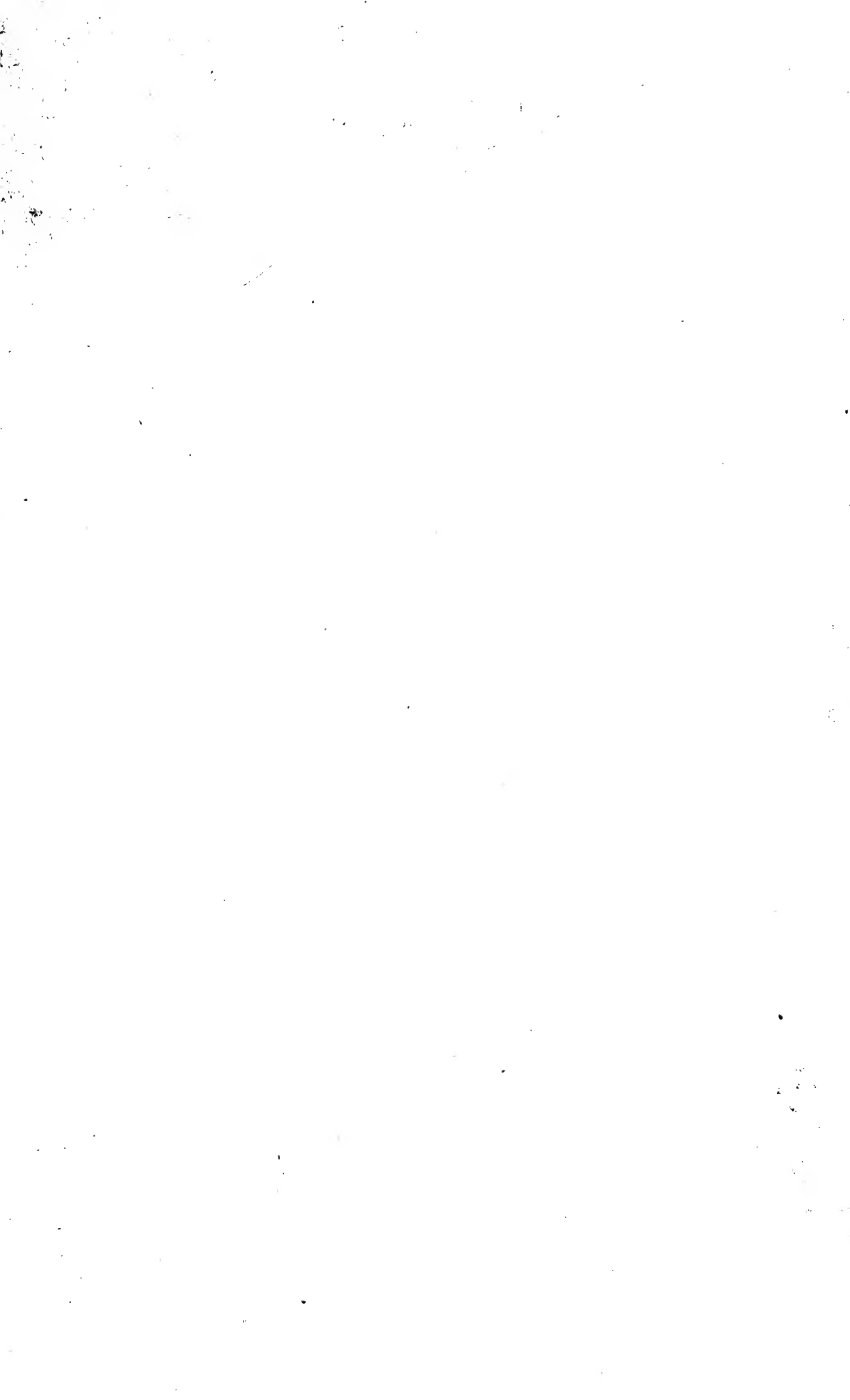


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BISHOP REINKENS'
Speeches
ON
CHRISTIAN UNION
AND
OLD CATHOLIC PROSPECTS,

DELIVERED IN THE CONGRESSES OF COLOGNE AND CONSTANCE.

With a Preface

By BISHOP REINKENS

AND

A Biographical Notice of the Bishop.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE REV.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A.

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE AND PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN I begged of Bishop Reinkens a word of greeting for his new audience, I warned him that many Englishmen eye his reform with jealousy, as a political legerdemain. He might, I thought, best combat the error indirectly, by shewing how each reader, without forsaking the Church of his baptism, could in his place and degree help to heal the wounds of the Church Catholic.

But the Bishop has not gone to school with Polonius or Loyola. he cannot "by indirections find directions out." His warfare is more native and Herculean; he loves to take the bull by the horns, to close with falsehood and prejudice at the first onset, and bear them down by sheer weight of plain dealing. The speeches here printed, and indeed the entire Old Catholic literature,¹ of themselves furnish an antidote to the calumnies, which malice breeds and ignorance scatters broadcast, to poison men's minds against the new reformation. The best witness to the singleness of the reformers' aims is however to be sought, not in their words, not even in their recorded lives, but in the fascination of their presence, in the Spirit which, as they believe, animates their assemblies, so that free and often warm debates end in unforced accord, and an authority purely moral is loyally and without a murmur obeyed; for perfect trust reigns among men who have together passed through the fires, and have not been found wanting. If instead of ten Englishmen, fifty or a hundred, equipped with an adequate knowledge of the controversy, were to attend this autumn's congress, the real facts must filter through our insular society, and touch many hearts far and near, and so the work of reunion, instead of creeping, as now, would take wings and fly onwards to its goal.

I append the Bishop's letter, omitting only the first and last paragraphs. These are too personal to concern the public, except indeed where "in the name of many thousands" he thanks me for endeavour-

¹ A complete list of the German portion of it has been published by P. Neusser at Bonn: *Verzeichniss von empfehlenswerthen auf die altkatholische Bewegung bezüglichen Schriften.*

ing "to spread abroad in England the right understanding of our Old Catholic movement of reform." Such a certificate may entitle me to a hearing on this subject, as against witnesses who have witnessed nothing with ears or eyes, or as against judges who have neither studied the law (*i. e.* in this case Church history and doctrine) nor followed the evidence.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 14 *Jan.* 1874.

LETTER OF BISHOP REINKENS TO THE TRANSLATOR.

BONN, 10 Jan. 1874.

I WILL not deny that I am flattered by being brought into a certain spiritual relation with the English people, which appears to me still to possess those natural gifts and excellences, which of old tempted Rome to enthrall and press into its service England's already free-born Church. As she has produced great men in every field of culture, and as a nation has already passed through periods of renown, so, I think, in the future also her inherent power of production and of creation will approve itself and ensure her honorable position among the civilised peoples. And precisely because I entertain this conviction, I trust also, that sound sense and the consciousness of the connexion between religion and freedom in your country will soon lead Englishmen to a general and just appreciation of our Catholic movement of reform.

Our movement sprang, not from the brain of any statesman, but from the Spirit of God by means of conscience.¹ No politician led us amid the din of war, immediately before the catastrophe of Sedan, to Nuremberg, where on the 25th and 26th of August 1870 we sketched the first published² declaration against the Vatican treason, but singly and solely conscience, the unshaken witness which "the Spirit (of God) Himself gave to our spirit, that we are children of God" (Rom. viii. 16), but not of the pope, that not service of the pope and worship of rank is "the end of the (Divine) commandment, (but) love out of a pure heart and good conscience and faith unfeigned" (1 Tim. i. 5). None of the speeches, which I have since delivered, have been written beforehand, but they have rather proceeded from the situation of the moment in each case; and I hope that you will always meet in them the same Spirit.

Our religious struggle against Rome was for a long time exceedingly irksome to the leading statesmen in Germany; we found not the smallest support or encouragement amongst the governments, and

[¹ See J. H. Reinkens, *Ueber den Ursprung der jetzigen kirchlichen Reformbewegung aus dem Gewissen der Katholiken. Vortrag in Köln. Köln, E. H. Mayer. 1872. 2½ Ngr.*]

[² It may be seen in the *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Katholikencongresses abgehalten vom 22. bis 24. September 1871 in München. München, Th. Ackermann. 1871. pp. iv-vi.*; and in E. Friedberg, *Sammlung der Actenstücke zum ersten vaticanischen Concil mit einem Grundrisse der Geschichte desselben. Tübingen, H. Laupp. 1872. pp. 157-159. cf. p. 57.*]

only a partial negative protection.¹ Indeed I can according to the best information affirm, that in Berlin the recognition of the Old Catholics and the grant of positive protection to them were never seriously considered till after the notorious papal allocation of the little stone and the colossus² (23 Dec. 1872).

If any one insists on learning the causal connexion between the religious and the political struggle against the Roman *curia* in Germany, it is this, that the religious movement first made the state aware of the danger threatening its own existence. Besides the twofold conflict is alike unavoidable for a twofold divine order, for religion and law. A religious man can from both points of view draw reasons for embarking in the struggle. To the Roman *curia* religion is not an absolute end, but the means of money-making and of temporal dominion. A state, which does not at the right moment descry the peril therefrom impending, and take measures of self-defence, will have no future.

Old Catholicism however assails directly the abuse of what is to it

[¹ On the persecution which Old Catholic pastors, schoolmasters and professors have endured "because they believed in the evening of 18 July 1870 the same as they believed in the morning," the English public has received no authentic information. Ultramontanes laugh in their sleeve, when they hear the "free press" of England echoing their outcry against that Herod or Nero or Diocletian or Attila of the 19th century, the emperor of Germany! Ignorance may enslave a press and a "reading public" as effectually as bribes or fear. Those who have the courage to form an independent judgement can consult the following documents: Thomas Braun, *Aus der katholischen Kirche. Verfolgungsgeschichte des Verfassers*, Frankfurt, Baist. 1863. 7 Ngr. E. Friedberg, *Sammlung der Actenstücke*, which contains a complete collection of such papers, bearing on the question, as had appeared in print up to the date of publication. J. Grunert, *Meine Verhandlungen mit dem Bischof von Ermland Dr. Philippus Krenentz über die päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit*. Königsberg, Braun und Weber. 1872. 3 Ngr. P. Gschwind, *Appellation an die öffentliche Meinung gegen die jüngste Exkommunikationssentenz des Herrn Eugen Lachat*. Bern, Wjss. 6½ Ngr. Fr. Michelis, *Der häretische Charakter der Infallibilitätslehre. Eine katholische Antwort auf die römische Exkommunikation*. Hannover, Meyer. 1872. 12 Ngr. C. v. Riechthofen, *Zwei Erklärungen über seine Stellung zur päpstlichen Unfehlbarkeit*. Köln, E. H. Mayer. 1873. 4 Ngr. [J. Fr. v. Schulte] *Das Vorgehen des Herrn Erzbischofs von Köln gegen Bonner Professoren gewürdigt von einem katholischen Juristen*. Bonn, Cohen. 1871. W. Tangermann, *Die römisch-jesuitische Neuerung. Mit Beziehung auf das Verfahren des Herrn Erzbischofs von Köln gegen den Pfarrer von Unkel, zugleich als Denkschrift für das königl. Ministerium*. Bonn, Cohen. 1861. 6 Ngr. H. Waldmann, *Zurückweisung grundloser Beschuldigungen. Antwort auf das am Charsamstag gegen mich erlassene Hirten schreiben des Bischofs von Paderborn, Dr. Konrad Martin*. Heiligenstadt, Delion. 1871. 3 Ngr. Dr. A. Westermayr und P. Petrus Hötzl, *Von einem katholischen Geistlichen*. München, Rieger. 1870. 6 Ngr. Gymnasial-Lehrer Dr. P. Wollmann, *Der kirchliche Conflict am Gymnasium zu Braunsberg, Abwehr gegen die Schrift des Dr. A. Kolberg: "Die Secte der Protestkatholiken"*. Königsberg, Braun und Weber. 1872. 6 Ngr. *Peinliche Zwiegespräche mit Bischöfen der vaticanischen Mehrheit über unsere kirchliche Lage. Von einem Altkatholiken*. Basel, Bahnmaier. 8 Ngr.]

[² The little stone of the papacy which should shatter the colossus of the German empire; Dr. Völk, in his speech at Constance 14 Sept. 1873, bore witness to the impulse which this allegory had given to the reforming movement. See below, p. 42.]

an absolute end, religion, and therefore remembers that He, who was meek and lowly of heart, Jesus Christ our Lord, only once bound up and used a rod,—that is, when He drove the money-market out of the temple. We desire to rid the church of money-making and politics. Old Catholicism, casting off the narrow-hearted particularism of the Roman Church, which is incessantly severing and sundering, desires to awaken the consciousness of the union of all baptised believers in Christ,—to set aside the distinctions arising from error and from sin by purifying the religious temper in each individual Christian,—to open men's eyes to the fellowship of the same Spirit amid the variety of gifts, and to attain as its ultimate goal not the sameness (*Einerleiheit*) and uniformity, but the living unity of the confessions, living by the same Spirit and by the full sovereignty of the evangelical law of love. We yearn for a fellowship of Christians, wherein by the grace which has appeared to *all* men, all may also “*live soberly* (in self-control), *righteously* (according to the law of love towards our neighbour) *and godly in this world, looking for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ*” (Tit. ii. 11–13).

LETTER OF BISHOP REINKENS.

Ich will nicht leugnen, dass es mir schmeichelhaft ist, mit dem englischen Volke in eine gewisse geistige Beziehung zu treten, das, wie mir scheint, noch immer jene natürliche Gaben und Vorzüge besitzt, welche einst Rom reizten, die bereits freigeborene Kirche Englands sich zu unterwerfen und dienstbar zu machen. Wie es auf allen Gebieten der Cultur grosse Männer hervorgebracht hat und in seiner Gesamtheit ruhmvolle Perioden schon durchlief, so, denke ich, wird auch in Zukunft die ihm inwohnende productive und schaffende Kraft sich bewähren und ihm seine ehrenvolle Stellung unter den Culturvölkern sichern. Und eben weil ich diese Ueberzeugung habe, vertraue ich auch darauf, dass der gesunde Sinn und das Verständniss für den Zusammenhang von Religion und Freiheit in Ihrem Heimathlande zu einer allgemeinen und gerechten Würdigung unserer Katholischen Reformbewegung führen wird.

Unsere Bewegung ist nicht aus dem Geiste irgend eines Staatsmannes entsprungen sondern aus dem Geiste Gottes durch das Gewissen. Kein Politiker führte uns unter dem Kriegsgeräusche unmittelbar vor der Katastrophe von Sedan nach Nürnberg, wo wir am 25sten und 26sten August 1870 die erste in die Oeffentlichkeit gedrungene Erklärung gegen das Vaticanische Attentat entwarfen, sondern einzig und allein das Gewissen—das unerschütterliche Zeugniss, welches “*der Geist* (Gottes) *selbst unserm Geiste gab, dass wir Kinder Gottes seien*” (Röm. viii. 16), nicht aber des Papstes,—dass nicht Papstdienst und Würdencult *der Endzweck des* (göttlichen) “*Gebotes sei* (sondern) *Liebe aus reinem Herzen und gutem Gewissen und ungeheucheltem Glauben*” (1 Tim. i. 5). Sämmtliche Reden,

welche ich seitdem gehalten habe, sind vorher nicht aufgezeichnet gewesen, vielmehr aus der jedesmaligen Situation hervorgegangen, und ich hoffe, Sie werden darin stets demselben Geiste begegnen.

