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THE
OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

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THE
NEW REFORMATION

A NARRATIVE OF THE
OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

FROM 1870 TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY
THEODORUS

‘UNITAS IN NECESSARIIS’

‘The struggle of the Old Catholics is in itself the same struggle which has been maintained in the Church of England by those who, from the time of Lord Falkland down to the present day, have endeavoured to set forth more reasonable views of religion, in distinction from the hierarchical or Puritan views which have alternately been upheld by the fashion of the day or the domination of party’—Dean STANLEY, *Preface to Father Hyacinth’s Catholic Reform*

‘The Old Catholic body seems to hold out to the English Church an opportunity which has been denied to it for three hundred years’—Canon LIDDON, *Preface to Report of the Bonn Conference*

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P R E F A C E.



THIS VOLUME is designed to supply an authentic and accurate history of the Old Catholic movement, from July 1870 down to the present time. It seems in every way probable that the principles advocated by the leaders of this movement will before long become the subject of deep and widespread interest not only on the Continent, but also in England; for while, on the one hand, Old Catholicism holds firmly by all that is most ancient and truly catholic in Christian doctrine, it is, on the other hand, strictly in unison with the increasing tendency of the age to merge minor dogmatic differences in the recognition of fundamental truths. An effort at Church Reform and Christian Unity, supported by scholars and thinkers of confessed ability, like Döllinger, Friedrich, Reinkens, Von Schulte, and Michaud, abroad, and bishop Wordsworth, bishop Harold Browne, dean Stanley, and canon Liddon, at home, seems to merit a closer attention than it has yet received from the religious public in England. The comments of the daily press too often show how im-

perfectly the remarkable development that has taken place in the aims and relative position of the Old Catholics is comprehended ; and it is hoped that this endeavour to trace out that development as discernible in the successive Congresses, the Synodical enactments, and the Conference of Bonn, may be of service in assisting to win for the whole movement that serious consideration which it deserves from the politician as well as the theologian, from the Protestant Dissenter not less than the English Churchman.

A Historical Introduction, explanatory of the chief points at issue in relation to the subject throughout the history of the Church, has been prefixed, and will probably be of service to those with whom the question of the Romish supremacy has not been the object of previous investigation. To this, again, the account given of the assembling and proceedings of the Vatican Council has appeared a necessary addition, as a connecting link with the ensuing pages.

July 1875.

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A LIST
OF THE
ŒCUMENICAL OR GENERAL COUNCILS
OF THE CHURCH.

THE following list of the General Councils down to the Council of Trent may be accepted as a correct list of the Councils whose decisions are recognised as valid *by Rome*. It is extracted from the Preface to the *Conciliengeschichte* of bishop Hefele, one of the most learned of the Roman Catholic body. The line drawn after No. 7 denotes the point from which the Old Catholics no longer accept the decisions of the Councils as binding on the Church. Those marked with an asterisk would not be recognised as Free Councils by Old Catholic authorities, who would also equally object to the omission of the Council of Pisa in 1409 :—

1. The first of Nicæa in 325 (D. 11).
2. The first of Constantinople in 381 (D. 16).
3. That of Ephesus in 431 (D. 23-27).
4. That of Chalcedon in 451 (D. 38-9).
5. The second of Constantinople in 553 (D. 50-61).
6. The third of Constantinople in 680 (D. 80-85).
7. The second of Nicæa in 787 (D. 87-91).
8. The fourth of Constantinople in 869 (D. 97-103).
9. The first of the Lateran in 1123 (D. 115-16).
10. The second of the Lateran in 1139 (D. 116-17).
11. The third of the Lateran in 1179 (D. 121-22).
12. The fourth of the Lateran in 1215 (D. 128-34).

13. The first of Lyons in 1245.
14. The second of Lyons in 1274 (D. 141).
- *15. That of Vienne in 1311 (D. 145-48).
16. The Council of Constance, from 1414 to 1418; that is to say—(a) the latter sessions presided over by Martin V. (sessions 41-45 inclusive); (b) in the former sessions all the decrees sanctioned by Pope Martin V.—that is, those concerning the faith and which were given *conciliariter* (D. 158-167).
17. The Council of Basle, from the year 1431; that is to say—(a) the twenty-five first sessions until the translation of the Council to Ferrara by Eugenius IV.; (b) in these twenty-five sessions the decrees concerning the extinction of heresy, the pacification of Christendom, and the general reformation of the Church in its head and in its members, and which besides do not strike at the authority of the Apostolic chair; in a word, those decrees which were afterwards sanctioned by Eugenius IV.
- 17*b*. The assemblies held at Ferrara and at Florence (1438-42) cannot be considered as forming a separate Œcumenical Council. They were merely the continuation of the Council of Basle, which was transferred to Ferrara by Eugenius IV. on Jan. 8th, 1438, and from thence to Florence in Jan. 1439 (D. 170-77).
- *18. The fifth of the Lateran, 1512-17 (D. 186-87).
19. The Council of Trent, 1545-63 (D. 191-94).

The letter D denotes the reference to *Denzinger's Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum quae de Rebus Fidei et Morum a Conciliis Œcumenicis et summis Pontificibus emanarunt* (ed. 5, 1874). This will be found an accurate and inexpensive text-book of the Decrees accepted by the Ancient and the Romish Church, as also of the heresies from time to time anathematized.

THE
NEW REFORMATION.

INTRODUCTION.

WITHIN the last few years the Christian world has again seen brought before it, under circumstances of unusual significance and with the presage of results of momentous importance, the claims of two ancient but distinct and opposed theories respecting the authority and prerogatives of the Pope of Rome. These theories are generally known within the Roman Catholic Church as those of the papal system and the episcopal system. The former claims for the supreme pontiff the unhesitating and unquestioning submission due to the spiritual vicegerent of God on earth, responsible to God alone for the exercise of his power, invested with attributes differing not merely in degree but in kind from those which we are warranted in ascribing to any other ecclesiastical ruler in Christendom—the depository of that unerring judgment promised to the true Church at large. The latter theory repudiates, to a great extent, this conception, as involving in spiritual affairs a despotism not less to be feared than a tyranny in a polity. It regards the Pope as simply the personal representative of the Church's collective authority, the organ of her utterance. It denies that in his individual capacity he is entitled to claim the gift of infallibility more than any temporal monarch, appealing in support of this

INTROD.
Opposed theories in the Catholic Church respecting the Pope's power and prerogatives.

INTROD. denial to historic evidence.¹ To assume his immunity from error as a man, it declares, is to ignore many glaring and incontrovertible facts in the lives of not a few who have, in past times, disgraced the papal chair. In brief, the upholders of the latter theory, though not refusing to admit the Pope's primacy, deny alike his sovereignty and infallibility.

It must not, however, be inferred that those who maintain this latter theory deny that infallibility is bestowed upon the Church, but they hold that it resides in her collective and unanimous voice, in a *consensus* between the episcopal order and their chief. 'The dogmatic decrees of the episcopacy,' says an eminent Catholic writer, 'united with the general head and centre, are infallible; for the episcopacy represents the universal Church, and one doctrine of faith, falsely explained by it, would render the whole a prey to error. Hence, as the institution which Christ hath established for the explanation and preservation of His doctrines is subject, in this its function, to no error, so the organ, through which the Church speaks, is also exempt from error.'²

Such are the respective views, on a question of primary importance, which at the present day divide the two great parties in the Catholic Church. Both parties, it is to be observed, claim to belong to the true Catholic communion and profess the Catholic faith, their conception of Church government differing materially from that of either the Lutheran, the Calvinist, or the member of the Church of England. And we now propose to state succinctly the main facts in

¹ As in the famous instance of Honorius I., who, on his maintaining the doctrine of Monothelitism, was declared a heretic by the Third (Œcumenic Council of Constantinople. Gieseler, *Eccles. Hist.* (ed. Davidson) II. 177.

² Möhler, *Symbolik* (ed. 1871), p. 393.

the historical data for or against this theory of the papal power and the papal infallibility which is respectively maintained and denied by the Ultramontanist and the Liberal Catholic.

Religious belief, before the Christian era, was characterised in a marked degree by the sentiment of nationality. Gibbon, in his 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,'¹ has pointed out to what an extent this feeling was recognised at Rome, and how the devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national faith and its attendant rites, regarded with tolerance, and even with respect, the creeds and ceremonial of other lands. In direct contrast to this tendency, Christianity was distinguished by its repudiation of national differences. 'It was,' says Dr. Döllinger, 'the first that appeared among mankind with a claim to catholicity. It declared itself to be a universal religion; one that did not belong to any people in particular, but, on the contrary, whose calling and innate qualification were to extend itself over the surface of the globe; to receive into its bosom every variety of population; to satisfy their religious wants, and, regardless of national or geographical boundaries, to establish a great Kingdom of God on earth—to found a Church for humanity.'² We meet, it is true, from very early times, with examples of a contrary tendency and of endeavours to set up a national Church independent in its action and subject to no central authority. Such was the schism of the Donatists in North Africa in the fourth century. Such was the heresy of the Monophysites in the fifth century, which resulted in the foundation of the Coptic or Egyptian Church. And to the same counter-theory may be referred the rise, at

INTROD.

The sentiment of nationality repudiated by Christianity.

Connexion between this sentiment and some of the early heresies.

¹ Gibbon (ed. Smith), I. 165.

² Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches* (transl. by McCabe), p. 20.

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a later period, of Byzantinism, the expression of the national political spirit of the Greek Empire. These, however, were but exceptions to the general view, and, in the language of the writer above quoted, it may be said that the Church was ‘nationally colourless.’ Nor is it possible to deny that this fact was productive of feelings which did much to restrain the barbarism and ferocity of the Middle Ages; the consciousness of forming part of a great Christian commonwealth gave to Europe a sense of unity and like aspirations which would otherwise have been altogether wanting.

Relations
of the
bishops of
Rome to
the Church
in the
first four
centuries.

The researches of some of the most eminent authorities in the province of Church history may be regarded as unanimously pointing to the conclusion that, during the first four centuries, the bishops of Rome exercised no special authority over the collective Church. The Great Councils, like that of Nicaea in 325, of the first of Constantinople in 380, of Ephesus in 431, were convoked by the emperors without reference to the wishes of the primate at Rome. It is not until the Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, that we find such deliberations presided over by the papal legate. The decision of a General Council did not depend on the sanction of the Pope; while, on the other hand, any definition of dogma on his part required the assent of an Œcumenical Council. Dispensations from Church laws and sentences of excommunication were forms of authority equally unassumed by him and unconceded by others. Gregory the Great disclaimed as blasphemous a title which should invest him or anyone else with an implied power to regulate the decisions of a General Council. Such was the theory of the pontifical prerogatives held by the last of the Fathers.

