

THE  
BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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ARTICLE I.

OLD CATHOLICISM.<sup>1</sup>

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It is our purpose in the following Article to give a short abstract of this work, with especial regard to those topics of most interest to the American church. The Essay was prepared originally for the contest of 1878 before the Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion at the Hague. Having been accepted and awarded the prize by them, it was subjected to a careful revision by the author, and enlarged. As it now lies before us, it brings the history down to the Spring of 1880, and incorporates a body of references to an exceedingly rich and comprehensive literature, thus forming a most valuable guide for any who may wish to pursue more special studies in this field. If blemished by some abruptness of style and by occasional repetitions, it is as a whole well done, and the author—a Protestant pastor in Bremgarten, Canton Aargau, Switzerland—deserves our hearty thanks for his labor.

In the first of the three main divisions of the work our author treats of the Rise, Development, and Character of the present Old-catholic Movement.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Altkatholicismus, historisch-kritisch dargestellt von Christian Bühler, Pfarrer.* — Eine von der Haager Gesellschaft zur Vertheidigung der christlichen Religion gekrönte Preisschrift. pp. xi and 367. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1880.

Old Catholicism has its rise in resistance to that movement within the church of Rome which culminated in the Vatican decrees of 1870. There had long been two parties in the church — that of which Jesuitism made itself easily the master, and that characterized by a more deeply religious spirit, striking its roots into the distant past of the early church, but bringing forth flower and fruit for the wants of the men of the present. During the reign of Pius IX. the former party continually gained in power. It manifested this in the proclamation of the immaculate conception of Mary (Dec. 8, 1854), and in the Encyclical and Syllabus (Dec. 8, 1864), which set themselves against the science and the State as well as the Church of our modern civilization, and were yet accepted without contradiction in the Roman church. Emboldened by this, the Ultramontanes advanced to the last step, and summoned an "Ecumenical" Council to Rome at which, above all, the doctrine of papal infallibility was to be promulgated.

For many years the spirit of free and scientific activity within the church had seemed to be extinguished, but this last measure of the Ultramontanes called it into life. First came Döllinger's book: "Considerations for the Bishops of the Council on the Question of Infallibility," then the famous "Janus," a series of articles first appearing in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and then a long series of protests upon various grounds from professors of theology, bishops, priests and laymen. Yet the pope and the Jesuits prevailed, and the Council voted as desired (July 18, 1870), after more than a hundred bishops of the opposition had taken their departure from Rome. The two most important articles voted, teach that the pope possesses over all and every priest and believer in the church regular and immediate jurisdiction in its largest extent, not only in matters of faith and morals, but also in all matters concerning the discipline and government of the church; and that when he pronounces in his official capacity upon any matter of faith or morals, it is in the full possession of infallibility, and moreover *his*

*decisions are unchangeable of themselves and not merely in consequence of their agreement with the church.* So complete was the victory of the Ultramontane party, — a victory consolidated by the ultimate submission of all the opposition bishops.

But here began the old-catholic movement, in following which we first turn our eyes to Germany.

The bishops had consented to sacrifice the scholar and the man to the churchman, but the theologians could not all follow their example. With the opening of August 1870, Professor Michaelis appeared with a personal protest against the decrees, in which he brought complaint against the pope (Pius IX.) as a heretic and a devastator of the church. The same month eleven scholars from different German and Austrian universities assembled in Nuremberg, and united in the declaration that they did not recognize the votes of the assembly of bishops at Rome as the decrees of an ecumenical council, and rejected them as a new doctrine never recognized in the church. And later, when summoned by the archbishop of Munich to give in his submission to the Vatican decrees, Döllinger replied "that as Christian, as theologian, as historian, as citizen, he could not accept them."

Meanwhile the way was preparing for Old Catholicism among the people. Pastor Benfite, of the church at Mehlingen, near Augsburg, was excommunicated by the bishops (Nov. 1870). His people, however, clung fast to him, and the priest was protected in his place by the government. Thereby the parish lost their place in the *Roman* church, but could claim still to be in the *Catholic* church, and thus occupied precisely the ground which Old Catholicism subsequently claimed for itself. Seeking confirmation now for their children, they applied to the old-catholic bishop of Utrecht for the same, which was granted, and formed the first bond of connection between this new movement and an Old Catholicism which had existed since 1703.

By the following September (1871) the movement had become strong enough to call the first old-catholic Congress,

which assembled in Munich. They published a declaration to the following effect :

1. We hold fast to the old-catholic *faith* as attested in Scripture and tradition, and to the old-catholic *worship*, and maintain our position as fully authorized members of the Catholic church. From the stand-point of the creed, as contained in the Tridentine Symbol, we reject the dogmas of infallibility and the supreme jurisdiction of the pope.

2. We hold fast to the old *constitution*, and protest against the doctrine that the pope is the only bearer of the supreme power of the church, but recognize the primacy of the pope as it was taught by the councils of the ancient, undivided church.

3. We attempt with the assistance of the theological and canonical science a *reform* of the church, which shall correct abuses, and accord to the people the participation in the government of the church which they desire. The hope is expressed for a *reunion* with the Greek church, and an *understanding* with other confessions.

4. The fostering of science in connection with the education of the clergy is declared an indispensable thing, the artificial exclusion of the same from general mental culture (in episcopal seminaries) pronounced to be dangerous, and the co-operation of the state in educating a clergy morally pious, scientifically enlightened, and patriotically disposed, and in protecting them against hierarchical arbitrariness, is desired.

5. The Congress rejects the doctrine of the plenary power of the pope, and condemns the Syllabus.

6. It expresses its conviction that the so-called *Society of Jesus* is responsible for the present disruption of the church, and therefore that the well-being of state and church demand that the universally injurious activity of this society be brought to an end.

Provision was also made, against the wishes of Döllinger, who preferred to remain in a state of passive resistance, for the erection of old-catholic parishes.

The reforms above spoken of were begun at the next Congress (1872). They were specified more distinctly as the abolishment of compulsory celibacy, and the popularization of the worship, by translating the mass, etc. into the vulgar tongue. These measures were however reserved for the church Synod, yet to be formed, and the Congress contented itself with directing that surplice-fees and the like be given up, and the abuses and excesses of indulgences, the worship of the saints, etc. be avoided. There were also resolutions prepared which aimed at securing permanent governmental recognition for Old Catholicism. These declared that the Congress held fast to the old Catholic church, and only differed from Rome in rejecting the Vatican decrees as an innovation. They claimed therefore that their bishops, when elected, and their pastors and local churches should be recognized by the state and protected in their corporate rights, and that the unconditioned right to joint use of Catholic church-buildings, and the joint ownership of Catholic church-property should be secured to them.

