligations. Jordan, as a precaution, called in the generalate and the Apostolic Visitor (July 25, 1905).

Fr. Marcus Dombrowski pressed vehemently for the freedom to return to the mission. He pressed Jordan hard with a "strict *Soli* letter." The latter had not the courage to open it. He was afraid that he would be bound in conscience to secrecy and would then as superior

* With this comment Jordan hoped to respond to Münzloher's misgivings. It could further damage the Assam Mission if Bishop Hurth incardinated Abele and Dombrowski. For every solvable problem, Jordan wanted to bring about a new beginning for the two failed priests.

not be free to act. So without having read it, he took the letter Lüthen had sent to him in Hamont to Vienna. He felt quite miserable and his health suffered from all that was being foisted upon him.

I haven't yet read Fr. Marcus' letter, as it would have hurt me deeply. Everything has its limits. Is it really my duty to read his very mysterious letter? He should deal with his superior like others do. This secrecy making, except in cases of conscience, where does it lead? You may also talk with Fr. Pancratius about the matter (Vienna X, August 14, 1905).

On August 24, Jordan sent the letter from Jägerndorf to Lüthen "to be settled. Just looking at this letter etc. I have suffered much, the old wounds were reopened." Lüthen took over the task definitively to close Dombrowski's way back to the mission. But the latter was convinced he had been treated unjustly and acted accordingly (June 25, 1906, BL-864).

2.47/71. Biographies of three ex-missionaries: Abele, Dombrowski, Steinherr who made life difficult for themselves and Jordan, and caused great grief to their spiritual father.

Gebhard Abele was born in Kaufbeuren, September 28, 1865, where he attended elementary school (1871-1877) and Latin school. From October 1880 till summer 1886 he was a pupil at Stella Matutina in Feldkirch, and beginning in October 1886, he attended gymnasium in Ravensburg. Unfortunately, he failed to qualify for the *Abitur*. So he asked for admission to the Apostolic Teaching Society, Sep-tember 13, 1887, to train as a missionary. Jordan received him into the Society on October 9, 1887. In 1888, he made his vows. In September 1891 he was ordained and, according to his wish, went into the Mission in Assam and took care of the Station Kaitkynsew (formerly Shella). The mission superior judged Abele as a brave worker, but "prickly." By Easter 1897, in a 14-page letter he was disputing the admonition he had been given by Münzloher in his rather self-opinionated way. After the great earthquake which completely destroyed the Mission in Shella, he built in Laitkynsew a new station with church, lodging-house, sisters house, two orphanages, school and printery. Being a missionary body and soul, Abele suffered because the mission was developing so modestly.

There is no enthusiasm (in our mission) because there is none in Rome, and there is none here because nothing is moving. . . . Unfortunately, it is the same here, there is no life in the mission, too little is happening, no keeping together, only utopian plans, complaints and lamentations.

Abele wanted to use the press; this is more important than instruction.

For the press I am quite alone, nobody helps me. [I want] 2 or 3 priests, but they must be brave and suitable; For Fr. Joh., Fr. Marcus, and Fr. Matth. were ramblers! (to Lüthen, March 4, 1903).

In about 1901, Abele edited a small paper for his Catholics, which was so well received in his mission it outdid the Methodist press. Soon he added a political part. The two-track paper *Zeitung Nonhialam Katholik* was prepared in the printery of his political co-operator Sib Charan Roi. Having received a warning from the English authorities that missionaries should abstain from politics, Münzloher had to intervene. Abele defended himself. Finally the Apostolic Delegate had to put his foot down. The archbishop of Calcutta supported the mission superior. He would never allow his missionaries to meddle in politics (Münzloher to Jordan, Shillong, December 7, 1903).

One day to the next, Abele felt unjustly treated: to him it seemed that church authority had abandoned one of its most successful missionaries at the behest of civil power. Now he had only one aim: to get his rights back. On April 4, 1904, he started out from his station of Laitkynsew. From Calcutta he wrote to Jordan, that on April 18, 1904, he would board the freighter "Wartburg," together with the sick Sr. Constantia, for the 35-day voyage to Hamberg. (All passenger ships were occupied.) Abele asked to be sent money in Hamberg.

Abele spent the summer at home with his mother. Meanwhile, the Apostolic Delegate had voiced doubts in Rome as to whether to let Abele return to the mission. Abele, however, wanted to get his rights in Rome, which the church authorities in India had taken from him, and then to return into his beloved mission. So he collected funds zealously at home. Jordan met with him in Lochau for a talk (on the occasion of a visitation at the end of August or early September 1904). The Founder was at that time not against Abele's return to the mission. But he had to explain to him, that he could not get the Apostolic Delegate to restore his rights, or in any way to permit missionaries to be active in politics.

In the meantime, the two visitation reports arrived from Assam. By order of the archbishop as Apostolic Visitor, Münzloher asked Jordan not to send Abele back to the mission (November 7, 1904). Abele was deeply hurt that his return was barred. That church authorities should see him as a "disobedient rebel," offended his exaggerated sense of right. To regain his rights he traveled from home to Rome, arriving on January 10, 1905. With a carefully prepared script in his defense, he turned to the Prefect of the Propaganda. He defended his two-track magazine, which he had started with the knowledge and approval of his superiors. He refuted the charge that he had been active politically without permission. He brought forward grave accusations against the mission superior, who had neglected his duty to care for the missionaries through all the years. For these last accusations he offered

Dombrowski as co-witness. The latter had six months earlier presented a report to Propaganda, but without having been listened to or having received any official answer (February 4, 1905). The 17-page defense was put *ad acta* February 6, 1905 (A PF 64943). Now Abele tried to batter down all possible doors in order to regain his rights. Meanwhile, Propaganda determined that neither Abele nor Dombrowski would be allowed to return to the mission, and both men were informed (February 8, 1906, G-38).

Jordan took the two temporarily into the Motherhouse, because they no longer belonged to the mission. "By order of higher ups he probably meant Fr. Antonio] Abele had to be transferred to another community." Jordan sent him to Lochau. As there was no room there because of construction work, he was to go to Hamberg temporarily. Jordan asked him if possible to depart "still in this week." Unfortunately, any future return to the mission was precluded (February 21, 1905). On February 27, 1905, Abele traveled from Rome to Meran, where on February 28, the superior of Meran, Becker, was asked to keep him, ". . . if it is possible. He shall share the community life as well as any other" (G-38).

Abele felt deeply offended, even irritated at the treatment he had received from ecclesiastic authority. On the day of his departure from Rome he submitted a petition for a year outside the community for health reasons. He argued that after 10 years of mission activity he had a right for a home leave. After a two-month stay in Bavaria, he had traveled to Rome in order to return to the mission. This had now been precluded. He had instead been ordered to return to Germany. However, because of his shaken health he could not remain there. The Congregation for Religious required the opinion of the superiors (February 29). Pfeiffer said in the opinion of the superiors, Abele's health was not so weak that he might not live in community. The community supporting him (Lochau) enjoyed a very good climate (March 1, 1905). On April 18, the Congregation decided to reject his petition for exclaustation (A Rel 18489/15).

Still during his stay in Rome, Abele connected with the former Fr. Columban Brunner. The latter wanted to persuade his bishop in Civita Castellana to receive Abele, too, into his diocese. The bishop declined after checking with the generalate. Now Abele dedicated himself completely to getting his rights restored, trampling whatever stood in his way. He wrote to his former station in Laitkyn-sew pleading for his right as pastor and beginning there among the Christians "a malicious agitation against his superiors" (Münzloher to Jordan, Shillong, March 27, 1905). The mission superior informed Jordan that Abele intended to initiate a process at the Congregation against the Society, "because of his money" which he had invested in the mission (Münzloher to Jordan, Gauhati, March 16, 1905).

To a friend he emptied his heart of the accumulated anger, "Are you still sticking in the Jordan cowl or have you in the meantime acquired a frock

more worthy of a human being?" Abele had heard that his friend had "taken leave from the '*porco-vecchio*'."

It would certainly not be surprising if a Jordanist threw off the cowl, and also the frock with the good Bavarian expression." L.s.m." These have also brought Fr. Pius [Steinherr] to the point of throwing off both the cowl and the frock. He's now gone back in India, and at this time he will already have arrived. He says "Better becoming a farmer in India than continue such a dog's life. It is a shame, that such a Society is allowed to exist in the 20th Century."

Abele was now looking for a bishop.

Meanwhile, I can endure the life here in Meran. It is quite nice here, the superior a reasonable man, and the others not bad. If the house were independent of Jordan, I would stay here; but as it is now, the mere thought of being a Jordanist makes me furious. Write to me soon, letters are not opened here (Meran, March 31, 1905).

The Roman friend stupidly handed over this letter in Borgo Vecchio. There they were astonished by such rough language and hateful attitude. To the superior in Meran, Lüthen wrote, "One can hardly believe an otherwise so kind man can forget himself this way (changing the Motherhouse into *porco* (!!)) *vecchio*" (May 4, 1905). Previously, Lüthen had explained the Roman view to the superior of Meran:

. . . we wanted to recommend that the Congregation return Fr. Gebhard to India; the former had decisively declined. Fr. Gebhard is now looking for a bishop. One cannot let him beg for the "call back" into the mission he expects. He must not return to Assam (April 10, 1905, G-38).

Abele not only kept the 1,000 frs. he had been given for Fr. Dominic. He also collected money by using letters which he had printed in the printery of Fr. Pius Steinherr in the name of the mission (Archbishop Meulemann to Propaganda, May 28, 1905, A PF 67007). The superior of Meran knew nothing about this extra income.

In Meran, Abele fit himself in well. He also quickly found friends for his shady opinions about the Society. The superior himself listened to him. Lüthen warned Becker: "It is certain that Fr. Gebhard will leave" (April 26, 1905).

Becker wrote to Jordan that Abele had no intention of finding a bishop. But in the previous year the bishop of Dacca had already responded positively to his petition (April 29, 1905). Lüthen answered Becker: "Fr. Gebhard is lying; he wrote that he had looked for and was still looking for a bishop" (May 5, 1905).

In the meantime, Abele had asked the Congregation for Religious for permanent secularization. He had the agreement from the bishop of Civita

Castellana and also his patrimony. Pfeiffer had to inform the Congregation that it was not clear to the religious superiors from where Abele could get his patrimony. In addition, he still had to give an account of his administration to the Prefect of the Mission (April 20, 1905). The bishop of Civita Castellana had never agreed to his incardination into his diocese. So the petition was suspended for the present (meeting, May 8, 1905, A Rel 18489).

Now Abele requested a favorable recommendation in order to find a bishop. Pfeiffer asked as a counter condition a declaration about his *dominium radicale* to thwart the priest's desire for "his property in the mission." Abele requested "a satisfactory certificate within 8 days," otherwise he would have to take the necessary steps in court. He claimed his previous declaration about the *dominium radicale* had in fact been illegal (Meran, June 20, 1905; Abele had the letter typed quite neatly on a new typewriter).

Pfeiffer had told Abele his return to the mission was prevented by Abele's own letter of March 31, 1905, which "showed his true attitude toward the Society." Abele chose to construe this remark "as simply a lame excuse. Hopefully this is the last link in the long chain of inexplicable proceedings in this matter" (Meran, June 2, 1905). To the generalate this confirmed what was "to be thought of the truthfulness of Fr. Gebhard" (Lüthen to Becker, May 5, 1905).

Abele now loved to do whatever he could to disrupt the Salvatorian administration by using the ex-Jordanist Brunner, a confidant of Fr. Esser. At the same time he did all he could to cause trouble in the mission. In doing so, he found equally dogged helpers in Dombrowski and Steinherr, "a trouble campaign of the renegades, above all Fr. Gebhard, Marcus and Pius, against the superior and the good fathers." Somehow they also found a hearing with someone in the Propaganda, so that a lobby of sorts arose against Assam, Münzloher, and Jordan (Münzloher to Lüthen, Gauhati, September 1, 1905).

One general consultor was also suspected by the mission superior of leaking the news to Abele which he later used against the mission. He referred to a letter in which Gog had written to Abele: "Fr. Angelus must at all costs resign." This letter is in itself a scandal in the administration of the Society" (July 7, 1905).

Fr. Marcellin Moltz sent Abele Jordan's letter to the missionaries of May 6, 1905, in which he explained to them the attitude of the Propaganda toward the mission and encouraged them to persevere in spite of the present "confusion," being imported into the mission (A-474).

Abele showed his gratitude most spitefully, leaving no hope he would yield or change his mind. First, he assured Moltz he had behaved as a gentlemen towards him, even though Moltz "as a Jordanist earned a tenfold anathema." He also promised not to betray him. But Abele was now starting "a detailed description of the perfidious document from Rome." Meanwhile he noted:

That I was expressly told I could return with the new missionaries in the fall, and based on this promise I was to refrain from further steps at the Propaganda. Now it is evident that the holy man [Jordan] has lied and betrayed me in order to put me aside and to obtain the *Decretum Laudis* by trickery, in which Fr. Antonio helped him. However, Mr. Jordan has been mistaken in my regard, which soon might become evident to him.

Of course I won't remain in such a reprobate Society, whether I shall or shall not return to India (Assam), I have never said nor written, and I have not been told to. On the contrary, Mr. Jordan as well as Bonaventure have explained to me that I would return in the fall.

If you, consequently have heard, that I would not return, then the reason can only be that this had been arranged by Rome and Assam. But even though now I cannot be absolutely sure to return, it would be strange if the Society of Fr. Jordan is still in the mission one year from now. *Dixi!*

With Best regards, Yours truly,
Gebhard. Abele (Meran, June 15, 1905)

Sadly for Abele, this letter, too, ended up in the hands of the Society's administration in Rome.

Meanwhile, Abele tried to connect with a Pastor Lünskens. The latter had made profession in the Society as Frater Martin on December 6, 1891, but left the Society already on September 10, 1894. After completing his studies he became curate in a north Italian parish. Abele had found his address through Brunner and now asked Lünskens to intervene with the bishop for him as a favor to their youthful friendship. He had a patrimony sufficient for him to receive a temporary, limited acceptance. Then he would be able to look for a placement elsewhere. "The main point for me is to get loose from the Jordan Brothers at present." In his letter he freely criticized Jordan's mismanagement of the Mission. In Assam "a rebellion soon exploded among the Jordanists. The reason was caused by Mr. Jordan, who exploited the Mission shamelessly." Before sending them to the mission Jordan had taken from the newly-ordained priests the money they had received at their First Mass.

Also the alms of the benefactors were kept back in Rome. All that makes bad blood, and we all decided to leave and accused Mr. Jordan to the Propaganda. Fr. Angelus traveled to Rome in to put things right, and he accomplished nothing.

Abele boasted that he had worked bravely in the mission. "But I simply did not care at all about the Society. . . . The continuous jealousy and discord among the Jordanists and the politics of Fr. Jordan, to whom the Mission only serves to raise money for this other plans," has destroyed all his successes. Now, after 12 years in India, Abele was looking for work in a brighter country than cold Germany (Meran, July 1, 1905).

Lünskens did not like intervening with his bishop for Abele. He sent the rude letter to Becker in Meran, who passed it on to Lüthen leaving to him

whether to inform Jordan, if it “does not upset him too much.” Becker noted that in Abele’s confession, “he just did not care about the Society in the past years” was enough reasons not to let him return to the mission. However, he found it advisable as soon as possible to have the complaints presented against Abele in Assam, so that at least he could not always claim that he had been judged without being heard (Meran, November 8, 1905).

In December 1905, Abele submitted a petition for dispensation. He wanted to apply for incardination into the Diocese of Dacca. January 11, 1906, the superior of Meran reported to Jordan:

The day before yesterday, Fr. Gebhard departed from here to Munich. He wanted his mother to come there because he is ashamed to return to Kaubeuren, where he had said goodbye over a year before to return into the Mission.

At the same time, Becker added his opinion: Abele had been in Meran for almost a year. He had got along well with all, had punctually taken part in the common spiritual life; he had borne the relatively long period of testing with manly calm. Another in his position could have agitated and caused discord among people. Becker stressed that he had had sufficient occasion to get to know Abele.

At any rate, Fr. Gebhard was still very attached to the Society. One can see this well most recently, and he confessed openly several times how difficult he found it to separate from something he had persevered in already 18 years, and for which he had certainly under-gone many sacrifices and privations during his 13 years in the mission.

Then Becker asked: “Venerable Father! Pardon me, when I once more dare to put in a lance for Fr. Gebhard and to ask you not to quench the smoldering wick!” Abele was embittered as he had never been listened to and had been condemned on mere gossip. He was, however “ready to ask complete forgiveness from the Venerable Father and to withdraw at once the petition to the Congregation, if only he would be allowed to return to the Mission.” Becker declared himself ready to take him back to Shillong in February for one more two-year trial. He had already agreed with Abele on this point (Meran, January 11, 1906).

On January 13, 1906, Abele again presented a petition for secularization to the Congregation, since the bishop of Dacca was willing to receive him. Back on September 17, 1905, Bishop Petrus Hurth had already promised to receive him into his mission, if he would be juridically dismissed from the Society. Pfeiffer informed the Congregation, that the Society agreed to the dismissal if the Propaganda allowed him to return to the mission. The Congregation decided to put everything aside until the bishop of Dacca asked Propaganda for permission to incardinate Abele (January 20 & 23, 1906). The generalate let the Propaganda know that the Society would be glad if Abele

would receive the dispensation and be received in Dacca. The Propaganda informed Cardinal Ferrata, that they had recalled Abele from the mission because of imprudence he had shown there. Therefore, he would not be incardinated in Dacca or in any other Indian diocese (January 30, 1906, A PF 70129). Propaganda remained "*immobilis*" in its earlier judgment. Thus the Congregation for Religious gave the generalate a negative reply (February 9, 1906).

Meanwhile, Abele lived in a Munich hotel and supervised his press attacks against Jordan's mismanagement, which he had prepared and had already begun. In this he saw "the last and only way remaining to us to get our rights." By "our" Abele meant himself and his two confreres already recalled from the mission. Abele justified his recourse to publicity: "because the generalate insists pigheadedly in an inconceivable way to treat us missionaries like school boys. We won't let our ruination by the generalate go unpunished; with this everything is said."

Eventually, the superiors of the study houses in Lochau and Hamberg had succeeded to change Abele's mind to the point that he was willing to end the attacks in the press. But now he set his conditions for this with Becker the newly-named Apostolic Prefect:

That you as actual Prefect of the Mission take into your own hand the regulariza-tion of our justified requests. . . .

Regarding myself, I am now as before, absolutely determined to return to Assam, even if the world puts itself topsy turvy. Neither the silliness and malignity of a few boys there, nor the generalate, nor the Propaganda shall change my intention. Right is on my side and I am determined to defend my right to the utmost. I have always said so, but was not believed. You shall believe it, before it is too late. Whether I am going to Assam as a friend or enemy depends on you. As you are the Prefect now it would of course be extremely disagreeable to me that the Mission would be taken away from the Society, although I would willingly exchange this pleasure out of "gratitude" for all the benefits received from the Generalate until now, particularly in the last years.

As things are now, it would not be difficult any more to accomplish this, and no protection of an Antonio or Gotti would help against it. I admit to you, you became Prefect at an unfavorable time. I would have like to settle accounts with the former administrator and the one partner he still has in Assam, before you traveled to Assam. This reckoning would at any rate have been a thorough one and caused a sensation. But I am now ready to consider the matter settled under the following conditions:

1. That I travel to Assam with you, or at the same time, and that there in my presence the complaints of my adversaries be examined by you and a decision be made by you, whether or not on the day of my departure my petition for dispensation will have a response.

2. That I can (based on your decision) work there simply as an independent commorant, i.e., dependent only on your position as ordinary,

as editor, e.g., or director of the printery, or (after the matter with the Propaganda is settled) officially as a missionary, although *extra Societatem*.

All the other decisions still to be discussed are secondary. And I believe we will be able to reach an accord to the satisfaction of both sides. They will find these conditions in no way unjust, because they culminate by leaving the pros and cons up to your decision in my presence to clarify the matter. And as Prefect you at any rate have the right to let me stay temporarily in Assam as a commorant, independently from the generalate and Propaganda, by which I assume from my side no obligation to remain there forever, nor from your side do I require any farther reaching promise. . .

Abele acknowledges that good missionaries will leave the mission if he becomes active again there. But he was only asking for justice, and threatened, "there can't and won't be peace until the matter is settled justly." The Apostolic Prefect would lose nothing at all if Daunderer and Münzloher would leave the mission. But Abele fears "the generalate, as it had been deaf until then to the most elementary requirements of justice, would be more obstinate according to the saying "*stat Propaganda ratione voluntas*." But then the generalate would have to bear responsibility for the future of the mission.

Abele expected immediately from Becker a telegram with news about the *Redaktion des XX. Jahrhunderts*: "as I can absolutely not accept a further delay." He promises, if Becker agreed to these demands, he would stop all further publica-tions in the press in Bavaria and in Assam (Munich, February 9, 1906).

The superior general transferred Abele to Mehala, after he was not allowed to let him return to the mission, and after the three German study houses so heavily affected by the press attacks were no longer open to having him. Abele returned Jordan's letter of transfer unopened. When it was sent a second time to his postal address (Editor of *The 20th Century*, Adalbertstraße, 82), the local editor answered that Abele was already on his way to India. He had brought a ticket from the Austrian Lloyd and had left Trient on March 6 for Bombay, where he arrived at the end of the month. From here he immediately requested a discussion with the Apostolic Prefect, Fr. Becker. The latter reported to Rome, that he had already written to Rome (to the Propaganda), that they should allow Abele to go to Dacca: that this stubborn man wanted everywhere "to run his head through the wall" (Shillong, April 2, 1906). Fr. Gebhard explained to the Apostolic Prefect:

I am coming back to Assam not to work there as a missionary, of this I would not be capable at present in my bitterness, but as I had already written to you, simply as a commorant. My special intention is just 1) to have peace, and 2) to spare my mother the shame of my being spoken of as one chased away. Should even this *modus vivendi* be closed to me, this too will be all right to me; then I shall proceed with a recklessness that will cost the Society the mission (copy from Becker to Jordan, Shillong, April 2, 1906).

Abele requested the return of his property which he had invested in Laitkynsew. Jordan wanted to continue smoothing all his viable ways. The real estate, the church and school belonged to the mission and these the generalate could not dispose of without the Propaganda. As for the printery, however, he would be compensated (Rome, March 10, 1906).

Becker interceded anew for Abele, who was now in his mission. His predecessor, Münzloher, as well as the archbishop of Calcutta were of the opinion that one need no longer negotiate with the governor of Assam over of the articles Abele had written against the government. These were no longer topical. Abele might return, providing he would completely abstain from such unnecessary and damaging forays in the future. But he could no longer be engaged in the Assam Mission, after he had at the beginning of the year published articles in German newspapers against the Founder, the Society, and the mission itself, which must *iniuriosa imo et damnosa dici debent*.

Abele had asked for dispensation from the Society, even though he had not yet found a bishop outside the mission. His case had become difficult because he had returned to India on his own, disgusted by the long postponement and compelled by his personal honor, as he put it. Abele was now living in Calcutta in the Jesuit house. In order that he not return to Assam, Becker had met and spoken with him in Calcutta. Abele was petrified that if the Congregation proceeded more strictly against him (as his disobedience in itself would require) it was morally certain that even greater scandals would arise. Becker asked for clemency so as not to extinguish the wick. Abele would be willing to go to Dacca, and Becker recommended this. The archbishop too was in favor of this proposed solution (Shillong, April 17, 1906, A PF 71663). In its meeting of May 22, 1906, propaganda agreed to this proposal and a corresponding letter was sent to the bishop of Dacca. Bishop Hurth, however, now refused to take Abele into his diocese (June 4, 1906, A PF 72017). So even this way out, which would probably have been a dead end anyway, was cut off. Meanwhile, the generalate presented a petition for Abele's dispensation.

In the name of the Generalate the Procurator General asks Your Holiness to cut off *tam monstruosum membrum* from the Society, the more so since Fr. Gebhard has not only asked for dispensation from vows, but has also let himself be received into the Diocese of Dacca for this purpose (May 4, 1906).

Cardinal Gotti had to inform Cardinal Ferrata (after his further inquiry of June 13, 1906) that the bishop of Dacca had refused to incardinate the petitioner (June 25, 1906). In its meeting of July 7, 1906, the Congregation for Religious decided, considering the circumstances, to table everything for the present (A Rel 18489).

Now Abele was sitting between all chairs. The generalate as well as the Apostolic Prefect found it best to pay him off, so that he could survive until

he found a bishop. Abele agreed and returned to Assam, so everything might be well settled. The Apostolic Prefect organized a nice goodbye feast at the station which Abele had built up, and drew up a contract for the payoff. Rome stated with relief: "So thanks be to God, all has ended peacefully with Fr. Gebhard. Thanks be to God! To the contract one must say, Yes and Amen" (Rome, June 9, 1906).

The ex-missionary now retired to Balasore (150 miles south of Calcutta), taking with him a Khasi family from Assam. In "a spiteful letter" he informed the archbishop" in whose jurisdiction he was now living. Through the bishop's secretary, Fr. Hipp, S.J., he also informed the Apostolic Prefect. Fr. Hipp added: "He seems to have 17,000 Rupies at a bank in Calcutta" (October 31, 1906).

A year later, Abele succeeded to be incardinated in the Archdiocese of Valletta, Malta. Now he sent a new petition to the Congregation (March 27, 1907). Fr. Antonio added in his *votum* that Abele was living in the mission as a suspended runaway. The superior of the Society wished urgently (*maxime*) that the dispensation should be granted. Fr. Antonio added that this dispensation would greatly help restore peace to the Society. Conversely, Abele had loaded great shame on himself and gave no sign of repentance, always threatening scandals. Nevertheless, he urged the Congregation to abstain from punishment (July 24, 1907). To this it agreed on August 21, 1907 (A Rel 9904/16).

But Abele never went to the diocese of Malta.* He remained in Assam managing a coffee plantation. After the start of World War I, he was interned on his property for a year. Then, being a German, he was expelled by the English. In the meantime, he had also lost his German citizenship. Thus he received no compensation for his property. In Weissensberg near Lindau he bought a small house with some land where he retired a recluse, never participating in religious life. He died suddenly the night of June 29-30, 1944. As Jordan had accompanied him with his prayers throughout his tattered life, one may hope Fr. Gebhard Abele found not a "just," but a merciful judge.

Marcus (Anton) Dombrowski was born May 10, 1859, in Plania, Ratibor. His large family was poor. Father died when Anton was 4; mother remarried; and young Dombrowski had to fend for himself. After elementary school and 2 years inter-mediate school, he worked hard on railroad construction. When of

* In spring 1909, Abele asked Becker to receive him into the mission as a secular priest. Becker was ready to give him a chance at a new start and inquired at the Propaganda (May 24, 1909). He was given permission according to his "judgment and conscience" to receive Abele for one year. During this period Abele was to look for a new bishop (June 18, 1909, A PF 1200).

age he enlisted in the imperial navy, was mustered in Kiel, but "because of being too short and weakness he was refused" (January 1881). Dombrowski went to Hamberg and from there cast out into the wide world (June 1881). He worked in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. After three years he returned to Rio de Janeiro where he found a position as sacristan. The young adventurer could not get along with that life. Disappointed love and grave illness led to depression. Deathly sick, he promised to convert (December 1885). On October 5, 1886, he returned home from Rio to Ratibor to his gravely ill mother. At age 28 he looked into Borgo Vecchio. Lüthen gave him "no assurance, but hope." There were inquiries to and fro. The pastor in Rio, who out of compassion had engaged him because of "the vow he had made in danger of death," intervened.

When Anton at last wanted to travel to Rome on July 1, 1887 (he had to bring with him the money for his return trip in case the trial period there did not prove satisfactory). En route he was detained for a week for having violated military conscription. Released from jail on July 25, he was examined once more and declared unfit for service. He traveled to Rome on August 1, 1887. By November 1, 1889, he had made his vows and was ordained on September 19, 1891. He volunteered for Assam having passed his exam as apostolic missionary at the Propaganda *cum laude* (December 20, 1894).

By February 1895, he was in the mission. Due to his weak health he remained at first at the main station in Shillong. In June 1898, he erected the station of Smith and later transferred it to Lamin in 1900, because he met with difficulties with local authorities. Dombrowski had to care for about 70 Catholics. Already in 1902, Münzloher requested Dombrowski's removal from the mission because he intended to leave the Society (January 6, 1902). He proved to be "a rather restless head causing trouble everywhere" (Abele to Jordan, Laitkynsew, November 20, 1902).

In summer 1903, Münzloher renewed this request. He would return to the mission from his own home leave only after Dombrowski had left. The latter was traveling as far as Calcutta and Bombay bringing discredit to the whole mission with his pessimism (Herbesthal, June 1, 1903). Dombrowski himself seriously attacked Bethan, the vicar mission superior who hated him, for criticizing his behavior toward the sisters at the main station (to Jordan, Lamin, May 7, 1903). A few days later he made even more spiteful accusations against Bethan (May 10, 1903).

During the year, the missionary petitioned the Propaganda to be allowed to leave the mission and return to Europe. As reasons he indicated his bad health and other important motives. The secretary, Luigi Vecchio, informed Jordan that Propaganda was not opposed (June 16, 1903, A PF 55526). Jordan, who had tried unsuccessfully before to recall Dombrowski from the mission, repeated his recall, this time as an order. At first Dombrowski was to return to the Motherhouse. All had been agreed upon with the Propaganda:

“Make now a sacrifice of obedience out of love to Him, who for us was made obedient even to death” (June 18, 1904).

Jordan also informed Cardinal Ferrata that Dombrowski could not remain in the mission because of *pazzia o extravaganze*. He attached a letter from a police officer of Silhat District, J.R. Ezechiel (June 27, 1904). Münzloher described his subordinate Dombrowski in this connection as “*Radaumacher und Revolverheld*” a kind of terrorist (Shillong, to Jordan, June 14, 1904).

In July, Dombrowski asked the Propaganda to be allowed to remain in the mission. They, however, determined that he should submit to the order of his superiors (July 23, 1904, A PF 61637). Jordan passed the decision on to Münzloher: “Fr. Markus shall consequently return, as I have already informed him. Parental greetings and blessings. May he travel under God’s protection.” He added special warm greetings to Dombrowski. Finally, on August 31, 1904, he reported from Calcutta, that his departure from Bombay was planned for September 15.

Hardly back home, Jordan had explained to him that he was not allowed to engage himself in the mission any more. Dombrowski urged Jordan to let him return to Assam or he would have no other choice but to leave the Society (Vienna, October 18, 1904). Jordan called him to Rome for the time being, but there Dombrowski implored the Propaganda to set him free for mission activity. The India desk refused his appeal and advised him: *parerat superioribus* (he should obey his superiors, December 29, 1904).

Jordan transferred the dismissed confrere to Tivoli (March 10, 1905). From there Dombrowski asked the vicar general for a discussion. He claimed to have grave reasons for complaint about the administration of the mission and the Society. Abele would also have to be heard. He felt that they had both been exiled to Tivoli or Meran to keep them from complaining (March 14, 1905).

Informed about the apostolic visitation of the Motherhouse, on July 2, 1905, Dombrowski renewed his appeal.* He would have to be listened to. He felt that he had been transferred to Tivoli, so that he would not report the disorder in the administration (TVU).

Dombrowski felt caged and strove forcefully to get free (Soli letter, August 14, 1905). He now launched a real battle to regain the freedom of which he felt himself unjustly deprived. He wrote letters to cardinals and congregations. He rejected any competence of his own superiors. After his appeal, the highest ecclesiastical authority was now responsible. He had all his mail sent registered mail to Tivoli. After the bishop of Dacca had given him some hope to be received into his diocese, he wanted to appeal to the Holy

* No visitation of the Motherhouse was ordered, but there was one in Salita San Onofrio.

Office against the Propaganda (the superior of Tivoli to Jordan, November 29, 1905; cf., Fr. Antonio's inquiry of October 20, 1905, ordered by the Congregation for Religious, D-757). But on June 4, 1906, Bishop Peter Joseph Hurth informed the Propaganda that he had to refuse to accept Dom-browski into his diocese after all that had happened and would very probably happen again. He reported this to the Apostolic Prefect of Assam (June 5, 1906, A PF 72017).

In summer 1906, Dombrowski got a positive answer from the bishop of Philadelphia, USA. The Congregation freed him immediately. On June 6, 1906, he left Tivoli (E-73, Lüthen to Becker, June 9 & July 7, 1906, BL-1110f). On June 12, he departed Rome as "withdrawn" and first went to his home. There he severely criticized his former confreres in the mission, not even abstaining from calumnies (Königsöhr to Becker, August 31, 1906).

In September, Dombrowski was already in the USA (Bethan from St. Nazianz to Becker in Assam, September 17, 1906). However, he and the bishop of Philadelphia never came to an agreement. Making his way to the Philippines, he assumed the post which had been promised to the former missionary Steinherr, who however had not taken it. Thus Dombrowski could be dismissed from the Society on June 12, 1907.

Becker, the new Apostolic Prefect of Assam, inquired from him in order to clarify "the misunderstandings about the foot of Sr. Hildegardis" –Becker's own sister. In so doing, he addressed him as "friend." Dombrowski was much delighted about this and immediately answered his "Most venerable friend." He inveighed bitterly against both Jordan and his former mission superior, Münzlo-her. He called the latter "a true son of those liars and hypocrites in Rome [Jordan and Lüthen] who had behaved so wickedly against me." He doubted, whether "these heroes will come to heaven at all; I have experienced outrageous injustices from these heroes." He signs: Reverend Fr. Marcus Ant. Dombrowski, Convent Sampaloo, Manila, Philippines (May 12, 1907).

In his reply Becker asked him not to stir up again what had happened and not to spread among others his former discord with a missionary in his former station of Lamin. "Eventually, the injustice you encountered will be avenged by Him who rewards each according to his deeds" (Shillong, June 6, 1907). The exchange of letters with Assam, and also with Rome continued (from whence Dombrowski was well informed by opponents of the generalate). For the coming Second General Chapter he wished "the General Hypocrites in Borgo Vecchio" be finally deposed. "Doing so would be an act pleasing to God" and he might even come back again; "but never under the hypocritical Fr. Jordan."

The political situation in East Asia was already heading towards war-like discord, which worried him. Dombrowski concluded his letter to Becker so piously it reminds one of Jordan: "God bless your endeavors, work, and sufferings; May Mary protect you and your mission." He added greetings to his

sisters and to some Christian families in Lamin (Los Bauos, February 21, 1908). With this ends the track of this missionary adventure.

Pius (Otto) Steinherr was born January 5, 1867, in Lindau, i. B. He entered the Society in Rome on April 11, 1886, and made his vows already on November 1, 1887. After his ordination (September 19, 1891) he served in Tivoli as a teacher. Since 1896, he worked in Assam as a missionary, at first as secretary to the Apo-stolic Administration of Assam. He came in 1902, to the station of Raliang, Jowai, where death had cut short the exemplary mission activity of Fr. Thaddaeus Hofmann on November 13, 1902. At that time the station counted (including the subsidiary stations) 300 Catholics; it had 4 schools, an orphanage, a dispensary, a domestic school and a printery. Steinherr edited there a good explanation of the Khasi catechism for the mission.

Steinherr soon fell in love with a girl. The liaison could not remain secret and caused unkind gossip in the mission. The missionary defended himself in his own manner and fought any intervention of the mission superior. In November 1904, the Apostolic Visitor, Archbishop Meulemann of Calcutta, persuaded him to draw the consequences and to hand in his resignation.

Steinherr asked the Propaganda to be recalled from the mission, "For reasons which had been reported to the Holy Poenitentiria and to the Archbishop of Calcutta as Apostolic Visitor" (Jowai, November 3, 1904). Meulemann approved the petition and passed it on to Rome. Steinherr left the mission and went to Calcutta for the time being. The mission superior was happy about this solution and asked Jordan: "As the aim has been reached, it is good not to bear any grudge against Fr. Pius so as not to trigger a sequel" (Shillong, November 7, 1904). On December 15, Steinherr boarded a ship to return via Genoa home to Lindau to his mother and brothers.

As soon as Steinherr was at home, Lüthen wrote to him in Weissenhorn, Lindau asking in a very kind tone: "How are you?" (November 27, 1904). He asked him to contact Rome, for "I mean you well" (January 3, 1905). He encouraged him: "You can still do much good to the Society as a teacher or editor. This is the best for you" (February 16, 1905).

Steinherr, however, presented his complaint to the Prefect of the Propaganda. He had left the mission with the permission of the archbishop and visitor and had traveled home to Bavaria. As nothing was improving in the mission, contrary to the promise of the archbishop, he was obliged to send in his report. His 8 years of work there convinced him that the mission should be taken away from the Salvatorians and he entrusted to other religious (Lindau, February 20, 1905, A PF 62261). In his report he talks about the weak character of the mission superior, about the complaints presented against Bethan and the sisters, about the superior general who did not take proper care

of the mission and milked it for the Society. According to him, Propaganda had been kept in the dark about all this (Lindau, February 21, 1905, A PF 65526).

By early March, Steinherr reported to Propaganda that according to information from his agent in Rome (Brunner?), his letter and report had been lost. Once more he asked for the elimination of the disorder so that the Mission in Assam would not have to live under the pressure it had already endured for so long (Lindau, March 9 & 10, 1905).

Meanwhile, Steinherr had been assigned to the community of Tivoli. Lüthen had to inform him that unfortunately he could no longer keep the title of apostolic missionary. But in Tivoli they would be able to provide quite well for his physical and spiritual needs. "You may count on kindness. Therefore, returning soon is good" (March 19, 1905, G-38).

Steinherr, however, returned to India on his own in the second half of March 1905. Even before his first departure from India back in December 1904, he had taken care to secure "his private property" at the station of Raliang (Münzloher to Jordan, Gauhati, March 16, 1905). Steinherr returned to Jowai where in the interim Fr. Bernardin Jung had been working. Steinherr had informed his former lover of his return. She was already waiting for him with her mother. He hoped for a situation with the Methodists. The superior feared, "he would try to cause us as much damage as he can" (to Jordan, Shillong, April 17, 1905).

Lüthen immediately informed Münzloher about Steinherr's departure to Assam. The archbishop of Calcutta might decide whether Fr. Pius was to be recalled to Tivoli. "He does not belong to the Mission anymore" (April 1, 1905). Lüthen also informed Archbishop Meulemann (April 1, 1905). Now Steinherr requested his compensation. Lüthen found it too high. However, Steinherr was to settle the matter with the archbishop. Rome would do whatever the archbishop decided (July 22, 1905). Münzloher, too, had been informed in the same manner that everything was in the archbishop's hands (July 8, 1905). But for him this was no solution, only a delay. In addition, Steinherr just ignored him.

The mission superior was powerless to bring order to the matters in Jowai/Raliang as Rome expected. Steinherr refused to send his lover away to her village. He spoke of leaving and threatened to publish everything in the news-papers. Münzloher saw only one way out: to send a visitor (n.d., Lüthen noted on August 1, 1905, "Venerable Father leaves it to me"). Münzloher wrote at that time rather excitedly to Lüthen that:

Fr. Pius had become a committed apostate, and had been reported to the Propaganda. He has returned to India against the order of his ecclesiastic superiors and is now living with a woman. He does not communicate with me, but with a general consultor [Gog] and insists that "these discussions with Rome are still open." Thus, one can easily reproach me for doing nothing on the spot. It had been written to Assam: Fr. Angelus behaves as if he were still well in the saddle. These people's views in Europe do not intend the welfare

of the mission, but are hatred and aversion directed against me (Shillong, July 27, 1905).

On September 1, 1905, Steinherr petitioned the Congregation for Religious for dispensation. As reason he indicated an insurmountable antipathy toward the Founder and present superior general. Already for a long time he had definitely lost his vocation through hostile circumstances. He asked for permission to live outside the community in order to find a bishop and title, and requested corresponding sustenance from the Society (Jowai, Khasi Hills, A Rel 21831/15). At the same time, he submitted an appeal against Fr. Ignatius Bethan because of calumny.

Bethan had been recalled from the mission by the Propaganda. The first year back, Bethan had sworn in Obermais that Steinherr was an apostate (Methodist), had married, and had a child. (Bethan himself had often been accused to the general superior and Propaganda for consorting unbecomingly with the sisters and *impudicis moribus*.) Five priests from Meran testified to this: Steinherr claimed these calumnies had caused much damage to his mother and family. He requested a retraction by all those who had calumniated him, in east and west, and out of justice and love he demanded satisfaction for the damage caused, and permission to turn to the civil court.

Abele wanted to and finally did win Steinherr as his co-fighter instructed him correspondingly. On October 9, Steinherr submitted his petition and recourse to the apostolic visitor for his votum. According to Fr. Antonio: this rough man is in regard to moral matters more than suspicious, and was the main reason for the real troubles in the mission. Propaganda had recalled him. He has returned to the mission on his own but is not allowed to celebrate [Mass]. The superiors request him to return to Europe and to leave the Society. Therefore, Fr. Antonio is in favor of dispensation from vows of poverty and obedience, so that the scandal he causes in the missions may stop. He also favors Steinherr's living outside the Society for 6 months to find a bishop (October 15, 1905).

In the meantime, Münzloher reported that Steinherr had hopes of finding a bishop (August 14, 1905). He had left for Dacca to speak personally with Bishop Hurth. Münzloher favored this change, and asked the Society to assume responsibility for Steinherr's sustenance. (Shillong, September 12, 1905). The Bishop of Dacca wanted to meet Münzloher's wishes and received Steinherr temporarily into his diocese until he would find another bishop. He did so to avoid the scandal of an apostasy (Münzloher to Lüthen, October 22, 1905).

Meanwhile, Abele had convinced Steinherr to proceed together with him against the Society and the mission. He should publish articles in Indian newspapers corresponding to those Abele was preparing for the Bavarian press. How far Steinherr realized Abele's suggestion is not known. But with Abele's help, he did prepare corresponding articles. This is at least affirmed by

what Abele told his superior before departing from Meran to Munich, January 9, 1906. From Munich he wrote to Becker: "In the nearest future there will be attacks against the mission in Assam in English as well as in native papers from the people and the govern-ment." If Becker promised to get Abele his rights in Assam, Abele promised: "I shall at once by telegraph stop the publication in Indian newspapers, etc." (Munich, February 9, 1906).

In May 1906, Becker, the new mission superior, reported to Jordan that Steinherr now had to care for two children. He intended to travel to Tivoli. In summer 1906, Steinherr did travel to Europe once more. From Naples he sent a telegram that he was ill and should be sent money (August 1, 1906). For some time he remained in Tivoli until a decision could be taken about his leaving. At last he received agreement from the archbishop of Manila to work in his diocese.

On December 1, 1906, Steinherr went home once more to his terminally ill mother (A MA). In spring 1907, he wanted to travel to his bishop on the Philippines (December 1, 1906, A MA). Now the Congregation finally acted and dispensed him retroactive to the end of 1906. Becker was informed: Mr. Steinherr has been received in the Philippines. "He is completely and definitely separated from the Society" (December 29, 1906, A MA).

Steinherr bypassed Weigang and turned to Pfeiffer for a discount on his ticket from Genoa to Manilla (or at least to Singapore or Colombo, or at the very least to Bombay, as Pfeiffer could give him a letter attesting that he was a Roman Catholic missionary. He added that his departure had been delayed due to the evil gossip of Fr. Ethelbert Hurler. He had heard, "my mother is still lying on her death bed. May the Lord now be a merciful judge of both" (Lindau, April 6, 1907).

But the way to Manila was barred again. Otto Steinherr took lodgings with his Indian family in Laitmukhrah. From there he wrote to Becker that he agreed with Jordan, who once,

. . . with the force of his lungs in a chapter shouted in the refectory: "Either you are or you are not!" I have been of this opinion for a long time and I still am, and this opinion is my inner conviction: whoever does not feel as a priest anymore, shall either look to get into the right track, or hang the black frock on a nail (while I for the time being am not thinking of a change of religion) and answer to God alone, who, as not long ago a Brahman told me, is not a fool, and is not bound to theolo-gical schools, but looks at mens' hearts. [He desired to talk to Becker] as a man and former friend, since for the Jordanists as such I have no respect. (The matter concerned a confrere in Assam who wanted to leave).

Steinherr then spoke out bitterly against the hypocrisy of the "*sahel Roman*" concerning relations with women compared with the Methodists. He thought that others "*sunt, qui non sunt*" were irritating people. But his concluding judgment is merciful: "May each one look to how to come to an accord with his

conscience and with his God." And he can't avoid asking: "Have you ever made careful special study into Divine Providence?" (July 8, 1914).

World War I expelled Steinherr from his beloved Khasi Hills. In 1920, he reconnected with Becker also in exile. The latter asked Pfeiffer to intervene for Steinherr, "that he might be able to present his matters in Rome" (Munich, March 29, 1920). Steinherr found lodgings in Arnheim in the Netherlands (Hotel Elisa-beth). From there he succeeded to straighten out his ecclesiastical affairs through Pfeiffer's mediation with the *Poenitentiaria* and the archbishop of Calcutta (April 3 & 20, 1924). In February 1929, he felt driven to return to his former home in Assam. In Shillong he found a last place to stay, and there he died at the end of October 1929, fully reconciled with the church. He experienced Divine Providence in another, probably no less difficult way, than Jordan.

2.48/72. Sisters' visitation. Mother Mary dictated tersely in her Chronicle that from July 10-24, 1905, a papal visitation took place conducted by Fr. Thomas Esser, O.P. The visitator "inspected the entire lodgings and the financial records: with his own hand he approved the income and expense accounts" (MMChr). In passing, Mother Mary mentions the orders given by Esser. The new Constitutions are to be confirmed by the Cardinal Vicar. Following up, a general chapter must be convoked. The sisters are to be recalled from Prof. Marocco's Clinic. The entire government of the mother-house was to be under the local superior,* while Mother Mary is, so to say, the court of appeal, "in the same manner and in the same measure as this is the custom in all the other houses." There follow 12 other prescriptions of a disciplinary kind for the motherhouse.

Mother Mary handed the Constitutions over to Esser, and then departed for Belgium and her home the very day the visitation was solemnly concluded.** Esser passed the statutes with an accompanying

* The local sister superior had urged Esser to restate her competence. There had been discords already before Easter. At that time, Lüthen informed Mother Mary that according to the new Constitutions she was not herself the local superior, and that he had not abolished the office of local superior. He did not note the background of this clarification (March 23, 1905, G-32).

** Thomas Hermann Joseph Esser (Aachen, April 7, 1850-1926, March 14, Rome) studied theology in Bonn and Würzburg, entered seminary in Cologne in 1871, and was ordained January 7, 1873. As a young chaplain

letter to the Cardinal Vicar. In accordance with the apostolic constitution *Condidae* and in his capacity as apostolic visitor, he requested to limit the purpose of the sisters' congregation, thus bringing their Constitutions in conformity with the new regulations. He remarked further that the sisters, after the approval of their Constitutions, "had to convoke, according to my order, a general chapter." Then he requested without giving any reason: "A change in

in Euskirchen he soon came in conflict with the *Kulturkampf* laws and was given fines and prison sentences. Expelled from the country, he went to the Anima in Rome and took his doctor's degree in theology at the Dominican College San Thomas and his doctorate in canon law at San Apollinare. Fr. Andreas Fruehwirt, Provincial of the Dominicans of Vienna, won him for their order. Invested in Graz, he professed vows on January 17, 1879, for the Viennese Convent.

Fr. Esser worked as professor of philosophy in the colleges of Vienna, Venlo and Maynooth. Beginning in 1891, he taught canon law, first at the new university in Fribourg. In 1894, he transferred to Rome (*Convento della SS. Trinita in Via Condotti*) where he lectured at *Collegio San Tommaso* (1896/97). The distinguished canonist became a singular member of various congregations. Having proved himself as secretary of the commission for codifying canon law and for approving new religious institutes (Congregation for Bishops and Religious), he worked as the secretary of the Index Congregation from 1906 till 1916. After its dissolution, Benedict XV named him titular bishop of Sinide (June 18, 1917). Esser's name became famous with the edition of the Index of Prohibited Books (1900, 1917). Above all, he was one of the driving Integralist personalities during the Modernist crisis. By his intransigence, however, he gained for himself, above all in Catholic Germany, more enemies than friends. In Vatican circles his influence grew excessively. During World War I, the "German Bishop in Rome" became aide and counselor to many of his compatriots.

Esser disliked the young religious foundations of his day, considering them superfluous unless they dedicated themselves to a strictly limited task. Jordan's spirituality was not at all on his line. He soon began to feel this: the first time when he sought approbation of the statutes (1902) following the "Norms" of 1901; then again when he petitioned for the *Decretum Laudis*. In both cases Esser was a sharp adversary of Jordan, but did not succeed. Now he was named Apostolic Visitor of the foundation of Jordan's sisters. Neither did Mother Mary meet with clemency in his eyes. She was already suspect by the fact that she kept unswervingly to Fr. Francis of the Cross.

the government is absolutely necessary; as this had from the very beginning been in the hands of a woman without heart, and with little in the head”*

Esser asked to be allowed to chair the sisters’ chapter. In this way he would be able complete what had been started in the now concluded visitation. He added that withdrawing from Marocco Clinic was quite in line with the opinion of the sisters (July 24, 1905, TVU).

Cardinal Respighi approved the constitutions of the sisters, as he had just recently permitted the motherhouse. But according to *Condidae*, the institute should not be allowed to embrace a purpose that would be too broad or in conflict with the character of the institute. Up till then the education of girls, care of patients in public hospitals, and protection of girls at risk (under the leadership of related houses) had been indicated as its special aims. The coming general chapter should reduce these tasks to one, and find a better and more prudent solution for the houses in which the sisters were dedicating themselves to other tasks (July 28, 1905, minutes TVU). Respighi gave Esser the authority to convoke and chair the general chapter along with all necessary and useful powers (July 29, 1905, TVU).

Esser wanted to get started at once, but Mother Mary and Jordan were on the road, and Pfeiffer was in Germany. Lüthen informed Jordan that Esser wanted to limit the apostolate of the sisters. This surprised Jordan, for “Fr. Antonio had completely studied the rule of the sisters. One must keep to the former purpose as far as it is possible” (to Lüthen, Hamont, August 6, 1905).

In the meantime, the sister general secretary had worked out a text, after consultations with the priests, to convoke the general chapter on December 1, according to Statute 161. Mother Mary signed it August 31, in Drognens where she was on visitation. Esser wanted to hold the chap-ter earlier and requested that no transfers or other personnel changes take place. Jordan, however, had already ordered the superior of St. Nazianz to transfer the teaching sisters, “as they fit together and would cooperate in unity at the various school stations.” Equally, it was not clear whether the foundation in Uniontown, WA could be kept because Jordan intended to send two teaching sisters from the USA to Shillong. The foundation in Roselini had also become

* Here Esser probably accepted uncritically the prejudicial remarks of some restless sisters.

unsure. The 4 sisters there were to be recalled by the end of October. The general secretary presented these reasons to the visitor (August 5, 1905) to demonstrate that he had to allow more time for an orderly convocation of a general chapter.

Meanwhile, Prof. Marocco was given notice for August 31, 1905. He immediately engaged the pope's private chaplain, Msgr. Giovanni Bressan to intervene with the Cardinal Vicar in his favor, to have more time to find new sisters by year's end (Vatican, August 4, 1905, TVU). The secretary of the vicariate passed the request to the *Sacra Visita Canonica*. Esser pointed to the canonical prohibition (which was just then being prepared) of sisters assisting at operations in clinics. One could not set a precedent. Furthermore, the professor was exploiting the sisters shame-lessly (Via Condotti 41, August 6, 1905, TVU).

Jordan was not against giving up the Clinic Marocco. There had been tensions for some time because the sisters there were not paid properly, and they were neglecting the religious life due to overwork. Lüthen in particular repeatedly decried these grievances (cf., warning letter of May 15, 1905, to Mother Mary, adding: "Please not to throw away, but keep it.") On October 21, the work at Marocco Clinic was ended "as wished by the church" (MMChr).

On September 5, Mother Mary returned to Rome. Among the congratulatory letters for her namesday was not only Lüthen's and Pfeiffer's (Jordan was still on visitation), but also Esser's. Already by October 3, he could see the ballots.

On September 13, Jordan was again in Rome. He was quite alarmed that Esser wanted to limit the proper purpose of the sisters to the education of girls. Jordan kept to his plan, that all apostolates which were possible for women at that time were to remain open. Above all, care for children, for the sick and poor were to him fit means of apostolic service. The sisters should also be allowed to assist patients in public hospitals. All these tasks had been given by him to the sisters of his first foundation, and afterwards repeated for the sisters of the second foundation. Later he had extended these apostolic aims: the sisters should also "assist the poor in slums, and young girls who were at risk, and those who had already fallen, to rise and to live a morally sound life again."

A December 8, 1900 apostolic constitution, *Condidae*, reimposed limits on religious sisters, returning their activity behind the

protection of convent walls. Jordan submitted to this at once. The Congregation for Religious urged that apostolate of sisters' communities remain as limited as possible. Esser lobbied for one specialized orienting purpose, either teaching or care for the sick.

Furthermore, Esser as consultor of the Congregation was very interested to see that the sisters kept a distance from the male branch. Jordan was to him a pious man who had sat down on the wrong chair. Esser's close co-operator, the ex-Jordanist Brunner, informed him quite thoroughly about the SDS, especially about the Founder and the mother-house. So Esser was the only one to strongly oppose Jordan's Society receiving the papal *Decretum Laudis*. But in this effort Esser was defeated by the consultors of the Congregation.

Now as apostolic visitor of the sisters, Esser had quite different authority to succeed against Jordan and to push Mother Mary—who faith-fully kept to the Founder—into an honorable monastic “seniorate.” Jordan consulted with Lüthen. Fr. Antonio's help was also solicited. It was clear to all of them that the aim of a foundation should be determined or changed only by the Founder. No apostolic visitor had authority in this regard.

Pfeiffer dared on his own to discuss the matter with Esser, who answered him roughly: “Why do you mix in things that do not concern you!” The apostolic visitor did not at all withhold from Pfeiffer his depreciating judgment of Jordan:

Fr. Jordan founded the sisters just to found them. He didn't know what he wanted to do with the sisters. The congregation of the sisters is going on miserably. If Fr. Jordan felt irked for being excluded in changing the purpose of the congregation, then he [his virtue] had very little super-natural orientation.

