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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

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I HAVE been requested by the editors of this JOURNAL to give an account of the origin and progress of the Old Catholic movement, and gladly respond to the request, though with the feeling that it is easier to produce a volume than an article on this subject. For not only is the quarter century's history of Old Catholicism one of the most noteworthy chapters in the most recent history of the church, but the origin of the Old Catholic movement cannot be understood apart from the Vatican council, and this itself is but the closing scene of a struggle which pervades the whole history of the western Catholic church.

The name "Old Catholic," or, as the Swiss prefer to say, "Christian Catholic," stands opposed to Roman Catholic, and calls attention to a contradiction in this latter designation. For "catholic" means "universal," that is, commensurate with humanity. Roman, on the contrary, is a local and limiting designation. There was, in fact, a catholic church before Rome had any authority in it, the church of the earliest centuries; and by just so much as this stood nearer the origin of Christianity was it purer than at the later period when it took on the name of Roman Catholic. Then it was that a particular church, the local church of Rome, by means of usurpation and falsehood, arrogated

to itself the supremacy over this universal church, each of whose many members had originally an equal right in it. This supremacy Rome did not, indeed, succeed in establishing in the Orient, but she carried it through in the West. The bishops of Rome, urged on by an inextinguishable tradition of universal dominion, have raised themselves from the position of *primi inter pares* to that of lords over their equals, absolute monarchs of the church. They have at the same time transformed the church, so that, instead of being the bearer of the Christian religion, she has become a theocratic world-empire, and so far as they have succeeded in this, they have so perverted Christianity that, instead of being a truth that makes free, it has become a system for reducing nations to the slavery of superstition. When in the thirteenth century this goal was about reached, there broke out in the Roman hierarchy a spirit so frightfully unjust and anti-Christian, of so disastrous consequences to the morals and thrift of the people, that a great reaction of the *catholic* against the *Roman* principle set in. The great councils of the fifteenth century attempted to take the constitution of the church out of the hands of the papal monarchy, and, on the basis of the equal rights of the bishops, to restore it to the early ecumenical councils, and, with the help of the universities and national state administrations, to reform the church in its head and members. But although they succeeded for the time in subjecting the papacy to their principle of right and reform, still the papal power succeeded in fully nullifying that Old Catholic effort and immediately thereafter carried to the extreme the abuse of its usurped supremacy. The consequence was that the frustrated Catholic reform gave place to the Protestant Reformation, which boldly laid hold of the original idea of truth and freedom, and, in order to make sure of it, broke with the whole previous historic development of the church.

This break was not originally designed by the reformers. They intended a conservative reform of the whole western church, not a disruption of the Catholic unity. But the hopeless condition of the papacy, the political trickery of the time, and the fact that the Romance nations were not yet ready to

accept the principles of the gospel, caused western Christendom to divide itself into two camps radically different from each other. Whether they were to remain so forever, whether the war was to end in the annihilation of one of the parties, or whether they were at some time to come together, be reconciled to each other, and again form one flock under the one Shepherd, remained a question for the future of church history. Scarcely had the Roman Catholic church reorganized itself on the basis of the Tridentine creed and gained the strength for new victories, when two tendencies of significance for the settlement of this question of the future manifested themselves. The *one* was the papal-Jesuitical, consistently anti-evangelical spirit, directed to the single end of achieving the dominion of the world by superstition and a despotism over conscience; the *other* relatively evangelical, the spirit of reform, aiming at the culture of a spiritual Christianity. While the former reigned without opposition in Italy and Spain, the latter attained in the cultured France of the seventeenth century, under the protection of the Gallican liberties, in which the type of episcopal organization advocated in the reform councils still existed, a promising development, especially in the school of Port Royal, that of the so-called Jansenists. But with the help of the papacy, which already in any *question du fait* was conducting itself as if infallible, the Jesuits succeeded in suppressing this free and more pious Catholicism, and in preparing the way, by the triumph of the Roman over the catholic principle, for French atheism and the French Revolution. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the reformed Catholicism which had been suppressed in France was revived in Catholic Germany, a country which, though not actually participating in the Reformation, had been largely influenced by the spirit of enlightenment and humanity that characterized the great movement. Its representatives are found in the spiritual electors of the empire, who revived the episcopal ideas of the council of Basel, in the emperor Joseph, who reformed the Catholic monasteries and studies, and granted tolerance to the Protestants; it even finds, in a favored moment of the world's history, a representative on the papal throne,

who, filled with the nobler spirit of the time, pronounced the death-sentence of the Jesuit order.

When we think of these currents within the Catholicism of little more than a century ago, they seem to us like a tale of ancient times. The French Revolution, that volcanic outburst of the mere worldly instinct of liberty, destroyed all thoughts of spiritual freedom in the Catholic world and prepared the way for a spirit of servility, such as was unknown even to the dark Middle Ages.

True, as Germany rose out of the ruins of the Napoleonic epoch, she had a religious tendency that promised an entirely different ecclesiastical future. Here in the land of the Reformation's birth, the land to which Providence had specially assigned the task of reconciling all confessional differences, the Napoleonic wars had caused in both confessions an ethical elevation in religion, a longing for a return to the genuine Christianity of the heart. For this new life new outer forms were sought, and there was an effort to rise above the old differences, not only those between the Lutheran and Reformed, but those between Protestants and Catholics, to a true brotherly fellowship. If our blinded governments had but known how to appreciate and foster this spirit, Germany would have been in a condition to be led, and that without the suppression of confessional distinctions, to that internal unity from which, notwithstanding our brilliantly achieved external unity, we are as far removed as from the fixed stars. Instead of this, the great powers hastily rehabilitated the papacy—the papacy which, by restoring at once the Jesuit order, proved its incorrigibility—and by concordats prepared the way for ultramontanizing Catholic Germany. First of all, unconscious of what they did, they thought to please a foreign power, then in the agonies of death, in the hope that it might help a little towards extinguishing the troublesome liberalism. And when it was observed to what extent things had gone, as in the difficulties at Cologne in 1838, a blundering attempt was made to settle the matter by violent measures. Still further, when deserved defeat followed, and a line of bishops friendly to the state had been displaced and their places

filled by radical ultramontanists, it was found more convenient to stop the mouths of these champions of the papacy by concessions, since they had already the support of the masses, than to carry on a conflict with them. The philosophizing tendencies of science among the Catholics, which gave the clergy a broader and freer horizon, the bishops were allowed to oppose at their pleasure. On the other hand, the fanaticizing and stultifying devices, such as the pilgrimage to the holy coat of Treves and its like, were sanctioned as means of working upon the popular mind. And scarcely was the revolution of 1848, with its wild attempt for liberty, over, when the Jesuits, with the permission of the government, traversed Germany as missionaries. A freer reform tendency maintained itself, however, in the German university-theology of the Catholics, under the lead of Döllinger, the most learned man that the Roman Catholic church has ever had in Germany. Orthodox Catholic, even to a certain extent ultramontane and anti-Protestant as this tendency was, it nevertheless cherished and fostered an ideal Catholicism which gave a spiritual significance to the dogmas and rites, gave play to freedom of thought, and aimed at a Catholic reform by which the strongest objections of the Protestants were to be met and the way left open for a reunion of the confessions. But the programme of the Jesuits, who had long watched with suspicion this German theology, was of an opposite kind. It looked not to reconciliation, but to stupefying, to spiritual bondage; and that they might be free to effect this, reformed Catholicism must once for all be extirpated. The Jesuits appreciated, as I infer, from the point of view of their persistent unchangeable opposition, the prodigious consequences of the Reformation, the power of the spirit of freedom which it had set free among the Catholic nations also, and they said to themselves that the Roman church could regain its power over this unbridled occidental world only by an absolute dictatorship, which should control the thoughts and conscience, and thus also morals and social life. The establishment of such a dictatorship they sought and obtained by the Vatican council, an event the meaning and scope of which few understood at the time, and few understand now, but one

which in the history of the world and of the church is, not less than the council of Trent, an epoch-making event.

Of course, if the end must always sanctify the means, it has done so in this instance. The personal infallibility of the pope, when he speaks as the church's teacher, was nothing more than a so-called "pious thought" fostered by the Jesuits. It could find no support in the Sacred Scriptures, or from tradition. Church history most emphatically disproves it. And now Döllinger, whose experience in the sixties had more and more freed him from his ultramontanism, came forward and in his *Janus* annihilated the dogma by the proofs he brought from *ex-cathedra* decisions of papal fallibility.² The larger part of the Catholic church did not believe in papal infallibility, and when Protestant theologians reproached the church with this superstition, the Roman Catholic theologians branded their reproaches as calumnies. It was a bold attempt, this effort to make so absurd an opinion the foundation of the church, and to secure its official recognition by an ecumenical council. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in accomplishing it, though of course not by the methods of the Holy Spirit. In order thoroughly to appreciate the true character of this Jesuitical artifice, one should read the monumental works of two men who to a degree equaled by few were eyewitnesses of the events. I refer to the *Geschichte des vaticanischen Concils*, by Professor Friedrich, the theological adlatus of Cardinal Hohenlohe at the council, and the *Geschichte des Altkatholicismus*, by Professor Dr. von Schulte, the eminent expounder of ecclesiastical law and friend of Cardinal Prince von Schwarzenberg. The old fantastic Pius IX, a man without the least theological culture, had been inspired by the Jesuits with a sense of his own personal infallibility, and between them the erection of this into a dogma had been determined upon before the council met. But in order to make it appear that it was demanded by the voice of the church, a petition for

² This *Janus*, after Döllinger's death, and at his desire, was published in a new edition by Professor Friedrich, with the passages supplied from church history in support of its positions. It is entitled *The Papacy*, by Döllinger, Munich, 1892, and is the most fearful bill of indictment written against the papacy since the days of Luther.