The following year a convention of clergy and laity met in Bonn for the election of a bishop. The choice fell (July 4, 1873) upon Dr. Reinkens, Prof. of Theol. in Breslau, distinguished for his evangelical sentiments, as well as his scholarship. He was subsequently consecrated by the old-catholic bishop Heykamp of the Utrecht church, and entered upon his duties without seeking confirmation from the pope.

The first old-catholic Synod could now be held, which was done in May 1874. The constitution as prepared by a previous Congress sets the bishop at the head, and gives him the presidency of the Synod *ex-officio*, but makes him responsible to the Synod for his official acts. He may suspend, but not excommunicate, priests. The Synod is also presided over by a committee of four clergymen and four laymen, which has in certain cases a right of veto upon its acts. The local churches choose their own pastors, and laymen are admitted to a share in all government, from the synodal committee down to the local board of trustees of the indi-

vidual church. The democratic character of this constitution, in opposition to the hierarchical constitution of Rome, is very marked. The actual progress made by this Synod in effecting the desired reform was not great. They were more carefully defined, but it was felt that there was more danger in precipitate action than harm in the present laws and customs.

The second Congress, of 1872, had been participated in by members of different communions from almost every quarter of the globe. In the Autumn of 1874 a special union conference was held. It was attended by representatives of the Anglo-American Episcopal church, and of the "Society of the Friends of Progress" in the Russian church. The letter of invitation mentioned the confessions and customs of the early centuries before the separation of the East and the West as the basis of the conference, and defined its object to be "not an organic union of the different churches, but the restoration of church communion upon the ground of unity in essentials, without reference to the peculiarities of individual churches, so far as they did not conflict with the old church confessions." The declarations of this conference have no authority except as utterances of the individuals composing it, yet, as it was held at the instance of Döllinger and strongly influenced by him, they are of great interest, and enable us to gain a tolerably accurate conception of the position of Old Catholicism at this time upon a variety of topics. We note, therefore, that the Apocrypha were declared deutero-canonical, and the doctrine of works of supererogation and the merits of the saints was rejected. It was admitted that the number of the sacraments was fixed at seven in the twelfth century, and that baptism and the Lord's supper are the first and principal sacraments. The Holy Scriptures were established as the primary rule of faith, by the side of which genuine tradition was also to be held an authoritative source. The doctrines of the immaculate conception of Mary and compulsory confession were rejected, indulgence declared to be only remission of churchly penalties, and the eucharist was to be considered

only as a perpetual *renewal* and repetition of the offering which Christ offered upon the cross *once for all*. The validity of English orders was fully acknowledged, and it was declared that no dogmatic opposition exists between Old Catholicism and the Greek church, since the word *filioque* was acknowledged to have been inserted in the Nicene Creed in an unlawful manner, and the primacy of the pope was denied. A second conference in 1876 added nothing essential to the results here attained.

Meanwhile the Synods were proceeding very slowly with the necessary reforms. The second (1875) came only to the negative result that a married priest should not be permitted under the present circumstances to officiate in an old-catholic parish. At the third Synod, Döllinger emphasized celibacy as the personal sacrifice of the priest for the cause which would commend it to the people. Von Schulte, on the contrary, in a thoroughly-studied essay, came to the conclusion that there was no churchly, scriptural, or political hindrance to the removal of compulsory celibacy, and advocated it as of the greatest advantage to the church. But the matter was committed to the standing synodal committee, and no definite action was taken. Public discussion in Congress and through the press continued, and when the Synod of 1878 met it was felt that the question of celibacy at least must be then definitely settled. The Synod was the centre of anxious attention, and many feared that the decision of the question would cause division in the church and give the signal for the death of the whole movement. With heavy heart Bishop Reinkens opened the Synod, "hoping against hope that they might finally adjourn without division and embitterment." After the decision of some smaller matters the great question was opened. The principal arguments against the change were as follows: It was feared that in Bavaria the change would bring the church in conflict with the laws and endanger its further existence. Archbishop Heykamp of Utrecht wrote in warning against the change as a beginning of innovations to which it might be difficult

to put an end. He also questioned the competence of the Synod, since it was only a *particular* Synod. The most important speech against the change was made by Apell. Gr. Rth. Petri von Wiesbaden. He had been previously in favor of the change, and regretted that it was not already made. But the present he held for an unfavorable time. The legal relations of the old-catholic communion out of Baden were very insecure, and it depended entirely upon the good graces of the governments for protection. No one could tell how soon Prussia, tired of the *Kultur-kampf*, might be inclined to make peace with Rome, and sacrifice the Old Catholics as a peace-offering. Especially in Bavaria would the change lead to a separation of the Old Catholics from their brethren in other parts of Germany, and thus the communion would lose those men to whom it had to look as its founders. Others, and especially the bishop, seconded these arguments.

The negative arguments were thus all derived from considerations of policy, and not from moral right. In reply, the arguments from legal considerations were shown to be unfounded. The competence of the Synod was maintained on the ground that compulsory celibacy was a mere matter of discipline, and had nothing to do with the sacrament of priestly ordination. The majority of the speakers answered the fears of their opponents with words of cheer and courage. "And," said they, "where the discontinuance of an institution is in question, which all confess to be an unjustifiable and injurious one, a stronghold of Rome, a means in the hand of the hierarchy to the subjection of clergy and people, which contradicts reason and conscience, and especially the clear declarations of the New Testament and the spirit of all Christianity, we ought not to think too anxiously about our political relations, or cowardly ask what bad consequences can possibly follow." Von Schulte summed up the arguments on both sides and showed that the balance was clearly for abolition. The vote was now taken, and by a majority of seventy-five against twenty-two compulsory celibacy was abolished.

Up to the present moment, the evil consequences feared have not taken place. No schism has occurred in Old Catholicism, nor has it met its end. True, several of its most honored members and founders withdrew more or less from public participation in its affairs, but they are by no means lost to it. Professor Friedrich is again editing the organ of Old Catholicism, *The German Mercury*. And even the church of Utrecht has not found it necessary to interrupt their communion with the Old Catholicism of Germany.

The Synod of the following year (1879) could, accordingly, begin its session in quiet and confidence. The great crisis had been safely passed, and now the church began to provide for the wants of a distant future. A pension and auxiliary fund for the clergy was established, and directions for the religious instruction of the young prepared. In the Gymnasias it was directed that the New Testament should be read in the original.

In Baden and Prussia laws have been made as favorable to the Old Catholics as they could ask. In Bavaria, while their position is not legally secured, they enjoy practically the same privileges as in the other states. The Prussian Old Catholics are found at the two extremes of that kingdom,—in Silesia and in Rhine-Prussia. In both Prussia and Baden the state has contributed to the expenses of the church. The patriotic and conservative character of the movement has enabled it to avoid the conflicts with the state into which jesuiticized Rome has necessarily fallen, though its enemies can by no means say that it has been treated with too great partiality.