Pfeiffer replied to the obstinate visitor that he would turn to the Cardinal Vicar. This step, too, he took without Jordan's knowledge as he did not want to cause the Founder still more upset. The discussion with the Cardinal Vicar, who indeed favored Jordan, followed quite closely the outlook of Jordan. Immediately after their discussion, Pfeiffer wrote down in a memo the viewpoint of Cardinal Respighi.

The sisters have been founded by Fr. Jordan, received the Rule from him, and he has given them the purpose (*lo scopo*). The foundation was made in 1888. The *decretum Condidae* is from 1900, when the sisters' institute was already 12 years old. Subsequently, the Founder has not given them any purpose not wanted by the ecclesiastic

authority, he acted as so many other founders had before the said decree. Purpose: Instruction of youth and care of the sick. If this purpose shall not be approved, even though it existed already 12 years before the decree and also the institute had been accepted by the diocese, it is enough to inform the Founder, Fr. Jordan, in this regard. He can present to church authorities a formula, which con-forms to the decree. If this will be completely excluded, and if one says he had nothing to do with the sisters and with the purpose of their institute, it seems to be punitive, something which is certainly not intended by the ecclesiastic authority, as from Fr. Jordan's side any fault is excluded.

The most important reason, however, is that each institute boasts and must boast that it follows a purpose given by its founder. This would not be the case if the sisters were to determine their purpose by themselves at their First General Chapter or if it [a new purpose] could be urged upon them by someone else, this the more as the Founder is still alive, so that it would be easy to turn to him (*fare ricorso*).

After mature reflection, the General Procurator of Jordan's institute presented most humbly and insistently at the same time the petition, that the said Fr. Jordan be allowed to present the following formula in regard to the purpose of the sisters institute: the *finis secundaria-rius* remains as it was formerly, the change being: only as an exception and after receiving permission of the Holy See the sisters can also assist patients in public hospitals. Statute Nr. 252 (about the *stabilimenti*) can be canceled because it is superfluous. Rome November 1905 (E-932).

Jordan willingly fulfilled the wish of the Cardinal Vicar. The statute was slightly changed and now read:

The secondary end is to perform works of Christian charity appropriate to the holy state; especially to instruct children and young people of whatever condition with firm teaching, and to educate them according to Christian morals. And, therefore, the sisters establish and direct houses, schools, orphanages, also hostels and homes for young workers.

Only in exceptional cases and after permission from the Holy See can the sisters assist the sick in public hospitals.

Pfeiffer immediately informed Fr. Antonio about the happy conclusion of his visit with Cardinal Respighi. But he also conferred with him about what had happened with Esser. Fr. Antonio was almost terrified by this, for he knew his co-consultor at the Congregation. But he just

replied: "Had you asked me, I would have dissuaded you. Fr. Esser can cause you much damage" (An IV, 5, 1937, 237).

The Cardinal Vicar informed Esser personally of his decision. In accordance with Fr. Antonio, the last sentence of the "purpose statute" was changed. Until then it had read: "Equally they practice Christian charity by assisting the sick in public hospitals."

Jordan presented the change approved by the Cardinal Vicar to the sisters' general chapter: "Only in an exceptional case and after securing the permission of the Holy See can the sisters assist the sick in public hospitals." Esser had to refrain from replacing the founder of the sisters. He had only to present to the general chapter the change of the purpose suggested by Jordan and approved and desired by the Cardinal Vicar. This they accepted at once.*

Back on July 24, 1905, Mother Mary had taken the night train to Liège accompanied by another sister. There they found a very warm welcome from the Benedictine sisters with whom 57 years earlier Mother Mary had spent her girlhood. From there she went to Neerpelt, from whence the bishop of Liège escorted both sisters to the new foundation in Overpelt. There the bishop laid the cornerstone for the church in the factory housing estate and later invited the two sisters to lunch. In August, Mother Mary traveled home to Castle Myllendonk for 14 days. On the 6th, she met Jordan in Overpelt during his visitation of the Belgium houses. Their discussions had focused on Esser and his position toward the apostolic work of the sisters.

2.49/73. Namesday letter.

Francis of the Cross Jordan
To his beloved Sons
Greetings and fatherly blessing!

* Not everyone at Congregation for Religious agreed with the violent Dominican. Msgr. Vincenzo La Puma, who greatly esteemed Jordan, advised that for the time being the Constitutions of the sisters should run in the changed form, but not to present them to the Congregation for approval. He said other winds might blow some day and then the original text might regain its full vigor. When in fact in 1911, Jordan petitioned for papal approbation of the sister's Constitutions, he could return to the former purpose. As tasks of the sisters were indicated again: "Instruction of girls, directors of asylums and orphanages, female working schools and homes for the aged; nursing in hospitals as well as ambulant nursing" (Const. 2, 1911).

With your good wishes and the signs of your fidelity and love, you have given me much consolation on my namesday. For with them you have shown the unity in the Society. May the Divine Savior repay you a hundredfold.

You know how important unity is to do great things for God's honor and for the salvation of souls. Let us, therefore, continue working zealously with united forces, peacefully and in one accord. May unity and peace always reign in the Society!

But in order that the Society may always enjoy the precious benefit of peace and unity, you all must be patient. For, wherever there are people, human beings, things always happen in a human way, and patience is necessary. Otherwise by our impatience we easily prevent the good that God wants to do through us. "If you persevere, you will win your soul," says the Lord; and the Romans "ruled over the whole land by their prudence and perseverance" (1 Macc). Without patience we shall never accomplish great things.

Let us work patiently, especially when we meet with great difficulties and bitterness in fulfilling our professional obligations, in the various offices of the Society or in the care of souls. Let us pray insistently and do as much as we can, until the Lord disposes differently! Let us trust in the Lord and work untiringly to reach our aims, and God will grant success.

Oh, how happy will you be, if you have always acted patiently and, with the help of God, overcome all obstacles! So dear sons, be patient as becomes true Salvatorians, the Savior's disciples, because the Savior has saved the world through the cross. May the Lord grant you this great grace.

Given in Rome in the Marian College on October 5, 1905.

Fr. Francis of the Cross, Superior General (An VI n. 91,

474ff).

2.50/74. Sisters' First General Chapter. Mother Mary knew that in the Constitutions, the superior general was to be elected by the chapter and that accordingly she had to resign as Jordan, too, had done. She had only been named superior general by him. In the retreats given by Fr. Ethelbert Hurler that year (November 11-18) she prepared herself well for the coming events. Her proposals from those days of grace show what moved her:

In spite of failures and ingratitude, one must continue always to do one's duties with joy for Jesus alone. The best thing I can do for souls is to remain at my post, to suffer and to do my duty as always. If it is true that I shall not live much longer, I must work with even greater zeal and with holy joy, just persist.

On the last day but one she writes: "The situation makes [me] unhappy; happy are those who already are steadfast and resolute." On the last day of her proposals she concludes with the good advice the retreat director gave to the sisters. "Remain without fear where you are" (Tacc).

On December 1, 1905, a Friday of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Esser inaugurated in the chapel of the Motherhouse the First General Chapter of the sisters, giving his directives to the 22 capitulars. Two sisters from USA, Clara and Christian, who were not on the side of the superior general, had excused themselves. The representatives from Assam were still en route. Before the election of the new general superior, Esser declared that the previous superior general, according to canon law was to step down from her office and could not be reelected. After so many years of trying and troublesome activity, Mother Mary was now longing for a quiet evening of her life. She thanked the sisters for all their kind-ness, love and affection, and then resigned her office. As Esser agreed with her, he also pointed to the weakness of age, admonished the sister capitulars "to submit to the holy church," and asked them to refrain from electing Mother Mary. The president underlined once more that another sister should be elected as general superior.

In spite of that, 8 sisters voted for Mother Mary, 7 for the superior of Budapest, Sr. Ambrosia, and 5 for the still absent representative of Assam, Sr. Scholastica (Fr. Otto Hopfenmüller's sister and after Mother Mary the oldest sister in the congregation).

Sr. Ambrosia now asked directly why Mother Mary could not be elected. Esser presented his view once more and pointed out that an election of the former general would probably not be confirmed a priori. The sister then asked her co-sisters courageously to have no doubts about electing Mother Mary. If the holy church will not confirm this election, at least the capitulars will not have to take the blame for having pushed out the Venerable Mother. Sr. Ambrosia was backed by other sisters, who then pointed out that there were no complaints against the administration of the congregation, but that under the previous administration "things were proceeding well, although slowly."

On the following ballot Mother Mary received all the votes save one (she herself had again voted for the novice mistress, Sr. Bonaventure, as she had on the first ballot). Esser "completely

delighted with us" (minutes) went to the Cardinal Vicar who confirmed the election. But Esser "is said to have shown himself dissatisfied, because his hints had not been taken as orders." The sisters, however, understood easily that "these hints" were actually the president's personal ones.

Mother Mary, whose strengths were visibly diminishing, had a good General Council at her side. As her vicar the chapter had first elected Sr. Scholastica; but Propaganda opposed this election because she was needed in the mission.

After the election, the change in apostolic purpose was approved as it had been presented to the Cardinal Vicar by Jordan, and as it had been presented to the chapter: "Only in exceptional cases and after obtaining the permission of the Holy See can the sisters practice nursing in public hospitals."

Then the sisters, mostly under the influence of the president, made various decisions: among others, to give up Rosolini; not to let the sisters assist maternity cases; not to let them assist "at operations of sexual diseases." Also the household in Drognens was to be given up, after the president had pointed out the norm that prohibits it. Further was decided to let the sisters go home as rarely as possible. Neither should any priest intervene in the administration of the sisters or look into their administration of property, unless he had been mandated by the responsible bishop. In the last session, Drognens was taken up once more. But the president declared that the decision of the 6th session could not be rescinded. On December 6, the chapter was concluded. On December 8, the sisters had an audience with Pius X where each was greeted personally.

1905 brought two new foundations: in July, 4 sisters took over a home for the poor in O'Bece, Diocese of Kalocza; on December 1, the small St. Mary's Hospital in Wausau, WI. Of course, the men's superior of Drognens was against removing the sisters. Lüthen explained to him that they had unanimously voted with the visitator against Drognens. But he added that the reasons drawn from *Conditae* were mistaken. Its Norm 14 only stipulated that institutes having economic administration as their special purpose were not approved. Not only was this norm not canon law, it had nothing to do with Drognens. "Consequently, it is untrue that the church prohibits what the sisters do in Drognens." Fr. Conrad Hansknecht wanted simply to ask the bishop's opinion (December 6, 1905, BL-811). Lüthen encouraged

Hansknecht to write personally to Esser and to explain to him the importance of the sisters' involvement in the institute, particularly for the youth (December 20, 1905, G-38). After Esser had been replaced by Fr. Antonio everything balanced out according to the lines set by Jordan. In spite of the decision of the general chapter, the sisters were not recalled from Drognens.

The sisters in Vienna also became disturbed: were there to be only teaching sisters in future? The superior of Vienna II sounded the alarm at the Ordinariate and with Jordan. He had never intended to recall the sisters from the Maria Theresien Hospital, and Mother Mary stuck with Jordan. Thus in Vienna everything remained as it had been.

At the beginning of April 1905, Weigang had retired as confessor to the sisters. At the same time, Lüthen informed Mother Mary that she should no longer come to see him after the Angelus; he would no longer come down to the parlor (April 27, G-32). By the end of the year, Lüthen asked Mother Mary not to send him letters either. In unusual matters he would still advise her; he had been given this order by Jordan. It would be convenient to ask only him in exceptional matters (December 31, 1905, G-32).

So Mother Mary, willy nilly, had to activate the new generalate. USA and Assam were provided with commissaries as liaisons. Rosolini could only be closed in spring 1906. There was resistance on site and from the side of the sisters. Pfeiffer continued to be the assistant to whom Mother Mary could turn at any time. And Jordan as the Founder retained the decisive last word.

Fearing seriously that the good future of the sisters might suffer damage, Jordan had defended himself courageously against Esser, the wrongheaded apostolic visitor. But Mother Mary, without her former strength, was unable to do without a visitor. Jordan saw that he could not rid the sisters of their apostolic visitor, just as he himself could not shake off Fr. Antonio. It was also evident to him that he could not deal as freely with Esser as with Fr. Antonio. With Pfeiffer's help he succeeded to make the clever move to win Fr. Antonio to assume the post of apostolic visitor of the sisters. The Congregation saw an advantage in having both of Jordan's foundations supervised by the same visitor. Esser was discharged with thanks. Lüthen could not keep back his joyous satisfaction: "Esser off; Fr. Antonio Visitor (not yet public), hope!" (to the superior of Vienna II, who cared for the sister's foundation in Vienna, April 19, 1906, G-39).

Jordan was above all thankful to Cardinal Respighi who backed him canonically in all matters referring to the sisters, who as members of a diocesan institute were directly under his authority. Whenever during his tenure as apostolic visitator of the sisters Esser proposed anything, the Cardinal Vicar called Msgr. Leva, his deputy (January 25 & 30, 1906, E-936f).

Jordan performed official acts like investiture and professions of the sisters as standing "delegate of the Cardinal Vicar" (November 3, 1905, G-2.5). Novices and sisters submitted their corresponding petitions to Jordan. Mother Mary added her consent:

Dear Venerable Father, I sincerely join the petition to have you here personally on July 3 (on July 4 departure). Thankfully, most obedient spiritual daughter Mother Mary (June 29, 1905, E-926; June 27, 1906, E-950).

Fr. Antonio discharged his new office conscientiously and seriously. He immediately requested from each local sister superior a report on apostolate, religious life, and the economic status of each house. All sisters of that house had to sign the report to certify its correctness. Also the chaplain of a sisters' house had to sign. Furthermore, each sister had to write privately to the apostolic visitator, saying whether she felt well in the institute, how she was living, and what difficulties she was meeting. Each sister was also given the visitator's address to turn to him directly at any time (May 30, 1906, E-945).

3. The Salvatorian Crisis

If the preceding two years were already filled with painful adversities, 1906 started out even more stormy. In the first three issues of a Munich weekly a series of articles appeared: "A Word of Information about the Society of the Divine Savior, Founded by the Reverend Father Jordan." The author wanted, in an "open word" to urge church authorities finally to abolish the "deplorable state of affairs" in the Society of the Divine Savior, "and to warn young people against joining it.

First the honor of the Founder was dragged into the mud. Jordan was presented as a very unbalanced character who in his delusion to be a Founder harms more than helps the work under his guidance. To attain his ambitious goals every means seems right to the pretentious hypocrite who thinks his foundation is willed by God, although in fact up till now he doesn't know what he really wants.

Then the anonymous author paints the Society of the Divine Savior as a dissolute religious community in a deplorable and pathetic condition, scrounging around living by begging. Its priests are so poorly trained that the question had already arisen whether this Society were not an evil tolerated by God. Finally, the article bewails the wretched condition of India mission entrusted to the Society: unable to live or to die, nevertheless it is kept by Jordan because it is the "milk cow" for his work.

The female branch of his foundation is reviled in a more defamatory and spiteful way as even more decadent than the male branch. Then the intolerable conditions in the motherhouse are castigated, calling for a remedy to prevent more mass exits. For emphasis the author reports some glaring cases in this hopelessly depraved religious community. He also mentions how Jordan always succeeds in leading the authorities by the nose and concealing the true state of his foundations.

In late January, a Bavarian daily newspaper brought to the public an edited version of the "exciting news" of the academic *Münchener Wochenblattes* under the title "A Strange Foundation." Two more or less sordid articles followed. In repulsive form they derided Jordan, the "painter's assistant from Baden" and the "anointed stable boys" of his

“priests factory,” thus besmirching his honor and that of his foundations with unrestrained animosity. **See, 3.1. The “Twentieth Century” articles.**¹

Jordan was almost paralyzed. Three times he put a slip into the hands of the Mother of God statue with only one word on it *fama* (reputation). He left it, however, to the generalate to take the necessary steps in defense. They decided on a short, formal protest against the defamatory lies and slanders. The editor of the weekly rebuffed this “useless protest” and demanded again that the authorities take steps against the decadent institution, or at least that the German bishops stop promoting it, for the Jordanists are drawn from Germans and build their useless colleges with German money. **See, 3.2. Protest.**²

The press attacks found a stronger echo in SDS communities, especially in the three educational houses, than amongst the readers of the papers. Malcontents within the Society found their opinions confirmed there and could not restrain their malicious joy. Good Salvatorians swayed between repugnance at such malicious denunciation, and protest against the direction of the order which somehow was responsible for this defamatory exposé. The superiors of Lochau and Hamberg were afraid that their houses, deeply in debt, could suffer immense damage. For them it was imperative to stop these press accusations against the Society and so to limit the damage.

Fr. Hilary Gog and Fr. Canisius Werner met with the disgruntled confrere in Munich who had engineered the press campaign and who they knew well. They were able to convince him and the editors of the weekly that by their procedure they could never reach their intended target, church authorities, but that their publications were unavoidably damaging innocent people. After the two superiors expressed their assurance that for them the supreme direction of the Society could not

¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.1. The “Twentieth Century” articles.

² See, A Closer Look: 3.2. Protest.

be exonerated, the disaffected confrere gave in and transferred the battle “for his rights” to another venue. **See, 3.3. Call for a truce.**³

Lüthen asked all members of the Society not to let themselves be confused or infected, but to stay true to the Society and to its direction. This current administration would do everything to satisfy their legitimate desires, especially with reference to “training in humanistic studies” (February 13, 1906). **See, 3.4. Lüthen’s circular letter.**⁴

At the same time there appeared in a Bavarian Catholic daily, *Ausburger Postzeitung*, a declaration “In the Case of the Salvatorians.” It regrets the agitation of the press against the Society. At the same time it admits that defects of leadership do burden the Society. It had so far been incapable of eliminating these “organizational mistakes of a most disastrous kind.” The sensational declaration was signed only “Several Salvatorians” (February 16, 1906). **See, 3.5. In Sache der Salvatorianer.**⁵

In Rome there was amazement at this attack coming from within its own ranks. Above all the “Several Salvatorians” were criticized for having chosen to go public. In the meantime lively discussions went on over “In the Case of the Salvatorians” in those communities somehow involved in and most affected by the press attacks: Lochau, Hamberg and Meran. It was unavoidable that both parties tried to prevail with their politics in Rome. The confreres responsible for “In the Case of the Salvatorians” (leading priests of these three colleges together with the independent consultor general) suggested that the generalate find an honorable way to resign. But due too a rebellion in Assam and the fallout from the articles in the Lachau-Meran-Hamberg triangle, the whole Society could not become engaged in this initiative.

Jordan took refuge in prayer: that the Lord through the intercession of His Holy Mother would put an end to the devilish raging and lead the diverg-ing groups together again for the best of the Society. Lüthen

³ See, A Closer Look: 3.3. Call for a truce.

⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.4. Lüthen’s circular letter.

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.5. *In Sache der Salvatorianer*.

wrote a tame "Word in Defense" against the malicious attacks in the Bavarian papers. A second one he left in his drawer, realizing his first one did not interest the quickly forgetful public, but on the contrary incited only the group around "Several Salvatorians." **See, 3.6. The "Several Salvatorians."**⁶

Now it was in everyone's best interest for the Apostolic Visitor to step in. He demanded first of all a written statement from all superiors and delegates to the First General Chapter in regard of the complaints publicized, "In the Case of the Salvatorians." In particular all superiors were ordered to inform the generalate immediately of three things: which petitions or requests for stopping "organizational defects of a most disastrous kind" had been refused by the generalate; which important matters had been thwarted at the general chapter; and who had prevented discussion of the Assam Mission in the General Chapter (February 20, 1906).

Under the supervision of the Apostolic Visitor, the answers received were evaluated and, based on the results, the accusations leveled by "Several Salvatorians" were refuted as false. The Salvatorian general consulta published in the same Bavarian daily where "In the Case of the Salvatorians" had appeared, the promised counter-declaration and thereby "thought this case was settled" (March 16, 1906). Jordan, as the main defendant, kept himself out of the affair. The absent general consultor could only note the result, but not fully agree with it. Therefore, it was only signed "the general consulta." **See, 3.7. Official Roman response.**⁷

Jordan examined his conscience more seriously than ever. The severely tested Founder had to put behind him as soon as possible the outrageous calumnies. What a consolation and help it was for him that precisely in these stormy days many of his spiritual sons assured him of their faithfulness and deep respect. He was especially grateful to church authorities for supporting him energetically and for expressing honest esteem and confidence. From the German bishops, too, came

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.6. "The Several Salvatorians."

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.7. Official Roman response.

hearty messages of sympathy and encouragement. **See, 3.8. Jordan's self-examination.**⁸

The young go-getters, the "Several Salvatorians" who had attacked the Society to conform it to their own ideas and who had wanted the Founder to resign, very soon found themselves back at their daily grind. In Rome little moved as they had wished. Trusting their own efforts, they had tried to overcome the difficulties of their communities as well as possible. Surely their activities remained subdued while they were given time to get in step again: "The young go-getters were now better left alone. In time they will learn that the *modus* [they tried] did not fit" (Lüthen, April 17, 1906, BL-846). **See, 3.9. The dust settles.**⁹

Church authorities were of the opinion that the poorly formed Salvatori-ans should leave the Society and look for a place better suited to their expectations and abilities. The Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation for Religious gave Jordan special authority making it easier for him to give permission to confreres who no longer felt comfortable in the Society to enter a diocese. Jordan recommended his plight to the Mother of God: "to let those wavering exit." Many of the younger priests took this favorable opportunity, thus thinning the ranks alarmingly. Now Jordan found it even more difficult to staff the communities well enough to meet their responsibilities. Yet he considered this storm and its attendant culling to be healthy for the Society. "This storm has strengthened and confirmed the Society" (June 25, 1906).

Inside, he was wounded and physically worn out, a man with battered health. Above all, he remained for the rest of his life a nervous cripple. **See, 3.10. Scurrilous anecdotes.**¹⁰ Despite these unruly times, indeed precisely because of them, he could not relinquish the administration of the Society. He knew himself bound to his calling "according to the

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.8. Jordan's self-examination.

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.9. The dust settles.

¹⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.10, Scurrilous anecdotes.

Pact." He had to stay in the harness as long as his apostolic heart still beat.

By mid February the new Apostolic Prefect, Christopher Becker, traveled with two capable missionaries to Assam. Jordan had greatest hopes that now the mission would get back in step. Becker attacked his job at once with his usual energy. His plans were aimed accordingly high. Jordan did everything to satisfy the wishes of the Apostolic Prefect as far as possible. Becker put the main emphasis on establishing a trade school, a middle school, and a mission center worthy of an Apostolic Prefect, which could also serve as a home to which all missionaries could return from time to time. Jordan agreed fully with these projects, for he esteemed Becker as fully capable of realizing them. Thus it was all the more painful for him to find so few men enthusiastic for the missions, and also capable of the work. It was also nearly unbearable for him that, with the priority of Assam, the smaller but promising missions in Pe Ell, Cartagena, and Rio had to be left alone for now. **See, 3.11. Assam.**¹¹

For the time being, the priests in Wealdstone,¹² too, had no wish to volunteer in Rome. The communities there, especially the houses of studies, were well staffed. In spite of the low number of students, there were from 10 to 13 priests in England. But those among them who were dispensable did not feel called to or capable of mission work. Instead they looked for a bishop to accept them.

Meran came to feel the internal uproar of the press campaign no less than Lochau. During the disquieting attacks, the superior had to give up his job to direct the Assam Mission. With the college still in the building stages, the newly-named superior was not up to the critical

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.11, Assam.

¹² In summer 1906, the priests in Wealdstone moved into another rented house. Meanwhile, the superior negotiated for a property for 32,000 Mark; the building required at least 24,000 to 30,000 Mark (August 24, 1906). The superior there, Fr. Sturmius Härtel, was very concerned and troubled by an insubordinate young priest there who, confirmed and buoyed by the "press attacks," rushed against Jordan and the Society.

situation and gave up after a few weeks. Of necessity the generalate had to fall back on Becker's predecessor. The task suited him, but it proved more difficult to restore peace within the divided community. Jordan sent a general consultor for visitation this year due to his poor health. **See, 3.12. Meran.**¹³

The third general consultor, Hilarius Gog, did his best with growing success to guide the promising but now very shaken Lochau community along the right track. But this was very difficult. Ethelbertus Hurler, the successor of Fr. Bonfilius Loretan was not the superior with the say. And the one who had to act as superior was not the appointed superior. Jordan sent here the other general consultor, Fr. Barnabas Borchert, to replace him as visitator. On the question of a superior he favored Gog who was eventually appointed.

There was also trouble with the Apostolic Visitator on account of the newly completed building in Lochau. Instead of the approved addition, the full extension was built, and the corresponding debt burden was oppressive. The community in no way begged Rome for help, but wanted bravely to be able to deal with its own debts. Those in charge had thought it reasonable to give the community a new image, presenting itself as a seven-year gymnasium. In South Germany where the students and money came from, it would be able to catch up with other Catholic schools. The generalate was urged to agree. **See, 3.13. Lochau.**¹⁴

There was no solution yet to the question of teachers. Due to the press attacks, able and reliable teachers were discouraged and withdrew. Jordan pushed the Humaniora Commission to take more action than before. Its new director met him in Rome, the commission itself met in Munich, and their plans were good. But on account of the wave of attritions there were no applicants for teaching jobs. Finally in the

¹³ See, A Closer Look: 3.12. Meran.

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.13. Lochau.

summer, Jordan had personally to step in to provide most urgently needed relief. **See, 3.14. The Humaniora Commission.**¹⁵

The situation in Hamberg was similar. There the difficulties were likewise teachers and debts. There, too, as earlier in Lochau and Meran, the general consultor as visitor was received dutifully but not openly or even kindly. **See, 3.15. Hamberg.**¹⁶

Between Jordan and the new superior of Jägerndorf, Leodegar Gütlein, the fight over the continued existence of the foundation went on. The superior had to deal with short term debts for which he was responsible, and Jordan was not able to send him confreres who pleased him. All this annoyed the superior so much that he bombarded Rome with petitions to be relieved. Jordan repeated just as insistently his plea: "Out of love for Him who suffered death on the cross for us, you should still persevere." He helped the superior in his difficulties as best he could and as far as possible. The superior withdrew his threat to quit. He persevered and thereby preserved the Silesian foundation. **See, 3. 16. Jägerndorf.**¹⁷ But the embittered superior in Athus threw the switches so cleverly that Jordan had no choice but to close the house quietly. **See, 3.17. Athus.**¹⁸

As for the other two Belgian houses, Jordan sent there Conrad Hansknecht, the superior of Drognens, as visitor. In Hamont the superior, Virgilius Koelman, coarse by nature, had built energetically. But he was not able to keep the community together internally. On the contrary, he behaved toward the confreres in such an overbearing manner that they were glad when he stayed out of the house. He was soon replaced by Dorotheus Brugger, a very dear priest during whose

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.14. The Humaniora Commission.

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.15. Hamberg.

¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.16. Jägerndorf.

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.17. Athus.

term of office he kept the community together and became the savior of the foundation. **See, 3.18. Hamont and Welkenraedt.**¹⁹

After the three schools on German-speaking territory had extended their teaching activities, the costly school in Tivoli could be closed. The Villa Lavaggi remained in the Roman community for vacation use.²⁰ The study house in Scala near Noto was also closed. Through the Apostolic Visitor the procurator general urged the complete closing of the community, but Jordan worked against this with the active support of the local bishop. Jordan felt the Society was still strong enough at least to look after the Sanctuary of the Madonna. **See, 3.19. Noto.**²¹ But the Apostolic Visitor succeeded in his wish to settle a small group in Porto di Recanate once the generalate decided to take over the one time convent with the Church of the Precious Blood. **See, 3.20. Porto di Recanati.**²²

To visit the confreres in Timisoara, Jordan sent the superior of Meseritsch as his deputy. The current local superior who had worked to develop this foundation soundly and bravely had somehow come to the end of his career. He found a good successor. **See, 3.21. Mehala.**²³

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.18. Hamont and Welkenraedt.

²⁰ Tivoli was a student house and vacation community for scholastics in Rome. Fully six priests and two brothers cared for scarcely 20 students, who were divided into 3 classes. The curriculum covered a 5-year Humaniora for late vocations. In 1906, it was decided to close the student residence in Tivoli, as the burden on the motherhouse treasury was too great. Also now the communities for candidates in Lochau, Hamberg, Meran and Hamont were open. Nine confreres remained in Tivoli, among them two "artists" and two priests, who staffed the diocesan seminary. In summer 1907, the community was free from debt.

²¹ See, A Closer Look: 3.19. Noto.

²² See, A Closer Look: 3.20. Porto di Recanati.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 3.21. Mehala.

It was difficult to maintain good connections with the confreres in far-off North and South America. Thus difficulties were protracted and the communities often acted on their own initiative. This happened in an extreme manner in the American Northwest. The Bishop of Nesqually, WA, repeatedly refused to make community life possible for the confreres there. Jordan could no longer be stalled. In September 1906, he informed the bishop that he would pull out his men, and that the superior of Pe Ell had already received pertinent instructions. The priests moved to Los Angeles where they temporarily ministered to Polish immigrants and worked in a hospital. Other big plans were made. But the local bishop and Jordan could not come to an agreement as quickly as the confreres expected. That proved to be a blessing. For the small community which had started the foundation with such elan found insuperable difficulties and soon dissolved again all too quickly. **See, 3.22. Los Angeles.**²⁴

As for the apostolic school in St. Nazianz, WI, the east wing was erected. But the press attacks also found an echo there, confirming the pessimistic superior in his attitude to keep a distrustful distance from Rome. Jordan could only keep silent and pray; he was grateful that steady, albeit slow progress was being made there. **See, 3.23. St. Nazianz.**²⁵

Instead of his usual summertime visitations, Jordan had to take a holiday vacation— the first one of his life. His careful physician had no choice but to prescribe it in order to stop the ruin of the Founder's health. Jordan chose as his health resort St. Nicolas, Drogne, for which he had a special liking and a good understanding with its superior. The 6 weeks of relaxation were of visible benefit. How much he had to suffer from his nervous condition the confreres witnessed during a terrible thunder storm one night in July. Naturally, the Founder also visited the confreres in nearby Stalden, and he also allowed himself a trip to Karthaus Valsainte. After the feast of the Assumption of Mary he took part in the Marian Congress in Einsiedeln, accompanied by Fr. Conrad Hansknecht. Often in these days

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 3.22. Los Angeles.

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 3.23. St. Nazianz.

he spent time in the Chapel of Grace where a definite hour for the celebration of Holy Mass was assigned to him. He remembered in trusting gratitude the past 25 years. He did not forget that 23 years before, at the feet of Our Lady of the Dark Forest, he had written the first rule for his young religious community– a rule meant to keep its apostolic depth forever valid. By the end of August, Jordan thought he had recovered sufficiently to return to Rome. **See, 3.24. Freiburg and Drognens.**²⁶

Jordan felt it as blessing that in this year from the part of the sisters no special efforts were required. In certain individual cases the procurator general and the Apostolic Visitor came to help. In spite of her increasing asthma, Mother Mary once again undertook the journey to visit the sisters in Austria and Hungary. The houses near the three centers (Budapest, Vienna, and Milwaukee) developed well. The school in rural Luxemburg, WI, had to be closed. In Vienna a large home for girls could be taken over. **See, 3.25. Sisters' visitation.**²⁷

The press attacks against the Society also influenced publicity in the Salvatorian press. The Assam Mission found it easiest to identify its public. *Der Missionär* appeared since January 1, 1907, as a pale "Illustrated Monthly for the Christian Home." It had lost much of its vigor. **See, 3.26. Salvatorian publications.**²⁸

On December 8, 1906, the male branch of the Salvatorians celebrated its silver jubilee with muted gratitude. The "memory of the whole sea of bitterness, cross and suffering" of the past years could not be excised. Jordan had called on all to prepare worthily for the feast day.

In his circular letter of November 14, 1906, after a short review of the origin and growth of the Society, he emphasized that Divine Providence had never let it down, not in material needs or in its internal troubles, and he called on everyone to renew his "first love."

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 3.24. Freiburg and Drognens.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 3.25. Sisters' visitation.

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 3.26. Salvatorian publications .

That would be on this day the only worthy thanks from a “good Salvatorian” who knows himself obliged by the dignity of his name. Unmistakable to everyone was what Jordan had resolved in the wake of these recent storms:

It has pleased God to burden me heavily with the cross. Pray for me, that I may bear it patiently, and that I may, together with my consultors, guide the Society according to the will of God in a saintly manner. **See, 3.27. Circular letter and good wishes.**²⁹

Despite all the sincere gratitude for the past 25 years, Jordan could not pretend that the shakedown which had so effected the Society internally had really ended. Even now he had to realize what hemorrhaging the Society had suffered. While at the beginning of the year the Society had boasted 458 professed, 25 novices, and 115 students, by the end of the year it had dropped to 414 professed, 21 novices, and 83 students. Among the 168 priests listed in the yearbook of 1907, 27 had tried to leave. **See, 3.28. Defections.**³⁰

In these critical years, 1905-1907, the number of those coming forward for ordination had also dropped off alarmingly. And the coming years did not promise an upturn. Jordan was afraid that this backward trend in the Society would not only hurt the mission in Assam, but would endanger the up to now so promising development of the whole Society. The sigh of relief that the disputatious and dissatisfied confreres who left could no longer be disturbing things, was followed by the realization that their offices and jobs would have to remain vacant for a long time.

Soon Jordan, too, became aware of the fact that the “Several Salvatorians” had not given up their resistance to the actual government of the Society, despite the fact they had been publically assured at the beginning of the year that the Society, “was about to take a step forward in its develop-ment.” With the best of intentions these confreres sought to iron out the “organizational faults” they so much

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 3.27. Circular letter and good wishes.

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 3.28. Defections.

bewailed. They wanted at long last to be personally recognized and valued as equals, financially and in their own spheres of action.

All these bitter happenings had distracted Jordan from his usual broad apostolic strategy. Most painful for him was to contemplate the grand but half empty school buildings where only candidates who were able to pay were allowed to enroll. He had based his plan of "apostolic plantations everywhere" on the idea of winning and sponsoring youths without means. Often in these years Jordan found himself in a moral dilemma. How could he answer before God for this change in the direction of his foundation? He suffered intensely under the discrepancy between what he had aimed at, and what had now developed. Yes, the now nearly sixty year-old was plagued by the temptation again to dare something new in order to compensate for what was "too little" in his foundation. Amidst all this unresolved apostolic yearning he sought a foothold in his Pact:

Advance courageously according to the Pact, confiding in almighty God, who will free you from all your enemies and so forth. May the almighty Lord be my strong helper! Who is like God! (December 30, 1906, SD II, 104).

3. The Salvatorian Crisis. A Closer Look

3.1/1. The "Twentieth Century" articles (or better, "lampoons") appeared at the start of volume 6 of *Münchener Wochenblattes** on January 7, 14 & 21, 1906 as: "A Word of Clarification on Rev. Fr. Jordan, Founder of the Society of the Divine Savior." A pointed introduction explains that "this criticism of Salvatorian religious" is being published because it came to the editor "from reliable sources" and because the contents of all three articles were fully confirmed from different sources when inquiries were made. "Candid discussion" is the best way to "preserve the purity of Catholic religious life," especially since "no redress of the lamentable situation was in any way forthcoming from competent church authority."

In a preface the anonymous author justifies his "Word of Clarification." Above all he wants to warn pastors against enrolling people from their communities in a Society which completely floods Germany today with its active propaganda:

Because in reality this Society simply contradicts expectations too much: that a Catholic could look to a religious society as a school of holiness and perfection, a place of peace, which sets about its work in an orderly and regular way. [As proof], generally the very best people and most capable forces sooner or later abandon the Society.

Then the Founder of the Society is presented as,

. . . a strange holy man . . . who sees himself as a saint, who in all his plans, enterprises and arrangements is led infallibly by the Spirit of God. . . but most people who know him better, particularly the members of the Society, generally agree that he suffers rather strongly from religious delusions of grandeur, and that due to his extremely un-stable character coupled with the fixed idea that all his ideas are divinely inspired, his life work to which he feels called is more unfortunate than it is useful.

* Wishing to close the gap it saw between itself and the Catholic press, the weekly used these articles to capitalize on the fact that 1901 began a new century. However, it found no one with name or influence to assist it. Thus it remained an outside player whose readership was simple people. In this format the magazine had few subscribers and offered them a complete hodgepodge.

Then very ambiguous and defamatory proofs for the above statement are specified. In the General Chapter of 1902, Jordan threatened his members to withdraw from the Society if he were not selected as general superior, morally forcing them to select him in order to prevent a scandal unique in church history, because "humility is in no way his strong suit." Also Jordan's stand on the 8th Commandment, "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," is infuriatingly dubious. He permits any means for reaching his goals, without considering the honor of his neighbor. The members of the Society justify his way of acting by saying, "that he is not quite sane." Next his language talent is described as mere boasting. Last his "founding mania" is ridiculed, and continual name changes are said to correspond to the constant internal metamorphosis in the Society. The shape of the Society today developed gradually from the idea of a lay apostolate in large cities uniting tradesmen interested in pursuing a common life. "Zealous" members of the Society pointed to this metamorphosis as the surest proof,

. . . that the Founder was only an instrument in the hand of God and, therefore, did not even know what he actually wanted. Following this line of thinking, however, Father Jordan must still be considered as inspired because he still does not know today what he wants.

From this caricature of the Founder drawn with a crude and caustic pen, the author comes to speak of "the purpose and the past effectiveness of the Society." "The Society wants to be universal in every respect." Surely this is "a beautiful purpose, but not a special identifying characteristic" distinct from other orders or congregations. The anonymous author goes still further asking whether perhaps the effectiveness of the Society is uni-versal? It is already 24 years old with over 400 members, and just under 200 priests. But he gives an equally negative assessment of its effective-ness: "pitiful!" He then comes to discuss the superior's: "formation houses without money, up to their ears in debt, without qualified instructors, thus they rely on choral prayer and begging." Then the author opines: "It seems to me that for both domestic and foreign missions and for practical pastoral and social work, Rev. Father Jordan had no sense. . . . Even there his first priority is to make as much publicity for his Society as possible."

Then the bad training of the priests is deplored. "They were content mostly with 2 or 3 lower gymnasium classes. Then these young people who had entered as farmhands and semi-skilled workers, were

sent immediately to the university, and after 3 to 4 years ordained!" Then in an attempt to be irenic the author admits that the members themselves deplored "the fact that they stood so far beneath the education level of [other] Catholic religious" and that some of them do endeavor to catch up "in later years for what they missed earlier on account of Jordan's blind Founder's zeal." He thinks it is sad that "the entire enterprise rests on the shoulders of just a few" who would however, accomplish just as much outside as inside the Society.

The author in summary deplores the continual attempts and unsystematic groping- starting and stopping and starting again-Jordan's disgusting anxious chasing after the goal of spreading his Society over the whole world. Those are the characteristics of the Society up to now and they will remain so as long as Jordan's restless spirit directs things. So it is not surprising that in one Salvatorian community a meeting of priests in all seriousness discussed whether the establishment of the Society by Jordan was no more than an evil permitted by God! So much for Article 1.

Article 2 puts the mission in Assam under the magnifying glass. The author spoke briefly of the mission's founder, Otto Hopfenmüller, and stressed that "the open and straightforward character of the truthful, pious and scholarly priest" was generally admired by all. From his own connection with the Society the author judged that: "in all other respects he conducted himself with dignity, and like many others hoped for better times." Next he praises the "pious man's unbelievable zeal" to found the mission. His "dying caused great confusion among the members of the Society. Jordan being the sole exception."

The author then briefly describes the next years of the mission under the immature, young superior, Angelus Mützloher. It "could neither live nor die," as *Kölnische Volkszeitung* reported. Jordan used the emergency of the mission as a pretext to send "dozens of begging brothers up and down Germany" to collect alms. But from these funds the mission gets not a penny unless the donors in individual cases demand it expressly." One slated for the Assam Mission had his things taken away. "Even his personal belongings, from his small mission cross to the shirt on his back, is deducted from the mission funds." Therefore, it is also extremely hard to get any of the 200 priests of the Society to go to the mission. The Assam Mission is Jordan "milk cow" for the Society.

In article 3 the author takes after "Jordan's Second Order," the sisters, which,

. . . if possible is in an even scruffier condition than the First Order. The victims of this Second Order are really to be pitied. The old lady who manages this untidy order [Mother Mary], knows no other goal than to produce as much money as possible from the sisters.

The writer then discusses the "*Hunger-Typhus*" and closes with the spiteful suspicion that no one should be surprised if moral lapses should occur between young priests of the First Order and the "unfortunate victims" of the Second Order, given their "complete lack of ascetical upbringing and normal formation."

In a further point "the relationship of the members to the Founder of the Society" is illuminated. In a nasty tone the author first indulges in describing the conditions in the motherhouse which in earlier years "kept drawing to the Palazzo Morone these dirty, disgusting vermin of startling shapes, these scruffy, adolescents from the leprous countryside, bickering and fighting." Then he sketches the accelerated course of studies for priestly ordination. For subsequent priestly work it is the rule,

. . . that ignorance and stupid jealousy on the part of the less educated (and therefore usually more presumptuous) members are ruining the work of the most evidently successful of the better forces, and making successful cooperation impossible. However, much more than anything else the distracted, wavering character of the Founder is the reason for the general discontent. Every minute there are new rules, new regulations, new arrangements in large things as well as small. . . . In addition, the hypocritical false piety . . . ridiculous megalomania . . . disgusting caste spirit . . . pharisaic rigorism, which brands the smallest possible infringe-ment of his ever fickle arrangements as a mortal sin, while on the other hand he knows how to excuse his own most serious breaches of the Ten Commandments. All these things and many others must lead to the conclusion that his own people can only see behind the artificial halo of a holy founder of an order, a very flawed and unpredictable human being, into whose arbitrariness they are hopelessly delivered.

The anonymous writer complains next about the mass defections from this Society and "that precisely the most capable forces leave disgusted."

In a sixth point, "individual cases are presented to describe the Society." Particularly here the writer betrays himself as a former Assam

missionary. His final judgment is again ruthlessly damning: the mission would be far better off if it were dependent "on heathens" instead of on the present superiors. To him this is, "unfortunately all too true."

Another point is the completely unsatisfactory way the Society provides for its sick members, to the sad degree that "already several dying persons have begged their confessor shortly before their death just not to have "Venerable Father [Jordan], and with the sister the Venerable Mother [!], come to their death beds."

Finally, the interaction between Society and church authorities is denounced. The latter are only told about entrances and new foundations; the withdrawals and fiascos are carefully withheld. Hence the reader must concur with the writer's conviction,

. . . that 20 German pastors in their normal course of work in the church and in the social arena accomplish more than 200 Salvatorian priests, who for the most part are unwilling to work, or worse lack the opportunity and ability to work, but essentially they completely lack cogent organization.

The author then talks extensively about the scandalous relationship of a co-missionary [Ignatius Bethan] he hated, who was installed as confessor to the sisters, and who despite all complaints of the superiors, was not recalled because "he enjoyed the special protection of Fr. Jordan." In a concluding remark the author again justifies his publication.

[Because]. . . it is almost an open scandal that so many young people are lured annually into this Society from Germany to Rome. [And] that so many hundred thousands in alms flow into the purse of a man who uses it only as means for reaching his own ambitious plans in a way as is possible only in Italy, but which in Germany would already long ago have brought it into conflict with church authorities if not with the public prosecutor. . . . This should be halted, and people should be definitively dissuaded before an entering this Society.

Since all means nearer at hand had failed, the opportunity of this publication had to be seized to accelerate the "necessary reform of the Society in any possible way."

So much for the sordid contents of this spiteful attack on Jordan and his foundation. Although the three articles and their introduction appeared anonymously, they could only have been written by a Salvatori-an. The weekly review of politics, science and

art, which published it wanted to be ideologically Liberal-Catholic, politically anti-clerical, and scientifically "enlightened." "Thus, *The Twentieth Century* gave this anonymous Salvatorian access to circles receptive to the negative criticism they themselves used to justify their own "freer Catholic attitude."

By January 23, 1906, under the title "A Strange Religious Foundation," *Augsburger Abendzeitung* published excerpts from the "exciting reports" of *The Twentieth Century*. The tabloid regarded its warning about the Society of the Divine Savior as "very appropriate since the revelations given by the aforementioned weekly review correspond to the facts." If, nevertheless, the things exposed by *The Twentieth Century* regarding the Society had remained in "educated circles," then the *Augsburger Abendzeitung* with its raw excerpts from that publication now dragged the honor of the Salvatorians and their Founder through the mud.

On February 4th, *Augsburger Abendzeitung* under the title "A Model Order" renewed the attack on the Society. First the Founder, now called, "the priest of Baden and former painter's assistant Franz [sic!]" pulled Jordan into the mud. Then "the anointed farmhands" of its "priest factory" had their turn. Finally for good measure a hair-raising "scandalous story" from South America was attached. These exposés, written in the vulgar language of street tabloids, really hit below the belt. They had to elicit disgust in any halfway healthy reader. The following day under the title "A Model Order" the *Abendzeitung* also published the protest of the general consultors, edited "by Fr. Lüthen, the right arm of the general superior, who requested the publication." On February 6, under the same title, the newspaper had published a letter in which some Salvatorian in a short contribution based on his view of conditions in Meran, agreed with the article (Meran, February 4, 1906. Note that already on Sunday this priest must have had the article in hand from the evening paper of February 4 in which the article appeared! His small article appeared also in the *Meraner Zeitung*.)

* In *Fr. Jordan and his Foundations* celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Society, Pancratius Pfeiffer includes a brief chapter, "Attacks in the Press" (336ff). There he touches briefly on the "instigator" of the attacks as well as their acts and their consequences, without becoming in the least bit out order or indiscrete.

When the former SDS scholastic Marian William Paul, now pastor

of St. Joseph's Parish in Offerle, Kansas, USA, discovered Pfeiffer's book while visiting an ailing neighboring pastor, he took it home with him and immediately read the short chapter on the "press attacks." Immediately he informed the superiors in St. Nazianz of his memories of those events:

I had to suffer innocently. . . . at that time I was the only scholastic in Meran and Fr. Gebhard [Abele] was determined that I should accompany him on his daily walk; he went almost daily to Trautmannsdorf for his half beer. He must have preferred me because I never liked drinking beer. I must admit that Fr. Gebhard never entrusted his bitter secrets to me. On that occasion he was writing his *Blickensdorfer* until late into the night. One day, tears in its eyes, he called me in and said: "If something should happen in a few days don't approve of it, and what does not seem understandable to you, do not judge, because you never know what the poor priest had borne these last years." He left Meran in perfect peace and on the next day came the attack in the press. There were mutinous scenes in the free yard. That tormented me, not because I believed in these attacks, but because [I saw] how low priests could sink in insulting someone they had previously loved. Later the Rev. Superior, Fr. Chrysologus [Becker] required me "under obedience" to state under oath whether I had known of these plots, or had helped to write it, all because I had sometimes, with the permission of the superiors, accompanied Fr. Gebhard on his daily walk. For a long time I could not get over this accusation; it seemed to me too coarse and sordid. And in these days we were ashamed to show ourselves on the streets of Meran. Those who wrote against the Society the world applauded. But Fr. Jordan triumphed. I lived 5 years as subdeacon in Meran, completely alone, by myself, sick in body and heart, my nerves ruined because I had to take "drops" for a long time. Then came the terrible time of the open revolt by some priests in the free yard. My short stay in Rome [1907] again gave balm to my heart. It is my firm conviction that I would again have found my balance if I had been able to spend 2 or 3 years in Rome instead of in Welkenraedt. But in all these terrible years, I must admit that always and above all I loved the holy founder of the Society. I admired Fr. Bonaventura as a good, pious, humble diplomat. I am really glad to find him so beautifully explained in Jordan's biography. He was certainly a large actor, and a tool God used to develop the new Society. Looking back on all the years, one must admit Fr. Jordan fulfilled God's will, by found-ing the Society, and it is time even for its enemies to recognize this truth.

Father Paul expressed the desire that the book about Jordan and his work also be mailed to two other priests in Kansas, "who still have the same attitude toward Fr. Jordan as those who wrote the articles against the Society" (Fr. William Paul to Fr. Odo Distel, July 15, 1931).

This valuable confession not only honors the writer, it also demonstrates how Abele succeeded in living his double life. He knew well how to inveigle himself into community life while at the same time dedicating

himself unhindered to prepare his attack on Jordan and his work, without forgetting to provide for his uncertain future with "a false passport" and some accumulation of money. In addition, Fr. Paul shows how deeply unfortunate Abele was in the hopelessness he felt, into which he had slid, not altogether blamelessly.

In later years, Pfeiffer not only spoke briefly of these turbulent times in his book for the golden anniversary (PPP, 336ff), in "Exchange of Thoughts" he also recalled the fact that the year of the silver anniversary of the Society did not by any means have a sunny beginning:

Already in the middle into the anniversary celebrations of 1906, however, an apparent cry of discord mixed in. On January 7 of that festive year 1906, there suddenly appeared from the pen of one spiritual son of the Rev. Father, "A Word of Clarification about the Rev. Fr. Jordan and the Society he Founded." We know all about this "Word of Clarification." Likewise we know that still other of his spiritual sons followed this movement and on February 4 of the same year un-leashed in a large newspaper an equally violent attack under the title "A Model Order"! If the author of the first attack had been personally provoked, thus making his excitement somewhat understandable, then the second attack virtually paralyzed the members. The confreres who saw it knew him [the author]! That was the silver jubilee celebration year of the Society!

Jordan said in response to all this: "*Scitis, Filii carissimi, quantum hostis saevierit.*" You know, dearest sons, how the enemy ragged" (An III, 1931, 205).

Pfeiffer, general procurator at that time, abhorred the procedure of those who wrote the article. In his opinion, "not only any religious, but any gentleman must be ashamed of such an act. It is neither Christian nor honorable." In *Jordan and his Foundations* he expressed himself:

I was resolved to use all my strength to protect the Society against unjustified measures and still am. I believe this is no more than my duty. In that way *–meo quidem iudicio–* no one will be able to accuse me of ever having attacked or treated him unfairly (CL 1, 417).

His deep indignation manifested itself in a letter to local superiors:

First we are thrust by the article into a quite unpleasant situation. The one who published it acted as an unprincipled human being, who no longer deserves to belong to a Society which he befouls in such a mean way. In the articles much is true, nobody denies this. But much is also entirely incorrect– a representation one might expect from an apostate but not from a priest or religious. My point of view is therefore this: the writer must be dismissed, even if by doing so the whole Society be shaken ... we do not have to put up with a member of the Society in such a way. This also includes the letters we receive from outside.

3.2/2. Protest. The generalate itself was not united on whether or how to respond to *Twentieth Century*. In the meantime, the first echoes from local communities came in. Some urged that superiors be called to Rome to discuss reform. Lüthen responded to this suggestion: "But one cannot dignify such a lampoon!" (January 30, 1906). Finally, the generalate agreed on publishing a protest. Fr. Hilarius Gog, who had left Rome on January 18 for Lochau not only because of the community's building debts but also to engage himself around Munich, refused to sign the protest which he viewed as useless. Thus, only the three remaining members of the generalate signed.

Rome, 30 January.

The General Consulta of the Society of the Divine Savior present in Rome publishes the following protest: we protest: 1) the wrong and disgraceful evaluation of our Founder contained in an article, "A Word of Clarification on Rev. Fr. Jordan, Founder of the Society of the Divine Savior" in *The Twentieth Century*, nr. 1, 2 & 3 of this year. At the same time, we publicly express our firm conviction drawn from long time cooperation in the integrity, conscientiousness and justice of our admired Founder against each doubt raised; we protest: 2) the numerous untruths, distortions and exaggerations in that article.

Fr. Bonaventura Lüthen, SDS

Fr. Thomas Weigang, SDS

Fr. Barnabas Borchert, SDS (January 30 & February 27, 1906, BL-

828)

Lüthen had simply assumed that as general consultor, Gog would go along with the generalate's defense of the attacked Salvatorian interests. Before receiving his refusal telegram of January 29, Lüthen still wrote to Gog that from Lochau he might communicate to Abele in Munich that he incurs the protest of the generalate (January 30, 1906,

In this gale— such as it was (An III, 205)— he stood courageously with the founder

along with Lüthen and other confreres, and through his solidarity bolstered the confidence of the other members. Actually the storm passed without doing substantial damage. "From the letters of accomplished men it is to be seen that the articles do not kill us outright; as the thing lies now, they might not even harm us much" (CL 1, 399). This is what Pfeiffer wrote at that time. Later he judged it this way: "Branches were shaken off, but the trunk proved healthy and the branches proved resilient" (An III, 205; cf., DSS III, 76f).

G-39). Lüthen could not understand Gog opposing the generalate. Even at the beginning of March he reminded him, "It's really not good that you persist in thinking otherwise than we do" (March 7, 1906, G-39). But Gog remained on the side of the "Several Salvatorians" no less than Frs. Becker and Werner. For Lüthen this statement was painful. It could not, however, shake his loyalty to the Founder or weaken his own responsibility as vicar general.

That same day, Lüthen asked Becker in Meran whether he might use his good relationship to Abele to induce him to abort his press feud. But Lüthen had little hope for success. "From a certain side they advise you to take a step toward Fr. Gebhard. But he is even capable of taking unfair advantage of that step. Already you will do so. You certainly have influence on him" (January 30, 1906).

Abele kept Becker up to date, and so he knew that Abele was now launched and there was no prospect of stopping him with nothing more than good urging. In addition, Becker was about to pack his own bags and had his thoughts already on Assam.

The protest of the three general counselors was mailed to some good Catholic papers like *Augsburger Postzeitung*, *Wiener Vaterland*, *Reichs-post* and *Salzburger Kirchenzeitung* saying, "we do not want to make much noise" (Lüthen). *Augsburger Postzeitung* published the explanation on February 5, 1906.

The "useless protest" of the 3 "general consultants of the Society of the Divine Savior present in Rome" provoked the editor of *Twentieth Century* to reply. He referred to the "general applause, which our publication evoked in the whole order." It demanded vigorously that, . . . church authorities intervene decisively against such unprincipled exploitation of those who with best intentions and most devout eagerness entered the Society, sacrificing everything, body and soul. In addition, above all what is necessary is a thorough visitation of this crazy institute by an impartial person, and then the removal of the Society's superiors: Fr. Jordan and his accessories: Frs. Lüthen, Weigang and Borchert.