Unser religiöser Kampf gegen Rom war den leitenden Staatsmännern in Deutschland lange Zeit sehr ungeliebt; wir fanden nicht die geringste Unterstützung oder Ermunterung bei den Staatsregierungen, und nur einen theilweisen negativen Schutz. Ja ich kann nach den besten Informationen die Versicherung geben, dass man in Berlin die Anerkennung der Altkatholiken und die Gewährung eines positiven Schutzes erst ernstlich in Erwägung zog nach der berichtigten päpstlichen Allocution vom Steinchen und Koloss (23 Dec. 1872). Will man durchaus einen ursächlichen Zusammenhang zwischen dem religiösen und politischen Kampfe gegen die römische Curie in Deutschland wissen, so ist er dieser, dass der Staat durch die religiöse Bewegung erst aufmerksam geworden ist auf die ihm selbst drohende Gefahr. Uebrigens ist der Doppelkampf gleich unausweichlich für eine doppelte göttliche Ordnung, für Religion und Recht. Ein religiöser Mann kann aus beiden Gesichtspuncten Motive zum Eintritt in den Kampf gewinnen. Der römischen Curie ist die Religion nicht Selbstzweck, sondern ein Mittel für Gelderwerb und Weltherrschaft. Ein Staat, welcher die ihm daher drohende Gefahr nicht zur rechten Stunde erkennt und zur Vertheidigung schreitet, wird keine Zukunft haben. Der Altkatholicismus aber wendet sich direct gegen den Missbrauch der Religion, die ihm Selbstzweck ist, und deshalb erinnert er sich, dass der Sanftmüthige und von Herzen Demüthige, Jesus Christus unser Herr, nur einmal eine Ruthe gebunden und angewendet hat,—als Er nämlich das Geldgeschäft aus dem Tempel trieb. Gelderwerb und Politik wollen wir aus der Kirche hinaus schaffen. Der Altkatholicismus will, abwerfend den engherzigen Particularismus der römischen Kirche, die immerfort trennt und scheidet, das Bewusstsein der Zusammengehörigkeit aller getauften Gläubigen in Christo wecken, durch Läuterung der Religiösität in jedem einzelnen Christen die Unterschiede des Irrthums und der Sünde beseitigen, die Gemeinschaft desselben Geistes bei der Vielheit der Gaben zur Erkenntniss bringen, und als letztes Ziel nicht die Einerleiheit und Uniformität erzwingen sondern die lebendige Einheit der Confessionen herbeiführen,—lebendig durch denselben Geist und durch die volle Herrschaft des evangelischen Gesetzes der Liebe. Wir ersehnen eine Gemeinschaft der Christen, in welcher durch die *allen* Menschen erschienene Gnade auch alle "besonnen (sich selbst beherrschend) gerecht (nach dem Gesetze der Nächstenliebe) gottselig leben in dieser Welt, harrend der seligen Hoffnung und der Ankunft der Herrlichkeit des grossen Gottes und unseres Heilandes Jesu Christi" (Tit. ii. 11-13).

LIFE OF BISHOP REINKENS.

JOSEPH HUBERT REINKENS was born 1 March 1821 at Burt-scheid near Aix-la-Chapelle. His elder brother, the chief pastor of St. Remigius' church at Bonn, is described as "a highly esteemed clergyman, of whom it is notorious that he only *endures*, but does not endorse, the Vatican decrees." A younger brother is burgo-master of Erkelenz, a little country town in the circuit of Aix-la-Chapelle. The future bishop studied theology and philology at Bonn university 1844-7, entered the seminary for priests at Cologne in the autumn of 1847, and was ordained priest 3 Sept. 1848 by the late card. v. Geissel in the Minorites' church, lately claimed by the Old Catholics for their use. He afterwards returned to Bonn to continue his studies, graduated as doctor in the theological faculty at Munich in 1849, settled as private tutor (*Privatdozent*) at Breslau in 1850, was appointed in 1852 preacher on festivals and penitentiary at the cathedral and incumbent of the electoral chapel; in 1853 extraordinary professor of church history and *ad interim* chief preacher at the cathedral; in 1857 ordinary professor of church history in Ritter's place; he refused a canonry offered by prince bishop Förster in 1858, and from that time devoted himself wholly to the service of Breslau university, of which he was rector 1865-6.

Our brilliant professor's learning and eloquence aroused the envy of the obscurantist clergy, who strove to overwhelm him by a flood of protests after his publication (in 1862) of a faithful history of Breslau university, on occasion of its jubilee. Reinkens witnessed the persecution of his colleague Baltzer,¹ and in Italy (1867 and 1868) watched the workings of Jesuitism in its Italian stronghold. He was one of the fourteen professors who at Nuremberg protested against the Vatican decrees in August 1870. Bishop Förster, though he had himself for some time contemplated resignation to avoid the acceptance of those decrees, suspended professors Reinkens, Baltzer and Weber for signing the Nuremberg protest²; and in the beginning of May 1872 excommunicated the four Abdiels of his diocese, Reinkens, Weber, Hassler and Hirschwälder (editor of the

¹ See J. H. Reinkens, *Ueber päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit*. München, 1870, p. 117. Ad. Franz, *Joh. Baptista Baltzer*. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte der Diocese Breslau. Breslau, Aderholz, 1873. 8vo. pp. vi. 188. 1 Thlr. E. Friedberg, *Joh. Baptista Baltzer*. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Geschichte des Verhältnisses zwischen Staat und Kirche in Preussen. Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1873. 8vo. pp. iv. 170. 1 Thlr. See Prof. Reusch's review in the *Theolog. Literaturbl.* 25 Oct. 1873.

² See E. Friedberg, *Sammlung der Actenstücke zum ersten Vaticanischen Concil*. Tübingen, 1872. pp. 58, 159.

Deutscher Merkur). The suspension emptied the theological lecture-rooms; but in 1871 the university of Leipzig did itself honour by conferring on Reinkens the degree of *Doctor philosophiæ honoris causa*.

The mere list of his works will shew how zealously the silenced professor has laboured in Germany and Switzerland to advance the work of reform; but one must have heard him to appreciate fully the spell of his personal presence. In spiritual conquests, in "the annexation of hearts" (to use a term which became proverbial at Constance) few indeed of our generation can compare with him. Many, before indifferent, confess with the burgomaster of Constance, that it was his voice that awakened them from their slumbers.

I take the following from the *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung* (9 June 1873):

"Reinkens, a man in the prime of manly strength, has a most winning and gracious air. The priestly gentleness of his whole nature, the great goodness of heart which speaks even in his outward appearance, the blameless purity of his life, on which not even the foul venom of the lowest ribald prints of the ultramontanes can cast a slur, an unfeigned, evangelical piety, combined with solid learning in theology and history, with rare energy, with an unflinching power of action and inexhaustible zeal on behalf of his Church, and lastly with polished manners, betraying the highest social breeding; all these qualities, which adorn the newly-elected Catholic bishop, will not only draw to him the hearts of believers, but will also in wider circles arouse sympathy and good-will for the cause, to which, as hitherto, so still more for the future, he is ready to consecrate his whole life.

"We think we cannot more worthily conclude this short sketch than by citing the following passage from a letter of an eminent Protestant scholar:

"The last climax of Roman corruption has driven him out of *this* (the Vatican) Church. In all this there is nothing remarkable; his sense of truth, his conscience, his scientific equipment set him only *side by side* with so many other noble spirits, who have feared God more than men, who see in religion not an instrument of tyranny, but a moral consecration, a deliverance and an elevation of the soul to the God of truth and love. What marked him out for election as bishop, must be something else, which many others do not possess in *the same* degree as he. I believe that it is the wonderful power of his personality. When Reinkens set foot on Swiss ground, and there—about a year ago—delivered lectures, it was said; through him first did the Old Catholic movement there obtain a positive basis; then first did the bare revolt against ultramontaniam become in many a religious effort, an enthusiasm for true religion and Christianity.

"A deep and lofty nature speaks in all that proceeds from him; he seizes men's souls by the grandeur of his conceptions, by the

impression of inmost experience, by true, unforced, most heartfelt enthusiasm. Of his earlier writings I have read but one, an academical essay on the course and laws of universal history. I only remember that it seemed to me to treat its subject in bold and deep outlines, and with most perfect freedom. Assuredly it was the best choice that could have been made, though a decision which made acceptance in *these* times difficult to *this* man. May the government now lend no wavering support to the further steps of Old Catholicism.’”

On 4 June 1873 Professor Reinkens was elected bishop.¹ An extract from Professor v. Schulte’s speech at Constance (13 Sept. 1873, 3 P.M.) will serve as the best introduction to this turning-point in the history of the man and his Church :

“It is the *third* Old Catholic congress, whose first public meeting I herewith open. We say in common life ‘*aller guten Dinge sind drei*’ (‘all good things go in threes’).

“Though I cherish the stedfast hope, that of the good things—I mean here Old Catholic congresses—we shall have not three alone, but one every year, yet this sacred number three has a peculiarity of its own, and the circumstance, that this number is completed precisely in Constance, has a very special significance.

“You all know how the movement, which brings us here together, began in 1870. We saw ourselves driven, in the full conviction of the Christian conscience, in the full strength of manhood and with full constancy of character, to rebel against the attempt to impose upon us a single mortal as an earthly God, from whose will and behests we must look for salvation in this world and in the world to come.

“In 1871, at our first meeting in Munich, our business was to express in the most general form our leading principles of action, which were in brief as follows: ‘We declare aloud and publicly, that we hold fast to the Catholic Church, as founded by Christ the Lord, as He laid its foundations in His holy Gospel, as on the ground of this foundation of the holy Gospel, of the holy Scripture, the *ancient tradition of the one undivided Church* has ever been maintained. We hold fast to the entire, full truth of Christianity. But we have learnt, that the truth has been encumbered with a mass of

¹ See in the official report of the Cologne congress (1872) pp. x. xi. the names and functions of the committee appointed to bring about the election; and in the report of the Constance congress pp. 39-44 the regulations drawn up by the committee (*e.g.* the bishop shall be consecrated simply as bishop, without assuming the title of any existing see, and shall act as missionary bishop for Germany) and the names of the thirty eligible priests. Prof. v. Schulte on the morning of Friday 12 Sept. 1873 (*ibid.* 57-65) gave information to the delegates respecting the proceedings of the committee, its negotiations with the church of Utrecht and with the governments etc. The “Promemoria” on the rights of Old Catholics, sent to the governments 29 Nov. 1872 is printed *ibid.* pp. 27-38, and may be recommended to the notice of those who (after the newspapers) fasten on the Old Catholics the charge of Erastianism.

errors, of forgeries, of human counterfeits. It is our task, our endeavour, to cast off these human counterfeits, which men have at last presumed to force upon us as Divine revelation. We desire to restore the ancient Christian Church in its original purity.'

"These thoughts we expressed nakedly and plainly for everyone who can understand what conviction means, the simple word, needing no ornament of rhetoric, because its intrinsic truth is warrant for its accuracy.

"In the second congress, held last September in 'holy Cologne,' we further defined these principles, and carried them out on all sides, by drawing consequences from them in detail. Already in Munich we attained to the conviction, that it is not enough to deny, to declare that one rejects this or that, but that one must act also. The Lord said 'Whosoever loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me.' Accordingly it is the duty of all, who are named by the name of Christ, not merely to confess their faith with the *mouth*, but also to carry it out in *act*. If therefore we would be really true to the Gospel, which we regard and accept as the foundation of all culture in humanity, we were also constrained to lay down the principle: 'We will not allow ourselves to be cast out of God's temple.' (Bravo! Bravo!)

"As then those, who have adhered to the innovation, were *de facto* in possession of all the outward means of divine worship, as they were in possession of the churches, we could not escape the duty of setting on foot a service of our own. It would have been treason to our convictions, want of character, a reproach against religion where duty called for a frank and open confession of the true Gospel, if we were to join in a service conducted by one who, whether from conviction or for any other reasons, in fact submits to error and to falsehood. (Applause.) What has been called the *Gemeindebildung* (formation of congregations) was the expression of the inmost Christian heart. In Munich we resolved: 'in every place, where the necessity occurs and the persons exist, a regular cure of souls must be established.' This resolution was adopted 22 Sept. 1871, and to-day there are already about a hundred congregations in the German empire alone, which confess the Old Catholic faith, which do not regard a man as the mediator of salvation in this world and the next, but hold loyally to Christ the Lord, by whom we may be saved through active faith in Him. (Bravo!)

"In Cologne we expressed the principles which clearly define and justify in detail our position with regard to the New Catholics, the adherents of the Vatican decrees. We further adopted in Cologne various resolutions about our relation to the civil governments. We have declared what we expect from the governments, and also what we expect from all who share our views and convictions. We had arrived at the point of transition from looser forms of combination to the closer form of the ancient Church.

"If you read the ancient fathers, a St. Ignatius the disciple of an

apostle and Clement of Rome, you will find stated as the clue, I may say to all their letters, the thought: 'The Church is, where believers rally around their bishop; the Church is, where bishop, clergy and believers form one congregation.' In all the patristic writings, in the old councils, the thought recurs: 'He is no true bishop, who is not called by the confidence and choice of clergy and congregation.' (Applause.) The ancient councils have declared this most emphatically, most definitely and clearly. Now a long process—I will not trouble you here with its history—has landed us in this result, that the bishop has at last been imposed on the faithful by every other means than by the confidence and the call of Christ's flock, to lead which, as the apostle Paul says, the Holy Ghost appointed the bishops. I will not dwell further upon the ways and means of their election, but it is a fact, that most bishops are strange to their congregations, that oftentimes they neither belonged to the diocese, nor were known to the congregation, over which they were placed. But as the majority of the bishops,—unhappily in outward show all the German bishops, one after the other, even those who so heroically and with such a pompous flourish had declared, that they would die rather than recognise the innovation,—on returning to the enjoyment of their incomes had embraced the innovation and abandoned their flocks, the moment was come to give effect to the resolution already adopted in Munich: 'we are entitled, when the right moment shall have arrived, to take steps for the establishment of a regular episcopal jurisdiction.'

"At Cologne a committee was charged with the execution of this resolution. The Lord, we may say, the Spirit of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, was with us. On 4 June 1873 at Cologne, in an assembly consisting of twenty-one priests and fifty-six laymen, the representatives of all the distant shires of our German country, we elected as our bishop a man, who enjoys the confidence of all, a man who, as regards *knowledge, character and past life*, is not only inferior to none of all those bishops, who see in parti-coloured clothes and 'infinitely higher jurisdiction'¹ the task of their offices, but far surpasses them.

"This election, honoured assembly, was a work of which all present must say, the Spirit of the Lord swayed the assembly. It cost us pains to move the man to accept this thorny office, the whole difficulty of which he perceived. But I may say, not merely as eye-witness, but as leader of that meeting for the election of a bishop, it was an inspiring moment! I may say, since the apostles' days it has not come to pass, that an assembly lay in tears, to win the man of its confidence and of its choice. And whereas at other times

¹ [This phrase, proverbial among the Old Catholics, was employed by one German bishop (v. Ketteler) to another in a company at Rome, where one priest (Friedrich, who tells the story in his *Diary of the Vatican Council*) found himself alone among bishops. The *jurisdiction* is that of bishops, which is *infinitely higher* than that of priests.]

every possible engine, secular and ecclesiastical, is brought to bear upon episcopal elections, and it is known long before, how this man and that and dozens are yearning to obtain the dignity, and how the outward state, all the honours, the halo, the revenues are the baits, which tempt each and all to strive after this dignity,—we had before us a man, who in the sense of what awaited him was as it were prostrated, and whom only the tears of such a crowd of men raised and moved,—the tears of an assembly and the consciousness that, as the Holy Ghost had called him, he might not shrink back. *It was a moment, such as the Church has not seen since the apostolic times.* (Loud long-continued Bravo.)