A word or two of description of the men who have been most prominent in this movement. Prof. and Stiftspropst Ignaz von Döllinger is well known to the Christian public. He was formerly praised even by the Ultramontanes on account of his works on church history as the greatest Catholic theologian of Germany. Although he early threw the weight of his influence for Old Catholicism, led the way in the denunciation of Vaticanism, and put his scholarship at the

service of the protestants, he has latterly withdrawn from taking part in efforts for reform. Yet he has branded as lies the oft-made statements that he has accepted the Vatican decrees in every case, and is still working publicly and privately in the spirit and with the aims of an Old Catholic. Of the bishop, Dr. Joseph Hubert Reinkens, a little more in detail. He was born March 1, 1821, in Burkscheid near Achen. He studied philosophy and theology in Bonn and Munich, and then for a long time held the positions of Professor of Church History in the University of Breslau, and Cathedral Preacher. In 1858 Jesuitism came into influence at Br eslau, and he lost his place as preacher, and in 1870 he came boldly forward against the new doctrines and was excommunicated. He contributed much to further the old-catholic movement by public addresses in Germany and Switzerland. His peculiar qualifications for his present post have been made evident by the searching tests of these early years of Old Catholicism. Of childlike humility, genuinely evangelical, and gentle in disposition, he is also a skilful ruler, an able scholar, and an industrious preacher. Old Catholicism has him chiefly to thank that her development has thus far been so peaceful, healthful, and thrifty as it has. Other principal leaders like Professors von Schulte, Friedrich, Michaelis, and Reusch have already been mentioned.

We turn now to Switzerland. The old-catholic, or, as the Swiss prefer to call it, the Christian-catholic movement began here almost a year later than in Germany. It may be that events in Germany suggested resistance to the Vatican decrees in Switzerland, but as a whole, the movement in the latter country has proceeded in perfect independence of that in the former, and has, indeed, taken on a form in some respects peculiar.

As in Germany, so here, the battle was preceded by lesser conflicts. The first to open the contest with a declaration against the doctrine of infallibility was Pastor Egli of Lucerne. Having to read the episcopal fast proclamation, April 19, 1871, he omitted the passage in which the

bishop communicated the Vatican decrees, and at the same time declared that he rejected the doctrine of the same as uncatholic. He made the same declaration to the episcopal commissioner, and was accordingly excommunicated. Pastor Herzog, later bishop, and Pastor Schwind met the same fate. The commotion spread, and all things were ready for the first lay-conference in April 1871, and the first Congress Sept. 18 following. The Congress was, to a very large extent, only another lay-conference, and from this fact arose the peculiar form of the protest then made against infallibility, viz. that it is irreconcilable with the laws and arrangements of a free state, as well as with modern culture in general. It may have resulted from this peculiarity also that no objections were raised against the immediate formation of old-catholic parishes, which was in fact looked upon as a matter of course. This Congress, in seeking legal protection for what parishes should be gathered, placed their claim upon the same ground as was done in Germany. "We," they said, "are the true members of the old-catholic church, while those who accept the new decrees have fallen away from the old-catholic faith. We remain in the paternal house, and cast out the intruding stranger who wishes to contest our right in the same."

The first developments of the movement were of a very complicated and perplexing character. The Vatican party sustained two serious defeats from the state, in that the vicar of the Canton Geneva, appointed by the pope, was banished as conflicting with the laws in thus infringing upon the diocese of another bishop—him of Freiburg. Lachat, bishop of Basel, for excommunication of Pastor Schwind and proclamation of the dogma of infallibility, was deposed by the majority of the diocesan conference, who were sustained by the state. Among the Old Catholics, Father Hyacinthe had begun work in Geneva. A previous conference had resolved in favor of the introduction of the vulgar tongue in all divine service, the mass only temporarily excepted; of the discontinuance of many of the church-fees;

of the abandonment of many questionable customs, as, for example, the numerous pilgrimages, and picture-worshipping. But Father Hyacinthe and others took the responsibility of going still further. Auricular confession was abolished. Several of his colleagues imitated Father Hyacinthe, who had already married. When therefore the first Synod convened, they found the movement more developed than had been the case at the corresponding point in the German church, but also many things practically decided upon individual responsibility, which it belonged, according to the genius of Old Catholicism, to the whole to fix. The confusion resulting from the conflict of different tendencies did not cease at this point. In fact the Old Catholicism of Switzerland has not yet attained the quiet and dignity which have always characterized that of Germany.

As illustrative of the confusion and consequent uncertainty in which Old Catholicism in Switzerland took its rise, it may be well to narrate here connectedly the course of events in the Jura. We shall thus also see the weakness of Old Catholicism in its peculiar attitude towards, and dependence upon, the state.

When, as above related, Bishop Lachat had been deposed, and his clergy forbidden to hold official communication with him, ninety-seven of them made protest. They declared they could accept no attempt made to organize the worship of the church that did not proceed from the chief head of it. "Beside, him, they recognized no authority, whether lay or clerical, competent to undertake any alteration in the divine institutions of the church." The Council of Bern resolved to proceed by legal measures to displace these protesting priests, which was done, and forty-two of them, who held fast to the protest, were declared deposed and ineligible for re-election so long as they did not withdraw it. The government now proceeded to fill the vacant places, and as they required a promise of obedience to the regulations of the state, no Romish priests applied, but only old-catholic. A law was passed Jan. 18, 1874, which gave the Catholics of this can-

ton the right to organize parishes and to choose pastors, church trustees, and delegates to a Catholic cantonal Synod. The Roman Catholics would make no use of this law because it was condemned by Pius IX. The Old Catholics had no such scruples, and proceeded to organize parishes, and so became the legally recognized Catholic church of the canton, and obtained possession of the church-buildings, while the Roman Catholics became in the eye of the law a mere private religious society, and were obliged to worship in barns. In the year 1876, therefore, Old Catholicism numbered in the Jura thirty-three parishes with twenty-two thousand souls. And later the priests who held with Rome were banished from the canton.

So affairs remained till 1878. In this year the pope, Leo XIII., allowed the Roman Catholics of this canton to recognize and comply with the law condemned by his predecessor. Accordingly the government allowed the banished priests to return and to resumé their functions. They proceeded at once to organize new parishes, and in some cases were able in the old parishes, now that they were permitted to employ the strength they had, to out-vote the Old Catholics in parish elections, and to choose church officers from their own party. In this manner four or five old-catholic churches entirely disappeared in the overwhelming majority of their opponents. The character of the cantonal Synod was also revolutionized, for the Roman Catholics were able to choose a majority of the delegates from their own number. When the Synod met on the 23d of June, 1879, it was, as usual, opened by the bishop with a sermon, which urged peace and union between the two parties, but the Roman Catholics maintained their position, chose the synodal officers from their own number, and then immediately adjourned. Jan. 7, 1880, another Synod was held, the Roman Catholics were yet stronger, and all the previous resolutions as to confession, marriage of priests, *connection with the Swiss national bishopric*, etc. repealed.