If the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Religious in Rome does not intervene, the German Bishops' Conference would have to find ways to cut off the supply from what cannot unjustly be called Jordan's priest factory. "Because the whole Society of Jordanists consists of Germans and builds its useless communities with German money."

The editor then attacks the large number of "Catholic" papers to which he had sent numbers 1-3 of *Twentieth Century*, but which until now he had not been able to discover "whether they had noticed even one of our articles" (Nr. 6, February 11, 1906).

3.3/3. Call for a truce. After the malicious article appeared in *Augsburger Abendzeitung*, those responsible for Lochau and Hamburg (Gog and Werner) met with Abele in Munich for a discussion (February 8-11, 1906). Both communities were heavily affected by the attacks he had launched in *Twentieth Century* and which had now been broadcast in the sensation-loving *Augsburger Abendzeitung*. For both superiors the top priority was not to protest what Abele said, but to stop his press attacks.

Gog also met with Karl Joseph Möndel, the editor responsible for *Twentieth Century*, while Werner traveled elsewhere. A kind of keep-quiet agreement was negotiated. Abele promised to spare the two houses and the mission. But he wanted to exact his full vindication from the mission. Therefore, he gave Becker, the new mission superior, full knowledge of the Munich meeting, and now "put the gun to his head." He insisted on Becker's consent to his own "no more than just demands . . . to avoid, and in a peaceful way to forestall further publications about the mission." Abele stressed that the editor of *The Twentieth Century*,

. . . had amassed considerable material sent in from members of the Society from nearly all communities, from some who had already left the Society, from others who opposed the Society, and also from friends who regretted the publication, but who plainly admitted the facts as far as they were informed of them.

Also the editor had "a complete, rather extensive, extremely sensational and very well written brochure ready for printing about the Society and the Assam Mission with all the necessary evidence." Furthermore, "cardinals, bishops, priests and high ranking, influential laymen would stand behind the movement." In the very near future the press in Assam would also proceed against the mission (Munich, February 9, 1906).

Becker had no choice but to pass on this blunt threat to the generalate.* However, Fr. Gebhard finally admitted that he in Meran, together with his comrades-in-arms in Assam, had prepared the press attacks intentionally, in a way calculated to finish off Jordan morally and to bring down the Society of the Divine Savior.

3.4/4. Lüthen's circular letter. In the meantime, the vicar general had dispatched a circular letter to all houses urging the confreres to stay loyal to their Society in this difficult ordeal:

Reverend Confreres!

As most of you know, lately our Society and particularly our Rev. Father have been attacked in certain newspapers by spiteful articles containing numerous distortions of the truth and exaggerations mixed with coarse slanders.

Apart from the great annoyances these publications present to the world, they also inflict incalculable damage on the Society. Therefore, we ask our confreres not to join this movement but to stand faithfully and firmly with the authorities and rightful superiors of the Society.

How all this will work to perfect the Society we will only see in the future, and generally we will fix our eyes on what we all want: our formation as teaching professionals in the humanities.

Let us hold out in the present trial and always go the right way—the way united with authority! Let us pray that God may strengthen us all in the present trial.

Rome, 13 February 1906

Fr. Bonaventura, SDS, Cons. glis.

3.5/5. "In Sache der Salvatorianer." Quite unexpectedly, on February 16, 1906, *Augsburger Postzeitung* issued a clarification:

Re: The Salvatorian Affair

* Abele had found an understanding listener in Becker, as long as this superior was in Meran. It seemed all the more right to Abele to use Becker's new position as mission superior to achieve his sole goal of securing his rights. With exaggerated confidence, that summer Abele wrote to one of his confidants in Rome from Calcutta: "Fr. Becker will really heat things up in Rome on behalf of the missionaries. All priests here are against the generalate, and so is Fr. Becker. The poverty of Fr. Stanislaus in comparison with the palaces of Fr. Jordan (*ad majorem gloriam*)" (June 1906).

Twentieth Century in its first three numbers and in nr. 6 of this year presented a criticism of the "Society of the Divine Savior" which concerns above all its founder. Subsequently, the *Augsburger Abendzeitung* was also interested in it, among others.

It is unfortunate that conditions necessitated making the founder of a religious society the subject of public criticism. But after the internal affairs of the Society became public, the public also has the right to further clarification. This in no way requires refuting those articles sentence by sentence. That would be an endlessly protracted affair—bringing joy to the opponents of Catholic enterprises. Many accusations concern conditions which belong to the past. It also contains reports which are obviously based on wrong, one-sided information.

Nevertheless, within the Society there are undeniably abuses. They are of an organizational kind. For the most part, the conditions decried [in the article] must be attributed to it. For years the superiors of individual houses came to the leadership of the congregation in vain with urgent requests and situations. The First General Chapter was only able to regulate individual points. Above all, an organized course of studies and other important affairs remained unsettled. It was prevented by the fact that the Assam Mission among other things took up all the discussions.

The present situation demands urgent remedy. It is not our task to prescribe that remedy. But all of us are convinced that all the most ominous types of organizational mistakes must be eliminated. Enough with talking and writing!

However, it seems obvious that the present leadership of the Society itself and alone cannot find the solution. Past experience speaks against it. Meanwhile, there is no reason to greet the Society as such with distrust or to withdraw from her past confidence, since it stands poised to take a crucial step in its forward development. Rather all friends of our good undertaking are most heartily asked not to abandon us until this time of heavy trial passes.

Several Salvatorians

This anonymous explanation, which practically demanded the resignation of the present "incapable generalate" caused consternation in Rome. But for now no one knew who was behind it. Were just a few dissatisfied? Or was this from Salvatorians of influence who saw themselves forced to take this unusual step? But all were unanimous in their disapproval of such a public expression. Although they remained puzzled over the exact meaning of the "organization errors which can

be eliminated." Lüthen could not make any rime or reason of "Several Salvatorians." "What they want is not clear" (to Raich, February 24,1906).*

3.6/6. "Several Salvatorians." The spiteful publications about the neglectful state of the Society came as a shock to all Salvatorians, and paralyzed all but a few of the confreres in the know. Lüthen wrote on January 19, 1906, to the superiors of Meran:

You have already read the articles of "Fr. Gebhard" against Rev. Father and the Society in *The Twentieth Century*. Poor Gebhard. The concluding article is still to come. Then he will have to agitate in another way. Rev. Father has also read them.

After receipt of the third installment of *Twentieth Century*, the generalate wanted to take a firm stand. By January 11, Becker had probably disclosed Abele's departure to Munich from Meran, from where people certainly knew he oversaw the publication of the articles, and had mailed them personally to some confreres. But no one had any written proof that Abele was their author, and the Society wanted to know for sure. So Lüthen asked the superior of Meran to strive to clarify this (January 30, 1906).

Becker had expressed to Jordan his "deepest most heartfelt sym-pathy" for the articles in *Twentieth Century*. "It is horrible, that someone could do such a thing." Abele had only vaguely suggested it to him before departing, "Fr. Pius [Steinherr] had already announced its publications— it would appear in the near future. But could he be the traitor?" (Meran, January 21,1906). On January 28, Becker received a letter from Abele:

* In his occasional correspondence with the former confrere, Fr. Blasius Pientka, Pfeiffer asks whether he knows the author of "the reply to the article in the *Postzeitung*." He wrote back:

I did not read the reply at all since in any case I was already in Schlesien and completely out of the loop. God knows I can assure you that I do not know the author. It couldn't have been Fr. Abele since he had promised Rev. Frs. Hilarius [Gog] and Canisius [Werner] to write nothing more. It was also not possible for me to determine the author of the sharp article in *Abendzeitung*. On the whole, I got the impression in Passau that it was not a priest from that community. In Passau we had the impression that a sharp wind was blowing in from Meran (Auscha, June 11, 1906).

Meanwhile, a second, expanded edition was already announced. What it contained and whether it is so written that it will be accepted by the same newspaper [*The Twentieth Century*] I still have no idea. . . . We stand only at the beginning of the end.

Becker broke the bad news to Jordan and added: "If only he will not [as he previously threatened] spread the whole affair with a blizzard of pam-phlets into areas our communities are located!" (Meran, January 28, 1906).*

The fact that Abele was shielded by Salvatorian circles when in Munich he began to organize the press against Jordan and the general administration, was quickly noted in the generalate, probably with considerable consternation. In Lochau the dean of studies held a conference over the articles in *Twentieth Century* in which he decided: "Reform, yes, but of another kind, is urgently needed! That is my judgment" (Hurler to Jordan, February 3, 1906). The new superior who replaced Fr. Bonfilius Loretan related to Pfeiffer the mood in the community in light of the house's debts incurred by the large new building:

. . . the cart is simply stuck, and I believe that no one in our Society pulls it out anymore because all confidence is lost. For this reason I also agree with the article in *Postzeitung* (Hurler, February 21, 1906).

The new superior in Meran, who had assumed office on the recommendation of his predecessor (although not very

* A little later Raich contradicted Lüthen, saying Becker as well as his trusted friend Fr. Paschalis Ziegenfuss had read the *Twentieth Century* articles before, and in the original, although at that time the cases in Meran had not been included (Meran, March 3, 1906). But such a statement is not completely trustworthy considering the writer's strained relations with the two confreres.

From Lochau, Jordan received the message that some priests from there suspected Fr. Pius Steinherr: *Omnis apostata calumniator ordinis sui*. Having treated him too gently, now the revenge comes: "the article could be just a beginning" (Hurler, January 18, 1906).

By September 1905, Pientka had boasted that Abele would write a brochure against the Society "(Gütlein to Jordan, Jägerndorf, April 10, 1906).

Abele not only had good informers in Meran, Lochau and Rome, but Pientka supplied him with particularly poisonous ammunition from Jägerndorf. Also in Rome, Brunner was ready in this area for each handout.

enthusiastically since he had already been preparing to withdraw for two years), candidly wrote Jordan: "the generalate must justify itself or resign." He agreed fully with Abele's opinions and deemed the protest of the consulta ridiculous. Many communities applauded the remarks in *Twentieth Century*, although they remained behind "the hopeless undertaking." It would not surprise anybody if the Society, instead of receiving the *Decretum Laudis*, would be suppressed. "I include myself in this." The superior attached two news-paper clippings: an attack against the Society and particularly against his community in the *Liberal Meraner Zeitung*, and a counter article favorable to the house in *Maiser Zeitung* (Ziegenfuss, February 17, 1906).

Till then Rome had regarded the new superior of Meran as one of the reliable confreres. The vicar general wrote: "The article in *Maiser Zeitung* is excellent (probably by Fr. Simon [Stern]), February 19, 1906" (BL-829). The article appeared also in *Meraner Zeitung*; it was from Stern.

Lüthen announced to a confrere his own article, which *Augsburger Postzeitung* published in their issues of February 28 and 1 March 1906 under the title "A Word of Defense."

Finally an article comes from Rome; it had infinite obstacles to overcome (not least of all the authorities). If we keep courage and confidence in God, then we will triumph (February 19, 1906, BL-829).

As for clearing up "Several Salvatorians," Lüthen opposed the very same priests: "unfortunately the Salvatorians blundered in the *Postzeitung*" ("*eine Dummheit gemacht*," February 20, 1906, BL-829). In the meantime, "Several Salvatorians" had also appeared in *Kölner Volkszeitung* (February 18). In addition, Lüthen expressed himself: "Yes, *Kölmer Volkszeitung* did not act well. We will come as soon as we get everything together" (February 23, 1906, BL-830).

Lüthen had prepared a "Second Word of Defense." But when his first article elicited from his own ranks the accusation of lying, he left it in the drawer. Yet it stated clearly: "We have enough assistance from the truth without having to take refuge in a lie."

At that time, Fr. Canisius Werner still enjoyed Lüthen's full confidence. This encouraged him to publish his own opposing article: "Retort Comes in the Newspaper" (February 16, 1906, G-39).

Br. Rodriguez, always very much in step with the combative press, wanted to intervene in the fight on his own. Lüthen held him

back: "I prevented him from writing in public newspapers" (to the superior in Lochau, February 2, 1906).

Lüthen would have been happy to find out who stood behind the clarification of February 16, 1906 in *Augsburger Postzeitung*. But the professed kept close:

. . . signed "Several Salvatorians" in *Augsburger Postzeitung* one does not know the author of the article yet. –Fr. Leodegar [Gütlein] proposes Meran and Hamberg as the seat this "Several Salvatorians" (note on a letter of Gütlein to Jordan, April 10, 1906).

But soon this was no longer important, after letters from Meran and Hamberg as well as from Lochau were all so traitorous. Lüthen wrote at that time to an unnamed confrere:

An enormous agitation is loose—the business against Rev. Father and the Society. Unfortunately, lately "Several Salvatorians" came out in *Augsb. Postzeitung* in addition. I send you the circular letter because perhaps you kept the inflammatory articles also dispatched. The storm will again pass, and some pale leaves from the tree will fall.

22.II.06

Warm greetings,

Fr. Bonaventura, SDS (BL-828).

Augsburger Abendzeitung published two letters on February 23, under the title "A Model Order." The first, originating from the house in Meran, turned against Stern's "justification article" in *Maiser Wochenblatt* nr. 7, and claimed that Jordan was in a world-famous health resort, a holiday community, maintained with alms collected from good people. The second letter came from Fribourg and sought to defend "good Salvatorians." They are only the victim of the bad organization of a man, "who they must follow as their Founder in blind obedience." Lüthen sent the article immediately to the superiors of Meran with the order to let Stern write a correction; the evening paper must take up the correction: "You as superior send it" (February 25, 1906, BL-854). Ziegenfuss put off making the response demanded by the vicar general (Meran, March 3, 1906).

Fr. Hilarius Gog, who was earlier superior of Lochau and now general consultant, further endeavored to stave off damage from the community and not to lose the confidence of sponsors and benefactors in the Swabian-Bavarian area. In his home newspaper, *Waldsee'r Wochenblatt*, he asked his "calmly thinking" fellow citizen, to take up the publications "about Rev. Fr. Jordan and internal conditions of his

Society with great caution." He rejected as unjust the charge that the fearfully conscientious Founder had diverted mission funds, admitting however that "with the rapid spread of the Society bad conditions and lapses could not always be avoided." These would be "mostly organizational errors, one works zealously to remove. Hence, there is no reason to warn others of this congregation as such" (February 20, 1906).

3.7/7. Official Roman responses both from the generalate and also from the Congregation for Religious were very defensive. It was left to the generalate to resolve the anti-Salvatorian newspaper articles. But the explanation delivered by "Several Salvatorians" in an outstanding Catholic newspaper was taken with embarrassing seriousness in wider church circles. Now the Apostolic Visitor wanted to assess the truth of the accusations delivered there against the "administration of the Society," because among the "Several Salvatorians" there were surely some capitulars. Thus Jordan instructed all superiors in the name of the generalate:

Beloved son!

In no. 37 of *Augsburger Zeitung* is an article signed, "Several Salvatorians," which contains the following statements:

- 1) For years the superiors of individual houses came forward with urgent requests and ideas to the leadership of the Society in vain—because of the fatally flawed organizational state of the Society.
- 2) Important affairs remained unsettled by the general chapter because all the attention was given to the Mission in Assam.
- 3) The conditions decried in the different attacks in the press are due mostly to organizational errors at the higher levels.
- 4) Based on experience, other assistance than what the administration alone can give or carry out is needed.

Hereby the instruction is issued to all superiors to report within 8 days to the general consulta:

- 1) In the past years which requests and ideas concerning the fatally flawed organizational state of the Society came in vain to the leadership of the Society?
- 2) To their knowledge which important affairs was the general chapter prevented from settling?
- 3) Whether some one person in particular hindered things by concentrating all the discussions on the Mission in Assam, and who?

If any superiors or priests who took part in the general chapter are in the community, they are to answer the questions in the above directive.

At the same time, I express my deepest regret over the fact that members turn to the press with Society business, about matters which must only and alone be brought to the Holy See, if the leadership of the Society seems incapable of resolving these bad conditions on its own.

With paternal greeting!

Rome, 20 February, 1906

General Superior

Raich, who had not followed Jordan's instructions by March 5, received a reminder: "I request you to send these things by return post, particularly since church authorities presses for a prompt disposition" (March 5, 1906).

On March 4, *Twentieth Century* published "A Word of Clarification about the Society of the Divine Savior." In it General Consultor Fr. Barnabas Borchert undertook to disprove Abele's articles which had appeared in the first 3 issues of that volume. He did not do this in the biting sharpness in which "A Word of Clarification about Rev. Fr. Jordan, Founder of the Society of the Divine Savior" was written, but in a factual form using mild language. At the same time, the editor followed with counter remarks by "one of our authorities." This authority (Abele) worked with skill and irony to negate what the general consultor had said. Thus the well intended defense of the Salvatorian Affair by Borchert was dead in the water, and particularly those dissatisfied in Meran, Lochau and Hamberg rejected it as an unnecessary and harmful continuation of the press war.

Abele no longer waited around in Munich for the appearance of his counterattack in his reform-Catholic weekly paper. He had to see that his press attack had not brought its expected success, and above all that it did not help him secure his rights. Thus he shifted the theater to Assam, which had announced its new mission superior 4 weeks earlier. On March 6, he took the ship from Triest to Bombay to meet Becker, who had already set out from Naples for Shillong on February 17.

On March 13, *Abendzeitung* had rewarmd its old soup: "A Model Order: Old and New." But the generalate had proved itself wise in not responding to each point. It merely evaluated the answers to the general-ate's inquiry among the European houses (February 20, 1906), and published them under the auspices of the Society on March 21, in *Augsburger Postzeitung*:

Re: The Salvatorian Affair: Explanation

Following our report in no. 48 of *Augsb. Postztg* we explain the following:

As soon as the article in no. 37 of *Augsburger Postzeitung* signed "Several Salvatorians" became known here, with permission of the higher authorities we issued from here to our European houses a circular letter to the present and former superiors as well as to the delegates to the 1902 General Chapter. It contained the following inquiries relevant to the statements expressed in the above article:

- 1) in the past years, which requests and ideas concerning the desperately bad organizational state were addressed to the administration of the Society in vain;
- 2) which important affairs of the general chapter were not settled due to intentional obstruction;
- 3) in particular, did someone prevent discussion of the Assam Mission Assam by the chapter, and who?

After collecting the answers we must state the following as a result of our investigation:

- 1) the statement that for years superiors of individual houses had in vain approached the administration concerning the bad organizational states of a most fatal kind, must boldly be called wrong; because while six superiors refer to their correspondence with the administration, 23 superiors completely deny, each for himself, the above-mentioned horrendous accusation.
- 2) not even one capitular reports in his letter even one item that was prevented from being brought to the general chapter (something which, by the way, could later be said even less of the administration of the Society) since the chapter itself assigned a commission that worked independently of the administration of the Society, to which everyone could bring his desires and requests with full liberty.
- 3) none the capitulars knows of anyone preventing the discussion of the Assam Mission at the general chapter; no one says that this was at all hindered. Since the superior of the mission headed the commission just referred to, he had even more opportunity to mention the same at the chapter.

The assumption indicated in a letter that the administration of the Society along with Propaganda obstructed the presence of a second capitular from Assam,* contradicts the letter of Propaganda of August 4, 1902, which had been immediately sent at that time to Assam. The original is in our archives.

Hereby we consider this affair settled.

Rome, 16 March, 1906

The General Consulta of the Salvatorians

Advance notice of the general consulta's answer to "Several Salvatorians" in the *Augsburger Postzeitung* of March 1, 1906, appeared typographically somewhat too near "A Word of Defense" by the fourth general consultor. Thus one could think that article too was written by the generalate, even though the advance notice was printed in larger type and set off from the article by 3 stars. It was to be foreseen that

* The "obstructed capitular" from Assam was Abele himself.

those approximately three dozen former capitulars and house superiors poled, who depended on the church for their livelihood made rather pale statements, doing enough to please the generalate without putting other confreres in a bad light. Naturally no one wanted to carry his own hide to market.

Thus "The Salvatorian Affair" was no longer a hot iron for the press in Germany and was now off the table.* But that in itself did not immediately repair the damage caused in the Society. Jordan and his consultors had determined with horror that Abele had nevertheless aired some laundry which appeared really dirty to some, and that he had found much covert and sufficiently open cooperation and agreement for his actions. Thus the complaints and accusations received in the generalate weighed more heavily than the spiteful and slanderous press agitation. Especially discouraging was the fact that some from Lochau opposed those in Rome.

"In strict confidence" the former superior of Lochau wrote his suggestion to the general procurator to order a German visitor, or to convoke an extraordinary chapter, or to hold an extraordinary chapter after the "German visitation." Because Lochau had suffered more than others from press agitation and was mired deeply in debt. The Roman authorities do not pay the Lochau debts or those to the Society reliably. "Confidence in the Society and in particular in the generalate must be repaired in Germany and not in Rome" (March 20, 1906). His opinion was shared by the new superior in Lochau who wrote something cryptic:

I am curious what [Lüthen's] articles in *Augsburger Postzeitung* did for the clergy. Up to now one heard the expression: the only solution to this is a general chapter and a change in the leadership of the Society. *Deus, quod bonum est in oculis suis, faciat!* (Hurler, March 1, 1906).

* At year end, the "ex-Jordanist Brunner" brought the Salvatorians again into the press. The superior of Hamberg sent the newspaper clipping to the Apostolic Prefect in Assam and noted in addition:

Enclosed an art. of *Augs. Postz.* from December 1. The art. comes from a Fr. C (SDS), who, as those in Assam know, should have left. I am eager to know what Rome says about it, i.e., "punishment." I believe he works only in religious circles in a conciliatory way, obviously his case was not brought to Rome for correction (December 9, 1906).

Also the new superior of Assam inquired of Gog the third general consul-tor whose opinion Becker knew he shared more than he did with the remaining generalate including the general procurator:

What does one do? Perhaps it would be best to urge the church authority to convoke an extraordinary chapter. Still, the position of the generalate has become almost untenable, particularly since one must say sadly that the accusations are essentially justified. In Rome, Fr. Barnabas [Borchert] and Fr. Paulus [Pabst] thought that the good members would take their ideas to the leadership, almost as a matter of conscience. But here [the motherhouse] is more or less "cold to the depth of the heart." It is un-fortunate that we did not succeed at General Chapter I to bring together a tight consulta which would probably have avoided some things. Thus the things feared at that time will probably come to pass at the next chapter: the truth, or the declaration of bankruptcy that we are unable to govern ourselves. Nevertheless, please write me soon how everything stands. It was very hard for me to leave Europe under these circumstances (Shillong, April 2, 1906).

Gog hardly shared this open expression with the rest of the generalate from which he had practically separated.

The new superior of Meran^{*} confessed to Lüthen, "Yes, that was a terrible storm! One would have expressed the deepest indignation over such actions. . . . But they want Rev. Father and three consuls sent off " (March 3, 1906). Thus, only Gog remained *persona grata*.

Completely furious, dean of studies in Lochau, Justinus Pfeiffer, read the riot act to the vicar general. The letter addressed to "the Most Rev. Generalate, i.e., Fr. Lüthen for the first, second and third time!" He accuses him of "mad politics" and refers to the new article in *Abend-zeitung*: "If you have courage, deny it- I tell you, "there is still enough other material in abundance." He knows of only one answer: "admit the fault honestly and start a new, healthy order" (both quotations come from the article itself).

In conclusion please I beg you with your whole heart to be ashamed of your past policy, be ashamed deep inside your soul; because if you would have been open straight away, it would never have gone so

^{*} Becker's actual successor had already thrown in the towel after a few weeks (Placidus Meier to Becker, Meran, April 28, 1906).

far. Rev. Father is suffering, suffering much. You were his right hand and knew everything; first thing you should dismount!

Fr. Justinian then turned: "Consider each step you take because in our Society you have elements capable of real evil. I will no longer continue to negotiate with you." He later improves the tone of his letter written in angry excitation: "This letter is only to Rev. Fr. Lüthen, he himself may however use it as he likes." Lüthen noted with red pencil sideways on the letterhead: "Error!" (The letter has no date; if it refers to the *Abendzeitung* article of February 6, it must have been written before February 11, 1906).

Lüthen stuck to his conscience and his obligation; and this placed him at the side of the beleaguered Founder. He probably noticed that the writers of "Several Salvatorians" wanted a new general and consulta.

However— even if a new general chapter would come— Rev. Father nevertheless would again be selected. Among ourselves we say the complainers are only in a few houses. Furthermore, they want money from Rome but do not want to put up with authority.

Here Lüthen is speaking above all of Lochau. He referred to the fact that one does Tivoli and Noto an injustice. For a year already no more Germans had come to Tivoli, nor would more come; consequently the financial support stops. The candidature in Noto was only created temporarily. They counted on the support of the town.

. . . but it turned out differently. Therefore, no more were admitted. It goes on. But presently we must do something so they don't die of starvation. That happens with agreement of the general consulta. Now what do people actually want? If only those who are dissatisfied would leave (to Raich, February 24, 1906).

At this time Lüthen sacrificed himself even more than usual to mediate between Jordan and opposing members. His secret acolyte and deep admirer, Pancratius Pfeiffer, experienced this delicate undertaking at the side of the pious Lüthen. He testified:

. . . one of his major tasks was to promote the good relations of our people with Rev. Father. This task was far more difficult than the uninitiated would suspect. Rev. Father created new houses with nearly insufficient human means. Most new establishments relied largely on Divine Providence and above average people. Many members failed. . . . People often found it burdensome even when

convinced, and often wanted to impose their opinions with all emphasis. Fr. Bonaventure sought continuously to mediate the difficulties and to settle them as Rev. Father would, and to prevent a break. He wrote, talked, admonished, prayed continuously in this manner (DSS III, 161f).

The generalate met the second anonymous article from Meran with silence:

This article was too mean. We not longer answered it because these people will surely not be silent, they are always making up new lies and exaggerating to suit their needs. Now there is peace.

Lüthen feared that, "Fr. Gebhard could respond to his rebuttal article from Assam as he had to Borchert's, which had nonetheless treated him so mildly (to Becker, April 7, 1906).

3.8/8. Jordan's examination of conscience. Jordan made a serious examination of conscience, going through the accusations and reproaches from *Twentieth Century* in sequence. Mostly he was content with the note: "untrue, incorrect, slanderous." To some of Abele's disclosures he made purely material corrections, particularly noting the competent person and responsible procedure of the church authority, be it the Society in general or the Assam Mission in particular. To the reproach of his "boastful pretense of a special language talent" he scarcely mentioned his language studies in Holland, France, Italy, Syria as well as at San Apollinare. He defended Mother Mary with less restraint and with personal sympathy: she was very richly noble. "She abandoned castle and everything and offered up her large fortune for good purposes and even lived very simply" (n.d., probably February 1906, B-46).

With the same article "A Model Order" in the *Abendzeitung* he also tried to stitch together some corrective keywords (probably to entrust to Borchert to write his defense articles). Earlier he had asked "for so much advice that he was blamed. He made the cumbersome journeys from a feeling of obligation. Visiting the sick?" But he quickly gave up trying to address this mud slinging (n.d., B-47).

The article writers had announced as one of their goals silencing Jordan before the papal authorities so that he squirms like a "squashed worm." For this reason, "they turned to the public" so that

Jordan would finally be blocked from, "enchancing everyone in Rome" (Lüthen to Becker, April 7, 1906).

It helped Jordan all the more to endure this trial that his ecclesiastical friends did not let themselves be confused. In imitation of St. Paul, the bishop of Linz invited Jordan to a travel around to cheer him up (February 24, 1906, G-2.5). Msgr. Giustini, secretary of the Congregation for Religious told him to close his eyes and ears and desire to hear nothing; "we are content with you, we are for you" (March 12, 1906). The arch-bishop of Cologne, Cardinal Fischer, conveyed to Jordan his kind regards with deep pity (March 1906). The Austrian envoy to the Holy See invited Jordan to a soirée ("I am not gone"). Again at home in Linz, Bishop Doppelbauer encouraged Jordan anew: "*Niente ti sgomenti, niente ti turbi; tutto passa. Dio solo ti basta*" (March 1906, G-2.5; letter to Borchert, April 6 1906).

So Jordan hoped and prayed that even this cross would contribute to the order's welfare: "this storm will one day bring clarity to the Society; I maintain that all these troublemakers must be thrown out because otherwise they would damage the order and the holy church" (to the superior of Meran, February 27, 1906). To facilitate this cleansing, Cardinal Ferrata gave Jordan appropriate special authority.

A good side this affair was when we received the privilege from the S. Congr. to get rid of some restless spirits who had provisional admission into a diocese (Lüthen to Becker, April 19, 1906).

The authorization of the church authority was used to lighten the administration burden of those desiring to leave the Society: "Several rowdy brother withdrew; several are searching" (Werner to Becker, April 30, 1906). From 1906-1907, over 25 priests asked for and received dispensation from vows. This was a painful, but healing purging.

The motherhouse's fund raising brother, who in this turbulent time had to hear many derogatory remarks about Jordan and his Society, requested clarification from Lüthen over some "accusations" in the press which troubled him deeply. Lüthen succeeded to resolve his doubts (letter, March 9, 1906). Jordan was also relieved that Br. Aemilian Reder had again declared: "May God reward your suffering and sacrifices. You may write me everything you hear. Be assured of my sympathetic consideration" (March 9, 1906).

Jordan was also grateful to the confreres in Vienna who did not get swept into the vortex of distrust or revolt: "it gave me special solace

that the two communities in Vienna behaved so faithfully and well in this storm" (March 10, 1906).

Lüthen was not happy about how the generalate had handled the press: "The protest was only something provisional to absorb what was coming. The article of reply came too late." Lüthen had wanted to wait for the whole series in *The Twentieth Century*. But between them burst forth the poisonous article in *Abendzeitung* from the pen of an anonymous member of the Meran community (February 6, 1906). Also warnings came not to write. "The authorities against it here had to be taken seriously. The *Augsburger Postzeitung* did not publish it immediately," wrote the vicar general to the motherhouse's fund raising brother, and admitted to him: "they were sad days!" (March 9, 1906).

3.9/9. The dust settles. Fr. Berthold Tuttime in Meran wrote an "*epistola ad Romanos*" wherein he explains to the generalate: "we consider the publica-tions in *Augsburger Abendzeitung* mostly true, and we have similar views." They recognize the goodwill and great zeal of Jordan and the generalate. But they are firmly convinced that Jordan and Lüthen showed "so far little skill and no large capability for their responsible post and probably an im-portant lack of common sense." They demand that no more communities be established, further training of teachers, and also supervision of parish priests accordingly. Five priests signed (Meran, April 28, 1906).

Werner, the superior of Hamberg called the press agitation "a long and bitter examination of conscience for the SDS—*examen generale et speciale*. Whether the superiors "had already made their *actus doloris propositi*," [act of sorrow and firm purpose of amendment] cannot yet be said today. Big organizational blunders did occur in the Society, yet Rev. Father remains,

. . . a saintly man who suffers inexpressibly much and can sacrifice for the things of God; but to me he is also a sick man, nervously overwrought, who no longer governs with a firm hand and sharp eye nor works with determination. That is my judgment to which you are free to express your opposition. Really, does each founder also always have to be a good administrator his whole life long? I do not believe so. But *sit quidquid*: I do not change anything in the whole situation, I do my duty and remain firm in the storm. [About himself he admits:] Fr. Bonaven-tura had particularly suspected me very much in the *Augsb. Post*. [affair]. . . but I wrote no articles. Yet the courage of

"Several Salvatorians" in the *Augsb. Postz.* made me happy. . . . It was most reasonable and the authors were quite correct. Was it opportune and polite? Almost incredible, but terribly true (to Becker, April 30, 1906).

The superior of Hamberg remained disappointed that the foray of "Several Salvatorians" went nowhere. He endured at his post, but without much zeal or momentum. It helped that he could express himself to Becker in far-off Assam "confidentially." He wrote:

. . . Rev. Fr. spent holidays exclusively in Drognens. . . . The visitator was Fr. Barnabas [!]. People would have preferred an outside visitator. I do not find the situation of the SDS favorable. Finances everywhere are frozen. No one wants to intervene radically, and endless band-aids don't help. Now everyone worries about himself and his own people, and maybe this is the best way to help the SDS. Personally, I am of good courage, but you can't fool me about the seriousness of the situation. Rev. Father is a sick, a very sick man, who it seems to me has for a long while lost confidence in the administration. Fr. Bonaventura saw no houses and thus he has lost his last strength so that he writes about his ideal theoretical opinions, and with his letters drives the superiors to despair. . . . Let's pray. The SDS is a work of God. But only the Cath. Church possesses the promise to exist eternally. God can permit the Society to be destroyed if people do not accept reason. There are so many good, solid people and so much excitement in the SDS that only needs a strong organizing hand to intervene. In all haste, but your reverence's humble, Fr. Canisius (to Becker, Hamberg, July 25, 1906).*

* By his critical expressions in favor of "Several Salvatorians," Werner along with some other confreres were cast into doubt. People whispered about their intentions to withdraw. To a further relevant inquiry Werner answered Becker from Assam:

"I and Otto away!"—no, I had still no thought to withdraw and never doubted for an instant that I would endure. With the grace of God may I live and die in our precious Society. I will at any time openly say what I think, even in front of "higher ups." I take it as an unpleasant obligation, but I never even question it. . . . I do not understand, how one can spread such information into the world, while being able to test its accuracy. After all, Hamberg is not the North Pole (October 14, 1906).

This confession about the Society honors the priest. But it does not cover his deep unhappiness over the leadership in Rome. Also it does not reveal whether his liberty to say what he thinks was coupled with the humility to

In order to evaluate correctly the hard-hitting explanation of "Several Salvatorians" one must not ignore the Humaniora Commission (HK). The generalate had appointed to the Commission mandated by General Chapter I the superiors of the three study houses: Meran, Lochau and Hamberg. The HK however found no convincing solution of the administrative problems. For one, it remained an open question who would assume the resulting costs. For the other, it was difficult after the press affair to inspire and engage any confreres for higher studies. Also the three priests soon felt that they stood in each others' way, because each of them was burdened with the same problems as the other, and each wanted to further the school he represented.

In the end, the HK concluded that three study houses, which lay so close together geographically, were obstructing each other. Thus everything had to be organized differently. But in the meantime, all three had built their new buildings and had to insure the debt service. In addition, one fished here at the expense of the other. However, Lochau with its splendid building and location had a considerable lead in gradually achieving the goal of becoming an apostolic *Pflanzschule*. With side glances and considerable preening, it eyed *Stella Matutina* in Feld-kirch, hoping to imitate it soon, though naturally on a much smaller scale. The superiors of Meran and Hamberg gladly left the precedence to Lochau, because they felt they lacked the necessary drawing area.

The flood unleashed by the press attacks forced the HK and their planners in the three schools into a kind of flight; thus they became the spiritual fathers of the "Several Salvatorians." They assessed their difficulties as nothing other than the inevitable result of poor organization. For them the order's administration in Rome, particularly Jordan, was responsible. But it could not be expected to settle its own organizational errors by itself because its basic attitude was to start as many apostolic *Pflanzschulen* as possible, far and wide. But the HK asked what was better, one whole or three half-high schools? In its opinion a similar organizational error could be rectified in Belgium.

It saw a further organizational error in the so far one-sided money drain from north to south. Instead of helping the weak scholasticates in Tivoli and Noto with the German Mark, the money

hear what "those above" are thinking.

should remain north of the Po Valley. They demanded that this imbalance immediately be repaired because when the new buildings in Hamberg and Meran were finally finished, the scholasticates in Tivoli and Noto were to be closed.*

One major task of the HK was to make timely provisions for teachers of various subjects. Here they remained as unsuccessful as Jordan, who had for years dreamed about a Philologicum attached to a university. But no one could be freed up to put it on its feet.

If the surely competent priests who stood behind "Several Salvatorians," (above all Frs. Becker, Loretan, Werner and Gog) believed a new generalate without Jordan and without Lüthen could do organizational wonders which had previously eluded them, then that was short-sighted. The generalates selected by the Second and Third General Chapters of the Society were certainly no better than the generalate elected by the First General Chapter. In any case, Jordan could not go along with the view of the organizational innovators. His Society could not be allowed to back-slide into becoming a "German" Institute.

The call from Lochau for an extraordinary general chapter in some form found no further echo in the Society, and was received by the church authority as a usurpation. The "Several Salvatorians" remained disappointed and kept a critical distance from the leadership of the Society. They often gave expression to their deep disappointment and resignation in pessimistic form.

During the rogatorial process for the beatification of Fr. Jordan in Vienna (October 11–November 13, 1944), Werner, who in World War I had become a Piarist, returns again to the clarification article "Several

* About the missing and seemingly useless support to the scholasticates in Noto, Werber expressed himself to Becker in a "Soli," a confidential letter:

One priest who did the books in Noto communicated to me that up till now the house had consumed 100,000 Lire—a horrendous sum for Sicily! So should we not say that the Salvatorians in A. Postz. were not quite right who said we lacked "organization"? It becomes ever more clear how that article told the full truth; whether it was opportune is another question, however bitter (October 14, 1906).

Jordan released a contrary account of costs in Noto Scala which failed fully to satisfy the Society.

Salvatorians." He neither wrote nor sent it; but he knew of it because the author had conferred with him and other Salvatorians beforehand over how best to address the opposing articles for the well-being of the Society. At that time Werner revealed at least that the author had been a highly esteemed Salvatorian, who was actively involved in writing. From his testimony one can conclude that the author of "Several Salvatorians" means himself and his advisors.

The vicar general who in these difficult weeks worked his fingers to the bone to rectify the situation, to defend the honor of the SDS, and to enlist stalwart co-operation, decided to warn Münzloher in time of the tempest brewing over the Society. But the bad articles had not yet reached the mission (except possibly to Steinherr).

Twentieth Century has not yet arrived in Assam. Thus it will be in the hands of the modern heathens in Jowai. After Fr. Ignatius [Bethan] had chattered around in such a way, I would not be surprised at all if Abele seized the pen, and this man has a rough pen. Some dissatisfied or former members must have told Abele their "tales of woe" in Meran; because even Ignatius wrote from Meran only that in his days things weren't going well there.

This is what Münzloher had already said to Lüthen on February 25, 1906, when Abele was still in Munich, and while Steinherr waited in Jowai for the starting signal from the Bavarian capital. One month later, Münzloher answered a request to defend the honor of the slandered mission:

I will answer, naturally. Fr. Hilarius [Gog] it seems to me sides with Fr. Gebhard [Abele]. Even previously I did not quite trust this consultor. If he were not a consultor then things would not be so bad (March 24, 1906).

Such expressions show directly how little one dared on his own, but in addition how contradictory and ambiguously the generalate in Rome was informed in these difficult weeks. It was hard to untangle from such babble the genuine voice of one's fellow players and opponents. It is good that the malice mongers gave up the attack after hardly 3 months.

The sisters left their defense to the priests in the generalate. Thus the press attack left no traces there. Only Sr. Scholastica, who raised funds at home as a missionary sister for Assam, came to feel the bad effects of the agitation.

3.10/10. Scurrilous anecdotes, and Pientka's "alternate minutes." The vicious articles peddled many rough "anecdotes" from Jordan's life. Out-side readers usually only took cursory note of them and shrugged them off. But sensitive members of the Society did not walk away from them so easily. The Roman fund raising brother who on February 21, 1906, again had to travel to South Germany, got to hear some things, particularly from the priests to whom he turned. Therefore, he required from Lüthen more exact information. Lüthen answered immediately: "It makes us very happy that you express yourself openly; that's the only way one can inform oneself" (March 9, 1906).*

Br. Aemilian Reder took up among other things the rather frivo-lous reproach that Jordan avoided the sick from fear of infection, even to the point of refusing to assist two terminally ill priests. Lüthen asked Jordan about it. This he could only protest, "remembering no dying persons he would have fled," (Lüthen to Reder). At the same time, Lüthen attached his assessment of the facts about this "fear of patients": "it is to be noted here: a) a pastor has that obligation; b) Rev. Fr. is very susceptible and could really contract the illness easily; c) the physician forbids it."** It could further be added that with his increasing nervous disorder Jordan found it difficult to visit the sick with a carefree and cheerful heart.

That did not by any means prevent him from being personally and paternally anxious over the well-being of the sick, something that could become uncomfortable both for superiors and for the patient. Since Jordan was no longer house superior, he could not involve himself in the normal support of the sick in the motherhouse as he had in former times.

In the stormy "founding period" Jordan also worried in particular about the health of local superiors. He honestly feared one could succumb and thus endanger the whole foundation. Jordan

* Br. Aemilian Reder resumed his difficult activity undaunted, and returned to the motherhouse only on November 15. He had collected in this difficult year 72,000 Lire.

** Lüthen noted further: "Depending on his own death however, as in many places one's successor (as with Janssen in Steyl) incurs large expenses for the houses—even if the loss of his life is little respected" (March 9, 1906, BL-836).

experienced in the own body how illness hinders apostolic work. He followed what was recom-mended at that time for care of the sick: hospitalization for the seriously ill and isolation for those in danger of infection. The mother-house had a good house physician who unhesitatingly fulfilled his responsibility. Care of infectious patients was so regulated that they lacked nothing medically or pastorally, and at the same time the community was not endangered. For the motherhouse (with the exception of one case of typhoid fever) no other contagious diseases (typhoid fever, pox, cholera) were reported, even fewer than for Tivoli.* On the other hand, there was above all in the first years, again and again those with sick or weak lungs. Jordan gladly visited them and addressed the worries of each. Hardly back from a journey, he immediately sent one confrere who had become ill with typhoid fever for a strengthening cure; soon he was improving.

The accusation that Jordan would not have assisted two critically ill priests, is absurd. In Rome up until 1906, only one priest had died (August M. Dövenspeck on December 4, 1893), someone Jordan cared for devotedly to the end. When in the autumn 1903, Fr. Jakob Hörner, a missionary from Cartagena, lay mortally ill in a Bregenz hospital, Jordan took the way back from Passau through Lochau, not only to encourage the critically ill confrere in the hospital, but also to make sure that he received every possible assistance and care there.

The Founder was also accused of not always applying sufficient patience, in order to listen to all in peace. Concerning this Lüthen adds:

. . . if someone wants to unburden his heart or bring a complaint, etc., in certain circumstances it is quite possible that he was somewhat quickly dispatched, especially if the matter was unprofitable, crass, etc. On visi-tation it is different: Jordan stays with each one for as long as he wants. Rev. Fr. also notes things; he has filled long pages in his notebooks. There are everywhere such priests in the larger communities who after visitation are the same as before. But isn't it possible that 1,000's of others [Christians] are doing the same thing in their conversions with God? (to Reder, March 9, 1906, BL-836).

* Pfeiffer stated during the church process that Jordan was sick in February 1897 with "a strong kind of typhoid fever" (Sum § 94). But at that time it involved chronic pleurisy.

Another accusation broadcast in the “witch hunt” in *Twentieth Century* and *Abendzeitung* was particularly venomous. In an argument with young confreres in Meran, on the occasion of his visitation in the summer 1902, Jordan is said to have threatened to quit the Society if he were not elected general superior in the upcoming general chapter. Jordan is said also to have expressed himself similarly in Bozen (a German religious parish). The only source for this statement was Pientka, who as the Meran community chapter delegate and leader of the small “opposition in General Chapter I” felt entitled. For a long time he had opposed the Salvatorian spirit and fueled a genuine enmity against Jordan. Already during the Founder’s visitation in Meran in the summer 1902, he must have had an argument with Jordan over the goal and spirit of the Society. At the general chapter he sought to transform its spirit by introducing urgent motions; but it came to naught. Pientka recorded his opposition to Jordan and his own role in the First General Chapter in a kind of “counter minutes” which he made available to Abele.

In an introduction to his alternative minutes Pientka includes his discussion with Jordan, which is then expanded in the press attacks to an argument between the Founder and the young priest in Meran. However, Pientka enjoyed little credibility due to other antics, like those in Jägern-dorf. His accusation was discussed by those who were not well disposed toward Jordan only after they were informed of it by *Twentieth Century*. Lüthen knew only from a rumor that in Meran, Jordan had argued with some who wanted to form “a faction” at the general chapter in order to lobby against Jordan’s strict demands and trample them.

But who was actually in Meran before the summer of 1902? Lüthen wrote Becker in Assam: “I would like to ask you cordially to write me, as far as you remember with certainty, what happened in Meran. . . . I would like to know the truth in any case” (April 17, 1906). The answer of the Apostolic Prefect, who as superior had had considerable difficulties with Pientka in Meran, is not available. But it was sufficiently well-known that everyone who disagreed with Pientka was quickly treated as his enemy, and that untruths did not bother him much one way or the other.

What follows is a report on Pientka’s alternate minutes. Although already written in 1903, (following the First General Chapter) it actually only reached its full effect in the press attack. Because Abele

warmly welcomed Pientka's personal remarks, he gladly left him to evaluate this explanation. Pientka, who had already left the Society during the press feud, contributed to these articles very substantially and slanderously.

Pientka used to lay on strong colors. For example, his report of what had occurred in Meran is so skewed that from it one can no longer reconstruct what actually did happen. He first refers to how "both the motherhouse and the Austrian communities" were advised how to set the society on a new track." Thus for example, the Meran faculty treated the following question: "one wishes one or more strong proofs that our Society is a work of Providence, i.e., in a special way intended by God, and not only tolerated." Pientka then stated completely groundlessly:

While outsiders were pleased, Rev. General and his consulta trembled. False reports about their removal increased the agitation of the most senior. Before the chapter a visitation trip was decided on. Discerning confreres had only this conviction: Oh, if only Rev. Father would have stayed in Rome! Why, you will soon hear! The principal purpose of this visitation trip was to intimidate, to make confusion regarding the rights of the chapter, and to neutralize the unpopular chapter fathers.

Pientka then reports on a debate he wanted to have with Jordan over the election of the general superior. Jordan is said to have explained to him: "I cannot be elected, or at the most *pro forma per acclamationem!*" Pientka referred to other founders of orders who let themselves be elected. Jordan is said to have answered him: "But I trained you and others; and am I now to be elected by you? No! It will not happen!" Astonished, Pientka replied: "Nevertheless, you will have to let yourself be elected!" He added further:

. . . somewhere it was said he [Jordan] should be removed since he is not able to lead the Society. The fear of being deposed unsettled him completely, and he strove to communicate everywhere that an election will not take place at all. To priests from the German order in Bozen he said, he would . . . withdraw . . . if the First General Chapter does not follow his will. And also that if only two [members] remained faithful to him then he wanted to start over with them from the beginning.

Pientka then substantiated his accusation that Jordan was only out to neutralize unpopular capitulars. He claimed Jordan explained to one

priest in Meran: "whoever is against me I will strike dead morally!" At the chapter, Jordan wanted to expose the "secret failings" of those capitulars who opposed him. Pientka was indignant about such an attitude: "Since even a founder must respect the 8th Commandment as sacrosanct, and the ends never justify the means, said the priest." In parting from Meran, Jordan is said to have explained even to the community,

. . . that he would love it if sixty priests^{*} withdrew, leading some to whisper that he had completely snapped, from fear of any possible non-reelection. Malicious people said it was clear to all that the general chapter would be just a show staged for the church authority and a general swindle. Those capitulars who truly loved the Society and therefore did not want to act like puppets (among whom I count myself) found this visitation by the Founder terribly depressing.

Pientka then turns to his own minutes from the First General Chapter, calling the official minutes in Rome "not objective" because they contain only the good things; other things were suppressed." Pientka first indulges cynically about the *Vorgeplänkel*, pleasant chit chat preceding the choice of general superior, as well as the "great fear of the chapter." He then proceeds to what he himself noted in his "detailed diary" about the process of the general chapter. Concerning Jordan he admits, "Rds. [*Reverendissimus*] is remarkably calm, the exact opposite of how he was on the visitation trip. He interacts little with the capitulars and to my knowledge does not work on any of them as he unfortunately did during the visitation trip." He pointedly noted that especially those who are well regarded in Rome requested the election of another general. "Rev. Father is not able to lead the Society. He could bring it into being but he cannot govern it." Amazingly, Pientka states directly, "this view of his inability can only spread! It actually exists, God is my witness! But more among the good children." Pientka considers an election possible, not out of conviction but, "due to circumstances. They want to spare him this disgrace, there are no other suitable candidates, they fear for his health, etc."

Pientka then briefly speaks of the fact that the rights of the chapter are not clear: "That is an excellent situation to fish in troubled

* Pientka's' inclusion of the number of "one hundred" could have been a slip of the pen; in his "opposition to Jordan" he lost all perspective.

waters for those who understand the chapter as a religious show." Then he describes the Founder's namesday which was celebrated "in usual stiffness . . . The main event was shifted to the chapel."

Starting from October 5, follow his personal minutes of the chapter meetings. In each case he gives his evaluation of what transpired, and does not omit stating his objections and suggestions, particularly as leader of a small opposition. As to the unanimous choice of the general superior Pientka recalls that in August, Jordan had stated, "I cannot let myself be elected," and in October, "I let myself be elected."

You are completely free and can elect according to your conscience, and the fact that Rev. Father had to let himself be voted on two times. You can imagine the humiliation! Rev. Father felt this impact. We were entreated to give no indication of this in the motherhouse. That was a fair punishment for the equivocations which were used with the election. Why didn't they prefer the straight way?

Pientka particularly mentioned the subsequent improvement of minutes. Some maintained,

. . . that priests outside regarded being transferred to the motherhouse as a punishment. As representative of the motherhouse, Fr. Columban [Brunner] took pains play down its bad reputation as a correctional institute. He did his best but he could not change the facts.

To Pientka it was obvious that the rights of the chapter were not made fully clear. He also chastised as an "obstacle" efforts of exaggerated concern for future generations (while drafting the minutes).

On October 11,, Pientka again urgently requested clarification of the rights and duties of the chapter. This brought considerable excitement in the chapter. He noted on this occasion (in his notes) that Rev. Father had reproached him as an agitator because at a faculty meeting in Meran he had prepared a paper on the question whether the Society was intended in a special way by God. Pientka then also moved that the hour-long meditation be changed to a half-hour.

Rev. Father gave an answer meant to satisfy all. From his side he does not want to oblige anyone to it strictly; however, he then reverses him-self, giving the reason that [Fr.] Antonio [sic!] was of another opinion. This revocation caused disgruntlement. I do not feel obliged to meditate.

Pientka demanded further special consideration for libraries and kitchens. But this "skirmish" was repulsed. Then he wanted to submitted a special motion on slander mongering. In doing so he was opposing "the pre-chapter rabble rousing which he says had been instigated by higher ups."

During the discussion of better formation (*Humaniora*) Pientka really got going. Due to their insufficient training, Salvatorians were viewed as something inferior. "One does not require final completion of the whole high school, but 3, 4, or at most 5 years from pitchfork or towel to altar! This is a little too fast."

Pientka described with obvious satisfaction an incident when Jordan left the hall prematurely due to his nerves:

. . . from an inquiry into the training of priests it was concluded that Rev. Father was against it. Rev. Father shook all over as if bitten by an adder, jumped up, looked around himself suspiciously, denied that he ever forbade anyone training, and ran from the aula, but before leaving he angrily let slip the word "*gemein*."

Naturally Pientka pitied Jordan for disgracing himself by this episode. All would have felt this way. Lüthen tried to excuse it as nervousness, etc. Unfortunately the page is missing from Pientka' minutes concerning the conclusion of the general chapter (A PA).

Naturally, there is no way to confirm the incident between him and Jordan that supposedly occurred in Meran in summer 1902. Though it may be that Pientka came to Jordan for a personal discussion, impudently and presumptuously meaning to provoke him. But Jordan adhered fully to the new statutes concerning the election of the general superior which had already been attached to the convocation announcement. Still, Jordan did hope for a concession for himself from the Society as its founder. But any such suggestion by Jordan, Pientka could twist easily and happily. That Jordan was determined to start over with a faithful remnant if he were dismissed by the majority of the Society, was simply a consequence of his "call in accordance with The Pact."

The alternate minutes of the leader of the opposition at that First General Chapter are a distorted reflection of the official minutes. They reveal how strongly already at that time resistance to the Founder and his Society dared to show itself. Pientka composed his minutes and the intro-duction after he was back in Meran. He gave free reign to his disappointment at having achieved nothing at chapter. Not only that,

but he put it all in writing. He used each opportunity among immature listeners to insult Jordan. His "stories" made the rounds among the dissatisfied. In *Twentieth Century* and *Augsburger Abendzeitung* they were further exploited, and wherever possible coarsened.

Finally, it may be underlined here again that from 1902 on, no other testimonies second Pientka's bizarre-sounding claims. Jordan stayed in Meran on the last week of August 1902. In the very open "reports on the situation" to his vicar general he mentioned not a word about Pientka. On the other hand, Lüthen admitted: "I have experienced much concerning the general chapter. But it is better not to put it on paper" (Freiburg, September 5, 1902).

Especially painful was the rumor that circulated in Meran that an official of the Congregation had said, "the general chapter was the last hope or the only means to rescue the Society" (ibid.). Jordan at that time felt in no way contentious as Pientka had wanted him to. On the contrary, he had to fight against the dejection which had worn him down during this visitation trip: "the leadership of the Society falls heavily upon me; I suffer, even if I have written nothing to you" (Vienna, September 3, 1902; where Jordan had arrived from Meran on September 1). "My soul is very assaulted and certain wounds are difficult to heal as they have become physical" (Freiburg, September 5, 1902). Such remarks suggest difficult discussions, but are far from the aggressiveness Pientka heaped on Jordan *in suo sensu*.

Nor do Pientka's oppositional remarks about the true goings on of the General Chapter I find any confirmation in the official minutes. And there are no expressions of capitulars from the same time which corroborate Pientka, though some capitulars were obviously disappointed by the process and the result of the chapter, but they probably only became fully conscious of these things after they had returned to their communities.

All in all, Pientka's defamatory remarks are an eloquent witness to how very much already at that time (around 1902) the spirit of recalcitrance had secretly engulfed him, to the point that at the beginning 1906, he burst with pent up energy and shook the Society to its core. It passed through the storm, however, purified but severely weakened.