it coming from the council was engineered. In this council the representatives of the great majority of the western Catholics, the German, French, and Austrian bishops, formed the minority; the great majority were either Italians, always papistic in their views, and representing numerous diminutive dioceses, or but titular bishops without dioceses, whose expenses, as Cardinal Schwarzenberg said, "the pope was obliged to pay entire, even to their very hose," so that they voted blindly at his bidding. Now this minority was, indeed, ultramontane and destitute enough of character, but they understood the matter well enough to perceive that the proposed dogma was contrary to truth and tradition and to apprehend dangerous consequences, especially the extinction of all independent episcopal authority. They opposed it, therefore, feebly to be sure, but upon irrefutable grounds. The manner in which this opposition was treated sustains the judgment of Döllinger that of all the professed ecumenical councils only one has been like the Vatican, and that was the "robber synod." An order of business which an archbishop called "a cursed congeries of pitfalls" precluded all free discussion. If the opposition desired to have a memoir printed, the printing houses of Rome were forbidden to serve them. A Bible by which to test the new dogma seems not to have been at hand, for Bishop Dupanloup borrowed one of the Protestant chaplain of the German legation. If anyone answered the pope with an appeal to tradition, he replied: "I am the tradition." When the proud bishop of Mainz, Baron von Ketteler, on his knees begged the pope to desist from formulating the fatal dogma of his own infallibility, he answered that he would see what was to be done; he had not yet read the draft relating to it. When under the glowing heat of a Roman summer some bishops of the opposition begged for an adjournment of the council, he exclaimed: "May they all perish" (*crepino tutti*). But the opposing bishops, like slaves, contented themselves with mere lamentations over all such insults. On the first ballot eighty-eight voted no, sixty-two voted yea only conditionally. Thus the decree of the council lacked that moral unanimity which had ever been demanded.

Instead, however, of repeating the same vote on the second ballot and protesting against erecting a falsehood into an article of faith, the gentlemen preferred to take their departure with the ambiguous declaration that their veneration for the pope would not permit them to repeat their negative vote.

So the Vatican decrees were passed on the 18th of July, 1870, with only two negative votes, and this took place, as is well known, amid the lightning and thunder of a rising tempest which so darkened the hall in which the session was held that candles had to be lighted. "We declare it to be an article of faith, by God revealed, that the Roman pope, when he speaks from his chair of authority (*ex cathedra*), that is, when in the exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he determines a doctrine, relating to faith and morals, to be maintained by the whole Christian church, he possesses, by virtue of the support divinely promised him in St. Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer desired to invest his church in deciding any doctrine relating to faith and morals; and that, therefore, such decisions of the Roman pope are in themselves and without any concurrence of the church, unchangeable. If anyone shall oppose this our decision, which God forbid, let him be accursed" (*anathema sit*). Thus was the pope at any time in office put in the place of the church itself as respects the discovery and utterance of the truth, and the position of Catholicism in dogma was perverted into an absolute Romanism. Whereas it had hitherto been the Catholic view that we should believe that which has been believed in the church "always, everywhere, and by all" (Vincentius Lerinensis), and whereas the problem of theology had been to ascertain from the Scriptures and tradition what in every doubtful case this universal Christian belief was, now to be a "Catholic" was to believe what a pope had at any time said *ex cathedra*, and the only remaining question of theology was whether a pope had ever said this or that *ex cathedra*. The mass of things to be believed rose to the immeasurable and the intolerable. Not only could a pope henceforth at any time manufacture new articles of faith, as Döllinger

said, just as Pius IX in advance made the immaculate conception such, but even quite nonsensical things, such as the witchcraft bull of Innocent VIII, with its abyss of superstition, or the bull "Unam Sanctam" of Boniface VIII, with its pretensions to annihilate all personal freedom and all political independence, had actually become articles of faith, binding upon the conscience. A more unlimited despotism over the consciences of all Catholics cannot be conceived, and if one could absolutely dominate the consciences of two hundred millions of believers, he would, beyond question, be the lord of the world. In order that no resistance might, with any appearance of legitimacy arise, at least in the Roman Catholic church, there was a provision for the definite extinction of the episcopal office, in the declaration that the bishop of Rome was the universal bishop of the church, with powers unlimited, thus reducing the other bishops to the rank of his simple vicars. "Whoever says" — for such is the import of a relevant passage of the Vatican decree — "that the Roman pope has simply the official oversight and direction, but not the full and supreme juridical authority, over the entire church, not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in matters which relate to the discipline and administration of the church as spread over the whole earth, or that he possesses only the more important portion, but not the entire fullness, of this supreme authority, or that this his authority is not a legitimate or immediate one, whether over all and each of the churches, or over all and each of the pastors and believers — let him be accursed."

Such is the history of the events that prepared the way for the Old Catholic movement. The question now was whether the Catholic church everywhere was already so deeply sunken in spiritual slavery and indifference to truth in religion as to submit to this subversion of its doctrine and constitution. At least on the soil of German culture, in Germany and German Switzerland, the events in Rome, in spite of the Franco-German war, which immediately followed and held men's spirits in breathless tension, produced a great excitement. But from disapproval and the utterance of indignation to resistance, and from resistance to

positive measures adequate to secure redress, was a long step and one difficult to take. Even before a decision had been reached in Rome, eminent Catholic scholars, such as Döllinger, von Schulte, and Reinkens, had endeavored, in their several circles, to organize a protest; but they had met with such weakness and despondency in their theological colleagues that a Nuremberg declaration, prepared by Döllinger and subscribed with thirty-five good names, was, after all, not published. Only on condition that the bishops led the way with their protest would the most of the theologians agree to follow; otherwise not. But the bishops set the most pitiable example of lack of conscience and self-respect. Before their departure for Rome they had, in a joint pastoral letter, given this assurance to the flocks intrusted to their care: "Never can an ecumenical council declare a new doctrine which is not contained in the Holy Scriptures, or based on apostolic tradition; nor can such a council ever promulgate doctrines which are in conflict with the rights of the state and the state authorities, or unnecessarily out of harmony with the circumstances and needs of the time. The purpose of the council can, indeed, be no other than to place the old and original truth in a clearer light. Equally groundless and wholly unjustified is also the suspicion that freedom of discussion will be abridged by the council." Now, after the opposite of all this had taken place, as they knew from their own experience, they acted as if they had never given such assurance. Nay, they did not even keep the promise which they had given one another on their departure from Rome, that they would do nothing until after mutual counsel in Germany. One by one they betrayed each other and the cause. Perhaps some of them persuaded themselves that now, after the council's decision, they believed that which they had before found impossible of belief. But not all were so naïvely stupid as Melchers, archbishop of Cologne, of whom the good Professor Reusch said that, if the pope should tell him that the Holy Trinity consisted of four persons, he would believe even that. The miserable evasions by which the majority sought to cloak their submission, the pitiable attempts to give the Vatican dogma some other sense, which was neither another sense, nor any sense at all,

showed clearly the nature of their alleged faith. Not one of them rose to the height of resigning his office as one which he could not hold consistently with his honor; rather, in order to retain their official honors, they sacrificed personal honor. But the climax of ignominy was reached only when these ecclesiastical princes began to demand of their theologians the same change of faith which they themselves had made, and to force their entire clergy to submit to an article of faith which was not believed. One German bishop at least, the Würtemberg Bishop Hefele of Rottenburg, seemed disposed to be an exception. He was the most learned of the German bishops, and knew only too well the history of that Pope Honorius who, in the monothelitic controversy, was condemned by his own successors as a heretic, this case alone sufficing to cancel the whole fable of papal infallibility. "What I have to do," wrote this man after his return from the council, "is to me perfectly clear. I shall *never* accept the new dogma without the limitations demanded by us, and shall deny the validity and freedom of the council." And again: "I can in Rottenburg as little as in Rome conceal from myself that the new dogma is without a true and genuine biblical and traditional support, and that the church is incalculably injured, and has, indeed, never received a blow more severe and deadly than on the 18th of July of the present year." And again: "It will not be for want of will on the part of the hierarchy if the stake is not reëstablished within the nineteenth century. . . . It grieves me to say that I have lived many years in a profound illusion; I have thought I was serving the Catholic church, while I was in fact serving the caricature which Romanism and Jesuitism had made of it. It was in Rome that I first learned that what is there customarily practiced bears but the appearance and name of Christianity; it is but the shell; the kernel has vanished, all is externalized. What cares Rome for the conscience of the people, if only its ambition for dominion is gratified?" (Von Schulte, *Geschichte des Altkatholicismus*, pp 222-8). But even a bishop possessed of this knowledge and experience finally proved false to them, not because he changed his belief, but, as he himself admits, because, in his opinion, "a

schism had no chance of success," and because "the condition of a suspended and excommunicated bishop seemed to him intolerable." Instead of betaking himself to God, who causes the upright to prosper, he had recourse to the Württemberg government to know whether it would protect him if he remained firm. The latter, as faint-hearted as himself, answered that it desired peace in the land, and that he should submit. He did submit and sacrificed his conscience, only retaining sense of shame enough not to enforce this demand upon others. He once warned a pastor in a confidential way that it was now more perilous to doubt the papal infallibility than the divine Trinity; but this was all.