View of
Gregory
the Great.

Relations
of Rome to
Christen-

Again, in the period during which the authority of the Roman see, viewed under its negative aspect, still

bore this character, we find the adjustment of disputes on questions of doctrine and ritual going on altogether independently of Rome. Elements of greater or less diversity—whether as they presented themselves in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, in different schools of interpretation, in Judaistic and Gnostic teachers, in the Apologists of the second century or the polemical writers of the third—became blended and partially incorporated in the tradition of the Church with but little deference for the views of those who professed to be the successors of St. Peter. The more important contributions to patristic literature did not emanate from Rome or even from Italy. Ignatius, in the first century, taught in Syria. Irenæus, in Gaul, in the second century, attacked what he regarded as corruptions of the faith, without once adducing in his support the decisions of the Roman bishop. Clemens, at Alexandria, in the third century, exhibited the doctrines of Christianity as harmonising with Greek philosophy, not with Romish tradition. Cyprian, at Carthage, in the same century, who by his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesie*, so greatly advanced the ecclesiastical conception of the dignity and functions of the episcopal office, repudiated the supremacy of Rome. ‘Without prejudice to its agreement with the Church Universal,’ says an able writer on the subject, ‘every Church is to be seen managing its own affairs with perfect freedom and independence, and maintaining its own traditional usages and discipline, all questions not concerning the whole Church, or of primary importance, being settled on the spot. The Church is organised in dioceses, provinces, patriarchates (National Churches were added afterwards in the West), with the bishop of Rome at the head as first Patriarch, the centre and representative of unity, and, as such, the bond between East and West,

INTROD.
dom during
the first
eight
centuries.

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between the Churches of the Greek and the Latin tongue, the chief watcher and guardian of the, as yet very few, common laws of the Church—for a long time only the Nicene; but he does not encroach on the rights of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. Laws and articles of faith, of universal obligation, are issued only by the whole Church, concentrated and represented at an Œcumenical Council.'¹

On the teachers of the Churches in other lands it devolved to defend and illustrate Christian doctrine; and the claims of those who have sought to justify the Roman supremacy on the authority of tradition have long been shown to be untenable. It is true that Irenæus asserts that the Church at Rome was founded by St. Peter; but his statement is manifestly incorrect; and it is in the highest degree improbable that the apostle ever visited the imperial city.² It is true that certain lists have been brought forward to prove the episcopal succession from his time; but these again completely contradict each other. It is consequently neither to rightful inheritance nor to the reward that waits on signal services that the historian finds himself compelled to assign the pre-eminence, which, with the advance of the fourth century, had undeniably been conceded to the Roman see. Yet the causes are in no way difficult to discover. The gradual decline of those rival capitals of the West that might have contested the palm of superiority, Ravenna, for example, and Carthage—the rigid centralisation of the civil government, to which the ecclesiastical government became

¹ Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 85–86.

² Thus the Council of Chalcedon, while admitting the primacy of the Roman see, did so, not in recognition of an assumed descent from St. Peter, but of the bishopric of the Imperial City:—*καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρονῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἑκείνην, οἱ πάτριες εἰκίτως ἀποδείκασαι τὰ προσβέβη.* Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum*, II. 613.

insensibly assimilated—the fidelity which, even amid Teutonic communities, the Latin clergy still cherished towards the parent city—afford an adequate though less flattering explanation.

But while circumstances like these were, without doubt, combining to raise the bishop of Rome to a kind of primacy among other bishops, the *prestige* with which his see was invested was still far from constituting him an arbiter in questions of belief and doctrine. The guardianship of the Christian faith from the influences of corrupt teaching was, as already stated, the function, not of an individual, but of a Council which represented the collective wisdom of an as yet undivided Christendom. The Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which respectively promulgated the Nicene Creed, condemned the Nestorian heresy, and claimed for the bishop of *Nova Roma* authority co-equal with that of the bishop of the parent city, were held far away from Rome; nor indeed do we find any distinct assertion on the part of the Pope of a right to decide upon matters of doctrinal belief, before the time when the Church was rent asunder by the excommunication of Photius by Nicholas I.¹—the Pope under whose sanction the unjustifiable and growing pretensions of the Romish see began to invoke the support of fictitious precedents.²

Among other facts which especially militated against

¹ ‘For the first thousand years no Pope ever issued a doctrinal decision intended for and addressed to the whole Church. Their doctrinal pronouncements, if designed to condemn new heresies, were always submitted to a Synod, or were answers to inquiries from one or more bishops. They only became a standard of faith after being read, examined, and approved at an Ecumenical Council.’—Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 78.

² ‘No branch of the papal theocratic monarchy, whether in relation to spiritual or secular matters, had not been already contained in the idea of the papacy, as it was apprehended by a Nicholas.’ Neander, *Church Hist.* VI. 122. Cf. Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, Bk V. c. iv.

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The False Decretals invented to support the pretensions of Rome.

Mercator.

the claim of the Popes of Rome to a direct and unbroken succession from St. Peter, was the suspicious circumstance that from the time of Clemens down to that of Siricius, who died at the close of the fourth century, the papal decrees were altogether wanting. Suddenly, in the middle of the ninth century, it was proclaimed that these missing decrees had been found. An unknown individual, named Mercator, brought forward what professed to be a completion of the genuine and authoritative work of Isidorus (a Spanish bishop of the seventh century), *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*. That is to say, he produced what served, ostensibly, to render that work an entire collection of the decrees of Rome from the earliest times. This forgery, which is now undefended by even the most zealous Romanist, exerted an influence far beyond what Mercator could ever have anticipated, for it led to a fundamental change in the constitution and government of the Church. It was accepted without scruple, apparently without enquiry, by Pope Nicholas; the policy which it represented was further developed by Hildebrand, under whose auspices Anselm of Lucca compiled a new and complete system of Church law, and was yet more fully elaborated in the famous *Decretum* of Gratian. This last-named compilation, which appeared in the year 1151, comprised the forgeries of Mercator, together with the additions made by Anselm, and also large additions made by Gratian himself. The importance of the work is not easily to be exaggerated, for, at a time when legal studies were reviving in Europe, it formed the basis of what is known in history as the *Canon Law*, or the code of the ecclesiastical courts, whose jurisdiction throughout the Middle Ages was often far more potent than that of the civil tribunals. At the universities which, in the following century, began to rise throughout

Anselm of Lucca.

Gratian.

The Canon Law.

Europe, it became a leading and often absorbing branch of study. Not a few of the Popes owed their elevation to the pontifical chair almost entirely to their eminence as canonists; and a knowledge of the subject was the surest avenue to preferment and honour in the ecclesiastical body.

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While the power of the papacy was thus being built up, another bold innovation on the primitive constitution of the Church was made by the introduction of territorial claims. About the middle of the eighth century we meet, for the first time, with an allusion to the notorious fabrication known as the Donation of Constantine. According to this invention, the emperor, on the occasion of his baptism by Pope Silvester, had bestowed the whole of Italy, including the northern provinces, upon the papal see. And just as this story served as a precedent for the grant which King Pepin made of the exarchate to Pope Stephen III. in 754, so that grant was, in turn, pleaded in justification of the yet more extensive concessions obtained from Charles the Great. It was thus that a material addition was made to the strength of the papacy; and the Popes, released from all dependence on the Eastern emperors, began to acquire a claim to direct participation in the political affairs of Europe.

Claims of the Papacy to temporal sovereignty.

Donations of Pepin and Charles the Great.

The results of this acquirement of political power, combined with supremacy over the whole Western Church, are to be seen coming into full operation with the accession of Innocent III. to the papal chair; and during the next three centuries the pretensions of Rome were proclaimed in all Christian countries, and received, in most cases, with servile assent. It may indeed appear difficult now to understand how such could have been the case, when we compare the exorbitancy of her claims with the obvious weakness of the arguments

Innocent III. Pope, 1198-1216.

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whereby they were enforced. But the facts are rendered more intelligible on considering the superstitious and uncritical character of that age ; and that not merely all learning but even the art of writing was almost solely confined to those who were most interested in advancing and maintaining the pretensions of the Romish see. Hence—though instances of indignant protest and even of effectual resistance are not rare—it was not until the revival of learning, in the fifteenth century, that these forgeries and fabrications were critically examined and exposed by the scholarship and learning of the Renaissance.

Decline and
discon-
tinuance of
General
Councils.

As the power of the Pope became thus augmented—and his temporal and territorial supremacy, his right of interference with ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, his authority to grant indulgences, and even his superiority to the decrees of a General Council, were successively proclaimed—the importance of the bishops of the Church, both in their individual and collective capacity, proportionably declined. They were no longer summoned to confer on points of doctrine, on questions of organisation, or on matters for reform, and Œcumenical Councils gradually fell into disuse. The tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed no Council that deserved to be considered œcumenic ; and when, in the year 1123, Calixtus II. called together at Rome what was known as the First¹ Lateran Council, the episcopal suffrage was completely outweighed by that of monastic dignitaries. The assembly altogether failed to represent independent action, and was under the dictation of the Pope. The same may be said of the Second Lateran Council, held in 1139, and of the Third, held in 1179. Church reform was urgently needed, but they effected, in this direction, practically nothing ; and the best and ablest Church-

Councils
of the
Lateran.

¹ I.e. the First Lateran Council for which Rome claims œcumenicity.

men of the age looked despairingly around. 'Who,' said St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter to Eugenius III., 'who will give me the consolation ere I die of seeing the Church in the condition she was in in her early days?'

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It is not, indeed, until the fifteenth century that we find any assembly convened and meeting under conditions which entitle it to take rank, as a free and œcumenical body, with the first eight General Councils. In the fourteenth century, however, the great schism between the rival Popes subjected the belief in papal infallibility to a severer strain than it had ever before known. The more devout the Catholic, the more he was scandalised and distressed as he perceived that even the sacraments of the Church must be held to have lost validity, if administered, as was asserted, by each rival pontiff, without the pale of the true communion. The more loyal the patriot, the more he deplored the continued agitation of a question over which, to quote the language of Dean Milman, 'the best might differ, and which to the bad was an excuse for every act of violence, fraud, or rapacity.' The involved appeal to national interests and national prejudices proved, moreover, fatal to the old sense of Catholic unity, the partizanship of different states being almost entirely decided by political motives. Germany and Bohemia declared for Urban VI., not because they believed his election to be the more valid, but because they recognised King Wenceslaus as emperor. England gave him her support as the Pope hostile to France. Scotland espoused the side of Clement VII. because he was supported by the power hostile to England. Hungary declared for Urban as one who might aid her pretensions to Naples.

The Papal Schism.
1375-1413.