The Old Catholics in the Jura have accordingly descended

from the position of a church recognized by the state to an uncertain membership of a church which contains also their worst enemies, worship in churches that are not theirs, are governed by a Synod which has brought them back again under the yoke of papal corruptions, and are cut off from organic connection with their own bishop.

To resume now the thread of the general history,—the first Synod (June 14, 1875) did little more than prepare the way for the second (July 8, 1876), which completed the constitution of the church (throughout modelled upon that of the German) by the election of a bishop. The state had already consented to such an election, and certain cantons promised to contribute to his support. The choice fell upon Prof. Edward Herzog. At first he would have declined, but subsequently he accepted. He was consecrated Sept. 18, 1876, by Bishop Reinkens. Bishop Herzog is still a young man, thirty-six years of age. He studied theology in Tübingen, Freiburg, and Bonn, and became (1869) professor in the lyceum in Lucerne, where he remained till 1872. Powerfully impressed by the old-catholic Congress at Cologne, he wrote a decided controversial letter against Vaticanism, in which he expressed his joy “to be permitted to enter the lists for a Christianity which makes man free, and does not enslave him; which can bear with science, and needs not fear and oppose it; which joyfully recognizes the free institutions of modern times, which the pope condemns, and promotes and cherishes them to the advantage of mankind.” Excommunicated by his bishop, he became pastor of the old-catholic church at Crefeld. He was soon transferred to the central point of the whole Swiss Old Catholicism,—the great church in Olten. Here he remained for three years, and then became professor of theology again and pastor at Bern. He was therefore proved and tested both as a man of science and of affairs before he received this high call. He has also given abundant evidence that his opposition to Jesuitism proceeds from a religious sentiment, and that his zeal for necessary reforms is joined with thoughtfulness, reverence for the past, and consideration for the more sensitive.

It is unnecessary to follow the history through all its stages. Before, however, we turn to the present condition of the Swiss old-catholic church, let us note briefly the prominence which it has, in its turn, given to efforts for union with other Christian bodies. It was not represented at the union conferences in Bonn, but sent expressions of its sympathy with such efforts. Later Bishop Herzog came into communication with English and American bishops of the Episcopal church, and received funds from them for the support of old-catholic students. When the Episcopal bishops held their conference at Lambeth Palace in 1878, Bishop Herzog was invited by the bishop of Winchester to his palace, where he met sixty-two bishops, who expressed their warmest sympathy with Old Catholicism, and promised all possible help. The Synod returned these friendly communications, and declared that they stood upon the same Christian and catholic ground with the English church. These friendly declarations on both sides were now concluded and sealed in a solemn union service, which was celebrated in Bern, Aug. 10, 1878, by the old-catholic bishops, Reinkens and Herzog, in conjunction with Father Hyacinthe and the bishop of Edinburgh. The service was opened with the hymn "The church's one foundation is Jesus Christ her Lord." Then Father Hyacinthe preached on the unity of the church, closing with the words, "Old Catholicism would help restore that higher unity in order that the separate tabernacles, desired by Peter, may disappear, and Christ be all in all." High mass was then said by Bishop Reinkens, assisted by Father Hyacinthe. Then came the communion. The bishop of Edinburgh kneeled with Bishop Herzog and Father Hyacinthe at the altar, and received with them the Lord's supper under both kinds from Bishop Reinkens. Then the bishop of Edinburgh and Bishop Herzog distributed the elements, the first the cup, and the last the host, to the guests present from France and England. Bishop Reinkens closed the service with the Episcopal blessing in German.

Up to the year 1878 a steady increase in the numbers of

the old-catholic church in Switzerland could be reported. In the last two years it has acquired several new parishes, as, for example, in Solothurn with twenty-five hundred souls, in St. Gallien with fifteen hundred. But a loss of four parishes has been suffered in Bern. In 1878-79 3,940 children attended religious instruction (a kind of Sunday-school), and 1385 children communicated. The number of souls in the local parishes amounted in round numbers to fifty-five thousand. In this year a decrease in the number of priests by six is reported,—itself a testimony, when all the facts are considered, that Old Catholicism means to be no refuge for disreputable Romish priests. Bishop Herzog says: “We have not accepted the half of the Romish priests who have offered themselves.” The church has also a theological seminary, worthily manned, for the supply of their ministry from their own ranks.

Of Old Catholicism in other lands, it will be enough for the present simply to mention the bishopric of Utrecht, which, while in sympathy with its younger sister churches of Germany and Switzerland, has not seen fit to follow them in their reforms. In Austria old-catholic parishes have been organized in accordance with a recent law, of which the most important are in Vienna, and in Ried and Warnsdorf in Bohemia. Further extension of Old Catholicism is expected in Bohemia. June 5, 1880, an extraordinary Synod was held in Vienna, and the reforms of the German and Swiss churches approved. In France Father Hyacinthe is laboring in Paris to establish Old Catholicism. He has attached himself to the English bishop of Edinburgh until such time as an independent church can be organized. At present the movement seems steadily growing. In Italy an “Italian Catholic National Church” has organized, and elected a bishop, Monsignore Prota-Giurleo. The clergy number, at last accounts, two hundred and forty.

The preceding short sketch of the history of Old Catholicism prepares us for a closer examination of the motives and character of this movement.

The first motive we shall mention is the scientific. It was from the bosom of the scientific Catholic theology of Germany that the early protests against infallibility went forth, both before and during the Council. The opposing bishops submitted to the decree of the Council, but the theologians could not. They partly feared for science itself that Jesuitism would gain the upper hand, and destroy the theology it had so long fought in secret. But it was also repugnant to their sense of scientific honor, and their love of the truth, to accept a doctrine which they knew to be opposed to Scripture, tradition, and the facts of history.

These theologians declared against the Vatican decrees for another reason — that of patriotism. The feeling of national unity awakened by the victories over France and the founding of the German empire, and the belief that the state was a divine institution which should protect and cherish the different confessions in common peace, worked together to strengthen the old-catholic movement. The Vatican decrees could not be looked upon as empty dogmas, but were recognized as a direct blow at the modern state. For the decree had a retrogressive power, and declared not only Pius IX. but all preceding popes infallible, so that, for example, the infamous bull, "*Unam Sanctam*," in which the papacy had given expression to its claims to unrestricted sovereignty over the state, was at one stroke transformed into an infallible article of the faith. Under the peculiar circumstances of the times, this very motive of patriotism may have served to stamp Old Catholicism with something of a political character, as a contest between Germany and Rome, and so have hindered its progress among the Latin peoples.

Love for liberal education in general was another consideration moving men against the jesuitized church of Rome. It was feared that Jesuitism would never cease her efforts till she had destroyed all liberal thought.