“We thereby truly linked our time to that time, we have again exercised a right, which should never have been withdrawn from believers. I do not oppose rights, which rest on prescription. But it was not the fault of the laity entitled to a voice, that the novel, mischievous forms sprang up. All evil, honoured assembly, which has arisen and come to pass in the Church is due to the misconception of their mission on the part of the rulers of the Church from the highest to the lowest. (Bravo!) Against this, I hope, we are secured for the future by this one act, by the way in which it was brought about, by the way in which it was welcomed, by the success which it has already had.

“After this act a great work still remained to be done, *viz.* the giving ourselves that outward form without which existence is impossible. For an order is necessary in the world, to the end that, as our honoured bishop so beautifully explained last Tuesday at Freiburg, necessity and freedom, the two principles that move the world, may be brought into full accord. Our ecclesiastical affairs could only be settled in a permanent outward form on the basis already indicated, *viz.* that amongst us there should not prevail command and obedience, a party of autocrats and a party blindly submissive. We desire no obedience not resting on conviction, we desire no assent not founded on the inward persuasion that what is required is right. So we were fain to choose an organisation, which at once gives full expression to this principle, and also demonstrates, that it is our settled maxim not to swerve from the goal: to hold fast to the one ancient, undivided Church of Christ.

“By God’s help we have successfully brought this work to a preliminary conclusion; yesterday and to-day we have discussed and adopted a constitution for the synod and congregation. By this constitution the bishop is the head, he is our leader, but not a leader demanding blind obedience. On that day, 4 June, he said himself: I desire as the form Love and Reverence instead of Obedience. By his side stands an organ [the *Synodalrepräsentanz*] consisting of [four] clergymen and [five] laymen, which advises and aids him in administration, and with him comes to a decision in matters of business. But the work is to be crowned by the yearly convocation of a synod, wherein clergy and laity, the latter by chosen representatives of the several congregations, deliberate and decide. Thus by God’s

help we have secured an organisation, by which we may surely and confidently expect to be guarded from all the storms, whereby the Church of Christ has at last sunk into a caricature, into a machine set in motion exclusively by a Roman valve. (Bravo!) Next we have created a constitution for the congregation. Here the same principles are expressed. The spiritual leader of the congregation is chosen by the congregation. He and the representatives of the congregation are the born, the natural organ, and amongst us henceforth they are also the legal organ for the direction of the congregation."

No one who has seen Prof. v. Schulte in his presidential chair will charge him with a sickly sentimentality; the very word *Männer* has on his lips somewhat of a Homeric ring. No common crisis could draw tears from him and threescore and ten strong men, steeled by persecution to bear hardship; they felt that their "holy cause" was at stake, when they implored the man of their choice not to flinch from the burden which he thought himself all too weak to bear.

On Wednesday 4 June 1873 the electors met at Cologne in the large church of St. Pantaleon, which was crowded with Old Catholics of the city. At 8.30 a.m. the mass of the Holy Ghost began. Afterwards while the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus* was sung, the electors entered the side chapel and the doors were closed. On the scrutiny Reinkens received 69 votes, Reusch 5, Langen and Michelis each 1; one paper was found blank. Reinkens, like others of the eligible priests, had deprecated election on purely personal grounds; and after his election again refused to accept the office. An earnest remonstrance of Prof. v. Schulte seconded by the other electors, at last overcame his scruples. Few eyes were dry in the chapel when Prof. v. Schulte weeping embraced him and thanked him in the name of all for the sacrifice he had made. He made a condition that the vow should be the primitive vow of love and reverence, not that of obedience, which Rome has forged into so crushing an instrument of tyranny. The vow was joyfully taken, and the bishop for his part bound himself by a like vow to his flock. The procession moved out of the chapel, Pastor Tangermann declared the news to the waiting crowd from the pulpit, the bells rang out, and the *Te Deum* was sung.

Archbishop Loos of Utrecht, who had made a tour in 1872 through the Old Catholic congregations of Germany¹, confirming the children and encouraging the adults, died on the very day of the election at Cologne. The Ultramontanes exulted in this manifest judgement; for the archbishop had promised once more to aid the Old Catholics in their need by consecrating their first bishop. But *uno avulso non deficit alter aureus et simili frondescit virga metallo*—the one remaining bishop of the Utrecht church, Heykamp of Deventer, fulfilled the

¹ See the most interesting pamphlet: *Die apostolische Reise des Erzbischofs von Utrecht nach Deutschland 1872. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Katholischen Reformbewegung. Aus Briefen und andern Schriftstücken zusammengestellt von J. Renfle, Pfarrer in Mering. Augsburg, Lampart, 1872, pp. ii, 87.*

promise of his metropolitan, when on the 11 August 1873, assisted by the vicars general of the other two dioceses of his church, he consecrated at Rotterdam Reinkens as missionary bishop of Germany, and Rinkel as bishop of Haarlem. Instead of the pope's order (*mandatum apostolicum*) the formal proofs of the legal election of the new bishops were read. On the refusal of Reinkens to notify his consecration to the pope, bishop Rinkel is said to have followed his example, being the first bishop of his church to dispense with the hollow form of allegiance.¹ Pastor Rol, speaking afterwards at Constance in the name of the Dutch church, declared its readiness to proceed to further reforms hand in hand with its German sister. It was expected that the twelve or fourteen bishops of the Armenian Old Catholics would have delegated one of their number to bear a part in the Rotterdam consecration. This was found impracticable, but ever since the most friendly intercourse has subsisted between the three churches.

The governments of Prussia, Baden and Hesse have acknowledged Reinkens as a bishop of the Catholic Church recognised by the state; a commission appointed by the Bavarian government to examine his claims is expected shortly to report in the same sense.

The king of Prussia addressed the following letter to the bishop, in reply to his congratulations on the new year:—

HOCHWUERDIGER HERR BISCHOF! I thank you for your hearty congratulations on the change of the year. May God's blessing in the new year also advance the work begun in His name! May the certainly correct conviction, shared by you, win ground more and more, that in my states respect for the law may easily be reconciled with the exercise of religion on the part of every community, which pursues no earthly aims, but only the One aim: to seek the peace of man with God.

(Signed) WILHELM.

BERLIN, 17 Jan. 1872.

¹ I take this statement from a newspaper, and cannot vouch for its accuracy; but of the important point, the willingness of the Utrecht church to entertain proposals of reform, there is no doubt. [In order to leave no room for error, I wrote for information to canon van Vlooten at Amersfoort, who consulted bishop Rinkel himself. He replied: 'dat Hij zelf niet aan den Paus heeft geschreven, maar dat de Vicarissen van Utrecht *sede vacante* van de wijding der beide bisschoppen Reinkens en Rinkel naar Rome eene kennisgeving hebben gezonden, met opgave der redenen die onze handelwijze rechtvaardigen;' *i. e.* 'that he did not himself write to the pope, but that the vicars of Utrecht *sede vacante* sent to Rome a notification of the consecration of the two bishops Reinkens and Rinkel, with a statement of the grounds which justify our course of action.']

² D. Nutt, 270, Strand, has for sale copies of the large photograph of bishop Reinkens by R. Schlegel of Elberfeld.

WORKS OF BISHOP REINKENS.

DE Clemente Alexandrino homine, scriptore, philosopho, theologo liber. Breslau, Aderholz, 1851. pp. x. 358. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ Thlr.

Sendschreiben an Hrn. Redlich, königl. Superintendent u. s. w., als Antwort auf seine "Beleuchtung des neuesten Hirtenbriefes des Kardinals u. Fürstbischofs von Breslau." 8vo. Breslau, Aderholz. 1852. pp. 27. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ngr.

Der Protestantismus als politisches Princip von F. J. Stahl, nach den Principien gewürdigt. Breslau, Aderholz. 8vo. pp. iv. 131. 1853. 15 Ngr.

Die Flucht des Herrn Stahl vor dem Principienkampfe. 8vo. pp. 32. Breslau, Aderholz. 1854. 5 Ngr.

Clemens von Rom, nebst 3 kleineren Legenden. [Poems.] ff. 2. pp. 256. Breslau, Aderholz. 1855. 1 Thlr.

Die barmherzigen Schwestern vom h. Carl Borromäus zu Nancy. 2nd edit. Breslau, Aderholz, 1855. 8vo. pp. xvi. 176. 18 Ngr.

Das Sommerkind oder der Grund der Völkerwanderung. Ein episches Gedicht. 16mo. pp. 79. Paderborn, 1858. [Anonymous].

Anecdota sintne scripta a Procopio, inquiritur. Vratislaviae, Nischkowsky. 1858. 8vo. pp. 29.

Gedächtnissrede auf des hochsel. Königs Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Majestät, gehalten am 17 Febr. 1861 zu Breslau in der Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria auf dem Sande. 8vo. pp. 15. Breslau, Aderholz. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ngr.

Die Universität zu Breslau vor der Vereinigung der Frankfurter Viadrina mit der Leopoldina. Breslau, Aderholz, 1862. 4to. pp. vi. 132. 1 Thlr.

Meine Festschrift zur Jubelfeier der Breslauer Universität, und die gegen mich gerichtete Bewegung im schlesischen Clerus. Eine Vertheidigungsschrift. 8vo. Breslau, Gosohorsky. pp. viii. 52. 10 Ngr.

Religiöse Parabeln. 16mo. pp. 68. Breslau, Aderholz. 1863. 6 Ngr.

Hilarius von Poitiers. 8vo. pp. xl. 359. Schaffhausen, Hurter. 1864. 2 Thlr.

Die Einsiedler des heil. Hieronymus. 8vo. pp. xli. 306. Schaffhausen. 1864. 1 Thlr.

Die Geschichtsphilosophie des heil. Augustinus. Mit einer Kritik der Beweisführung des Materialismus gegen die Existenz des Geistes. Rede gehalten bei der Uebnahme des Rektorats der Universität Breslau am 15 Octbr. 1865. 8vo. pp. iv. 41. Schaffhausen, Hurter. 1866.

Martin von Tours der wunderthätige Mönch und Bischof. In seinem Leben u. Wirken dargestellt. 8vo. pp. x. 288. Breslau, Mälzer, 1866. 1 Thlr. 10 Ngr.—2nd edit. pt. 1, *ibid.* 1870. 8vo. pp. 96. 10 Ngr.

Aristoteles über Kunst besonders über Tragödie. Exegetische und kritische Untersuchungen. 8vo. pp. ix. 339. 1870. Wien, Braumüller. 2 Thlr. 20 Ngr. [Reviewed by J. Wrobel in *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien* xxi. 706-729.]

Papst und Papstthum nach der Zeichnung des h. Bernhard von Clairvaux. Uebersetzung und Erläuterung seiner Schrift de consideratione. 8vo. pp. xviii. 191. Münster, Brunn, 1870. 22½ Ngr.

Ueber die päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit (vol. ii. pt. 3, pp. ix. and 325-486 of Stimmen aus der Kath. Kirche. 1870. München, Oldenbourg). 20 Ngr.

Die päpstlichen Decrete vom 18 Juli. Münster, Brunn. 1871. 6 Hefte à 5 Ngr.

I. Der Universal-Bischof im Verhältniss zur Offenbarung. Nach Gregor dem Grossen und Pius IX.

II. Die Traditionsregel der alten Kirche und die moderne päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit.

III. Die Unregelmässigkeit und Unfreiheit des Vaticanischen Concils.

IV. Die Unterwerfung der deutschen Bischöfe zu Fulda in ihren Gründen geprüft.

V. Glaube und Unterwerfung in ihrem Unterschiede dargestellt.

VI. Die Infallibilisten und der moderne Staat in ihrer Unverträglichkeit nachgewiesen.

Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Katholiken-Congresses, abgehalten vom 22 bis 24 Sept. 1871 in München. Mit einer historischen Einleitung und Beilagen. 8vo. pp. xx. 233. München, Ackermann. 1871. 1 Thlr. [Contains several of R.'s speeches.]

Stenographischer Bericht über die Katholiken-Versammlung in Regensburg, 14 Jan. 1872 (speeches of Zirngiebl, Huber and Reinkens). 8vo. Regensburg, Forchthammer, 1872. 3 Ngr.

Ueber den Ursprung der jetzigen kirchlichen Reformbewegung aus dem Gewissen der Katholiken. Vortrag in Köln. Köln, E. H. Mayer. 1872. 2 Ngr.

Papst Pius IX. und seine Unfehlbarkeitslehre. Vortrag in Rheinfelden. Rheinfelden, Baumer. 1872.

Vortrag in der Versammlung freisinniger Katholiken in Luzern. Nebst einem Bericht über diese Versammlung. Luzern, Doleschal. 1872. 8vo. pp. 21. 2 Ngr.

Reden gehalten bei der Altkatholiken-Versammlung zu Offenburg 14 April 1872 [by Reinkens and Knoodt]. Offenburg, Trube. 1872. 2½ Ngr.

Die Verhandlungen des zweiten Altkatholiken-Congresses zu Köln. Köln, E. H. Mayer. 8vo. pp. xxiii. 131, 112. 1 Thlr. 10 Ngr.

[The whole of R.'s speeches at this congress are translated in this pamphlet. The long speech "Ueber die Hindernisse und Hoffnungen der altkatholischen Bewegung" may be had separately for 3 Ngr.]

Rede gehalten 1 Dec. 1872 am Altkatholiken-Tage in Olten, Bern, Jent u. Reinert. 1872. 2 Ngr.

Ueber die angebliche Verfolgung der kath. Kirche in Deutschland, besonders in Preussen. Rede geh. am 21 Jan. 1873 in Breslau. 8vo. pp. 21. Köln, E. H. Mayer. 1873. 3 Ngr.

Ist an die Stelle Christi für uns der Papst getreten? Rede in Würzburg. Würzburg, Stahel. 1873. 3½ Ngr.

Die Lehre des h. Cyprian von der Einheit der Kirche. Würzburg, Stahel. 1873. 10 Ngr.

Hirtenbrief vom 11 Aug. 1873. Bonn, Neusser. 1 Ngr.—Englische Uebersetzung. 5 Ngr. [Also published in English by the Anglo-Continental Society, London. Rivingtons, 1874, with the following.]

Der dritte Altkatholiken-Congress im Constanz im Jahre 1873. Constanz, Meck. 1873. 8vo. pp. 310. 1 Thlr. 18 Ngr. [The shorter speeches of R. are given in this pamphlet, the long address (on reading the Bible) has been published by the Bible Society, and also by the Anglo-Continental Society, 1874, with the pastoral of 11 Aug. 1873. Both are translated by the Rev. G. E. Broade.]

Hirtenbrief vom 14 Dec. 1873 gegen die Encyclica Pius IX. vom 21 Nov. 1873. 8vo. pp. 19. Bonn, Neusser. 1 Ngr. [Translated into English for the Anglo-Continental Society. 8vo. pp. 13. London, Rivingtons. 1874. Another version, by Mr. Madden, has been published at Bonn by P. Neusser. London, Nutt.]