Involved
appeal to
national
interests.

Amid the anarchy and dissensions that thus prevailed the conviction steadily gained ground that these evils were the outcome of the monopoly of power by

INTROD. the chief pontiff; and that the surest remedy was to be found in the restoration of the rights of the episcopal order and the revived action of General Councils. We now, accordingly, enter upon a period when, to use Mr. Gladstone's expression in reference to the subject, it seemed as if 'what we may call the Constitutional party in the Church was about to triumph;'¹ and early in the fifteenth century commenced that succession of General Councils which has gained for these times the designation of the 'Saeculum Synodale.'

The
Saeculum
Synodale.

Council
of Pisa.

At the first of these Councils, that convened at Pisa in the year 1409, the power of the assembly was demonstrated by the deposition of the two rival Popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) and the election of Alexander V. But, as though the reforming energy had expended itself on this preliminary effort, the measure was unproductive of any commensurate results. The deposed Popes refused to recognise the validity of the decision, while their successor showed no real desire for energetic reform.

Council of
Constance.

A far more decisive advance was made at the Council of Constance, summoned in the year 1415. The circumstances under which it met were full of promise, and expectation was proportionably high. It was convened by the joint command of the emperor Sigismund and the Pope, a fact that in itself afforded no slight guarantee for the security of Teutonic interests; it was held in an imperial city on the German side of the Alps; it was inspired by the presence and guided by the authority of Gerson, the famous chancellor of the university of Paris, and advocate of the rights of Councils; it was attended by delegates from every nation in Christendom. It was understood that the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches, and

¹ *The Vatican Decrees*, p. 58.

the question of the supremacy of General Councils over the Pope, would be submitted to its deliberations. INTROD.

A third question, that of the right of suffrage, demanded the first consideration of the Council—a question, as we shall hereafter see, again raised and again decided at the Council of the Vatican, though with widely different results. It was determined that professors and doctors, as well as bishops and abbots, should be admitted to take part in the proceedings, and also that, as was the custom in the mediæval universities, the assembly should vote in ‘nations,’ a decision which struck, at the outset, at undue papal influence, by reducing the vote of the whole Italian ‘nation’ to one vote in four. Question of conciliar suffrage.

The measures thus taken to secure an equitable representation of a collective Christendom enabled the Council to assert its power with a freedom and boldness that had long been wanting in the Church. The infamous John XXIII. was compelled to abdicate and to read aloud his declaration before the assembly. Gerson, speaking on behalf of the great majority, declared that Jesus Christ was the one primal and perfect Head of the Church, the Pope only so in a secondary sense; that the union between the Pope and the Church was liable to be dissolved; that the former, though necessary to the Church’s complete organisation, might be deposed; that he was bound to obey and could not annul the decisions of an Œcumenic Council, which was the sole, supreme, and indisputable voice of the Church.¹ In the fourth and fifth sessions these declarations received the assent of the assembly, and were embodied in formal decrees *without one dissentient voice*;² for a time it seemed as though the fraud of Proceedings of the Council.

Decisions of the fourth and fifth sessions.

¹ Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, Bk. XIII. c. ix.

² The following is the decree concerning the authority of Councils:—
‘Sancta Synodus Constantiensis . . . declarat, quod ipsa, in Spiritu

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centuries had been swept away, and that the Church had to a great extent regained her ancient constitution.

Criticism
of Janus.

‘These decisions of Constance,’ says the writer whom we have before quoted, ‘are perhaps the most extraordinary event in the whole dogmatic history of the Christian Church. Their language leaves no doubt that they were understood to be articles of faith, dogmatic definitions of the doctrine of Church authority. They deny the fundamental position of the papal system, which is thereby tacitly but very eloquently signalled as an error and abuse. Yet that system had prevailed in the administration of the Church for centuries, had been taught in the canon law books and the schools of the religious orders, especially by the Thomist divines, and assumed or expressly affirmed in all pronouncements and decisions of the Popes the new authorities for the laws of the Church. And now not a voice was raised in its favour; no one opposed the doctrines of Constance, no one protested!’¹

Failure of
further
efforts at
reform.

An unlooked-for event—the death of Robert Halam, bishop of Salisbury—checked the onward current at its full flow. He had not only been the leader of the English party, but his ability, prudence, and firmness

Sancto legitime congregata, concilium generale faciens et Ecclesiam Catholicam repraesentans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cujuscumque status vel dignitatis, etiamsi papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem et extirpationem dicti schismatis et reformationem dictae Ecclesiae in capite et membris. Item declarat, quod quicumque cujuscumque conditionis, status, dignitatis, etiamsi papalis, qui mandatis statutis, seu ordinationibus aut præceptis hujus sacrae synodi et cujuscumque, alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati super præmissis, seu ad ea pertinentibus, factis vel faciendis, obedire contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignae poenitentiae subjiçatur et debite puniatur, etiam ad alia juris subsidia, si opus fuerit, recurrendo. The Ultramontanists maintain that these decrees were not sanctioned by Martin in his ‘Bulla Confirmationis’ of 1418. See Denzinger, pp. 168-9; and Hefele’s list, at commencement, and following note.

¹ *The Pope and the Council*, p. 302.

had also won for him the confidence of the emperor and the German 'nation.' His loss almost paralysed the party of reform and encouraged their opponents to new and successful intrigues. The English deputies were induced to make common cause with the Italian 'nation,' and the Council was consequently prevailed upon to proceed to the election of a new Pope before any further measures had been carried. In Martin V. the reformers encountered an antagonist of a different order from John XXIII. His reputation for sanctity and learning inspired confidence in the virtuous, while his tact and dexterity baffled the counsels of the wise. His acceptance of the tiara necessarily involved the recognition of the supreme authority of the assembly and their deposition of his predecessor. Yet notwithstanding, on the day following his election, that assembly was called to listen to the re-enactment of all the decrees of the pontiff whom they had set aside. All hopes of reform, it was perceived, were for a time at an end. The fair promise of the great Council faded away in almost complete disappointment. Even the election of a supreme pontiff of ability and high character turned to the disadvantage of the reformers, by depriving them of one of their most undeniable and weighty arguments.

One result, however, unquestionably remained. The Council of Constance had restored the Church theory of Councils and had asserted conciliar supremacy. It is true that the principle only survived, as has been aptly said, as a 'barren abstract proposition;' but before the Council dissolved its decrees had been confirmed by the Pope,¹ and he had consented to an

Restoration
of the
theory of
General
Councils.

¹ His act of ratification extended to all the decrees that had been given *conciliariter*, a term opposed to *nationaliter*, as denoting the vote of the whole Council in distinction from votes taken only at the sitting of certain 'nations.' The exceptions referred to by Hefele (see List of

INTROD. enactment for the convention of an Œcumenical Council every ten years. It was thus that, although he availed himself of every expedient for evading compliance with this proviso, he eventually found himself compelled to issue the summons for the Council of Basel—the last Council that can be regarded as really free and œcumenic. Pope Martin died before it met, and his successor, Eugenius IV., vainly endeavoured to carry on the same procrastinating policy. His disputes with the Council at one time reached a point where his own deposition seemed imminent; but by the intervention of the emperor an understanding was effected. Eugenius withdrew his opposition, and acknowledged the principle of Œcumenical Councils, and the validity of the decrees of Constance.

Policy of
Pope
Eugenius.

Council of
Basel.

For four years (1433–7) the Council of Basel held repeated sessions, and its transactions exhibited a moderation and fairness that promised solid results. All the least defensible abuses in the Church—the arbitrary power of the Pope, the rapacity of the papal court, the Roman monopoly of the richer benefices, the irregularities in the promotion of the clergy, the corruption of the different religious orders—were in turn freely discussed, and remedies of a reasonable character proposed. As soon, however, as Eugenius saw that the propositions tended to a limitation of his own power, he fell back on his former policy. He again assumed an attitude of uncompromising resistance, and another open rupture between Pope and Council seemed inevitable. At this juncture the revival of the scheme of reconciliation with the Eastern Church suggested a means of escape from the difficulties of his situation. He alleged that the convenience of the Eastern dele-

Councils, at commencement) were really inconsiderable, including only a decree on Annates and another respecting a book by the Dominican Falkenberg.

gates rendered it desirable to transfer the Council to Italy, and a new series of conferences was now held at Ferrara, and subsequently at Florence. The majority of the representatives at Basel disregarded his summons, and continued to hold their sessions in that city; though it was evident that they could scarcely continue to claim to be regarded as an Œcumenical Council. England, engrossed with the approach of civil war, withdrew altogether from the deliberations. The assembly on the other side of the Alps, again, numbered but two delegates from Northern countries; and the presence of the Greek delegates only imperfectly redeemed it, even in appearance, from being completely at the Pope's dictation. The position of the latter, in fact, did not admit of the assertion of any real independence. The circumstances under which the compromise between East and West was effected—a compromise as unreal in spirit as it was fruitless in results—are familiar to the student of Church history. The Orientals, when pressed with the canons of Isidore and Gratian, did not hesitate to reply curtly, that 'these were all apocryphal.' It was mainly through the exertions of their eminent countryman Bessarion that they at last consented to admit the claims of the Pope to rule the Church 'in the manner contained in the Acts of the Œcumenical Councils and of the Canons.'¹ It

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Councils of Ferrara and Florence.

Reconciliation with Greek Church.

Fallacious character of the compromise.

¹ Καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποικιλικῶς τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κανόσι διαλαμβάνεται. This was correctly rendered in the Latin, *quemadmodum et in gestis œcumenicorum conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur*. It is thus quoted by the fifteenth and early sixteenth century theologians. In the Roman edition of Abraham Cretensis, however, says Janus, 'by the unobtrusive change of a single word, what the Greeks intended to have expressed by it had disappeared, viz. that the prerogatives attributed to the Pope are to be understood and exercised according to the rule of the ancient Councils. By this change the rule was transformed into a mere confirmatory reference, and the sense of the passage became, that the prerogatives enumerated there belonged to the Pope, and were also contained in the ancient Councils.'—*The Pope and*

INTROD. has been clearly pointed out—and the fact is deserving of special notice as an example of the contempt for historical precedents, or perhaps more frequently the ignorance of ecclesiastical history, that has too often characterised the proceedings of the Vatican—that Eugenius and his advisers understood and accepted this concession in a totally different sense from that in which it was made. The Greeks understood by the ‘Œcumenical Councils’ only those of the first eight centuries, the same that the present advocates of Catholic reform recognise as authoritative on points of doctrine. Eugenius, on the other hand—probably through real ignorance of the state of the question concerning the Pope’s supremacy before the time of the False Decretals—supposed that the term included all the Councils of the Church up to his own day; and, interpreting the words in this sense, it was certainly undeniable that by some of the later Councils the papal supremacy had been admitted.