Of course, next to the bishops, it would have been the business of the German governments to reject the new dogma—for it sanctioned, among other things, the papal syllabus of 1864, and the syllabus in effect condemned essential principles of modern state life. Indeed, it was the clear duty of the government to reject the whole papal doctrine of the relation of church and state, of which Rauscher, the archbishop of Vienna, justly said that it stamps every Catholic as a born enemy of the state. But here, also, there was wanting in part a perception of the significance of these things, and in part a spirit of determination. As the council drew near, the Bavarian premier, Prince Hohenlohe (now imperial chancellor), called attention to the dangers which threatened the life of the state, and suggested measures for warding them off. These suggestions, however, Prince Bismarck, whose strong point had never been the estimate of intangible forces, refused to entertain. Even when the bishops returned from Rome, and a positive offer of state protection might perhaps have strengthened their spinal columns, he did nothing, and an irrevocable opportunity to make the young German empire free from Rome, and to preserve it from incalculable internal confusion and damage, was lost. Elsewhere, under the show of doing something, less than nothing was effected. In Austria the minister of public worship represented to the emperor that the new dogma was in the highest measure dangerous to the state, and that notice should be given of the termination of the existing con-

cordat. This was done, and then, in the approved Austrian style, the government proceeded as if the Vatican decree was not only not dangerous to the state, but in harmony with state laws, and its opposers were the dangerous party. In Würtemberg the new dogma was solemnly denied all validity as a law of the state—at the very moment when, by the enforced submission of Bishop Hefele, its actual effects were imposed upon the people and the state. In Bavaria, where the waves of public agitation rose highest, the publication of the Vatican decrees was forbidden, and certain pastors who refused to accept them were left undisturbed in their office; but when the bishops, notwithstanding the prohibition, published it, they remained not only unpunished, but unhindered in making it impossible for those pastors to hold their places. Further, when these same bishops began to persecute, the Prussian government was not clear as to what should be done. The minister of public worship, to be sure, protected Dr. Wollmann, a teacher of religion in the schools, and the professors at Breslau and Bonn who opposed the dogma, against the consequences of episcopal excommunication; but at the same time the president of the Rhine Province was permitted to warn a highly esteemed pastor, who held a position in the gift of the state, and who had the support of his parish; and, when the latter did not heed the warning, he was deprived of office and bread—a death-blow to the whole clerical opposition in Prussia. The Swiss confederation as such was not at all concerned in this matter; that single cantons afterward took it up and far excelled the great neighboring states in courage will be noticed later on.

Against the violence of the pope and the unfaithfulness of the bishops, the governments, both Catholic and Protestant, left it to private men, the laity, to maintain the rights and honor of Old Catholicism. As early as three weeks after the close of the council more than a thousand respectable Rhenish Catholics united at Königswinter in the declaration “that they did not acknowledge the decrees in regard to the absolute power and personal infallibility of the pope as the decisions of an ecumenical council, but rather rejected them as contradicting the tra-

ditional faith of the church." Shortly before this forty-three professors and teachers of the University of Munich, not members of the theological faculty, drew up a similar declaration, and this was followed in April, 1871, by the Munich "museum address," with eighteen thousand signers, which went to the government, its purpose being "to prevent the adoption in church and school of the new dogma and to revise the relation of church and state." A counter address, prepared by the archbishop of Munich, received scarcely half as many signatures and was rejected even by half the clergy. But respectable and significant as was this lay movement, what could laymen who wished to remain Catholics undertake without spiritual leaders? All eyes turned first to the venerable Dr. Döllinger. To his archbishop's demand that he submit he had put forth a truly classical letter of declination, in which he offered to argue the question of the new dogma before any theological tribunal; but he at the same time declared that, as a Christian, a theologian, a historian, a citizen of the state and of the German empire, he was unable, until better advised, to accept a doctrine so untrue and so pernicious. He had under him as provost five churches and eighteen clergymen, of whom sixteen were with him in opinion. Had he, after the excommunication which followed his refusal to submit, continued to exercise his office, he would have had on his side half of Munich and half of Bavaria, together with the king, who held firmly with him; and a Catholic church free from Rome would have been formed. But great as Döllinger was as a scholar and as a witness for the truth, and great as were his services in these directions down to his death in his ninetieth year—a man of action, a reformer he was not. Timid in the presence of popular assemblies and agitations, he withdrew into his study and advised his friends to limit themselves to a passive resistance, a counsel which, in the course of a year, would have brought the opposition to an end. Other men, more practical, more vigorous in action, had to come to the front, and fortunately there were such at hand: Michelis, Reinkens, and von Schulte, to whom were added, from Switzerland, Munzinger and Herzog. Michelis, professor of theology in the academy at Brauns-

berg, physically and spiritually a Westphalian giant, occupying the orthodox Catholic point of view, and at the same time a man of comprehensive philosophic and scientific culture, had hurled against the pope's declaration of infallibility the reproach that he had apostatized from the genuine Catholic faith. He did not shrink before the stonings received from the Romish rabble in the journeys which he undertook for the agitation of the subject, and at the next general convention of the Roman Catholics of Germany he appeared as the sole representative of the opposition, challenged anyone to debate with him upon the new dogma, but found no one to accept the challenge. Reinkens, professor of church history in the University of Breslau, a man richly endowed by nature and culture, combining in his character courage and amiability of manner, had stood, during the council itself, in the front rank of the German opposition. It was now *his* resistless eloquence above all, sustained by the energetic earnestness and fire of a religious conscience, which gathered thousands in Germany and Switzerland to the standard of a vigorous opposition. Hand in hand with the opponents of the dogma among the theologians, moreover, went the foremost canonist of Catholic Germany, Dr. von Schulte, professor of canon law in Prague, and up to that time confidential counselor of the prince-bishop, Cardinal Schwarzenberg. He gave up the brilliant career which the papal church opened before him for the service of suppressed truth and became the canonist of German Old Catholicism, for which he framed its excellent constitution and won the recognition of the Prussian government. In Switzerland only four friends of the new movement had come out in writing against the dogma which the seven bishops had brought back with them from Rome. Of the four, when the matter became serious, only one, Eduard Herzog, the young professor of New Testament interpretation at Lucerne, stood his ground. This man, as he had now no standing in Lucerne, removed to Germany and became pastor of the Old Catholic congregation just being formed in Crefeld. Then, when at length the Franco-Prussian war, which had absorbed public attention, was over, *one* man, but he one who was honored far and wide as a champion of the national church idea, Munzinger,

professor of law at Bern, raised the standard of protest, called Herzog back to his home, and secured in Reinkens an itinerant lecturer who awakened the minds of the people.

The problem which now demanded solution by the leaders of the movement—the actual building up of the church—was far more difficult than the creation of a thousand-voiced protest. Confronted by the necessity of forming a distinct organization by the side of the papal church ruled from the Vatican, they had to face the question, After what pattern shall it be built? No doubt there were many in the dissenting ranks who had long been in their real convictions entirely out of sympathy with the doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic church, and who were deeply influenced by the ideas of modern culture; these would have been best pleased with a radical reformed church which, in its criticism and modifications of the actually existing order, would have gone even beyond historic Protestantism; but such a reformed church would, in the religious confusion of our time, scarcely have escaped the fate of “German Catholicism,” that soap-bubble which in the fifth decade of this century had rapidly assumed great dimensions and as quickly burst, because it rejected all that was positive, together with all historic tradition. Others, whose minds were by education more firmly attached to the church doctrine and life, and who were merely offended by the Vatican innovation, were looking for an ecclesiastical organization which should differ from the papal church only by the exclusion of the new dogma. But such a Tridentinism, a papism without a pope, would have been simply a tower without an apex, and would have resulted in a church without power of self-development, without freedom, and with no proper adjustment to the conditions of the time. Fortunately, the leaders of the movement were able to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, and it is this fact that gives to Old Catholicism its distinctive character, recognized as yet, to be sure, by few Protestants, and its significance for the future. These men, pious Catholics from conviction, desired to remain what they were. For this very reason genuine Catholicism, not the papal and Jesuitical, but that ideal and reform-Catholicism which

they had long cherished in their souls, was the pattern after which they built; irrevocably outlawed in the papal church, it was now to take form outside of that body. In this sense the Munich congress, made up of more than three hundred delegates from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, with numerous guests from all the Christian lands of the earth, as early as September, 1871, made out a distinct programme. It made this declaration: "We hold firmly to the Old Catholic faith, as attested by the Scriptures and tradition, as also to the Old Catholic worship." On this basis the newly created dogmas of Pius IX, including that of the *conceptio immaculata* of Mary, were expressly rejected, and it was also added that an ecumenical council cannot even by unanimous vote settle anything as an article of faith which does not already exist in the faith-consciousness of the Catholic people and is not susceptible of being shown by the aid of theological science to be in harmony with the original faith of the church. In like manner, having determined to hold firmly to the old church constitution, every attempt to the contrary was rejected; such as "forcibly depriving the bishops of the independent direction of the affairs of their several churches." Further they declared: "We aim, with the coöperation of theological and canonical science, at a reform of the church which, conceived in the spirit of the ancient church, shall remove the existing defects and abuses, and in particular meet the just wishes of the Catholic people for constitutionally regulated participation in church affairs." In the name of this reform-principle they expressed the hope that a reunion with the eastern church and a gradual understanding with the church of the Reformation might be brought about; demanded for the clergy a more liberal and scientific culture, and a position more secure against hierarchical despotism; declared against the hostility of the church to the state life, civil liberty, and liberal culture; and, finally, pronounced the death-sentence against the Jesuit order as the pernicious destroyer of the church and of morals.