3.11/11. Assam. Back from the long 1905 visitation trip, Jordan dedicated himself to Assam. He wanted to assign there particularly

competent members: "I must select among the best people for the Assam Mission, Fr. Christoph [Becker], Fr. Boniface [Brennig] and Fr. Rudolf [Fontaine]" (October 13, to superior at Jägerndorf). Becker was now to become the new mission superior. The conscientious General made further inquiries in Meran, which revealed the objection that under Becker discipline there was not so good. What was the truth? (November 20, 1905, BL-809).

Only after a conscientious search did Jordan decided on Becker as new prefect of the Assam Mission and propose him to Propaganda. He was, however, superior in Meran, and as such building the community. Thus he would not become free before April 1906. Jordan saw the new mission superior as good, active, educated and capable (*abile*). He also had good contacts for getting aid. So he could easily go to build a *casa regolare* in Shillong where the priests of the out stations could gather regularly (October 8, 1905, A PF 68377). Jordan urged Becker to find a way to be able to leave Meran earlier than April of the next year. At the same time he mentioned Becker's health which in former times was not so strong. He also communicated to him that this winter two good missionaries would be leaving for Assam (October 10, 1905, A-936).

Becker replied by October 14 that he could become free in January 1906. Jordan answered relieved, and at the same time urged him a bit further: "Arrange to become free in January." Because the last ship goes from Naples to Bombay on February 19, [waiting till October] would mean postponing the journey to next fall (after the bad travel time), and this would not be responsible (October 17, 1905, A-937). Becker intended to hand over the Meran community to Fr. Chrysologus Raich in January temporarily, in order to be able to leave in autumn for Assam. Meanwhile a vicar could conduct business in Assam (October 20, 1905).

Propaganda was unhappy with Jordan's announcement of October 8, 1905, that because of the building project in Meran the intended mission superior could not be released till April 1906. They required Jordan to name a new prefect as soon as possible (meeting of November 11, 1905). Jordan immediately informed Becker that he must travel "to Assam at the latest in February. This is an order from Propaganda." Becker was to change his plans and travel first as prefect to Assam, become acquainted with the mission for a year, and only

then return to Europe to gather further resources. This was also the desire of Propaganda (November 12, 1905, A-938).

On November 29, Jordan submitted the request to appoint Becker as Apostolic Prefect. Fr. Antonio was asked to submit more information about the man (meeting of December 5, 1905, letter of secretary of Propaganda to Fr. Antonio, December 11, A PF 69157). Fr. Antonio answered that he did not need to repeat what Jordan had already said about Becker: he is well trained, a good religious, intelligent superior from Meran, whose health had some difficulties years back (lung). Now he is healthy, medically examined (December 15, 1905, A PF 69534).

Before recommending Becker, the Apostolic Visitor called "to himself in secret some key priests on 15 December at 8:00 in the scala, to confer with them." He selected Frs. Pfeiffer, Pabst, Gasser[?] and Weigang. The meeting was "*col segreto sub gravi*" (December 13, 1905, D-759). Its agenda is not mentioned, but it might well have concerned proposing the Apostolic Prefect. Since Gasser was staying in Vienna, his name might be a mistake and Fr. Hilarius Gog may have been present as he was in Rome again from November 8, 1905 until January 18, 1906.

Back in Assam, Münzloher was actually glad to be replaced. He reminded Jordan that the new prefect should also provide immediate money. He himself wanted to start up his own station, "so that the simple Fr. Angelus could experience at least a bit of the joy of the mission" (Shil-long, December 2, 1905). Jordan took this announcement with a relieved heart and Lüthen passed it on to Becker: "Thus he already leaves you the field. Surely it is something facilitated by the procedure of Propaganda, and also understandably from his own point of view. *Pazienza!*" At the same time the vicar general informed the new mission superior: "*Roma aeterna!* Still no answer from Propaganda" (December 31, 1905).

On 2 January 1906, Becker was appointed Apostolic Prefect. On January 18, Propaganda sent Jordan the decree. That same day a letter was sent from Propaganda to Münzloher thanking the Apostolic Prefect for his work and instructing him to hand things over to Becker and to assist him (January 19, 1906).

On February 8, Becker arrived in Rome and introduced himself to Propaganda. Along with two confreres he received the travelers' blessing from Pius X on February 16, and the next day boarded the ship

in Naples. It reached Bombay on March 8, and arrived three days later in Calcutta. On March 17, the three priests reached Shillong.* On March 19, Becker reported to Proaganda their arrival in the Mission Assam (A PF 71189).

Mother Mary fully agreed with Jordan's decision to send two good teaching sisters from the USA to Assam. For her the small, remote foundation in Uniontown, WA was to be given up. But Fr. Faust, the local parish priest there, resisted firmly and Mother Mary had to give way.

After the sisters' general chapter, Sr. Scholastica had traveled to her homeland. She wanted to fund raise for the mission, but landed in a "very awkward situation." A letter from Fr. Pius Steinherr of December 3, 1905, was thrust in her face, saying she was no longer a missionary. In addition, the press attacks had appeared in *Augsburger Abendzeitung*. She asked Jordan, "What am I? To me it's clear. I come from the mission and go to the mission." She spoke for some faithful sisters when she declared:

One really faces strong tests of faith and loyalty in our congregation. But I remember, God, the Rev. Superiors and the Constitutions must be followed. All the things one must hear, and nevertheless with God's grace find the right way (Bamberg, February 15, 1906).

February 18, Sr. Scholastica with Sr. Eustachia boarded the ship to Bom-bay. On the sea she finally finished the letter begun at home: "So much more was shown and said to me that finally I lost all courage to

* Becker wrote Jordan from Calcutta:

. . . the vicar general, who seems to be well acquainted with our mission conditions, said to me several times that the Rev. Archbishop had been completely enraptured over our mission. We would have a wonderful field of work, and certainly would succeed greatly if everything were quite under way. Assam styles itself the sanatorium of Shillong for its healthy situation (March 11, 1906).

Soon Becker also sent his travel report to keep the sponsors of the Assam Mission enthusiastic: "From the Mountains of Tyrol to the Khasi Hills." He thought, as once was said to Abraham so now to him was said: "leave your country!" Thus he was pulled out of the middle of the "new building" in Meran. Also he mentioned proudly that at his February 16 audience, Pius X had commissioned him. Now he could grow a beard like a genuine missionary (SM, 3, 1906).

knock anywhere, and I was very happy to chuck everything and to be on the sea . . ." She attached her fund raising account and closed the letter: "Rev. Father I am so very sorry; but we hope the best for the future" (E-939).

Mother Mary noted the departure of the three missionary priests on February 17, and the two sisters on February 18, in her chronicle (dicta-tion) and added in large, hardly legible letters under it: "We want to pray and work that the Assam Mission blossoms again for the honor of Jesus!!!" (MMChr). Mother Mary was so upset that the sisters in the USA intended for Assam were not released, that she suffered her "first night asthma attack" on the day after the departure of the two other sisters for Assam (MMChr, May 1, 1906). Sr. Laurenzia returned from the mission April 19, 1906, "rather put out" (MMChr). Already on July 19, she traveled with four more sisters to the USA.

Becker quickly found his way around the mission. "Fr. Angelus behaved wonderfully in handing over the reins of the mission." The new superior asked him to remain as his vice prefect and administer mission funds. "This he did immediately" (to Gog, Shillong, April 2, 1906).

Münzloher installed his successor in his post, but not without bitterness against Rome, not only because the cash box was empty, but also because it had happened in the midst of misunderstandings after the visitation by the archbishop of Calcutta and the generalate's negotiations with Propaganda. Münzloher reprimanded Jordan's procedure of just "founding" and then letting foundations fend for themselves:

. . . that is his [Jordan's] "vocation." That's it in a nutshell. Rome could not have treated me better or more noble-mindedly. "Assam is close to my [Jordan's] heart." Sure, sure . . . like a fat milk cow (AA, re: handover of the Mission Procura with list from 1890 to 1905).*

* Münzloher referred here to a letter of Lüthen's from 26 July, 1902, which must have so greatly embittered him that it stuck in his memory in such a way. Lüthen wrote at that time without any ulterior motives: "Rev. Father is against founding any stations around Passau or further east, in Poland, Steyer-mark, etc. Naturally those must provide for themselves. It is his vocation, to found. So we must build. And God will bless." (A MA). At that time the large ordination class accelerated the building of apostolates. Lüthen did not want Münzloher to become concerned, that the mission would have to suffer due to new foundations. Therefore he noted: "those

Fr. Anicet de Smigelski, general mission procurator since the end of 1904, went on fund raising trips for about two full months. But the mission superior was most dissatisfied with his successes. He blamed Rome for the debt, for giving the general mission procurator too little freedom, and not releasing all the "manna" meant for the mission. Smigelski planned now to publish one magazine solely for the Assam Mission. Jordan saw big advantages and disadvantages to this. He favored this effort, but the generalate had to decide: "Perhaps this will put an end to the idea that we use our publications on Assam for our own purposes" (August 8, 1906). But in the end, the "normal condition" remained as Münzloher described in his report. He fully blamed the penniless Founder (F 32.11 A-98).

On his namesday, Jordan sent the Apostolic Prefect good wishes: "take care and work to stay healthy. Everything comes with patience and perseverance" (June 30, 1906). Jordan at that time was often troubled by the thought that a superior could fail due to illness. Men suitable for that task had always been too few. Only in August 1906, did *Der Missionär* publish the apostolic prefect's call for assistance after the 1905 failure of the rice harvest threatened a famine emergency in Assam (MI 7, 1906).

Becker had big plans to finally give to the mission in Assam an image corresponding to the political importance of the region. He in no way wanted to be slowed up by the limited possibilities of the SDS. "I have already written to Rome [i.e., the motherhouse] for priests and brothers. I do not find a hearing, so I must turn to the Salesians and the school brothers" (to Gog, April 2, 1906). In April, Becker sent his wish list: more priest for the stations; priest for a better school for boys in Shillong; for girls two sisters from the USA are promised; brothers for a proper agriculture and trade school (to Jordan, Shillong, April 2, 1906).

The generalate took these plans very seriously, but it was difficult to, "tear a brother lose from somewhere." Therefore, they had to look for a brothers' congregation to teach various trades. "However, it would be better for our brothers to stay put." The Salesians would train their pupils in handicrafts using foreign [local?] lay teachers (Lüthen to Becker, May 5 1906). The same for training in milk and cheese production, since there is no suitable brother. Also a capable

must provide for themselves."

cheese maker familiar with the strange climate (Lüthen to Becker May 7, 1906).

Meanwhile, Br. Rufinus Magiera looked to Franciscan brothers in St. Michele near Meran (agricultural school for fruit and viticulture). The generalate still hoped to secure a brothers congregation to teach trades and agriculture in Assam. Inquiries were made at the brothers' community in Lahore where German-speaking SDS brothers were guests in their motherhouse each time they traveled to Germany to fund raise (Lüthen to Becker, August 4, 1906). Magiera finally gave up on St. Michele. He trained as a dentist. The mission superior announced he wanted him to come to the mission in the winter with three other brothers, if he agreed with this (Meran, November 4, 1906). Lüthen had promised the Apostolic Prefect four brothers for 1907 -08. But all of them were only for the trade school and could not be stationed individually (September 1, 1906). The mission superior quickly found a benefactor to fund the building of a trade school. "The building goes on to its completion," he announced to Jordan (April 6, 1907) who could send no more than three brothers after 1907.

The generalate, above all Jordan and Lüthen, strove no less seriously to find suitable volunteer priests for the boys' school in Assam. They wanted to draw "as far as possible on no other congregation, especially not if they had priests. The latter is an axiom." Lüthen pointed to the Christian Brothers of Dublin who had schools in Calcutta. The best are our own forces. But due to the past "rush for teachers" instruction suffered and they had again to search for young priests for education (May 5, 1906). The mission superior pleaded (July 10, 1906). The general consulta gave a basic answer to the Apostolic Prefect: the Society is not able to meet the demands of the mission in Assam. Because 8 missionaries could not be scraped together for 1907, a counter proposal was for ten missionaries in the next 3 years (September 1, 1906).^{*} It was not easy for the superiors in Rome to win priests for the Assam Mission, because "no priest at all is better than someone who is unreliable. And one cannot pull out capable people who anchor a community or even serve as its superiors" (Lüthen to Becker, November 17, 1906).

^{*} Under the Lourdes statue Jordan put notes: "Oh mother of God: Assam! August 25, 1906."

In the meantime, four priests were ready to go to Assam. They required, however, still more appropriate training for teaching high school. In addition, they had to sit for the examination for apostolic missionaries given by Propaganda.

I hope that with time, interest in the mission will grow. One main thing is for them to have patience without losing sight their goals. Everything goes but slowly. It is certainly a great trial for the mission not to have people and money available in the measure corresponding to its plans. But we hope that it will get better with time (Rome, December 29, 1906).

The mission procurator was also very active. But the mission cash box was still low. Becker turned to Jordan and to Fr. Antonio to support a request to Propaganda for special financial assistance to build the mission houses. The Apostolic Visitor recommended it most warmly to Cardinal Gotti.

Consequently, the generalate looked for a school where "school teachers" could be trained in Assam. The school brothers in Liverpool promised to train two priests. In order to at least double the occupancy of the stations,

. . . in autumn we will send [missionaries], this much we know. It is not so easy just now to correct the course of Assam so soon. Formerly one did not want missionaries, particularly due to lack of means. Now sud-denly: everything doubly occupied, and in addition the school. . . . Now it is difficult to suddenly have people (Lüthen to Becker, January 19, 1907).

Sadly, in the meantime Jordan had to refuse Becker's other urgent requests for confreres: "Assam is turning us into the biggest embarrassment. Here Propaganda pushes. The mission is inundated by Methodist, etc., therefore the need for Catholic missionaries" (October 17, 1906, BL-895).

Becker wanted the Assam Mission (to the credit and honor of the Society) to attain the status of a full-grown prefecture as soon as possible. Jordan broke his head over how to carry out the good plans of the Apostolic Prefect, which he understood fully.*

* Jordan conferred with the priest responsible for the India missions in the generalate of the mission-experienced Capuchins and completely followed his advice: as much as possible no priests from other Institutes in

Becker would have loved to harness the whole Society solely for the mission in Assam. Thus he maintained regular correspondence with those who could and would help. He also succeeded to pull important benefactors away from the house in Meran to his side. The new superior in Meran fought back. If he had to take over the debts of his predecessor he also wanted to keep the community's sponsors. Lüthen strove to mediate between the two. He asked Becker not to estrange the benefactors of Meran, who had mostly been won by Raich: "given its state of distress, the community needs probably only this small reminder. Everyone always thinks of his own emergency first" (October 23, 1906). The Apostolic Prefect answered roughly and threateningly:

You reverends know my opinion: if it is not possible for us to develop other financial means for the mission to meet its most urgent needs, then before God and the church I do not see how we can carry out the responsibility to hold the mission any longer (Shillong, November 24 1906).

On December 28, 1906, the new Apostolic Prefect sent a hopeful annual report to Propaganda: 10 priests, 8 sisters, 22 catechists, 7 stations, 32 out stations, 12 churches or chapels, 1,467 Christians, 300 catechumens; books and magazines are published by the mission. Lyon gives annually 7,000 frs. In addition scholarships and gifts come in.

Jordan wanted to send soon some priests for the high school in Shillong. Civilly, the property of the mission belonged to the prefect and is willed to his successor. The 21 [Catholic] schools for boys and girls are unfortunately still insufficient. The 774 schools of the Methodists and other Protestant sects are rivals.

Since the Salvatorian sisters were not sufficiently trained for a girls' high school, the mission superior wanted to recruit English ladies

the mission. A corps of craftsman is of greatest assistance; especially the basic crafts (carpenters, masons, etc.) as well as specialists in agriculture are necessary. Jordan inquired also about the monthly salary of bishops and missionaries (chaplain 300 lire a month!) as well as about the activity of the St. Patrick Brothers (*Volksschule*) and the Christian Brothers (high schools). The Capuchins greatly encouraged Jordan: "I should go *sforzi* and send people" (May 1, 1906, G-2.5).

from Calcutta.* However, the building had first to be built. But up to now the money was lacking. A school for catechists has been established; 6 dispensaries, and 3 hospitals for the sick and elderly are run by the mission. The building of a church, a priests' house, a school in Shillong itself is urgent. Unfortunately catechists must be paid 3 to 4 times more than elsewhere; or they migrate to the sects.

In the meeting of February 26, 1907, Propaganda approved 2,000 Lire in special assistance (A PF 75197). Propaganda acknowledged the re-port only in May. It underscored that always two priests must be together at one station (or close together). Jordan was to send more missionaries accordingly (May 14, 1907).

Already in his Christmas greetings to Becker, Jordan was seeing things too rosy: "So if God wishes, the number of apostolic workers for Assam will note an important increase next autumn" (December 22, 1906). He overlooked the fact that after the press attacks the new missionaries were pushing for solid training and could not be satisfied with one or two years of special training.

3.12/13. Meran. At year's end the superior of Meran, who was in the middle of a building project, was named new mission superior. Jordan asked his advice on the choice of his successor. Becker rejected out of hand his predecessor, who could, however, complete the building (December 10, 1905). He saw him as a doer, but hardly someone to trust. The mood in the house was rather pessimistic (January 3, 1906).

On January 21, Becker received his appointment as Apostolic Prefect. He thanked Jordan "sincerely for the confidence" put in me. He regretted, however to have to leave before the completion of the magnificent new building in Meran and "to be, as it were, like a Moses able to see the Promised Land only from a distance." But he hoped he could provide "greater service to the church and the Society" in the mission. Then rather strangely Becker suggested Fr. Paschal Ziegenfuss as the only one suitable to be superior (January 21, 1906).

* When Becker saw the plan to bring 2 teaching sisters from USA failed, he turned immediately to the archbishop of Calcutta asking for 3 Loretto sisters. Their superior could hope to comply at the earliest in 3 to 4 years. Till then he could build a sisters house and school (Fr. Hipp, S.J., October 31, 1906, A MA).

On January 28, Becker presented his successor to the community. "Up to now, Fr. Paschal begins well: I hope that everything will go well," he assured Jordan (January 28, 1906). The new superior, like his predecessor, sided with those in the Salvatorian affair represented by Abele in Meran. So when the attacks in the press began and confreres from the Meran community agitated wildly, he resigned. By default the generalate had to reappoint Raich as superior. Having to substitute now in the emergency, he had been deeply wounded that the generalate had followed Becker's advice in selecting the mild Ziegenfuss. He told Jordan openly what he felt: "In these difficult times you really have to pity me." He was referring to the half-finished building, the impatient creditors who were still missing 100 -150,000 Kr. "And above all this immoral rush? This movement against legitimate authority! About which I must answer much. Help must come from above" (March 3, 1906). By month's end he reported to Rome: 92,846 kronen of debt. "To finish building the house we still need at least 100,000 kronen. In June we must move in. Then in 4 to 5 years we must pay heavily" (March 29, 1906). On July 10, the new house opened.

In addition to all the worries Becker and Ziegenfuss had left him, the general procurator, Pfeiffer, continued to harass Raich with the Meran "coffin history" published in *Twentieth Century*. Fr. Chrysologus blew up. He lambasted his rivals:

[Becker has] two-faces. The sad fact is that Rev. Father and probably Lüthen are blind when it comes to him. He can lead them around by the nose. He was the quiet driving element of the opposition in Rome, in Freiburg, and also here against me, and now Rev. Father and Lüthen pay for it. However, woe to whoever touches the fair haired child! I write you *sub secreto* and trust you. Far be it from me to denounce or slander anyone (May 5, 1906).

The letter is only one example among many others which show how at that time the devil sat on the neck of the Society. Not only had confidence in Jordan and the "general leadership" in Rome died in many, the most capable ones also fought against each other with a jealous mistrust that takes one's breath away.

Since Jordan did not have strong enough health for this year's visit to the difficult community in Meran, he sent Borchert who reported: it is felt that a proper superior is lacking. The current one is considered an academic inferior. They complain about the way he

operates with sub-ordinates and his connections outside. Diocesan priest speaks depreciatingly of the "*Bamer Franzl*." Also the remaining priests, except for Stern, were not exactly rich with praise (report of 1906).

Thus Jordan was more than a bit worried whether Raich would succeed to lead this difficult community well. In a discrete way Lüthen as co-founder reminded Raich of this when he congratulated him on the silver anniversary of the Society: "One more thing: it would make [me] infinitely happy if you did your job the way I desire, as I respect you very much and Rev. Father has always esteemed you" (December 10, 1906).

3.13/14. Lochau. Right after the first article in *Augsburger Abendzeitung* appeared, the Lochau dean of studies requested to start a Form 7 class. Lüthen replied: "How should the order reform the 7-Year Humariora?!" He referred to the general chapter which had been content with 6 classes (February 5, 1906, G-39). The dean of studies in one very crude letter accused Lüthen of dishonest diplomacy: he should be ashamed of his past policy (between February 8 & 10, 1906).

Lochau's fund raising brother was deeply embittered by the press attacks and "occasionally swore like a Turk against Rome" (March 2, 1906). He now demanded to be able to introduce a full high school in Lochau. The press' reproach of their miserable studies annoyed him no end. Thus he demanded the introduction of a 7th class, or he would no longer fund raise. In Germany a great row had erupted around the education of clergy and teachers, and Lochau could not remain untouched: "One must never-theless be open and admit that the general chapter set 6 years because Rev. Father saw no prospect to start a 7th class." The next general chapter would surely approve a 7th school year (March 2, 1906). Lüthen noted at the bottom of this somewhat blunt letter from Lochau:

. . . the sup. makes a case for 7 years: I think it will pass [the generalate]. The general chapter will then decide on the 7th year. Rev. Fr. also wants high school graduates. In principle each in the Society is for *fortl. Abit.*

The responsible superior then sent a clarification. The general consulta should introduce a 7th school year provisionally. It would be considered by the next general chapter. But now already the

curriculum starting from 4th year must be realigned (April 3, 1906). The generalate decided in the affirmative on April 10.

In May there was still another law suit in Lochau against "Fr. Joh. Bapt. Jordan, Gen. Sup. of the Salvatorian Fathers." A remaining balance of 18,787.11 Kr. was not acknowledged by the community. The circuit court of Feldkirch decided against the defendant: the balance of the debt, with the interest since 1903 (4%) as well as the court costs were to be paid by the defendant (May 10, 1906).

From then on, the Lochau community had no peace. The accusations of the press affair had shaken people too deeply. Even the students, who themselves could not understand the newspaper attacks clearly were informed by one teacher: "60 pages were written against Rev. Father and the Society, and 50 of them are true "(letter of Loretan, May 1, 1906).

Br. Rodriguez Über also complained about fallout from the press affair in a letter to the general consulta: as a result the younger priests work clandestinely to drive out the older priests. Before, there had been honest peace in the community. But with the reformers came scandal and aggravation. He presented the main complainers' remarks as a particularly ugly example: Jordan should imitate that founder "who voluntarily re-signed, because he considered himself unworthy to direct the leadership." *Twentieth Century* and *Abendzeitung* have opened the eyes of this priest (May 15, 1906).

Jordan sent the general consultor Borchert as his visitator (July 1906). He insisted on a change of superior and a solution to the question of finances and teachers (July 18, 1906).

In the name of the Humaniora Commission, Fr. Simon Stern sought teachers for the coming autumn. Lüthen recommended to Jordan that two newly-ordained priests should suspend their studies in the 4th year. Jordan would not have it: "I do not allow new priests, who have not yet completed their studies. In an emergency one must take lay teachers" (August 13, 1906). Without waiting for a final answer, Stern pushed immediately for a decision about the vacancies, without even being able to suggest a solution: ". . . there is too much talk and in the end nothing ever happens. I don't like the fact that Rev. Father took things into his hands alone. He needs a vacation." He was afraid that Drogens, where Jordan had stayed for R&R, "had no experienced adviser." Also Stern was against Borchert's (the visitator) position, who with the stroke of a pen wants to dump everything. Thus all their

efforts would remain without success. "Nothing seems to find an echo!" (August 16, 1906). Thus "Black Peter" was pushed back and forth between the HK and the generalate. Lochau did not have money for lay teachers, and the priests who should have responded to the call to complete their *Abitur* resisted.

Completing the buildings in Lochau put the community deeply in debt. The original plan was to build only one wing (for approximately 100,000 Kr). But the omnipotent fund raising brother pushed to do the whole building. He himself could begin to do more to lower the debts. Thus the deficit rose to 200,000 Kr, which quickly wore down the ailing superior. On January 18, Jordan released his third general consultor, Hilarius Gog, to clean up the Lochau finances.

The general procurator also had to inform the Apostolic Visitor how very deeply the community was in debt. Fr. Antonio became indignant that someone had dared, in disregard of his recommendations and regulations, to allow such an expensive building and so increase the debts of the house and thus of the Society. He ordered that before anyone in this house were transferred, the responsible party must be clearly identified. Those responsible for these debts must never receive important offices (October 18, 1906, D-762).

Borchert, Jordan's acting visitor this year to the scholastic communities, was to stay in Munich as editor of Salvatorian magazines from May 21 to October 3. This message was sent to Lochau. The superior who had been installed for scarcely a year thereupon wrote to Jordan:

Fr. Antonio è *sdegnato* over the debts of the Lochau community. He wants to find the guilty one. As superior at that time I myself knew about the debts which contradicted Fr. Antonio. . . . If it would satisfy the visitor, then I will sacrifice myself; but if he decides on a punishment I do not deserve, then with all reverence and with all decisiveness I will resist, as I believe, not from pride but from a sense of justice (October 26, 1906).

Loretan attached a letter to Fr. Antonio saying he was saddened by the debts. The new building became more expensive than estimated. But they had not gone ahead recklessly. The debts were unfortunate but they did not represent even half the school's value. Surely they will master the debts. So Loretan asks for further sympathetic consideration (*ibid.*).

Lüthen suggested that Borchert take the letter personally to the Apostolic Visitor and transmit its contents orally (October 29, 1906). But Gog, the general consultor had a different idea. He felt the general procurator was responsible for the affair. Gog, the one he had sent out to lead the building project but who had no authority to negotiate construction contracts, felt he should as much as possible be sidelined. Borchert suggested translating Loretan's letter into Italian and handing it to the visitor. All Fr. Antonio wanted was to have something in hand to cover himself, so that he could stand justified before the Congregation. For Lochau it was important to end the uncertain condition in leadership. Thus Gog, was to replace the already battle-weary Raich and above all to manage the building debts skillfully.

For the position of general consultor, Jordan thought to replace Gog with Fr. Albert Hauser. However, the superior of Vienna X did not want to lose the engine of the church building association there (April 4 & 16, 1906, G-39). Thus Fr. Odo Distel was selected to fill the remaining term of office of the fourth general consultor (December 1906) when Gog became again superior in Lochau.

3.14/15. The Humaniora Commission. Fr. Simon Stern since his transfer from Noto to Meran, was completely cured of his "wine-suffering" and overjoyed at being the new chairman of the Humaniora Commission (HK) in place of Becker. Its mandate was to guide teacher training in the ways demanded by the general chapter. Stern reported directly to the generalate in Rome (April 24 - May 6, 1906).

The HK met in Innsbruck, May 31 to June 1, 1906 (Stern, Loretan, Gaebelseder). Their plan was to let some capable priests pursue their *Arbitur* in the city of Hall. When the press attacks spotlighted the lack of complete humanistic training in the Society, so many were overcome with such feelings of inferiority that they fled into pastoral work and no longer had the courage to work as teachers. Also those selected to go to Hall doubted their own courage. Frs. Augustin Borchert and Evarist Mader did not resign, but they required one year of private study to prepare well. Frs. Placidus Meier and Donatus Weidler likewise volunteered to attempt the *Abitur*, but they withdrew. For Fr. Ladislaus Gollais, too, the apple was too sour (Meier to Becker, April 28, 1906).

The HK sent its slim report to Rome (June 22, 1906, BL-862). In the meantime, the most courageous ones had also given up. Weidler

went to Vienna II; Mader, who at first promised to study (Drogens, June 8, 1906) now wanted to take his doctorate in theology (August 29, 1906). Meier was only ready to go to studies if his friend Fr. Cölestin Linz also went (June 24, 1906, BL-862). Thus everything remained undecided in the summer 1906. Jordan wished to make Meier available for the high school in Assam after the *Abitur*, as he had volunteered to the mission superior: "My goal is to become a teacher in the mission school in Shillong" (to Becker, Meran, April 28, 1906). Jordan wanted him after the *Abitur* to remain with the school brothers in Liverpool for further training. His main doubt was not studies, but the priest's health: "Can he withstanding tropical conditions with his weak nerves?" (September 24, 1906, BL-888).

Naturally the HK could not solve the "teacher question" for the three study houses today or tomorrow. Jordan had to substitute with annual stopgaps. In autumn 1906, Werber, the superior of Hamberg communicated to the Apostolic Prefect, how this strategy had failed.

For Hamberg the teacher question is "solved" from Rome. Fr. B. and Fr. Rh. came. Lochau received Fr. Aug., while the old hands Cöl. and Ant. withdrew. The teacher question is tricky and difficult to solve. One simply manages, so it goes well and badly. [He adds his view of Meran, Freiburg and the motherhouse:] Rome does not have people to staff the houses. (October 14, 1906).

3.15/16. Hamberg. In the annual report of 1905, the superior of Hamberg, Canisius Werber, reported good relations with church and lay authority; peace and unity reigned in the community. But the teacher question and the study plan still awaited a solution. Finances stood at zero.

In the first months of 1906, the superior fought back strongly to protect the reputation of the community against attacks in the press. Also he in no way dodged the unpleasant "begging trips" for the scholasticate. On the other hand, he appeared too liberal, at least in the visitor's eyes, thereby endangering the community's confidence (June 22, 1906).

Furthermore, the teacher question remained open. The superior wanted to introduce a 5th year class for older students, and to send the young 3rd year students to Meran. But the loss of the 12 pupils from this class would mean a hole of 2,000 Mark in the student tuition starting in autumn (June 28, 1906). So this suggestion to free up things in the school was not approved by Jordan.

Werber resisted the general procurator's claim that blame for the debt should be attributed to him: the generalate was responsible to maintain the students. Rome urged us to build and to accept students who can not pay. Now they cannot let the large house stand empty. Pfeiffer has no idea of the difficulties of begging. Werner had harsh words for the general procurator: He is zealous and has the best will to do his duty. But in communicating the generalate's financial affairs he is a very poor diplomat (August 2, 1906).

Pfeiffer offered 4,000 *Apostel-Kalender* to help the community with its income. The superior remained intractable: Who'll sell the calendars? Calendars and begging letters won't plug the hole in the cash box. The question of studies can't be solved without first solving the financial question. On this the HK itself is united (August 11, 1906).

In the summer, Werner completely by surprise announced that he was now ready, for the sake of Rome, to take the *Arbitur* exam out of love for the Society and for Jordan. He volunteered after the priest scheduled to do this had again refused (August 15, 1906). Already on September 6, he sent a victory telegram to Rome: "*Feliciter superavi.*"

Jordan was surprised on the one hand that the superior had taken the exam as a religion teacher. He feared that Werner, who vacillated during and after the press attacks, would now be troubled with thoughts of withdrawing. But he immediately reassured Jordan he had no thought of resigning his post which was due to run until November 10, 1908. In addition, Rome had never forbidden him to take the exams (September 7, 1906). Jordan was relieved and Werber thanked him for his trust (September 17, 1906).*

3.16/17. Jägerndorf. The temporary superior of Jägerndorf, Fr. Leodegar Gütlein, pushed either to be sent new members or to be relieved. The Founder asked him to endure in his "difficult post," and to win people, . . . by using meekness and love, even if they are beset with errors and weaknesses. In this way one can accomplish relatively great things even with difficult characters. . . . To win people, you must do everything; if they are embittered, then they leave and things fall to pieces. . . . Don't set your hopes too high for new members, even if

* But still a note lay at the Lourdes statue: "Oh Mother, provide for Hamberg." Jordan had decided, "that in Hamberg somebody other than Fr. Canisius must take the exam as a substitute" (Drognens, July 29, 1906).

they are good, if you do not treat them with great love and patience. Even a word or an action which happens without bad intention can sour or embitter someone and then begins the cross for both parts. I have experienced this for 25 years, with what patience one must treat priests in particular (January 8, 1906).

Jordan assured the overtaxed superior:

I believe it is hard for you to endure even more at your post, but for love of the one who suffered death on the cross for us, I want you nevertheless to hold on somewhat longer. It is difficult, very difficult, to pull someone out during the school year; by the way, we will do what we can to relieve you (January 26, 1906).

Gütlein did not relent. He insisted and won permission to return to Vienna. But practically by return of post Jordan had to renege on his promise because the planned replacement was not immediately feasible:

I am forced to withdraw the permission I gave you to leave Jägerndorf and go to Vienna. The *bonum commune* requires that you endure at your post at least for the time being. You do not know what obstacles make it impossible for me to send you assistance immediately. . . .With patience and time everything can be done. Oh, that we never lose them! So make this sacrifice! (February 6, 1906).

Gütlein made this sacrifice and also found himself with new confreres. So the generalate could proceed with the canonical election of local superior (cf., August 31, 1906). It took place December 11, 1906. On that very day Jordan sent the duly elected superior (Gütlein) the certificate of appointment. He again asked him to imitate the "*mansuetudo* of the Divine Savior." He reminded him of those Christmas readings which speak of the *benignitas et humanitas Salvatoris nostri*, and confessed to him: "I know your zeal and your good will. May the Lord repay everything plentifully" (December 12, 1906).

Lüthen held the view the generalate had developed at the end of 1906: "the priests who were there in former times built a house without the necessary money, and so the current superior is in a bad situation." He lists the following statistics: construction costs 68,000 Kr., mortgage 25,000 Kr., further debts 39,000 Kr. Mr. Breitkopf now wants to withdraw his 9,000 Kr. security. Then he continued:

I still say that one from here [Jägerndorf] dared such a thing; to build a house without money and without permission. They speak of a mis-

understanding over some letter . . . Unfortunately the whole property is in the name of the Rev. Father so that if any disaster came he would be personally responsible. . . .

Our proximate superior acting for the S. Congregation [Fr. Antonio] does not want us to do anything for outside houses, since here we have so many cares for the novitiate and so many in studies (Lüthen to Mrs. Huch, February 13, 1907; her husband was to advise him how to properly secure a second mortgage).

Gütlein announced to the general procurator that on February 23, 1907, 9,000 Mark would be due; the guarantor is Pastor Nathan (to Jordan, January 23, 1907). Soon thereafter another 2,500 M was due. The superior issued an ultimatum: immediate payment or resign. Pfeiffer, assuming that Gütlein had given such notice only because he absolutely wanted to move, was in favor of completely re-staffing the house (March 9, 1907).

Gütlein had already sent a warning to Jordan: he clearly stood by his request to resign. After the Lenten preaching he wanted to leave the community for good (perhaps for Vienna, July 20, 1907). Again and again, Jordan kept the superior from carrying out his written threats. So he bore his cross, the demands of his office, poorly but properly for the well-being of his star-crossed community. Gütlein was one of those who quickly says no, but then stays put under obedience—something Our Lord points out as so praiseworthy (Mtt 21:28ff). Already with the perilous beginning in Wealdstone, Gütlein had proved himself in this valuable virtue.

3.17/18. Athus. In Athus the four priests found it too difficult to penetrate the French-speaking area. They remained on hold. Jordan visited the con-freres in August 1905, to encourage and inspire them. He nevertheless got the superior, Gabriel Horne, to undertake in the late summer an arduous but (as he reported) successful fund raising trip into his home area (September 18, 1905).

During the long winter months bitterness again won the upper hand in the mind of the superior. He asked Rome whether the moribund community could not finally be closed (March 24, 1906). Jordan favored only a temporary suspension. The bishop should allow us the right to begin again later. In the meantime, the priests could help there in pastoral care. Jordan wanted to secure this bridgehead inside the French-language area for the Society (March 27, 1906). The superior

himself, however, had no desire to strive further. In his opinion all three Belgian houses should already have been suppressed in 1902, or at the latest in 1903, for lack of pastoral work. However, the houses had not been started for pastoral work but as study houses. The immediate aim was fund raising and building houses. A fortiori, due to the terrible poverty which of necessity existed in these houses, Jordan had to give them up (April 12, 1906).

In July the generalate requested the bishop of Namur to suspend the house in Athus *ad tempus* (June 23, 1906). The bishop communicated to Jordan through his vicar general that he agreed with the suspension (June 30, 1906). The superior had already asked permission in May to leave the community by July 1 (May 18, 1906). Meanwhile, he had secretly applied personally to the bishop of Metz for admission to his diocese, and had been readily accepted.

Already on December 28, 1905, the bishop of Metz had inquired about this fine priest who had also been recommended to him by the bishop of Namur. Fr. Antonio saw no reason for him to become disloyal to the Society (February 14, 1906); so a meeting of the Congregation tabled Horne's request (February 16, 1906). The bishop insisted to Cardinal Ferrata (February 23, 1906): Fr. Gabriel is leaving the Society due to the difficulties which prevail in it and are reported in the press. The bishop is ready to take the priest because he himself lacks priests. Horne turned to Cardinal Prefect Ferrata, saying life in the Society had become intolerable and impossible (March 13, 1906). By March 10, 1906, the bishop finished this business: he incarnated Horne definitely into the diocese. Cardinal Ferrata gave way: *reformetur rescriptum; urgatur* (March 23, 1906).

3.18/19. Hamont and Welkenraedt. In 1906, Jordan sent the superior from Drogne, Conrad Hansknecht, for the annual visitation of Hamont (November 14, 1906). His report was not at all flattering: "the superior is like a loose wild horse. He did not receive me, he passed me without greeting. Only after 4 attempts did he receive me." The enmity between the superior and one confrere, which had already been deplored in the 1903 visitation, was now running so high that the superior required that one of the two must yield. Because both were responsible, the visitor had to find a Solomonic judgment. The priest concerned is to go to Welkenraedt, and the superior, after the expiration of his term of office in March 1907, was not to be

reappointed. "He built it up and is now busy tearing it down by force. He travels continuously around the world to get money. He can no longer bear to be in the monastery school." In reality the other priests made the money here, above all Frs. Dorotheus Brugger, Bernardus Raaf, Odo Distel and Wenzeslaus Oboth. The superior squandered this money.

In his optimism he has become entangled in many businesses. His grand illusions makes him lost for our Society. The farm is a losing proposition. The debts of the community amount to 87,000 sfr., of which 20,000 sfr. are due. All fear the rough and offensive superior. On the other hand, the superior is good friends with the factory owner in Overpelt.

The visitor who received a "common dog treatment" at Hamont, demanded the removal of the superior and the priest embroiled in contro-versy with him, in order to secure the good future of the house. As new superior he suggested Fr. Dorotheus Brugger who had volunteered for Assam but was more important for Hamont. Meanwhile, the priests were to transfer the new vocational school in Overpelt and its three students to Lochau (November 29, 1906).

Soon after, the superior found admission into the Diocese of Salz-burg; the other priest later transferred to Welkenraedt, and some years later left the Society. On May 9, 1907, the universally highly esteemed Brugger assumed the office of superior.

3.19/21. Noto. In late autumn 1906, the Apostolic Visitor instructed the generalate to decide whether it would not be better to suppress the community of Madonna della Scala and remain with Noto. The general procurator had made clear to Fr. Antonio that the house with its half dozen students for the Society represented a burden, tying up a half dozen priests. The generalate voted to suppress the community. This step was justified by appeal to "the purpose and way of life of the Society, the bad financial conditions, and local circumstances." Bishop Blandini, to whom Jordan had to communicate the generalate's decision, was startled. He asked Jordan urgently to reverse this decision. Jordan, who was not in favor of abolishing the house, promised he would do his best to leave the community at the shrine of the BVM and he succeeded in reversing the generalate. Only the expensive student housing was dissolved. The service at the shrine and

in the parish remained as before. The *Collegio Marianum Coelimontanum in Urbe* remained unaffected by this tug-of-war.

It is not clear to what extent Fr. Antonio, was influenced in his decision against Scala by its "unbridled critic," Fr. Willibald Bocka. After all, Bocka had written to Pfeiffer that he should not give in to the bishop of Noto, even if he points to written obligations: "Nobody wants to louse things up here. The diocesan clergy is against us out of spiteful jealousy. The bishop should buy the Scala from us for cash" (November 1906).

Jordan assembled statistics on members and the cost of living at the Scala from 1895 to 1905. He came to the conclusion that the Scala community, in comparison to the motherhouse, had lived around 70,000 Lire more cheaply; 23 priests had been ordained from the Scala, and 20 brothers accepted, of whom 12 were still in the Society. Jordan attributed this to "loyalty and sacrificial courage." Pfeiffer noted under this tally of Jordan's: "the difficulties were the instructors and fewer pupils in individual classes." By year's end there were only four priests and three brothers in the Scala.

Pfeiffer was not content with the arrangement in Noto. He was in favor of suppressing Zagreb, Narni and Scala completely. He saw the best way to organize and maintain finances was to concentrate forces. Because "how happy St. Nazianz would be if it got priests" (March 12, 1907; letter from Jägerndorf, March 9, 1907). But he could not force Jordan to give up the work at the two Marian shrines. And Fr. Antonio could not step in this again. Finally Jordan came to be against Porto di Recanati. While Pfeiffer counted on more money from St. Nazianz, Jordan trusted in the assistance of the Madonna.

3.20/22. Porto di Recanati. On December 8, 1906, in Porto di Recanati a small foundation was officially established, as the generalate had decided on March 27. It was staffed by two priests and two brothers. Fr. Gaspar Flumeri was superior and his co-worker (according to the desire of the Apostolic Visitators) was the restless Fr. Willibald Bocka. The foundation goes back to a wish of the Apostolic Visitor who wanted to do Msgr. Budini a favor: to again have care provided for the Church of the Precious Blood in his place of birth. So the abandoned seaside house belonging to the church was handed over to the

Salvatorians (February 13, 1906).^{*} The superior did not have a bad impression of the new house (August 29, 1906). Jordan had succumbed to the pressure of Fr. Antonio, although he saw no future for an "*apostolische pflanzschule*" in Porto di Recanati.

But Bocka was also not interested in settling there for the long run. After only a few months he begged to be transferred, and as Rome did not immediately accept his demands he issued his usual ultimatum. The house remained a dependency of the Society, was dragged through the First World War, and only on July 3, 1920, was it suppressed.

3.21/23. Mehala. In Mehala priests pressed on as well as they could, and did so with considerable success. Starting in 1902, the *Apostel-Kalender* appeared in Hungarian. But the profits were not enough to purchase a building site close to the church which came up at auction (April 3, 1902). Thus the bishop bought it to give to the priests (June 22, 1902). On September 19, 1902, construction of a private house was begun there without the prior permission of the generalate. Once discovered, the generalate wanted to stop the building, which nevertheless was already under roof. Now everything had to be led to its conclusion. The Roman superiors were pacified by the fact that only one house was built, with permission of the bishop, and it was not a "formation house" (November 10, 1902).

As a consequence a "parsonage" arose without proper religious discipline. The superior lost the confidence of his subordinates, who besought Rome to remove him. Jordan sent the superior of Meseritsch as visitor (November 7, 1906). He demanded the removal of the superior and a Salvatorian reform of the house (Budapest, November 18, 1906).

The superior, Fridolinus Cichy was to be transferred to Lochau. But already since about May 1905 he had "lost face" when his brother, a missionary in Monte Video, became notorious as a false pope in Naples. The bold founder of Mehala contacted Bishop Josef Nemeth of Csanád, who gladly accepted him into his diocese. From Szaparyliget he wrote a heartfelt and grateful farewell letter on

^{*} From April 24 to May 7, 1906, the vicar general of Recanati, Bishop Padaliri, enjoyed the community's hospitality. Before returning home he visited Jordan in his rooms (May 6, 1906, G-2.5).

Christmas Day 1906, to the "good Rev. Father." On March 6, 1907, his "case" was completed by the Congregation for Religious.

3.22/24. Los Angeles. One Polish confrere, Fr. Victorian Organisiak, wanted to devote himself to pastoral work with Poles in the American West and requested some Polish sisters, who should also master English and German for the school, in addition to some priests (February 13, 1905). By autumn he wanted to set himself up in Los Angeles. He explained the situation to Jordan:

We need our own house where we can return from our mission work and recover, thus a monastery. Here there are Catholic Poles, Slovaks, Bohemians and Lithuanians to care for. Two Polish priests are necessary for the beginning (November 11, 1905).

In a good way, Lüthen, on Jordan's behalf, admonished him to obedience (December 21, 1905). The priest, completely besotted with his foundation, wrote back: "Will you send Polish priests or not?" Again he demanded his own house, independent of the bishop, like the Jesuits and others. He insisted almost wildly and impudently.

In January 1906, he came with another suggestion, probably just to come at his goal from another direction. He had spoken with newly-appointed Bishop O'Dea of the Diocese of Nesqually, WA, "who wants us to build a monastery for at least 6 priests and some brothers in Tacoma. Pe Ell must revert to second place, and Tacoma become the central location" (to Jordan, January 31, 1906).

Meanwhile, Jordan had contacted O'Dea: he required either the possibility for the priests in Pe Ell to live in community or the dissolution of their contract so they could live in another diocese according to the Salvatorian Rule (February 3, 1906). Bishop O'Dea gave way. The superior, Severin Jurek, could report to Jordan: "the bishop permitted us to build a house in Tacoma and we start in all seriousness to establish the same. But here, too, the question of money is precisely the big obstacle. Fund raising is completely out of the question." He proposes cooperating with St. Nazianz and starting a priest-exchange with them (March 15, 1906).

When no answer came from Rome, Jurek wrote very excitedly to Jordan: "the bishop is very infuriated that you did not write and have sent us no priests. We must have priests, then we can build the house in Taco-ma together with them" (May 7, 1906). Jordan had to enlighten him:

. . . the bishop is not waiting for any answer. He himself will turn to Propaganda for the necessary permission. But Propaganda, which is responsible, has not yet called us. Meanwhile, we looked for experience in St. Nazianz on how to deal with your plan. But St. Nazianz rejected.

Forced to leave the priests in individual stations, Jordan had become more clearly opposed to the bishop than the superior had reported. Although he was allowed to send more priests for a house in Tacoma (March 14, 1906), Jordan could not accept this. He asked the bishop by autumn to arrange everything so that he could remove the priests, "*benché col sommo mio dolore*" (May 28, 1906). His earlier suggestion of a periodic priest exchange with St. Nazianz had been rejected.

In July, Jordan sent Bishop O'Dea of Nesqually a clear memoran-dum: the priests cannot build any central house, as they have no superior. They may not purchase anything to build. "I feel conscience-bound to inform you so you can look around for priests of another society." The bishop was asked to determine a favorable day for the priests to leave (August 16, 1906).

In late November, Jordan received a telegram from Los Angeles: "Bishop Conaty permits the establishment of a house. We must give up Washington. Best future for the Society in California" (Organisiak, November 28, 1906). Weigang answered the superior in Pell in Jordan's name: the foundation in Los Angeles must be done properly. He attached the telegram from Los Angeles. Jordan set his conditions: the bishop builds the house; the priests lead a common life; they work in the place and receive their necessary maintenance; the house is not exclusively for Poles; a letter of the bishop to Propaganda is necessary; no debts may be incurred (November 30, 1906).

In December, Organisiak again stormed Jordan: building a house in Los Angeles is urgent, primarily for Poles (December 15, 1906). Thus "it is absolutely necessary to have Polish priests!" (December 25, 1906). The letter only arrived in Rome on January 5, 1907, passing in the mail the circular letter of Fr. Antonio of December 20, 1906. Fr. Severin received it "only on January 5th because of illness." He immediately set out for Los Angeles. He reported to Jordan his attitude along with that of the bishop of Nesqually. He needed good, capable people. "If we do not have them, then *ex conscientia* we should give up founding so many communities and rather supply those which already exist" (January 7, 1907). Meanwhile in Los Angeles, Organisiak

had acquired, "a beautiful building site" near the city for \$18,000 and had already deposited \$5,000. He planned to build immediately an "emergency church."

Jurek was inspired by the new acquisition. "I want to try to sell the house in Pe Ell as soon as possible." Jordan should inform Bishop O'Dea and Propaganda (January 22, 1907). Organisiak informed Jordan likewise that he had bought, "6 acres for \$13,000. The bishop, who is the best one you can find anywhere," gave \$8,000. "Soon I will build a house and a provisional church." He needs immediately 2 to 3 priests and sisters (January 25, 1907). The bishop of Los Angeles, too, requested Polish priests. Jordan's answer was reserved: he wanted to examine everything. In the coming year, however, nothing can be done. We are forbidden to build or incur debts by "our superiors" (meaning Fr. Antonio! February 17, 1907). The same day, Jurek answered an inquiry of the Apostolic Visitor:

In Nesqually no community is possible. Bishop Conaty [of Los Angeles] desires a foundation for ministry to Poles. For this the bishop will provide a house. Neither the Society nor its priests here may incur debts. In this way the regulation of Fr. Antonio is carried out. Already on November 30, 1906 this was communicated to the superior (February 17, 1907).

Rome could not give in to these onslaughts. Lüthen reported on February 17, 1907, to Jurek in Frances, WA, how the affair was being judged in Rome: 1) blame for violating the prohibition of the Apostolic Visitor and the general consulta; 2) the Apostolic Visitor does not for the time being recognize the purchase; therefore, the generalate also cannot; 3) blueprints must be pre-approved; the money for site, house and church must be in hand before starting construction (instruction of the Visitor!); 4) to Nesqually nothing more is to be written. Jurek may arrange with the bishop the time for their departure; 5) the Society has at present no Polish priests available for the USA. Further points follow (memo, February 17, 1907). The superior should use his office to solve the Polish question. Weigang was to come! (March 20, 1907).

By year's end 1906, the priests in the West were more scattered than ever: Jurek resided in Frances, WA; Bucher was further off in Siletz, OR; one priest was in Tacoma, WA and one in Los Angeles, CA. In November 1907, Bishop Thomas Conaty of Los Angeles offered a solution: he would assume the material burdens. All 4 priests and 1 brother were now to live together on Pepper Avenue in Los Angeles.

Nesqually and Oregon had to be given up after 15 years of laborious apostolic involvement (November 28, 1907). But for the 4 priests, Los Angeles was no bed of roses. Very soon Jurek announced that the income was low and that German [priests] would not be accepted by the Polish. Thus he suggested that the Polish confrere, Organisiak, should be superior.

The generalate had no other choice. Organisiak thanked them for this confidence. Jurek, the superior of many years, transferred to pastoral work in the hospital. Bucher did not get along in the community, and returned to the Native Americans, taking Br. Nazarius Wallny with him. For weeks the fourth priest, Parolini, searched for a bishop to receive him. So again the community quickly fell apart (March 31, 1908).

The new superior, Organisiak, renewed his push for Jordan to send him priests, and not always to favor St. Nazianz. Those in the West felt excluded –banished from the Society (August 1, 1908). He envisioned Los Angeles as the Western Province of the USA. To carry out his dreams he didn't need resources, just people. But both were missing. After the Second General Chapter, the Los Angeles foundation was dissolved and the remaining confreres were integrated into the St. Nazianz community. Bucher stayed with his Indians in Oregon. Organisiak worked with Polish immigrants in Los Angeles and finally transferred into the diocese (1911). Jurek also withdrew from the Society shortly thereafter.

3.23/25. St. Nazianz. On July 3, 1906, Bishop Fox of Green Bay, WI laid the foundation stone for the new monastery in St. Nazianz. The building cost (east wing) was estimated at \$22,000. The superior, Epiphanius Deibele, hoped to receive from Europe capable people for the novitiate. He felt that starting with only American novices was too risky. It was also important to him to examine and solve the teacher question in detail before beginning a school (November 30, 1906).

Events in Assam and the press attacks in Bavarian tabloids were also well known in St. Nazianz. "Two priests will probably withdraw here due to the newspaper articles. Fr. Ignatius [Bethan] too does not stand firmly enough; his gaze is directed to India" (March 22, 1906). Lüthen reminded him not to be so pessimistic. Deibele defended himself:

It may seem that I harbor pessimistic scenarios, however my remark, e.g., on a confrere (not from here) in reference to Steinherr was surely

not too dark. What happened proved that. Furthermore, Rome continues to think the hubbub is over. I do not believe it. In the houses the pain is enormous. Some may write harsh letters they have no intention of ever sending, etc., but from this side the mood appears different. For example, one superior wrote to a confrere (not from here) regarding the articles in *Twentieth Century*, that: I never heard bloodier truth. This Rev. confrere surely didn't write to Rome. In my view, we will lose still more priests. Fr. Abele is taken up in a neighbor diocese, i.e., to Assam. Now the worst possible thing has befallen the missionaries in Assam (April 6, 1906).

Lüthen resisted energetically the false ideas about the motherhouse which he tried to explain and defend (April 9, 1906, G-39). But Deibele could not be fully convinced. He was only too glad to listen to "rumors from inside and out" and a certain mistrust of the motherhouse now became an inner-Salvatorian rule, not only for St. Nazianz.

In Luxembourg, WI, on December 18, 1905, Sr. Christina replaced Sr. Liboria as superior. But she was unsure of herself. Thus in summer, Jordan asked himself: "What is to be done with Sr. Christina?" (Welken-raedt, August 10, 1905, A-491). On 30 November 1906, Sr. Christina turned to Pfeiffer to make clear to the sisters' Apostolic Visitor that the school in Luxembourg should be closed. The local people have been ranged against the sisters for several years now. A civil decision replaced the sisters with licensed teachers. They could still work in the parish school, but with so little pay it was not enough for maintenance. On July 1, the foundation was closed. The new sister commissar opened a small new community on November 7, 1906, in Almena, WI.

3.24/26. Freiburg and Drogens were also disturbed by the *Twentieth Century* articles. Some confreres in Freiburg were in favor of a "thorough refutation of the infamous accusations that almost overflow with dirt and spite [in an] essay about our Society" (January 25, 1906). A response in the *Augsburger Postzeitung* "would be best" (February 1, 1906). Others judged more carefully. One priest, "run off from Lochau" even wrote an article against the Society, which the *Augsburger Abendzeitung* published (Fr. Em-meran Rieger in "A Model Order," February 23, 1906; Vatterodt to Jordan, March 13, 1906). On February 12, 1906, the superior, Edmund Vatterodt, had wanted to travel to

Rome, in order finally to take his confessor exams. Lüthen answered him that Freiburg was closer.