The union of these three motives excited the interest of many classes which would have remained indifferent to any merely religious movement. It was a common subject for

newspaper discussion, and even seemed at times to have been called forth more by political motives than by religious. But such was only apparently the case. The first Congress in Munich and the declaration of Döllinger that he must reject the dogma of infallibility first of all as a Christian, because it conflicted with the spirit of the gospel and the express statements of holy writ, render the truth evident. Reinkens has declared that with him the movement had its origin in conscience. Professor Knoodt says: "Pius IX. has by the dogma of infallibility driven the thorn of conscience deeply and painfully into our souls. Smitten, and bleeding of this thorn of conscience, we raise our voices, and call all Christians to common battle against papal violence." Prof. von Schulte says of himself: "It is the good of the church that leads me to speak."

We may designate this movement as a *protestant* one, using that word, of course, in its proper, and not its technical sense. It took on this character at the very first. It was in its essence a protest against infallibility and universal episcopate. But not this alone. The long opposition against the Jesuits and their efforts for supremacy now found voice in a protest against "the whole so-called papal system, as a system of errors which is more than a thousand years old, and of which infallibility is only the culmination." The infallibility of the present pope (Pius IX.) is also questioned on historical grounds, and, in particular, the closing assertion of the decrees that "the decisions of the pope are infallible in themselves, and not merely because of their agreement with the church," is characterized as a revolutionary subversion of tradition, church doctrine, and church constitution.

Protest is raised against the decree of universal episcopate and *plenitudo potestatis* of the bishop of Rome. The doctrines that the bishops are successors of the apostles, and the bishop of Rome the successor of Peter are retained, as also the primacy of the pope.<sup>1</sup> The ecumenicity of the

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that upon this point there is considerable vacillation evident.

Council that proclaimed these decrees is also questioned, because of her decrees, and also because her deliberations were not free, but too much under the control of the pope. Appeal is therefore made to a free and genuinely ecumenical Council north of the Alps.

The Old Catholics also protested against the hierarchical assumptions of the Romish church in general. They reject as a heathenish corruption the effort to make the majesty of God, as it were, visible in the dignity of the priest, and to divert the religious feeling of man upon the bearers of that dignity, as if God had ordained representatives to receive the homage due to him in his stead. They find it in contradiction with the Scriptures and the example of Christ that bishops and priests should wish to rule over the people. Bishops are not the lords, but servants of the church, and have to administer, and not to refuse, or even to sell, the treasures of the Lord.

Another point of protest is the deification of creatures found in the Roman church,—the worship of the pope, of Mary and the saints, and homage before pictures and relics. “Does not Pius IX. suffer it to be said to his face that the Vatican is another Calvary, and that in his person Jesus Christ suffers afresh? And does he not promote the unchristian worship of Mary, heathenish faith in holy wells, the humbug that is carried on with the bambino at Rome, with medals, privileged altars, etc.? Are not you, pastors of the people, responsible so long as you endure such things in silence?”

This protest is directed also against the *externalization* of religion. Under jesuitic influence, the church has been converted from a living organism into a dead mechanism. Subjection to the pope is of more consequence than faith, obedience to the pope than fulfilling the commandments of God. The consequent abuses of indulgences, of confession-tickets, of estimating piety on a scale according to the quantity of mechanically performed ceremonies and exercises, of the substitution of a jesuitic dress-parade piety for a

really religious education,—these meet with an emphatic and eloquent protest.

As another characteristic trait of Old Catholicism we may mention its genuinely *evangelical spirit*. It is not to be denied that this spirit is different from that in the so-called evangelical or Protestant church, nor that it has a distinctly Catholic stamp. But no one can read the writings of the Old Catholics, or hear their speeches in Congress,—for example, their grateful recognition of Protestantism, and even warm appreciation of the person and work of Luther,—without feeling himself moved and inspired by their genuinely evangelical piety. In reference to faith, for instance, they do not speak of justification through faith *alone*, as the Lutheran would, basing his statement upon the Pauline epistles, but present the doctrine more like James, or the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the Epistles of John; but their doctrine is for all that evangelical. To quote a few passages illustrative of their views,—Professor Weber says: “The Catholic reform movement wishes to bring believers in the church to such a point that they shall not give themselves up to the external performance of good works out of blind obedience, or from blind subjection, which has no value before God or conscience, but that their knowledge of the truth of the gospel and faith in the same may be a spur to them to do that of their own will which corresponds to their religious knowledge, in order so by life and conduct to glorify him who founded the church.” Bishop Reinkens has grasped still more firmly the essence of the truth, and in his sermon on John vi. 47, “He that believeth on me hath everlasting life,” he says: “They who believe *him* believe his word, but fall easily into the error of separating this from his person. While they contend with one another over this or that word, they are forsaken of the Spirit in whom alone the light from above is recognized. He who believes *on him* hath everlasting life. Believe *on him* means give one’s self up to his person, confess him whether life or death shall come, confess him not merely in word, but also with the

heart, with all the thoughts, all the wishes, all hopes, and all deeds. He who believes on him so *has* eternal life; he does not merely expect it, he has it already. He who believes *him* expects life as a reward, and may easily become, though he ought to be a child of the Father, a servant who serves for wages."

The rejection of all mediators between God and Christ and the heart of man marks another evangelical element of Old Catholicism. Every Christian as a child of God has free access to the Father, and there is only *one* Mediator and High Priest, one Lord and Saviour. This thought is carried out to its logical consequences in the emphasis laid upon the responsibility of every Christian for his faith and his conduct. The Jesuitic assertion, "Thy bishop and confessor takes the responsibility," is declared impossible in matters of faith and conscience. The dignity of the Christian lies precisely in this, that he is called to faith and service by himself. But if so, then as children of God all Christians have part in the divine priesthood. Hence the totality of Christians form the church, and the centre of gravity of the same lies in the people. Hence the powers which in Old Catholicism have been intrusted to the people. This is essentially the thought lying at the basis of all Protestant doctrines of the church. In consistence with it, the unity of the church is presented by Bishop Reinkens as follows: "The principle of the unity of the church is Jesus Christ, who as Head forms for himself through the Holy Ghost a body from the believers of all ages, in that he new creates them through the new birth of water and the Spirit, and unites them to himself, marks them with the seal of this baptism and new birth as his own, and bears testimony of them that they are united with him to one body. The bond which connects the individual members with this organism is at the same time a moral one, in that grace and truth perfect it after the law of freedom through love. The life of the members depends on the believing surrender of themselves to the Head, and on love to him and to their fellow-members. The result of such unity and com-

munion is peace in perfect inner accord with the holy will of God, and consequently access of all to the Father in heaven as members of his family, and thereby the most perfect joy."