Sei getrost, dein Glaube hat dir geholfen. Predigt, gehalten in Breslau 9 Nov. 1873. Breslau, Fiedler u. Hentschel. 1874. 2½ Ngr.

SPEECHES OF PROF. REINKENS IN THE MEETING
OF DELEGATES, ON THE MORNING OF 21 SEPT.
1872 AT COLOGNE.

THE president, von Schulte, thought that the discussion on the subject to be introduced by Prof. Reinkens, the Reunion of Churches, might be reduced to a very small compass, as much had been already said in the meetings on the 20th respecting the importance and necessity of reunion.

Prof. Reinkens: HONOURED SIR! I entirely agree with our respected president. Few speakers stood up yesterday without touching on the point which now comes on for deliberation. The president himself has repeatedly declared his view of it, and I have the agreeable feeling, that in substance my duty as reporter is already discharged. Much of the time yesterday was consumed in this room by listening to what was said of the need of union. Accordingly I too am of opinion that the discussion may be very short, or may be dispensed with altogether, though I should be the last person to trench in any way upon the freedom of speech which is the birthright of the freeborn man.

My duty as reporter is hard and easy; easy, for the very reason that so much has already been said of the matter in hand, and I need only sum up; hard, because everyone thinks he has already heard it all, because perhaps one or two consequently allow their attention to flag, and afterwards think themselves bound to bring forward some point which has been already handled. Hard too is my report for the further reason, that the theme strikes deep home into the feelings of Christians; and where feeling is stirred, a boisterous demand often makes itself heard for the sudden completion of a work, which it must perhaps be left to coming generations to complete indeed; easy again, because this same feeling meets the proposal which we have to make with entire sympathy. Allow me then the following brief remarks.

In the reconciliation of the confessions, and in our endeavours to accomplish union, there are four things which we cannot use. These four things are *unbelief*, *misbelief* (*Aberglaube*, "superstition"), *indifference* and *politics*. (Applause.) Unbelief has no hope, and where no hope is, no Church is possible. Misbelief (superstition) is darkness, and only the light that shines into the darkness can form a Church. Indifference is not, as so many in their lordly dreams

assume, the force of the man, of the free scientific man, but it is impotence, lack of energy; and spirit and life alone create a Church. Politics has an entirely different sphere from that of Church-union; and if politics employs religion as a mean for its ends, whereas religion is surely the highest end of human life, that is an outrage against religion; therefore by moves with religion on the chessboard of diplomacy the welfare of mankind, which lies in the union of the confessions, can never be advanced.

I wish further briefly to state the experience furnished by history in regard to the reunion of Churches. It is as follows. We know that for fifteen hundred years schisms have not only disturbed peace within Christendom as a religious community, but have also brought unhappiness upon the human race in general. The bloodiest wars have been those whose motives were to be sought ultimately in the intolerance of the confessions. Hence it has often happened, that the need of union has been felt. But most attempts at healing the great schism between East and West originated in politics. These attempts could not possibly succeed; for precisely here did politics fall into its besetting sin of treating religion as a mean to its own ends. In later times, it is true, single individuals, animated by the best aspirations, have endeavoured to bring about union; but they had no footing in their time, and therefore also no result. This was the case in the days of Bossuet and Leibnitz and Hugo Grotius. The essays of Bossuet, Leibnitz and Hugo Grotius left no result, because they with their wishes and views did not stand in their time, but towered above their time. We however have learnt a lesson, both from the political attempts and also from the efforts of those noble-minded men. Of one thing we are satisfied. A union of confessions cannot possibly consist in *uniformity*. It is indisputable, that the national peculiarities which find expression in the great Christian confessions have a justification. Hence in endeavours after union of the confessions there should be no tendency to efface these national peculiarities. Indeed those who desire to pave the way to union must from the first renounce the hope of forcing their own national peculiarities on another nation. (Bravo!) They must also come with the resolve not to abandon what is characteristic of their own nation; they must be as resolute in maintaining the national development of Christianity among themselves, as they must be discreet and considerate in saving the national peculiarities of the other confessions. Hence it follows, that attempts at union cannot proceed from a single confession, but are only possible when all go forth to meet one another. *Freedom* is here the law, no constraint of any kind, no attempt at subjugation. Therefore I must as decidedly declare it to be an error, when from the West the cry is addressed to us, "We are ready to unite, but you must come *to us*," as I do when the same voice reaches us from the East. I can by no means assent to the proposal of the French priest who has joined the Oriental Church, Guettée, that our

reforms should be undertaken *ad normam ecclesiae orientalis*. He uses the expression, that the greatest merit of the Oriental Church is the immobility of its creed. I hope that we may have no misunderstanding here. *Immobility* in the faith is no merit, but *unchangeable* in the faith we must remain; for faith is a force, and force is never immovable; faith is a light, and light is never without motion. Immobility can only apply to the letter, and the letter killeth. I suppose however, what is meant is, that nothing has been lost and nothing added; that the pure text of the first seven councils has been held in honour and guarded with a certain pious jealousy. That is another matter. I too am convinced, and our honoured Nestor, Herr Reichsrath von Döllinger, has indeed explicitly propounded the thesis, that a union of confessions may be attained on the basis of Holy Scripture and of the œcumenical confessions of the early Church, expounded in accordance with the doctrine of the undivided Church of the first centuries. But this which we here advocate is no immobility; we do not hereby deny the entire subsequent development, the deeper insight into our Church and its treasure of faith, but assert only, that whoever will be a Christian must stand on Christian ground; and where should we find Christian ground if not in the ancient Church?

Again another experience is, that not only all attempts miscarry which are originated by statesmen, but such also as are undertaken by the official authorities of the different Churches. Very recently Rome has made great efforts to unite the East with itself, at least a portion of the East, over which it had already cast its nets. In the years 1867 and 1868 I found there a commission in full action, and a very sanguine confidence, not only in Valerga, patriarch of Jerusalem, but also in the keeper of the archives, Theiner, both of whom were on this commission. They thought a union was already accomplished. But the upshot has been, that Rome has lost what it already possessed¹, and has again made the breach with the East complete. Not from the official authorities of the Church can the union proceed, as regards the Russian Church either, and that because in this Church, as in the Roman, the hierarchy has been severed from the believers²; so they have themselves bluntly stated. Wherever the hierarchy regards itself alone as the essence of the Church, and not the sum total of believers as the Church founded by Christ, in which, to be sure, the clergy is also comprised, there the hierarchy is never free from the lure of ambition. (Loud applause.) If then the official hierarchical authorities seek to effect a union, always on the one side or the other the endeavour to lord it over the others will again frustrate the attempts. And even if the hierarchy on all sides concluded terms of reconciliation, still it would not thereby be accomplished in the hearts of the millions of believers.

If now we ask ourselves, where then the foundation of union can

[¹ The united Armenians; see above, p. 16.]

[² See below, p. 26.]

lie, we shall find the answer in the high-priestly prayer. The foundation of union can be sought only in the hearts of the faithful. If they come together in the consciousness—We are God's children and of His household, and should have no strife in God's house, then the temper exists, on the foundation of which a union can follow. (Veherent bravo!) Therefore our present efforts are altogether new in Church history. In fifteen hundred years, indeed since great schisms broke out at all in Christendom, such an attempt has not been made, namely that not the official authorities, but believers, come and say, We must prepare the way for union with one another, for the yearning after unity is awakened in us; and that is an impulse of the Holy Ghost, who bears sway in the Church of God, an impulse which is passing through our generation, and which we follow, while we undertake, in the first instance for our own selves, to give shape to that for which we yearn. And for this purpose we would propose the appointment of a permanent committee, which may reduce into clear conceptions the common basis which we possess, and wherein we hope to have communion with one another. (Applause.) I must mention that in the Russo-Greek Church, especially in the Russian branch of it, and in the Anglican Church for the last twelve¹ years, a movement is perceptible, which found indeed a speedy echo in our hearts, but which *first* came to the light in those churches. "The Anglo-Continental Society," which we find organised already in 1860² with a definitely expressed aim, although its operations may not have been very extensive, and though in some years its results may have been slight, yet even so early gave utterance to thoughts which to-day are stirring us all. On the 22nd of June 1862 there was founded at Moscow a society which expressed in yet more decided terms the aim of the Anglo-Continental Society; and in its latest form, in the "Society of the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment" in St. Petersburg, it has concentrated all its energy as a branch society with a proportionate degree of independence. Therefore if we come forward to propose a committee which is to have an international importance, we must confess that in England and Russia they have already set out with deeds to meet us.

On one more point I must here lay stress. If we aim at a union of Christendom for the future, every thought of proselytism must be banished. No Church must desire to swallow up the other. Whoever comes with this thought belongs not to us³. The first step to

[¹ Rather nineteen.]

[² Founded in 1853.]

[³ Compare the resolutions, dated 1st May 1861, of the Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society:—"That the Society shall not form in Italy, nor minister to, by its agents, any congregations which may separate themselves from the National Church of Italy." Also the letter (printed in the Society's Report for 1873, p. 39 *seq.*) of the grand protosyncelus of the patriarchal œcumenical throne in Constantinople to Stephen Hatherly, appointed priest over the orthodox Church in Wolverhampton; you are to instruct the little orthodox flock over which you have been called to be priest, "never, no not

amendment is self-knowledge. We frankly confess that hitherto the Roman Church, when it thought of dissidents, never prayed otherwise than for their *conversion*. On the contrary you find in the instructions for agents of the Anglo-Continental Society for 1860 the aim is expressly levelled at *union*, and the corresponding prayers¹ also only aim at union. Indeed, the Common Prayer Book of the Anglican Church, which has, as you know, an official character, contains only prayers for reunion². The same is the case in Russia also, as we heard the day before yesterday from the honoured lips of one³ of the most intelligent representatives of the Russo-Greek Church. The Russian Church also has an official prayer for reunion. Besides these two Churches maintained better than we have done the consciousness of the unity of the great Christian Church. The famous name Pusey, in England, may here be cited. A few days ago, in a letter to the central committee here,⁴ he stated that he, from his point of view, and with him the Anglo-Catholic Church, never could acknowledge Rome's refusal of communion between the Churches as a severance within the one Church. That is regarded as a usurpation, whereby the real unity of the one great Catholic Church, founded in baptism into the name of the most Holy Trinity, cannot be rent asunder. Pusey says, "We have regarded the Roman Church, as well as the orthodox communions in the East, as forming with ours one Catholic Church." The Russo-Greek Church on its side has since the schism *never* made the attempt to convene an œcumenical council, saying: We are not the whole of Christendom, and a fraction of the Christian Church can hold no œcumenical council. Thus in these two Churches the consciousness of unity was more living and powerful than in the Roman Catholic Church. With such a confession we gladly meet our sister Churches, not officially, as I have said, —we are no authorities, but we are simply believers, we are simply

in mind, assuming to proselytise one single member of the Anglican Church, which has signally exhibited of late towards our orthodox Church so many proofs of sisterly love and sympathy. Our fervent desire is, not that we should receive into the bosom of our church five or possibly ten members of the Anglican or any other Church, but that, differences being removed through care and previous labour undertaken in the spirit of meekness, the unity of the Churches may follow."]

[¹ The prayer for union used by members of the Anglo-Continental Society is: "Gracious Father, we humbly beseech Thee for Thy holy Catholic Church; fill it with all truth, and in all truth with all peace; where it is corrupt, purge it; where it is in error, direct it; where it is dark, enlighten it; where it is superstitious, rectify it; where it is amiss, reform it; where it is right, strengthen and confirm it; where it is in want, furnish it; where it is divided and rent asunder, heal the breaches thereof, O Thou Holy One of Israel, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."]

[² The allusion is chiefly to the beautiful prayer in the office for the Queen's Accession.]

[³ Archpriest Janyshew, rector of the Clerical Academy at St. Petersburg, who in a very eloquent German speech stated that the Russian liturgy contained prayers for all Christian Churches and for their union.]

[⁴ At Cologne.]

Christians, who wish now to prepare what perhaps one day the legitimate organs will joyfully sanction.

Briefly then I will sum up: the different confessions and special types of Christian communion must, if a union is to be obtained, one and all learn and confess that they themselves, in their actual state, need reform and are capable of amendment. Self-righteousness, as it condemns the individual Christian, so does it condemn an entire confession no less. The second point is: only from the midst of Christians, of believers, by the force of love and by the power of science, of sacred science, can the understanding gradually be attained which makes union possible for the official delegacies of the Churches. Hereby we abide in the consciousness that we have one single ground under our feet, that we have in common the Holy Scripture, that we confess as with one mouth the œcumenical confessions of the first general councils, that we unanimously claim as our own the entire science of the Fathers of the Church, that we honour the martyrs of Christian antiquity in one and the same way as belonging to us, that the Christian life of antiquity is our common life, that we are one in prayer, that we know one another as brethren, that we are united in love. (Vehement bravo!)

What can now be done is preparation only. In this meeting we may deliver a hundred speeches, which stir us to enthusiasm; but thereby we do not for the present unite the Churches in their official representation. Hence nothing can be done except the appointment of a permanent committee, aiming at the union of confessions in the path indicated, and this is the committee which we propose in the printed document which you have all in your hands.

What the committee may be expected to effect is stated in three paragraphs.

[The paragraphs are, as printed in the report of the Cologne Congress, p. XII. :—

1. To enter into communication with the societies already existing or in process of formation for putting an end to the ecclesiastical schism;
2. To institute and encourage scientific researches respecting existing differences and the possibility of their removal, and to give facilities for the publication of the results of these researches in scientific works and journals;
3. By popular writings and essays to promote the knowledge of the doctrines, institutions and condition of the separated Churches and confessions, and also a correct estimate of the existing points of union and differences, and generally to arouse and keep up in wider circles an intelligent interest in the agreement to be desired.]

I would however add that such persons should be elected upon the committee as may in their deliberations easily supply any omission in the present scheme. I further observe, that we have the advantage of seeing amongst us leading representatives of those Churches which desire union, and that consequently the committee can at once form personal acquaintances, which facilitate relations and business. The secretaries of the above-named societies in the sister Churches are present. Accordingly nothing more remains for me to do. I presume that it is not necessary to read the para-

graphs. (It is not required.) Well then, unless essential objections are offered, I can only recommend the greatest practicable brevity in the discussion. If however objections should be raised which do not appear profitable and practical, I do not decline to speak, but reserve to myself the last word. (Loud bravo !)

[Abbé Michaud proposed that the congress should declare its acceptance of the first seven general councils, and deny the œcumenicity of the occidental councils ; he also asked whether the French Old Catholics, who were forbidden to meet for worship in numbers exceeding twenty, would be justified under these circumstances in attending the services and partaking of the Eucharist in the Greek Church. After the President, Prof. von Schulte, had replied, and some conversation had ensued :]

Prof. Reinkens : With all respect for Abbé Michaud, I must lament that precious time has been so consumed. His information respecting the state of affairs in France would have been quite in place in the public session. With regard to the Western councils however, I feel constrained to remark that it is no such easy matter at once and without more ado to pass sentence on them as on the Vatican Council. When during the Vatican Council mention was made of the Florentine Council, an entire literature at once sprung up about one single document, the Decree of Union. With the severity of German research, it is no light matter to arrive at the history of the councils, and hitherto very little has been done towards it. The documents of the Vatican Council however lie in such completeness before us, that our view of it cannot be changed. It is very different with the mediæval councils. Now the function of the committee is precisely to organise scientific researches, and by means of popular writings to make known the results thereby established to the public, which must indeed finally occupy every conquest of scientific inquiry. On this head I have nothing further to add. But if I said before (p. 22) that in the Russian Church the hierarchy has severed itself from the laity, I wish to guard my words from the misconception, that the case is so at the present time. There is now in Russia a great upheaving ; the education of the clergy and hierarchy, and also the reconciliation of their knowledge and life with the knowledge and life of the faithful, are the subject of most eager discussion ; unions are forming among the laity ; religious interest and spiritually enlightened life are spreading among the laity from day to day, and we found on all this in every respect the fairest hopes.