Council
versus
Pope.

The seeming success of these negotiations lent new strength to the Ultramontane party; and Eugenius, after declaring that the wall of separation was broken down, and calling upon the heavens to rejoice and the earth to exult, proceeded to denounce the Council at Basel and its decrees in unmeasured terms. The Council replied by decreeing his deposition and re-electing Amadeus of Savoy; and once more, and for the last time, a Pope and Antipope were to be seen hurling anathemas at each other. Both France and Germany evinced but little interest in the struggle, and their indifference was shared by most of the other European states—feelings which are doubtless to some extent attributable to political sources of distraction, and

the Council, pp. 325–6. Denzinger (p. 171) accordingly gives us ‘*quem-admodum etiam in gestis;*’ &c.

partly to the conviction that the Council was impotent to carry any measures of effective reform, but most of all to the decline which the papacy had undergone in the estimation and reverence of men. The consummate diplomacy of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II., confirmed the triumph of the Ultramontanists. Nicholas V. was raised to the pontificate on the death of Eugenius IV. Amadeus of Savoy ceded his rival claims, and, on being elected a cardinal, retired into private life. The Council of Basel yielded to political influence and submitted, in 1449, to an honourable dissolution. Its Acts concerning promotions and dignities in the Church were ratified; the supremacy of Œcumenical Councils was once more recognised by the Pope; and the long struggle of the *Sæculum Synodale* was succeeded by a period of deceptive calm under the rule of Nicholas V. and his immediate successors.

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Election of
Nicholas V.

But while the cause of ecclesiastical reform had been defeated at Basel it had effected a signal victory in France. The statesmen of the realm, though indifferent to the proceedings of the Council, had resolved on decisive measures at home. In the year 1438 they had enacted the famous Pragmatic Sanction, the palladium of the Gallican Church. By this charter the right of the disposal of benefices became vested in the Crown. The freedom of Church elections and the supremacy of General Councils was recognised. And the most practical abuses of the Romish system were, for a time, swept away throughout the land.

The Prag-
matic
Sanction.

But speaking generally, the policy advocated at Pisa, Constance, and Basel remained inoperative. The Church was still unpurified at its source, and reform, if conceded in theory, found little expression in discipline. In those times it was difficult for abstract prin-

Failure of
Church
reform.

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Perversion
of the hier-
archical
theory.

principles and common rights to combine against private interests, selfish aims, bribery, and political corruption; and a tone of deep despondency, on the part of all thoughtful writers, is observable in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The evils they saw around them seemed overwhelming. The whole purpose that underlay the ancient hierarchical theory had been wasted and misapplied. The Church seemed less to exist for the nations than the nations for the Church. ‘When,’ says an eminent writer, ‘the development of a methodical and harmonious rule of life for Christendom should have been her highest aim, we find the Papal Church assuming into this aim, and therefore into her theory, the principle of authority, power, and lordship, in such a way that she no longer subordinates herself as a means to the spiritual renovation of the nations, but the perversion takes place, that that authority and lordship are treated as its one end and highest good.’¹ The Popes, sunk in indolence and false security, connived at or openly sanctioned all the abuses which ultimately excited a new movement, the movement that culminated in the Reformation. On the corruption and venality of the papal court, as attested by important authorities like Cosmas de Villiers, Pico of Mirandula, Macchiavelli, and the speakers at the Lateran Council in 1516, it is needless here to dwell; but it deserves a passing comment as the connecting link between the failure of the efforts towards reform by means of General Councils and the rise of a new school of reformers. It will be of service to point out how, in the doctrines taught and the institutions established by the Protestant movement, we are confronted by theories differing in principle both from the Old Catholicism and from Ultramontaniam.

¹ Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, I. 22.

It was observed at the commencement that the primitive conception of the Catholic Church was divested of the spirit of nationality. The faith proclaimed to Jew and Gentile, bond and free, could not recognise a theory of separate and dissociated communions. It was this conception which, notwithstanding the schism between East and West and the rivalry of the Antipopes, Rome had hitherto proclaimed and had cherished with a certain success. When the sixteenth century dawned, the allegiance of Western Christendom to Alexander VI. was still undivided and unquestioned. But now the exorbitant pretensions and widespread demoralisation of the Church began to bring with them their own retribution in the subversion of that ancient claim to universal deference which Rome might otherwise have long preserved unchallenged. The unblushing nepotism of the Popes, the preference given to Italian ecclesiastics in the distribution of benefices, the wealth extorted from other countries to defray the unbounded extravagance of the *Curia*, the antagonism between Emperor and Pope, called up and at last arrayed against each other, in permanent hostility, all the ancient national jealousies and antipathies. The great revival of classical learning, known under the name of the Renaissance, proved also largely instrumental in bringing about the Reformation; and this, less than is generally supposed by the direct influences of the literature which it brought to light, than by the critical and enquiring habits of thought to which it gave rise. As learning and scholarship became more widely diffused and studious and thoughtful intellects found subject-matter which afforded scope for speculation, criticism, and discussion, without exposing the enquirer to the charge of heresy or of contempt for authority, the Teutonic and the Latin minds developed their dif-

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Increasing corruption of the Church.

Revival of national differences.

The Renaissance.

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ferent characteristics with greater freedom. And the very studies which under happier circumstances might have proved a bond of union, only served to bring out into more noticeable contrast divergent sympathies and aims. The forces of decentralisation already at work acquired a new and powerful momentum. It is well known how adroitly and successfully Luther availed himself of these tendencies in his struggle with Rome, and it is not altogether without justice that some have asserted that Lutheranism took its rise in a spirit of German nationality.

The Reformation.

As there is no period of Church history which has been so wilfully and persistently misrepresented by the writers belonging to different parties as that of the Reformation, so there is none more deserving of careful study by all who wish to obtain a firm grasp of the historical connexion between the reformed and the mediæval Church. When theologians of a certain school are to be found asserting that the Reformation was neither a revolt nor a revolution, but simply a re-establishment of the principles of Christianity, it becomes all the more important to explain clearly how it is that the leaders of the Old Catholic movement, while making a like assertion as regards their own doctrine, unhesitatingly recognise and even publicly proclaim the considerable if not essential difference between the Old Catholicism and Protestantism.¹

Diet of
Spires.

In the year 1529, at the Diet of Spires, those states which had initiated a Scriptural reformation were called upon by the majority of the states, whose policy was sanctioned by the emperor, to commence a counter-movement. The *protestation of right* which they drew

¹ Dr. Nippold, speaking at Berne so recently as January 1873, observed, 'Diese Männer recht gut wissen, warum sie sich nicht Protestanten sondern Altkatholiken nennen.'—*Vortrag*, in 'Zeit und Streit-Fragen,' p. 14.

up on this occasion gained for them the name of Pro- INTROD.
testants.

In the following year the Protestant princes of Germany adopted at Augsburg a new Confession of Faith, drawn up by Melancthon and approved by Luther, which represents the basis of the belief of the Lutheran or Protestant Church. Confession of Augsburg, 1530.

It is always of importance to remember, when criticising the history of the sixteenth century, how inseparable appeared, to the men of that age, the retention of the religious spirit and the possession of a distinct, exact, and carefully formulated doctrinal creed. To minds of a certain order the necessity for such a creed will always present itself in a far stronger light than to others ; but it is unquestionable that the prevailing tendency during the last three centuries, at least among Protestant communions, has been towards a higher estimate of the value of the spirit of Christianity and a less rigid interpretation of special dogmas. But to the men among whom Luther, Melancthon, Crammer, and Calvin lived and worked, it seemed indispensable that, if they were to secede from Rome and to rally round a new standard of faith, they must be bound together by a common creed, and be led with no uncertain sound to the battle with papal errors. Hence in the successive enunciations of the doctrines of Lutheranism, whether that put forth at Augsburg, or in the Articles of Smalcald in 1537, or in Luther's Catechisms, or in the Formulary of Concord in 1577, it is only just that we should recognise not simply the dogmatic spirit of the theologian but a series of almost inevitable responses to the wishes and exigencies of an entire communion.¹ Importance attached at this period to formularies of faith.

Different formularies of Lutheranism.

¹ Dr. Adolf Pichler, in an article in the *Contemporary* for 1870, admits that 'there is not to-day in Germany a single Protestant theologian who acknowledges the absolute authority of the symbolic books.' Principal Tulloch, who characterises this multiplicity of creeds as 'one of

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Such labours, however, could not fail to elicit more or less important differences of opinion. Different minds originated ‘divers interpretations;’ and these in turn were repudiated or embraced by separate congregations. And hence it has become with Roman Catholic theologians a trite reproach against Protestantism, that nearly every reformed Church had its own formulary or even several formularies differing from each other.¹ It has been easier for Protestant writers, in reply, to admit than altogether to justify the fact, and at the same time to point out that, in respect to doctrine, Romanism itself has been little more than a nominal unity; and that far graver contradictions have from time to time been maintained within its pale, whether those which confront us at different eras of Church history or those which are to be found in the writings of contemporary theologians.

The unity of Roman Catholicism unreal.

Doctrine of Justification.

The doctrine which most of all tended to sever the theology of the Lutheran Church from that of Rome was undoubtedly the doctrine of Justification. Luther taught, and his teaching on this subject was rather emphasised than modified in subsequent formularies, that justification does not imply regeneration on the part of the sinner, but simply ‘his acquittal from the punishment of sin on account of the justice of Christ, imputed by God to faith.’ Man’s justice is not of himself. The Catholic doctrine had hitherto been that the justice of

Its difference from the Catholic doctrine.

the most extraordinary phenomena in Christian history, the full significance of which has hardly been appreciated,’ justly describes it as the result of the ‘exacting demand that was made upon all the Protestant Churches to give an account of themselves—of the definite doctrines which they taught and the principles for which they claimed to exist; not only with reference to the Roman Catholicism which they repudiated, but to the civil communities in which they sought to establish themselves, and the social and ecclesiastical necessities which they professed to satisfy.’ —*Rational Theology*, I. 21.

¹ Bossuet, Preface to the *Variations*.

Christ, in the act of justification, is immediately appropriated by the believer, becoming part of his inward self and changing his whole moral existence. According to Luther, justice dwells solely in Christ, it does not pass into the inward life of the believer, but remains in a purely outward relation to him.