The Cologne congress of the autumn of 1872, attended by all the notable participators in the movement—three hundred and fifty German and Swiss delegates—and by seventy-two

prominent guests from other confessions, went still further in a practical direction. Here, under Döllinger's lead, took place those interconfessional conferences with a view to union which affirmed the dogmatic agreement of all the great sections of the church. Catholic doctrine was defined to be the common Christian doctrine, the *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, and the old ecumenical councils, but not that of Trent, were acknowledged as the authentic interpreters of the same. The leaders of the Old Catholicism especially declared "that the apocryphal books of the Old Testament have not the same canonical authority as those of the Hebrew canon; that no translation of the Bible can claim a higher authority than the original; that the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular cannot justly be forbidden; that it is in general more appropriate that the liturgy should be in the language understood by the people; that the means and condition of justification is the faith which works by love, not faith without love; that salvation cannot be merited, and that the doctrines of a transfer of the superfluous righteousness of the saints is especially untenable; that the doctrine of seven sacraments is the result of a theological speculation dating only from the twelfth century; that the invocation of the saints is not a duty necessary to salvation; that genuine tradition is the uninterrupted transmission, partly oral, partly written, of the doctrines as first delivered by Christ and the apostles; that the celebration of the eucharist is not a continual repetition or renewal of the atoning sacrifice which Christ once for all offered upon the cross, but that its sacrificial character consists in its being a perpetual memorial of the sacrifice, an exhibition upon earth, making the offering of Christ for the salvation of the redeemed as if present here, as, according to the epistle to the Hebrews (Heb., chap. 9), it is perpetually made by him in heaven; that it is also a sacred sacrificial meal in which believers who receive the body and blood of the Lord have fellowship with each other." The doctrine of transubstantiation was declared to be a scholastic speculation in regard to the mystery of the Lord's Supper, and therefore not binding.

Under the lead of Dr. von Schulte the determinative features

of the Old Catholic church order were fixed. Its leading point of view was the same as that given a few days later in a memorial addressed to the Prussian government. "Undeniably," it says, "the greatest evil, the germ of all corruption in the Roman Catholic church, lies in the fact that the *congregation* is destroyed, that the church is identified with the clergy, and in the end with the pope. Out of this has sprung the theory of blind obedience, of the superiority of an uneducated to an educated laity, and of the desirability of a clergy having a minimum of preparation; finally, the ultramontane spirit which, especially in Germany, has been for eight hundred years inimical to the state and the hatred of the Roman curia for all state independence." The outlines of the new church order were fixed in antithesis to all this. The bishop is to have the rights which common ecclesiastical law prescribes for his office; but with him shall be associated a synod of the clergy and laity of the congregations, supreme in matters of legislation and discipline. He is to be the presiding officer of the synod, but elected by it. He is to hold the state laws inviolate, and his pastoral letters are to be communicated in advance to the state authorities. All hindrances to marriage which are not recognized in the state laws and the demand that children of mixed marriages shall be educated as Catholics are given up. He is to consecrate no priest who is not a full citizen of the state and of blameless morals, having also completed a course of study in a German gymnasium and university, and passed his examinations; and he is to appoint no pastor who has not been chosen by the congregation and acknowledged by the government as *persona grata*. He shall raise no taxes for dispensations and appointments.

Upon these fundamental principles the movement which, in opposition to the Roman and Vatican innovations, has taken the name "Old Catholic," began to take form ecclesiastically. There have been formed in Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden numerous Old Catholic societies; these have sought to obtain the joint use of Catholic or evangelical churches, and have from time to time held service under the lead of the clergy who have remained true. The stronger of these have endeavored to obtain

pastors of their own, which, however, has been very difficult, because but few pastors had resisted the "hunger-dogma," so called because it was the chief motive for submission, and even of these few, not all possessed the necessary qualifications and were morally unobjectionable. In general, as soon as the step is to be taken from a mere protesting league (*Protestverein*) to a regular organized congregation, difficulties of mountain height rise before these scattered little bands, and these they cannot alone surmount. It was necessary that as soon as possible a church government should be established and a bishop chosen. But how could a legitimate bishop be obtained, since, according to the Catholic conception, such a one could be consecrated only by another legitimate bishop? Here the peculiarly situated Catholic church of Utrecht gave its help. In Holland, from the times when the pope and the Jesuits suppressed Jansenism, a body of a few thousands of the persecuted had remained firm to their position, having an archbishop and two suffragans, excommunicated indeed, but still in legitimate succession, and these Dutch Old Catholics, as born enemies of the papal infallibility, had from the beginning felt themselves attracted by the German movement. Their archbishop, Loos, had in 1872 helped the German dissidents out with their confirmation and was willing to consecrate their bishop; there was, however, still another condition of the consecration to be settled, that is, the state recognition. In America this would not have been found necessary; but under our German constitution a neglect of the state would have meant a renunciation of the legal standing and right of support which the Roman Catholic church enjoys. Old Catholicism, without recognition by the state, would have been, in the eyes of the people, a sect, and in regard to this Dr. von Schulte judged rightly when he said: "In the sight of God that would, indeed, be a matter of indifference; but to presuppose, on the part of the masses, a point of view which is possible only for a spiritually elevated man, with the enlightenment of a deep inward piety, is out of the question in a community brought up in bondage to the domination of the Roman conception of the church." Accordingly he applied to the Prus-

sian government, at that time represented by Prince Bismarck and Dr. Falk, and through them secured the royal recognition, as a Catholic, of the bishop to be elected, as also a grant of 48,000 marks for the expenses of the bishop and his administration. When this had been accomplished, the delegates of the congregations, both clerical and lay, proceeded in the manner of the ancient church to the election of a bishop, which took place in the chapel of the city hall in Cologne on the 4th of June, 1873. They were nearly unanimous in the choice of Professor D. Reinkens, of Bonn, the best man that could have been chosen. As Archbishop Loos had just died, Bishop Heykamp, of Deventer, laid hands upon the bishop-elect. Following Prussia, Baden and Hesse also gave their recognition for their respective countries, while Bavaria, on the pretext that its constitution did not know a bishop residing outside of its territory, declined. With the election of a bishop the founding of the Old Catholic church of the German empire was complete.

In Switzerland things took a somewhat different course, since here, in addition to the movement which had its start with Munzinger, several cantonal governments took up the matter. Lachat, bishop of Basel, to whom the Catholic cantons of Bern, Basel, Solothurn, Aargau, Thurgau, and Lucerne were subject, published the Vatican decrees without the consent of the cantonal governments, and excommunicated two pastors who had rejected them, and when the withdrawal of this action was demanded by the majority of these cantons, he refused in a defiant manner, and these cantons declared him deposed, so that he was recognized only in Lucerne. The pastors of the French-speaking part of Bern—those in the Jura mountains—so violently protested against the removal of Lachat that nothing remained but to dismiss them also and give the positions to any from abroad who announced themselves as candidates. These were mostly men of doubtful character who, as appointees of a cantonal government in conflict with the pope, simply passed for Old Catholics, without really being such. At the same time also the canton of Geneva came into conflict with the papal curia, because the pope wished to send to Geneva Mermillod,

the ultramontane zealot and later adjunct to the bishop of Lausanne, as independent vicar apostolic, whom the government, however, refused to receive. In his stead there came to Geneva the French reformer Hyacinthe Loyson, who had withdrawn from the papal church. He introduced reform measures much more sweeping than those of the German Old Catholics, which, however, did not fully satisfy the desires of the cantonal government, since they provided no connection with a larger body. In the meantime Munzinger, with the help of Reinkens and Herzog, had carried the Old Catholic movement in German Switzerland so far that the idea of a church organization could be entertained ; but when in April, 1873, he was removed by a premature death, there arose the danger of a break with the traditional Catholic constitution. The dissenters, offended partly by the conduct of Lachat and the Roman bishops generally, and partly following their Swiss democratic bias, were little inclined to the election of an Old Catholic bishop, and favored a mere confederation of self-governing congregations, which would, to be sure, have been an entire abandonment of the ground of historic Catholicism. Dr. Herzog, then professor in Bern, had, as a stubborn defender of the Old Catholic principle, a difficult position ; he was, however, aided by the fact that Geneva demanded for its Catholic congregations an episcopal authority, and so, when at length, on the 7th of June, 1876, a bishop was elected here also, the choice fell by a large majority upon Herzog himself. But the episcopal office here was of much more limited authority than in Germany. The government was in the hands of a synod, of which the majority of the members and the president were laymen, and the bishop was recognized as such only in the standing committee of the synod. The whole grant which the cantons allowed him was but 5,000 francs a year, as it was supposed that he would still hold the place of a professor, or pastor. Yet, even under such conditions, the excellent personal qualities of the man chosen enabled him to develop an ample and beneficent activity.

We come now to the development of the Old Catholic church as thus founded. We learn the sense and spirit of the new

episcopate from some passages of the pastoral letter of Bishop Reinkens written on entering upon his office. "It would be," he says, "an illusion to think that it is the business of the episcopal office to represent the divine attributes on earth in virtue of a perpetuity of miracle in the person of the bishop. The episcopal office has attached to it no personal privilege for the benefit of a few choice souls, but a *service for the believers*. What then is my official duty? This: to publish abroad what God has revealed to the humble; to preach from the housetops that which he has made known to his disciples in secret. And what is that? It is not a criminal code; much less is it a death-sentence, spoken in the form of a curse; for the indictment of humanity was nailed to the cross, and with the blood of him who has judged no man, but has given his life for us, it is blotted out. It is the gospel, the joyful message, not the terror, but the joy of the human race; that truth, which, while it makes them free, can only in freedom spread abroad its light, for in freedom only the light of peace can shine. *Christ* is this truth. . . . Two mighty enemies oppose the discharge of my duty; these are ecclesiastical materialism, and indifference, both of them begotten and nourished to their present magnitude by the pernicious Romanism of the western church. . . . Further, there stand as hindrances at the right and left of our way the halting ones (*Halben*), some calling to us, 'You go a little too far for us,' and others, 'You go hardly far enough for us.' To these calls I answer: 'We shall go as far as the spirit of Jesus Christ shall lead, and no farther.' . . . On our banner is inscribed on the one side, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. 3: 12), and on the other, 'Whatever is not done from conviction is sin' (Rom. 14: 23)."