As a general supplement to my report I will add :—One great and already assured vantage ground of the efforts for reunion is this— that the Churches are engaged in internal reforms, and are become conscious of the spirit which lives in them. One further point I may here utter aloud, in order still further to reassure Abbé Michaud, lest perchance he should think that our heart is narrow. Love is the mainspring of our attempts at union ; but love makes the heart wide.

If I accidentally omitted to mention how our heart beats towards truly believing Protestants also, I will here expressly repair the defect. (Bravo!) Since the year 1863, when the treatise, "*Pax vobis, die kirchliche Wiedervereinigung*" ("Peace be to you, Ecclesiastical Reunion"), appeared, we have closely watched the movement in the Evangelical Church also. We greeted with great delight in 1870 F. W. Schulze's book, "*Romanisirende Tendenzen*" ("Romanising Tendencies"), and in this year we considered most attentively the book, "*Gedanken zur Wiedervereinigungsfrage*" ("Thoughts on the Question of Reunion"), by a Protestant, stimulated by Dr. von Döllinger's lectures; and even what is written from the extreme positions of unflinching Protestantism does not escape us, if only it is borne onward by the general impulse of love. Our committee will of course constitute itself into various sections, as the condition of things in the Russian Church is very different from that in the Anglican or Protestant. We shall keep a look out in all directions. It appears—and I think there is no vain-glorious boasting in what I now say—it appears to lie in the nature of the case, that of all countries Germany should form the centre of these relations. It may indeed so turn out that we approach more closely to one confession than to another. We wish however and aim at the union of the whole of Christendom, and expect also as the ultimate result, that the spirit of Christianity, which is a spirit of peace, will renew the face of the earth. Hitherto we Christians altogether form perhaps 30 per cent. of the entire population of the whole earth. This is no great result after more than 1800 years' duration of Christianity: and why is the result so scanty? I will say it frankly: since quarrelling and strife arose in Christendom, since the severance between Christians, the expansive power of Christianity has abated. In union we shall recover it, and then we shall joyfully greet the whole earth as our home. I beg you therefore to leave to the committee the work of mutual understanding. Mutual alliance can only come later by a synod which truly represents Christendom. We have only to pave the way for the understanding, and this is the purpose of the committee, which I once more recommend to you. (Bravo!)

[After the unanimous acceptance by the delegates of the three clauses of the motion (above, p. 25), Prof. von Schulte said: The reporter will now make a proposition respecting the constitution of the committee.]

Prof. Reinkens: Certain members of the congress have combined to form a list for the composition of the committee, which I take the liberty of reading, to you: von Döllinger, Friedrich, Langen, Lutterbeck, Michaud, Michelis, Reinkens, Reusch, Rottels, von Schulte.

[After a question, "Are then none but Catholics to be elected on the committee?"]

Prof. Reinkens: The congress is not authorised to elect on its committees members of other confessions.

[The list was unanimously approved.]

SPEECH OF PROF. REINKENS IN THE PUBLIC
MEETING OF THE COLOGNE CONGRESS, 22
SEPT. 1872.

Prof. Reinkens (greeted with vehement cheers): Honoured Assembly! Yesterday and to-day mention has been made in this tribune of our adversaries' wish that our movement may run to waste in the sand; so let me begin with that. The ultramontanes, though long since in many things detected as false prophets, yet are never weary of prophesying that the Old Catholic movement will be lost in the sand. Of all who join in the cry the red Internationalists are the loudest. But not a few also of the indifferent, with extraordinary self-complacency, swell the numbers of this strange chorus of prophets, at which the inexperienced easily take fright. Countless is the host of those who, for this very reason, from dread of this chorus of prophets, stand on one side, though in heart they sympathise with us. These are not to be praised. But, even assuming for the moment that Old Catholicism should not in the issue lead to that great regeneration of the Church, to that reunion of all Christendom, which we hope from it, still it is even at present undeniable that the motives of this movement are in the highest degree moral and deeply religious, and that it spreads a blessing around, by contributing largely to the advancement of sincere devotion, to the rescue no less of all Christian civilisation than of the modern constitutional state.

Who in Germany would not praise the German Rhine? With its feeders it forms glorious lakes, it opens to the civilised nations one of the world's highways, it carries to broad valleys refreshment and fruitfulness. Should we not count that man crazy, who, dwelling by one of those lakes, or on the fruitful bank of the beautiful Rhine, would not delight in the stream, would not sail on its ships, because forsooth he was told that the noble stream is lost at last in the sand? (Bravo!) Still more brain-sick however are they, who, while they sympathise with us, hold aloof from us for fear of the like fate predicted for our movement; for I say: *It is not possible that this movement should ever be spent in the sand.* (Bravo!) You all know the poet's winged word touching the curse of the evil deed¹; the form belongs to the poet, the source of the word is the Holy Scripture, where the thought is completed by a second clause, to the effect that

[¹ SCHILLER'S *Piccolomini*, v. 1, where Octavio says to his son:
Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That,
Dass sie, fortzeugend, böses muss gebären.]

the blessing of the good deed reaches further than the curse of the evil. This is according to a necessary law. For all who believe that a higher hand controls the world's history, it is an assured truth, that light and goodness ever more and more overcome darkness and evil; consequently it is plain, that the blessing of the good deed reaches further than the curse of the evil. Even suppose then, that the expected new birth of the Church should not finally be accomplished as we think, still the blessing which the Old Catholic movement already spreads abroad will not be lost for the generations to come.

Yet suppose not that I doubt of the Church's new birth. We are no way blind to the hindrances to be encountered. We are continually hearing of apprehensions, and many lose their slender scantling of courage because of them. Well then, let us for once look these *hindrances* in the face; we shall see that the *hopes* are mightier.

The Old Catholic movement is a spiritual current. Conscience opens the source, its contents are faith in the unquenchable light of eternal truth, and its motive powers are those inalienable divine gifts, reason and freedom. (Bravo!) Here we light on a great hindrance. For whither is this current to shape its course? Into the mind and heart of the millions of Catholics. But here it meets a mass which, by the completion of the ultramontane system—that system which pretends to represent God by the pope alone—has forfeited all inwardness and depth. Christ said to His disciples, that is, to all who believe on Him, *The kingdom of God is within you*, in the inmost heart of man, of every Christian; but the watchword of that mass is, *The kingdom of God is without us, in the pope*. (Bravo!) Very convenient, to be sure; for thus they think to rid themselves of the duties of their conscience and wash their hands of all personal responsibility; for the pope has the conscience. (Bravo!) Clerical authorities used these very words to priests troubled on account of the Vatican council, *What is this talk of responsibility? The pope has the responsibility; you have to obey!* (Assent.) So they make of the pope a kind of universal conscience (laughter), and are quite at ease, if he assumes the responsibility;—as if it were not the individual conscience of each man and each woman that alone can make possible a truly moral and religious life! So then they tell us, religion is obedience to the Pope, religion is *outward righteousness of the law*. You may quickly tell on your fingers the palpable ingredients of such a righteousness as this: hear masses—by order; receive the sacraments—by order; rehearse certain forms of prayer—by order; observe definite injunctions of fasting—by order; throw in a modicum of faith in the miracles of Lourdes and of La Salette, Peter's pence, fanaticism and intolerance towards one's neighbour, and the righteous man is complete (Bravo! laughter), *i. e.* the pope's righteous man. Such a papal saint, who in time may be promoted to the rank of *doctor ecclesiae*, may all the while in heart gainsay the fundamental principles of Christian morals, and as a

pious son of the Church, *i. e.* of the pope, may deceive the world and enjoy the world. If then *we* accost such a man with the demand of *inward* truthfulness and righteousness, love of God and of his neighbour, love of his enemy; above all if we tell him that Jews too and heathen are his neighbours, he does not so much as know what we mean. (Bravo!) For conscience opens no spiritual source, no faith of his own attracts the stream of light from on high, and the moving forces, reason and conscience, have been sacrificed, you know, to the pope.

In the spirit of Christianity religion has been conceived as *life*. But with that party religion is not life, but religious *exercise*. Therefore among the ultramontanes every religious activity is called exercise. A man *exercises* an act of faith,—*i. e.* he reads heedlessly a creed out of a prayer-book. That is exercise (laughter), and many are inexpressibly fluent in this exercise. (Renewed laughter.) And in this altogether outward exercise the whole stress of the law is shifted from God's ten commandments to the five commandments of the Church, *i. e.* of the hierarchy. The Saviour said: the greatest commandment in the law is the love of God above all, and of our neighbour by the standard of our self-love. According to this it is in *love* that religious life is to be revealed. Ultramontaniam sets little store by the law of love. A Christian may love his neighbour to the point of surrendering everything for him, even life itself; he may love God so that every fibre of his being quivers with devotion; if he is not blindly obedient to the pope, all is of no avail. (Bravo!) The performance of the pope's injunctions—this and this alone brings salvation. Religion, you know, is exercise, and the exercise consists mainly in a mechanical fulfilment of the pope's orders, at most in thinking after what the pope *thinks before*. (Laughter.) No doubt a certain untruthfulness prevails everywhere in these matters; perhaps I do not express myself with absolute distinctness, when I allude only to thoughts of the pope; for not to mince matters, I believe that much passes into the world as a thought of the pope, under his great seal, which he has indeed signed but not himself thought, nay, not even at the moment of signature thought after the author. (Laughter.) So then I will put it thus: Religion is the thinking that afterwards which is proclaimed as a thought of the pope's. In the same sense, what the pope *wills* the believer must also will; whoever is best exercised herein is most religious. In a word, *religious routine* is a great hindrance to the spiritual current which we would turn upon the masses. I know men spiritually awakened and of very resolute character, whom I have seen quake when required to tear away from the leading-strings of the pope, even when he was manifestly in the wrong. Men tell the people a breach with the pope is irreligion; to refuse obedience to a pope who is destroying religion in theory and practice is to have religion no more!

From the same point of view we must explain the prevalence, even

among the clergy, of *servility of conscience* in religious matters. For if the immediate tie to the Saviour—who dwells in us by our faith, in whom we are incorporate, whose members we are—if the consciousness of this living tie of our Lord and Saviour's grace and love towards us, and of our love to Him, exists no more, but a mediation is imagined to take place through the pope, then conscience loses its independence, and this loss of independence produces trouble of conscience, scrupulosity. But this scrupulosity is the cause, the motive not always understood, why the best of the Catholic clergy, still officiating in the ultramontane camp, shrink from the decisive step of leaving the erring pope to take their stand with God. (Bravo!) Many are so surely convinced that the Vatican decrees do not contain God's word, that they could die for this conviction; yet they serve the diffusion of the lie, and do not withstand the teacher of error to his face, because it is he who mediates between them and God, because he is the deputy for their conscience, and their own enslaved conscience delivers them up to anguish and to scruple. Owing to the same uncertainty of conscience even bishops have not shaken off the notion that their resistance to the pope's demands would be schism, and that schism is the deadliest mischief in the Church. Bishops Hefele¹ and Haneberg fell victims of this scrupu-

[¹ J. H. Reinkens, *Glaube und Unterwerfung*, Münster, 1871, pp. 46-48: "A general council exists not for itself, but for the faithful, and is responsible to them next to God, and therefore may have nothing in common with a secret society. Bishop Hefele already at that time boasted of his Rottenburg diocese, because its bearing was so calm and passionless, *i. e.* because it, and above all the Tübingen faculty of catholic theology, in the convulsive struggle for the purity of the gospel and of God's Church, maintained an entirely passive attitude, shewed itself neither cold nor hot. In his manifesto of backsliding dated 10 April (Easter Monday!) 1871, he again expresses his satisfaction that his diocese 'has been spared internal quarrels and the like'—just, that is, as sleepers are spared quarrels with one another. His words ('but ecclesiastical peace and the unity of the Church are so lofty a blessing, that great and severe personal sacrifices may be made to secure them') sound so strange in a bishop's mouth, that we would choose rather to leave the sense wholly unguessed. We could wish from the heart, that Bishop Hefele could assure us that by the '*great and severe personal sacrifice*' he did not mean *submission* to the Vatican decrees in spite of the contrary conviction of the truth, that is, the entering on a course of hypocrisy from regard to the Church's outward unity. If he did mean this, may a word of the apostle Paul occur to him in some serious hour: 'Are we then to do evil, that good may come? Such are to be condemned, and justly.' (Rom. iii. 8.) What boots it then to cry 'Peace, peace,' where there is no peace? Is it haply only *his own person* that Bishop Hefele has to represent in the critical struggle, that he thinks the thing is settled if he makes 'personal sacrifices'? Has he not to maintain the wellbeing of the whole Church and the highest possessions of the faithful? Is then external *legal* unity, whose bond is a penal code, *the end of the Church*? If the end is lost, what profits the iron framework? Are then the bishops, who can allege no other motive for their submission than fear of a breach (*schism*) of unity with the pope, willing to surrender the *truth*? To act against their conviction, to give up their freedom to be chained for obedience' sake; is this allowed? Have they a right to sacrifice their understanding, to benumb their conscience, to allow their human dignity to be abused? Wherein then does the unity of the Church at last come to subsist? Why in unity of opposition

losity. Because conscience is not independent, they could no longer apprehend the clear thought that unity in a lie profits nothing, but ruins all. (Bravo!)

A zealous Old Catholic whispered to me a while ago that I should also touch upon a point which cannot be mentioned without a certain embarrassment. The fact is undeniable; but I know not how the evil is to be cured. However I will mention it: a great hindrance to our Old Catholic movement is *the disastrous influence—an influence not to be controlled or combated—of the submitted priests over women in the confessional*. (Vehement applause.) Abundant evidence proves that women who so often and so frankly reveal their heart in the confessional, and frequently address the priest as God's representative with trembling awe, losing their self-command before the urgent claims of the clergy, make engagements and undertake tasks in the name of the family, the upshot of which is that they for ever lose domestic peace, or that their husbands also submit, and so destroy themselves morally in their own and others' eyes. (Bravo!) I will add however, there are exceptions, but not many. (Laughter.)