The two groups, priests and scholastics, often got along more badly than well. One accused the other of lax discipline. In any case, each group had its own act to clean up. Jordan had reminded the superior during a visitation: "Freiburg is the most ill-disciplined community in the Society." For his part, the prefect of scholastics, Fr. Evarist Mader, could not report anything better to Jordan: "Scholastics are badly disciplined; their humaniora studies are unsatisfactory. The mood of the house is against the superior because he is unable to lead the house" (1904).

By 1906, they informed Rome: "The spirit has improved. The reputation of the community is good, along with the financial situation." In the meantime, the superior had been replaced (November 26, 1906). His successor, Alcuin Breuer judged Vatterodt harshly: A good confrere, but as superior a "zero" (annual report 1906). He was more a philosopher than a man of action.

In summer 1906, Hansknecht asked Pfeiffer to try to get a contract for Drogens with State Councillor Python (July 20). Pancrattius pressed Python to draw up a contract and pay scale immediately (July 26). Python apologized, saying he could attend to the matter only in September after the holidays, something he was glad to do (August 12, 1906).

The Drogens superior required 12,000 sfr. annually (to Pfeiffer, August 26). He fought against the canton's agriculture commission: "the value of the cattle amounts to 38,310 sfr. The yield serves the Institute! Python can control our books, but he cannot give us instructions for our cattle or intervene in the rights of the director [re: admissions and dismissals]" (September 3, 1906). Pfeiffer now sent the draft agreement and requested 10,200 sfr. for priests and brothers, as well as 2,000 sfr. for the sisters annually (September 11-25, 1906). Jordan, resting this summer in Drogens, thought the calculations of his general procurator were somewhat high. He and Lüthen asked Hansknecht for comparative figures from other institutes (September 17, 1906).

Under Hansknecht the Colony St. Nicolas attained prestige, which captured the attention of the educational circles of all Switzerland. In writing to Jordan, even the superior of Freiburg praised . . . the unity, love and sincerity, with which all relate to the director in Drogens, Fr. Conrad. Therefore, things really progress with

Drogens. I found nothing similar up to now in the Society
(November 27, 1905).

Prince Max of Saxonia and Professor Beck* became real friends of the house and defended the Institute whenever the opportunity arose. The number of boys had risen at the beginning of 1905 to 83.

From July 10 to August 24, 1906, Jordan stayed in Drogens. His dangerously weakened health forced him to take this sick leave—his first ever.** During this stay, on July 23, a heavy thunderstorm hit the Institute. Guernicus Bürger reported to Rome:

On Monday the 23rd in the evening around 8:30, a terrible storm arose from the south. By 9:00 the unleashed elements raged: storm, rain, lightning and thunder in the most electrifying manner we had seldom experienced in our life. Hit after hit shocked the house and shook it to its foundations. Rev. Fr. Director was with the Rev. Father in his rooms. They prayed. Fr. Bruno [Dempff] and Fr. Hypolith [Drewniok] stood in the hallway near the telephone.

* Josef Beck was born October 28, 1858, in Sursee. He studied in Einsiedeln, Luzern, Innsbruck and Löwen. Prince-Bishop Aichner of Brixen ordained him July 27, 1884. One year later, he took his doctorate in theology and then did pastoral work in Basel and dedicated himself above all to the problems of the diaspora and to worker politics. From 1888, he taught as professor of exegesis in the seminary in Lucern but transferred in summer 1891, to the newly-erected university in Freiburg, where he taught until 1934.

Fr. Beck was an esteemed professor not only of pastoral theology but also of Catholic social reform. As a Catholic journalist he was feared and respected for his fiery involvement in politics on behalf of Catholic principles. During his Freiburg activity he embraced the youth center in Drogens. Beck was the model of a good politician in a cassock—a personality who helped Catholic Switzerland at that time to new self-assurance. He died at 85 in his homeland on September 10, 1943.

** Rev. Fr. is not in Rome. He must perforce—for the first time in 25 years—stop completely (Lüthen to Becker, August 4, 1906).

Rev. Fr. is in Drogens for 4 weeks to restore his weakened health somewhat. Thanks be to God he is better. Such storms as we had at the beginning of this year would certainly completely ruin his already compromised health (to Rio, August 10, 1906, BL-875).

Then! Terrible lightning! A paralyzing impact! Sparks flew from the telephone line and sprayed all over the place! Frs. Bruno and Hypolith were nearly knocked to the ground and clung to one another! The terrible bolt had hit our house squarely! [The lightning had followed the telephone line into the earth and destroyed both the line and the large window in the salon.]

The room which Rev. Father had been staying in earlier lay directly beside the salon and he had his entrance directly through this. If on that fatal day Rev. Fr. had used that room, then he with Fr. Conrad would almost certainly absolutely have been in the salon, as had been the case in the preceding thunderstorm. . . . (Because the thunderstorm was so terrible, probably all the priests would have been in the parlor and thus been injured by the flying glass –perhaps killed). Fr. Guericus at the order of Fr. Conrad

Hansknecht noted in addition that the same thunderstorm killed 3 in the neighborhood. Eight houses caught fire, two burned totally down and the livestock were lost.

In the house the lightning damage destroyed the telephone. The wallpaper in the salon was burned in places and there was other damage. Hansknecht believed that lightning would have killed everyone if they had been in the salon. "The fearfulness of Rev. Fr. saved our lives."

For his part, Bürger appended this to the report: "The fearfulness of Rev. Father saved all of our lives." When the heavy thunderstorm closed in, Jordan could not master his fear. At night around 11:30 he asked Hansknecht for a different room. The move occurred around 2 a.m. Jordan's new room was to the east in the center of the house (July 25, 1906).

July 28, Jordan traveled to "the venerable Carthusian monastery in Heiligen Tal, la Valsainte" (SD II/100). The monastery is approximately 30 km from Drognens at the south foot of the Berra in upper Javrozstal (1077 m. above sea level).

On August 17, Hansknecht accompanied Jordan to the "Popular Marian Day" in Einsiedeln.* Jordan drew the greatest attention. Arch-bishop Raymund Netzhammer, OSB, of Bucharest and

* It concerned the German *Sodalentag* of the Marian Congregation. All Swiss bishops participated in it, and so Kleiser was also among the guests.

Archbishop Maia (Nicopolis i.p.i.) from Brazil sat together with him at the banquet table. The bishop of Chur as well as Prince Max of Saxonia were particularly solicitous toward Jordan. Several times Hansknecht was congratulated: "*Je vous félicite d'avoir un tel Fondateur et Père Général.*" Each day around 7:30 a.m. the altar of the "Grace Chapel" was reserved for Jordan. The congress lasted till August 20, 1906.

On August 23, Jordan left the hospitable Drognens. The boys prepared a "cordial parting" for the friendly, rosary praying priest who had so quickly won their hearts. Hansknecht praised above all Jordan's "extraordinary kindness, love, selflessness and affability" which impressed everyone (to Lüthen, August 23, 1906).

3.25/27. Sisters' visitation. On the night of February 19, 1906, Mother Mary had an asthma attack. It recurred on April 1. Mother Mary took it as a reminder to be ready:

Everything as the Divine Savior wants it! No one lives longer than God wants. After these two episodes it stopped again completely. Now I am again completely healthy (MMChr).

After a three-year absence, Sr. Raphaela Bohnheim returned from her homeland to the motherhouse on February 17, 1905. She had to be cared for "like a sick child" (Mother Mary to Pfeiffer, February 25, 1905).

After the apostolic visitation by Fr. Esser, who together with the house superior had tried to agitate against Mother Mary, Raphaela was elected as the motherhouse delegate to the Second General Chapter. But this never came to pass, nor did she afterward receive the attention she expected. Fr. Antonio, Apostolic Visitor of the sisters since May 1906, granted her dismissal. On July 30, 1906, she returned to her Bavarian homeland. Mother Mary communicated to Pfeiffer with relief: "The former Raph. is now sidelined" (July 30, 1906).

On August 1, Sr. Elizabeth accompanied Mother Mary on a visitation trip to the three Hungarian and the two Viennese houses. On the return journey she made her usual stop in Torri. On September 18, she was again in Rome after which she celebrated her namesday.

From October 11 until 22, the annual retreat was held in Salita San Onofrio, conducted by the superior from Meseritsch. Mother Mary recorded no resolutions. However, she did note two suggestions of the retreat master: "Like a child learning to walk, falls and gets up again, so

must nuns"; reflect often on your beautiful name: "venerable sisters" (October 22, 1906, at the end of Mother Mary's second Resolution Booklet).

On December 21, 1906, Mother Mary became seriously ill with a bad asthma attack and received Extreme Unction,

Rev. Father, all well as all the other first Rev. Frs. of the SDS, along with Fr. Antonius di Gesù, assisted. After 8 days she was again completely healthy. Everything to the honor of God. (MMChr).

On December 30, 1906, the sisters took over a girls' home in Vienna.

3.26/28. Salvatorian publications. Since *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* was now going to benefactors and promoters, the *Salvatorianer Chronik* section in *Der Missionär* became increasingly modest. Starting in 1905, it was discontinued. Reports on Salvatorian activities were inserted into church news, and news of the mission in Assam was combined with news from other missions. Jordan's New Year's greeting to sponsors and friends as well as the "*Muttergottes Pfennig*" were continued. *Der Missionär* had slowly changed into a garden variety Catholic family magazine. Starting in 1907 it changed its title to "Pictorial Monthly for the Christian House (formerly *Der Missionär*)." Already the December 1906 issue announced, *Der Missionär* now appears as *Allgemeines Familienblatt* (until 1906, "*Der Missionär. Illustrated Monthly Review for Catholic Families for Instruction and Entertainment*," from the Society of the Divine Savior in Rome). The magazine was titled: *Manna. Illustrated Catholic Youth Writing*.

Starting in 1908, the subtitle in parentheses was simply "*Der Missionär*." 1913 brought an urgently needed change of course. The title was called again: "*Der Missionär. Illustrated Monthly Magazines for the Christian House*." The *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* was attached, and once again Salvatorian events were reported in detail.*

The church-political stance of *Der Missionär* lacked self-assurance and remained colorless. It saw things through Roman glasses. Public taste was easily satisfied by frequent short portraits of personalities in the church hierarchy and the European aristocracy.

When World War I broke out, patriotic enthusiasm was given full sway. But soon the dark side of the war emerged in the confreres'

* In "Information on the Society of the Divine Savior and its Activity" and in "Reports from the Assam Mission."

letters from the field, and news of fallen, wounded and captured Salvatorians. During the war, the Salvator Publishing House on the Belgian border was shifted to Munich (1916). Starting in 1919 *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* was not longer attached to *Der Missionär* monthly, but only once every two months.

3.27/29. Circular letter and good wishes.

Francis M. of the Cross Jordan
To his beloved sons
Greeting in the Lord and paternal blessings.

As the Feast of the Immaculate Conception draws near, the jubi-lee of the first twenty-five years of the foundation of our Society, I must draw your attention to worthily preparing for such a solemnity.

To repeat the origin of our Society, you know that it began on the 8th of December, 1881, in the house of St. Brigid, that enlightened, holy woman who, inspired by the Divine Master, founded the Order of the Most Holy Savior which no longer exists.

The time at which the Society was founded was dangerous for the Church: a diminished number of priests in Germany and religious orders were proscribed.

We resolved, therefore, to call together in Italy new armaments for the Church militant. When the number of members increased to the point at which the house could no longer take them, the community moved to Borgo Vecchio 165.

When the storms which broke upon the community subsided, the Society happily received its first ecclesiastical approbation from the Cardinal Vicar of the City.

Meanwhile, a larger number of students came, particularly from Germany and Italy, and although a large number left, many remained faithful, sharing with us good times and bad, and from these the Society spread to other countries of the world.

Divine Providence never deserted us, whether when we were pressed by material want, or when we were anguished by internal problems. A great gift came last year when, with the approval of the bishops in whose dioceses our members were working for the salvation of souls, the Society received the first papal approbation despite the opposition of the enemy.

Scarcely had the Society received such a great favor than it was harassed in a most deplorable manner in the pages of certain periodicals. But "He who consoles the humble" stood by us in the storm, as we hope that these attacks will work together with us unto good.

Since we have received so many gifts from God, let us turn

our attention to the approaching solemnity with grateful hearts. Let us pre-prepare ourselves worthily for this great feast, let us approach our Savior and our holy patrons with hearts as pure as possible.

When you first heard this voice from heaven, "Come follow me" and "Son, show me your heart" you left the world quickly and bravely. Joyfully you promised fidelity and undying love to the Savior. What greater gift could you offer Christ, who is the same yesterday and today, than hearts on fire with your first love! Renew the inner man, leave worldly things behind. Offer yourselves to God with pure hearts as spotless, unleavened bread.

Let no one deceive you! There is no other way to prepare your-selves worthily nor is there any other way to please our Savior. Thus you will be good Salvatorians and the excellence of your virtue will equal the dignity of that name.

Every community should prepare for the Silver Jubilee of our Society by a novena.

On the day itself of the Jubilee, a thanksgiving suitable for the solemnity shall be offered so that the voice of praise may ascend to Him from Whom such a great blessing has come upon us.

If you do this, beloved sons, you will give true joy to me, your spiritual father. It has pleased God to weigh me heavily down with the cross; pray for me that I may patiently bear it and, moreover, that with my council I may rule the Society with holiness according to God's will.

May God, who has always been with the Society, ever be its strong helper, through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, Queen of the Apostles, and our patroness and mother.

Given at Rome, the Motherhouse, 14 November, 1906

Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan

Superior General (An VI n. 8, 335f)

Here is a representative congratulatory letter on the silver anniversary from the ranks –from the Apostolic Prefect:

Shillong, 12 November, 1906

Beloved Rev. Father.

The silver anniversary of the Foundation of our Society comes ever nearer. Heartfelt gratitude to her, to whom I am so thankful and in whose history I have so warmly participated, and to you Rev. Father, my most sincere congratulations at the close of this period. Even if perhaps today the thought and the memory of all the sea of bitterness, crosses and sufferings this time holds for you may predominate, nevertheless, you Rev. Father have every reason, and we with you, to thank the Lord with a full heart for His assistance, protection and grace. May the Society be purified by these trials and

strengthened by the cross, and in the future be ever more strengthened internally, so that she may be your joy and crown and a true ornament in the garden of the holy church, and despite all the terrible storms, grown upright and straight like the tall palms of this country. . . .

Lüthen also received congratulations on his silver anniversary as a Salvatorian. He thanked the confreres for their congratulation, adding: . . . in another 25 years I will probably no longer be among the living. But you can still experience and look back on 25 years full of work and joy. Let us do everything to initiate a new era for the Society! (December 14, 1906, BL-915. Jordan had recently conversed repeatedly with his co-founder Lüthen about this "new era.").

3.28/30. Defections. The numerous withdrawals in these years of testing and cleaning occupied Lüthen no less than Jordan. He once compiled the reasons for himself. They resembled Jordan and Fr. Antonio's. But his had a unique and noteworthy emphasis. The Society had developed so rapidly that the establishment of new houses became necessary to accommodate the new priests. However, experienced and proven superiors were miss-ing. Because the SDS Constitutions were not restrictive the scholastics felt comfortable, but without feeling the yoke of religious discipline. Thus they were happy to remain in the Society up till priestly ordination.

Good rectors were few and too overloaded with other obligations. If newly-ordained priests were assigned to a community whose young superior lacked sufficient authority (as was often the case), they quickly lost their religious spirit and enjoyed the pleasures of the life of the diocesan clergy, particularly if they were not fully occupied (n.d., E-55). In his short reminiscence Pfeiffer judged briefly and concisely: "all were not ready for extraordinary sacrifices" (Sum §83).

In the 10 years 1893 to 1902, from among the 210 priests in the Society, 36 withdrew. In the stormy years from 1903 to 1908 there were 46 withdrawals. Of these 27 occurred between 1906-1907.*

* Thus at the beginning of 1908, the number of professed members had shrunk from 414 (1906-1907) to 382; the novitiate remained with 21 for the begin-ning of 1908, but scholastics fell to 53 (Hamont had at this time no students, Hamberg only 9, Meran 12, and Lochau 32).

PRIESTS ORDAINED BY YEAR, 1885-19002

Year	ordained	faithful until death	left the Society	to other orders	to dioceses	laicized	unknown
------	----------	----------------------	------------------	-----------------	-------------	----------	---------

Regarding the numerous withdrawals after the press attacks the Apostolic Visitor told Pfeiffer: "Your withdrawals astound me; German loyalty is normally proverbial" (An 1920, II, 62).

At the Fourth General Chapter (September 12-30, 1921) Pfeiffer set out the "State of the Society."

In the past our experiences were certainly not the best; one might say nevertheless, the children had to go through these diseases; Msgr. Antonio, our former Apostolic Visitor himself occasionally said: "*Vi erano mille ragioni.*" Internal and external pressures made themselves felt. [Pfeiffer then brings as an example the withdrawal of Fr. Manna, who had been urged by his confessor.]

It is quite possible that a young Society can be seized by a certain discontent and mistrust; if then, as is usually the case, their reputation from outside leaves something to be desired, it is always easy to find people eager to give advice, but the result is usually no good.

There is no lack of shortcomings in young communities, and in comparison with old orders they necessarily get the short end of the stick.

In addition, superiors do not have all gifts, and personal virtue does not guarantee infallibility. Every now and then young superiors and prefects would not have the right strings fastened, and so some things, if not excusable, were nevertheless understandable. A spokesman among some confreres was also somewhat too democratic. Those who know the Society are also aware of the Society's situation in 1915, when it changed administration. It is, without being able to be confused, proceeded from the thought that the Society has useful forces that however very much arrive to seize it quite. (An III/1921, 109)

Pfeiffer refers to himself here as a "spokesperson" in the third person; he now calls the situation of the Society good: it is undeniably "at peace," and authority makes itself valid "despite all democracy." He regrets the situation of the Society around 1915, without expressing himself further on the matter.

1885	(2)	2	--	--	--	--	--
1886	1	1	--	--	--	--	--
1887	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1888	3	2	1	--	1	--	--
1889	2	2	--	--	--	--	--
1890	5	1	4	1	3	--	--
1891	11	2	9	2	7	--	--
1892	6	3	3	--	3	--	--
1893	13	7	6	--	5	--	1
1894	12	3	9	2	6	--	1
1895	21	10	11	2	6	--	3
1896	13	4	9	--	8	--	1
1897	12	4	8	1	5	--	2
1898	19	14	5	1	4	--	--
1899	10	7	3	--	3	--	--
1900	47	30	17	2	14	1	--
1901	14	7	7	--	5	1	1
1902	21	10	11	--	9	1	1
TOTAL	212	109	103	11	79	3	10
S							

Produced by Fr. Melchior Bzowski, SDS

PROFESSED MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1885-1902

Year	Priests			* Scholastics			* Brothers			total		
	Jan 1	ord.	left	died	Jan 1	prof.	left	died	Jan 1		prof.	left
1885	(2)	--	--	--	4	15	--	2	2	(2)	--	--
1886	2	1	--	--	17	4	4	1	2	--	--	--
1887	3	--	--	--	15	10	1	--	2	1	--	--
1888	3	3	--	--	24	33	6	1	3	2	--	--
1889	6	2	--	--	48	33	--	--	5	5	--	1
1890	8	5	--	1	79	34	7	--	9	4	--	1
1891	12	11	--	--	101	30	18	1	12	2	1	1
1892	23	6	--	2	101	16	4	3	12	7	4	--
1893	27	13	1	1	104	22	6	2	15	6	--	--
1894	38	12	1	1	105	16	7	2	21	5	2	--
1895	48	21	3	--	100	14	5	--	24	12	2	1
1896	66	13	7	1	88	56	6	--	33	10	2	1
1897	71	12	4	--	125	28	5	3	40	10	4	1
1898	79	19	3	1	133	21	--	--	45	2	6	--
1899	94	10	4	1	135	7	2	2	41	8	6	--
1900	99	47	1	4	128	7	--	1	43	5	1	--
1901	141	14	7	1	87	9	1	1	47	9	3	--
1902	147	21	5	1	80	10	1	--	53	4	6	--
total	162	210	36	14	68	365	73	19	51	94	37	6
31/12												

JOHN BAPTIST JORDAN

known in religious life as

FRANCIS MARY OF THE CROSS JORDAN

**The Founder and the Confirmation of his Work:
Crisis and Maturation
1907 - 1909**

DSS XVII. Part 1

A Bibliographical Study by
Fr. Timotheus Robert Edwein, SDS

1986

English Edition, 2006



Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross, 1908

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PREFACE

Fr. Timotheus Edwein, SDS, succeeded shortly before his death, in spite of grave illness and great weakness in the last months of his life, to complete DSS XVII Part 1. It consists of two chapters covering the years 1907-1909 in the life of the Servant of God, Francis Mary of the Cross Jordan. Only the preface was missing. Thus it is my proud but sad duty to write it in the name of the confrere who died April 9, 1986.

In the first chapter of the present volume the author treats six years of Jordan's life and work. He calls them "Years of Trial and Temptations." The second chapter entitled "The Shadow of the Marian Double," lets us experience the Founder of the years 1904-1909 in his insatiable quest for the apostolic "more." Fr. Timotheus placed this material at the end of this volume because he thought the reader would understand it more easily in light of all the preceding events.

From the entire work we see how deeply Fr. Timotheus probed Jordan's mind; how well he understood his personality and his unshakable self-awareness as Founder; how he comprehended Jordan's boundless zeal for souls and his intimacy with God in prayer. We can also see how Fr. Timotheus relived the Founder's sufferings. We also see how he incorporates the Founder's Spiritual Diary into his biography. With this work Fr. Timotheus has clearly documented the true spirit of the Founder, and thus done the greatest service to all Salvatorians.

Here we must all express our most fervent thanks to Fr. Timotheus, not only for his years of indefatigable work on the biography of the Founder, but also for the remarkable example of his life of service both to the church and to the Society. In faith we trust that in his eternal home Fr. Timotheus has met with the God of his self-

sacrificing dedication in the Salvatorian religious and priestly life, and that he has also met with the Servant of God, Fr. Jordan, for whose beatification he worked to his last breath, the will of God his only guideline.

The second volume of DSS XVII, which now must be written by someone else, must continue through the further crisis and maturation of the Society up to the year 1914. It must also cover the period from 1915 to 1918, the conclusion of the earthly life of the Servant of God, Fr. Francis Mary of the Cross.

Sincere thanks are also due to all collaborators: confreres, sisters, relatives and friends who assisted Fr. Timotheus with their advice and aid in composing his work.

Fr. Gerard Rogowski, SDS
Superior General
Rome, June 16, 1986

EDITOR'S PREFACE

It is now almost three years since I undertook the task of completing the work begun by my esteemed confreres and predecessors in this work, Frs. Bardo Buff, Franz Leicht, and Tom Novak, to make this significant work of Fr. Timotheus Edwein accessible to an English-speaking audience. I praise God for having given me the strength to complete this work, and I thank the Salvatorian community for seeing to its publication.

More than anything else, I have been spurred on in this project by what I saw firsthand in Tanzania as the needs of our young men and women in the English-speaking mission areas of our Society to know more about our Reverend Founder, Francis Mary of the Cross. I pray that this gift from Fr. Edwein, through the hands of many confreres, may bear much fruit in their future life and ministry as Salvatorians.

I also hope that the editorial changes I made will make this work more accessible, and I trust that the patient reader will excuse this confrere any mistakes or inaccuracies he may have introduced into the text as he hurried to bring these volumes to completion. Although it is true that editorial haste is always a failing, yet I take refuge in the fact that "*Amor Christi urget nos.*"

Fr. Daniel Pekarske, SDS
Feast of the Assumption of Mary, 2006

SHORT CHRONOLOGY

July 1907 - February 1909

1907	July	Complete construction of Welkenraedt church and community house
	summer	Complete the trade school in Assam
	October 24	Inaugurate the monastery in St. Nazianz
	November	Establish the sisters at Lommel, Belgium
	December 10	First investiture at the newly erected novitiate in Milwaukee (SDS/W)
	December 15	All establishments informed of Mother Mary's illness
	December 23	Pancratius anoints Mother Mary
	December 24	Death of Mother Mary
	December 26	Funeral of Mother Mary, the Campo Santo rector officiates
	1908	January 7
April 8		Convocation of II General Chapter (SDS/M)
May 1		Inaugurate St. Antony School for catechists, Assam
July 7-13		Extraordinary General Chapter (SDS/W)
August 18		Authorization to open a second novitiate in Hamberg (SDS/M)
October 2		Fr. Clement Gerum, OCD, nominated chapter president by Congregation for Religious
October 9		Opening of II General Chapter (SDS/M)
October 28		Audience of the capitulars with Pius X
November 28		Fr. Dominic Daunderer appointed Visitator of the Assam Mission
December		Dissolution of the house in Noto Città.
1909	February 8	Permission arrives to divide the SDS/M into four provinces.
	May 8	Inaugurate girls' secondary school in Assam (staffed by Loreto sisters)

1. Years of Trial and Temptation

Between 1907 and 1909, the problems that had already broken out in the German-speaking houses now stirred up unrest throughout the Society. Jordan struggled to glimpse a sign of improvement in his tenacious fight against the Society's systemic defects: too many debts and too little basic and specialized training. He still resembled a prophet on the mountain top, fascinated and somehow dazzled at the sight of the crops maturing round about, while his spiritual sons, however, remained in the valley, plagued with the difficulties of cultivating the fields entrusted to them. Jordan also had to face the human law, that following an unfettered, free start, religious movements relapsed into generally accepted mediocrity.¹

In 1907, the wave of exits of malcontents finally ended. Jordan accompanied with his prayers and blessings each of the more than a dozen German priests who left the Society in 1906 and 1907. But he suffered from the fact that during the storm some were torn away who would have remained faithful to the Society in more tranquil times. He indefatigably looked for those who repented their hasty step. The Society had to go through dark years: "Oh Lord, how much I suffer! Help me!" (February 25, 1907, SD II, 105).²

¹ Jordan was meeting ever-increasing resistance to his far-reaching plans. Worse still, what he had achieved until now was never very sufficiently secured. To the Apostolic Visitor it seemed irresponsible simultaneously to get a foothold in half the world and to assume a very risky indebtedness.

Many thought Jordan's adventurous "governing style" should restrict itself to medium range, foreseeable measures. The Society should not orient itself to the insatiable needs of Christian evangelization, but should instead limit itself according to the available personnel and means. The group of "Several Salvatorians" considered it their duty to restrain the Founder's zeal and to limit the Society to what was clearly achievable.

² The numerous exits between the First and Second General Chapters greatly pre-occupied Jordan. In a rough draft of a warning letter he wrote:

It is, therefore, our duty to do everything we possibly can to mend this bad situation. One main item is that as far as possible no one should become

At that time Jordan occasionally may have been overcome by the fear that some church authority unfavorable to the sorely afflicted Society might hastily ask whether it would not be better to dissolve such a shaky outfit. At those moments he strove to find the strength of heart to utter each sorrowful and humiliating "*Fiat!*" He was ready to sacrifice his honor, freedom and life "like our Lord" (April 15, 1907, SD II, 106).³

Attentively and apprehensively Jordan followed up the doings of those members in the Society who continued to follow the agenda of "Several Salvatorians." In fidelity to the Society, these capable priests defended themselves courageously to keep their indebted houses afloat. But to ensure success, they thought it indispensable to give the Society better prospects. They wanted to free it from the blemishes caused by its academic backwardness and economic penury. With best intentions they searched for ways to steer the ship of the Society out of the eddy where it was in danger of capsizing, and into calmer waters. Jordan on the contrary, was afraid of the danger that the Society might limit itself to the houses of education along the border of the German Reich, to the most vigorous foundations within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and to the colony of St. Nazianz in USA. Even the motherhouse and the Mission in Assam would have to be self-supporting. Such visions greatly oppressed Jordan. In such

em-bittered. Many confreres have found their way back [to the Society] and become useful members by prudent and loving procedure. People will be thankful if I meet these broken reeds with acts that seem good to me (August 1907).

Towards his vicar general he sighed: "Let's not give up on the people too quickly; one or the other might become good again" (Freiburg, August 5, 1908).

³ Jordan sometime took the young priest, Xystus Kraisser, as a companion to St. Peter's or to Villa Celimontana, especially after the death of Lüthen, who formerly liked accompanying the Founder to St. Peter's. To him some of Jordan's remarks remained unforgettable:

We must be ready to renounce everything, to lose everything, and even to leave our Society than to become doubtful and wavering in the faith. . . . Even if our Society were dissolved now, I would need just a quarter of an hour to find the equilibrium of my soul (Sum § 650).

a “degenerated” Society he would feel like an outcast. Stricken physically and emotionally, he passed night hours subjected to dark temptations that made him cry out in struggling prayer:

Affliction and fear greatly surround me. Rise up, Lord, help me!
You alone, Lord, know how greatly I suffer! (March 12, 1908, SD II, 112).⁴

Jordan’s greatest nightmare at that time, however, was the alarming decrease of vocations, which seemed to him to burden the future of the Society more than the great wave of members leaving the Society. Indeed, only one house of formation had found firm footing thanks to the great sacrifices of the confreres. Jordan felt fettered by the Apostolic Visitor’s prohibition against accepting seminarians without means. He bucked at it but could not break free.

In earlier years, up to 200 students had been well maintained in the Roman House of Divine Providence and no creditor feared losing his money. Now the SDS had to budget and to provide collateral. Consequently, the number of students diminished. Jordan had always taken Don Bosco and Cottolengo as models. Now these models remained unreachable to him. Day and night he thought about ways to establish closer contact with Providence.⁵

In the meantime, the Apostolic Visitor had issued another paralyzing decree for the new fiscal year. To throttle the debt burden, each new debt of 500 Lire was to be approved by him personally.

⁴ Already for some time (since 1906 at the latest), Jordan feared his foundation would get a new face. This fear became to him a subliminal temptation to break out somehow in order to realize the apostolic universality at the core of his foundation. “In 1908 some dissatisfied confreres wanted to transform the Society. Jordan said to me: ‘Rather than to allow this, I will leave the Society and found a new one,’” the trustworthy Fr. Guericus Bürger remembered at his later years (Sum § 293).

⁵ At that time Jordan wrote: “Don Bosco once needed 200,000 Lire (urgently); he sent out 200,000 circulars and received 200,000 Lire” (G-2.7). Jordan was inclined to do something similar whether to repay a mortgage on the Motherhouse or to create a fund for very poor seminarians.

Even after receiving the approval of the generalate, buying land, construction and remodeling now needed his written consent.

Jordan suffered the most from this compulsory measure. For example, when the second Caffarelli mortgage on the motherhouse was called in, the stringent limits placed on the whole Society made its redemption more difficult. Jordan tried to receive special, large donations with the help of Divine Providence. The general procurator planned to close smaller houses and to sell other underutilized assets. When the superiors of other houses were informed about the Visitor's order, they found tricks to get around the 500 Lire debt limit. When Fr. Antonio later found out about such cases, he didn't hesitate to call Jordan to account. Lüthen, consequently, struggled to keep genuine copies of the generalate's orders in regard to purchases and construction, so that Jordan would have something in hand when he had to answer for some operation not approved or even expressly prohibited by the generalate. **See, 1.1. The Visitor's orders.**⁶

Despite all these concerns and difficulties, Jordan never gave in: "Struggle quietly! Don't exaggerate!" (February 8, 1907, SD II, 105). Consequently, he was not inclined to give up any house in a hurry because of bottlenecks in regard to personnel or means. But in doing so, it was precisely these small houses whose development stagnated after numerous defections, that tempted some to throw in the towel.

The small group at Jägerndorf proposed to the superior general that they give up. Jordan, however, opposed such despondency with all his might. Just now, after the tremors of the previous year, nothing should be given up hurriedly. If one house caved in to difficulties, other houses would follow with more or less cause. Jordan implored the confreres at Jägern-dorf not quit the battlefield in their difficult situation, but to persevere at their post in spite of present distress. Help would come again, because Providence would not abandon

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.1.The Visitor's orders.

them. "Success is proportional to our sufferings" (February 25, 1907).
See, 1.2. Encouraging letter.⁷

Spring saw many important visitors in the motherhouse. In mid-April, Jordan had the chance to meet with Bishop Rütten of Liège and to recommend the Belgian houses to his patient benevolence. His local bishop's visit to Rome also caused Jordan sincere joy. On April 22 and 23, he and Archbishop Nörber spent considerable time together. The archbishop showed deep understanding for Jordan's sorrow as the father of such a large community. He assured him that in the future, Baden parishes would be open to a fund raising brother (G-2.1). At the same time, the archbishop of Cologne was also traveling in Rome. Cardinal Filler always liked coming to the motherhouse. Now he too asked the superior general benevolently where he could help him. He wanted to have Jordan's spiritual sons not only at the border of his archdiocese, but also within the country itself (April 23, 1907, G-2.1). It also came in handy for Jordan to be able to talk about St. Nazianz with Bishop Fox of Green Bay, Wisconsin. The bishop assured the Founder: "I am glad to have - Salvatorians in my diocese. They show a good spirit" (May 7 & 12, 1907, G-2.1) **See, 1.3. St. Nazianz.**⁸

At the beginning of May, Jordan was in Sicily. The two communities in Noto continued to live like hostile brothers. Increasingly this appeared strange to Bishop Blandini. Jordan again exchanged views with his episcopal friend. At the Scala he ordered urgently needed structural alterations. Between the two houses it was easier for him to beg for peace than to re-establish it. Truce and hostilities alternated there like the tides. **See, 1.4. Noto (I).**⁹

Jordan set out early for his extensive visitation journey this year. The gloomy events of the previous year had prevented him from visiting

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.2. Encouraging letter.

⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.3. St. Nazianz.

⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.4. Noto (I).

the European houses of the Society. Consequently, he intended to do it thoroughly this year.¹⁰

On May 30, he started for Meran where he stayed one week. There the community caused him some uneasiness. The members held only loosely together. The debt burden loomed like a menacing shadow over the house. The school classes were very small, nevertheless, they tied down many priests as teachers. Jordan urged them to take more pupils into the existing classes, even those pupils who could not pay fully.

There were also difficulties caused by the current arrangement for the priests' summer holidays. The Apostolic Visitor found their current practice insufficiently monastic and forbade it without further ado. The local superior was not prepared to accept such limitations. Jordan, however, could not permit the Visitor's order to be circumvented. **See, 1.5. Vacation restrictions.**¹¹

June 9-11, Jordan traveled by night train to Vienna. These days he liked staying in Vienna, where the confreres worked so well in pastoral ministry and where the two superiors followed him unquestioningly and sincerely. The superior of Vienna X had caused him great concern at the start of the year. He had fallen ill and Jordan encouraged him to do everything possible to restore his health. "We need you very much for the Society; such true souls are jewels for the Society" (January 11, 1907).

¹⁰ Lüthen could not conceal his admiration for Jordan's repeated fatiguing visitation journeys. In a consoling letter to Br. Aemilian Rempel, somewhat discouraged by the often ungrateful work of fund raising, he asked him to say yes to the will of God and pointed to Jordan as an example: . . . [the will of God] has also had to console the Venerable Father in the many storms that passed over him and his work. However, the Lord has already accomplished great things through him. Venerable Father is in Meseritsch at present. He usually suffers much on these visitation trips, although in themselves they might cause nothing disagreeable (July 20, 1907, BL-967).

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.5. Vacation restrictions.

The superior of Vienna Kaisermühlen had already taken his parish examination, something Jordan noted with pleasure. The cardinal and the vicar general were full of praise for the priests' exemplary activities and wanted Jordan to send still more. Also the work of the sisters met with deserved appreciation (June 17, 1907). In his Spiritual Diary, Jordan noted: "Never tire! Always move ahead in the Lord! (Vienna, June 11, 1907, SD II, 107).

June 18, Jordan traveled to Meseritsch where the priests were deeply engaged in pastoral work. The opening of a school, desired by the Founder since the beginning, remained a wish not to be fulfilled. There were no Bohemian teachers available.

From Meseritsch he traveled to Trzebinia. There Jordan found all members well and content for the most part. On June 22, he arrived at Jägerndorf where there was no more talk of giving up. With new confidence the confreres dedicated themselves to their tasks. Jordan passed his good impressions on to his vicar general:

Trzebinia faces a good future. Much good is done here. I would be glad if you could visit all the houses and see how much good is being done. It's a splendid place here, and there are ever more confessions. If only we had more candidates (June 23, 1907).

Via Vienna, Jordan arrived at Hamberg on June 25. Fr. Canisius Werner was the superior only halfheartedly. He had taken over the office reluctantly and now was waiting to be replaced. There were very few pupils in the house, and the superior saw no real future for an apostolic nursery in this corner between Passau and Linz. Jordan could only promise him to discuss the matter thoroughly with his consultants in Rome. At the end of the month Jordan arrived in Lochau, where he witnessed the end of the school year. Unfortunately, quite a number of students had to be dismissed because they showed no evidence of a vocation (July 3, 1907).

On July 8, Jordan reached Welkenraedt/Herbesthal where the local superior was busy completing construction of the church and convent. Finding himself short of money, he had not hesitated to incur new debts, disregarding the Apostolic Visitor. Jordan showed

understanding because he liked the stylish monastery building. However, he thought it was better not to provoke Fr. Antonio.¹²

His visit in the aspiring Hamont community was a joy for him and for the members: "Here I found all good and content" (July 16, 1907). Here he also received a detailed account from the superior about the planned foundation of the sisters at Lommel.

From Belgium Jordan traveled to London. Here, too, Jordan found the community in good shape. The archbishop and his vicar general spoke with appreciation about the involvement of the priests (July 20, 1907).

In Wealdstone, Jordan took time to write the results of his visitations up to then. He could be satisfied and grateful about its good course. But a look at the situation of the entire Society gave cause for concern. There were the gaps left by members who had left. The Assam Mission had to be effectively helped to a new start. Jordan worried whether the weak seedlings in Rio and Cartagena would be able to struggle their way through without immediate help. He felt really distressed and wrote to his vicar general inviting him to think it over together with him:

Transferring priests is very difficult, and we won't be able to satisfy them all. Lochau and Meran request a good teacher. Vienna X and II one good catechist each. Then Rio de Janeiro and Assam. Then

¹² The superior in Welkenraedt was busy building. Lüthen admonished him to keep absolutely to the amount approved by Rome: "As the Apostolic Visitor is very irritated by the many constructions and debts caused by building" (March 31, 1907). Through Pfeiffer, the procurator general, the visitor made himself clear: "Today, I wrote to Fr. Anselm [Schauff], superior in Welkenraedt; not to build more than what is really necessary. The previous calculation of the building cost approved from here must not be surpassed, this is strict order (J.A.)" (April 1, 1907).

Now Lüthen had also got used to including the corresponding directives of the generalate *ad acta*, above all to shield Jordan from the Apostolic Visitor. Jordan stayed in Welkenraedt July 8-13, showing himself satisfied with the rising college. October 27, 1907 saw the solemn inauguration of the church and monastery in Welkenraedt (SM, June 1908).

Agram? So many houses in favorable regions and almost none in the countries where they are needed (Wealdstone, July 19, 1907).

From England the route led him to Switzerland, where in Freiburg Jordan inquired into the possibilities of training teachers for secondary schools. Jordan thought the university city on the Saane River would be the best solution for the time being, also because the Benedictines trained their priests there for teaching (July 30, 1907). At Drogne the question about salaries remained open. This, however, bothered Jordan less. It was more important for him that in the flourishing institute so many youngsters found a home and help for their lives.

While in Freiburg, Jordan also learned that on July 24 the Apostolic Visitor had been appointed Bishop of Caltanissetta. He hurriedly sent his sincere good wishes to Fr. Antonio. He could only hope that his elevation did not mean the appointment of a new apostolic visitor for the Society.

On August 1, Jordan returned to Rome in the sweltering heat of summer, and to an almost empty motherhouse. Jordan, too, took a free day now and then to enjoy the healthy air of Villa Celimontana.

Bishop Scaccia of Tivoli had been awaiting Jordan's return. On August 7, he presented his request at the motherhouse. He needed at least two professors for his seminary. Jordan asked for the time necessary to deliberate with the priests at Tivoli regarding how to help. September 4, the bishop again presented himself at the motherhouse and Jordan agreed to his request.¹³

¹³ Bishop Scaccia of Tivoli was a welcome guest in the motherhouse. On August 7, however, he came on an important matter. He needed professors for the *Seminarium Interdioecesanum* (G-2.5). Jordan hesitated. Msgr. Filippo Giustini, Secretary of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, encouraged Jordan; he even urged him to free two priests as professors (September 1, 1907).

On September 4, Bishop Scaccia returned to Jordan who now agreed. Beginning in the fall 1907, three priests gave lectures in the Tivoli seminary in dogmatics, exegesis and patristics.

Pius X received Bishop Scaccia in audience on September 10, 1907,

September 8, the Feast of Mary's Nativity, was a great day of pilgrimage at Narni. Jordan wanted to take part that year. At the same time he wanted to be shown the remodeling of the community house. The question of property ownership had come up again, and Jordan asked Bishop Mocenni to clear up this disagreeable question definitely and legally. **See, 1.6. Narni.**¹⁴

From Narni the Founder went to Porto di Recanati to meet with the con-freres and to visit Bishop Ranuzzi di Bianchi. Jordan returned home via Loreto where he laid all his concerns before the Mother of God in her holy shrine (September 11, 1907, SD II, 108).

All through the summer, and most of all during his long visitation journey, Jordan was troubled by how to inspire confreres to work in the Mission in Assam and how to get them free. The Prefect Apostolic in Assam had already completed the trade school and was impatiently awaiting capable brothers. It was not easy for Jordan to free four skilled brothers from the houses which all had just completed new buildings and were now furnishing them. It was no less difficult to win priests for the mission. But in the end two priests came forward.

The Prefect Apostolic, Becker, was insisting on more personnel and more resources to guarantee that the mission could at least address its actual needs fully. In doing this he used a demanding tone and berated the Society's involvement in the mission as completely insufficient. He didn't want to accept Jordan's principle of helping the mission not with full force, but within the Society's limits. For him what was ultimately at stake in Assam was not just a Society but the very church of God.

because he wanted to send the Subiaco students to Tivoli. On this occasion the pope expressed his joy that Salvatorian priests had taken over such important subjects. Bishop Scaccia hurried to pass this papal praise on to Jordan (September 13, 1907).

¹⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.6. Narni.

Becker soon came into open conflict with Jordan. The mission superior considered it his right and duty to defend his position when requested. His friends often reported to him things Jordan had said, which made him even angrier. Jordan suffered from the fact that no good understanding was found between himself and the mission superior.

Becker had more plans: to erect a mission center with a church in Shil-long (the main station) along with a high school there for children of the British colonial power. Jordan didn't see any possibility for the Society to guarantee the competent Salvatorian personnel needed for such a demanding enterprise in the foreseeable future. He found it more reasonable to engage the Christian School Brothers for this. At any rate, Jordan didn't dare refuse the mission superior flat out. He was disposed to have some priests trained for the start up. Three young priests declared themselves ready to begin the corresponding studies in autumn 1907. The superior at Wealdstone was to assist and care for them as if they were his own members. Jordan was greatly distressed when Becker fell gravely ill in summer 1907. A victim of his wearisome, pressing involvement, he had to stop working for some time.

On October 22, Jordan received in the motherhouse the Apostolic Delegate for East India, Archbishop Zaleski. He viewed the renewal of the Assam Mission with reservations, considering the growth there too fast to be healthy. **See, 1.7. Assam (I).**¹⁵

In autumn 1907, the good name of the members of Meseritsch was maliciously dragged into the mud by Silesian newspapers. The superior and his community were stunned. Unable to defend themselves against the raging storm of defamation, Jordan asked the superior to find support in prayer and trust in God (October 28, 1907). He evaluated these hateful "attacks against their most precious possession, their good reputation" as a grave ordeal, but believed that it was in the Lord's plan:

The Lord wants to unleash you from human honor and draw you near Himself. Don't be discouraged, it is not an unfavorable sign.

¹⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.7. Assam (I).

Just persevere truly in goodness and trust in the Almighty! Jesus Christ Himself was willing to sacrifice His good reputation (November 24, 1907).

The members knew that Jordan spoke from his own bitter experience and they felt quite strengthened, knowing beyond any doubt that the superior general, and thus the Society, stood with them.

While in 1906 and 1907 the Salvatorian fathers and brothers tread water only with difficulty, the Salvatorian sisters visibly consolidated their work, especially in Hungary and the United States. Milwaukee inaugu-rated its own novitiate. A small community of sisters found firm footing at Lommel in Belgium.

In the motherhouse in Salita San Onofrio, however, there was great trouble throughout the year. Mother Mary fell ill repeatedly. Her bodily strength declined visibly. In late fall she became completely bedridden. Her illnesses often caused unbearable pain. On Christmas Eve she was freed from her earthly purgatory and invited to the heavenly Christmas. Some days later, according to her wish, her body was taken to Campo Santo where she was laid to rest on December 27, 1907.

News of Mother Mary's death was not unexpected. Nevertheless, it caused grief and trouble to Jordan. He could only hope that his obedient and active fellow combatant, who the Lord had given him 25 years earlier, would assist her spiritual daughters from heaven. He appealed to all sisters to stay true to the memory of their spiritual mother. **See, 1.8. Death of Mother Mary.**¹⁶

At the beginning of 1908, Jordan sent good wishes together with an ardent appeal to his spiritual sons. He asked them urgently to prove themselves "true Salvatorians" and to accept sufferings and trials which in the coming year would not spare "apostolic religious." They should be proud to belong to a family working and suffering over the four corners of the earth "to glorify God and save souls."

¹⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.8. Death of Mother Mary.

Again he appealed to them to stick together: "Let us not give the world the joy of seeing discord" (December 30, 1907).

Jordan could never deny his deep apostolic heart. His vision always transcended human limits and extended to the whole Kingdom of God. Some found such a disposition too unrealistic. Doubtless, all recognized his best intentions, but unlike other foundations his Society lacked a defined scope. Jordan clearly saw "apostolic religious" as the best guarantee to overcome the difficulties, temptations, and crises brought about by practical engagement. Although his apostolic desires never exclude the practical knowledge needed for particular tasks, for Jordan technical/professional training was always of secondary importance.

A Salvatorian had to be open for any activity, using any means "the love of God inspires." Among these means there was in the second period of his foundation (i.e., after its transformation into a religious congregation) a clear order of priorities. Foremost were the "apostolic nurseries," which he considered crucial for spreading of the Kingdom of God in the world untouched by Christianity at that time.

Incorporated in this practical aim were recruitment and formation of apostolic vocations. Candidates without means were always given preference because they were poor like the apostles. Although the necessary academic formation was important, to Jordan it remained always a means to an end. **See, 1.9. Apostolic goal.**¹⁷

Of course in everyday Salvatorian life such a haphazard approach caused tension. Often the basic ideals informing "true Salvatorians" conflicted with actual pastoral involvement, where visible results depended on one's ability and efficiency. Jordan feared that anyone too wrapped up in pastoral work or educational activity might lose the feeling for Salvatorian openness, and consequently become insecure in his commitment to universality—the hallmark the Society of the Divine Savior.

¹⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.9. Apostolic goal.

In autumn 1908, the Second General Chapter of the Society was to be held. Already from the beginning of the year, this important event cast its shadows over many matters calling for decision. The Apostolic Visitor scrutinized the finances of the Society closely. The procurator general, Pfeiffer, openly sided with him. He was grateful that, like it or not, the Apostolic Visitor had presented Jordan with the mountain of debt and urged him to sell one or another asset of the Society. Jordan, however, was not disposed to sell, but rather to improve. Up till then he had always found the necessary means, whether to maintain the mother-house or to rescue other houses threatened by insolvency. **See, 1.10. Finances.**¹⁸ By the end of March, the preparatory agenda for the chapter was ready. On April 8, it was convoked to begin on October 9, 1908.

On April 22 and 24, Jordan was able to meet with the bishop of Linz for longer talks. He presented the prelate with his plans for the community in Hamberg. The superior of that house and his confreres didn't show much inclination to engage fully to advance the nearly failing school. The procurator general in Rome was urging the transfer of novices and philosophers from the motherhouse to a German-speaking house, thus allowing more rooms in Rome to be leased out. As a fruit of this discussion Jordan noted in his Spiritual Diary a startling comment from the bishop: "There is a danger for apostolic orders: that their members avoid places of great want while looking for others where they don't have to bear such sacrifices" (SD II, 113f).

In spring, when the transfer of the superior at Noto was due, the old rivalry between the superiors of the Scala and Noto Città broke out anew. The latter claimed for himself the right to represent both houses at the general chapter. This, however, would have been against the basic rules in force. The stubborn and ambitious superior didn't want to recognize the rule and began to torpedo the prescribed ballots.

Jordan went personally to Sicily in the second half of May to clarify the situation and make peace. But when he arrived at Noto he got the

¹⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.10. Finances.

clear impression he was not at all welcome. So he reminded the superior of his duty as superior, but noted expressly in his diary: "It is very important to travel to the foundations and to hold frequent visitations." He added the admonition of St. Paul, which was familiar to him based on the great apostolic rule, and he reminded himself again: "Trust in the Lord and hope for success through him. Pray. Noto, May 15, 1908" (SD II, 116).

He had hardly left, when the superior of Noto resumed his resistance to the regular electoral procedure. Warning letters from Rome remained unanswered. The generalate was sidelined. Jordan grew restless and sent the procurator general to Noto (July 15) to look into the matter. But he too was "brushed off." The superior next took the fight for his "right" to the Vatican congregation, which, however, disagreed with his opinion and encouraged him to observe the orders of the generalate. Then the obstinate superior used his own strategy against the general chapter. If it took place without him; then he wanted it wrecked. **See, 1.11. Noto (II).**¹⁹

This spring, too, was a season of comings and goings at the motherhouse. On May 27, Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee met Jordan there and requested to be replaced as the spiritual father of the sisters who worked for the benefit of his archdiocese. On June 3, Cardinal Agliardi visited Jordan. They especially discussed the concerns and difficulties caused by the Assam Mission. **See, 1.12. Agliardi.**²⁰ On June 4, Jordan visited the community at Narni. Two days later he returned to Rome.

From July 7-13, the sisters held their extraordinary general chapter. Sr. Ambrosia, commissar of the Hungarian convents, was elected to succeed Mother Mary. Jordan accompanied the sisters' chapter with his prayers but stayed away from their motherhouse, not wanting to intrude. All the same, he was highly satisfied with the election results.

¹⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.11. Noto (II).

²⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.12. Agliardi.

On July 22, Jordan started his summer visitations. They required special ability and delicacy, as many confreres had become disturbed by the upcoming chapter. The route led him via Genoa, Domodossola, and Vevey to Romont, where he was fetched in a coach by the superior of Drogne. Jordan noted with obvious satisfaction: "Ticket only 33 Lire to Romont" (G-2.4). In his Spiritual Diary he wrote: "Be completely dedicated to God and live, suffer, work and die for Him, so that all be done according to His holy will. Friday, August 28, 1908" (SD II, 117).

Two days earlier, Fr. Evarist Mader had arrived at Freiburg as new rector for priests in studies. "The church authority could not but give a good report about the fathers" (Freiburg, August 5, 1908).²¹

On August 6, accompanied by Guericus Brüger from Drogne, Jordan traveled to Einsiedeln. The two did not spend the night in the monastery because they had arrived late. The next day they went early to the Shrine of Our Lady of the Dark Forest and celebrated Mass at her altar (August 7). For dinner they were guests of Abbot Thomas Bossart of Altshofen (abbot from 1905 to 1923). At the same

²¹ Evarist Mader, SDS (1881-1949) dedicated himself zealously to biblical studies getting his diploma in Freiburg in 1909 (ordained in summer 1903). At the end of 1911, he traveled as stipendiate of the *Görresgesellschaft* to the Holy Land. Jordan showed lively interest in Mader's archeological studies and gave him a proper written recommendation. Mader dedicated himself successfully to the excavation of old Christian basilicas in South Judea.

Returned home in June 1914, he worked as a military chaplain in WW I and was gravely wounded. This hindered him greatly in later life. After the war he again felt attracted to the Holy Land. From 1925 till 1932 he was Director of the Oriental Institute of the *Görresgesellschaft* in Jerusalem. He succeeded in excavating the basilica of the multiplication of loaves. For health reasons he had to return to Germany in the summer of 1932. He worked as house spiritual director in Krumbach (Percha) dedicating himself in word and writing to ancient Christian archeology in the Holy Land.

time Cardinal Rampolla was spending his holidays there (July 23 to October 2).²²

During dinner Jordan was seated in front of the cardinal. Among the guests was also Archbishop Netzhammer of Bucharest, monk of Einsiedeln, who had forged good relations with Jordan already in Rome (Lochau, August 8, 1908; G-2.4). Jordan felt quite honored by this attention. Again he spent the afternoon in the shrine, where he laid the whole Society at the feet of the Mother of God. How deeply and whole-heartedly he lived these hours in front of Our Lady's image can be seen from his notes in his Spiritual Diary (SD II, 117-18).

On August 9, Jordan went on to Lochau alone. Here he was again greatly beset by his apostolic restlessness to open the doors to more poor candidates. "Oh, may Fr. Pancratius and Reverend Father Antonio consider the matter of admission benevolently! My hands are bound. *Fiat voluntas Dei!*" (Lochau, August 11, 1908).

From Lochau, Jordan traveled to Hamberg via Passau. Even before starting from Rome, the generalate had asked the Congregation for Religious to permit him to open a second novitiate in Hamberg. This was granted on August 18. Realizing this idea, however, met with resistance in Hamberg itself. The superior would agree only if the current resident students would find another place to live. Jordan reported this to his vicar general: "It is a difficult matter under the present circumstances" (August 15, 1908). Jordan received special advice from the superior: "Soon after my arrival, Fr. Canisius [Werner] wanted to explain to me that I had better retreat from my office." Jordan reported this with a certain astonishment to his vicar (Vienna, August 18, 1908). Also an article appeared in the Passau Press, which was intended to create animosity against the superior general.

²² In 1904, Rampolla was replaced by the young Spaniard, Merry del Vaal as Vatican Secretary of State, and received the office of Librarian of the Holy Church and Secretary of the Holy Office. He died on December 16, 1913, and was buried in Campo Santo.