So it was not a Roman, but a truly evangelic Catholicism which received the shepherd's staff—the same in Bern as in Bonn—and the whole form and organization of the new church upon which the two bishops, despite the fact that the authority was divided with the synod, exerted the decisive influence, received this evangelic impress. Most of all is this true of the

character of the instruction given in preaching and teaching. The preaching of the biblical gospel, according to the interpretation given to it in the pastoral letter quoted from above, was all the more influential from the fact that the two bishops set the example in their preaching. Both were eminent preachers of the gospel, not dogmatists, but preachers of the simple biblical truths in vivid and practical style. The doctrinal principle, *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, while allowing great dogmatic freedom, excluded all critical neology. It held to the common essence of the faith, without holding the preacher to a dogmatic law of the letter. Bishop Reinkens especially did not deny that, even in case of an Old Catholic dogma, which was fixed by an ecumenical council, and which none but an ecumenical council has the right to revise, a distinction is to be made between the contents of divine and eternal truth, and the mere human and temporary theological form, the latter often constructed with the aid of Aristotelian categories. A new catechism introduced the youth to a knowledge of the evangelical Catholic truth. This teaches that in the New Testament the doctrine of Christ, as the apostles have delivered it, is contained in essential completeness; that even the church, in her assemblies, when she desired to establish the "always, everywhere, and by all believed," had to go first to this source, and only when the Holy Scriptures did not with sufficient clearness decide a contested question, was compelled to accept the aid of tradition for the interpretation of Scripture. The church in this catechism is defined to be the "community of believers," and to the question as to what we receive in the Holy Supper it answers simply, "we receive in the Holy Supper the Savior himself in the forms of bread and wine, in order thus to become partakers of his atoning sacrifice upon the cross and to enter into the most intimate union as well with the Savior as with each other." Divine worship has preserved its Old Catholic form, which, indeed, a portion of the church of the Reformation has retained, but the congregation has been given an active part. The congregation takes part in the liturgy, both in speaking and in singing; the German, and chiefly the evangelical church hymnody,

which in the Roman Catholic church has been as far as possible suppressed, is restored to use. The use of the mother tongue has been greatly extended, although in the mass the Latin, in this case preferred by the people, has been more or less retained. The remainder of the liturgy, the prayers, and Scripture selections are read in German, and in order more freely to introduce the Holy Scriptures there have been added to the old prescribed gospels and epistles a new selection for alternate use. A whole series of explanations and definitions guard against the superstitious abuse of the mass. "The Old Catholics are to be taught that in the celebration of the holy mass in the first place the entire church, and especially those present, are to be prayed for, and that the communion is the best means of becoming partaker of the grace given through the celebration." The remembrance of the dead in prayer is not forbidden, but is restricted to private prayer, each for his own dead. All mass stipends and stole dues are abolished. The system of holidays is revised and simplified throughout on a biblical basis. "We do not celebrate three holy kings, but the epiphany of the Lord; not the bodily ascent of Mary, but the day of her death;" "Good Friday is of course to be celebrated and sanctified by a cessation of labor." And so everywhere the Roman Catholic superstition is guarded against. "Indulgences" are abolished. In regard to fasts and abstinence the synod of 1874 gave a genuine evangelical exposition, not dismissing the subject, but declining to legislate upon the extent and kind of fasting as being a matter lying beyond its competence. Auricular confession, the chief agency of the Roman church for enslaving the conscience, is reformed in accordance with liberty of conscience. "Personal self-accusation without repentance, without faith in the redeeming work of Christ, and without a desire for his grace, is worthless." Whoever will receive the communion has, according to direction of the apostle, to examine *himself* beforehand. On the other hand, there is no general obligation to go to the confessional (*das Buss sacrament zu empfangen*) before the communion. A religious obligation to special confession exists only in the case of those acts of sin through which one becomes conscious of hav-

ing forfeited the divine grace. "It is not the purpose of confession that one should through it seek counsel in relation to his temptations, obligations, circumstances, and decisions; believers are to be taught to act according to their own consciences, and, when they are in need of advice, to apply for it to those naturally best able to impart it, especially to parents, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, and friends." Thus voluntary private confession takes the place of compulsory auricular confession. But provision was also made for a general devotional service preparatory to the Lord's Supper. Finally, marriage was made the subject of important reforms. No clergyman may officiate in a marriage until the demands of the civil law are satisfied. Then the church benediction, to seek which is made a religious duty, is everywhere bestowed, except in marriages with non-Christians, and in marriages of divorced persons while the other party is still living. "In the case of mixed marriages there is to be no stipulation of special rights in behalf of one party regarding the education of the children." One of the questions practically most difficult for the newly organized Old Catholicism was that of the marriage of the priesthood. Hyacinthe Loyson had solved it independently by his own marriage, and the Old Catholic clergy of French Switzerland followed his example. In German Switzerland it was deemed sufficient to declare that the married or unmarried condition of the clergy was of no significance as respects the validity of their official services, and about half of the clergy remained unmarried. Still more reserved was the action in Germany. While theoretically there was unity of conviction that the forced celibacy of the clergy was un-Christian, and while the cultured laity, having in mind the corruption of the priesthood caused by it, advocated the repeal of the law of celibacy, the most of the priesthood opposed such action on account of the popular feeling and the insinuations of their opponents. Finally, in 1878, the German synod by a large majority determined to leave the priests free in the matter, subject, however, to the concurrence of the individual congregations. A considerable part of the clergy, in view of their slender financial resources, have made no use of

this liberty; nevertheless, the action of the synod has contributed essentially to the elevation of the clergy, giving them each the character of the citizen and the man instead of that of the parson.

Of all these reforms, effected in the beginning at annual and later at biennial synods, only the question of celibacy has caused even a transient agitation. In general the conservative and liberal tendencies have acted so on the line of reason as to limit themselves to that which was necessary, and accustom the congregations to the new state of things. So, for instance, the giving of the cup to the laity, which took place here and there in Switzerland, was in Germany reserved to the future, since the congregations did not ask for it. On the whole, the new church order, as von Schulte drew it up, proved itself a very happy medium between freedom and authority. To the bishop alone belong confirmation and ordination, and he appoints pastors provisionally, and after six months a free election by the congregation decides whether his appointments shall be permanent. He exercises the spiritual oversight to the extent of suspension from office; deposition from office can take place only by the action of the synod. The congregations govern themselves through their boards of direction and representation, and the standing of the pastors rests upon a moral, not upon a hierarchical basis. It occurred once that an ambitious pastor attempted to rebel against the rule of the bishop and the synodical committee, using means of a very doubtful character. He was patiently borne with for a long time, but when this could be done no longer, the matter was brought before the synod, he was unanimously removed, and in a short time his successor had won back the irritated congregation. In spite of this excellent administration, the difficulties to be surmounted in the management of the Old Catholic church were extraordinarily great. As to the external founding and support of the congregations, there were, indeed, in Prussia and Baden laws enacted for the Old Catholics, securing to those who declared themselves to be adherents of the reform, where they made up a considerable part of the parish, a joint use of the Catholic church and a corresponding share of the parish

income. But not only was it necessary, first of all, to secure the recognition of these claims on the part of the government, but such was the enormous majority of the adherents of the Roman church that next to nothing was received towards the pastor's support. The portion of the 48,000 marks granted by Prussia to the bishop which remained over for the assistance of the congregations, and the 18,000, later 24,000, which Baden appropriated for parochial needs, were far from sufficient to carry on the pastoral work, so that in these two lands, and much more in Bavaria, where the Old Catholics received nothing at all either from church endowments or state resources, the congregations were obliged to take upon themselves heavy financial burdens. A second and still greater need was the lack of able clergymen, but few, as already observed, having ventured to reject the Vatican dogma. The Old Catholics were as yet unable to offer a secure, much less an abundant, support. And of the few who had passed over to them, it is clear, as in the time of the Reformation, many were incapable of overcoming the defects of the Roman Catholic education for the priesthood. Many priests, to be sure, secretly offered themselves to the Old Catholic bishops, but most of them had to be rejected on account of stains in their past lives, and even of those who after a conscientious examination were accepted many proved disappointing. Many a rising Old Catholic congregation was wrecked in the first decade by its pastor's weakness of character and want of tact. Let it be further added that the congregations also could not have been of the ideal kind, but bore the distinct traces of their previous servitude to Rome; that with a nucleus of pious people of firm character there were not wanting elements that were unprepared for the new freedom, and turned it into a license unbecoming the church. Such is a picture of the inner distresses which strained to the utmost the spiritual force and love of the able members of the body.