An almost insurmountable hindrance which confronts us is *material interest*. That material interest, the necessity of subsistence, has played a great part in the submission, the shameful submission, of the clergy;—on this point a public opinion was at once declared, which no protests of clergymen can ever blot out of the history of the world. (Very true!) The education of the younger generation of our Catholic clergy, at least in the last twenty years, has unhappily been such, that while it is drilled in the most one-sided fashion for the ultramontane propaganda, it knows nothing besides. (Bravo! Very true!) If these clergy by their manly courage lose their appointments, and with them, in default of private property, their bread, they are not seldom in the position of so many of the French clergy, whom the bishops there so often suspend in an off-hand jaunty way; I mean they are driven to the most menial offices in order to win their scanty daily bread. And this is a great hindrance for us. If we could secure to-day the bare maintenance of thousands of priests, we should soon be far nearer to our goal. (Very true!) But not the clergy alone are held back from joining us by this material interest, but hundreds of thousands of laymen also.¹ In a great cathedral city a tallow-chandler, in very good

to revealed truth, in unity of the utter materialism of Catholicism in a righteousness of outward works, in unity of a general slavish submission under the tyranny of a spiritual monarch of the faithful, such as the world has not yet seen. And is this to be reckoned so great a good? *Truth is a higher good than external legal unity. If the possession of truth is at stake, the Lord's word holds good: 'I am not come to bring peace, but the sword.'*"]

[¹ Compare with this and what precedes the words of Father Hyacinthe at Munich in the first public meeting of the congress 23 Sept. 1871: "Je n'en chercherai pas la cause dans des calculs vulgaires, mais il est des intérêts si graves et si délicats qu'ils en deviennent presque sacrés. C'est de ceux-là seulement que je veux parler. Pour le prêtre, c'est la pauvreté et le déshon-

business, betrayed some hankering after Old Catholicism ; but a hint was given him that if once he protested against the Vatican decrees, no clergyman of the diocese of Cologne could buy tapers of him again ; and so, seeing his livelihood endangered, he held his peace ; and this is only one instance out of many thousands in every branch of retail trade. But there are also other classes of which one would be slow to believe it ; there are not a few physicians and lawyers who among their friends scoff at those pretended dogmas, and yet go with the Ultramontanes for fear of damaging their practice. (Bravo!) I shall be told, But that is a want of character ! Yes, I don't dispute it. (Laughter.) But characters are formed only by

neur sous le coup de l'interdit, sous les foudres de l'anathème ; c'est la perte de ce ministère de l'autel et des âmes auxquels dans sa jeunesse il s'était si joyeusement immolé. Pour le laïque, c'est la souffrance dans cet honneur et dans ces biens qui ne sont pas uniquement les siens, mais qui appartiennent encore à une femme, et que tous deux ils doivent léguer à leurs enfants ; fonctionnaire, c'est son avancement qu'il compromet sous un ministère ultramontain ; député, c'est son élection ; médecin ou avocat, son clientèle ; commerçant, ses affaires ; citoyen quel qu'il soit, sa considération auprès d'un grand nombre de ses compatriotes. Dois-je nommer enfin ce qu'il y a de plus profondément douloureux ? la paix de son foyer et le respect de son cercueil ! Ah ! messieurs, pour vaincre de tels obstacles, il ne faut pas seulement du courage, il faut de l'héroïsme ! (Bravo!)

“Que sera-ce donc si la conscience se fait la complice du cœur, si elle ajoute au poids de nos faiblesses, le poids de ses terreurs ; si elle nous arrête, éperdus, devant le crime d'un schisme imaginaire ! A tout prix, s'écrie-t-on de toutes parts, il faut éviter le schisme !—Eh ! sans doute il faut éviter le schisme ; mais, pour l'éviter, il faut le connaître, et jamais mot n'a été si puissant et en même temps moins compris.

“Il ne sont donc pas schismatiques, ceux qui, restés fidèles à l'autorité du Saint-Siège et de l'épiscopat, se refusent à confondre cette autorité divine avec l'abus que les hommes en font.

“Non, ils ne sont pas schismatiques ceux qui pour reconnaître la foi catholique dans les décisions d'un concile, exigent que ce concile soit vraiment un concile, non une assemblée sans liberté, comme l'est aujourd'hui celle de Rome. Non, enfin, il ne sont pas schismatiques, ceux qui s'obstinent saintement à demeurer dans l'Eglise malgré les efforts que l'on fait pour les en chasser, et qui refusent également de sacrifier la vérité à l'unité et l'unité à la vérité.

“Ce n'est pas là le schisme, c'est plutôt le martyre !

“J'en rends grâce à Dieu, messieurs, ce martyre a été le nôtre. Toutefois, si glorieux qu'il soit, j'ose dire qu'il ne suffit pas tout seul : il y faut encore joindre l'apostolat. Prêtres, nous avons été faits ministres du Christ et dispensateurs des mystères de Dieu. Si nous avions prévariqué contre notre sacerdoce, nous mériterions d'en être dépouillés, ou plutôt nous nous en serions déjà dépouillés nous-mêmes. Nous lui sommes demeurés fidèles, et c'est pour cette fidélité même que l'on nous persécute. Nous avons donc le droit,—ce n'est pas assez dire, car on peut renoncer à l'exercice d'un droit, on ne renonce pas à l'accomplissement d'un devoir,—nous avons le devoir, dans certains cas au moins, de monter à l'autel du sacrifice et de la louange, de distribuer aux fidèles le pain de la parole et de l'eucharistie, l'onction de la grâce et des sacrements.

“Vous le comprenez, messieurs, notre action ne deviendra populaire et féconde que lorsqu'elle sera entrée dans cette voie. Si l'on creuse aux fondements de l'Eglise, on y rencontre sans doute les écrits des docteurs et le sang des martyrs, mais on y trouve surtout la parole et le ministère des apôtres. ‘Allez dans le monde entier, prêchez l'Evangile à toute créature : celui qui croira et sera baptisé sera sauvé.’”]

the unconditional love of truth ; unconquerable truthfulness of disposition, simple truth in word and deed, these are indispensable conditions if we would have men of character. (Bravo!)

To be sure such a love of truth is also inseparable from reverence for God's word, thirst for its light, enthusiasm for its contents recognised as truth. And here in the great mass of the ultramontanes another hindrance meets us ; I mean ignorance with regard to God's word and indifference to truth. Because they can have the truth so handy from the infallible pope, they have no truth at all. (Laughter.) It is well known that the Roman curia has been for centuries, since its centralisation in the Latin Church, exceedingly fertile in the framing of dogmas with and without a council. Set here before me the whole of the German bishops, and let me ask them, *How many* dogmas has the Roman Church ? Not one of them, I am convinced, will know. (Laughter. Bravo!) Not long ago, on the 30th of July 1870, after the council, the Prince Bishop of Breslau, who had not then submitted, said to me, "They laid before us whole volumes of scholastic formulæ, and we were expected to make one and all into dogmas." (Laughter.) No wonder then, if the Roman Catholic Christian no longer knows what he is to believe. Precisely the Catholics whom the pope so highly commends—who stand in the van of the general assemblies of the German Catholic unions—are very superficially acquainted with the *modern* dogmas, dogmas of sentimentalism and pope-worship, with which our pulpits have been ringing these twenty years; while of the sublime ideas of the Christian revelation they know little or nothing. They may even name the dogmas without understanding the substance of them. Take the counts and barons who sat in St. Vincent's House at Breslau—the gentry who think it possible by genuine heathen jealousy for their patents of nobility and their privileges to represent the best Catholic temper—and let a scholar once tease them with twelve dogmatic questions, and you may take my word for it, to eleven they find no answer at all, and to the twelfth a wrong answer. (Great laughter.) I know these gentry ; the knowledge of dogmas they leave to theologians. How different things were in times gone by ! In Christian antiquity the treasure of supernatural truths, of revelations, was a jewel on which Christian eyes and hearts were riveted, in the knowledge, esteem and love of which the laity often vied with the bishops ; and now we are come to such a pass that amid all the countless dogmas we find among the loudest confessors of Vaticanism no interest remaining in truth of any kind. In those days the creed was so short and plain, that even St. Augustine¹ could still assert, the simplest, the child, can keep in mind the doc-

[¹ See J. H. Reinkens, *Die Traditionsregel der alten Kirche. Münster, Brunn.* 1871. p. 27. Augustini *enchiroid.* §§ 6, 7 : Facile est ut dicatur quid credendum, quid sperandum, quid amandum sit. . . . Nam ecce tibi est symbolum et dominica oratio ; quid brevis auditur aut legitur ? quid facilius memoriae commendatur ? cf. §§ 9 seq. 114 seq. *id. de fide et symbolo* § 1.]

trines necessary for membership in the Church; but then also the fathers entered deeply into the spirit of revelation, and the faithful applauded¹ them in the church from joy at the fulness of the Divine light offered to them. But now-a-days there are countless dogmas, and no one any longer rejoices in truth in the church. (Bravo!)

Still less do those gentlemen know of Holy Scripture and tradition; for the pope has said, of that they understood nothing, but he alone understands it. So then of course they do not study it, for it is of no profit to do so. And if the pope flatly contradicts Scripture and tradition, if he interprets a passage² respecting St. Peter's conversion quite differently from Christian antiquity, indeed in direct opposition to the unanimous interpretation of the fathers, then they nevertheless bow down, saying: to be sure, we understand nothing of it, the pope alone understands it. Says the *Katholik* in Mainz, that text can no longer be expounded otherwise; the matter is settled, for, you know, the holy father has pronounced his infallible sentence. If doubts however force themselves upon a man; if a bishop³ goes in tears to the pope and exclaims, "I cannot make all square with tradition;" the holy father rejoins, "Tradition? I am tradition." Christianity is an historical fact; only in their historical development can its dogmas be known and conceived as true. But the history of doctrines also is entirely unknown to that party; for this also the multitude leaves the responsibility to the pope.

The slavish temper, which submits to the imposition of absurd doctrines contrary to reason and freedom, indifference to every article of faith and absolute ignorance as respects the history of dogmas; these are for us hindrances, which seem invincible. How then shall we find access to such a mass? Here nothing can help

[¹ On the acclamations usual in churches as in the lecture-rooms of rhetoricians, see Bingham xiv. 4 §§ 27, 28, and the special treatises of Cresol and Ferrarius.]

² Luke xxii. [32. See the complete catena (cent. 1-16) of interpretations of this and kindred texts, in the three parts, published by Weber at Bonn, 1871-3, of Prof. J. Langen's work: '*Das Vaticanische Dogma von dem Universal-Episcopat und der Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes in seinem Verhältniss zum Neuen Testament und der exegetischen Ueberlieferung. Bitte um Aufklärung an alle katholischen Theologen.*']

[³ So Prof. Knoodt at Cologne 21 Sept. 1872: "In the strict logical consequence of his dream of infallibility he replied to cardinal Guidi, who tried to dissuade him from his purpose by an appeal to the testimony of tradition: *La tradizione son' io = l'église c'est moi* (I am tradition, I am the church). This means no less than: The truth of revelation, the truth and reality of all past church history, am I; what does not agree with me, with my aims and infallible determinations *ex cathedra*, whether you call it scripture or tradition or faith or science or modern state, all that is error, lying, devil's work. The way, the truth and the life, the perennial source of that faith and action of all mankind which is necessary to salvation, is the infallible pope, and he alone. This is frightful, for hereby Christ is ousted by his vicar; but the holy father will have it so. For free unity in the grace, truth and love of Christ, there is foisted on us as a dismal changeling the despotic unity of an absolutism raised to the pitch of murdering spirits; and so the church is ruled to death."]

but *awakening of conscience and instruction*. But how can even the most glowing love with the light of truth approach, in order to awaken and instruct? Between the believing people of the Roman Catholic Church and us there is posted a hierarchy, with its countless clergy in vestments secular and regular, and this hierarchy interposes its authority to debar the people from all culture. Here it is only step by step that we can win ground: if the clericals denounce us to the masses at their back, let us give no heed to their railing, lying and slander, but untie the bandages which hoodwink here one there another, and draw them again into the circle of civilisation. The apostle Paul, we know, said: "Prove *all* things, what is *good*, that hold fast!"—not "the best," that is only a popular rendering—but all that is *good*: so the saying wins in force. And the bishops say: Prove *nothing*, what *we tell you*, hold fast. They add: When you have heard what we tell you, then stop your ears! To this effect we read in a pastoral: "Hearken not to what others tell you." *They*, to be sure, have cause to say so. (Laughter.) *We* will hinder no Old Catholic from reading every single production of the ultramontane press, if he has the requisite patience. We are convinced that by such reading we shall not lose one individual from our ranks. (Loud applause.) But once let the bishops allow the deluded people to read our writings, and critically to hear our addresses, and soon there is an end of Vaticanism and pope-worship. (Applause.)

Only a terrorising seclusion, unworthy of Christians, of "God's children," only a sentencing of the Church, *i. e.* of the congregation itself, to perpetual nonage, can still for a season place blind masses at the disposal of the hierarchy. Yet I must observe that the bishops certainly do not think, that nothing whatever should be read except their pastorals; that also would be hazardous; *they* are so poor in intellect, so feeble in faith, so barren and dry, so monotonous, that not even the weakest among Christians would any longer be contented therewith. Here then they cast between the believing people and us a press—the so-called Catholic press—consisting of a turbid flood of newspapers and pamphlets. Now and then indeed they are ashamed of it; from time to time they disown this or that journal; to be sure the pope then comes post-haste with a laudatory brief to comfort the editorial staff: but the bishops also in general again acknowledge them, aye, and often contribute thousands to the establishment of such papers, or to aid them where subscriptions fall short. Yes, and you see and hear priests in the Catholic casinos and congregations, aye, from the pulpit and in the confessional, canvass for subscribers. When the *Deutsche Reichszeitung* of Bonn, a paper which constantly flouts at the German empire as well as at the spirit of Christianity, was prohibited in Alsace, the priests, the Jesuits, dunned needle-women in the confessionals for subscriptions!—What kind of a press is that, which the pope so highly commends and bishops so zealously promote? It is a press, whose essence and whole force consists in reckless lying about the writings and speeches of the Old Catholics, and in coarse unchristian

innuendos about their private life. We have among us a distinguished representative of the Evangelical confession in France, eminent alike for learning and honorable feeling—Pressensé, who called the chief editor of the *Univers*, Louis Veillot, “the greatest calumniator in the entire contemporary press.” We may add, that many editors of our Catholic press noway yield the palm in this point to the great slanderer Louis Veillot. And who then marches in the van of this press? No one else but the pope. Take his bulls, briefs and allocutions; never yet did a pope so incessantly revile the whole of mankind as Pius IX. He heaps cursing and shame upon more than a thousand millions of contemporaries, who think differently from him. It has always been a mark of ultramontanism to suffer from a mania for railing. When Bossuet, whose noble greatness is firmly established in history, endeavoured in the so-called Gallican liberties to rescue but a few remnants of the old independence of the French episcopate, and the ultramontanes could not reply to his arguments, they began to defame his private life in the most shameful innuendos and most lying inventions. But never did this poisonous fruit of ultramontanism appear everywhere so frequently and so destructively as in our days. And this press has a language hitherto unknown in the educated world. I must frankly confess, before the existence of this press I really did not know the stores of the German language in nicknames, or its capacity of new formations in this kind. Read this language in the light of our experience, that such papers can hold their ground for more than three months, and you must lower somewhat your estimate of the general culture of our nation: for if truly Christian education, as is commonly supposed, were indeed universal, such a moral indignation would arise on all sides, that in a great town such a paper could not hold its ground more than three months. I am not thinking of force, of smashing windows and the like; such means we scorn; I only mean, that people would regard themselves as degraded by supporting such a paper. This so-called Catholic press devastates the last remnants of Christian life in the Roman Catholic people, which thereby becomes accustomed to untruthfulness, uncharitableness and fanaticism.