These thoroughly evangelical ideas have determined the organization of the old-catholic churches, and led them to select the principle of national churches, which should unite, in free and independent manner, to form one Catholic church. Over against the Romish Catholic church they set the Christian Catholic church. "I am separated from the Romish Catholic church," says Michaelis, "but that is really a contradiction in itself. What is Romish, Greek, Anglo-Catholic? There is only one Catholic church, that founded by Christ. And this one is sick, and sinfully divided here and there. But we ought finally to come to the time when every one says no longer, 'Thou art most at fault'; but like the great Möhler: 'The church which Christ has founded cannot perish!' We have all sinned, and now we will see how much we have sinned, and what we must give up, each individual for himself, that we may find again the great thought of the true church for mankind. That it is for which we are laboring." With similar consistency the Old Catholics teach, against Rome, that the *whole* Catholic church is "the author of salvation,"—or rather, they ascribe this authorship of salvation to Christ alone, who saves the church, and whose grace extends beyond the bounds of the church out into the heathen world. "Should not, then, the light be suffered to shine out beyond the outer walls of the confessions, and even beyond the whole Christian Catholic church, into the hearts of the heathen? Be it heathen, be it Jew, be it Mohammedan, be it Christian,—all belong really to him, for he hath shed his blood for them all, has united them all with God, has given them the possibility of finding salvation and blessedness. And if they act according to their inner voice, among whatever nation they may be, if they have not even heard his name, if they do not know him,—they are yet in connection with their Redeemer, and they will at last rejoice when his face shines upon them. Through the conscience

they are connected with Jesus Christ. They are in the presence of the Author of their salvation, if they follow their conscience. In this sense is the church 'alone the author of salvation,' that they therefore invisibly also belong to the church because they belong to Christ, although they have not been baptized, and have not yet heard the gospel. That is the great heart of our Redeemer, which has salvation for all, to which no bounds can be set." In the same way the church is "holy" only in her holy members.

The doctrine of the infallibility of the church has also received modifications in an evangelical direction. Infallibility is not only denied of the pope, but is not conceded even to the Councils without reservations. They must, in the religious consciousness of the Catholic people and in the judgment of Catholic theology, agree with Scripture, tradition, and the faith of the Catholic church. The infallibility of the church is accordingly defined: "We believe in the eternal truths in Christianity, and in the indestructibility of the same." And further: "We are firmly convinced that, whatever may occur in the church, she will ever, through the mighty impulse within her, find the place where she can again burst through and grow. Even the simplest spirit which has had an inward experience of Christian truth could become the organ of the Spirit to testify to the church. And, in fact, the church has never lacked such witnesses."

To bring forward only one more illustration of the evangelical spirit in Old Catholicism, it has brought the Scriptures again into special prominence. It has set them forward as the primary rule of faith, according to which doctrine and life must be judged. They were the source from which, first of all, the Vatican decrees were condemned. Other errors of Rome came also to be recognized when viewed in the light of the Scriptures. The lament is uttered that only a few fragments of the Bible have been made accessible to the people through the offices of the church. Bishop Reinkens has said: "For the Old Catholics of my diocese exists no prohibition to read the Bible, but, on the contrary, I exhort

them most earnestly, 'Read again and again in the holy book, sitting in humility and joy at the feet of the Lord, for he alone has the words of eternal life.'"

Bearing in mind now, how from first to last Old Catholicism has insisted that it occupied the same ground as always, and that Rome, not it, had left the Catholic church, we may sum up our review of its character in one sentence as follows: Old Catholicism is an evangelical Protestant movement within the bounds of the Catholic church, and springing from motives of a scientific, patriotic, humanistic, but, before all, religious nature, for reform. Or, as Baumgarten has phrased it: "German science in harmony with the Christian conscience within the Catholic church,—that is the character of Old Catholicism."

Our author turns now to his second main division (p. 145), which he devotes to a comparison of the present old-catholic movement with related appearances in the history of the Christian church. We shall scarcely need to delay long with him here. He first describes the origin of what is now technically called the old-catholic church, and discusses its position upon those points which have been drawn out in the history of the modern Old Catholicism. He shows that the modern movement may fairly claim to stand upon substantially the same ground as its ancient namesake. He then passes (p. 175) to similar movements in the Middle Ages, discussing the papacy at its highest point, and the opposition to it, the friends of reform, and the reforming councils, the efforts of the Waldenses, the Hussites, and Savonarola for reform, the Mystics, political struggles, and Humanism. All this, as contained substantially in the current church histories, our limited space compels us to pass over.

The treatment of movements related to Old Catholicism in modern times (p. 198) offers us fresher and more interesting material. This period opens with the Reformation, yet that is not a proper subject for treatment here, because not really related to Old Catholicism. The Reformers began their work with spiritual principles, without paying much

attention to matters of outward form. They had no design at first of separating from the church, but were rather cast out. All that remained to them then was to form a church of their own. So far the cases are parallel. But when the Reformers had formed their church it never occurred to them as of any importance to ask whether this were the old-catholic church or not. They were so decided in taking the Scriptures as the source and standard of religious life that the tradition of the church held a very subordinate place. They were more anxious to restore the church of the New Testament than the somewhat discredited Catholic church, whether new or old. With them the first thing was to secure the subjective personal communion of the believer with God, and the church came in only as a secondary thing, the means to the former as the end. The Old Catholics are, indeed, no less anxious for the subjective religious life, but they value the church in a very different sense from the Reformers.

Of the numerous topics handled under this part of the history we can select only a few. We pass reluctantly over the history of the Council of Trent, considered as a reform council, over the efforts to maintain the freedom of the Gallican church, and select Jansenism in one of its fruits, if we may so say, the old-catholic church of Utrecht.<sup>1</sup> Jansenism appeared as the enemy of the Jesuits from the first. The "Provincial Letters" of Pascal will make it forever famous. It may be properly called "Protestantism within the Catholic church," so far as Jesuitism represents modern Catholicism, and so long as one bears in mind that it bore only upon the doctrine of grace and works. Shortly after the archbishopric of Utrecht was founded (1565), the Jesuits came to Holland. They soon fell into trouble with the clergy, having sought to usurp their spiritual functions, and win the people away from them. Complaints at Rome were

<sup>1</sup> There exist several monographs upon the history of this church. We note: J. M. Neale, "History of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland." Oxford, 1858. Fr. Nippold, "Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht." Heidelberg, 1872.

not heard. At this point certain Jansenist refugees came to Utrecht, and were hospitably received. The Utrecht bishops and clergy, although rejecting the "five Jansenist propositions," would not acknowledge that Jansen had taught them in the sense in which the pope had condemned them. The Jesuits now thought that they had a good weapon for their struggle, and so accused the Utrecht church of Jansenism. And they were guilty so far as this, that they had the same free and pious spirit which had characterized Jansenism. The archbishopric falling vacant, Codde was elected, but the Jesuits succeeded in procuring his deposition from the pope, and the appointment of another as archbishop, — a certain DeCock (1703). This was the beginning of the Old Catholicism of Holland. Codde accepted his deposition as authoritative so far as to abstain from all episcopal functions with the greatest care. But he maintained his position otherwise to the last, and died refusing to comply with papal demands, and thus acknowledge the pope infallible, not only in the doctrines of religion, but also in the mere statement of facts.