To Catholic notions this theory appeared fraught with the most pernicious consequences, as recognising no moral difference between the converted and unconverted, and depriving of all their significance the antitheses of the New Testament between the old and new man, the old and the new creation, the first and the second birth. The doctrine of sanctification, the supplement to this theory—a gradual process resulting from man's gratitude for the remission of sin, and finding expression in increasing desire and effort to render obedience to the divine commands—served but very imperfectly to redeem the former doctrine from these objections. The radical difference remained; and while the Lutheran taught that the relation of man to his Saviour was primarily and chiefly of this external character, the Catholic adhered to that interpretation of the word *δικαιοῦν* (*justify*) which makes it to consist in an immediate, internal, and total change.¹

Lutheran doctrine of sanctification.

It is well known to every theological student how Luther's distinctive teaching on this cardinal point underlay his whole religious belief and modified his conceptions of other doctrines, such as those of original

Luther's views respecting Church government.

¹ 'The difference consists in this—that with the Protestant the external relation to Christ is by far the most important thing; so that at this point of his spiritual life he can calmly sit down, and, without advancing a step further, be assured of eternal felicity, since, by what the Reformers call justification, his sins have once for all been forgiven him, and the gates of heaven opened to him. While the Catholic can obtain the forgiveness of his sins only when he abandons them, and in his view the justified man—the man acceptable to God—is identical in every respect with the sanctified.'—Möhler, *Symbolik*, p. 141.

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sin, faith, good works, predestination, and the sacraments. On these latter questions it is needless, however, here to dwell, and we accordingly pass on to the subject most closely connected with that of these pages—his views respecting authority and Church organisation. It has been made a matter of reproach to him, by Catholic writers, that the theories he ultimately put forward on these subjects were adopted by him as the result of the incompatibility between his specific tenets as a theologian and those maintained by the Church. They consequently assert that the process whereby he arrived at those theories was an inversion of the natural course. Had he first of all examined the claims of the Church to infallibility of doctrine, and decided, for himself, that those claims rested on no satisfactory basis, his promulgation of new doctrines, the result of his individual enquiry into Scriptural teaching, would have at least merited to be regarded as a logical sequence of action. As it was, he first set up a new theology and then revolted from the Catholic faith. To this the only reply must be, that Luther's creed, like that of nearly all religious reformers, was the outcome of a gradual process and partook of the nature of an induction. It was by a series of investigations with respect to successive points in the teaching and practice of the Romish Church, that he finally deduced from thence his main generalisation on the whole question of ecclesiastical government.

The Catholic theory.

The Catholic theory, as it has found expression in the writings of the ablest theologians, from St. Cyprian down to Dr. Döllinger, and has been always maintained in theory amid numberless departures from that theory in practice, exhibits to us a one true, undivided, and visible Church, uniting in herself divine and human elements, inspired, and yet working by human ministers,

the corresponding fact to the Incarnation. As the Word became flesh, so, at Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit was present to the senses as a 'rushing mighty wind.' The Church is Christianity in its objective form. 'If,' says Möhler, 'the Church be not the authority representing Christ, then all again relapses into darkness, uncertainty, doubt, distraction, unbelief, and superstition; revelation becomes null and void, fails of its real purpose, and must henceforth be even called in question and finally denied.'¹

The Church the guardian of tradition.

Hence while the Protestant affirms with Luther that man arrives at doctrinal truth by the study of the Scriptures, the Catholic declares that though the Scriptures are the source of doctrine, the individual judgment cannot rely on its own unaided interpretation, but must trust on all points of difficulty and doubt to the teaching of the Church. On the Church descended those gifts of unerring wisdom which, since the time of the Apostles, have been vouchsafed to no single man. Hence the theory of tradition (*traditio evogetica*) discernible from the earliest times in the Christian Church, and styled by Irenaeus *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*. 'Without this rule,' says the writer above quoted, 'it would be impossible to determine with certainty, safety, and general obligation the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. The individual, at best, could only hazard the assertion, this is *my* view, *my* interpretation of Scripture; or, in other words, without tradition there would be no doctrine of the Church, *and no Church*, but individual Christians only; no certainty and security, but only doubt and probability.'²

Theory of development.

In harmony with this theory of what may be termed the perpetual inspiration of the Church, we find the Catholic writers maintaining a theory of doctrinal development. According to this view, experiences

¹ *Symbolik*, p. 342.

² *Ibid.* p. 363.

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which in the eyes of many appear unmitigated evils, the rise of successive heresies—Gnostic, Manichean, Pelagian, and Protestant—have in reality been productive of good by the clearer conceptions they have evoked of different doctrines. From the Council of Nicaea to that of Trent, the Catholic believes he can discern an increasingly intelligent apprehension of spiritual truth, a deeper insight into the mysteries of the primal revelation. As an illustration of his theory he appeals to the example afforded in the canon of Scripture, respecting which such singular diversity of opinion prevailed in the early Church, but which was ultimately definitively decided for all true Catholics, and the question set at rest by authority.¹ When, however, he sees, as in the case of Luther, a solitary theologian seeking to re-open that question, and calling in doubt, as Luther did, the inspiration of the Epistle of St. James and of the Revelation of St. John, he asks how, if such liberty of judgment is to be conceded to the individual, the Church can ever hope to rejoice in oneness of communion and unity of doctrine?

Theory of
the Catho-
lic priest-
hood.

Again, as a necessary corollary of his theory of a visible Church, the Catholic postulates the outward recognition and formal consecration of a visible and separate priesthood. The power of consecration resides with those who preserve unbroken the episcopal succes-

¹ 'That the increase and expansion of the Christian creed and ritual and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and Churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart, and has any wide or extended dominion; that, from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients—but, as received and transmitted by minds not inspired, and through media which were human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation.'—Dr. Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine* (ed. 1846), p. 27.

sion from the first Apostles, from those who were nominated and consecrated by Christ himself. At the head of this great order, as the lineal representative of the first bishop, stands the Pope—the centre of the Church's unity. On him, as the vicegerent of Christ on earth, the successor of St. Peter, it devolves to maintain that unity. He recognises in the episcopal order a divinely appointed institution; and believes that on its members, *in their collective capacity*, have descended those spiritual gifts promised to the first Apostles; while they, in turn, regard him as their chief. Their decrees, sanctioned by his authority, represent the final verdict, the infallible utterance of the Church.¹

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The Pope
and the
episcopate.

Turning now to the Lutheran doctrine, we find the Reformers declaring, in opposition to this elaborate hierarchical theory, that the Scriptures are at once the sole source, standard, and judge of Christian belief. The mediating office of the Church represents, in their view, the introduction of a fallible and human element between the divine Word and the individual soul. Tradition is but man's invention; and if they assented to the decisions of the first four Œcumenical Councils, it was not from deference to the authority of those Councils, but because they found that their decisions were in harmony with Holy Writ. In the Bible alone the devout and enquiring mind might find, unaided, the knowledge necessary to salvation. Hence they regarded the priestly office, with its sacrament of ordination, and its limitation to a separate order, as unnecessary. Every

Counter-
teaching of
Luther-
anism.

¹ It may be worth while to quote here the view expressed by Dr. Hefele, prior of course to the decree of the Vatican Council, of the true relation of the Pope to an Œcumenical Council. 'An Œcumenical Council,' says this writer, 'represents the whole Church. There must therefore be the same relation between the Pope and the Council as exists between the Pope and the Church. The Pope is the centre of the Church, and therefore neither above nor below it; he is therefore neither above nor below a General Council.'—Introd. to *Conciliengeschichte*.

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true Christian is himself a priest, a member of a universal priesthood. Surveying the clergy of his day, among whom, it must be admitted, the character of priest had sunk to its lowest degradation, Luther contemptuously observed that 'one could shave the hair off any sow and put a dress on any block.' He approved, indeed, the delegation of certain duties to one member of a congregation, but this he looked upon as a mere arrangement of convenience—a theory which soon resulted in practical abuses against which it was found desirable to provide by requiring, in the Augsburg Confession, that no one should teach in public *nisi ritè vocatus*. The episcopal office was regarded by the Reformers as an excrescence on the primitive system, and they abolished it accordingly. In short, while the Catholic first postulated the existence of a visible Church, and an organised hierarchical system, from whence the invisible Church was to rise, the Lutheran assumed, first of all, an invisible Church and a universal priesthood, from whence whatever he recognised of a visible Church (if, indeed, it deserved the name) was subsequently to emerge.

Results of
this teaching.

Calvinism.

The theory of the supreme right of private interpretation soon began to bear fruit in the rise of other communions. In the year 1536 appeared the 'Christian Institutes' of Calvin, and in the year 1561, at the conference at Poissy, the distinctive tenets of Calvinism came formally under discussion. In the following year appeared the 'Heidelberg Catechism,' compiled by the command of the Count Palatine, and from this event may be dated the existence of Calvinism as a separate sect.

Controversy respecting the Eucharist.

Among the doctrines accepted at Augsburg that of consubstantiation, or the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, had proved an insuperable ground of division; it was firmly defended

by Luther, but his friend and fellow-student, Carlstadt, and subsequently both Zuinglius and Œcolampadius, espoused a counter-view. Interpreting the words 'This is my body,' as purely figurative, they denied that the Eucharist could be partaken of in any other than a spiritual sense, or by any but believers. To this view Calvin gave the support of his powerful intellect, and the question alone would have sufficed to constitute an important element of difference. To this controversy, however, succeeded that on predestination, a doctrine which Calvin carried to still greater lengths, teaching that the true believer is never suffered to fall from a state of grace. In regard to Church organisation Calvinism was mainly in agreement with Lutheranism, though Calvin adhered to the rite of ordination, and was even inclined to number it among the sacraments.

Passing on to the consideration of the distinctive features of the Church of England, we find a third communion, differing in some important respects from either of the foregoing. At its commencement, it is true, the English Reformation seemed likely to result in little more than a general adoption of the Lutheran tenets. Cranmer, along with Melanchthon and Calvin, appears even, at one time, to have cherished the design of a general congress of the Protestant divines for the purpose of establishing an authoritative standard of faith. The Forty-two Articles, compiled in 1552, were for the most part a transcript of the Confession of Augsburg. At the accession of Elizabeth the 'Institutes' of Calvin were in such general use among the clergy as almost to represent their text-book of theology. The alterations introduced in the Thirty-eight Articles of 1563, by Archbishop Parker, represented mainly the influence of the Wirtemberg Confession of 1551. During the

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The
Church of
England.

The Forty-
two Arti-
cles.

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Distinctive
theory of
Church
govern-
ment.

Declara-
tion of
Bishop
Jewel.