I come now to a hindrance which I cannot mention without the deepest grief; yet mention it I must, though I bring before you nothing but what you know. The greatest hindrance, which I have now in view, I call a bad example and a scandal. It is the bad example and the scandal given by the shepherds to their flocks. Let us briefly recal to our minds what the bishops¹ have done. The bishops of the most highly-educated nations, standing in the van of civilisation, the bishops of the greatest dioceses, what have they done? The German bishops, before they went to Rome, pledged their word to us, that “no new principles would be set up, no others

[¹ See J. H. Reinkens, *Die Unterwerfung der deutschen Bischöfe zu Fulda. Münster 1871.*]

than those which are written in our heart by faith and conscience:" and they have not kept their word to us. (General assent and Bravo!) When the bishops left Rome, many of them, more than half a hundred, gave one another their word, that with reference to the Vatican decrees they would only act in concert; and they have broken their word to one another. (Applause.) In Rome they affirmed unanimity to be indispensable in dogmatic resolutions, and stated in an official document that their conscience would be crushed by an intolerable burden if resolutions were adopted otherwise than unanimously. And then when, out of 1037 members of the council recognised by the *curia* as qualified, of whom only 535 were present, on the 18th of July 1870 533—surely that is not the whole 1037—had assented to the pope's decrees, the bishops after a few months would fain teach us that the unanimity which was demanded is not necessary, or that the resolution was unanimously adopted, because they forsooth meanwhile had submitted. But we never heard before that submission is an assenting vote. Nor do they themselves believe it, but put upon themselves and upon us that a vote was unanimous, against which they themselves with a hundred others bore witness.—They again and again registered protests against the order of proceeding, and declared that the council was not free, that its œcumenicity would be disputed; and now they declare to us that they had after all the requisite freedom. But the documentary evidence to the contrary is still on record in the acts.—Further, they have declared in official documents that the doctrine of papal infallibility, both name and thing, was foreign to Christian antiquity; they have testified that even to this day it is unknown in name to entire dioceses and countries; they have boldly expressed their conviction that this is no Catholic doctrine, because it has no place either in Holy Scripture or in the traditions; they have said that, if it be elevated into a dogma, the Church would commit suicide. In a paper circulated by bishop von Ketteler they have asserted that it would be a spectacle in the highest degree worthy of the amazement of all centuries, if by such a dogma the council should declare itself superfluous; and now they come back and inform us, that in substance this dogma has been taught in all centuries. (Bravo! Very right!) The bishops in Rome stood up as witnesses to the truth, and said, We bear this witness, because the duty of our office commands us, because our oath requires it; we can testify no otherwise than we do;—and now, where is the duty of their office, where the oath which they swore? They said it would be the destruction of souls;—and now they themselves destroy souls! (Bravo!) Either they must now frankly and honestly confess, that in spite of the appeal to their oath they were not at Rome witnesses to the truth, or they must acknowledge to us that their present testimony is worthless.—Further they declared in Rome, We preach a doctrine of the relation between Church and State very different from the ecclesiastico-political system contained in the bulls of Boniface VIII. and

Paul IV.—let us now add, in the syllabus of Pius IX.—according to which the pope's sovereignty, exalted above every state dignity, judges princes and nations, constitutions and laws; they protested, that it is impossible to remodel civil society by this system;—now they come back and feign that they never preached any other doctrine; they attempt the impossible, and wonder if the state governments fall into conflict with them, a conflict which they themselves predicted as inevitable. (Applause.) At Rome they proved the design of Pius IX. by a mock council to abolish for ever the wholesome institution of councils; they proved this design by their own experience, and from his own briefs, and now they deny what they proved.—They registered reclamations and protests against all infringements on their dignity and office at the council on the part of the pope and his officers, and declared that they only registered these reclamations as *perenne documentum*, as a testimony for ever, whereby before men and the terrible judgement of God they disclaimed the responsibility of all the consequences. And not two months later they took the responsibility upon their own shoulders; and so that document has become a testimony for ever, that in their appeal to God's terrible judgement they played a blasphemous game. (Vehement applause.) Finally in the face of the living Father in heaven and before all Christendom they have denied and violated their duty to the truth, and have confessed that they did so because they would not tell their pretended father Pius IX. to the face that he falsified God's word in declaring himself infallible! This is a great scandal and bad example before all Christendom. This is a scandal unparalleled in all Church history. The heralds of the Gospel from fear of man deny the truth, and in consequence of this scandal clergy and people lie prostrate in moral impotence.

Finally we have heard from eloquent lips¹, speaking with professional authority, what difficulties the state governments cast in our way. The state governments have often confessed that they were entirely taken aback by the Church and State conflict; in the last generation they fostered ultramontanism by ignorance, by moral weakness and by an excess of cunning (Bravo!); and they themselves stifled every voice that was raised against it in the Catholic Church, promoting the noisiest ringleaders of the ultramontanes and lending to the bishops the hand of the police to annihilate such men as stood up warning and struggling against the Jesuitism which endangers states, and which was assuming an ever bolder and bolder front. This is what the state governments did! (Vehement applause.) Even now the growth of their statesmanlike insight in this department is infinitely tardy, though they are at last aware, that it is a question of life and death for the states themselves. Still to this very day their eyes are not so far opened, as to see

[¹ Those of Prof. Maassen, an eminent canonist of Vienna.]

their grievous need of men who have any knowledge of the matter. (Bravo!) For example, they cannot yet understand that a bishop, *e. g.* who has sworn allegiance to the king, and has been installed in his office solely by virtue of this oath, if by conscious breach of the state laws he violates the oath of allegiance, violates it in practice, and bluntly declares that on principle he will always violate it for the future, whenever the state laws appear to him to contradict the pope's laws—they cannot yet understand that such a bishop can be a bishop no longer. (Bravo! and assent.) In Bavaria the government declares the Vatican decrees to be dangerous to the state, and in childlike innocence appoints at the university a number of professors of this dangerous doctrine, and fills the sees with bishops who so teach! In France Thiers and Gambetta would fain embrace ultramontanism, though they have in their hearts no spark of this kind of devotion, merely in order to rise in the state by its help. (Bravo!) This is the reason why in France, with a few honorable exceptions, we have no Old Catholic movement. Once more the state governments, as I know from the mouth of statesmen themselves, are entirely blind to the civilising power of sound religious principles: that the moral idea of the modern state, a state founded on equal rights, cannot at all, at any time, be realised without a healthy religion,—this thought seems to lie wholly beyond the ken of our governments. Rather than concede to the Old Catholics so much as the joint use of a church belonging to the state, they choose with a painful legality to exert the *summum ius* on behalf of petty state institutions, which becomes *summa iniuria* against the general welfare. In political readjustments they rose with such a genial ease to the ideal standing-point, elevated above many scruples of legal right, and in this religious crisis out of regard to material right they readily endure the destruction of all ideal right of State and Church!

Great then and numerous are the hindrances which confront us. Shall we despair? This day in the service we heard a voice of mighty promise borne aloft by a wondrous melody, which sang: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life! Fear not, fear not, fear not! I am with thee!" Here lies the secret of victory over all these hindrances. Whoso stands in the truth, let him be faithful to death, and he belongs to the salt of the earth, whereby the face of the earth is renewed. I also remember, that yesterday from this place the Saviour's words were uttered to you¹: "Fear not, thou little flock, behold, I have overcome the world!"—Those hindrances are nothing else than just the world, which appears in them embodied in various shapes. I know well that Pope Pius IX. understands by "world" the modern constitutional state, and asserts with Louis Veuillot that such a state is the incarnation of Belial, the prince of this world. But the apostle John, the disciple of love, has given us another interpretation of the "world,"

[¹ By Prof. Knoodt; see p. 46.]

and he, we may suppose, knew what the Lord meant by the term. By world he understood lust of the eyes, lust of the flesh and pride of life. What is the world? If we would see this in a concrete place, let us read a truthful history of the Roman court, and we shall find an embodiment of the world. (Bravo on all sides.) He, whom we trust, has overcome the world; His word, "Fear not," is a power, by which we surmount all those hindrances. The world embodied at Rome has not been overcome by the pope and his retinue—no, not to this very day. Once when at Rome the contrast was felt between the pretended vicar of God and his pompous display, a ceremony was devised, which is acted at his first triumphal procession, when he takes possession of the papal dignity. It is this: a herald holds before the new pope and thrice burns a bundle of tow, exclaiming: *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Once indeed a pope was vexed at this, so that he remarked: "Enough, I know it already!" but that was a mistake; even to this day the pope does not know it; and therefore also he has not yet overcome the world; he deceives himself and his partisans, by clothing them—the luxurious world—in religious uniform. But it is the Lord that has overcome the world, and whoever rally round Him, need not fear, for they also are victors.

It is God's power in us which removes the fear of those hindrances. But the necessity of our final victory is also clear to us.—Our hope for the Old Catholic movement is above all manifest in the *hopelessness of the ultramontane Church*. Nothing in the world, which has lost the power of growth, can continue to subsist. This is an unchangeable law: what has lost the power of growth must perish. The catholicity of the Church of Jesus Christ has four qualities, like love; it has its height and its depth, its breadth and its length. Its height is its origin from God; its depth is the mystery, that it moulds that which is eternally one in an endless multiplicity and in a fulness of glorious forms; its breadth is the expansive power to embrace all nations of the earth in its bond of love; its length is the capacity which belongs to Christianity of development through all ages, and therewith the capacity of always appearing in shapes adapted to the various stages of culture. (Bravo!) But ultramontanism has no catholicity; it is not catholic, but Roman¹. Therefore it has no

[¹ See Barrow in Wordsworth's *Christ. Inst.*, iv². 209: "So divers prevalent factions did assume to themselves the name of Catholic; and the Roman Church particularly has appropriated that word to itself, even so as to commit a bull, implying Rome and the universe to be the same place; and the perpetual canting of this term has been one of its most effectual charms to weak people." Wordsworth cites Crakanthorp contra Spalatinum 15: "*Catholica universalis est, tota est, per orbem omnem diffusa ac disseminata: Romana pars solum est, particularis est et Romae pomeiis circumscripta. Cum Catholicam Romanam dicis, idem dicis ac universalem particularem, totam partem, id est Catholicam non Catholicam.*" Professor Michelis, on 21st September 1872, said at Cologne: "How can the Church be other than catholic? It is essentially catholic. I know what I said when I was excommunicated,—I accepted it joyfully. I am now severed from the *Roman* Catholic Church. But there is precisely the self-contradiction. What is Greek- and Anglican.

height, for it springs from ambitious men of little insight; it has no depth, for it sees unity in superficial uniformity; it has no breadth, for it is shrivelling up more and more, has already cast off half Christendom, and now occasions fresh divisions, and will not cease to shrivel up, till it vanishes from the earth; finally it has no length, for it can grow no further; since beyond the dogmas of papal infallibility and omnipotence this system admits of no development. The acutest thinker can devise nothing more that can possibly grow out of it. This is the judgement upon ultramontanism: it decays, because it can grow no further. And the same is *our hope*; if it decays, we grow; for from its ruins the nations arise with their eyes opened, who will then also embrace the truth, and with us feel themselves happy. (Tumultuous applause.)

But the Vatican Church is falling also for another reason: it has torn authority out of the conscience, and made it rest on constraint. If a political power, if a civil corporation, cannot subsist for good, if it rests on constraint alone and has no foundation in men's consciences, much less can a religious authority hold its ground which is uprooted from conscience. (Bravo!)

There are yet other signs, which foretell the ruin of Vaticanism. The pope asserts that the doctrine of his infallibility is the fundamental dogma of all Christianity. Well then, this doctrine is a lie; it sprung up by forgery, by deceit and by incapacity to apprehend history, and has finally been carried through by all the means of craft and force. A Church resting on such a foundation of lies must fall. (Bravo!)

Once more there is no principle that can maintain the Church but that which founds the Church¹, and that is *the power of faith*. Power of faith however is wholly lacking to ultramontanism; for the bishops' submission is nothing but the fruit of their impotence of faith. If they believed, they would also have gladness and power to make sacrifices for their faith, which they are unable to do. This Church has no longer any faith at all, in clergy or in people; for what they call faith is only lack of understanding, lack of courage and of love for the truth; this is only an outward "submission," as they call it themselves; and a Church which possesses no power of faith must fall. (Bravo!) It must finally die of the absurdity, the unreasonableness of its doctrines, which the younger generation, trained as it is more and more in history, can never assimilate with its intellectual growth, but can only cast off. So then on all these accounts the prophecy² of the "little stone" which should detach

Catholic? There is only one Catholic Church, namely, that founded by Christ."]

[¹ An allusion to the words of Sall. Cat. 2, cited in the preface to Neander's History: "Imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est."]

[² The pope's prophecy, perpetually cited in German speeches and journals. See above p. 6.]

itself and shatter a "colossus," may more easily be applied to the Vatican Church than to the German empire.

But we have not merely this negative side of our hopes; we may lean on positive grounds also. The power of faith resides in the Old Catholic movement; this is shewn by the sacrifices already made and still daily made by the members of this association, sacrifices of material means, of faculties, sacrifices of their rest, of their outward peace, sacrifices in every kind of surrender of which the human heart is capable. And where sacrifices are made for faith, there is also the power of faith. (Bravo!) Whoever will convince himself that faith is in us, let him attend our service, and ask himself whether he finds in the infallibilist Church the same expression of thoughtfulness and devotion as in our service. (Applause.)

When this morning, in St. Pantaleon's church, the echo of the *Gloria* would not die away from our ears, when the joy in the glory of the Son of Man in the majesty of the Father with the Holy Spirit would not cease to sound, then the involuntary yearning came over us that religion might at last be turned toward its true goal, God the Lord, with whom it unites us; that no man might intrude any more between the great Lord and Father of the universe and our hearts. If then the universal praise of God so rose unhindered, no heart of man would any longer be capable of an evil thought, much less of the evil deed. Then came the earnest voice of the priest, who devoutly sang to us the epistle, and the epistle ended with the words¹, "Behold, I make all things new!" and the word of promise awakened the hope that the face of the earth may be renewed in the Spirit of the living God. And see, scarcely had this word of blessing died away from our ears,—the thought abode in our heart,—when a tune of rare sweetness arose, bearing upward a hymn to the Redeemer, who for our sakes died on the cross. There we were fain to connect this hymn, *Ave, verum corpus*, with the gospel, though no such connexion was designed in singing it out of the usual order of the service. The Gospel is a light which only shines when not severed from Him who on the cross kindled this light, never more wholly to be quenched in mankind; where it shines, it shines in connexion with Him. The Gospel cannot be severed from Christ; you might as well sever the solar ray from the sun, as sunder the Gospel from Him, who is the Sun of Righteousness. (Bravo!) Whilst then, wherever the mighty spiritual current of our movement makes its way, we bring the Gospel again in this direct relation to Christ, and thereby set the believer's heart in direct connexion with the Saviour, we have the warrant, from this higher point of view also, that our movement will never be lost in the sand.—When the Saviour was to appear in the fulness of time, the rumour spread over the face of the earth that One of wonderful greatness would come, a Prince, who should be the peace of the nations. This was not merely the effect

¹ Rev. xxi. 5.

of the dispersion of the Jews, but also the expression of a religious stirring of the nations. To-day the religious movement passes again over the whole earth. In these days we have kept here an international of love, an international that foretells the union of the human race in Christ. Everywhere there is awaking the yearning after the full enjoyment of love, after the fire, to kindle which the Son of the living God of love came down upon earth. But this yearning, awakened by God, is itself a promise that Divine Providence has decreed a religious reunion of Christians. The way and manner in which the representatives of different Churches and confessions from different quarters of the world have here met together—for there were not lacking brethren from Asia also, from North America and from Brazil,—this way and manner is an evidence that it is God's Spirit that moves us. That beyond the bounds of language, beyond national distinctions, we hold out the hand to one another in true unfeigned sympathy, this is an evidence that the faith also is unfeigned, and therewith also a guarantee that our movement will lead to the new birth of the Church. (Bravo!)