On August 17, Jordan arrived at his confreres' in Vienna. During the week August 20-26, he visited the foundations at Meseritsch, Trzebinia and Jägerndorf. Jordan refrained from visiting the Belgian houses in 1908. On August 28, Jordan was already in Meran. The day before, Lüthen himself had asked the superior at Meran to send him a telegram, informing him when the "Reverend Father would come back to Rome, so that his room could be painted two days before" (August 27, 1908).

By September 2, Jordan was in Rome again, and Lüthen stated with satisfaction: "Reverend Father has become strong, thank God" (September 2, 1908). And "Reverend Father arrived in good health from Meran the day before yesterday. He looks much better. Thank God." But Lüthen feared that the bad climate in Rome might soon threaten this improvement (September 4, 1908).

During his visitation Jordan had especially desired to inspire and win confreres for the missions. The year before, he had succeeded in freeing five priests and three brothers for Assam. Thus the mission stations were now served by two priests each. This year only two priests volunteered— both for Brazil,²³ none for Assam. **See, 1.13. Rio.** The Prefect Apostolic was bitterly disappointed. He also found the financial support much too spare. In the coming general chapter he hoped to achieve a breakthrough for the mission, which was undergoing a hopeful re-foundation.

From Assam, Becker turned to the Apostolic Visitor for backing in pressuring Jordan. To Becker it seemed that the Society should cut back on its own interests and give preference to the development of the Catholic Church in such a large country as Assam. Fr. Antonio, now Archbishop of Caltanissetta, answered kindly and reservedly that the prospects of the Society were still very limited. He felt it advisable to send his own letter addressed to the Prefect Apostolic, to Jordan first for inspection.

²³ See, A Closer Look: 1.13. Rio.

Jordan would have liked to help the mission more, and he himself deeply regretted that the Society's options were currently so limited. On the other hand, he could not force anyone to go to the mission. He admonished Becker to go more slowly, so the Society could keep up. Also in whatever houses he stayed, whenever asked, Jordan made no secret of his position: that between the Society and its promising mission there was to be a balanced relationship. He warned against exaggerated expectations. This moderate stance was relayed to Becker by his friends from earlier days with whom he continued in good communication by letter. That Jordan resisted letting the Society become burdened immoderately for the sake of Assam's ongoing development was considered by Becker as mistrust directed towards him personally. He wrote to Jordan quite frankly that his attitude towards the mission was dangerous; it might even breed renewed discord.

Jordan protested the accusation of slighting the mission, admonishing Becker to proceed cooperatively. For the time being he was simply expecting too much from the Society. To Becker this answer was of little help. He didn't want his good plans endangered by the reserve of the superior general. He compiled his demands and sent this report to all the delegates to the upcoming chapter. He said he thought his proposals were moderate, that they couldn't damage the Society, and would be useful to the mission. In case the chapter could not accept his demands, the Society would have to renounce the mission for reasons of conscience. Without deliberating with the generalate, the Prefect Apostolic presented a petition directly to the Propaganda to split up the vast mission territory. On October 3, Becker arrived in Rome with plenty of time to defend his position out loud wherever it seemed necessary or convenient. **See, 1.14. Assam (II).**²⁴

When at the beginning of September he arrived in Rome from Meran, the preparations for the general chapter were in full swing. There were some unpleasant incidents. Most of all, the various election groups couldn't agree with one another. It became rather painfully

²⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.14. Assam (II).

apparent that the young Society still lacked tradition and discipline in this realm. **See, 1.15. Election irregularities.**²⁵

Most of all, the superior of Noto Città, Fr. Romualdus Goriwoda attacked the general chapter. As superior of two houses (since June 1, 1908) he pretended to be a legal capitular. After being refused, he tried in his clever way to scuttle the general chapter. He declared it had not been legally convoked and the delegates had been selected in a way contrary to every divine and human law.

The Roman congregations shook their heads at this obstinate eccentricity, and with immense patience tried to smooth the waves of annoyance and placate the offended local superior as far as possible. He, however, was not prepared to submit, and continued fomenting the confusion he himself had caused. In the end, the generalate found it a more tolerable solution to invite the superior as a delegate to the chapter than to oppose him. **See, 1.16. Disgruntled delegate.**²⁶

Some had invited the Apostolic Visitor to step in so that this top meet-ing of the Society would affect the innovations expected by so many. Fr. Antonio took such apprehensions and cares very seriously. He wanted to protect the authority and freedom of the general chapter and to prevent the intrigues of malevolent people. He would have liked to come to the chapter personally but couldn't get free from his diocese in the first half of October. So he proposed to the generalate and to the Congregation for Religious a confrere from the Carmelite generalate: Fr. Clement Gerum, OCD, a native Bavarian. After some discussion the generalate, who preferred Fr. Antonio, agreed, and the Congregation confirmed Gerum as president of General Chapter II of the Salvatorians. **See, 1.17. II General Chapter, preparations.**²⁷

²⁵ See, A Closer Look: 1.15. Election irregularities.

²⁶ See, A Closer Look: 1.16. Disgruntled delegate.

²⁷ See, A Closer Look: 1.17. II General Chapter, preparations.

On October 9, the chapter opened with 30 capitulars present. As they were still waiting for the superior of Noto Città, the proper work could not begin. In the afternoon he appeared and declared to everybody's surprise, that he could not recognize the chapter as legal. He would present his reasons to the Congregation. As a sign of his protest he left the meeting room and boycotted the proceedings. **See, 1.18. II General Chapter, protest.**²⁸

After this painful prelude, the election for superior general began. In a secret pre-meeting, those capitulars who were against the re-election of the Founder had come to a relative agreement. Their candidate was the Prefect Apostolic of Assam. Thus, at the first balloting Jordan received just half the votes; half a dozen went to Becker, others were spoiled or void. This ballot was consequently a loud vote of no confidence in Jordan. The second ballot had the same result, and Jordan was again set in the pillory. Only on the third ballot did the few undecideds pull together. But Jordan received 18 votes, an embarrassing result.

After Jordan's adversaries had been narrowly overcome, they wanted at all costs to break up the Jordan-Lüthen team. They requested that a completely new general council should be elected as this would be the only way to keep the superior general in check. **See, 1.19. II General Chapter, elections.**²⁹

Thus, Lüthen was excluded from the new generalate. He accepted this undeserved discrimination with silent and humble calm. Jordan was even more astonished at such an ungrateful treatment of his most faithful comrade in arms than at his own humiliating narrow re-election as superior general. He was somehow calmed by the fact that all the new general consultors were among those who had truly stood with him during the Salvatorian crisis.

The capitulars themselves understood afterwards that their procedure had not been without blame, and that they could not

²⁸ See, A Closer Look: 1.18. II General Chapter, protest.

²⁹ See, A Closer Look: 1.19. II General Chapter, elections.

simply hide the co-Founder of the Society somewhere. They decided that Lüthen should keep the second place in the Society and be subject directly to the general superior. He himself didn't want any personal privileges, but the capitulars were adamant. For Jordan it was a consolation that Lüthen did not at all think about leaving the motherhouse and he could be assured of his continued precious advice.

These dark election days had deeply stirred Jordan's mind. He knew the true majority was on his side, but he had also to put up with the resolute minority. Would he succeed? He prayed: "Oh Mother of God, you are my mother! Help me, defend me, protect me! Oh my Mother! October 11, 1908" (SD II, 119). **See, 1.20. Lüthen.**³⁰

Jordan's conscience remained disturbed. Should he simply put up with the "agitation" which had come forth in the general assembly? Such a procedure had been, in his opinion, illegal. Jordan pondered asking the Congregation to express its opinion. Gerum, the president of the chapter, was able to set him at ease. The newly-elected vicar general, Theophilus Muth asked Jordan to forget, to pardon, and to place his full confidence upon the dissenters. Jordan was willing to do so and assured each and every one of his trust. But he could not eliminate completely the real tension and dissonance between the two unequal camps. On the contrary, in certain matters it necessarily came up again, especially from those who had not succeeded in excluding Jordan and thus lacked the green light to implement their own pet projects. **See, 1.21. II General Chapter, continuing dissent.**³¹

The proposals of the minority were well prepared in the various commissions (in which Jordan did not take part). Those presenting the proposals at the plenum often made use of intimidating eloquence in defending their points of view. This called up counter-speakers. Jordan presented his doubts where it seemed necessary to him. But he began to feel that his great experience was hardly valued.

³⁰ See, A Closer Look: 1.20. Lüthen.

³¹ See, A Closer Look: 1.21. II General Chapter, continuing dissent.

He felt caught unaware by his eloquent opponents. The ballots sometimes followed one another too quickly, before he had come to a conclusion in his conscience, or before he had been able to discuss the matter with anyone in whom he had confidence.

Among the problems, dividing the Society into provinces took priority. Then the program of studies was discussed. Many ambitious resolutions were made. Jordan defended himself for his apostolic view as well as he could. But General Chapter II was definitely the hour of the "Several Salvatorians." Jordan feared the worldwide Society would be accommodated to a "Germanic system." He prayed fervently: "I am ready for everything for you, Oh Lord; Almighty, show me Your will. October 18, 1908" (SD II, 119). **See, 1.22. II General Chapter, deliberations.**³²

The Mission of Assam was the next item to be treated. Already in the first days of the general chapter the Prefect Apostolic had criticized Jordan for caring too little for the mission. Jordan simply remarked that Becker had the holy duty to engage himself totally for the mission. But as superior general, he himself had to decide whether particular requests were acceptable to the Society.

A few days later, the mission superior launched a new attack: he argued that in the coming years the Society would be incapable of satisfying the needs of the mission. Jordan remarked that Propaganda Fide had the right to take the mission from us again, but it would not prescribe how many missionaries the Society had to make available. In the beginning it had not been the Society which had asked for the mission. He himself had been urged by the Propaganda to take over a region that until then had been so abandoned. He had willingly agreed, but with the express limitation "within the possibilities of the Society."

There was already a certain tension in chapter when Becker presented and argued his proposals. He requested three mission procuras in order to finally guarantee the necessary means for the mission. These centers should be accountable only to him. The

³² See, A Closer Look: 1.22. II General Chapter, deliberations.

assembly accepted his proposals. Then the Prefect Apostolic demanded that the Society should free 2 priests a year for the Assam Mission. Jordan pointed out that such an ordinance would be meaningless, because the Society would not be in a position to fulfill that mandate in the coming years. Becker withdrew this proposal and only demanded that the superior general should endeavor to give more missionaries to Assam.

Jordan was grieved because the Prefect Apostolic made him appear as a virtual opponent of the mission. But he refrained from presenting his reservations about the mission superior in the chapter, which apparently was on Becker's side, showing itself very mission-friendly. Jordan only demanded that the generalate should have some right to inspect the administration of the mission and be involved in its planning. Becker, however, considered himself as an independent canonical superior and was not in favor of common consultation or consent. (After Becker had departed, Jordan could not refrain from expressing his surprise to him by letter for having shown himself so harsh and negative towards the superior general during the chapter. **See, 1.23. II General Chapter and the Assam Mission.**)³³

The last item to be treated was the economic situation of the Society. There was no doubt about the debt burden. The procurator general himself had asked for a letter of admonition from the Apostolic Visitor, which he read at the beginning in order to win the capitulars for his proposals. Pfeiffer urged a reshaping of the Society. The small houses should disappear, the large houses instead should receive more person-nel. In this way forces could be spared and debts could be reduced more effectively. All houses with pastoral activity should pay a tax to benefit the heavily indebted houses of formation. The motherhouse should be unburdened by transferring the philosophers and novices to Hamberg. The chapter accepted these proposals as a whole. Also according to the proposal of the general procurator it was decided not to call all the establishments of the Society "Marian Colleges" any longer, but rather "Salvatorian

³³ See, A Closer Look: 1.23. II General Chapter and the Assam Mission.

Colleges." This proposal was not to Jordan's taste but it met with the capitulars' favor.

On October 28, Jordan introduced the capitulars to the Holy Father, who greeted each one heartily. At their departure, Pius X put both his hands on the Founder's head, saying so that all could hear: "Most Reverend Father, may the Lord reward all you have done." Jordan never forgot this blessed hour. The audience had additional importance for him because it took place in the small throne room where Leo XIII had encouraged him and blessed him on September 8, 1880, when he had first presented his embryonic plans.

The next day the Second General Chapter concluded. The president, Fr. Clement, praised the harmony and peace, the energy and diligence which had determined the efforts of the chapter. The differences of opinion had been only natural and were in no way a sign of discord. He himself was glad that everything had proceeded in brotherly love. **See, 1.24. II General Chapter, close and implementation.**³⁴

The Apostolic Visitor had, of course, the duty to approve the chapter. Fr. Clement Gerum forwarded the short minutes to him. Fr. Antonio requested additional explanations from the generalate, but he was pleased about the elections and the course of the chapter. He also approved the re-election of Jordan as superior general, wondering whether it would not have been better for Jordan to renounce his small margin of victory and free the chair for someone else.

While staying in Rome in the second half of November, the Visitor brought his good wishes personally to the superior general (November 17, G-2.4). Fr. Antonio proposed appointing an extraordinary visitor for the Society to ensure the fruits of the general chapter. The generalate, however, didn't consider this the most urgent concern. Instead it appointed the apostolic missionary, Fr. Dominic

³⁴ See, A Closer Look: 1.24. II General Chapter, close and implementation.

Daunderer, who had been elected general consultor, as visitor of the missions for internal matters of the Society (November 28, 1908).

As its first order of business, the generalate wanted to realize the chapter's decision to divide the Society into six provinces. But the Congregation for Religious, changing the detailed decision of the chapter, only approved the proposed division into four provinces.

On December 14, 1908, the novice master, Paulus Pabst, together with the novices moved from Rome to Hamberg. Soon after the start of the new year Weigang also left Rome. After initial resistance, he agreed to accept the office of superior at Trzebinia. Thus Jordan had to say goodbye to two true and trusted collaborators.

As much as it vexed him, Jordan had been unable to bring his basic concern before the general chapter: that vocations had become so scarce. Now for Jordan began the last and most colorless period as superior general. He thought that after the tumultuous years on the apostolic front line, now a quiet life should follow. Increasingly he wanted to do everything so that "exterior activity" should not overwhelm the interior spirit (November 23, 1908, SD II, 120). In his loneliness as Founder he bound himself all the more closely to the Lord: "Oh Lord, help me. I trust in you. You are my hope. You are my rock" (November 29, 1908). He wanted to be quite prepared and quite open: "Oh pray, pray, pray much! Do your duty! Oh God, show me the way! December 11, 1908" (SD II, 120).

1. Years of Trial and Temptation. A Closer Look

1.1/6. The Visitor's orders. In his own way Fr. Antonio, the Apostolic Visitor, contributed to the subdued celebration of the silver jubilee of the Society. On November 9, 1906, he had ordered sternly:

In order to repay the debts of the Society, the General Consulta's attention is called, that in future I will not approve buildings or acquisition of goods which incur debts, not even 500 Lire. Nor is remodeling allowed if it incurs debts. All exceptions need the agreement of the generalate and my own *nihil obstat*; without the latter everything remains *non avra effetto* [without effect].

On November 29, the generalate informed all superiors of this order.

The depth of the financial embarrassment of that time can be seen from a letter of Lüthen to the Apostolic Prefect in Assam:

Meanwhile, a real financial embarrassment had also arisen in the established communities. Almost all look to the motherhouse as if we had the capital lying ready, while we ourselves have not yet paid off the second installment of 150,000 Lire due to the Duke (the first one has been paid through a mortgage loan from Turin, as you already know, but it still requires payment of interests). Lochau, Hamberg, Meran cause the greatest difficulties (February 8, 1907).

Pfeiffer handled the external affairs of the Society cleverly.* Quite in step with the Apostolic Visitor, he tried to close the small houses in favor of larger communities. He would have liked most to close down all the existing houses in Italy with the exception of the motherhouse and, of course, Porto di Recanati, on which Fr. Antonio kept his eyes. Also to him Agram in the restless Hungarian heart of the multinational state had no future. But to Jordan precisely these neglected regions seemed to have a good future. Though any real hope for a "Hungarian apostolic nursery" had receded, the field of action attracted Jordan.**

* Since 1906, Pfeiffer was also engaged in the Anticamera and taught German at San Apollinare, and in the next year also at the *Accademia dei Nobili*.

** Jordan noted at that time: "Agram: 1) proviso, chapel or church; 2) position of a catechist; 3) associations; 4) orphans; etc. (G-2.7, c. July 1906).

1.2/7. Encouraging Letter.

Beloved Sons!

Rome, July 25, 1907

With deep sorrow I have noticed your local situation. Day and night I ask God for help and I suffer much. Above all we must not leave the battlefield in times of conflict and distress, but as courageous fighters for Christ we must suffer, fight and work for His holy cause, doing our best with confidence in the Almighty who will assist his trusty warriors. In battle and distress the true disciple of Christ proves his worth; and if we want to do something great for ourselves and others we must take the same way our Divine Master has taken.

Humiliations contribute to this aim more than exaltations, if they are endured with patience and perseverance. But even before the world it will be more honorable if you persevere at your post. The evil enemy would like to see you abandoning it, however, we won't give him an opportunity to triumph. You think that we [on the Generalate] don't want to help you even though we could. How much have I already prayed, worked and tried to help you! You don't know all the obstacles; I can't write them all down. So much, beloved sons, I want to recommend urgently; persevere at your post which Divine Providence has entrusted to you, and do your best! What a consolation to you, when you have led the ship past the dangerous shoals with God's help. Our success is proportional to our sufferings.

Pray in common, here we also pray in common. Bring this sacrifice to the God-man sacrificed for us, and persevere patiently for the honor of God, for your really great merits, and for the consolation of your lovingly suffering spiritual father.

I greet and bless you, commending you to the special protection of our heavenly Mother.

Your loving spiritual father,

Fr. Francis of the Cross.

1.3/8. St. Nazianz. On October 24, 1907, in time for the silver jubilee of the Society, Bishop Fox of Green Bay, WI “inaugurated the new monastery” of St. Nazianz. *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* remarked: “We would have liked to see among us also our Founder” (February 1908).*

But Jordan could only accompany the courageous activity of the local community with his prayers and good wishes: “Be convinced of my love and my kindness toward you and all” (October 13, 1907). However, communication between Rome and St. Nazianz was limited to the most necessary. Jordan was sorry when Deibele could not get free for the Second General Chapter, but let himself be represented by the superior of Wealdstone.

While the new building was still going up, the superior submit-*ted* a petition to erect a novitiate for brothers. At the Vatican, however, the matter was considered premature (Dilata of the Congregation, 1907, A Rel 7101/16).

1.4/9. Noto (I). On April 29, 1907, Jordan started his visitation of Sicily. The two houses in Noto (Scala and Città) with their 4 members, could have complemented one another in a brotherly and helpful way. But again and again discord and jealousy arose. When letters arrived from Rome urging peace, they were not kind-hearted toward the generalate.

At Scala, there had been a case of typhus. The region was also endangered by malaria. Jordan therefore, ordered urgent and immediate hygienic improvements in the house (cf., review by Lüthen, June 25, 1907). Disheartened, Jordan left for Rome on May 6, arriving on May 7.

* On April 25, 1907, Ludwig Barth, pastor of St. Lawrence in Milwaukee died. He was the man who 10 years earlier got the green light from Archbishop Katzer for Salvatorians to take over the legacy of Pastor Oswald in 1896. Following his wish, Barth was buried in St. Nazianz (SM, May 1907).

Pastor Peter Mutz, Oswald’s successor since 1875, had preceded Barth in death by two months on February 12, 1907, and was buried beside his parish church, St. Gregory, which he had handed over to the Salvatorians by order of the bishop on September 1, 1905 (SM, May 1907).

In summer renewed quarreling broke out. The superior of Noto Città wanted various pieces of furniture from Scala. The superior of Scala refused. Jordan had doubts: "Do we have a right to dispose in this way of things given to Scala?" (to Lüthen, Lochau, July 7, 1907).

The two superiors wanted to appeal to the Holy See. Lüthen asked the superior of Scala "not to appeal (to Fr. Antonio!!)" He asked in turn who they would propose to take his own place if Lüthen himself were to replace the superior in Città (August 27, 1907, G-41).

A few days later the vicar general returned to the quarrel and admonished the disputants to solve the contested issue at first with the help of the generalate, "before making an appeal; for such appeals do not bring us honor" (September 1, 1907). In the community of the Città, Fr. Simeon Heimann opposed his superior at the instigation of Fr. Erasmus Jungbauer. The latter had also caused trouble at Scala and should be "handled better."^{*}

Lüthen never tired of mediating: "Try to keep peace with Fr. Simeon," he encouraged the superior in Noto Città (September 21, 1907, G-41; October 9, 1907). On September 26, 1907, Bishop Blandini stayed in the motherhouse where Jordan could discuss with him the unquiet community in Noto Città.

1.5/11. Vacation restrictions. Jordan had permitted priests to pass their summer holidays with a certain friendly diocesan pastors he knew. On May 16, 1907, the Apostolic Visitor published a decree prohibiting this kind of *villigatura*. To Jordan personally he added: "Whoever needs a change of air may stay in another community of the Society" (BL-1042). Thus some superiors, particularly those of Lochau and Meran, got into considerable difficulties because the nearest community was far away and the money required to travel there was beyond the scope of the local budget. Through oral

^{*} Once more Jordan ordered absolute abstinence for Jungbauer. He also opposed his false "mysticism" (May 18, G-42). Finally, he forbade him to take any wine outside meals (July 3, 1908). He promised the superior of the Scala, "to procure a medicine from England" for the wine-sick priest (July 9, 1908, G-42).

negotiations with Fr. Antonio, Jordan succeeded in reaching some exceptions in quite credible cases (BL-1037).

The superior of Meran, however, could not reconcile himself to the order of the Apostolic Visitor and probably also suspected that it had been promoted by the generalate. Lüthen assured him that his order had been given "quite independently from us" by Fr. Antonio (June 4, 1908), "to whom someone must have complained" (April 6, 1907). The superior of Meran again wanted to shift the vacation site to diocesan "pastoral stations." But the vicar general could only reply: "Fr. Antonio has forbidden" (May 9, 1907).

Looking for an alternative, Fr. Chrysologus Raich wanted to buy a small property for *villegiatura*. Lüthen wrote him: "The matter sounds quite good. But how can you do it without incurring debts? This is the dilemma." Even if no debts would have to be incurred, Fr. Antonio had reserved his agreement for any purchase in the Society (April 19, 1907). Nevertheless, in the tardy financial account from Meran there appeared a "new farm *villegiatura*." Lüthen immediately requested information about the name of the farm, when bought, etc. "Please, this immediately; Fr. Antonio occupies himself with it, because he saw the increase in debt" (September 15, 1907).

The superior of Meran hurried to explain to Rome that the new farm (Gögelehof) had only been rented and by mistake had slipped into the account. His brother-in-law Anton Vantsch had bought it May 6 (September 23, 1907). The sly superior of Meran, however, wanted to buy the Gögelehof. Lüthen requested an exact memorandum.

Fr. Antonio, now in Sicily, has the last word. He will be opposed. Since by building and buying, the houses so often slipped into debt, the situation here is not good in regard to buying (December 10, 1907).

At the beginning of the new year Jordan ended the to and fro:

Sorry to inform you that after a long examination I have come to the firm opinion, that the acquisition of the *Wannenhof* is not the will of God and, as sorry as I am, I cannot give my agreement. My reasons are grave, but I can't explain them here and now (January 8, 1908).

The superior as well as the prefect complained to the vicar general about these "policies" of the Jordan's (cf., G-42, April 8, 1908).

In summer of the following year the question of the holiday places came up anew. The superior of Meran tried to persuade Lüthen to keep the generalate out of the matter. Lüthen, who after so many defec-tions did not find the visitor's order unwelcome, had to explain to Raich: "It is wrong to assume we are relieved of all responsibility in regard of the order of the Apostolic Visitor." He pointed out that the generalate had to give an exact account of the disciplinary status of the Society to the Congregation this year and also had to answer, whether members had stayed in "diocesan houses." All this was to be taken seriously, "since the pope himself appeals to the *scrutator cordium*, there is no excuse" (June 22, 1908).

The community in Meran was in great financial trouble all these years. The number of students fell from 22 in the school year 1907-08 to 12 (Form 2 & 3) in the fall of 1908. Furthermore, good cooperation in the community was still lacking. The vicar superior and prefect of studies –at the same time president of the Humaniora Commission– used the bad financial situation as a pretext to hire himself out as a tutor with one aristocratic family. He argued that in this way he would be able to help finance the house. The generalate agreed in good faith too hurriedly, noticing only afterwards that Fr. Simon Stein had used the financial stress of the college as a pretext to "get free." "Financially, he hasn't helped us," the procurator general had to state (October 30, 1907).

Jordan, who found the new building in Meran quite monastic, beautiful and simple, urged them to accept more students, at least into the existing grades (Meran, June 7, 1907), and he tried to get temporary financial help from the Ludwig Mission Union (December 12, 1907, BL-1018). All the while he continued encouraging the superior to persevere:

Don't let yourself be trapped by discouragement. Let us always do our duty and trust in the Lord. Let us all be obedient, even if it's hard, for in this way we shall safely reach victory. How many grave sacrifices had I to make in this regard, but in this way we shall win, for it is the will of God. The grace of Christ the Crucified be with you (October 22, 1907).

In March 1908, the community assumed a mortgage and thus got a longer term for the debt service (Permit of the Congregation, March 27, 1908, A Rel 999/17).

1.6/14. Narni, At the *Santuario del Ponte* there were now 3 priests and 3 Italian brothers. The superior, Fr. Protasius Schwartzhuber, had plans to start rabbit and hen breeding. Lüthen considered this risky. In addition he warned him against using foot traps to protect his farm (July 9, 1907).

The question of who owned the property of the residence was revisited. Jordan came to Narni the Feast of Mary's Nativity, September 8. The vicar general had announced him, assuring the local superior:

We know your zeal and your desire that it [the community there] may flourish. But be happy that God has done so much through you and is still doing much, and by doing so you have had and still have various crosses; this makes it clear God does not forget you (September 2, 1907).

Once there, Jordan conferred with the local bishop who summoned a lawyer to ensure the property rights were all with the Cathedral Chapter. Once this was definitely clarified, Schwartzhuber could complete the rectory. The superior, however, didn't want to wait forever or even to be delayed. He had, in fact, money of his own at his disposal. But from Rome came a gentle warning: money of one's own was money of the Society, and thus belonged to the Society's house in Narni. Schwartzhuber may quietly continue building; but there had to be security that in the end the building money would not be missing. For that would again trigger difficulties with the Apostolic Visitor (October 9, 1907, BL-994).

Bishop Francesco Moretti could not and did not want to lose the help of the Salvatorians in his small diocese, although Fr. Antonio was sternly urging them to keep only those foundations that were canonically fully occupied. The general procurator, too, hoped Narni would be given up as the confreres would be of more help to the indebted Society in larger houses. Jordan took the side of Bishop Moretti who presented their mutual concern to Pius X. The pope encouraged him, since "he would find great support and help in the Society of the Divine Savior, to whose care and direction of the Shrine of Madonna del Ponte was entrusted." Jordan at once interpreted this as a sign that not everything should be done exactly according to Fr. Antonio's views. The superior of Narni could continue the interrupted reconstruction with renewed energy. He

hoped “to complete the building soon with a small debt burden” (SM, March 1908).

1.7/15. Assam (I). The Apostolic Prefect, Fr. Christopher Becker, was full of enthusiasm for his plan to give a new face to the Assam Mission.

As we had said before, Fr. Christopher is making it too hot for us. As he wants to call to life a high school as well as a trade school, he requests four brothers for the latter and a few priests for the former. There is no parliamentary discussion.

In October, 4 brothers must be sent: a shoemaker, a cabinet maker, 2 for various branches of farming (Lüthen to the superior of Meran, March 23, 1907).

Jordan and the generalate were pleased with the renewal of the mission. However, the pace proposed by Becker was too fast.

Now Assam at once makes such great demands under the new Prefect! In fact, [he said] the [Protestant] sects would otherwise attract everyone to themselves! (Lüthen to the superior of Rio, April 10, 1907).

The Apostolic Prefect had the trade school ready in the summer of 1907 and was now waiting for the brothers.* Jordan pressed the local superiors in Europe hard because they found it difficult to set brothers free.

Following up, Becker wanted to erect the central house, “which had been a pressing need for years; the mission is disparaged by the [Protestant] sects for its building, etc.” (Lüthen to the superior of Meran, who had to give up his “professional joiner” brother (July 17, 1907).

Jordan’s most pressing concern was to find enough priests for Assam. The Propaganda urged “that some stations be occupied by two. In addition, Fr. Christopher and the missionaries are strident” (Lüthen to the superior of Welkenraedt, who freed up one priest for Assam, September 2, 1907).

* Becker had received the decisive sum of 5,000 rupees from Daniel O’Brien, a mission benefactor who had already assisted Münzloher. An Irish Catholic, O’Brien had once worked as a military physician and then in civil service. At the age of 50 he set up a tea plantation 10 km outside Dibrugarh.

On December 19, one priest and three brothers departed from Naples. The fourth brother lost courage at the last minute. His ticket had to be given back. Lüthen then took stock: "With the 4 brothers going to the mission, again a great gap arises in the Society and how to fill it! Incomprehensible, that no brothers apply" (to Becker, November 8, 1907). On February 19, 1908, one more priest left for Assam.

Becker's pet idea was to erect a high school in Shillong. That would boost the status of the mission in the eyes of the colonial power and create better relations with the government. The generalate did its best to offer first aid to the mission superior. In the fall of 1907, Jordan sent three priests to Liverpool to the Christian School Brothers to be prepared for high school teaching. "This could not be circumvented" Lüthen said (December 10, 1907).

Jordan won two more priests for mission work. The high school, however, puzzled him much. He clearly foresaw that the Society could not provide enough teachers (especially because of the diminished number of vocations) to lead a high school for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Shillong. It had too few teachers and educators for its own "apostolic nurseries." He also thought that this task in Assam should be taken over by others, so that the Society's own priests might be kept free for the mission itself.

During his visitation trip through Europe in summer 1907, Jordan was haunted by the concern of finding a way out. How could the Apostolic Prefect found the school and at the same time not overburden the Society? "I would like it best if Fr. Christopher could get Teaching Brothers for the school" (Lochau, July 4, 1907). "The high school causes me much concern" (Herbesthal, July 10; Wealdstone, July 21).

Jordan asked his vicar general to get exact information from the Christian Brothers in the Prati about the requirement for teachers "for the entire course, of all classes. If only Fr. Christopher could get Christian Brothers" (Ibid.). Now in Switzerland, Jordan had just missed Lüthen's answer.

Have you not received my letter regarding high school? I am afraid Fr. Christopher undertakes too much. Will the high school last? Why do most other religious orders in India not have them? (Freiburg, July 25, 1907).

If at first the Apostolic Prefect did not accept Jordan's doubts, by summer 1907, after his economic sorrows seemed ended for good, he accepted them even less.

The 76 year-old benefactor of the mission, Dr. O'Brien, had fallen gravely ill and asked Becker to come. Despite the rainy season and the latter's bad health, the Apostolic Prefect didn't hesitate a minute to fulfill the old man's request. He spent a full week in the heated plantation. O'Brien had no near relatives and wanted to use his large property for a good purpose. Becker assisted him in writing his will containing a special contribution for the Salvator Church in Shillong. The necessary legacies were fixed. Any remaining property should become a trust, "which should bear the name of his wife and be used for the education of Catholic children of Europeans and Eurasians as well as for orphans." The fund should be handed to Becker after O'Brien's death to be disposed of by the Apostolic Prefect in office. The fund was more than a half million Gold Mark. With this the high school and the Loreto School for European girls was financially safe.

O'Brien died in 1908. Distant relatives contested the validity of the will. The Apostolic Prefect won the 2-year process before the High Court of Justice in Calcutta, because he was accepted as principal witness (SM, May 1907; *River Valley of the Brahmaputra*, 472f).*

In the summer of 1907, Becker had fallen ill, suffering stomach cramps and sleeplessness. He had to go to Gauhati to regain his strength. At the end of April 1907, the Apostolic Prefect sent the report on the missionaries. He again pointed to "the two wounds of the missions: lack of personnel and means." In these regards there existed great dissatisfaction among the priests. Already in the

* Christopher Becker, *The River Valley of the Brahmaputra*, Aachen: Missions Publishers, 1927, in the series Books of the World Mission, vol. 7 by *Franziskus Missionsverein*, Aachen. In this highly interesting, heavily illustrated work the Apostolic Prefect describes the history of the Assam Mission. Part I gives the geography, history and religion of pagan Assam. Part II tries to follow the Catholic mission activity in Assam until the year 1890. Part III describes the mission's development and flourishing under the German missionaries "up to their expulsion due to World War I." In this part Becker treats "all the numerous reports published by the missionaries from 1890 to 1916. Of course, the grueling internal trials of the mission and their differences with Rome are omitted.

previous year Becker had declared that in the coming year they would have to give up extending the mission work into completely new districts (July 10; September 21, 1906). Instead, the existing stations would have to be manned better. With insufficient means “one simply can’t accomplish anything.” The Society had to defend itself like other religious congregations. The mission procurator needed more liberty to become more active. Then Becker addressed the objection voiced by some that begging for the mission damaged the interests of the Society, whose other needs were great too. “If we continue as we have, the mission truly can neither live nor die. This can’t go on.” A way had to be found taking into account the interests of both the mission and the Society. Becker points to the successes of other missionary apostolates (April 22, 1907).*

* In such a young, far-flung religious Society rumors easily erupted. One factor was the poor relations between the Assam Mission and the motherhouse, which was suspected of competing with it in fund raising. The generalate defended itself repeatedly against such unfounded charges. Below is the text of a the vicar general’s handwritten letter in which he names these misinterpretations and proposes ways to restore good relations between motherhouse and mission.

Collegium Marianum Romanum

Society of the Divine Savior

Circular letter (It is asked not to make remarks on these pages.)

To all dear spiritual confreres of the Society of the Divine Savior in Assam. To our greatest regret we perceive in Rome that the relation of our dear confreres in Assam with Rome is somehow disturbed. The resentment, as we are told, is caused by the opinion that the motherhouse did not take care of the financial distress in Assam; some even believe there are reasons to suppose that the interests of the mission were directly damaged from here by estranging the benefactors of Assam to the advantage of the motherhouse. As such a misunderstanding can cause most deplorable consequences, I feel compelled to enter more in detail into the matter and to show how to restore good relations with the motherhouse. Therefore, I note the following:

1) One must not blame the supreme direction of the Society [i.e., the generalate] for individual painful events which can happen with or without its knowledge.

2) In order to be able to examine and to prevent future cases of a possible restriction of mission interests, each confrere may report to us each case as exactly as possible. Just recently I examined two cases—very grave cases reported by one of you—and thank God the complaint proved quite

In an accompanying letter the Apostolic Prefect complained to Lüthen: "Repeatedly from various sides, he [Becker] had been informed that the Venerable Father had a quite different opinion on just these fundamental questions." Jordan had remarked that Becker,

untenable. Herewith, I do not want to say that there were not or will not also be justified complaints. While I, therefore, urge you to present here each case, I also declare that I will conscientiously test and examine them, and I will induce the Venerable Father to take further steps.

3) It is in the interest of the mission that the missionaries diligently submit reports, maybe with photos, which are used either for *Der Missionär* or *Salvatori-anische Mitteilungen*. In fact, the benefactors of the mission usually read these magazines and thus are reminded again of the mission and its needs, even when gifts are not directly asked for.

4) In future, care shall also be taken here that simple requests occurring in such articles not be suppressed; the articles shall also, as far as possible, be recommended for unedited publication; however, the right of each edition must be respected also by the confreres in Assam. Direct orders of episcopal offices definitely forbidding collecting for missions, etc., appeared in the last years. This may partly excuse former serious happenings.

5) The idea has been spread in Assam that the motherhouse was using some gifts intended for the mission for its own wants. With good conscience I can say this is untrue. Strictest conscientiousness regarding this point is observed in the motherhouse, and in dubious cases the intention of the donor is quite objectively requested when receiving the alms, and the decision is made correspondingly.

6) It has been impossible for the motherhouse to do anything for Assam by way of direct contributions.

7) On both sides there shall be the good will to restore and to preserve a good understanding on the basis of reciprocal trust and open interchange of one's wishes and eventual complaints. Only then can Assam, which is meant to be led to the faith and salvation by children of the Society, prosper. The missionaries, too, must remain good children of the Society and adhere in love to their mother; for blessings must come from above. Common prayers, sacrifices and sufferings of the whole membership in union with our Venerable Father will obtain this more effectively than the prayer, work and suffering of individuals.

May God intimately reunite Rome and Assam. "The Father's blessing builds houses for the children!"

In the love of the Divine Savior,

Your faithful confrere, Fr. Bonaventure (without date)

“was still young and full of zeal.” He was also told, “that Venerable Father had again and again pointed out how the Society or various communities suffered damage due to the mission. Too much money was going there.” Becker would, “consider such utterances as almost a bloody insult if they really indicated the Venerable Father’s opinion” (April 22, 1907).

Lüthen was grieved by this complaint and accusation of the capable and zealous Apostolic Prefect. In his answer he advised Becker to exercise greatest care interpreting Jordan’s utterances.

Such an utterance, e.g., too much money going to Assam, is certainly too untrue to believe that Venerable Father had said that. He simply can’t say so in that sense in which you take it. He knows even too well the situation in the mission. [Jordan was then on visitation in Sicily.]

The Mission Procurator, Fr. Anicetus di Smigelski, had complained to the Apostolic Prefect that Rome didn’t let him travel enough. Lüthen remarked that he liked making fund raising trips in order to be free. But Lüthen feared for the man’s vocation. This priest soon became the victim of his frivolous nature. At the end of the year he secretly left the motherhouse for good, “so as not to upset the Venerable Father” (Lüthen to Becker, December 21, 1907).

In Fr. Joseph Bergmiller, Jordan found a trustworthy and zealous successor for the difficult task of mission procurator. But he too was unable to fulfill the expectations of the Apostolic Prefect. He did his best, however, and was quite successful too (May 1, 1907).

Becker required the Society to contribute 25,000 Lire yearly so as to guarantee at least the maintenance of the mission. Until then the mission procura collected about 14,000 Lire annually (1906). Becker laid out a plan to Jordan for recruiting more help for the mission, “because it is an absolute necessity for the existence of the Mission [to start] greater advertizing.” Above all, the *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* should be engaged. The editor, Lüthen, willingly dedicated six pages of each edition for this purpose. Becker assumed responsibility to send articles from the mission (June 3, 1907).

Becker required the sisters to supply a definite sum for maintain-ing their own mission. Also more sisters should be sent. Lüthen had to explain to him that at present no sisters could be set

free.* It would equally be impossible for the sisters to raise the required annual contribution, "because they could not maintain the older ones." He proposes to gather all the sisters in Assam into one station (August 17, 1907, G-41). Becker had to understand that he could not count on SDS sisters for the planned high school for girls.** In spite of all this, there was progress. Already in 1907, Becker had started a school for catechists. It began its activity as St. Antony's School on May 1, 1908. And beginning September 1, 1907, the Catholic monthly magazine *Ka iing Khristan* (The Christian Family) appeared.

Becker asked for 20,000 frs. as capital to start building a Mission House (May 26, 1907). Jordan asked the motherhouse's fund raising brother to look around for this purpose in South West Germany. But it was not possible to achieve anything so quickly. Pfeiffer was asked to try to secure a loan. He wanted to encumber that part of the motherhouse which he could rent after the local community thinned out. The Congregation agreed but the Roman city administration did not. After many tries Pfeiffer also had to inform the Apostolic Prefect of his failures (November 16 & 21, 1907). Becker was more than disappointed:

I expected from the Society only a loan, for which I was fully ready to pay the interests and amortization. That the mission under such conditions and for such an enterprise does not meet with more understanding, is to me a strange illustration of the interest and sympathy the Society has for its missionaries. When and for what can one expect cooperation? (to Lüthen, December 6, 1907).

* "Sadly, Sr. Gabriela on whom we counted, will not return to Assam. She doesn't want to any more; no other sisters are available (fitting in). Besides, Venerable Mother's health has become worse since some days; one thinks about her end. Thus, at present, there is nothing to be hoped from the sisters" (Lüthen to Becker, December 7, 1907, A MA).

** Becker then turned to the Loreto Sisters. They agreed, if the buildings were prepared. The Apostolic Prefect contributed 6 acres and 20,000 Rupees (34,000 Marks) to the building, probably out of the O'Brien Fund. On May 1, 1909, the building was inaugurated. Five Loreto Sisters started the school on May 8, 1909.

On October 22, 1907, Jordan discussed in detail the problems of the Mission with the Apostolic Delegate for East India, Bishop Zaleski. The latter showed himself "extremely friendly" (G-2.4). He stayed with Jordan for more than two hours. The latter had expected that the bishop would finally be satisfied with Becker, after Munzloher had never enjoyed his favor. But Archbishop Zaleski only asked where the new superior came from. Jordan told him that he was a European. The Delegate, so Jordan noted down, then said: "Those coming from Europe want to get on too fast. We must do that differently." Jordan may have asked himself who might have informed the bishop in this manner.

1.8/16. Death of Mother Mary. Already for some time the superior of Hamont endeavored, following Jordan's order, to prepare a foundation for the sisters in Belgian Lommel. Mother Mary was quite happy the sisters got a foothold not far from her home. Jordan was planning even further: "The desired settlement in Belgium near the German border might later become a provincial house for Germany" (March 26, 1907). On November 27, 1907, three sisters departed Rome to take over nursing the sick and the asylum for children of the workmen of the nearby chemical metal works in Lommel.

In addition, the wish already expressed for the USA at the sisters' general chapter was finally realized. After receiving agreement of the ecclesiastical authority, a novitiate was erected in Milwaukee. There on December 10, 1907, Archbishop Messmer invested the first three candidates.

For Mother Mary, 1907 had begun with such severe attacks of asthma that she had to stay in bed for some weeks. In April they recurred. In May, a lung infection forced her to stay in bed almost two months. As far as her much weakened strength allowed, she still dedicated herself to her official duties. She was greatly pleased about the visit of Cardinal Fischer of Cologne (April 23).

While staying in Rome, the Apostolic Visitor, now bishop of Caltanissetta, visited her twice, first on June 26 and then on October 29. Mother Mary was already suffering much at that time. On the occasion of her namesday, Jordan and Lüthen arrived to present their congratulations, but Mother Mary's health deteriorated rapidly. The asthma attacks became more frequent. Then was added meningitis, so that now her thinking was no longer clear. During hre

last weeks Mother Mary was continuously plagued by tormenting pains, so that she “often cried out quite loudly.”

On November 3 after an investiture, Jordan stayed with her for a longer time. He ordered Pfeiffer to take proper care of the patient who was so dear to him. Atop the lung and brain complaint came a throat infection, so that Mother Mary could neither speak nor swallow. Also her back was now involved—it was one wound all over.

On December 15, the sisters of all houses were informed of the dangerous illness of their general superior: the worst was to be feared. Pfeiffer stayed in Salita San Onofrio day and night through her last days.

On December 23, Pfeiffer administered Mother Mary the Eucharistic viaticum. On Christmas Eve his place at her bedside was taken by one of the general consultors. While Pfeiffer was celebrating the Second Holy Mass of Christmas Day, Mother Mary died.

“A mild seriousness combined with sweet peace showed on her snow white face” (the secretary in MMChr). On Christmas Day, Jordan and Lüthen came to take leave of the dear deceased sister. Pfeiffer, too, finally arrived and stood with wet eyes at her bier. In *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen*, Lüthen wrote in an obituary:

A heavy blow has hit the community of the sisters of the Divine Savior by losing through death their First Superior General, the “co-foundress” along with Fr. Francis of the Cross Jordan, of the sisters’ congregation on December 8, 1888. The woman, formerly so active, languished slowly, but still hoped to get healthy again and to work much to the benefit of the young congregation. In addition there came a malicious bronchitis and a meningitis in December.

She was an example of patience and of full submission to the will of God. She liked kissing the crucifix, saying: “This is my best friend,” or she prayed, “As God wills all is good” (SM, February 1908).

On St. Stephen’s Day the scholastics sang the Office of the Dead for Mother Mary in the house chapel of the sisters. In the afternoon the pastor of Santo Spirito came to bless the dead sister’s body. Before the coffin left the house, Pfeiffer read Mother Mary’s last will of 1903. He pointed above all to the spiritual part of the testament:

I hope humbly that my good sisters will pray much for me and that they will continue working with holy zeal at their own holiness,

striving always to do genuine good to their neighbors and preserving the spirit of the Founder of the Society of the Divine Savior.

In her testament Mother Mary had stated: "I wish to be buried in the Campo Santo Teutonico beside St. Peter's." Pfeiffer had everything prepared correspondingly.

That afternoon, under streaming rain, the coffin was transported from Salita San Onofrio to Campo Santo. There were waiting Jordan and Lüthen as well as the other confreres of the motherhouse. As the grave had not yet been dug, the coffin was put in the cemetery chapel. The next day the burial was conducted at 11:00 by the rector of Campo Santo. He denied the Salvatorians the opportunity to do the last service for the dear deceased. Neither did he allow the scholastic choir to participate. Thus the burial took place quite silently. The grave plate carried the inscription: "Here rests in Christ the Savior, Mother Mary von Wüllenweber, First General Superior of the Sisters of the Divine Savior. Born 1833 - died 1907." The obituary in *Salvatorianischen Mitteilungen* concludes:

A simple wooden cross shows her place of rest, and so she who offered up to God splendor, honor and wealth, still after her death preached to her spiritual daughters the poverty and simplicity as she had loved them (SM, February 1908).

The Salvatorians felt it as an injustice and an offence that none of them had been allowed to perform the burial of Mother Mary. Pfeiffer wrote down his soul's anger on the vigil of the feast of St. John the Evangelist. He sent a letter of complaint to the Rector of Campo Santo:

Then the way the deceased was put to her last rest offended my innermost soul. My request that our scholastics be allowed to sing and a [Salvatorian] priest perform the burial were refused. In my judgement, the consequence was that we were completely excluded from the kind of celebration and burial which would have been granted to any simple sister. This may have corresponded to the last wishes of the deceased, but neither to her position nor to her family.

Then Pfeiffer returned in particular to the rector's remark: "The sisters themselves may sing, if they wanted singing. The sisters didn't concern us at all."^{*}

I must decidedly refuse these affirmations: partly they don't correspond to the objective reality, and partly they were gravely offensive under the circumstances. I note expressly, that I take some care for the sisters with the full agreement of the Holy See (December 27, 1907).

Msgr. de Waal emphasized in his answer, that he had shown the sisters,

. . . always the liveliest interest. . . . If I now, nevertheless, have excluded the Salvatorians from the burial celebration, I am sure of the approval of the church authorities. So you may not see in this in any way a hateful act against your congregation as such.

De Waal then referred particularly to the fact that he had given the deceased one of the best spots in Campo Santo and had not let one of his chaplains perform the burial but had done it himself. He excused his meager address, saying he had remembered just shortly before the burial "to say a few words" (December 30, 1907). Pfeiffer appreciated the answer but held to his opinion and refused above all the rector's claim that he was "sure of the approval of the church authorities" (January 3, 1908).

In his New Year's greetings Jordan sought to console and encourage the sisters:

Joy also belongs to a family, whose members in the south and north, in the east and west, work and suffer to glorify God and to help their neighbors. Do not leave the evil world the pleasure of eventual discord. Preserve also a true memory of your good spiritual Mother, who has been taken into the other world by the Lord (December 30, 1907).

After Mother Mary's death, Pfeiffer was ordered by the Apostolic Visitor to assist the sisters in Salita San Onofrio even more than before by advising and helping. Immediately an extraordinary general chapter was proposed. Thus, on January 7, 1908, the vicar

^{*} One feels tempted to suppose Msgr. de Waal had here appropriated the opinion of the zealous consultor, Fr. Esser.

general, Sr. Engelberta, informed the sisters that the chapter to elect a successor "of our beloved Venerable Mother and Superior General" was convoked for July 7. At the same time, the various houses were grouped for electors. By order of the Visitor the ballots for delegates were to be sealed and sent to Pfeiffer.

Fr. Antonio proposed that Msgr. Leva of the Cardinal Vicariate should preside at the chapter, but beforehand he should thoroughly acquaint himself with the statutes of the sisters' congregation. Above all, he should study well the visitation reports, the one of Fr. Esser and Fr. Antonio's own. In fact, the sisters' general consulta had met with various difficulties after the death of the first superior general, especially because in Salita San Onofrio there had mostly remained "unfit and sickly sisters." At the same time Fr. Antonio expressed the hope that after a well conducted general chapter, the Apostolic Visitation of the sisters might be concluded (to Pfeiffer, Caltanissetta, April 17, 1908, D-793).

Msgr. Leva, who had always been well disposed towards Jordan, declined the offer of the Bishop of Caltanissetta to chair the sisters' chapter. Pfeiffer reported this to Fr. Antonio (May 21, 1908) who then readily nominated Pfeiffer himself as his official representative to the sisters' Extraordinary General Chapter, July 7 to 13 (May 29, 1908, D-795).

Sr. Ambrosia, who had quickly made the Hungarian houses flourish, was elected second superior general of the Salvatorian Sisters. With this good solution Jordan was fully assured.

Pfeiffer also received the mandate by the Apostolic Visitor to revise the constitution of the sisters. In doing so, he was to keep to the already approved statutes of the Sisters of Montpellier (Caltanissetta, December 22, 1908, D-815).

1.9/17. Apostolic goal. Most congregations founded in the 19th century had one of three aims: foreign missions, caring for the sick and poor, or Christian schools. Their founders felt called by distressed conditions in the church. Only a few foundations tried to respond to a “comprehensive ecclesiastical vocation” (e.g., Di Francia, Jordan). These did not point to a clearly limited purpose, but to a fundamental disposition which could prove true in any essentially apostolic involvement. Of course, here too, special abilities were required to undertake individual apostolates. But this fundamental apostolic attitude was meant to guarantee that one would persist in times of crisis and persevere in bearing one’s cross.

These high ideals had to overcome certain obstacles to be realized. Therefore, such institutes aspired to instill a fundamental apostolic attitude very quickly. These freer and more open foundations had to confront everyday limitations. In the end, no founder could avoid establishing his vocation in the cross of contradiction.

Jordan was open to all serious aims, but it seemed to him that people with a fundamental apostolic attitude were more likely to persevere than those who relied on special expert qualifications—those who in fact knew right away whether this or that was their strength. Jordan preferred personal availability over personal choice. Those endowed with the first characteristic simply left decisions to Providence, mostly through the responsible superior or a local need.

Church authorities didn’t examine whether the personal call behind each new undertaking was true or not. They focused on the institute as such, its sound performance and its usefulness to the church. Working from this attitude, ecclesiastic officials like Bianchi and Esser only asked about Jordan’s planned or organized institutes, and Fr. Antonio saw his task as simply working out and completing the things required of an ecclesiastical institute.

Jordan didn’t want to found a religious institute for the sake of the institute. His works were more or less apt means for carrying out apostolic activities without limits or limitations. This universal apostolic spirituality was to have its hearth in the two Salvatorian religious institutes which tended and fed the apostolic fire and which propagated itself into as many countries as possible.

The mandate to save immortal souls could certainly not be limited to one institute; but it could try to take root worldwide. Jordan was sincerely sorry he did not succeed, within the stormy period of expansion of the Society, to plant a Salvatorian seedling in Spain or in Ireland.

1.10/18. Finances. The young Pfeiffer as general procurator followed Fr. Antonio completely. He also knew how to suggest his own wishes to the Apostolic Visitor. For example, on February 21, 1908, Fr. Antonio thanked Pfeiffer for the Mass stipends he used to send to support the diocesan seminary of Caltanissetta. At the same time he reminded him of the still missing yearly financial report of St. Nazianz. Then Pfeiffer wrote a letter to the general. "Don't worry if I use lighter ink. It is not so faint I can't make my views understood" (D-786). The promised letter bore the date March 3, 1908.

On the whole, the Apostolic Visitor saw a slight improvement in the financial situation of the Society. However, it was too modest for him. Thus he felt obliged to stick to his order of November 21, 1906, which he had renewed on March 11, 1907. However, the generalate might decide a number of issues: whether to reduce the number of needy students receiving scholarships to 6 or to no more than 8 (valid only for pre-novices, and not for those in Rome); whether to transfer the novices and scholastics from Rome to other houses of the Society (the mother-house should be reserved as the seat of the generalate and for talented and exemplary scholastics, and eventually for Italian novices); whether to sell Tivoli to reduce the motherhouse's debt burden. (The unusually high debts of the motherhouse were making church authorities fearful and suspicious. The Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation for Religious had recently wanted to discuss this item, and felt someone should by all means clear up this situation.) Finally, for the summer holidays one could easily rent a house in the mountains (D-787).

1.11/19. Noto (II). In spring of 1908, the superiors of both houses in Noto were due to be replaced. One could not think about improving the existing miserable situation without any removals. In Noto itself each superior was in the other's way. Further, the vicar of Noto Città, Fr. Simeon Heimann, felt moved to confront both house superiors. Lüthen tried to find some viable solutions (April 8, 1908, G-42).

At the same time, the Second General Chapter had been convoked. The two houses in Noto were united into one electoral unit together with the house in Porto di Recanati (according to the 1902 Constitution no. 179). To the superior of Noto Città this was a mistake. As local superior of Noto he felt entitled to be a legal capitular. But the two houses in Noto had only 6 priests, and all together only 10 members, while Constitution no. 178 prescribed one delegate for every 12 members. This was explained to Fr. Romuald Goriwoda who nevertheless raged against what he felt was an unjust regulation.

On May 12, Jordan himself traveled to Sicily to meet with the confreres there. He stayed till May 21. But Romuald remained obstinate. The other two were not at all capable of overcoming this convoluted situation. Consequently, the generalate thought it to be the lesser evil to confirm Fr. Romuald in office as superior in Noto, and thus to calm things down for now. Later developments proved this wrong, when the two superiors worked to subvert the prescribed election process.