The Li-
turgy.

reign of Elizabeth, however, we find the newly-created bishops beginning to take ground which served to establish a marked difference from either the Lutheran or the Calvinistic Church. This difference was not with respect to doctrinal belief, for Jewel, Whitgift, and Hooker were all inclined to Calvin's theology, but with respect to the theory of Church government.¹ Elizabeth proclaimed herself a Catholic sovereign; and Jewel, in his 'Apologia,' maintained the Catholicism of the Church of England. The Church of Rome, he asserted, was mediæval, the Church of which he was a bishop claimed to be primitive. Along with Parker, he called to memory that ancient British Church whose bishops held authority independent of Rome. 'We are come,' he says, 'as near as we possibly could to the Church of the Apostles and the Old Catholic bishops and fathers; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine but also the sacraments and the form of common prayer.'² At the same time he professed the greatest reverence for the decrees of the early Councils, and vindicated the legitimacy of the English bishops. The Liturgy of the Church of England, taken almost entirely from the Roman liturgy, discloses none of those Erastian views towards which Cranmer had so decidedly leaned. To those who maintain that the Roman hierarchical system is merely part of the unauthorised inventions of mediæval Rome, this retention of much of that system along with the rejection of doctrinal abuses has always appeared an anomaly. It

¹ See Hunt, *Hist. of Religious Thought in England*, I. 64; Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops* (New Series), V. 21-22 and 157.

² *Apology* (Works, V. 614). In Jewel's writings we find the theory of infallibility altogether abandoned. In his *Letter to Dr. Cole* (Ibid. I. 57), he expressly admits that Councils may err, though he attaches great importance to their authority. On the other hand, he asks what need is there of bishops and Councils if the Church cannot err? (Ibid. V. 468-70.)

has been called ‘the Anglican solecism.’ ‘A Catholic hierarchy,’ ejaculates Möhler, ‘and a Protestant system of faith in one and the same community!’

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It is undeniable that as these three communions successively arose, the party within the Church of Rome which represented, to a great extent, the modern Old Catholic theory, declined perceptibly both in influence and importance. The growth of heresy appealed strongly to the loyalty of the orthodox. And hence, with the advance of the century, the sentiments which actuated men like Reuchlin, Sadolet, Zasius, and Wicel, abroad, or Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Bishop Fisher, at home, no longer found the same powerful advocacy. Proposals for a reformation of abuses, which should leave the hierarchical system untouched and permit the Church still to render to the bishop of Rome all the honours accorded to him in the first eight centuries, appeared but half-measures. The pleadings of their supporters were drowned in the mighty cry of Luther or in the anathemas of Italian bishops.

Decline of the Liberal party in the Romish Church.

In the meantime the widespread success of the Reformation was met by Rome with her traditional policy of haughty defiance. To concede nothing, and to brand as heretics both reformers within the Church and reformers without—such was the line of action which finally resulted in the decisions of the Council of Trent. It is of importance to remember that though the efforts at reform in the preceding century had been almost entirely abortive, the theory of Œcumenical Councils had been successfully re-established; it had been recognised by the Pope, and still appeared the only legitimate machinery for effecting Church reform whenever a more favourable condition of affairs should arise. Accordingly, when, in the sixteenth century, the causes already referred to once more drew the attention of men to the

The Council of Trent.

INTROD. necessity for a thorough change, the project of a Council, really free and truly œcumenical, still seemed to be the sole method of procedure which offered any prospect of success, and the idea was supported by the most advanced as well as the most moderate reformers. Luther, at the commencement of his career, was loud in his demands for a General Council.¹ It was the cherished project of Erasmus, and of Melanchthon, and was encouraged by all the Protestant princes. So strongly, indeed, was it advocated, that at the close of the Diet of Spires the emperor found it necessary to promise that such a Council should shortly be convened. Had Rome responded to these feelings in a spirit of liberal concession, and without delay or evasion, it is in every way probable that the religious history of Europe during the last three centuries would have been completely changed. From the very first, however, the Ultramontane party met the proposal with a procrastinating policy which, by gradually cooling the ardour and discouraging the hopes of the Reformers, compelled them to look for a remedy in independent

¹ 'An Ecumenical Council was the project under the protection of which the Reformation established itself so securely that it could no longer be rolled back when the Council itself came to be actually held. For in the case of the reformers the appeal to a General Council was equivalent to a continued claim to have part in the universal Church as embodied in the Roman Empire, their renunciation of the Pope's authority notwithstanding; and the promise obtained from the emperor at the close of the Diet of Spires, to the effect that he would cause the religious controversy to be settled by a Council, actually concedes in a provisional manner to the Reformation full rights within the Church, so long as the States of the Empire so comported themselves as they could answer to God and the emperor—thus at once entirely suspending the binding character of all such developments as up to that time had not been confirmed by any General Council with the emperor's approval. At all events the history of the Reformation, in spite of its various political vicissitudes, was dominated by this half-churchly principle of law until, by the religious peace of Augsburg, it acquired positive political rights of its own within the Empire.'—Ritschl (Albrecht), *Crit. Hist. of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 128. (Edin. 1872.)

action. Leo X. dying in 1521, was already occupied, or professed to be so, in determining what city would prove most suitable for that assembly which only commenced its sittings twenty-four years later. 'That Council,' says Bungener, 'which Luther had called for in 1517, and which he might have dreaded in 1520—in 1545, even before it had been opened, had altogether ceased, before he descended to the grave, to give any serious ground of alarm to the Reformation.'

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Again, when at last, on March 13, 1545, the Council of Trent assembled, it was clearly seen that it would be neither free nor œcumenical. Luther had postulated an assembly which should neither be presided over nor dictated to by the Pope; Melancthon had warmly advocated the admission of the laity. It was obviously essential that its decrees, if they were to command general acceptance, should represent the collective voice of Christian Europe. In reality, however, the Council was from first to last almost entirely under the influence of Rome; it was composed exclusively of ecclesiastics; and at its first assembling, though a more adequate representation subsequently obtained, these (with the solitary exception of the bishop of Augsburg), were solely from Italian dioceses. The hostility evinced towards the German nation throughout the proceedings sufficiently indicated the strong bias of the majority.

Its composition and character.

Looking again at the results established by the Council, from its commencement in 1545 to its final dissolution in 1562, it is evident that they tended far more to the repression of Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrine than to internal reform. The Council of Trent was, in fact, a great anti-Protestant demonstration. Every question that had been raised by the Reformers in relation to dogma was decided in a direction that could not fail to widen the breach between them and

Its measures chiefly directed against the Reformation.

INTROD. their opponents. As regarded the Scriptures (1) an anathema was pronounced against all who should venture to appeal from tradition to the Bible ; (2) against whomsoever should call in question the canonicity of the apocryphal writings ; (3) it was declared heretical to interpret the Scriptures in a sense contrary to that which the Church held, or to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. The doctrine of justification, and that concerning faith, were enunciated in a form directly opposed to the Lutheran dogma, and to the Articles of the Church of England.¹ ‘Faith without love,’

¹ The following are the more important doctrines respecting justification anathematised by the Council:—

1. ‘That man may be justified before God by his own works, whether done through the teaching of human nature or that of the law, without the grace of God through Jesus Christ.’

2. ‘That the grace of God, through Jesus Christ, is given only for this, that man may be able more easily to live justly and to merit eternal life, as if, by free will without grace, he were able to do both, though hardly, indeed, and with difficulty.’

3. ‘That without the preventient inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and without His help, man can believe, hope, love, or be penitent as he ought, so as that the grace of justification may be bestowed upon him.’

4. ‘That man’s free will, moved and excited by God, by assenting to God exciting and calling, nowise co-operates towards disposing and preparing itself for obtaining the grace of justification ; that it cannot refuse its assent if it would, but that, as something inanimate, it does nothing whatever and is merely passive.’

5. ‘That, since Adam’s sin, the free will of man is lost and extinguished.’

9. ‘That by faith alone the impious is justified, in such wise as to mean that nothing else is required to co-operate in order to the obtaining the grace of justification, and that it is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will.’

15. ‘That a man who is born again and justified is bound of faith to believe that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate.’

17. ‘That the grace of justification is only attained by those who are predestined unto life.’—Waterworth, pp. 44-49.

‘It is not to be believed,’ says Pallavicini, ‘with what care, with what subtlety, with what perseverance, every syllable of it was weighed and discussed, first in the congregations of the divines, who only advised in the matter, and afterwards in that of the Fathers who had the definitive voice.’—Book VIII. c. xi.

it was decided, was nowhere declared by the Bible to be tantamount to an entire absence of essential Christianity. The doctrine of the Real Presence, hitherto rather a learned opinion than a dogma, was defined with a particularity and grossness startling even in that age. The mass was declared to have been instituted by Christ himself, and masses for the dead to be a tradition from Apostolic times. Hostility to Calvinism dictated a decision which Le Clerc long afterwards maintained was identical with that of the semi-Pelagians. The doctrine of works of supererogation was dogmatised, chiefly, it would seem, from a spirit of opposition to the Protestant theory; while Protestantism itself was made the subject of 430 distinct anathemas.

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The history of the Council was written, long after its dissolution, by two men of widely different sentiments, the Jesuit Pallavicini and the learned Father Paul. The former had access to the original records, but his sympathies were entirely with the Ultramontane party, and his partiality is denied by few. The latter, who was once regarded as a secret friend of Protestantism, was probably really a sceptic. It is from these two singularly diverse sources that those who have maintained, and those who have impugned, the decisions of the Council have respectively taken their arguments. But within the last few years other documents have been given to the world which have thrown new light on the subject; and when we have conceded all the points urged in favour of the œcumenicity and authority of the Council—the number of able and learned divines who took part in its discussions—the systematic order and method of its proceedings—the deliberation and apparent candour with which at least its earlier decisions were arrived at,¹—it will still be difficult to

Pallavicini
and Sarpi.

¹ The *Catechismus Romanus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini* represents

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The Council refused to sanction the theory of papal infallibility.

resist the conclusion that its action was unfairly influenced and its work confirmatory rather of Romish pretensions than tending to the establishment of Christian doctrine. It seems but imperfectly to compensate for its harshness in the enunciation of dogma, that the Council distinctly refused to adopt the theory of papal infallibility by condemning that of the Gallican Church. But the fact is of considerable importance in relation to our present enquiry. The article asserting this dogma was indeed brought forward by the papal legates, but was ultimately withdrawn; and on the whole it may be said that the Council of Trent sustained far better than some other Councils the rights and dignity of the episcopal order.

General results of the Council.

Viewed, however, as an effort towards Church unity and reconciliation with the Reformers, the Council must be regarded as a total failure. Catholic theologians are wont to date from thence an important advance in doctrinal development and theological certainty; but its decrees were issued in a defiant spirit; they were conceived with but a very imperfect apprehension of the bearing of many of the Protestant doctrines; and they built up a wall of separation between Catholicism and Protestantism which, down to the present time, has been the greatest cause of a divided Christendom.