This new birth can only be accomplished in most intimate fellowship with the One Master, who brooks no other by His side, who holds out to everyone that will follow Him the crown of thorns, and not an earthly crown. The beautiful term "Church Militant" has very often been abused. The Church is militant, because the congregation, which is, you know, the Church, combats sin in itself; and each individual Christian is a soldier, who wages war with the sin in his own breast. All representatives of the different confessions have now avowed that they have attained to self-knowledge, and find that they must become better, that we may be enabled truthfully to grasp one another's hands, not by the conversion of the one party to the other, but by the amendment of all. (Applause.) By this fellowship, which presupposes a previous conflict with sin in our own heart,—by this fellowship we shall ensure that, though we take from the Lord's hand the crown of thorns, still we are happy even on this earth, happy, because we bear about within us the true peace. The one who has disturbed this peace,—this one has not understood the word; in place of receiving of the Lord the crown of thorns, he has grasped a threefold crown, which should give him a sovereignty over princes and peoples. But whoever mounts on high and usurps Divine prerogatives, grasps the crown of Him who sits at the Father's right hand, and He will not brook it,—He will humble the proud, but the lowly He will lift from the dust. (Bravo!) Under the banner of His cross we stand and fight, and reach to one another the hand of brotherhood from continent to continent, and rest not till peace is again restored in hearts, peace in families, peace in congregations, peace in State and Church, peace between the nations. For this we strive, this is our goal, and the One Shepherd, under whom we then walk, one in spirit and in love, is the great God, the Father in the heavens! (Long-continued, repeated, enthusiastic applause.)

SPEECH OF BISHOP REINKENS ON THE EVENING
OF SEPT. 11. 1873 IN THE COUNCIL HALL AT
CONSTANCE.

HONOURED FRIENDS AND GUESTS!

If in this moment I mount the tribune and deliver to you a short address, it is not for the purpose of instruction, but to utter two words of thanks and of greeting.

The first is a word of *thanks*. We have just heard the greetings of the guests; sympathies have been conveyed to us from beyond the ocean, from St. Petersburg, London and Paris, as well as from the heart of Germany and from Switzerland. There we heard them speak, our esteemed guests, in various languages—but I caught *one* only language, the language of the heart, the language of the Christian soul's yearning for fellowship in the Lord, for purity of religion and for union, for the unity of Christians in truth and in love. This language is truly religious, it is a proclamation of the returning light that is to enlighten the earth. It is said in an old Church prayer in the rite of Eastertide: "The earth trembled and became still¹." We too see it now tremble, and this trembling also will lead to rest. That prayer is interpreted of the earthquake at the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church. In the present quivering of the nations we hail the sign of the Church's resurrection. For the Spirit, now passing through the peoples of Christendom and moving them, is an elevating, a healing and a reconciling Spirit. It is not the spirit of that frenzy which looks for miracles everywhere, and drives men in shoals to those pilgrimages which plunge mankind again in fetish worship; no, it is the Spirit of God which speaks: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, to worship it;" it is the Spirit of truth, wherein we worship God alone; it is the Spirit of light, of love and of peace. Whoever is touched by this Spirit, moved by His breath, does not isolate himself in self-righteousness, has no desire to justify himself in self-complacent contemplation of his own doings, but humbly seeks the enlightening and warming fellowship of all who are moved by the same Spirit. In this fellowship the individual, however much he

¹ Ps. lxxv. 9, 10 [= lxxvi. 8, 9 of our Bible and Prayer Book] quoted in the missal under Easterday *offert.*: "Terra tremuit et quievit, dum resurgeret in iudicio Deus."

may give, is still always a receiver also. I thank our honoured guests for attesting to us in their sympathies the intercommunion of the same Spirit; one day the intercommunion of worship will follow.

The second word is a greeting of friendly encouragement to my nearer associates in faith and sentiment. To them I cry: "Fear not, thou little flock, for the Lord," whom thou followest, He "hath overcome the world," also the world in the garb of the hierarchy. I uttered the same word¹ of assurance to my friends, when, at the end of August 1870 we met for the first time at Nuremberg, fourteen men² strong, to bear witness aloud to the truth. I repeat it with greater force now that we count by thousands, the Lord having so marvellously blessed our confession. I will now compare the little flock to an army of warriors, for we march forwards and ever forwards to the spiritual conflict. Fear not, thou little army! We go to battle not with those dark forebodings which a combat on bloody battle-fields brings with it, where even the conquerors weep the costly sacrifices left behind on the ground; we hasten to the combat with the joyful feeling that, the more we conquer, the more the list of our comrades swells; for they whom we conquer die not, but are raised with us to new life in Christ.

In combat we began our holy work, in combat we continue it, and we combat till victory is won. And though our enemies clothe themselves as angels of light, and their leader sets his throne above the stars, He who stands above these stars and above this throne calls to us: "Fear not, thou little flock, I have overcome the world," and therefore I too take up the watchword, just sounded³ in spirit-stirring tones: "With God! Forwards!"

[¹ The text is classical in Old Catholic exhortations. Prof. Knoodt concluded a powerful speech at Cologne 21 Sept. 1872 with the words: "With a cheerful courage, with unshaken fidelity to our conviction, with the public confession of our Old Catholic faith, we lift our eyes and hearts to Him, who has said: 'Fear not, thou little flock, for I have overcome the world!' He will prove Himself strong in us, who feel ourselves infinitely weak. He will help us to victory." To these words Prof. Reinkens alluded on the next day, see above p. 40.]

[² Professors von Döllinger, Friedrich, Reischl, Knoodt, Reusch, Langen, Baltzer, Reinkens, Weber, von Schulte, Mayer, Löwe, Michelis, Dittrich. Of these Reischl afterwards submitted; he died in 1873, and it is related as a rare exception that after his submission he maintained friendly relations with his Old Catholic colleagues. The Nuremberg manifesto is printed pp. iv.—vi. of the introduction to the *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Katholiken-Congresses abgehalten vom 22 bis 24 September 1871 in München.* (Munich, Theod. Ackermann, 1871.) See above p. 5.]

[³ By Landammann Keller.]

SPEECHES OF BISHOP REINKENS IN THE MEETINGS
OF DELEGATES 12 AND 13 SEPT. 1873 AT CON-
STANCE.

[In the afternoon of Friday 12 September 1873 Oberregierungs-
rath Wülffing proposed in § 22*b* of the "Constitution of the Synod
and Congregation," which included among members of the synod
"all Catholic clergy," to read "all Catholic clergy, who are discharg-
ing pastoral functions."]

Bishop Reinkens: I should not like to vote for the paragraph
exactly in its present shape. There is some justice in the objections
of Oberregierungsrath Wülffing. There are already single examples
of Catholic clergy who hold by us, from whose presence in the
synod I anticipate no profit. We must also avoid the exclusion
under any pretence, of men who are eminently serviceable to our
cause, *e. g.* the respected editor of the *Deutscher Merkur*¹. Who
would desire the exclusion from a synod of so capable a clergyman
as Mr. Hirschwälder? In future too we shall probably have teachers
of religion in public schools. Why should we exclude these? Hence
I would take the liberty of introducing an amendment, which goes
much further than Mr. Wülffing's. Prof. Messmer² also would prob-
ably be contented, if the clause ran for instance thus: "all Catholic
clergy, who are active in the service of our Church with the bishop's
approval."

[Mr. Wülffing and Prof. Reusch accepted the Bishop's amendment,
but Prof. von Schulte pointed out that the approval *e. g.* of an editor
would amount to a quasi-censorship, and that in the existing scarcity
of clergy nothing would be gained by exclusion of one or possibly
two drones. In any case the laity present at the synod would out-
number the clergy by at least three to one. Ultimately the clause
passed in the original form. In regard to Mr. Whittle Lowry's
objection to § 45 of the Constitution, that it excluded Old Catholic
women from the parish vestry, and consequently subjected them to
the direction of the clergy, as among the ultramontanes,]

¹ The weekly organ of the Old Catholic Reform, published at Munich;
agent for England D. Nutt 270 Strand.

² Prof. M. pointed out that Mr. Wülffing's amendment would exclude all
professors, and recommended the original wording on the ground: "That every
one may contribute his mite, awakens trust and gives courage, and many a man
who hitherto persists in peace, *i. e.* in inactivity, is spurred on to activity, and
so we only win."

Bishop Reinkens: If Mr. Lowry should think that we excluded from our congregations and abandoned to the ultramontanes women of independent position, widows for example with their children, who have no man to represent them, he would be in error. This is not the case; in all our congregations we have such independent women, who have enrolled themselves on the lists and pay the contributions to the funds of the congregation; only they are not invited to take part in the deliberations.

[In § 57 of the Constitution, "with the pastor's consent permanent curates may be appointed in a parish," Justizrath Eilender proposed to substitute "on the proposal of the Church Council" for "with the pastor's consent." Mr. Wülffing said that even the ultramontanes do not make the pastor's consent necessary to the appointment of a curate. A worn-out pastor always thinks himself equal to the entire work of the parish, and may very probably refuse his consent, though there may be urgent need of a curate.]

Bishop Reinkens: One word of explanation. I did not draw up the paragraph; but I think I know the motives which dictated it. If Mr. Wülffing thinks the motives were ultramontane, he is mistaken. What was present to the mind of the author of the paragraph is a very bitter experience. I could myself reckon up a whole list of pastors who, during a great part of their lives, opposed with great earnestness and real devotion all ultramontane materialism, and then the bishop against their will saddled them with a curate, who was a spy and informer against them, obtained influence over them, and finally after a thousand intrigues their spirit was broken, and they sank into ultramontanism. Therefore it is here expressly stated, "with the pastor's consent." But I should have no objection to the addition of the other provision, "on the proposal of the Church Council." But the significance of the condition, "with the pastor's consent," is this—the freer the pastor is, and the more he is trusted by the congregation, the better he is. I should recommend therefore, that the paragraph should begin thus: "On the proposal of the Church Council, with the pastor's consent."

[This suggestion was adopted.]

[On the morning of Saturday 13 September a proposal was made to form two funds; one for the support of students of theology, the other for the support of pastors insufficiently remunerated, or *emeriti*. Mr. Wülffing said that congregations were ready to contribute liberally for the maintenance of working clergy; but he questioned the existence of any Old Catholic clergy who were past work. Prof. Knoodt could name two clergymen who were unfitted for parochial work, but had made great sacrifices for the cause. One had lost a rich benefice, was nearly deaf, but was constantly employed in writing books of great research and sterling value. Pastor Thürlings feared that the offer of exhibitions to students of theology might prove a bait to candidates of little talent who desired to rise in the world. The separate congregations might subscribe for the support of stu-

dents of special merit personally known to them; but a central committee could easily be imposed upon. Burgomaster Stromeyer supported both proposals as a make-shift, but at the same time upheld the rights of Old Catholics to public endowments. There were such endowments in Constance, which might be applied to the support of Old Catholic students in Bonn. We must have courage to maintain our just claims.]

Bishop Reinkens: Mr. Burgomaster Stromeyer has said a part of what I intended to say, better and with more authority than I could have done. I would start from his last exhortation, and assure you that the synodal committee will not fail to set the example of courage. All will be done on our part that can be done to obtain possession of what is due to us, both on behalf of theological students and on behalf of veteran or ill-paid clergymen. I take the liberty of remarking, that the establishment of this fund—for I advocate both parts of the motion—is designed merely to meet a temporary necessity; therefore any contributions made are not of the nature of a lifelong tax; we only desire for the moment, as we must help ourselves, and in fact do help ourselves, to do the one and not to leave the other undone. The whole point of Pastor Thürling's argumentation against the first proposal is broken off, if we simply say that the synodal committee will not apply the theological students' fund in favour of the incompetent and untrustworthy, as it examines the candidates, and of course requires the necessary testimonials from their homes also. At present the state of things is this, that the clergy, whatever outward reverence may be paid to it, is nevertheless despised by educated society. The clerical profession is no eligible and enviable one for young men who are in a position to choose another profession. We must first by the reform of the Church, *i. e.* by the renewal of the Church's life in the fullest sense of the word, procure for the clergy such respect, that even princes' sons may look upon admission among the clergy as a thing to be coveted. (Bravo!) But as yet we have not come to this; as yet matters stand thus, that students of theology are with few exceptions needy. We cannot wait to recruit our ranks; we require on the instant candidates of theology, and those who have offered themselves are very poor; but they are—for we have examined them—capable, and if they pass through the training of the Old Catholic faculty at Bonn, they will supply us with very different priests from such as we have often the opportunity of accepting now. Within two months four priests have placed themselves at my disposal, whom I could not accept, and yet they are in full activity on the ultramontane side, enjoy the favour of their bishops, and all is well with them. Yet their characters are such, that it was impossible for me to accept them. Of course I will not violate confidence by any hint of the stage of these gentlemen's labours. But so the matter stands. Our hopes turn only to the aftergrowth, reared in our spirit, and with regard to that we must not loiter for one instant. Accordingly I can

only recommend warmly the establishment of this fund also; but I repeat, it is no permanent tax that is here in question, but only a momentary relief to meet the emergency. I am firmly convinced that we shall very soon have many funds at our disposal, among others some for theological students. The civil governments will be unable for good to withhold from us our rights, and if our adversaries continue to act on the principles which they have proclaimed as unchangeable and eternal, we shall soon live to see them expelled from entire institutions, because according to their principles they cannot remain in them when the civil government assigns to us our fair share. (Bravo!)

As regards the other point, I can only support most warmly what my friend Prof. Knoodt has said. We have already occasion to support aged clergymen, and not the two alone to whom reference has been made; we have also occasion in many cases, even where congregations have good will in abundance, to advance them sums of money, in order at once to enable them to secure a priest. If then before long priests place themselves at our disposal, as I do not doubt they will, they must be able also to undertake the administration on the terms of the constitution which we have accepted for the synod and congregation; and as we have abolished all perquisites of our pastors, it is our duty to secure them a decent existence in society. For the moment such a fund is decidedly necessary to us. I am convinced too, that after the information we have given, Mr. Oberregierungsrath Wülffing will abandon his opposition. (*Mr. Wülffing*: "Certainly!") I recommend to you both funds, as I have said, merely in order to surmount a temporary difficulty; for the future not chance, but God, will provide, and also what we do in His Name. (Bravo!)

[On Saturday 13 Sept. 1873 Dean Howson spoke in English and read a message from Bishop Browne.]

Bishop Reinkens: I cannot forbear thanking the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester personally for his hearty address. At the same time I most earnestly entreat him to convey to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, whom we had last year the honour of greeting at our congress as Bishop of Ely, my most deep-felt thanks for the warm and cordial sympathy, which he has here expressed through the Dean of Chester. I beg you to assure him, that on my side too the same sympathies are cherished towards him, that I shall not forget him, that his earnest and deeply religious temper, which I learnt to appreciate last year, will be ever present to my soul, and that I will return his prayers before God. I beg you with my reverence to bear to him my thanks and greeting.

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