And now to all this was added the fearful persecution of the "deserters" by the Roman Catholic church, in which the persecutors outnumbered the persecuted a hundred to one, besides controlling unlimited resources and employing methods in part

hitherto unheard of, a persecution in which, it must be confessed also, the Old Catholics received no appreciable aid from their Protestant brethren. German Protestantism, absorbed in the establishment of the new empire and in the material interests which ruled the time, crippled by the wide-spread ignorance and indifference in ecclesiastical matters, and, indeed, selfishly occupied with its own internal questions, paid little attention to the movement, which, even for Protestantism itself, was so full of meaning. The Old Catholics, when they requested it, were, indeed, allowed the joint use of the churches, but this was done mostly with the thought that the dissenters from the Roman church would have done better to become Protestants; as if they, as honest, pious Catholics, could forthwith have done this, and as if the internal condition of Protestantism could possibly have appeared so inviting to them as to induce them to abandon for it the great mission which they believed themselves able to accomplish within the realm of Catholicism. With all the greater energy did Rome advance against them. First of all, of course, the confessional was set in motion against them. By filling with terror and fanatical zeal the minds of the wives, daughters, and relatives of those who had signed the protests, they brought not a few of them to the unhappy position of that professor of law at Bonn who soon declared that he should have to withdraw his signature to prevent his being made insane by intolerable domestic dissension. Another means used was the boycott, which, through the numerous lay fraternities and sororities, could be set in operation with great effect against business and laboring people. What could the isolated Old Catholic, dependent for his daily bread upon Roman Catholics, do when his patronage was withdrawn? The ruin of the leaders of the movement, and especially the bishop, a man of most unblemished reputation and character, was attempted by the ordinary means of insinuations against their chastity, and these calumnies became so severe that the Old Catholic journals were obliged to declare that, if they did not cease, retaliatory measures would be taken and the public would now be served with facts. Then there was quiet. But they had at least the power to make the Old Catho-

lics as a body an object of horror to the faithful adherents of Romanism. They were solemnly excommunicated, characterized as the "wretched sons of perdition," who were not even to be greeted—the expression is an exaggeration of the biblical characterization of Judas Iscariot—and their public worship was declared sacrilegious. In order to make this judgment more emphatic, something quite new was invented; that is, that the Catholic churches were, by joint use of the Old Catholics, so desecrated as to be unfit for the Roman Catholic worship. By an edict of the papal nuncio at Munich, the Roman Catholics were obliged to leave those churches of which the state laws had granted the joint use of the Old Catholics, and in many places to occupy miserable temporary buildings. The people were the more effectually frightened from attendance at the Old Catholic services, and filled with indignation and abhorrence towards them, as these now appeared as robbers of their churches. In vain was it pointed out that in many places the Roman worship was conducted in the same churches with that of the Protestants. In vain did the learned Old Catholic, Professor Reusch, prove that the papal church interdict was in contradiction with canonical law. It was obeyed by the Catholic people of the lower classes and made fanatics of them, and through them produced an intimidating effect even upon the attitude of the Protestant governments.

This fierce warfare on the part of Romanism would have been enduring if the state had distributed its light and air at least equally between the powerful majority and the small minority. This it has not done, even in Baden and in powerful Protestant Prussia, not to speak of such states as Bavaria and Austria, where the governments stood, and still stand, in the secret service of ultramontanism. Prussia did, indeed, just at that time open a bitter war against the Roman Catholic church in her territory, the so-called *Culturkampf*, but it was no war in the interests of Old Catholicism, and quite as little to its advantage; indeed quite the contrary. The *Culturkampf* was the belated and unsuccessful attempt to force bishops and priests, upon whom the papal omnipotence and supremacy had just been

imposed as an article of faith, to the recognition of a state authority which had its origin in the supremacy of the state over the church, and in the political freedom of conscience on the part of Roman Catholics. In vain did the Old Catholics utter their warnings against such a forlorn attempt, and yet they were the first to suffer from it. The state sought its support, not in Old Catholicism, but in a state-Catholicism invented by itself, that is, in the party of those thick heads who fancied that they could yield their consciences to be enslaved by an infallible pope and at the same time be free and law-abiding citizens of a free state. As a consequence, public interest in Old Catholicism abated. Still more; by means of the violent attacks of the state upon the Roman church the ignominious change of faith of the bishops and priests was forgotten, the people learned to honor again as martyrs those whom they had just now despised as renegades, and brave confessors of the Old Catholic faith appeared in contrast with them as protégés of the persecuting state administration. Thus perhaps nothing has done more to hinder the popular spread of Old Catholicism than the opening of the *Culturkampf* just at the moment when everything was in the making. But the Prussian state did not, even at the time when it was in bitterest war with the Roman church, fulfill the obligations of simple justice to Old Catholicism, although the latter was most loyally rendering to Cæsar what was Cæsar's, but failed to keep its promise, though, to be sure, originally rather from a want of the firmness necessary to execute a good purpose than from really bad intention.

When Dr. von Schulte, in January, 1873, was in negotiation with Prince Bismarck, he was told: "I hold the Old Catholics to be the only Catholics, to whom really everything belongs. I have hitherto prevented any smallest thing happening that could militate against this position. If the government will not carry out this view, it must at least give you what you need." In like manner Dr. Falk expressed himself, and, as the least to be granted, promised "equal rights." If the government had at the right moment assumed the position first indicated, treated the adherents of the pre-Vatican church as those Catholics

with whom alone legal relations existed, and had left the church which had been changed in the Vatican interest to negotiate for a new relation to the state, it would have escaped the whole *Culturkampf*. And if it had even held to the second view, that of equality of rights, its course would of necessity have been quite different from that actually pursued. It would have been obliged to support the Old Catholic bishop as liberally as the Roman bishops; it would have been bound to relinquish to the Old Catholics one at least of the Catholic theological faculties, and to assign to them at once a sufficient part of the church buildings, and of the general and local church funds. And, above all, it was bound to inform the Catholics of the country that they must decide to which of the parties they desired to belong. When, however, the Old Catholics requested this, and asked that in each parish where there were Old Catholics everyone should announce himself, the Prussian privy counselors found it quite impossible, and only laid upon the Old Catholics the duty of registering themselves as such. In this way the Old Catholics were, from the beginning, reduced to a vanishing minority; for, of course, the timid, the wavering, the ignorant, and the worldly remained at home, and so aided in swelling immensely the Vatican majority. From this reduction of the number of the Old Catholic minority there resulted also a corresponding diminution of their claims upon the state. The bishop's grant of 48,000 marks was less than the lowest amount granted to a Roman Catholic bishop, and the greater half of this, designated for the aid of the congregations, was not placed in the hands of the bishop, but administered directly by the minister of public worship, by which method the councilors of this department have in ten years kept from the needy congregations 31,358 marks! The theological faculty at Bonn, with but a single exception, passed over to the Old Catholics; but instead of being given over wholly, or at least in half, to Old Catholicism, on the death of any Old Catholic member the place thus vacated was filled by an adherent of the Vatican, and yet the legislation of this same state requires of the Old Catholics also that their clergy shall have pursued their studies at a Prus-

sian university. If the Old Catholics, after having made the greatest sacrifices for the sake of their own church, nevertheless in any instance found themselves unable to form such a congregation as would be recognized by the state—and this was in most instances the case—they were compelled to continue paying taxes to the Roman Catholic church, which, with the greatest pleasure, collected from these excommunicated “sons of perdition” their money, this not having been excommunicated. When the Old Catholics pleaded for exemption from this injustice, they were told that their only way of escape was by the organization of a church. If, after complying with all the conditions, they asked for recognition, all possible administrative difficulties were placed in their way, and the decision was often delayed for years. Not but that the government, up to the Canossa crisis of 1878, was well disposed, but the execution of the Old Catholic law was placed in the hands of the provincial presidents, who were intrusted with the duty of examining and deciding upon each separate case, and these gentlemen were, with few exceptions, so little favorable to Old Catholicism that they may, without exaggeration, be said to have done all they could to strangle it with governmental red tape. The Old Catholics did not fit into an administrative mold which was made for only two confessions; moreover, the administration feared the fanaticism of the Roman Catholic majority of the population, desiring as far as possible to please them. Furthermore, suggestions emanating from ultramontane sources were, even in the midst of the *Culturkampf*, constantly and unceasingly circulated. And in a state whose watchword is *suum cuique* occurred things which would not be deemed possible were they not proved by documentary evidence, which may be seen in von Schulte's *History of German Old Catholicism*.

These acts of state chicanery related specially to the law which allowed to the Old Catholics the joint use of the Catholic churches. Instead of protecting them against the arbitrary papal interdict which closed such churches to Roman worship, the state administration aided in the execution of the arbitrary papal act, attempting in every way to prevent the Old Catho-

lics from entering these churches, or else to exclude them after they had entered them. Nor was the government content to limit itself to reasonable attempts at mediation, for which the Old Catholics were always ready, but sometimes adopted the policy of directly seeking the ruin of their congregations. In Crefeld the provincial government at Düsseldorf, in five years of vacillation, brought it about that the Old Catholic congregation, recognized by the state, and having a church belonging to it by provision of law, was not only not put in possession of it, but the sum of 90,000 marks insincerely offered by the Roman Catholics for its release to them, after having been accepted by the Old Catholics, was finally reduced to 30,000 marks. Likewise in Wiesbaden the presidents of administration and police by their combined efforts succeeded in expelling from the church the Old Catholics, to whom it had been legally opened, and the police demanded the list of members and betrayed the same to the Roman Catholic clergy to be used for their work of conversion, fixed for the expulsion of the Old Catholics the day of the festival of ascension, and permitted an extraordinary procession. These examples were followed in Baden, where at first it was honestly intended to execute the Old Catholic law, but after the conclusion of the Prussian *Culturkampf* in the inglorious Canossa pilgrimage of 1878, there arose an unworthy spirit of adulation towards the papacy. In Karlsruhe a congregation of 1,300 souls obtained recognition only on the condition, imposed at the outset, that it should renounce its claim to the use of the Catholic church. In Freiburg the university church, which the university had assigned to the Old Catholics, was, after years of use by them, taken from them by the government. In Saecingen, on the pretense that their numbers were diminished, though the opposite was proved, the parish church was taken from them, and they were exiled to a hurriedly fitted up and damp chapel. Here and there country congregations, treated with such acts of violence, which of course made a deep impression on the people, were actually broken up. Nor has this treatment of the Old Catholics by the state, which has been pursued for years, and may justly be

regarded as administrative persecution, been limited to the matter of the church edifices. It has extended through the entire state administration. I will only call attention to the pressure which was brought to bear upon Old Catholicism in the matter of school administration. The Old Catholics saw their children in the Catholic public schools treated in such a manner that, when it was possible, they established private schools at their own cost. Then they had, still in addition to these, the burdens of the Roman Catholic public schools to bear. In the higher institutions of learning the evangelical and Roman Catholic teachers are paid by the state, the Old Catholic are not, although the authorities have demanded that they provide one such teacher. Among the gymnasium professors the Old Catholic movement had found especial approval; but it was soon observed that no Old Catholic was made gymnasium principal (*Gymnasial-Director*); so that those who desired to rise higher in their career were induced for this reason to renounce their confession. From all the foundations and benefices in Bonn for students of Catholic theology not a single Old Catholic has ever received anything whatever. And if all this took place in the green tree, under Protestant governments such as those of Prussia and Baden, what was to be expected in the dry, that is, in Bavaria? In Munich Dr. Friedrich, the only Old Catholic professor of theology besides Döllinger, was transferred against his will to the philosophical faculty; but the venerable Döllinger was so feared by the government that it not only left him personally unmolested, but also his associates in the faith. But he had scarcely closed his eyes when the heir-apparent declared in his speech from the throne, delivered in the upper house, that he wished to put an end to Old Catholicism, and a law was accordingly passed denying the name and standing of Catholic to the Old Catholics and stamping them as a sect with a right only to private exercise of their religion. Thus it is evident that the German governments to which reference has been made have well served the interests of the infallible papacy.