It is accordingly difficult at first sight to understand the tone of unqualified congratulation in which the history and results of this great synod are invariably referred to by Catholic writers; and the explanation may be of service as illustrative of more recent displays of the spirit of Ultramontanism. The policy of Rome, it is to be remembered, strictly corresponds to that of an absolute despotism. It prefers the unquestioning

the accepted teaching of the Romish Church, and is frequently referred to by Möhler in his *Symbolik* as 'a very important voucher for Catholic doctrine.'

submission of half a realm to the uncertain and ever-threatened allegiance of a continent. It will retire, not without dignity, within narrower limits of sovereignty, rather than abate one iota of its prerogatives. And the Council of Trent, while it permanently shut out no inconsiderable section of Rome's former subjects, undoubtedly established a stronger bond of union among those that remained. 'It drew,' says an eminent Protestant writer, 'an impregnable wall round the more limited but still extensive dominion; it fixed a definite creed, which, still more perhaps than the indefinite authority of the Pope, united the confederacy of the Catholic powers; it established, in fact, a solemn recognition of certain clear and acknowledged points of doctrine, a kind of oath of allegiance to the unity of the Church and to the supremacy of Rome.'¹

The success of the policy embodied in the Tridentine decisions was largely furthered by other circumstances. The character of the men who were now raised to the papal chair lent fresh dignity to the office. In Paul III. and IV., and Pius IV. and V., the Church was conscious of rulers of a different type from Alexander VI. or Leo X.—men of strong convictions, to whom the honour and interests of Catholicism were dear, of

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Change in
the charac-
ter of the
Popes.

¹ Dean Milman, Review of *Ranke's Hist. of the Popes*. Dean Hook, in his *Life of Archbp. Parker*, points out with great clearness the difference between the doctrinal decisions of the Council of Trent and the mediæval Councils, and those of the early Church: 'The Council of Trent,' he says, 'as was the case with the Councils of the Middle Ages, was convened to define the faith according to the private judgment of the persons composing the assembly. It was with a very different object in view that the first four Councils were summoned. The question then asked had not reference to the private opinions of the Fathers, but simply to ascertain with greater precision what the truths were which had been handed down from father to son. At Nicaea, the Fathers of the Nicene Council were very careful to declare that the form of faith promulgated by them was not an invention or deduction of their own, but simply what they had received when first they were instructed in the principles of Christianity.' P. 57.

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Rise of the
Jesuit
Order.

tact, earnestness, and irreproachable morality. These pontiffs themselves found also, in the rise of a new religious Order, adherents whose loyalty and devotion were such as Rome had perhaps never before known. Among those who attended the Council of Trent and exercised a marked influence over its later deliberations was Lainez, the papal legate and general of the newly-founded Order of the Jesuits. It was he who had contended for the doctrine of papal infallibility; and he had braved the indignation of nearly the whole assembly by intimating his readiness to sacrifice the theory of the apostolical succession of the bishops in order to enhance more conspicuously the authority of the Pope. The attitude he assumed is well deserving of attention as supplying the key to the whole policy of the new fraternity. From the time that Jesuitism began to prevail in Europe, Œcumenic Councils assembled and were talked of no more. A mysterious influence spread through every Christian country, diffusing itself by a thousand channels, and everywhere operating in favour of papal pretensions and Ultramontane doctrines. The members of the Reformed Churches, which were singularly wanting in organisation of every kind, found themselves confronted at every point by the greatest masters of method that the world has ever known.

Protestantism becomes divided by theological controversy.

While again, thus threatened from without by a force which imperatively called for unity and agreement within, Protestantism itself, by a strange fatality, became distracted and divided by controversy and dissension. Nor can it be said that the doctrines in dispute were of that fundamental importance or traditional certainty that demanded their enunciation as unquestionable dogmas. The subtleties on which the theologians of Germany at this period mainly expended

their energies rather recall to us those doctrinal subtleties which divided the early Church in the time of the Gnostics. Yet notwithstanding—and the fact well deserves to be noted by every student of ecclesiastical history—these controversies evoked between the Lutheran party and those who in Germany were better known as the ‘Reformers’¹ animosities but little inferior to those which separated both parties from Rome. It was in vain that men of more moderate counsels, like Calixtus and John Duraeus, pleaded for mutual concession and toleration. Amid the temper and spirit stirred up by the writings of fierce polemics, such as Hutter, Balthazar Mentzer, and Calovius, their efforts were of small avail. As, moreover, the questions in dispute were chiefly of a character that baffled the comprehension of the masses, the people no longer espoused their distinctive tenets with the same ardour as that with which they had responded to the call of Zuinglius or Luther. Dissension among the leaders, and apathy in those whom they claimed to guide, soon produced their natural results; results which the Jesuits, among whom submission to authority and the interests of their Order prevailed over every other consideration, did not fail to turn to advantage. Their admirable discipline, moreover, was aided by the intellectual vigour of men of real genius or learning, like Bellarmine, Pallavicini, and Bourdaloue, while the Reformers on the Continent could boast of scarcely a name of eminence from the time of Luther down to that of Bengel.

It was thus that, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the great Protestant party, which but a few

Consequent losses of Protestantism.

¹ On the Continent the Lutherans were generally known as Protestants, the Calvinists as Reformers. See, on these controversies, Kurz, *Gesch. d. Deutschen Literatur* (1853), II. 2; and Witte, *Memoriae Theologorum*.

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Rise of
Armini-
anism.

We have already seen that the decision of the Council of Trent on the question of grace and predestination was generally interpreted as embodying an anti-Calvinistic, if not a semi-Pelagian, view. The teaching of Arminius and Episcopius, in the early part of the seventeenth century, represents a similar recoil, though dictated by very different motives, from the Genevan dogma; and the whole movement in the Netherlands, known as that of the 'Remonstrants,' was mainly an effort to revert to the simpler teaching of the primitive Church in opposition to the increasing tendency to rigidity of doctrine observable both in Catholic and Protestant theology. At the Synod of Dort, in 1618, this party was treated with unjustifiable severity and the Arminian tenets were formally condemned; yet throughout the seventeenth century, both in England and on the Continent, they continued to spread and to find illustrious adherents. It may perhaps suggest that the connexion between specific dogmas and the true spirit of Christianity is less essential than many would fain have us believe, when we observe at this period the Jesuits—the most vehement supporters of the doctrines of submission and obedience to papal authority—at one, as regards the doctrine of predestination, with those who pleaded

Agreement
between
Jesuitism
and Armi-
nianism.

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most earnestly for liberty of conscience and freedom in the matter of Scriptural interpretation. 'The former,' says an editor of the famous 'Provincial Letters,' 'while attaching themselves to the absolutism of Ultramontanism, on the one hand, and that of Louis XIV., on the other, proclaimed themselves the defenders of human freedom as an article of theological belief; the Jansenists, who in politics were on the side of liberty, asserted their belief in the absolutism of the Divine dispensations.'¹ The rise of Jansenism, which, like Arminianism, was a movement originating in the Low Countries, and the appearance, in 1640, of the 'Augustinus' of the founder of the sect—a work for which a well-informed writer claims 'an effect on the whole history of the Western Church for the succeeding 150 years which probably no other volume ever occasioned'²—marks another reaction, this time favourable to Calvinism, abroad; and in Pascal's 'Letters' we see his brilliant genius rallying to the defence of the dogma of predestination, and involving, for a time, its opponents in much of the obloquy with which he covered the tactics and casuistry of the Jesuits.

Rise of
Jansenism.

The formal condemnation of the tenets of Jansenism by Innocent X., in the year 1653³—a fatal error on the part of the Romish Church—again gave the victory to the Ultramontanists and exposed the Jansenists to cruel persecution. The despotic power of the Vatican arrayed its forces against the liberal element in the Church; and the little 'Old Catholic' Church of Utrecht—Jansenism, as it existed in Belgium and Holland—and the Gallican Church—were each successively compelled to bow, if not altogether to succumb, before

Condemnation of the
Jansenist
tenets.

¹ Louandre, *Précis Historique* prefixed to edition of *Les Provinciales*, p. 11.

² Neale, *Hist. of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland*, p. 7.

³ 'Propositiones Cornelii Jansenii damnatae ab Innocentio X. cum formulario Alexandri VII.' Denzinger, p. 212.

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Bull *In
Coena
Domini.*

superior political strength. The papal policy had assumed at this era a character more distinctly menacing to the rights of sovereigns and the liberties of subjects than any which it had worn since the Reformation; and the Bull, *In Coena Domini*, promulgated by Urban VIII. in 1627, gave distinct expression to pretensions which had hitherto seemed rather to depend on the mere disposition of the reigning pontiff. 'This Bull,' says Janus, 'excommunicates and curses all heretics and schismatics, as well as all who favour or defend them—all princes and magistrates, therefore, who allow the residence of heterodox persons in their country. It excommunicates and curses all who keep or print the books of heretics without papal permission, all—whether private individuals or universities, or other corporations—who appeal from a papal decree to a future General Council. It encroaches on the independence and sovereign rights of states in the imposition of taxes, the exercise of judicial authority, and the punishment of the crimes of clerics, by threatening with excommunication and anathema those who perform such acts without papal permission; and these penalties fall not only on the supreme authorities of the state, but on the whole body of civil functionaries, down to scribes, jailers, and executioners.'

Repeatedly confirmed by succeeding Popes, energetically and universally repudiated by sovereigns and states, the authority claimed by this Bull may be said to have been asserted or unasserted precisely as the influence of the Jesuit Order has been dominant or on the decline at the *Curia*. During the pontificate of Clement XIV. the public reading of the Bull was discontinued; and it is hardly necessary to add that it was Clement XIV. who suppressed the Jesuit Order. It was a step which he decided upon only after mature

Suppression of the
Jesuit
Order in
1773.

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deliberation, and when the mischievous character of their activity had already led to their expulsion from Spain, from France, from the Low Countries, and from the Two Sicilies.¹ The reasons assigned—the manifest decline in the high character and usefulness of the Order and their perpetual disagreements with other religious fraternities—could scarcely, indeed, be called in question; and the policy of Rome might not improbably have permanently assumed a less aggressive character and one more consonant with modern ideas, had not the events of the last quarter of the eighteenth century resulted in a great reaction.

The genius of Voltaire—perhaps the most formidable assailant that papal Rome has ever known, though he was himself educated by the Jesuits—precipitated the French Revolution; and with that event not only Ultramontanism but Christianity itself seemed likely to be driven from the chief centre of European civilisation. Napoleon openly avowed the design of overthrowing the papacy; and when, in 1799, Pope Pius VI. died in captivity in France, there were not a few who believed that it had for ever fallen. Notwithstanding, Napoleon himself, soon afterwards, deemed it politic to assume a more conciliatory demeanour, and the Concordat of 1801, though anti-Ultramontanist in some of its provisions, re-established Catholicism in France.²

The French Revolution.