A few years after Codde's death there appeared a bull condemning one hundred and one propositions taken from an edition of the New Testament by a Jansenist, Paschasius Quesnel. Among these propositions were several which were to be found verbatim in the Bible and in the writings of the church fathers, particularly Augustine. Many of the French bishops and priests refused to recognize this bull, and when it was made a law of the empire at the instance of the Jesuits, many of them fled to Holland. The Tübingen (Catholic) Theological Quarterly for 1828 says: "It was not merely the flight of the appellants into the Netherlands which had so great an influence upon the Utrecht church, it was the bull itself, which changed the state of things there, and made the breach with the head of the church incurable. The demand of the pope that they should accept the bull unconditionally suddenly united the divided members of the chapter. From this time on the contest between the court of Rome and the Dutch chapter was changed from one about

the right to elect a bishop into one about the right of the pope to give dogmatic decisions." The question under discussion was then essentially whether the decisions of the pope in the exercise of his office as teacher were infallible.

From the time of Codde's deposition till the consecration of his successor more than twenty years flew by. These were years of great danger and irreparable loss to the church. The Jesuits were untiring in their labors against them, and at the end of this period, of three hundred thousand Dutch Catholics only a few thousand remained faithful to the cause. Finally a bishop was elected, who received consecration from the French bishop, Varlet, who had been driven by the Jesuits from his mission labors in the East Indies, and had taken up his residence in Holland. The confirmation of the pope was sought but not obtained. Later, two other bishoprics were founded, that the apostolical succession might not be interrupted by possible deaths. We may mention, as an important event of this period, the provincial Synod of 1763, which passed resolutions which awakened the interest of the Catholic world for this church, and attested her orthodoxy. The Roman court of the Inquisition declared, after examination of the acts of this council, which were sent to Rome, that the Dutch were in the right. The pope, Clemens XIII. also said, "We must labor for the pacification of the Dutch troubles; for we have received the acts of a Synod there which are very good." It was only with great effort that the Jesuits succeeded in procuring the papal declaration that the acts of this Synod were null and void. Yet this church has ever preserved its dutiful attitude towards Rome. It acknowledges the primacy of the pope to this day,—only it will not admit that he is a god. They have not followed their German and Swiss brethren in church reforms. They hold conscientiously to the old doctrine and worship. Yet Pius IX. in 1873 finally made a decisive movement against them, and in the Bull "*Ex qua*" founded five new Catholic bishoprics, of which Utrecht is one!

In the latter part of the last century the same tendencies

which have recently produced Old Catholicism, worked on in the Catholic church without being very seriously opposed. John Michael Sailer, bishop of Regensburg, is a representative of this current. He spent most of his life as Professor of Theology in various Catholic universities, where his influence was very strong in training a pious, scientific, active clergy. His pupils were distinguished by their accessibility, their earnestness, truth, spirituality, and unfeigned devotion. As bishop he labored with success to encourage the study of the Bible and to spiritualize religion. Heinrich von Wesenberg is another such character. He studied philosophy and law as well as theology, and through his intimacy with the first circles of society he gained the polish of a man of the world. But all his acquirements he put at the service of the church. He was very active in the diocese of Constanz in improving the schools, and succeeded as assistant to the bishop in bringing about some of the reforms afterward attempted by Old Catholicism. For others he rendered important preparatory services. He wished very much to effect a reform in divine service, so that it might become a more spiritual worship. To this end he prepared a German book of worship, and liturgy. In his seventy-third year he was elected bishop of Constanz, but the pope for "important reasons" refused to confirm the choice.

With the liberation of Germany from the oppression of Napoleon there began a new religious life among Catholics as well as Protestants. A new Catholic theology now took its rise. This was to be no revived scholasticism, but a really scientific theology, which should be the equal of Protestant theology, and live in peaceful relations with it. Such was the character of the theological faculties of Giessen, Freiburg and Tübingen. Their organ was the Tübingen Theological Quarterly, issued by Prof. Drei and others, with whom in 1828 Möhler was associated. Perhaps a glance into the deep theological disturbance evident through the whole body of the Catholic church in these days, among people and clergy, cannot be gained better than by considering the peculiarities

of the last mentioned theologian. He was confessedly the greatest of all the Catholic theologians. His famous work, "Symbolik," converted the consideration of this theme on the part of Catholics from a mere apology for themselves into a direct attack upon the Protestant theology. So far he was a strong Catholic. But he was no Ultramontane, no Jesuit. He explained the doctrines of tradition and the church much more spiritually than the jesuitic theology does. He contended against the infallibility of any individual, and would ascribe the same only to the entire church, which, however, is not identical in his sense with the Roman papal church. For a long time he was also in doubt whether the primacy of the pope belongs to the characteristics of the church, and could only finally accept it, as it seemed necessary to the consistency of the theological system. In particular he desired to bring about a union of the Protestant and Catholic communions, and was willing to acknowledge that there were errors upon the Catholic side as well as upon the other, which must be put aside. With many of the special ideas of Old Catholicism his opinions also show much kinship. It was directly out of the heart of the Catholic theology, of which Möhler was so distinguished a representative, that, as we have seen, German Old Catholicism took its rise.

We must now hasten to a brief review of our author's third general division (pp. 251-318) which contains his attempt to estimate the justification of the present old-catholic movement, and its prospects for the future. We select two points in particular.

The first is the relation of Old Catholicism to Protestantism. We have already seen how friendly the old-catholic leaders have spoken of Protestantism. Probably the first question that arises in most Protestant minds thereupon is one which may bear a trace of impatience withal. Why then do these Old Catholics not become Protestants? So long as they remain in this half-separation from Rome, they will have neither freedom nor power. Logically they are Protestants. Let them become so professedly if they wish to retain our respect or our sympathy.