Of course, under such double pressure from the Roman church and the state, the latter subservient to the former, the

Old Catholic cause not only could not spread to any considerable extent for a time, but the church declined numerically. Thousands who in their first zeal had signed the anti-Vatican protest were lost to the movement when it became clear that unless they withdrew they must suffer a lifelong martyrdom; the papal church, ceaseless in its efforts, reduced many to subjection; there are, perhaps, still more who, wearied of their material and moral sacrifices, have quietly taken refuge in the Protestant church. In the first years after the election of the bishop there were estimated to be about seventy thousand Old Catholics in the German empire; at present only from forty to fifty thousand are to be found; in Bavaria, especially, most of the congregations have ceased to exist. The ultramontanists have triumphed. In the very beginning of the movement a Cologne Jesuit, speaking from the pulpit, comforted his anxious hearers with the assurance: "The Old Catholics will not succeed, they have no *money*;" and now it has become fashionable in ultramontane and congenial circles to declare Old Catholicism dead. This, however, is not true. Although there is no longer any hope that the Catholic reform movement will at an early day take on great dimensions, nevertheless it has never stood still, and in its internal development has notably advanced. In quietly contemplating the ways of God, which are almost always circuitous, it is evident that often too sudden growth in externals has been at the expense of inner strengthening. A winnowing was, perhaps, necessary in order to separate all the chaff from the precious grain, and I am convinced that in Prussia, where such force has been employed against it, the movement has not only proved its power to live, but has made real progress. Though many have dropped off from the congregations, there has nevertheless been in a great number of them a constant filling of these gaps, and, of course, from among those who now know what they take upon themselves by this step. In every congregation which has over it an able pastor there is a quiet and constant growth. Ever-increasing numbers of societies have formed themselves into regular congregations, and as such have been recognized by the state. An

obvious sign of life, and at the same time a guaranty for the future, is seen in the number of church edifices now owned by them, thus liberating the congregations that own them from their insecure and limited accommodation as guests in Roman Catholic or Protestant churches. With great sacrifices on their own part and the faithful aid of their brethren in the faith, with some added support from Protestants, the congregations of Munich and Passau in Bavaria, Crefeld, Saarbrücken, and Kattowitz in Prussia, Hessloch in Hesse, and Karlsruhe in Baden, have built churches for themselves, and others are doing the same. A further and more important progressive work is the reconstruction of the Old Catholic clergy. The frequent painful experiences with the clergy received from the papacy made evident the necessity of educating their own men for the future supply of their clerical ranks, and as the state offered no assistance in this work, the bishop undertook it himself. He founded, in Bonn, a seminary for students of theology, which he hoped would, with the help afforded by the presence of the university, develop into an academic establishment for theological studies, and in a few years he had the satisfaction of seeing the school so far endowed by free contributions that it was recognized by the state. In addition to these purely ecclesiastical enterprises, the Old Catholics have developed also a large activity on the part of their congregations in the direction of efforts for social amelioration, in which the aggressive life of Catholicism expresses itself more freely and more purely than in other directions. In order to protect themselves against the propagandism of the "Sisters of Charity," they have founded several deaconess-houses. They have in addition established for the benefit of pastors and their families a burial fund, a pension system, and a fund for widows and orphans; also a number of scholarships for theological students, and a publication society for the dissemination of Old Catholic literature. In the separate congregations there are flourishing societies of women and of young people, sociables, choral societies, lectures, and congregational entertainments. Although the congregations are made up of all ranks, and the rich are but sparsely represented

in them, liberality in giving has shown itself to a very remarkable degree. The 15,000 Prussian Old Catholics alone had, according to von Schulte, up to the year 1883 contributed half a million marks for church purposes; those of Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden had made corresponding contributions, and since that time a still larger amount has been added. They have not only untiringly taxed themselves for building churches, and given the bishop a beautiful edifice and more than a hundred thousand marks for his seminary at Bonn, but also sustain all the benevolent funds mentioned above, and beside all this a central fund from which the bishop may aid poor and distressed congregations. Finally, the Old Catholics from the beginning to this day have developed a wonderful literary activity, and have thus proved themselves to be an intellectual force of the present time. They publish in Germany two journals, a noted and learned one, the excellent *Deutscher Mercur*, of Munich, and a popular one, the *Altkatholische Volksblatt*, of Bonn. Further, there is published an excellent woman's journal, the contributions being all by women. Besides these in Germany, there are the Swiss, Dutch, French, and Italian organs, and the *International Theological Review*, edited in Bern. A succession of classical works, which contain material of great importance for us Protestants also, have since 1873 been sent forth by the leaders of the movement, von Döllinger, von Schulte, Reusch, Reinkens, Langen, and others, together with a profusion of liturgical, polemic, practical, or popular pamphlets, and able men of the younger generation have risen up to follow in the literary footsteps of the great leaders, who are gradually dying off. It is ridiculous to think of a community which has shown such abundant signs of life as extinct. Recently those who have pronounced the body dead have had less to say. The legislatures and newspapers scarcely notice Old Catholicism, so that its condition has gradually become more peaceful and comfortable. In Protestant circles respect and sympathy for it are on the increase. Ill-treatment at the hands of the government seems in Prussia, at least, to have ceased. Even the Romanists have accepted it as an existing fact. When Bishop Reinkens died, two years

ago, the election and recognition of his successor, the suffragan bishop, Dr. Weber, were effected without difficulty.

So much of Germany, the motherland of the Reformation, and ever to remain the land of its leadership. But outside of Germany also there is a progressing development of the movement to be noticed. To speak first of Switzerland, Old Catholicism has there passed through similar experiences; but also through seeming defeats it has been encouragingly strengthened. The cantonal governments have assumed very different attitudes towards the Catholic reform movement. The ultramontane cantons still refuse it all recognition, as does Bavaria in Germany. In the mixed cantons the *Culturkampf*, opened by the removal of Bishop Lachat, lost itself in the sand, as in Germany, and the original partisanship of radical politicians in favor of the Catholic reform gave place, as with us in Germany, to a coquetry with Romanism which had its origin in shortsightedness and weakness of character. The violent act of Bern in giving freedom from Rome to the French Jura congregations, when the internal conditions for such a step were not present in them as in German Switzerland, of course came to naught. At the end of the first term of office for which the pastors, gathered from every quarter, had been elected, Leo XIII granted his adherents what Pius IX had forbidden—that is, that they should acknowledge the ecclesiastical authority of Bern—and in consequence ultramontane pastors were elected to almost all these congregations, so that there remained to Old Catholicism in the canton of Bern only four congregations. Still, this episode in the history of Bern was of advantage to Old Catholicism, in that it retained the theological faculty which in the meantime had been founded there. In Geneva also the attempt to recognize but one Catholic church is approaching defeat, so that at present the mixed cantons generally have living side by side adherents of both Catholic confessions, who settle matters between them on a basis of majority and minority in the respective localities. The ultramontane cantons do not, to be sure, feel themselves bound to exercise this justice, and the national authorities likewise forget that the protection of liberty of conscience is intrusted to them. In spite of this change for the worse in polit-

ical condition, the "Christian Catholic church of Switzerland" has made good progress. Instead of the lost twenty-nine congregations in the Bernese Jura, which had been only apparently "Christian Catholics," they have since 1880 formed thirteen new congregations of actual adherents. The reform cause has won the most signal victory in Lucerne, where, in spite of the external enmity, unhindered by the ultramontane government of Bern, which even took away from the "Christian Catholics" the church which had been assigned to them by the city authorities, they have formed a vigorous congregation of seven or eight hundred souls, which has also succeeded in building a beautiful church. The internal differences in Swiss Old Catholicism, which had their origin in experiments with the liturgy, were happily adjusted by the synod of 1880, and the form of service which was the outcome of the Old Catholic congress of 1894 was, as I can testify, exceedingly well prepared and edifying. As to the external progress of the reformed church, the report shows that, in 1876, 2,982 children received religious instruction; in 1880, 3,987, of which 3,000 belonged to German Switzerland; in 1895, 4,501. The entire number is estimated at more than 40,000. At the Easter communion of the "Christian Catholic" church many Roman Catholics participate.