When no ballots from these communities had arrived in Rome, Lüthen warned them for the last time to follow the election procedure. Each member should either hand in a ballot or send it directly with two names (one for the superior who should represent the houses at the chapter, and one for the chapter delegate). Whoever in conscience could not vote for anyone, should hand or send in an empty paper in a sealed envelop. Lüthen begged the vicar superior of the Scala: "Try to remain in peace with Fr. Superior and do not let anyone speak badly about him." He added that Jordan had certainly not written a "flattering" letter to the present superior of Noto Città upon his appointment, as was rumored in Noto, but had warned him seriously as was his duty (June 19, 1908).

Noto remained unresponsive. Two letters and a telegram from the generalate went unanswered. "We do not know what is the matter," Jordan complained and asked his vicar general: "Make a trip to Noto as soon as possible and investigate in my name and with my authority" (July 21, 1908).

Lüthen had not the physical strength to travel personally so he sent the general procurator, Pfeiffer, to Naples on July 15 (G-2.2). The superior of Noto received him most ungraciously. But

subsequently some incomplete reports did arrive at the motherhouse from Noto.

On August 17, the generalate had to order a new ballot. Within eight days these were to be sent to Rome. The superior responsible for the community at Scala, Fr. Firmus Türk, simply went on strike: "He would neither elect nor accept election." The to and fro with Noto Città continued.

1.12/20. Agliardi, Antonio (Cologno al Sezio, Bergamo, September 4, 1832-1915, March 19, Rome) was considered a modern cardinal, who had fought strongly for balance in the church of Leo XIII. He was a friend of Bishop John von Montel and was in full accord with the latter's church politics. Leo XIII esteemed him as a "Roman counterweight" to the rather intransigent Secretary of State Rampolla.

Agliardi began as pastor in Bergamo and soon transferred to the diplomatic service. He was Apostolic Delegate in East India (1884-1886); nuncio in Vienna (1886); and "obstructed nuncio" in Peking and in Paris. In 1889, Rampolla transferred him as nuncio to Munich in order to stop the influence of the "*nucleo tedesco*." On June 22, 1896, Agliardi was created cardinal, was at first Cammerlengo (March 24, 1898), then Vice Chancellor of the Holy Church and Summist of the Apostolic Letters (June 22, 1903). Under Pius X the open-minded cardinal was even suspected of Free Masonry by Msgr. Benigni.

The cardinal offered Jordan a church in Marino, but regretfully he had to decline. Already on March 8, he had had to decline an offer of Cardinal Volpe for a priest to supervise the Poliglotta of the Propaganda. "Sorry, could not correspond with his wish" (G-2.4).

1.13/23. Rio. The superior of Rio asked continuously for priests and brothers for his wide and promising field of activity. Assam, however, was blocking everything by quickly consuming the scanty number of young confreres. Only at the end of August 1907, one priest who should have gone to Assam but preferred Brazil, left Rome and arrived safely in Rio on September 18. There were now 4 members there, 3 priests and 1 brother. Fr. Philibert Schubert, the

superior, hung on. Lüthen assured him that Jordan had never forgotten the foundation in Rio.

It certainly does not depend on the goodwill of the Venerable Father; be sure of this! Brothers? St. Nazianz has been waiting for years; they had been promised some back when they took it over; just now we must send four to Assam to open a trade school, and there are so few German brothers (December 10, 1907).

In summer 1908, Jordan was able to win two young priests for Rio. In doing so, he was quite particular in regard to health: "Those, suffering blood pressure, and those of full blood are not fit for Brazil, because they easily get yellow fever" (to Lüthen, Vienna August 19, 1908). Finally, on September 24, two priests embarked from Genoa and were welcomed by the greatly relieved superior of Rio on October 9, 1908. The vicar general had announced their arrival "to calm your anger, in case it has arisen" he wrote to the superior with whom he got along particularly well (August 18, 1908). Previously the superior had said that two priests there should return to Germany. For these no substitutes were to be found: "There are enough priests available; but they are not fit for there. Your patience is becoming heroic (if it does not break)" (June 13, 1908, B-1032). Only in 1909, did the Brazilian community reach six priests.

The superior intended to buy land for the projected church and asked permission to take out a loan. Against this stood the veto of the Visitor. As a way out, The generalate proposed that the bishop should buy the land and that the superior should start a "church building association" to repay the bishop (June 27, 1908). In the end, Fr. Antonio came around and the superior submitted his petition (August 18, 1908).

In fall, Jordan discussed matters personally in the motherhouse with the visiting archbishop of Rio de Janeiro. The cardinal with the sonorous Portuguese conquistador name Arcovade Cavalcante de Albu-querque was unsparing in his praise of the good spirit of the confreres in Rio (September 21, G-2.4). The next day two missionaries left the mother-house for Brazil. Thus Jordan could give them this appreciation to pass on to the community of Rio.

Before returning to Rio himself, the cardinal came to the mother-house once more. Jordan wanted to persuade him that the archdiocese should take over the construction of the church. The cardinal, however, preferred that the church to be built should

immediately belong to the community, for there was no longer a danger of being driven out. But the 10% interest rate, which was low in Brazil, frightened the Founder. The cardinal proposed that the priests should start the building at once, for if people saw something developing more resources would come in more easily. Jordan also explained to him the Angels' League, which he liked very much (November 25, 1908, G-2.4).

1.14/24. Assam (II). Becker also continued his relations with Fr. Antonio. He congratulated the latter on becoming a bishop, and at the same time expressed his satisfaction that he would retain the office of Apostolic Visitor of the Society. This emboldened Becker to unburden himself to him. He assured Fr. Antonio that now in the mission everything was in good order, progress was being made. The Society had, therefore, to send enough missionaries with the necessary capabilities. Furthermore, the Society had to raise the resources absolutely necessary to maintain the mission. Becker had hopes that at the next general chapter all the various problems of the missions would be resolved. He planned to work up a corresponding report to distribute to each capitular before the general chapter. He then poured out his heart, which beat completely for the Assam Mission:

I know well that they have to grapple with financial difficulties in all houses of the Society. Nevertheless, I believe that one cannot sacrifice the development of the Catholic Church in a whole country for the in-terests of the Society. Just because of this I don't doubt that with a little goodwill and fewer jealousies one can change everything. However, if it is really impossible for the Society to satisfy the great and urgent needs of the mission, I think one is obliged in conscience to explain it quite clearly to the congregation [Propaganda], so it may make provisions accordingly. This is my opinion, and I don't think I am mistaken.

Becker asked Fr. Antonio to pardon the outpouring of his heart, but the Visitor could certainly understand better than anyone else his difficulties as mission superior and as a Salvatorian: "I find myself between the two opposites: the attachment and love of the Institute, and on the other side the holy religion" (February 12, 1908).

Fr. Antonio did not hesitate to give a clear and balanced answer. He welcomed the mission superior's idea of printing and

handing to the capitulars a report showing the needs of the mission. But he should try to compose his proposals so that they would easily be accepted; and when accepted, they would be practical and realizable without coming into conflict with the general interests of the Society. The Society, or better said, the generalate, was in no situation to increase its debts, not even by 10,000 Lire annually. Then Fr. Antonio explained: "With all my efforts I have succeeded only in the last year to check the slide into the debt abyss and to attain a small and insignificant improvement." As long as the motherhouse was so indebted, it was impossible to require support from it. Fr. Antonio proposed starting fund raising in English-speaking lands.

If the general chapter concluded that the Society could not maintain the mission, it should explain that to the Holy See and renounce all or part of the mission. With this proposal, which he had made earlier, Jordan fully agreed. Fr. Antonio was hoping, however, that the Society would be able to keep the mission, which is to its greatest honor, and that the mission superior would contribute to this end with all his strength (March 6, 1908).

Fr. Antonio prudently sent this response first to the general procurator to read, telling him to share it with "none but Fr. General," before it would be sent off to Assam. The letter of the Apostolic Prefect from Assam, which he was answering, had been written in a quiet but somehow menacing tone (Caltanissetta, March 7, 1908, D-788).

On April 22, 1908, Jordan received the esteemed visit of the Commissioner of the Assam-Valley District, Mr. Monahan and his wife. Their conversation may have been quite instructive to the general.

On May 2, Jordan asked the mission superior for the personnel report. The latter pointed to his report of April 22 of the previous year. In this regard nothing had changed with the exception that now there were missionaries at almost all stations. Only 2 stations were still handled by one missionary, and these two were living 2½ hours from one another. "Thus at least one source of complaint was stopped." The finances, on the contrary, had rather deteriorated in comparison with the previous year. But no lamenting would help.

However, in order to try every possibility of saving the mission, there will follow as soon as possible, by the way, a comprehensive

report about the state of the mission and its needs to the members of the general chapter.

Then Becker came to speak about his strained relations with the general.

I got the impression that Venerable Father interpreted my very well intentioned motives for the Society and the mission as illustrations of rash and unjustified fault finding, and that consequently it was better to desist. I have written privately in this regard to Reverend Father Bona-venture in an attachment to the personnel report of last year, April 22, 1907. Nevertheless, I hear the same thing again and again, that Vener-able Father not only thought it was good to speak unflatteringly about me in various communities, and even to instruct departing missionaries to be cautious about me. I grow a "hotspur" turning everything upside down, full of youthful imprudent zeal, and so on.

Then Becker declared there must be some truth in these reports, "as it had been reported to him by six persons and from various places." Personally he didn't mind, but for the sake of the mission he had to speak. He could not tolerate that "by such utterances of the highest leader of the Society the seed of mistrust and discord again be carried into the mission." The missionaries had to trust the local mission administration absolutely (May 24, 1908).

Jordan did not hesitate to present his view to the mission superior. On June 13, he sketched an answer and then corrected it carefully.*

Beloved Son!

June 19, 1908

I have received your esteemed letter of 24th and I rejoice over the lively activity and the spirit of sacrifice of the missionaries. Regarding your remark regarding the news about activities in the mission, I have indeed said that one should not go too fast. The reason for that was because your letter caused the general opinion that you were pressuring the Society by requesting too much from it. The Society in the last years has certainly made very great sacrifices for the mission which some do not know. Also on higher levels one does not want to ask too much of the Society.

* DSS X, 934 shows the rough draft with the strikeouts, without taking into account Jordan's corrections written in the wide margin.

In the last years I have suffered very much because of lack of means and personnel. In addition, I received from the [church] authority the order not to accept candidates without full tuition, and not even the whole generalate may spend 500 Lire for acquisition or purchase, etc. (beyond current expenditures) without permission.

If now our missionaries begin to think that I, that is, the Society, does not want to help them, although imagining it could, nothing good will come of it. Do you believe that by my utterances one single missionary has become ill-disposed toward you or that discord has arisen? It was necessary to tell the missionaries that one should proceed moderately, i.e., according to necessity. I do not use expressions like "hotspur."

You may be convinced that I am pleased, when the mission goes on well and gets much money. In my opinion one should proceed in unity and not ask too much from the Society, for even in this way the mission will, if it should not yet be the case so far, be able to stand comparison with the other India missions in a few years.

Hopefully, you will soon get a house in Shillong. This I wish you from the bottom of my heart. I greet and bless you all dearly,

Your loving Father,
P. Fr. M. Kr.

On June 30, Becker sent his printed report for the general chapter to the Apostolic Visitor. In it he had held to Fr. Antonio's wise advice that his proposals should not damage either the mission or the Society. The Visitor thanked him for the report expressing his hope that the chapter would find ways to help the mission effectively without increasing the debts of the Society. If that would not be the case, it was clear that it would be advisable for the salvation of souls to renounce the mission in order to hand it over to another congregation which had the personnel and the means to help it flourish (July 27, 1908).

On October 3, the Apostolic Prefect arrived in Rome along with Salvatorian Fr. Stanislaus Weber, the mission delegate to the general chapter. Following the suggestion of Fr. Antonio, Jordan decided to send Weber to England after the chapter for 2 years in order to cultivate resources there. The Propaganda gave its agreement.

1.15/25. Election irregularities. The Apostolic Visitor had received a complaint about the generalate influencing the upcoming election. Lüthen is said to have advised the superior of Trzebinia to step down as a chapter delegate in favor of the superior of Meseritsch, despite the fact the electors had favored the superior of Trzebinia. In addition, the generalate had invalidated the 3rd balloting, in which the superior of Trzebinia had been elected. Finally, when even the 4th ballot had been declared invalid, the superior of Meseritsch, a figure more agreeable to the generalate, had been named by them as the duly-elected delegate.

Fr. Antonio was shocked. If all this were true it would have grave consequences and force the Congregation for Religious to a disagreeable intervention. Therefore, he ordered the general procurator to inform him whether and in what terms Lüthen had asked the superior of Trzebinia to stand down. Fr. Antonio requested the exact wording of the letter in question, the one validly signed by Lüthen. Regarding the invalidated balloting, the visitor requested an exact explanation why Jordan or Lüthen had acted in this way. Equally he wanted to know which of the two superiors in question had been professed longer, and whether the superior of Meseritsch had been advised by Rome to cast his ballot for himself or whether this was a calumny. Pfeiffer would have to answer openly, for this in the end could greatly discredit the Society. Whereas, if a mistake had been made it could be partly corrected (September 2, 1908).

The general procurator gave an exact account on September 12, 1908. The Apostolic Visitor had to understand that he had been intentionally misinformed. He had had to confirm to the generalate: the election of the superior of Trzebinia was null because the superior had cast his ballot for himself. Lüthen had acted correctly, when he invited the priest to step down. The contested second ballot was equally invalid because 10 electors had cast 11 ballots. However, Fr. Antonio blamed the generalate for not having published the reason of nullity, "for it is good, if one does it."

On the last ballot there was a tie between the two superiors, and the generalate had consequently acted correctly when it considered elected the one who had professed vows first. Nevertheless, Lüthen had been blamed personally. He had truly acted in a brotherly way in the extremely delicate matter. But he should have done this only if he had been asked in an equally brotherly way. This,

by the way, was merely inconsiderate, not a fault (September 16, 1908). Lüthen already had enough experience behind him to prove that the Apostolic Visitor might not particularly like him, as he often chose to overlook his punctiliousness.

1.16/26. Disgruntled delegate. Jordan hoped that Weigang, who had not been implicated in the Noto affair, would be able to lead things to a harmonious accord. The latter wrote correspondingly to the pugnacious superior of Noto (August 19, 1908). Fr. Romuald Goriwoda answered with an angry and spiteful letter: He had left the letters and the telegram unanswered,

. . . out of protest against the bad intention you had in union with the Venerable Father and with another person [i.e., the general procurator] whom I shall name when the time has come to have the elections declared unlawful and fraudulent.

Then Goriwoda hinted at something which sounded rather strange, and which Weigang could not understand: that Goriwoda himself might be considered mad and wanted to prevent that: "Mad, if I were like Lüthen or a Venerable Father: But I am a different man, and today it is time to get free." He had not yet decided to expose all the dirty laundry. However, he would in any case attack the Second General Chapter, in particular its convocation, its elections, and its essence, if it were to take place at all (August 21, 1908). Weigang tried to explain things and to calm him (August 24).

The man, overheated in his morbid self-esteem, now complained about new intrigues against his person, and therefore attacked Pfeiffer sharply as "the Venerable Father's minion and partisan." He then complained bitterly about his vicar. He accused Lüthen of theft and hypocrisy, both in a tangibly calumnious way. He once more pointed out his superiority as a jurist and warned that he would formally start a "lawsuit" in Rome on August 31 (August 26, 1908).^{*} So the election of a chapter delegate from Noto failed. Goriwoda is said to have arranged a ballot but then stopped it again (so Jordan told the general chapter).

^{*} How Goriwoda esteemed himself he liked to emphasize: "All, except Fr. Simeon [Heimann], my successor, are on my side to the skin and swear that it could hardly be better" (August 21, 1908).

Lüthen tried to help in his appeasing way. He calmed Fr. Simeon Heimann and asked him to give up his resistance to the method of balloting (August 20, 1908). Also to Goriwoda he proposed clearly the view of the generalate and encouraged him: "Inform us, what else you have regarding the chapter and elections" (August 25, G-43).

Now Goriwoda informed the superior general in writing that he, "as superior of the two houses Noto Città and Noto Sta. Maria della Scala" had to speak out about doubts concerning the validity and legality of the general chapter. First, the convocation had been made illegally; second the elections had been made against any human or divine right, and this only with the aim to deceive and delude the small houses. As superior of the two houses in Noto, he had endeavored with the Cardinal Prefect to be added to the number of those who wished to discuss the general chapter at the Congregation (August 30). Goriwoda put this letter into the envelope which he had previously addressed to the Congregation for Religious which had already put the letter aside (*reponatur*, September 5, 1908, A Rel 2862/17).

Now Jordan ordered Weigang to settle the matter "officially." The general consultor asked Goriwoda whether he had received the letter of August 17 (September 4, 1908). When no answer arrived, Weigang sent a registered letter and ordered him under obedience to inform him within 24 hours of receiving this letter whether he had received the letter of August 17 and had handed it to his two confreres in Noto Città (September 13, 1908).

Goriwoda confirmed having received the letter of August 17 as well as that of September 4 and 13, and having handed the enclosed letters to Frs. Simeon Heimann and Polycarp Sortino. Goriwoda had addressed this letter (probably not by mistake) to the Congregation for Religious (September 21) which in turn handed this "stray letter" to the motherhouse. From this Weigang could see that Goriwoda had received all three letters, but had not complied with the request of August 17 within 8 days, as ordered, and thus had lost his franchise.

Goriwoda answered that he had been compelled to participate in illegal voting. Weigang defended himself against his distorting of reality. The generalate had forced nobody to vote. It only wanted to be sure that he and his two confreres had received the

announcement of the 3rd balloting (August 17 and September 29, 1908). Weigang requested the return of the ballots from the two “excluded priests” after receiving the second call for election (September 29, 1908).

1.17/27. II General Chapter, preparations. In a circular letter of April 8, 1908,* the superior general had convoked the General Chapter of the Society for Rome on October 9, 1908. Within a month the delegates were to be elected, and the members were to send in their proposals for the chapter to the generalate as soon as possible.

Pfeiffer immediately informed the Apostolic Visitor, keeping him continually abreast of chapter preparations. Fr. Antonio sent his “very dear Fr. Pancratius” a few words to give the capitulars once they arrived in Rome. At the same time he declared himself ready to come to Rome if his presence would be necessary. But he hoped this would not be the case. However, if it were, Pfeiffer should get permission from the pope through Cardinal Bisleti, to be absent from his diocese for so long.

Fr. Antonio urged the preparation of motions for the chapter based on the deliberations and proposals in his latest visitation report. At the same time, he asked for a list of the Society’s most important foundations (May 25, 1908).

In the meantime, many discontented members of the Society turned to the Apostolic Visitor presenting him their wishes and fears. Fr. Antonio informed Pfeiffer about his concerns:

I think it would be advantageous for the peace and protection of authority, if it [i.e., the chapter] could get a prudent president from outside. Considering the emotional disposition of these [capitulars] along with the possibilities of meeting people in Rome (even cardinals) with the means to give free vent to the intrigues of the evil-minded, one could do much damage to the Society and completely blunt any decisions of the chapter, even the most needed ones.

Then Fr. Antonio proposed his confrere, the General Definitor Fr. Clemens Gerum (with the agreement of the Congregation for

* On the previous day the Congregation for Religious had permitted this election by mail (A Rel 1145/17).

Religious), as president to the general chapter.* Pfeiffer was to contact this priest but not to say anything to Jordan, so as not to upset him. If Pancratius could propose someone else, he might do so (August 27, 1908). He answered Fr. Antonio, that he would wait for the arrival of the capitulars to hear their opinion. He thought, however, that they would not want an outside president (September 7, 1908).

Fr. Antonio was now seriously worried about the favorable outcome of the chapter. Even before he had received Pfeiffer's answer of September 7, he wrote to him about his doubts: an outside presider would be accepted by all: the superiors, the capitulars, and the Society at large. He would be accepted by the superiors because then they couldn't be accused of misusing their position or of despotism; by the capitulars because then they could be assured of their liberty. At the same time the delegates would be restrained

* Hugo Gerum was born in Moosburg, Landshut, November 28, 1868. He began his humanistic studies in the Abbey of Metten. On October 2, 1888, he entered the Discalced Carmelites in Reisach and received the name Clemens Maria ab Angelo Custode. After his profession, he completed his humanistic studies at the new gymnasium in Regensburg. There he dedicated himself to philosophical and theological studies and was ordained by Bishop Ignazio Senestrey on November 30, 1892. As at that time Fr. Clemens had very weak health, he celebrated his first Holy Mass as "a low Mass at the Shrine of Altötting where St. Br. Konrad von Parzham had served as an altar boy.

After completing studies in 1894, Fr. Clemens was assigned to the Monastery of Schwandorf-Kreuzberg. From 1879 to 1900 he served as its sub prior. From 1901-1904, together with four other of his confreres from his home province, he taught "*Apsotolischen Seminar*" in the Archdiocese of Verapoly, Putempally in India. He returned home in 1904 and was elected provincial superior in 1906.

Just one year later Fr. Clemens, because of his linguistic talents was called to the generalate, to which he belonged for 30 years as definator. During WW I, he stayed in Würzburg as the General's delegate to Bavaria and Austro-Hungary. In 1921, he returned to Rome. After 1937, his physical strength diminished markedly. In 1940, the gravely sick man was taken to his home monastery in Regensburg where he peacefully died on December 3, 1940. Fr. Clemens was an exemplary Carmelite and much esteemed in clerical circles in Rome. He was always welcome by Pius X and his sister. His life was one of "loving service."

particularly in regard to their aspirations, which might be contrary to the aim intended by the Founder. Finally an outside visitor would be accepted by the Society at large because a dangerous period would have been concluded safely. Fr. Antonio would have preferred to preside over the chapter personally. Everyone would find that to be obvious. But for this, the chapter would have to be postponed until the last days of October and the first days of November.

Fr. Antonio admonished the generalate to give up any egoism and to consider only the future of the Society as the present chapter would be decisive for its destiny. He added the warning that he might eventually be compelled to tell the Holy See that he must immediately lay down his office of Visitor: "I do not know, what the latter would do then. You know that the Society would have drowned long ago because of the defections, if I had not defended it as I have defended it" (September 9, 1908). A week later Fr. Antonio returned to his proposal:

I am longing for an immediate answer regarding the presidency of the chapter: my remarks in the letter to Fr. Bonaventure show the situation of the mentalities and compel greater prudence. Let me know the opinion of the generalate, and I will present to the Holy See my opinion and the one of the generalate. Then let happen what may! We find ourselves strong (September 16, 1908).

When Fr. Antonio had received no answer within 3 days (an impossibility in regard to time) he informed Pfeiffer that he had presented his proposal to the Congregation:

For the defense of the superiors, for the liberty of the capitulars, and for the decisions and elections of the chapter to be just and incontestable, an outsider shall preside. [At the same time he recommended a competent *Uditore*.] For the choice of the person one could confidentially consult Fr. Pancratius, General Procurator of the Society; based on his good assessment of the best members and his honesty (Fr. Antonio wrote his Riservato on this letter to Pfeiffer, September 19, 1908).

On September 22, Fr. Antonio excused himself for doing this, saying that he had received the generalate's answer too late. He had had to act according to his responsibility. He had proposed as president Clemens Gerum, a "prudent and resolute man." Pfeiffer should contact him. Already the next day, the Bishop of Caltanissetta sent a

short letter. Pfeiffer might ask Fr. Clemens, but he should act as he thought best. He would be content if Pancratius would not get him [Fr. Antonio] mixed up in his plans (September 23, 1908).

At the same time, the Apostolic Visitor turned to the Prefect of the Congregation for Religious. He called the attention of Cardinal Ferrata to the coming general chapter of the Salvatorians and reminded him of the many charges against the superiors of the Society, which had been submitted during the previous 6 years, as well as the numerous departures from the Society, "because they could not live quietly there."

Recently, the ugly talk had decreased partly because the most discontent ones had left, partly because the Second General Chapter was so near. Fr. Antonio underscored, that the good ones as well as the others were convinced that this chapter had to give the Society greater firmness, and eliminate the many dissents and the general uneasiness. Then Fr. Antonio expressed his fear that the chapter might not be regulated or free. Just that day he had received a letter from some members asking him to give the chapter a zealous, impartial non-Salvatorian president, because on this chapter hung the existence of the Society. Fr. Antonio recognized that these fears and hopes might perhaps be exaggerated. Nevertheless, as the Visitor of the Society it was his duty to propose that the Congregation name an outside president. This would help to protect the superior, to insure the perfect freedom of the capitulars, and to guarantee that the elections and decisions of the chapter would not be disputed but respected. Then Fr. Antonio added, one could confidently turn to Fr. Pfeiffer, whose prudent judgement and sincerity were beyond doubt, and who was one of the best Salvatorians (September 19, 1908).

In an attached letter to the responsible *Uditore*, the Apostolic Visitor declared that it was impossible for he himself to preside at the chapter during the first days of October, as he had work to do in Calabria, and postponing the chapter til the last days of October was not desirable.

The generalate didn't favor an outside president. They preferred Fr. Antonio himself (September 29). Fr. Antonio answered, that it was impossible for him to be in Rome on October 9. He could come only in mid-November. To accept Fr. Clemens as his representative but not as his lawful agent would not cause a stir.

Gerum was not only qualified, but additionally a German. Fr. Antonio admonished the superiors once more to do everything so the chapter would run “smoothly and peace-fully according to God’s will” (October 1, 1908). Pfeiffer telegraphed him that the generalate agreed to his proposal.

On October 2, the Congregation met and decided to name Fr. Clemens Gerum, OCD as president of the Second General Chapter. He received the mandate the following day through the Cardinal Prefect. On October 5, Fr. Antonio was informed that he was authorized to delegate his confidante to preside at the Salvatorian chapter (A Rel 3089/17).

1.18/28. II General Chapter, protest. Of the 36 capitulars, 30 had arrived in Rome. To the great displeasure of Jordan the confreres from North and South America had not come (G-2.2). Chapter President Gerum admonished the capitulars from the very start to elect for the government of the Society men whom they considered before God to be the worthiest—excelling in prudence, a spirit of prayer and pastoral vigilance.

The minutes of the chapter were kept extremely brief. They are written in stiff, conference Latin. The minutes say nothing about the discussions in the plenary sessions nor about the negotiations and agreements in the commissions or in other groups.

After examining the few cast ballots, the generalate had named Fr. Romuald Goriwoda of Noto Città and Fr. Firmus Türk of the Scala as delegates to the general chapter. By telegram they were summoned to Rome. Their arrival was expected in the afternoon of October 9. But only the superior of Noto Città arrived, complaining about being called to the chapter too late. Pfeiffer then explained the reason for the delay.

Goriwoda had sent one letter of Prefect Cardinal Ferrata, and another to the superior general but he had mixed up the addresses. (The Congregation sent the letter (September 28) addressed to Fr. General to Pfeiffer with the remark that it was not the postman between Fr. Romuald and his highest superior.) Equally, Goriwoda was accused of having passed on neither the ballots of the confreres nor the letter of the general-ate to his subordinates in proper time. In this way he had hindered the election of the delegates of the three Italian houses.

The president of the chapter asked Goriwoda whether he agreed with the statement of the general procurator. He replied: he could not recognize the chapter as corresponding to the law. His reasons, however, he could submit only in writing, because they involved long and subtle explanations. The chapter proposed that Goriwoda should submit his problem to the Congregation for Religious. He declared himself ready: under protest he left what seemed to him an "unlawful chapter" without taking part.

In the meantime, a complaint arrived at the chapter from the superior of Porto di Recanati. They had received all chapter preparation documents very late. Jordan declared that all the lateness had been caused by the superior of Noto Città. Fr. Hilarius Gog criticized the generalate for not proceeding more strictly and also for troubling the Congregation. Jordan only replied that they had proceeded strictly, but the superior of Noto had withheld the generalate's letters. Gog requested an examination of the matter by the chapter. The chapter decided to entrust this to a commission which should also hear Goriwoda. The commission was elected (5 capitulars, none of whom was on the newly-elected generalate) and called under obedience each member of the two houses of Noto to express himself to the chapter in regard to the procedures followed in electing the capitulars. The president signed this letter personally as *mandatum Capituli* (October 12).

On October 19, the answer from the two houses in Noto arrived: they did not have the documents at their disposal. They had sent all to Goriwoda, who was to represent them at the General Chapter (Noto, October 15, 1908; Scala, October 17, 1908).

On the last day of the chapter those present ruled on the claim of Goriwoda: that the elections to the general chapter had been invalid and therefore the chapter itself illegitimate. The capitulars unanimously denied the charge. (The chapter had already decided to dissolve the community in Noto Città.)*

* In his beatification testimony Fr. Simeon Heimann, deputy and rival of Goriwoda, still returns to the unpleasant matter. His presentation is a bit distorted, just as it had remained in his memory.

By order of the General Administration all the members of Noto had to send their ballots directly to the generalate without letting the local superior know. My local superior, a certain Fr. Romuald Gorivada (he later left the Society) claimed to know who the priests had nominated. As a result each

In the afternoon of the same day Goriwoda turned to the Congregation for Religious. Cardinal Ferrata ordered him to submit the reasons for his procedure against the general chapter.

Returned to Noto, he expressed to the president of the general chapter in detail, the three reasons why he could not recognize the general chapter as canonically proper:

1. The chapter was not convoked at least 6 months before it convened. The circular bore the date April 8. But not all capitulars had received it in April, and the general secretary should explain why and by whose order he had backdated the letter.*
2. The circular letter contained "admonitions" which made a public letter legally invalid. (Jordan had in fact concluded the letter asking the blessing of the Lord for all, humbly praying: "that He may always guard your hearts and your minds.")
3. The elections in Noto had not been made by secret ballot and were consequently invalid. The results of the voting had been compiled on a paper, which had been sent to Rome. (In reality Goriwoda had transcribed the ballots onto the list of the electors

one abstained from voting; the matter was referred to the superior general. However, no pre-cautions were taken, instead Fr. Goriwoda was called to Rome in time to take part in the chapter, although none had elected him.

Heimann stressed this had been a lapse of prudence on the part of the superior general, because he had always been ready to agree with the local superior in spite of all protests of the subordinates, and had never listened to the latter. This was the only point which he had disliked in the Founder, who had otherwise lived virtue heroically, i.e., with firmness and perseverance (Sum § 233).

* In reality, the circular letter had been worked out before. On April 7, the Congregation's consent to the proposed groups of electors arrived. On April 8, Jordan signed the letter of convocation. What day it was mailed is irrelevant.

Fr. Francis of the Cross was quite exact in regard to dates. His secretary at the time, Fr. Magnus Wambacher (from 1900 to 1915), had his relevant experiences. "When I one day gave a document to be signed, in which I had anticipated the date by 2 days, he refused his signature: I had to submit the document again after 2 days" (Sum § 1312).

This scrupulous exactness often tries the patience of his nearer collaborators.

and kept the "blank ballots" of the electors with himself. These ballots were to him the proof that "the voting was not secret, but uniform.")

Since July, Goriwoda had been arguing with the generalate (not with Jordan who was on a visitation trip). Their answers proved to him not only the absence of all good will, but also ignorance and malignity. The consulta in fact supposed, "that I had to stay in Noto, without regard to the fact that I was the superior of two communities."

He had sent to the generalate a formal invitation, which was registered at the Congregation. Pfeiffer had declared this invitation a private one and "slyly" excused himself for not having answered it. Of his election to the chapter he had been informed only on October 7. Thus he could not arrive in time, for among other reasons, because he had to hand over the church and house to his vicar.

From this it follows that my being late was not accidental, and neither was the beginning of the chapter, but it was all a fine web of circum-stances meant to eliminate all defects and to throw sand into the eyes of the Congregation so that they should not notice it.

In addition, Goriwoda wanted to prove "that the elections for the small houses took place for the purpose of fraud—the will to do evil with unlawful means." When the superior general had come for visitation in May 1908, Goriwoda had declared to him that he, who in matters of canon law was known as "very rigorous," would "in personal matters yield only if proved." The proof, however, "had been unfavorable, because the Congregation had decided differently from what Goriwoda had indicated." Therefore, he had not answered a number of letters and telegrams from Rome. And when the general procurator had been sent, he too had to return "without having been informed about the motive for his silence."

When later Fr. Simeon Heimann had stopped in Rome, returning from his holidays (August 13, 1908), he had carefully investigated and passed on "confidential information" to Goriwoda in Noto. Heimann was bitter "for having been deceived with the hope of superiority of the two united houses." Therefore, in protest he had not cast his ballot, not even when he had received the order under the vow of obedience, "either to elect or to send in his waiver of the election."

Goriwoda then indicated some of the confidential information. Above all, Rome would not like him as a capitular, "because, as Lüthen wrote to me, the general consulta would not want to be burdened with such a cross."

Lüthen had let Heimann review all he had written, and had authorized him to receive all the mail sent to Noto. The community of the Scala "had not only abstained from voting, it hadn't even sent in a blank paper." Thus he had been the only one elected by the two priests of his house. Heimann is said to have been promised that he would become the superior in Noto if he succeeded in keeping the actual superior away from the chapter. The latter would then be sent to the school in Assam.

Goriwoda's final judgement on himself was: "that he was not so bad toward others with the exception of the general administration of the Society who couldn't 'put up with him'" (Noto, October 10, 1908).

Chapter President Gerum easily understood that these sophistic and provocative charges were not made to defend canon law, but that the pig-headed priest was driven by personal ambition. The general chapter had no way out but to close the small community in Noto Città.

Thus on November 4, 1908, Bishop Blandini was informed of the dissolution of the community. Goriwoda was called to Rome and asked by the generalate whether he wished to go to the Scala. He declined to return to Noto as a simple priest (November 7) and was transferred to Tivoli (November 23).*

In the following year, Goriwoda found acceptance nearer to his home, in Wall-Meseritsch. In 1910, he came to the new community in Brünn Hussowice. In retrospect he felt very worried because he had let himself be carried away in Noto by his deep craving for recognition. Finally, he asked Jordan to allow him to leave the SDS because he would soon be a burden to the Society.

By unfavorable circumstances and by my own faults I let myself be carried away to affront my superiors. Since that time I am dissatisfied with myself and am suffering much in regard to my

* On December 2, Pfeiffer went to Noto to conclude the dissolution of the community in Noto Città. He returned to Rome, December 11. Whether he returned via Caltanissetta is unknown.

nerves. According to the opinion of the physicians I shall soon be incapable of work. [He asked Jordan's] pardon for my daring (February 20, 1913).

Jordan immediately assured him of his full pardon and asked him heartily to forget it all, as he himself had forgotten it. Goriwoda should "try to persevere in faith." Jordan promised to provide a remedy, so he might again find satisfaction and become as happy as before" (March 1, 1913).

Jordan also sent the provincial of Vienna to Goriwoda to deter him from this step. Fr. Romuald, however, found himself "obliged in conscience to approach once more the kindness of the Venerable Father." Jordan should allow him to leave, "I find it hard to take this step and it is certainly most disagreeable to me: but to me it is a question of life" (April 5, 1914).

Jordan wanted to make another attempt with a transfer. But the new vicar general, Fr. Albert Hauser, was against it. Through Pfeiffer, Goriwoda received permission by July 17, 1913 to stay outside the community for one year to find a bishop. On September 8, 1914, received by the Archdiocese of Prague, his vows could be dissolved (cf., Goriwoda letter of October 13, 1914 from Altzedlisch b. Tachau).

1.19/29. II General Chapter, elections. In the afternoon of October 9, the first item was the election of the superior general. In each of the first two ballots Jordan received only 15 votes. This was a clear vote of mistrust in his style of administration from the side of an influential group. Jordan would now have to answer for what these capable and self-assured Salvatorians had not been able to realize in February 1906: the election of a new generalate. Their top candidate for general was Fr. Christopher Becker, who received 6, that is 8, votes. Some capitulars remained undecided.

In the 3rd balloting, 18 capitulars decided for the Founder. With this narrow result Jordan had now to resume the office of superior general. Pfeiffer particularly mentioned this humiliating voting result at the canonical process. He valued it as a proof of an "*accentuata tendenza contraria al Servizio di Dio.*" Nobody had called in question that Jordan was led by the best intentions. However, some were dissatisfied with his "indecision in governing." They attributed this to his scrupulousness and strict exactness (*meticolosità*). Thus

certain desired reforms had never been implemented. Pfeiffer does not indicate which (Sum § 54).

The group of "Several Salvatorians" did not content itself with the vote of no confidence toward the Founder. They treated Lüthen still worse. He was not re-elected to the general administration.

The superior of Vienna II, Fr. Theophilus Muth, who had been elected vicar general, refused at first to accept the election, saying: "We have made ourselves ridiculous forever." But finally he had to yield. Those who finally had their chance lobbied so strongly that Pfeiffer admonished them to restraint: "We must also consider that Venerable Father is our Founder, that we have joined him, not he us" (DSS III 134f; cf., 200, 202).

Weigang was compensated with the office of secretary. It was then proposed that Lüthen should keep the second place in the Society into the future and be subject directly to the superior general. Lüthen, of course, declined this privilege and only after much urging from the capitulars could he be persuaded to accept this *mandatum Capituli*. Then followed the elections of the various commissions (finances, studies, mission and religious discipline).

On October 14, the chapter sent a letter of thanks to Fr. Antonio in Caltanissetta and informed him of the election results. The Apostolic Visitor first congratulated Pfeiffer on his re-election as general procurator. This was of the greatest benefit to the Society, the best result one could have wished. Believing that with the new generalate the whole Society would calm down, he expressed himself satisfied. Then Fr. Antonio added his personal thoughts. He found Jordan's current situation difficult (with this small margin of majority-votes). But he had foreseen it, because the calm that followed in the wake of the previous general chapter had been only apparent.

I thank God for having inspired me to want a president for the chapter. Otherwise, it would have produced results which might have endangered the very existence of the Society. Fr. Francis of the Cross should now resign; he could do so honorably after his re-election. I think that he cannot easily understand this necessity. But I am convinced that at present he could do nothing better. After a year he would have regained the love of all, and would have become what he had been in the first years of the foundation of the Society.

With his prayers and advice he assisted the new generalate. Then Fr. Antonio expressed his hope that the new generalate would enjoy greatest confidence, and that in the future no one would take refuge in unlawful or illegal remedies, as had happened in the past. Fr. Antonio wished to meet with Pfeiffer as soon as he would be in Rome. In the meantime, he admonished him to unending patience. In grave cases the general procurator should immediately contact him before negotiating with the Holy See. "You know that I have unlimited trust in you and wish nothing else but to help you to do some good to the Society" (October 18, 1908).

Jordan, of course, could not consider it his duty, just now after 6 stormy years, to hand over the rudder of the Society, even after he came to know what premature conclusions the Apostolic Visitor had drawn from the poor election results. He owed this also to the solid majority who truly stood with him. And he could not let himself be pushed out by the strong minority who wanted to lead the Society into a "calmer future." Rather he knew himself challenged to defend the apostolic universal spirit of the Society. In addition, the still mounting debt was covered less by mortgages on unproductive study houses than by the personal credit which Jordan enjoyed.

It is surprising that Fr. Antonio placed so much confidence in the new general consults. In fact, he did not know the individual members personally. They themselves were for the most part inexperienced in matters of leadership with the exception of the vicar general, Muth, and he fled after one year, returning to his beloved Vienna Kaisermühlen.

Compared with the consultors they replaced, the newly elected ones performed rather moderately. However, they did not have to confront years as critical as those their predecessors had faced. In addition, Jordan could be content with them, for none of the new consultors had been among the "Several Salvatorians." Fr. Antonio soon found his way in this new situation, and never neglected to add greetings and good wishes to "Fr. General" in his follow up letters to the general procurator.

1.20/30. Lüthen. For Jordan it was more than a relief that Lüthen stayed in the motherhouse after General Chapter II, and that he kept the first place in the Society after the Founder. Now Jordan could

deliberate with him as before, and have him dispatch much of his correspondence. Lüthen himself never thought about leaving Rome in his later years. To the superior of Welkenraedt, who invited him to come for holidays, he answered: "But I away from Rome? *Scribam!*" (March 20, 1907).

Lüthen never discussed the Second General Chapter. Only to the superior of Rio, with whom he always kept a very heartfelt and personal exchange of letters, did he reveal something about the happenings. He did so in his mild and benevolent way:

For a long time I have not given any news. The general chapter laid claim on my attention. You may have wondered that I am no longer at my post. Younger forces were wanted and they did not want to re-elect the former General Consultor. (Thank God, out of office without second thoughts.) The general chapter has especially worked to improve studies and has also taken beneficial resolutions (November 2, 1908).

Lüthen submitted with no bitterness, humbly bowing to the new situation. He recognized the will of God even in this less than loving slight. In reality some did not want to reelect any of the former generalate, because in this way they could separate Lüthen from the Founder and thus better check the Founder through a new slate of consultors.

At that time, many capitulars saw no other way to counter-balance the administrative direction of the two founders except to tear them from one another. If in the end they did not want to assume the blame for pushing the Founder aside, they wanted at least to separate the influential official counselor from Jordan.

They reproached Fr. Bonaventure [Lüthen] for siding too unconditionally with the Founder, Venerable Father as Divine Providence destines him, but the latter was by his rigorous conscientiousness often hindered from taking necessary decisions quickly enough. (Gerum, Sum § 364; cf., Pfeiffer in DSS III, 134).

Pfeiffer stated some decades later the real reason for the capitulars' actions at that time:

The will of the Founder toward him [i.e., Lüthen] was decisive. He never tried to push his opinion through against the will of the Founder. Fr. Thomas [Weigang] thought similarly. Thus it happened not rarely, that there were 3 votes against 2, making it

difficult to overrule the Founder. This prompted the election of new consultors (DSS III, 201).*

* Pancratius indicates here a statement, which in the notorious “pre-convention” to the Second General Chapter decisively checkmated the Founder-duo. The charge that in the general consulta elected in 1902, the three older members easily and at will outvoted the younger ones seemed so clear and self-evident to all that it could easily be taken at face value.

Since the First General Chapter it was said again and again, and ever more frequently, that the generalate was split 3 against 2. However, “youthful levity” also contributed to this affirmation, which in fact could not be substantiated. It was clear to everyone that Jordan deliberated in all matters conscientiously with Lüthen before presenting anything to the consulta. Preceding this way was completely lawful. On the other hand, Jordan was scrupulously concerned that each one could vote according to his conscience and responsibility. All decisions were made strictly in secret. Thus from a result of 3 to 2 one could in no way conclude that the older ones had outvoted the younger consultors. The general procurator, Pfeiffer, by the way, had no voting right.

In the years between the First and Second General Chapter, the minutes show that 264 General Council meetings took place. 655 deliberative secret votes were cast. At only 85 council meetings were all 5 members present. From March 1903 to November 1904 (with one month of interruption in February/March), only 4 members were staying in Rome, because one consultor had been “lent out” to Lochau as building supervisor. From April 1905 to the end of November 1907, there were again only 4 members, because the previously mentioned general consultor was permanently transferred to Lochau, and much time passed before a substitute could be found and elected from among the few priests who could absent themselves from their posts.

In the 85 fully attended General Council meetings there were 210 secret votes. Of these, 155 were 5 to 0, and only 12 were 3 to 2. The remaining results were mostly 4 to 1. In the 142 sessions, in which only 4 members were active, the result of 290 votes was 4 to 0.

When only 4 members were present, Jordan could with the assent of church authorities call in the president of the motherhouse with full voting rights for important consultations. He did so in 26 meetings, in which, however, the voting result was never 3 to 2. During Jordan’s summer trips less important matters (e.g., admissions, admittance to profession) could be discussed and decided. All this shows that the ominous “three against two” was a false coin.

Once again in a late retrospect Pfeiffer said about Lüthen: "To him Jordan was not only superior, but Founder of the Society. Therefore, his measures were decisive above all. This standpoint is emphatically defended by Lüthen." When Jordan had another opinion, in spite of Lüthen's keeping his own, "Then he complied, easily accepting his [Jordan's] opinion. And in doing so, he saw in this the way of Providence, as he repeatedly told me" (DSS III, 134).

Lüthen viewed himself as more than a yeah-sayer out of religious obedience. Particularly in decisive moments he was a dissenter, who the Lord had put at Jordan's side as co-Founder. Before having the office and dignity of vicar general, he fought unswervingly as co-Founder in the difficult times of laying the Society's foundations. As vicar general he dedicated himself to his assigned tasks with mildness and energy, and did not let himself be puzzled in the worst times of crises. His responsibility was not only founded in religious obedience, but in his special vocation and in the firm conviction, which in the course of years had been deepened, that Jordan had started his work not by himself but that he had been driven by God.

Precisely in the difficult situations Jordan had to face, Lüthen showed himself his true, more or less defenseless yet courageous co-fighter. It must be remembered how decidedly Lüthen had prevented the Apostolic Teaching Society from becoming a vassal of the Cassianum (1880). Remember also his effective intervention for the Founder to repel the intruder Jacquemin (1884). Remember also how Lüthen always resisted the yoke of the Apostolic Visitor and quite frankly defended the Founder against overly harsh intellectual patronizing. Remember also Lüthen's open and clever involvement for the honor of the Founder and the welfare of the Society in the stormy years 1902 and 1908. Finally, remember the independent and reliable way in which he as vicar general carried out his responsibilities in the election procedures as custodian of Salvatorian religious discipline, and as agent of the often misunderstood aim of the Founder. No other Salvatorian recognized and accepted Jordan as Founder with as true persuasion as Lüthen did.

Of the young generation Fr. Paulus Pabst, who succeeded Lüthen as novice master, was probably the Salvatorian who best understood Jordan's intentions and made them his own. Equally capable Salvatorian pioneers (Pfeiffer included) remained distant

from Jordan's apostolic planning. To them it seemed rather unrealistic. They contented them-selves with a firmly regulated, governable institute, as envisioned by the Apostolic Visitor.

1.21/31. II General Chapter, continuing dissent. Before the proper start of the general chapter a group of capitulars held a "pre-meeting," to discuss replacing the old generalate. After the very humiliating voting results for the sitting generalate, Jordan along with the outgoing general consultors protested this "pre-meeting." Jordan even considered having the legality of this procedure examined by the Congregation. Gerum, the chapter president, dissuaded him because it would provoke a bad result for the Society. However, the new vicar general, Fr. Theophilus Muth, considered the election result some-how disreputable. "The new general-ate is a continuous demonstration against the former generalate and the [First] General Chapter." One could even hear the accusation of "cam-paigning." Some priests who felt attacked, defended them-selves against such a reproach (October 12, Session 6).

Jordan took up this subject in the aula the next day. He said he didn't want to insist that in Rome itself electioneering had occurred. The priests who had defended themselves against this reproach enjoyed his full trust. He was glad they had already engaged themselves for the Society so much; may God reward them for everything.

Becker was not satisfied with Jordan's declaration. He had not been among those who had defended themselves, but he had been blamed for "agitation" because of his lobbying for the mission. Jordan stated once more that he had not affirmed that agitation in the strict sense had taken place. Furthermore, the mission was a separate matter and was not connected with the question being treated at present.

Muth, the new vicar general, now tried to calm everyone. He pointed out that Jordan had only intended to eliminate tensions and mutual discord. He asked the superior general to forgive and forget, and to give them all full trust. Jordan must not be offended or grieved, if in the discussions one or the other word had been said, which might be interpreted as an accusation (October 13, Session 7).

1.22/32. II General Chapter, deliberations. Difficulties also arose in mutual understanding. Jordan saw himself too often on the dock for his "organizational faults." He feared that now the Society would be limited only to the "German base" and the Assam Mission. He felt too strongly pressed to the wall by the newer confreres. Once he defended himself harshly: "In this tendency to press me down you bring up what is negative, seldom what is positive."

Gerum, the chapter president, contradicted him pointedly: no capitulars had any such attitude. Jordan, however, did not give in at once. Bitterly he complained: "I am taken by surprise. For years they have stored up everything. They can present themselves with more eloquence than I" (October 19, Session 14). Jordan suffered deeply from the discord, which marked the whole chapter. Once more he expressed his concern in regard to the aim of the Society, when the Apostolic Prefect presented the motion that the Society be required to set free two missionaries for Assam in 1908, and in each subsequent year till 1915.

Apart from the actual impossibility of enacting such an ordinance, Jordan felt a most unfair mistrust of the generalate, which was responsible for sending missionaries. He almost gave vent to his displeasure:

Whatever the great talkers want is adopted. I am very sorry North America and Galizia are completely ignored. They will just get what remains. Already yesterday I said that everything should be left to the generalate; and if one doesn't trust it that much, one dismisses it.

After a break, the tensions in the chapter grew even hotter. Fr. Hilarius Gog remarked coolly: "Others [i.e., other orders] know what they want, but to date we don't know what we want." Jordan answered: "We want to form Salvatorians. We are not a mission society; thus we cannot work exclusively for the missions." Gog did not give in, but repeated "We have no true aim. This had been written in the newspaper. By the way, that might be meant for him [Jordan?]. But he publicly declared himself completely distanced from this paper blizzard." Jordan thought forming capable Salvatorians was a natural pre-condition for the Society to reach its main purpose. Jordan could only stress once more: our aim is good apostolic religious. Missions are one of our tasks among others (October 26, Session 26).

Afterwards they negotiated the proposal to partition the Society into provinces. To Jordan this discussion was premature. A few days before, he had illustrated his opinion in a discussion: Yes, it was necessary to erect provinces. This he had intended for a long time, but until today he had been hindered by great difficulties. He hoped to be able to erect provinces as soon as possible. To the question of Fr. Bonfilius Loretan, what Jordan understood by "as soon as possible," the Founder answered: in a year.

The capitulars came to an agreement that bypassed the Founder. They didn't want to be criticized for being too inactive, which is what had been said about the delegates to the First General Chapter. With a large majority the Society was divided into seven provinces. The division was evidently a geographically makeshift solution (Italian, German, Slavic, Austrian, Anglo-Belgian, North American, South American).*

The next urgent motion was the request to regulate the courses of studies. They decided that any secondary school teachers must have passed his final examinations, he should have completed special studies at a university, and where it was required he should also undergo the state examinations. Each year at least two newly-ordained priests were to be selected and set free for studies leading to a teaching certification. The next day an exception was made: at present, in case of need, the final examination alone would suffice for teaching. The length of the humaniora should be set by the provinces, but it should be at least 6 years and in Germany and Austria 7. The generalate should designate a community in Austria or Germany (Meran) for late vocations. Talented pupils should be able to take the final examination at a public school. The next discus-

* The community of Tivoli, following the wish of the local superior, was incorporated into the Italian Province, while its property and debts remained with the generalate. On the contrary, the superior of Meran wanted his house to stay subject directly to the generalate. But he got no hearing from the capitulars.

On October 16, a motion was made that *Annales* be published every two months. Jordan remarked that at present no priests could be set free for this task. The editor of *Der Missionär*, however, wanted only one issue of *Annales* per year. Thus the motion was defeated by a large majority.

sions concerned determining provinces and their governments.

Debate over the Assam Mission took 2½ days (cf., 1.23)

When the general procurator spoke about finances, he began cleverly with a letter from the Apostolic Visitor urging the capitulars to give full attention and concern to this difficult matter. Pfeiffer next requested a consolidation of forces, particularly in favor of the study houses. Hamont should keep 6 classes, to form primarily those destined for Assam and the USA. It was then decided to transfer the novitiate from Rome to Hamberg and also to teach them philosophy (without mathematics). The yearly contribution for students should be moderate, but something should be required. The provinces had to fix the amount of the contribution.

To Jordan "the study plan was set too high" (G-2.2). He was concerned above all for the good formation of priests. So he was against compressing philosophy and philology in an 8th and 9th class. Shortening philosophy to one year he believed was "not allowed" by canon law. He also warned again against a "hurry regarding theological studies" (G-2.2). He was further convinced that the 5-year humaniora course was sufficient for many priests, presupposing "necessary talents and good teachers." Learning goals should be oriented according to each country, "but also adding something more" (October 21, G-2.2). Jordan was pleased when Gog assured him, "our studies have improved." Jordan reminded the director of studies in Lochau: "Fr. Justinian [Pfeiffer] is ¾ blind and is still working much as a good teacher."

Above all, Jordan feared a decrease in the number of new priests: "The Society has fewer members today than at the last general chapter. Only a few priests" (G-2.2). He composed for himself a list of 5 reasons for his position on studies:

- 1) those so quickly ordained are so excellent. Panama, Cartagena, Assam and Drognens;
- 2) contribution agreed on beforehand;
- 3) thousands and thousands lose their salvation for lack of priests, e.g. South America, Colombia, Fr. Felix [Bucher, USA];
- 4) those will stand up at the Last Judgment. Forced into by the press (hounding). Our aim: glory of God and salvation of souls: at the Judge-ment they will rise if we do not help them. Although we were able to;
- 5) Oh, that all were as zealous about [religious] observance as they are about study (G-2.2).

Jordan pointed to Janssen's group and to the Franciscans in Germany and Austria, who contented themselves with 6 years of humaniora, as did the gymnasium in Freiburg, Switzerland. "Prolonging studies would demand still more teachers." To that he added military service, and that "we had to refuse many good vocations" (G-2.2).

With bitter irony Jordan remarked: "A congregation destined for all nations and countries wants to form all its members according to the German system" (G-2.2). But the switches had already been definitely thrown regarding the long awaited "reforms" suggested by the study commission set up by the First General Chapter. The young, aggressive generation saw Jordan's view as surpassed and out of date.

The general chapter decided to close down the two houses of Los Angeles and Noto Città. About closing the house in Zagreb the generalate should decide. Furthermore, the general procurator had his proposal accepted: that all colleges, with the exception of study houses, should pay a yearly contribution to the generalate, which it should in turn distribute to the study houses. The study house in Freiburg should take over the unpaid expenditures of Drognens. The latter should continue to strive to get stipends from the canton governments.

October 28, at 11:00, Pius X received the capitulars in audience. Before concluding, the general chapter reproached the superior of Noto Città for suggesting that it had been illegitimate and its elections invalid. They rejected such an accusation as unfounded. The general procurator proposed calling their houses "Salvatorian Colleges" and not "Marian Colleges" as they had up til then. This would better correspond to its actual name: Society of the Divine Savior. The proposal was accepted.*

1.23/33. II General Chapter and the Assam Mission. Becker, the Apostolic Prefect, had prepared himself carefully for the general chapter. He also knew that all the capitulars would have an open ear

* The chapter also ordered brothers to wear beards, and allowed each member to have a summer and a winter mantle in the "Havelock" style used in some countries. The motion to make wearing the rosary optional was defeated.

for the Assam Mission, its wishes and sorrows. After Assam missionary Fr. Dominicus Daunderer was elected general consultor and had accepted the election by telegraph, Becker declared that Propaganda Fide would agree to the election. He, however, could only agree if Jordan would promise to send another qualified priest to Assam to replace Daunderer. But Jordan couldn't give an assurance immediately. He wanted first to be sure there was a priest ready for the mission. The chapter asked Jordan and Becker to agree between themselves before approaching the Propaganda. Soon after, Jordan wrote in his notes from the general chapter: "Already found a missionary to replace Fr. Dominicus" (G-2.2).