When one gets into this frame of mind, it is perhaps well to remind him that Protestantism, split as it is into hundreds of fragments, scarcely possesses attractive power for men who by their whole training have been led to place great weight in the unity of the church and of the faith. But aside from this point, there is the further question, whether the Protestant church, in doctrine, constitution, and worship, is the single correct churchly expression of Christianity, so that all Christian life must adapt itself easily and naturally to these forms, or thereby prove its own essentially unchristian character. If we hold fast to the great principle of Protestantism with all clearness and earnestness, and maintain that in its doctrine of justification by faith alone it has grasped the essence of Christianity, in opposition to the external righteousness and legality, and the dogmatic, ceremonial, and hierarchical system of Judaism, yet we may not maintain that this essence can be held in no other form. In the apostolic church, beside the Pauline type of doctrine, which broke most decidedly with the past, there existed other modes of viewing religious truth, which, without denying the high significance of the person of Jesus as the Messiah, or of his work, yet brought Christianity into a much closer relation to Judaism. Christianity seemed from this point of view only as a purification, spiritualization, and fulfilment of the Old Testament religion, both in relation to the law, the offerings, and the ceremonies, and to the prophecies. It was *the new law* of freedom and love. With this there was connected another conception of faith and its relation to works. The first was not conceived of in its deeper Pauline sense as a laying hold of the grace of God which can alone justify, because one despairs of fulfilling the demands of the law, but rather in the historical sense, as credence of the historical facts and doctrines of Christianity, or as a firm conviction of the truth and reality of the invisible spiritual world of faith and hope (Heb. xi. 1). Similarly in respect to works. Paul knows no difference between Jew and Greek as regards their privilege to obtain righteousness through faith. Nor

does he demand of his converts that they shall observe the Jewish law; he even denounces those who would force such observances upon them as enemies of their Christian liberty. But James and Peter viewed Judaism and Christianity as essentially a divine revelation, in contrast with idolatrous Bibleless heathenism. These were the two divisions of the spiritual world, and there was a great gulf between them. What more natural, then, than to ask that the Christianized Jew should still reverence and observe the law, and that the heathen should, at least to some extent, pass through the observance of the law into the blessings of the gospel? Now this was also Christianity. It had its roots in the soil of the church and in the teachings of Christ. If it did not define the specific and essential element of Christianity so clearly as Paulinism, it was yet nevertheless fully Christian.

These considerations give us the key to the true answer of our question. Old Catholicism represents the Petrine type of Christianity, and is not at home among the Pauline traits of Protestantism. There is also a place for it in the Christian world. As its tendency is to place a greater emphasis upon works of helping, serving, self-sacrificing love, so there is room for its greater activity in this direction.

But we have not yet fully answered the question. The difference between the two churches has been above exhibited only as regards the *material* principle of their theologies. But there is a difference also in respect to the *formal* principle, which is in one case the Scriptures, and in the other the Scriptures *and tradition*. Here is the source of a great difference. Many of the results of it have been exhibited incidentally in the above pages. To refer to one more example, Old Catholicism holds fast to the mass. She seeks, it is true, to purify and spiritualize it, but, as it is the traditional mode of Catholic worship, she retains it. Here is a great obstacle to her becoming an integral element of Protestantism. She stands in a similar relation to German Lutheranism as, in America, high-church Episcopalians to Presbyterians. We can scarcely expect a practical union in such a case.

The other point to be considered was the prospects of Old Catholicism for the future. As regards the political relations of the movement they still remain, on the whole, favorable, and in some respects, as for example in Austria, they have become more favorable. Since the press is the great power in moulding public opinion, and since it has hitherto been favorable to Old Catholicism, it may be hoped that no political opposition will be experienced. But if it should, it may do no harm. In certain quarters there has been a tendency to view Old Catholicism as a tool in the hands of the state for fighting the church. Many Catholics have been hindered from joining themselves with it for this reason. All signs seem, however, now to point to a continuation of the favor from the state which Old Catholicism has hitherto constantly enjoyed.

The relations of Old Catholicism to the Roman church are scarcely of less importance for the future than those to the state. The bitter hate with which they are assailed from this quarter has been of service to their cause; but of still more service the excesses into which Rome has plunged, particularly since the Vatican Council. In consequence of the decrees of the Council, the Jesuits have pressed the worship of the pope to its fullest extent. Even the famous Englishman, F. W. Faber, has written as follows: "That no one without worshipping<sup>1</sup> the pope can enter the kingdom of heaven, for it is an essential part of Christian piety, a simply necessary moment of all Christian holiness." That is to say, the pope is the visible shadow cast by the Head of the Church, who remains concealed in the most holy sacrament of the altar, or he is the third visible presence of Christ. The first was in the birth of Jesus, the second takes place in the eucharist, and the third in the pope. L. Veuillot allowed himself to write from Rome: "In Rome we have three objects of devotion, the most sacred sacrament of the altar, the holy mother of God, and the pope." And so

<sup>1</sup> The original is not before us. The German word used by our author is *Andacht*.

straws from the bed of "the prisoner of the Vatican" were sold in Belgium like the relics of the martyrs. In like manner the worship of Mary has been carried to a greater excess than ever. Such blasphemies, with the steady jesuitizing of the church, and the new emphasis with which it has returned to the Middle Ages may lead many Catholics to forsake Rome for Old Catholicism who would hardly become Protestants.

But now whether Old Catholicism will draw all the benefit she might from these circumstances, and grow and thrive, and finally supersede the decaying Roman church as a truly Catholic church, depends most of all upon the inner character of Old Catholicism itself. Here we cannot avoid pointing out some defects in it. It is in many points not yet risen into clearness and well-rounded completeness. There is yet great difference of opinion upon the primacy of the pope, ecumenicity and consequent authority of the Council of Trent, etc. They have not yet arrived at the point of setting forth a confession, and, indeed, expressly disclaim the intention of doing so. But if they do not they will find that the confessions of the first six centuries are by no means adequate to the demands of the present times.

Yet there is a brighter side of the matter. Old Catholicism has now stood for ten years. It has every year increased its strength in some direction. It is determined to seek progress and to fulfil its mission. It has only just now begun a work in certain countries hitherto unoccupied, and it seems by all means most likely to go forward. That it may, and that it may be freed from every defect, and made a most useful instrument in withstanding the pretensions of Rome, must be the prayer of every lover of our Lord and of his church.

APPENDIX.—TABULAR STATEMENT.

The subjoined Table exhibits statistically the Progress of Old Catholicism in the German Empire.

COUNTRIES.	Number of Local Churches.					Number of Members of Parishes.					Increase or Decrease.	
	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1876-77.	1877-78.
Prussia,	27	32	35	35	36	17,038	18,765	20,524	21,797	21,650	+1273	— 147
Baden,	28	35	44	44	44	7,176	14,993	17,203	18,866	18,674	+1663	— 192
Hesse,	2	3	5	5	5	560	684	1,042	1,155	1,171	+ 113	+ 16
Bavaria,	?	?	?	34	34	?	18,189	10,567	11,338	10,033	+ 771	—1,305
Württemberg,		1	1	1	1		102	223	237	227	+ 14	— 10
Oldenburg,	1	1	2	2	2	160	193	249	247	247	— 2	0
<b>Total,</b>	<b>(58</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>87)</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>24,934</b>	<b>44,926</b>	<b>49,808</b>	<b>53,640</b>	<b>52,002</b>	<b>+3,832</b>	<b>—1,688</b>