In Austria, also, Old Catholicism, in the face of the greatest obstacles, internal and external, has made fair progress. The lack of seriousness and the religious indifference in Austria are as great as the political and social power of Romanism. The first persons in Vienna to place themselves at the head of the protest movement were better adapted to embarrass than to advance it. It was not until the vigorous Pastor Milosch Czech placed himself at the head of the Old Catholics of Vienna that a substantial congregation was formed, and this at present numbers somewhat more than two thousand souls. Besides this, there exists in Ried, in Upper Austria, a vigorous congregation of five hundred souls, which, when the old church once assigned to it was taken down on the pretext of street improvement, built with the aid of others of its faith a small church for itself. The attitude of the government towards Old Catholicism is as unfriendly

as can be conceived. Although the state did not recognize the Vatican decrees, the Old Catholics have been denied the legal character of Catholics, and robbed of all claim upon the church property and all the support from the state which all the other confessions enjoy. All administrative and police measures are, indeed, made use of in order to embarrass them, as, for instance, the expulsion of a priest from the city, and that contrary to law, though there was no ground of objection to him except his great influence. In spite of all this, in German north Bohemia a flourishing flock of Old Catholics has been formed, while the struggle for existence on the part of the German nationality in the empire, with its tendency to Slavic preponderance, shows itself here as at the same time a struggle for emancipation from the Roman hierarchy. From Warnsdorf, where the government could not refuse recognition to an Old Catholic congregation, a whole system of branch churches has been formed, embracing not less than ten thousand souls. They own several churches built by themselves, and would long ago have formed a considerable number of congregations if the government had not attached to the recognition of them impossible conditions. As these brave people, chiefly farmers and factory laborers, have not the means to endow a bishop of their own for Austria, and foreign bishops are not permitted to officiate in that empire, the Vienna pastor, Czech, has been chosen provisionally as episcopal administrator, and has recently settled in Warnsdorf, the center of the north Bohemian movement. The situation in Italy is more tolerant and free, but there is lacking among the Latin nations, as Bishop Herzog declares, that deeper religious sentiment and that higher culture which draw the German Catholics to truth and liberty in matters of religion. And yet the Old Catholic reform has made a beginning even in Italy, and, indeed, starting from the immediate environment of the pope. Count Campello, a canon of St. Peter's and a scion of an old Roman noble family, became in his mature years acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, which, in the course of his education for the higher service of the papal church, he had never seen, and was so affected by them that he threw away his honors and his income

in order to become the bearer of the gospel to his people. Filled with the conviction that if the gospel was to become the religion of the people in Italy, it must remain in the popular Catholic form, he became the founder of an evangelical, national Catholic church, which was organized in 1891 and chose him as its bishop. In Umbria, where he began his missionary work, as well as in western Riviera, he has succeeded in founding congregations. Enthusiastic young fellow-laborers, educated under Bishop Herzog in Bern, assist him, and the extreme measures which the neighboring Roman bishops employed to keep the people away from his services evince the attractive power which he exerts. In France the highly gifted Hyacinthe Loyson made some sporadic impressions, but had no skill in organizing, and did not succeed in creating any congregational life. Finally he left the field to the Dutch Old Catholics, and they then founded a congregation in Paris, from which missions spread into the provinces. It is reported from Spain that an Old Catholic bishop, Cabrero by name, has his six congregations in that land of fanatical intolerance, and is protected by the English. From Ceylon also there are reported three Portuguese congregations and an Old Catholic bishop. There are from eight to ten thousand Old Catholics in the United States, with a bishop and seven pastors, and still more numerous congregations in Mexico. All these facts afford clear evidence that the Old Catholic reform has taken root in the Christianity of the whole world, though it is yet in its feeble infancy.

The claim of Old Catholicism to be ecumenical in character rather than national or local, however, rests not only upon the fact that it has representatives in various nations and parts of the earth, but also upon its cultivation of friendly relations with other Christian confessions; thus in contrast with the Church of Rome, which anathematizes all Christian bodies not in obedience to her, Old Catholicism maintains the true catholic idea. In Germany a fraternal relation has been developed between the Old Catholics and the more liberal-minded Protestants, and this is constantly increasing. The present bishop, Dr. Weber, has several times attended the annual meetings of the Evangelical

Alliance, and in local meetings of the same has delivered many addresses. Protestant friends have, in turn, taken part in Old Catholic festivals, and have sought to aid the Old Catholic cause. The Old Catholics have also sought federation with other churches having an episcopal organization. They have not aimed, indeed, at fusion, for they hold to the independence of the several national churches, but at the recognition that they all belong to the one ecumenical church which rests upon the dogmatic and episcopal foundation of the early church, and can, therefore, practice communion with each other. These negotiations have, however, thus far led to no tangible result. Nor do I think that such a result would be of any great value, for there are among the Anglicans those who emphatically desire to be "catholic," and are at the same time wholly out of sympathy with the Old Catholics. The English Ritualists are on the way *to* Rome; the Old Catholics on the way *from* Rome. As for the Russian and Greek church, an active intercourse cannot take place with ecclesiastical bodies which are dead, that is, mere dogmatic mummies. Such intercourse is possible only with single living members of these churches, and this takes place in a most stimulating and helpful way in the Old Catholic international congresses, which are held alternate years, as also in the *International Theological Review*, for which arrangements are made at each biennial congress. On the other hand, there exists a veritable "union" of the Old Catholics of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and if the church of Utrecht has been able to render important services to the German Old Catholics, the gain has been greater on her own side, since, by contact with the German reform movement, this old church has been redeemed from stagnation and deadness, and drawn again into the living stream of the Christian church's onward movement. An important documentary proof of this spirit and of the fellowship which is in course of development between the Old Catholics of Holland and German Switzerland is found in the common pastoral letter which their five bishops issued in the year 1889 in testimony of full ecclesiastical fellowship, and which briefly defines the conservatively catholic and still evan-

gely free and broad-minded position of Old Catholicism. This common pastoral letter sets out from the canon of the *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est*, and confesses to the ecumenic symbols and synods of the ancient church; but it rejects in addition to the Vatican decree the dogma of the immaculate conception promulgated in 1854 by Pius IX, as also all the dogmatic decrees of the popes, so far as they stand in opposition to the doctrine of the ancient church. Of the Tridentine council it says: "We do *not* accept its decisions in relation to discipline, and accept its dogmatic decisions only in so far as they agree with the doctrine of the ancient church." In regard to the Lord's Supper, the interpretations given in the German Old Catholic catechism and mentioned above, which also agree essentially with the Augsburg confession, are repeated. In conclusion they add: "We hope that the efforts of the theologians will succeed, by firmly holding to the faith of the undivided church, in attaining to an agreement on the points in respect to which differences have arisen since the schism of the church. We exhort our clergy to emphasize in preaching and teaching, *as of first importance, the essential doctrines of the faith, which the various confessions hold in common*; in discussion of other subjects on which differences still exist carefully to avoid all violations of truth and love, and to guide the members of our congregations, both by precept and example, in their relations to those of other faiths, to conduct themselves according to the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of us all. By a faithful holding to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, by rejecting all errors mixed with it by men, all ecclesiastical abuses and hierarchical strivings, we believe we shall most effectually counteract the unbelief and the religious indifference which are the worst evil of our time."

The verdict in regard to Old Catholicism to be reached on the basis of these facts will, of course, vary according to the particular ecclesiastical point of view from which they are regarded; but a just one can be attained only by rising somewhat above one's own confessional position. In this way the writer explained in detail and justified his own position in his

Denk- und Schutzschrift,¹ written fifteen years ago, and may express himself here the more briefly. Doubtless the Protestantism of the Reformation has gone back more thoroughly and consistently to the original doctrine of Jesus and his apostles than has Old Catholicism; and that any part of the treasure of evangelical knowledge relating to the Christian system which it has inherited should be given up and thus lost to the further development of the church is not to be thought of. On the other side, Protestantism in its progress has not developed a great church in the best sense catholic, but in the one-sided pursuit of dogmatic interests has split itself up into a number of denominations which realize but feebly the original Christian ideal of the one flock of Christ, and the question is forced upon us whether in that part of Christianity which resisted the Reformation movement there may not have been the remnants of Christian life and force which, once released from association with Romish corruption, might furnish beneficent elements which would render the Protestantism of the future more symmetrical and complete. It is true that Tridentine Catholicism up to and through the Vatican council has followed a course of development in which the untrue and un-Christian have more and more gained the upper hand, so that no negotiation with it can be thought of without treason to the principles of the Reformation and to Christianity. But it is the more significant that at the same time that part of the church which is innocent of participation in these corruptions, the original and universal church, has rescued itself from this relation, and, though only in the shape of a small model, has assumed the form of a church. So much the more does this model of an evangelical Catholic church, with the possibility of its becoming a church of freedom, appear providential, since on the one hand Protestantism, in its impulse to liberty, has so split itself up, and on the other hand Romanism has carried its enforcement of unity to the point of strangling all freedom of conscience. The present increase of the power of the infallible pope cannot and will not continue. It is the divine law of his-

¹ *Der Altkatholicismus, eine Denk- und Schutzschrift an das evangelische Deutschland*, 3te Auflage, Halle, E. Strien.

tory that developments which do not spring out of the truth fall into ruin at the very moment when they are about to place the keystone of triumph in the structure. A prodigious reaction against the advance of the Romish-Jesuit enslaving of the mind is at hand. Whether the crisis shall not simply destroy, but also restore, will depend upon the faithfulness of non-Roman Catholic Christendom. Then the moment will have come when the Old Catholic reform-church, small though it is today, will be able to enlarge itself so as to become an ark of refuge for all the pious souls who groan under the yoke of the papacy. Then, also, the time will have come for Protestantism to remember that in the thought and will of God evangelic and Catholic are not mutually contradictory terms, but conceptions each of which tends to approach and to complement the other. To everyone who looks upon Old Catholicism as in this or in any sense a God-given germ of a better future belongs the duty of protecting it with all his power against those who would destroy it.