The opposing stands of the superior general and the Apostolic Prefect were often and bitterly discussed in the general chapter. Jordan felt somehow threatened that Becker in the presentation on the mission he had handed to the capitulars, expressly stressed that if his requests couldn't be complied with it was the duty of the Society to return the mission to the Propaganda completely or partly. Jordan felt this put the chapter under too much pressure. He declared frankly his fundamental attitude: "Fr. Christopher has the holy duty to do whatever he was able to do. I have the order to intervene when too much is requested." Becker did not want to let things stand as they were: his demands had met with the consent of all missionaries. "I would also like to know whether *Reverendissimo* [Jordan] is turning Propaganda against the mission" (October 13, Session 17).

A few days later another occasion arose for Becker to justify his stand. He defended himself against Jordan's statement that from Assam "had come the sharpest demands and threats." Above all he regarded the word "threats" (which Jordan had simply taken over from Fr. Antonio) as "base" and offensive. Jordan pointed out the letter which contained the expressed threat, "that the mission should be divided or taken away or that the Prefect would resign." Moreover, the Apostolic Prefect had already on his own handed in a petition to Propaganda, that the mission be "divided." "Let someone else tell me that this is not a threat." Jordan points out principally, "that the Propaganda could take the Mission away from us at any time, but that it would not prescribe to us you must send so-and-so many people." Becker replied that he viewed the Society as

completely incapable of satisfying the needs of the mission for the near future.

In the meantime, Becker's petition to Propaganda had been forwarded to the Episcopal Province, which would soon take up the question. Jordan made clear that he had not intended the word "threat" maliciously. He referred to the fact that he had not asked to take over the Assam Mission in the fall of 1889, but that he had been urgently requested by the Prefect of Propaganda to take over the region of Assam because nobody else wanted to accept it. At the time Jordan had considered it the will of God, but had only accepted, . . . within the abilities of the Society. Cardinal Agliardi said that he had been sorry for us that we had to take over the mission. The mission has 17 priests; the neighboring mission has not many more priests, although it [Assam] was much larger.

Becker was not satisfied: "It would be too low a thing for me to make a threat." Jordan could not, of course, involve the Bishop of Caltanissetta as the author of the expression. So he pointed to the utterances of the Apostolic Delegate of India and stated:

. . . this was the general impression: that the Apostolic Prefect might have urged too much. It is certainly to his honor, that he wants to do so much; but the mission is not the Society (October 19, Session 14).

From October 24 to 26, the chapter dealt with the mission. Becker made clear and well-aimed proposals. First he requested 3 mission procuras (Rome, Herbesthal, Wealdstone). Jordan doubted whether the required number of priests could be found to staff them along with the mission itself. Other capitulars spoke more optimistically. Becker's proposal was accepted: in Rome, Fr. Joseph Bergmiller was already in action; for Wealdstone, Fr. Stanislaus Weber was to be set free; in Herbesthal, Fr. Anselm Schauff was making efforts to collect funds for the mission. The rights and duties of these three mission procurators were also discussed. Becker insisted that they be accountable only to the mission superior.

To erect a mission center with a church to house the Apostolic Prefecture, Becker was promised a loan of 20,000 frs. A further request was that *Manna* and The Angels' League should be more engaged for the mission's orphanages. Before being sent out, the missionaries should spend a year in Wealdstone learning English

language and culture and acquiring basic medical knowledge. This request, however, was reduced to: "It is very desirable. . . ."

A further proposal of the Apostolic Prefect was that from fall 1908 till the next general chapter, two priests each year should be sent to Wealdstone to prepare themselves for Assam. Jordan remarked that in the coming years scarcely, and only with great difficulty, could so many priests be found ready to go to the mission.

Now Becker withdrew his request, but asked Jordan to promise him personally (*privat*) that he would do everything in his power to send the needed priests into the mission. Jordan had to feel this as covert mis-trust toward himself, as if he had shown too little interest in the mission until then. He answered curtly that he would consider the matter.

After the chapter Jordan remonstrated with the Apostolic Prefect for having presented the generalate's involvement with the mission up to now in a very bad a manner. Becker reported this in a memorandum:

Fazit ex parte Rev.mi [things done from the side of Jordan]

- 1) When he could, he spoke against mission proposals—one can say almost against all—although he sometimes compromised himself cruelly, e.g., Cardinal Melcher!
- 2) Ostentatiously abstained from voting on mission matters.
- 3) In spite of being urged from all sides, and although he wanted again to have enough personnel for the communities slated for closing: for the mission he wanted to give no assurance in regard to personnel.
- 4) In spite of greatest objectivity from my side, in all negotiations he said to me still on the morning of my departure from Rome: this is how you reward my continuous preference shown to you, that you work against me and the Society in such a way (A MA).

Becker found his opinion confirmed in General Chapter II: that Jordan neglected the Assam Mission. So he judged his own opposition to the superior general with good conscience as "objective" and fully justified.

Jordan stuck to his attitude toward Becker. He could not allow the Society to be oriented only toward Assam, especially because "the small number of scholastics will diminish more" (G-2.2). He also required the generalate to be involved in planning a "Mission House." On other questions he also required more "clarity re: mission" (G-2.2).

Jordan had briefly listed what already had been done for the Mission in Assam in spite of disasters, earthquakes, attacks, etc., (B-126), but concluded: "The situation in Assam is unendurable." It lacked a regular superior and thus it lacked a bond between the missionaries and the Society. "Without a Constitution there won't be order." Jordan was also dissatisfied with the financial relations between the mission superior and the Society, Jordan was dissatisfied: "Of much money we don't even know the total sum. What about the bequest of O'Brien?" (B-128, Soli).*

Jordan did not agree to the request, that the priests of the Society should assume complete care for the high school Becker planned to erect in Shillong. He wanted Christian School Brothers to staff this "European School" so that his priests could dedicate themselves to the proper mission work. He also wanted Becker to win over the Sisters of S. Angela Merici for the secondary school for European girls, after the hoped for SDS teaching sisters from USA refused, in order to continue dedicating themselves to the indigenous girls and to orphans.

Becker left immediately after the chapter to spend two weeks at his home. He then departed to his beloved mission on November 15 where construction of a convent school for European girls was under-way. The Sisters of S. Angela Merici whom he had enlisted were ready to open the school the coming spring. More space was also to be provided for the Salvatorian Sisters. On January 16, 5 sisters departed for the mission. By December 12, 1908, Becker wrote from Shillong:

Beloved Venerable Father, after a quite stormy voyage I am now back to my post to dedicate myself to the necessary and most urgent tasks. In high esteem signs with many greetings,
Yours very truly, Fr. Christophorus. M.

Jordan surely sighed deeply when these Christmas greetings arrived.

Each missioning ceremony was for Jordan an excellent occasion to stoke the mission zeal of the scholastics. His addresses

* The hitherto existing mission procura had sent about 200,000 francs to Assam since the founding of the mission. For the planned high schools, wealthy Englishmen had already contributed 20,000 francs. Unfortunately, the generalate never received an accounting from Becker.

were “captivating and filled us with enthusiasm” (Sum § 655). “In Rome he tried to inspire us above all for the missions” (Sum § 1183; cf., DSS XXIII). He surprised one scholastic by saying, perhaps you will have the good fortune one day to be sent by me to the missions (Sum § 655).

Unfortunately, General Chapter II’s mission resolutions did not start a new era for Assam. Only one priest went to Wealdstone in 1909, and from there to Assam. He as well as the priests already studying in Liverpool had to replace the missionaries returning to Europe. So there was no net gain. No Salvatorians were ever engaged in the high school. But in 1913, at least two more brothers joined those already in Shillong.*

The three mission procuras could in no way fulfill the expectations laid on them. Many bishops closed their dioceses to Salvatorian fund raising. In addition, the English at home, especially the Catholics, were often poorer than those in the colonies. The number of priests in Assam slowly declined, and there were only 10 left when in 1915 WWI sundered the connection between Society and mission for a long time, though not forever.

1.24/34. II General Chapter, close and implementation. In his Solomonic final address the chapter president stated: “All matters have been treated with the best good will and sincerely, I may say: in concord and peace.” Next, Gerum wished that the many good resolutions might not simply remain on paper. Then he invited the capitulars to thank God,

. . . who has given you such energy and such diligence. Everything has come out in brotherly love, although some sessions began with lightning and thunder, and differences of opinion sometimes arose. This, however, is not a sign of discord. In fact, how could we all be

* Up to General Chapter II, 17 priests had been posted to the mission, the highest number ever reached. Of the three priests trained in Liverpool, one took over the catechetical school, another died after only a few months of missionary activity. The third, who after 5 years of study earned a diploma in mathematics and physics had to take over an important station. The high school only opened after the missionaries had been interned for half a year because of the start of WW I.

of the same opinion? That would be objectionable and blameworthy. I express once more my joy over your love and trust.*

The president concluded the final session with an appeal for concord and love in the whole Society (October 29, Session 33).

The president sent the chapter minutes to the Apostolic Visitor for examination. Fr. Antonio stated that the chapter had done much very good work, and that he had nothing special to remark. However, he found the minutes too summary and required additional explanations, which were to be signed by the generalate.**

Regarding the wishes and questions presented to him, Fr. Antonio answered in writing. Above all he repeated that without his express agreement no new foundations were to be made. He proposed that the generalate should in secret balloting elect an Extraordinary Visitor for the missions and for the non-European houses, as Jordan was no longer up to such strains. The superior general could indeed name such a visitor on his own; however, if one were elected by the generalate he would be accepted with more trust.

Fr. Antonio would find it good if Jordan himself would propose the election of a visitor for the whole Society. An Extraordinary Visitor for the non-European houses was necessary at any rate. The Bishop of Caltanissetta urged particularly that each already existing house, or any future house, should have at least 6 members; 3 of whom were to be priests. Jordan had to take care that all houses had enough personnel; in regard to the smaller houses the generalate should determine whether these were to be dissolved. Gerum was to inform the generalate of Fr. Antonio's proposals (AGS, n.d.).

* These citations are taken from the German chapter notes of Fr. Evarist Mader, in which he notes happenings important to him. Although his minutes are in no way official, his quite realistic reports are credible. What is presented here are not direct quotations.

** The recording secretary was Fr. Simeon Heimann, head of the Humaniora Commission. He showed himself not fully satisfied with the course of the chapter. For personal reasons he had himself excused by the president and returned to Meran already on October 23.

The proposal of Fr. Antonio to elect an Extraordinary Visitor for the Society did not at first meet an echo. The new consultors as well as the soon-to-be-elected provincials should first accustom themselves to their new offices. Furthermore, the decisions of the chapter should first be tested in regard to their practicality. Only for Assam did Jordan press for an Extraordinary Visitor, especially given the independent course Becker was steering there. This task was entrusted to the missionary who had been elected general consultor: Fr. Dominicus Dauderer. He liked the assignment and remained another year in Assam; in the meantime his chair on the generalate remained unoccupied.

Immediately after General Chapter II, the general procurator began the procedure to have the division into provinces approved by the Congregation for Religious. The latter required the opinion of the Apostolic Visitor (December 5, 1908), who did not, however, favor small provinces. He urged the generalate to propose 3, and not more than 4 provinces (November 17, 1908).

The Bishop of Caltanissetta passed the generalate's final decision to the Congregation on January 23, 1909. The successor of Cardinal Ferrata, Cardinal Vives y Tuto, approved on February 8, 1909, the division into 4 provinces: Latin American, German, Austrian, and Anglo-American (A Rel 594/08).^{*} In addition, the statutes worked out by the general chapter for the provinces had to be revised by the generalate according to canonical norms (December 16, 1908, D-813). Fr. Antonio gave some indications from canon law.

Fr. Antonio was informed by Pfeiffer about the approved division into provinces and expressed himself quite content.

The holy congregation has accepted my proposals, which always conformed with the wishes of Fr. Pancratius. I shall be highly pleased when I have an occasion to favor the poor Society in all its concerns.

^{*} Giuseppe Calasanzio Vives y Tuto was born February 15, 1854 in S. Andrea de Levaneras (Diocese of Barcelona). He joined the Capuchins and from 1890, was consultor to the Inquisition, and from 1895 to Propaganda. Leo XIII named the pious and learned Capuchin a cardinal on June 19, 1899. Under Pius X his influence grew so that it was jokingly said: "*Tuto fa tutto*" (Tuto does it all). Beginning on October 26, 1908, Vives y Tuto directed the Congregation for Bishops and Religious. He died September 7, 1913, in Monteporzio near Rome.

Fr. Antonio added greetings to the superior general and to Msgr. Bisleti (February 20, 1909, D-819).

2. The Shadow of the Marian Double

In the years after the First General Chapter, Jordan was tested even more severely than in the first years of his foundations. After a promising expansion the Society began to stagnate. Vocations decreased considerably. The members established themselves in pastoral work. Many set their hearts more on this work than on spending themselves to build and extend "apostolic nurseries." After ordination quite a few, thinking that for good pastoral work religious life was not necessary, turned their backs on the Society.

While at the end of the century Jordan had difficulty keeping his many new priests busy, now just into the new century he had to be satisfied with simply manning the existing houses sufficiently to guarantee the survival of their apostolates. Jordan saw the fat years turn lean. Looking here and there it must have seemed to him that the burning fire of "first love" had been reduced to a smoldering ember. Nevertheless, he had patiently to keep alive in others what God's grace determined as his own life: "Never forget that you must sacrifice yourself entirely for the cause of God" (January 31, 1904, SD II, 69). [Note: Unless otherwise indicated all further quotations are taken from the Spiritual Diary (SD) II.]

Increasingly, Jordan asked himself whether the Society, which in the meantime had received the full right to exist in the church, still corresponded fully to its original name: *Apostolische Lehrgesellschaft*, "Apostolic Teaching Society." Certainly it had been necessary for the various foundations to adapt to their cultural environments. But Jordan feared they might become so staid and domesticated that they would lose the Society's wide apostolic breadth. Pressing personal tasks on site would limit the collective apostolic principle that "Salvatorians belong wherever there are souls to be saved."

As Jordan approached his sixties, he felt ever more strongly how the years passed by without his having succeeded in stamping his work with the same apostolic spirit the Lord had implanted in his own heart back in Lebanon many years before. He fell into a deep inner conflict because of this feeble "apostolic fire." He was suffering from the desire to live out "The Pact" as he was duty bound. He entreated

the Lord, “urgently, strongly, passionately” (November 17, 1904) to help him regain some-how what he had missed, or what was still missing: “Oh Lord, rise up, help me! A new army for the glory of God and the salvation of souls! Oh, time is short, come quickly and instruct me” (June 19, 1904).

He struggled with the Lord in his nightly prayers, begging God to show him a way to give his work renewed impetus. He asked himself earnestly whether the Lord was not waiting for him to start an additional foundation of selected apostolic men who might be able to spur a renewed apostolic thrust in holy competition with his existing work. What he had prayerfully hoped for as a “New Era” (SD II, 40) on the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary 1904, increasingly took the form of a dream about a completely new army (March 3; June 19, 1904).

During these years, Jordan was often harassed and tempted in his nightly prayers by this apostolic dream solution, and he was unable to steel himself against it: “I am chained in the Lord—look at me, bound in the spirit” (February 2, 1904). It was clear to him, that this was not the arena for human planning and calculation. But the Lord could intervene to help the agonizing Kingdom of God. “Besiege God who can do every-thing!” (November 16, 1903); “Raise, oh Lord, a new army for Your glory and the salvation of souls! Oh, Virgin Immaculate!” (March 3, 1904).

In these stormy years, Jordan was fully engaged in the task of stabilizing his work. He never lost sight of his grave responsibility as its spiritual father: “Care for each and all until I come” (January 4, 1904). More than anything, this desire motivated his prayers. So it is all the more remarkable that he let himself be taken up by the plan for a new foundation. There are so many traces of it in his Spiritual Diary. However, their very bluntness shows that his planning remained quite tentative, despite his lively imagination desiring the wonder of a new start. But the boundless desire of this apostolic man—“Oh Father, I will save all” (January 29, 1903)—again and again overwhelmed all his sober reflections in his nightly hours of prayer.

To guarantee its apostolic reliability, this new army should be markedly Marian:

For the glory of God and for the salvation of souls establish, with the help of God, a Society in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculate. Oh Lord, I am ready for everything trusting in You, oh Savior, You who became man for us, arise, help me with Your strong hand! Oh Mother of God, be my protectress and my powerful helper! (March 24, 1905, Vigil of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary).

Jordan did not consider his dream of a “new phalanx” the obsession of an apostolically extravagant man. He saw it as one of the Lord’s small options for helping his church in distress, and as an obscure and still somewhat unclear personal call “according to The Pact.” And precisely on account of this pact, Jordan felt a renewed challenge. His “apostolic nurseries” were stagnating. At the same time, in the Kingdom of God laborers were lacking everywhere. The Apostolic Visitor’s order to admit to his schools only boys capable of paying, along with the request of the confreres to make German-style secondary schools obligatory, dramatically reduced recruiting. Jordan admired the courage of small foundations, especially from the French cultural milieu, which dedicated themselves to the formation of priests under the banner of the Immaculate Mother of God with no special material guarantees.

The jubilee year honoring the Immaculata (1904) reawakened in Jordan the desire to bring to life a Marian work, which might be able to balance the decline of the Salvatorian effort. In addition, turbulent events in the Society in 1904, especially in Assam and Jägerndorf, contributed to Jordan’s temptation to take this strange alternative. Under the protection of the Mother of God, and especially consecrated to her veneration, a new group of apostolically-oriented men should bind together. For the time being he simply called this dream team his “Marian Missionaries.” More with audacious dreams than with realistic reflection he planned at the outset to recruit only young men who “had finished at least 6th or 7th grade.” They were to be future priests of a “Society of the Immaculata.” He wanted to take the financial resources from a “Marian Fund” to be established beforehand. The interest generated by the fund should benefit the Marian Missionaries. A modest “Marian Messenger” should identify

and cultivate “friends and benefactors” for this perpetual fund. **See, 2.1. Marian Missionaries.**¹

The critical question, of course, was the relation between these Marian Missionaries and the Salvatorians. Jordan wanted the new branch to be autonomous and independent from the SDS. He kept betting on his original and so far unaltered attitude to “let others do and work” (*faire agir*). This principle should have born fruit already when he established the “apostolic nurseries,” but it had petered out more or less for lack of “heroic apostles.” Jordan did not conceal from himself that even his boldest dreams about saving souls remained dreams on his side: “I can do nothing, I expect the help from God.”²

In the meantime, Jordan had fallen in love with his “Marian Missionar-ies.” He went so far as to list the reasons for such a venture. He judged the climate in the Catholic world of his day favorable; and he considered a new army for Christ intimately bound to the Immaculate Mother of God to be always in step with the times and never out of date. After so many sad experiences in the SDS, he expected a “new start out of the original spirit.” His desire to offer equal opportunities to apostolic recruits played a big role in his

¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.1, Marian Missionaries.

² On a sheet of paper Jordan wrote:

Salvate animas!

- 1) I can reach nothing, I expect God’s help.
- 2) to practice the great art of letting others act and work (*faire agir*).
- 3) no debts are to be incurred.
- 4) whether a way can be found that, in case it would be impossible to execute the plan, the means should be transferred to the *Societas Divini Salvatoris*.
- 5) The institute is independent from the SDS (n.d. E-171).

thoughts, especially after the Apostolic Visitor had prohibited him from admitting to his schools any seminar-ians without means.³

In an hour of happiness, Jordan dared to open his dream plans to the rector of Campo Santo, with whom he was on friendly terms. He spoke about a group of "Marian Mission Brothers." Msgr. de Waal advised him, of course, to forget such ideas and to content himself with what he had already established and which was proceeding so promisingly.⁴ Jordan, however, was not immediately satisfied with this advice. Instead it confirmed his earlier experience: "Turn to God. People will not understand you! From Him come light and strength" (February 2, 1903). Over and over he called to the Lord:

Oh Jesus, oh Savior of the world, look, look, here I am! Help me!
You know, oh Lord, help me that all may be saved; I am ready for all, with the help of your grace I will bear all (February 12, 1903).

Oh Lord, my desire is not hidden from You! (November 5, 1903).

³ Jordan made efforts to list reasons for his dream plan:

O.A.M.D.G.

- Pro*
- 1) *Si vuole di nuovo del freno*
 - 2) *I tristi effetti dello sviluppo*
 - 3) *S. Berchmans/Pove (ro)*
 - 4) *Nuova Falange pro Christo*
 - 5) *Speciale onore alla V. Immac.*
 - 6) *Salutare pressione, etc.*
 - 7) *Nuovo slancio e spirito principali*
 - 8) *Immenso bisogno di buoni operai*
 - 9) *L'esperienza, etc.*
 - 10) *Disposizione del mondo cattolico e occasione assai opportuna*
 - 11) *Status actualis Societatis (n.d. E-167).*

[Note: point 11 was added later: 1906-1908?]

At the bottom is noted: "Assistants, Prior?" Jordan thought about a novice master from the SDS for Loreto (E-170), and a prior from the SDS for Rome (E-168).

⁴ "Fr. Jordan came and talked more than an hour about his intended new foundation of Marian Mission brothers. They and the Salvatorians, two sons of one father; if only the father does not love the Benjamin too much while neglecting the elder," de Waal noted in his diary, February 18, 1904 (CS).

Oh Lord, would that I were intimately united with You and would lead all to You! (April 20, 1904).

He renounces his siesta time to examine better whether and how this dream might somehow take shape:

Dedicate daily in the afternoon, if it is God's will, about two hours to the holy work (April 3, 1904).

He became almost insatiable in prayer:

Give yourself to prayer in the evening and during the night! (February 7, 1905).

His continuing struggle in prayer for the salvation of souls became now and then a strong "inner suffering:"

Oh Jesus, I am suffering great trials. Oh Lord, show me the way I should walk (February 3, 1904).

These inner sufferings also revealed themselves of the weakened body of the one who had been praying so.

Suffered much, December 29, 1902 (G-2.4).

Only with difficulty could Jordan find his way back into everyday activities after such nights, after which he was not immediately responsive to everyone and everything around him. Lüthen, from whom he did not hide how vexed he was by his apostolic suffering for souls, could not lift the cross from him. But, in patient understanding he tried to shield him from encounters occurring too early on those days when his inner sufferings were still written on his face and reverberating in his weak nerves. Lüthen himself suffered from his own shattered nerves in those years. **See, 2.2. Prayer.**⁵

In 1906, Jordan increasingly dedicated himself to this concern which he had code named "Marian Missionaries." The press attacks and the ensuing wave of defections reanimated his plans. On his list of reasons favoring this work he added meaningfully: "the present situation of the Society."

⁵ See, A Closer Look: 2.2. Prayer.

On April 23 and 24, Annibale di Francia, Founder of the Rogationists, was a guest in the motherhouse. Jordan met with him for a spiritual exchange of views. The venerable canon from Messina asked Jordan to help him with his small institute. Jordan agreed. He also expressed his own desire to found another institute of missionaries dedicated to the Virgin Immaculate. Di Francia, home again with his small community, could not easily forget what Jordan had told him in confidence. Just before the Feast of the Ascension, he took courage and presented to Jordan what he had become convinced of during the intervening weeks of prayerful consideration. Di Francia could not believe that the Lord would expect from Jordan a further foundation—a mere a twin of the already existing work. Di Francia, then, spoke of the “apostles of the last time,” that great and singular order of the eschatological time whose rule of life Mélanie, the young shepherdess of La Salette claimed to have received from the Mother of God. The Founder of the Rogationists was deeply impressed by this vision which Mélanie had personally presented to him. But he thought that these future apostles would come from an already existing order. His own tiny foundation was quite unworthy to be chosen. But the Lord might perhaps like to take Jordan’s “Salvatorian Marian Order” as the “Precursor Order” when the time was ripe.

Then di Francia exuberantly describes his own unique vocation to revivify the command of the Savior, “Ask the Lord of the Harvest,” which seemed to him to have fallen dormant in the past centuries. Then he speaks briefly about his two movements: one for the clergy, the other for laity. At last he presented his proper concern: Jordan, instead of planning a new Marian foundation, should take over his own institute, the Rogationists. With his many involvements, di Francia had just reached a cautious, though not yet really viable beginning. Jordan should now take into his own hands the proper establishment of the Rogation-ists. Thus, he invited Jordan to come immediately to Messina for some months to think it over on the spot and to decide what was God’s will.

Jordan was as deeply impressed as di Francia by Mélanie’s eschatological vision of a vast, unique order. But he, too, was of the humble opinion that his own modest foundations could not be considered the anticipated “forerunner order.” When Jordan

received di Francia's explanation and offer he wrote in his Spiritual Diary:

Oh mighty Virgin, awaken new apostles! Virgin Immaculate of Loreto, rise up; Mother, you my hope! Lead them together and send them into the entire world! (May 26, 1906).

But Jordan did not agree with one word of di Francia's humble offer. He only asked for a copy of the "pseudo rule" being circulated by Mélanie. Di Francia copied it and again invited Jordan to come to Messina, as he had already promised to help him. Jordan however, could do as little with Mélanie's "rule" as di Francia. He continued his own Marian dreams, while di Francia continued to pray for a proper "founder" for his work. But whenever he came to Rome, di Franca was always Jordan's very reverend and dear guest. **See, 2.3. Di Francia.**⁶

Di Francia's mission call impressed Jordan deeply. His sketch of the "Marian Missionaries," even adopted di Francia's motto: "Ask the Lord of the Harvest." But instead of at Messina, he wished to establish its motherhouse at the Shrine of Loreto. The house of studies itself should be in Rome along with its center for promotions. He thought to head up both houses with Salvatorians selected for the purpose. In order to avoid mixing up Salvatorian matters and those of the Marian Missionaries he thought it possible, even advisable, to present himself for the latter under a pseudonym: "Fr. Johannes of Jesus," after all, Johannes was Jordan's Christian name. **See, 2.4. Purpose of the *Societas Mariae Immaculatae*.**⁷

Because of the crisis shaking the Society in those years, climaxing at the beginning of 1906, Jordan was all the more tempted to see in a further attempt at a foundation a new engine for his entire work. During his holidays in Drognens (July-August, 1906) he had time to examine such considerations. He also introduced the house superior to his desired plan. Fr. Conrad Hansknecht, a man of true apostolic zeal, certainly esteemed the prophetic talent of the Founder as he

⁶ See, A Closer Look: 2.3. Di Francia.

⁷ See, A Closer Look: 2.4. Purpose of the *Societas Mariae Immaculatae*.

expressed himself. Fr. Conrad himself did not decline outright, instead he stalled.⁸

Once again Jordan experienced an hour of hasty, holy, preliminary decision, noting in his diary: "After I made the good intention, I resolved to accomplish it with God's help. Drognefs, July 14, 1906."

But the Lord didn't send another Massaia or Don Bosco as 25 years before. Jordan could not count upon any ecclesiastical encouragement. But his desire for an apostolic "more" had almost become second nature. His charism and his pain was his insatiable hunger for souls. He had to endure it in his prayers and in his mysterious inner sufferings. He had to leave to the Lord how all this would be useful to the sanctification and confirmation of his already existing work, and most of all how it would contribute to the salvation of "the many," for whom he knew himself responsible "according to The Pact." "Oh Lord, all for You! Help me with Your strong hand" (December, 1906).⁹

Only in 1904 and 1906, did Jordan take a few persons into his confidence regarding his dreams. From that period stem also the rare, unfinished rough draft statutes of the Marian Missionaries. In these sketches Jordan's overflowing fantasy may have gone too far.¹⁰

⁸ Jordan also tried to win Fr. Tharsicius Wolff just newly ordained, for his plan. Fr. Conrad Hansknecht would have been the right man for Loreto. Wolff, gifted with good business abilities, would have fit Piazza Rusticucci well. They both were courageous and trustfully devoted to Jordan.

⁹ Jordan always heard deep inside "*Apostolists*" (DSS XIV, 120). He yearned for unlimited apostolic engagement! This alone was to him *palpitante di attualita* (DSS XIV, 431). Thus his ecclesiastical obedience did not remain "on standby," but it was apostolically urging. The well worn path seemed to him an indirect way. He was attracted by the shorter but steeper mule track.

¹⁰ Jordan was endowed with an exuberant imagination. It pressed him in his praying and planning. Often enough he felt it as a hindrance. "Always dominate your imagination! (SD, October 31, 1909; cf., April 23,

Later, we still find scattered here and there in his Spiritual Diary traces of his inner struggle. Staying in Loreto on September 11, 1907, Jordan again implored the Mother of God to help him out of his painful dark-ness. He also wanted, “to pray in monasteries” to get to know clearly the will of God. But he waited in vain for a clear starting signal from above. In his nightly prayers for the salvation of souls he repeatedly declared his readiness for whatever the Lord might ask from him. Now he pre-sented his apostolic dreams to the Lord only as “wishes” and “desires.”

Between April 26-28, 1908, he again noted in his Spiritual Diary an apostolically hot and at the same time only partially resigned flare up: “The die is cast—united solely with God, accomplish it through Christ Jesus Crucified! All peoples, races, nations, and so on, all!” **See, 2.5. Zealous prayer.**¹¹ But Jordan was nearly sixty years old. His strength diminished. He had, like Don Bosco, to pronounce his “so be it!” and leave the rest to the Lord of the Harvest. His long hard years and grievous struggle in prayer, however, had repeatedly given him strength to navigate the apostolic dimension of his Salvatorian foundation against the currents of adaptation and mediocrity.

Jordan had always intended too much in his life and was often sad to accomplish so little. He had always set his goal too high and accepted failure: “to the honor of God and for the salvation of souls.” He related all his ideas and plans to his apostolic vocation. The great “why” that vexed him and animated him in these efforts was: why do so many people go through life without Jesus Christ, their savior?

There is an unbloody martyrdom, most pointedly the Mater Dolorosa. There is the baptism of desire like that of the martyr St. Rogatian of Nantes. Is there not also an apostolic co-suffering for the salvation of souls built upon the foundation of desire? Through all these dire years, Jordan remained extraordinarily “patient in tribulation and constant in prayer” (Romans 12:12).

1909; December 28, 1908; June 7, 1913; April 6, 1917; March 22, 1917”.

¹¹ See, A Closer Look: 2.5. Zealous Prayer.

2. The Shadow of the Marian Double. A Closer Look

2.1/1. Marian Missionaries. Under the motto *Salvate animas*, "Save Souls" Jordan dreamed about an apostolic foundation which he baptized "Marian Missionaries." But he put a clear question mark after the title. The aim of the new foundation should be: "as many apostolic workers as possible should assist the holy church." They should stand under the "special protection of the Mother of God. An association of 'Marian Charity-Work' similar to the Seraphic Charity-Work shall supply its material means." First a Marian Fund should be created "in perpetuity, the interest of which shall maintain its students." A promotional magazine "Queen of Peace" should be edited (n.d., E-161).

Jordan desired for this army "good youth;" the future clerics among them should "have completed at least grades 6 or 7 of secondary school" (n.d., E-162). Above the final draft of his first short appeal for a *Societas Mariae Immaculatae* he later set the motto of the Rogationists (Mt. 9:38) "Ask the Lord of the Harvest." He hedged the admission criteria of secondary studies with "for the present." For himself as director of this work he chose a second religious name: "Johannes Mary of Jesus" (E-163).

In a second draft he sketched the aim of these missionaries in three basic statutes. At the bottom he named the promotional magazine *Der Snedbote der Marien Missionare* (n.d., E-164/5). Jordan wanted the motherhouse with novitiate to be in Loreto, and a house for higher studies in Rome (n.d., E-169). For clothing he thought about a black habit and black mantle, a blue cincture and a crucifix on the chest.

2.2/5. Prayer. His diary reveals how often Jordan found refuge and support in prayer. Over and over he admonished himself:

Always pray and never give up (November 16, 1903; November 17, 1904).

Impressively he urges himself not to tire of praying:

Pray, pray, pray (August 9, 1906; January 13, 1907).

Pray insistently! Pray! Trust in the Lord! (February 13, 1904).

Pray ceaselessly; one must always pray (March 6, 1904; February 13, 1905).

Prayer was to Jordan "the greatest power in the world" (November 22, 1906). It offered a share in the omnipotence of God:

Almighty Prayer! (January 20, 1905).

Besiege the dear God who is able to do everything (November 16, 1903).

Prevail upon God, who can do all things. All for you, oh God!
(March 19, 1905).

He taught that prayer got the Lord's attention:

If you wish to obtain something from the Lord, through prayer you will obtain whatever you ask for (February 23, 1904).

When in his sorrows Jordan lost his way, he encouraged himself:

Use these keys: trust in God and prayer! (November 20, 1903).

His continuous admonition was:

Pray much more and trust in God! (February 6, 1904); one must pray; to the one who believes, all things are possible (November 16, 1903).

He incited himself:

Urge more prayer; that all may become men of prayer (February 13, 1905).

Above all Jordan personally loved prayer,

. . . in the evening and throughout the night (February 7, 1905).

Night time prayer—a treasure! (January 18, 1904).

In this he did not allow himself to give in:

More self-discipline, especially in the evening. Be alone with God more often; linger more often alone near the tabernacle, detached from every-thing (Athus, August 3, 1905).

Prayer was to him the bridge over the abyss of the apostolic life:

The promise of the Almighty—the confidence of the poor man (May 30, 1904).

To Jordan praying in the evening and throughout the night resulted also from his physically unbalanced constitution. In the evening his nerves kept him wide awake for long hours. Regarding Lüthen, Pfeiffer testifies, his nerves were completely exhausted in the evening; but in the morning they did not let him sleep. So Lüthen got up before the others and celebrated Mass early.

Venerable Father's nervous complaint had the opposite effect: in the evening he was quite lively, and he quieted down in the morning. In the evening he would have liked working till midnight; but in the morning he was almost exhausted. Only after breakfast did he find his strength, and then the first step he made was going to see Fr. Bonaventure [Lüthen] to discuss current matters (DSS III, 153f).

The evening and night hours, in which Jordan's nerves battled healthy and relaxing sleep, he used both to review before God the happenings of the day, and to ask Him for light and strength for pending decisions. These hours were sometimes filled with grave inner sufferings and afflictions. Jordan's heart was sensitive, compassionate and vulnerable. He could quickly, almost immediately, exult at apostolic successes. But he was equally quick to be pulled down by apostolic reverses. Then his nightly praying became a deep sighing. The traces to be found in his diary are not easy to explain, but are touching in their clear sincerity.

Great suffering and affliction abated this evening. Suffering inside and out. Oh my Father, what poor creatures we are! (June 27, 1903).

That these mysterious sufferings were closely connected with his apostolic vocation he shows clearly enough now and then.

No matter what sufferings break upon you, always go ahead in the Lord with the greatest confidence according to the purpose on page 52, trusting in the Lord (September 18, 1904).

The next day he encouraged himself:

No anxiety – no fear! (September 20, 1904).

When the adverse and shameful happenings of 1904 became like a slow-acting toxin threatening to poison 1905 as well, Jordan noted in his diary:

Oh Lord, help me! Putting my confidence in You, I will bear everything for You! Act-act! Suffering-suffer-suffer-suffer! (December 5, 1904).

Two weeks later he added:

Spend and let yourself be spent, that all may be saved. Consider as no-thing, whatever will happen to you in the way of bitterness, contempt, humiliation, criticism and the like (December 20, 1904).

Jordan suffered deeply from the wave of departures after the press affair.

Oh almighty Father, have mercy on me, because my sufferings are very great. Oh, strengthen me, that I may not succumb! (January 29, 1907).

Oh Lord, how greatly I suffer, help me (February 25, 1907).

My sufferings are so great (April 23, 1907).

Oh terrible sufferings (April 19, 1907).

Oh Lord! How greatly I suffer! (May 9, 1907; September 21, 1907).

Even in 1908, a deep trace of this suffering is still found in his diary:

Troubles and afflictions greatly surround me. Rise up, Lord and help me! You alone know, oh Lord, how greatly I suffer. For the sake of Your name, which I want to glorify, be my strong helper! (March 12, 1908).

This praying and suffering, of course, took their physical toll. Mornings, Jordan had not yet recovered, he appeared stunned, even shocked. At those times it was difficult, almost impossible for him to navigate his way back into daily life. Celebrating morning Mass became a torment. Visitors who came early when he was in this state could be disappointed to find Jordan still absent. Lüthen, familiar with every-thing, wrote about this to the fund raising brother who had asked why Jordan had treated some young candidates so curtly.

Candidates! Probably those 18 came in the morning when Venerable Father was very nervous and tormented by spiritual sufferings—I don't want to say more—which makes conversation for him intolerable. *Pazienza!* (March 9, 1906, BL-836).

Jordan never spoke about his spiritual turmoil. He tried to become responsive as quickly as possible. His growing nervous suffering forced him to heroic patience and mildness. It could well happen that his rebellious nerves caused him to sweat or forced him simply to absent himself. Just in this regard, Jordan was vigilant. "Better to die than to be rough," was one of his main resolutions (November 27, 1903).

In those difficult years when Jordan was so burdened and in such demand, he admonished himself to be calm, moderate and take greater care of his damaged health.

Quiet, surrender, nothing forced! (March 26, 1904; September 16, 1904; May 26, 1905; June 16, 1906, etc.).

He had to confess to himself:

Doing too much eventually causes great damage; it can provoke great temptations (May 19, 1905).

You need more rest; never work too long without resting. Thus you are able to do more for God's holy cause (Hamont, August 6, 1905).

Avoid force and exertion as far as I possibly can, for it causes damage (June, 1907).

Jordan couldn't hide from himself his noticeable decrease in strength:

Take care of your health (March 6, 1903; January 29, 1905; August 28, 1908).

It is a serious duty to care of your health and to rest, so that with God's help you may achieve. With God, pray! (April 28, 1908).

2.3/6. Di Francia. Already by April 23, 1904, Canon di Francia had visited Jordan. From then until the death of the Founder, their contacts never broke off.* April 23 to 24, 1906, was the first time the Founder of the Rogationists enjoyed Jordan's hospitality. Subsequently, di Francia's cooperators stayed in the Salvatorian

* Annibale Maria di Francia of the family of the Marchesi di S. Catarina del Tonio, was born in Messina, July 5, 1851. At the age of 2 he lost his father, and at 7 was handed over to the care of the Cistercians of S. Nicola. After their expulsion (1866) he studied at the college of poet Felice Bisazza. On December 8, 1869 (the day Vatican I convened), he was invested as a cleric, together with his brother Francesco, in the Church of the *Immacolata*, without the knowledge of his mother. Ordained in 1878, he became cathedral canon on January 12, 1882.

Already as deacon he took care of the poor in the Avignon Quarter. As a priest he dedicated himself to the care of about 200 poor people in that pocket of misery. He founded orphanages for boys and girls, the *Orfanotrofi Antoniani* (1887). As he in vain turned to religious communities for help, he himself gathered a loose group of helpers around himself.

Already as a young priest di Francia was deeply moved by the Lord's order: "Ask the Lord of the Harvest to send out laborers into his harvest" (Mt 9:38; Lk 10:2). He founded a *Sacra Alleanza* for priests who were touched by the Lord's "Rogate" (November 28, 1897). At the time of his death, 50 cardinals, 400 bishops and many religious superiors and priests were inscribed in this *Alleanza*.

On the Feast of the Immacolata 1900, he founded the *Pia Unione della Rogazione Evangelica*, whose members were to dedicate themselves to the "Rogate" and also to help the *Orfanotrofi Antoniani*. On September 15, 1901, the two independent groups in Messina received the name *Istituto della Rogazione Evangelica* and *Figlie del Divino Zelo*. The great earthquake in Messina destroyed his work almost completely and he had to begin anew. In the meantime he transplanted his Institute to Oria near Brindisi in Apulia (1909).

World War I brought new setbacks. But on August 6, 1926, his Institute received diocesan approval. At his death on June 1, 1927, the Institute had two foundations (Messina and Oria) with only a few members left. After his death his foundation put forth new branches. On September 29, 1928, the first novitiate (diocesan right) was started. Through the introduction of the World Prayer Day for Religious Vocations by Pope Paul VI (1964) the concern of di Francia received worldwide recognition. Rogationists bind themselves by a 4th vow to the order of the Lord "Rogate ergo."

motherhouse whenever they had business in Rome, while di Francia's Sisters of the Institute of Messina took lodgings in Salita San Onofrio.

Their talks that April were a spiritual conversation on which di Francia meditated long afterwards. On the Feast of Ascension he wrote from his heart what had been occupying his plans and prayers since their meeting. Jordan received a 12-page letter in which di Francia lay open to him his full evangelical charism and invited Jordan to join him.

Di Francia first of all thanked Jordan once more for the hospital-ity he had enjoyed the previous month in Palazzo Morone. He praises the peace in the motherhouse and the Salvatorians' trust in the God of mercy. His wish is: that God may one day bless and grant growth to the holy little plant of the *Rogazione Evangelica* as He has blessed the holy tree *Istituzione Maraiana Salvatoriana*. Then he turns to his real concern. In his conversation with Jordan two words had caught his attention and had stuck with him ever since. Jordan had promised that he wanted to help him. And Jordan had confessed to him that for some time he had been troubled by the thought, and that he would soon to have to decide (for "for the years are passing") whether to dare a new foundation—an institute of missionaries consecrated to the most holy Immaculate Virgin. In this connection Jordan had asked di Francia about the Rule of Mélanie.

Then di Francia confessed that at home he had reflected deeply on Jordan's words and presented them to the Immaculate Virgin. Now he wanted to explain to Jordan quite frankly his reflections in this regard. He does not believe that the Lord wants Jordan to found another mission institute. This would only lead to twins of the same father. In order to spur the existing Salvatorians to greater holiness, a new foundation would not be helpful. In fact, the men of this new institute would be of the same stamp as the current Salvatorians. Jordan had also alluded to "the apostles of the last time," who (according to the visions of Mélanie) would live according to a rule dictated by the Mother of God. Then di Francia asks straight out: who knows whether these might not one day be the Salvatorians? At any rate, such apostles of the last times would have to go through a change in spirit: if they are good today, then they must become even better. If they are zealous today, they must become firebrands. If they are holy today, they must become

completely holy. They are to have the virtues of the first apostles. In the words of St. Louis Mary Grignon, their holiness must surpass their former holiness like an ancient oak rises above the underbrush.

Di Francia believes that these future apostles will come from an already existing order. This was precisely the secret of Mélanie. Hence, God will send new people (either to the SDS or to another order) formed in special holiness. These men will equal or surpass the great heroes of Christendom: new men like Dominic, Ignatius, Francis, filled with charisms which are now so rare. According to di Francia, only after this divine change in spirituality will they follow the observance of the rule of the most venerable Virgin and Mother of God. The founder of the Rogationists firmly hopes that Jordan's "*Ordine Salvatoriano e Mariano*" may be destined for this holy mission of the apostles of the eschatological time. He himself does not even feel a desire for it, certain that, "neither I nor mine" were called to it. Then di Francia begins to speak about his own foundation:

When Mélanie came into my Institute she gave me the rule of the Blessed Virgin and suggested that I observe it. I mulled it over but did not accept her proposal. I have never understood that out of my modest initiative the apostles of the eschatological time would have to come.

Then di Francia praises the holy and fertile vocation he received. He calls it "the only one, which the Highest God wanted to reveal to [him], the most miserable and detestable among all mortals."

This mission is stunning and seems to be a mystery that for many centuries no one has grasped. At the same time, our Lord Jesus Christ ordered expressly: "pray the Lord of the Harvest . . ." (*rogate ergo*). This mission is at the core of all missions of all religious communities, even of the entire diocesan and religious clergy, and it is the most perfect preparation for the apostles of the end times. Christ demanded this prayer several times. Thus it must be cultivated and propagated. Then it will awaken battalions of saints and apostles throughout the world.

If today Jesus Christ, after 19 centuries, in a time when holiness seems to have been extinguished, renews this command of his, it means that he has preserved this holiness for this new and divine holiness, which must prepare the world for the coming of the highest judge.

Then di Francia speaks of the “Evangelica Rogazione of the Sacred Heart of Jesus,” he initiated, in which the entire hierarchical church takes up the Lord’s prayer: *Rogate ergo*.

Thus God prepared His future apostles. This mission is just at the beginning. It must be propagated. The propagation depends on two tasks. This poor, fledgling Institute of the Rogationists of the Heart of Jesus, started by miserable me, must be the hearth in which the holy fire of this commandment is tended and from whence it is propagated. To do this, this institute needs an organization, which is continuous, prudent, active, passionate and self-sacrificing to call the attention of the whole world to this great commandment of Jesus Christ, which has remained hidden up to our time.

Di Francia then presents his real heart’s desire. He explains to Jordan that he was not the man to found such an institute or to assume the two connected tasks. He knows he is too small and incapable of such holy and universal work. In the meantime he has prayed and waited for the Lord to send him this elected person, to whom he might hand over the divine banner, which in his hands droops and falls. Di Francia confesses to Jordan that he had been wrestling in vain for years to fulfill these two related tasks: the foundation of the Institute and the propagation of its evangelical aim. “But what have I achieved?” Then di Francia comes to the bottom line: The *Evangelica Rogazione* embodied in the *Sacra Alleanza* of both secular and religious clergy and the *Pia Unione Universale* are spreading. Di Francia has only started the two movements, and already his own strengths and those of his membership are exhausted.

His Institute has only three priests and five brothers. With great efforts and sacrifices he has led 14 students to the priesthood, but they all left him. The Institute of the Rogationists does not take root. It is a grain of wheat which lies dead in the earth without bearing fruit. It only needs the one sent by God (“*missus a Deo*”). Di Francia describes himself only as Initiator, not as Founder. For a long time he has been urgently praying to the Sacred Heart, that the Lord may send him the “Founder.”

Di Francia admires the zealous thirst for souls which urges Jordan to dare, after his two foundations, a further, better one. He asks himself, whether God most high and His Immaculate Mother might not prefer the Salvatorians to give a firm base to the Institute,

which he himself had timidly started in Messina. He makes clear to Jordan that their two works were only precursor orders.

For this great order to arise, quite extraordinary people will come. Although the men who form the existing communities are also good, in those days the Lord and His holy Mother will send plenty of men— apostles like Ignatius, teachers like Bernard, preachers like Dominic, angelic men like Francis, missionaries like Francis Xavier, contemplatives like John of the Cross and Peter of Alcantara, miracle workers like Antony of Pauda, Vincent Ferrer and Francis de Paul.

Just because of this di Francia underlines the importance of a precursor order. Then he returns to his proper desire. Jordan wants to found something new to the honor of God. Di Francia, the poor initiator, has been praying for years for the Lord to send the elected one, who would found his barely seminal work. Jordan should think over all that di Francia presented to him at the feet of the crucified Lord and His Immaculate Mother. He had presented this “under an impulse, which made my pen swift like that of a nimble scribe.” Di Francia finds it meaningful, that he had begun his long confessing letter on the first “rogation day,” continued on the second, and copied on the third, and that he could send it to Jordan on the feast of Ascension “when the angels announced to the apostles and disciples the second coming of Jesus Christ on earth.”

Now di Francia suggests that Jordan think over three things: how to realize the exact and perfect idea of the work he [di Francia] had begun; what it still needed to be considered founded; how it should be developed further. Di Francia asks Jordan to study the Rogationists’ constitutions (which di Francia was still working to complete) as well as their common prayers and calendar, to learn from them the spirit and the direction of the work.

He invites Jordan to come to Messina for a few months to complete his knowledge on the spot. Then Jordan could decide whether to dedicate himself to di Francia’s foundation. In concluding, di Francia mentions the group of priests and brothers of “this most modest Institute of the Rogationists,” who dedicate themselves to the evangelization of the poor in Messina, while forming the small kernel of his work. Finally, di Francia wishes:

If the most Sacred Hearts have called Fr. Jordan to this foundation, he will be our head and master and superior as the representative

of the true head and master and superior, of the invisible and eternal, Jesus Christ, and with Him of His Immaculate Mother! On the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord (May 24, 1906). [He signs] *umilissimo inutile infimo servo Canonico Annibale Maria di Francia (da Messina, Porta Imperiale, via del Valore. Avignon-7).*

Jordan did not say one word to the humble offer of di Francia. He only asked for a copy of the so-called Rule of Mélanie to examine. At the same time he asked the canon whether this rule were lived by any group, and what his position was in regard to the whole matter, after having had communication with Mélanie Calvat.

Later di Francia made Jordan a copy “of the rule, which the Holy Virgin had dictated to the little shepherdess of La Salette.” At the same time he reminded Jordan of the promise he had given him: “He wished to help him, and oh, how much I need help!” Jordan should come to Messina at least for a few days. Di Francia showed himself disappointed, that Jordan had not answered his long explanations with even one word (Messina, July 6, 1906).*

Di Francia and Jordan soon forgot the pious hopes hidden behind the Mélanie Rule for the great eschatological time, and/or the precursor order. They remained united as spiritual brothers.**

2.4/7. Purpose of the *Societas Mariae Immaculatae*,

Marian Missionaries: pastoral care, home and foreign missions, youth formation [consequently] apostolic activity in the homeland and in the missions (E-170).

* When Di Francia was in Rome in 1917, and knocked at the door in Borgo Vecchio, he found in the motherhouse, instead of the priests, some sisters he did not know. When Fr. Fulgentius Moonen informed him of Jordan’s death in Tafers, he expressed his deep sympathy: “Fr. Jordan is to me a holy and dear memory. We shall never forget the complete, unselfish love with which he always received me and my confreres. I was staying with him, when Messina was destroyed by the earthquake” (December 28, 1908). Di Francia asked for a keepsake of the “*compianto santo Fondatore*” (November 18, 1918).

**The German Edition of DSS XVII.I, 185ff, contains a long, tangential excursus on La Salette, Maximin Giraud, and Mélanie Calvet. It is omitted here.

Marienfond: the purpose of this perpetual fund is to procure the means to form religious priests. St. Vincent de Paul says one can do no better work than to contribute to the formation of a priest: "What a good deed it is to contribute so that many priests are formed, and when we rest under the earth, always new ministers of the altar are formed to work for the honor of God and for the salvation of immortal souls!" Contributions be sent to Fr. Johannes of Jesus, Rome, Piazza Rusticucci (E-174).*

Jordan also notes this saying of St. Vincent de Paul in his diary, January 16, 1907 (SD II, 104). The above notice may also come from an advertisement from that time.

Jordan was not at all certain whether his dream was just an apostolic temptation provoked by the bitter backlash in the Society itself, or whether the glaring lack of missionaries among the SDS didn't justify any attempt at a remedy, even if according to reasonable calculations this initiative looked unfinished and destined to fail. Therefore, he purposely wanted "to enlist prayer from monasteries" (E-168). Hence, a few days before the memorable visit of di Francia, Jordan noted:

Before you begin, let there be prayers in the monasteries, through a circular letter to all, etc. *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum . . . [in vanum laborant qui aedificant eam. If the Lord does not build the house, in vain do its builders labor.]*. April 22, 1906 (G-2.7; cf., Ps 126:1).

To himself he proposed:

. . . pray earnestly at the altars of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so that your kind Mother may powerfully help you! May 29, 1906 (SD II, 99; cf., SD II, 108).

On September 11, 1907, I prayed in the holy house of Loreto.

Jordan's call to the "dear reader" [of an unnamed periodical] concludes:

May the Immaculate Virgin, the mediatrix of salvation, bless this small periodical and implore her Divine Son, that ([t] may bring forth much good to the honor of God and to the benefit of mankind! Rome . . . 1908.

* Piazza Rusticucci connected Borgo Vecchio with St. Peter's Square.

2.5/11. Zealous prayer. While in 1904, Jordan could still urgently exclaim: "Now, Lord!" (April 1, SD II, 74), by 1906 he spoke more modestly: "*Si Deus vult*" [If God wishes] (G-2.7). However, he never tired of offering himself to the Lord:

You alone are the Lord, You alone the most High, You alone are the Almighty, into your hands I surrender my desires, that You may grant them through the merits of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ. And you, my Mother, intercede for me! (Annunciation 1908, SD II, 114; cf., September 8, 1908; October 18, 1908, SD II, 118f).

Oh Mary, show me your Son's will. I ask you humbly with all my heart (November 3, 1908).

Oh God, Almighty One, show me Your will! Mother of God, my Mother, intercede for me, that I may carry out and fulfill The Pact (January 8, 1909).

Keep in mind The Pact you made with God! But not under pain of sin (February 5, 1909).

Oh Mother of God, my Mother, intercede for me. O Lord, I trust in You. May your grace help me; I can do all things in You who strengthen me. Show Your power and raise up a new holy phalanx (February 20, 1909; cf., several times in this year.)*

As late as July 17, 1909, Jordan turned to his heart's wish:

The Marian Messenger: monthly for the purpose of conquering the world through Mary for Christ. Setting up a Marian Fund for the formation of priests/religious priests; *post orationem* (G-2.7, 26).

His condition "after prayer" shows that the favored Marian project was pressing him, but remained a dream, still not fully mature. Then although Jordan's apostolic heart grows calmer, it can still suddenly break out:

* On February 15, 1909, Jordan noted in his diary (which he had begun February 1, 1909) with pencil in Italian: "P.N.N. favorable, and M. encourages me as well disposed toward the 'S'" [S probably stands for *Societas*]. Jordan continues in Latin: "Oh Lord, look, I am ready!" At a later date he struck out this short notice with two simple strokes (SD II, 1, etc.).

“What now, Christ?” (November 24, 1909, this question cannot be fully interpreted).

He can still stammer full of desire:

Oh Father in heaven, through the merits of Your Son have mercy on me and hear my desires. You know them. Oh heavenly Mother, intercede for me! Oh Almighty Father, hear me, hear me soon (December 21, 1909).

But in the end he yielded to the silent Lord:

Leave it all to God and trust in Him! (April 24, 1910).*

* Of course some of these quotes from the Spiritual Diary can also be taken in a wider sense.