The fall of the emperor and the Treaty of Vienna, in 1814, mark, however, the real turning-point. Rome,

Reactionary tendencies by which it was followed.

¹ A good outline of the main facts in the history of the Jesuits in their relation to states is given by M. Michaud in his 'Reply to M. de Pressensé.'—*Le Mouvement Contemporain*, pp. 124-153.

² See Jervis's *Student's France*, p. 591. The Concordat, in one direction, was decidedly favourable to the claims of Ultramontanism, inasmuch as it vested the presentations to parochial cures, and removal from thence, in the bishops; when once, therefore, the Pope could succeed in establishing an 'ordinary and immediate' jurisdiction in France he necessarily became sole autocrat over the clergy.

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with the concurrence of the Protestant powers, recovered her temporal sovereignty; the restored pontiff re-established the Jesuit Order; and Europe, as though appalled at the anarchy and suffering which it had witnessed during the prevalence of rationalistic doctrines, fell back on the clergy as its teachers. In the States of the Church the papal rule recalled the worst experiences that the people had ever known. Espionage into private and domestic life became an organised system. The press was gagged. The police were allies of a despotism that set all law at defiance. The prisons were filled with innocent and helpless victims; while a foreign mercenary soldiery rendered hopeless the efforts of patriotic zeal.

Pius IX.

His character.

Such, for more than a quarter of a century, had been the chief features of the papal sway over the domain of its temporal power, when, in the year 1846, the present Pope was raised, as Pius IX., to the pontifical chair. His lengthened reign, his strong individuality, and peculiar experiences, have enabled this pontiff to attract to himself a degree of European attention such as few of his modern predecessors could gain. Otherwise, apart from the veneration he commands by virtue of his office, not many, even among the communion over which he rules, would profess to consider him a man of great capacity or profound knowledge. When he first set foot in Rome, in 1810, at which time he was about eighteen years of age, Mastai Ferretti, though distinguished by his handsome person and amiable disposition, was remarkable neither for his attainments nor his abilities.¹ It was at the advice of Pius VII. that he became a priest, and it is a current story at Rome that the ignorance he exhibited at his initiatory examination

¹ For most of the facts here given the writer is indebted to the chapter, 'Einzeln Züge zu einer Charakteristik des P. Pius IX.,' in Dr. Friedrich's 'Tagebuch während des Vaticanischen Concils.'

was deplorable. A certain natural persuasiveness of manner, combined with a striking presence, soon made him, however, popular as a preacher. For administration of any kind he never evinced much capacity ; and the Institute of St. Michael, of which he was for some time president, did not prosper in his hands. When bishop of Spoleto he early exhibited signs of that impatience and impetuosity of character which, united to his liberal political sentiments, induced Gregory XVI. at a somewhat later period to say, ‘I have made that man a cardinal against my will ; for I know he will be my successor, and am sure that he will destroy the temporal power, and, if he lives long enough, the Church as well.’¹ As a politician, his early sympathies were with the party of revolution in Italy ; and when, in 1831, the late emperor of the French fled for his life to Spoleto, after the defeat of the insurgents by the Austrians, he owed his safety to the present Pope, at that time bishop of the city. The earlier years of the pontificate of Pio Nono augured well for the happiness of his subjects. He threw open the prison-doors and granted a general amnesty—his successive measures being an entire reversal of the tyrannical policy of his predecessors. Garibaldi and Mazzini were among his avowed supporters. But in 1848 Europe was again convulsed by revolution ; and however favourably we

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His early sympathies with Liberalism.

Revolution of 1848.

¹ Rosmini, the founder of the Order of Charity, is said to have entertained similar forebodings. (See *Sat. Rev.*, April 16, 1870.) Gregory's prediction is given by Professor Friedrich, ‘nach den allgemein bekannten Aussagen von noch lebenden Zeitgenossen Gregor's.’ Mr. Gladstone's summing up of the characteristics of Pio Nono is felicitous: ‘A provincial prelate, of a regular and simple life, endowed with devotional susceptibilities, wholly above the love of money, and with a genial and tender side to his nature, but without any depth of learning, without wide information or experience of the world, without original and masculine vigour of mind, without political insight, without the stern discipline that chastens human vanity, and without mastery over an inflammable temper.’—Article in *Quarterly Review* on ‘Speeches of Pius IX.’

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Reaction
favourable
to the
Jesuits.

Change in
the policy
of Pope
Pius.

may be disposed to look upon the principles advocated by the assertors of popular rights, it cannot be denied that the results of the widespread struggle were, in almost every instance, disastrous to the cause of constitutional freedom and liberty of conscience. Jesuitism hailed the symptoms of reaction and again rose to influence and power. 'The State's necessity,' it has been said, 'became the Church's opportunity,' and 'the Revolution of 1848 proved the portal through which the incomparably disciplined regiments of Loyola began their triumphant march over the prostrate states of Europe.' In no direction, however, were the baneful effects of their success more conspicuous than in the ascendancy which from this time his Jesuit advisers began to establish over the mind of Pio Nono. Besieged by the republican forces in his own palace, he fled to Gaeta; and not until Rome had yielded to the arms of France did he venture to return, escorted by the bayonets of Marshal Oudinot. Thenceforth his state policy, chiefly directed by his new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Cardinal Antonelli, assumed a tyrannical character, which the remonstrances of the different powers, though often urged, could never induce him to modify. His determined restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country led to a violent demonstration of anti-Popery feeling, and was generally regarded as a singularly ungrateful return for the Catholic Emancipation Bill of some twenty years before. Of this latter measure it may be observed that it would certainly never have been carried, had not the Irish bishops expressly repudiated the doctrine of Papal Infallibility.¹

From the conspicuous position which he has so long

¹ On this point it will be sufficient to refer to the quotations given in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*, pp. 30, 31.

occupied, the slender qualifications of Pius IX. for his high office have been only too discernible. Ignorant of both the language and the literature of Germany, he regards with a vague horror all the important contributions made by that country during the present century towards the advancement of scientific thought and theological learning. He looks upon historical studies as of little value; and is but superficially acquainted even with theology or with the canon law. On the other hand, his life has always been morally irreproachable. His patience and self-command under singularly trying circumstances have more than once extorted the admiration even of his enemies; and at the age of eighty-three he still discharges with energy and dignity the onerous duties of the pontifical chair.

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His deficiencies and virtues.

His ecclesiastical policy has from the first assumed the character which so clearly exemplifies his mental idiosyncrasy. Slender as his theological attainments undoubtedly are, no pontiff has ever exhibited so strong a desire to define and promulgate new articles of faith. Among his earlier efforts in this direction, the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in 1854,¹ attracted perhaps most attention from the theological world; but this was of small importance when compared with the famous 'Syllabus' of 1864. In this manifesto he recapitulated and again enunciated all his previous decisions, condemnatory, of 'the monstrous errors which prevail, especially in the present age, to the great loss of souls and detriment of civil society, being in the highest degree hostile, not only to the Catholic Church and to her salutary doctrines and sacred rites, but also

His ecclesiastical policy.

Dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Syllabus.

¹ 'Definitio Immaculatae Conceptionis B. V. M.' (See Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, p. 324.) 'Quae tenet, beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suae Conceptionis fuisse singulari omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservatam immunem.'

INTROD. to the eternal natural law engraven by God upon all hearts, and to right reason itself.'

The 'Syllabus (or List) of the Principal Errors of the Age' enumerates under eighty different heads the doctrines marked out for reprobation.¹ It censures much that most Protestants are in the habit of regarding as inseparable from the best features of modern progress; but it also condemns many tenets which Protestant not less than Catholic divines regard with unqualified reprehension. It represents, in fact, the dogmatic rejection, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, of the theories and doctrines of modern science, wherever these are found to come into collision with the traditional teaching of the Church. It asserts the right of that Church to act independently of the State; it denies the validity of civil marriages; it denounces theories of secular education 'free from all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference'—the separation of Church and State—the principle of non-intervention between different polities—the abolition of the temporal power of the Roman pontiff—the concession to Protestants to exercise publicly their own forms of worship in Catholic countries—and finally, all appeals to Rome to reconcile herself to progress, liberalism, and modern science. On the other hand, it makes common cause with other Christian communions in its condemnation of pantheism, materialism, and rationalism—of theories that deny the action of Providence upon mankind and upon the world—of the sceptical explanations of religious belief and of the miraculous element in the Scriptures. It asserts the subordination of philosophy to religious truth; and denies that the individual reason is in itself capable of deciding and determining upon questions of dogma.

¹ *Syllabus complectens precipuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in Allocutionibus consistorialibus, in Encyclicis aliisque Apostolicis litteris sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae IX.*—Denzinger, pp. 345–357.

CHAPTER I.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

THE outline given in the preceding pages will have sufficed to indicate the main points in the history of the long struggle between the two theories of conciliar and papal infallibility. That infallibility, in a more or less definite form, has always been assumed as present in the Church, can scarcely be questioned, though the belief has doubtless often been maintained in a manner repugnant to Scriptural teaching. But when it has once been admitted that the guidance of the Holy Spirit has been promised as a perpetual legacy to the faithful, it is obvious, unless we are prepared to interpret this theory in some purely figurative sense which would deprive it of all practical significance, that the Divine voice must needs avail itself of human instruments in order to render its utterances authoritative among men. From the first assembling of the Apostles ‘with one accord in one place,’ on the day of Pentecost, down to the Council of the Vatican—whether the synod has been one of bishops, or presbyters, or deacons—it has ever been the practice of such assemblies to seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit in prayer, to assume that that prayer has been answered, and finally to enunciate their decisions as

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Infallibility always a theory with respect to Church tradition.

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The real
question at
issue.

the ultimate verdict of their 'Church.' For all practical purposes, therefore, the theory of infallibility, in one form or another, is that of every Christian communion; the supernatural element is, in each case, distinctly assumed.¹ And the question really at issue in the Church of Rome has throughout been—not whether infallibility is, or is not, given to the Church—but whether this infallibility is to be held to reside in one man, or in some hundreds of men distributed over Christendom? And the answer to this question must evidently be sought in a reasonable interpretation of Scripture and in a careful consideration of the doctrine of the primitive Church.

First announce-
ment of an
Œcumenical
Council.

It was early in the year 1868 that Apostolical Letters² were issued from Rome, convening an Œcumenical Council to be held in that city—the first sitting to take place on the day of the Immaculate Conception, 1869. The Catholic journals unanimously greeted the announcement as a matter for unqualified congratulation. The scope and purpose of the Council were clearly indicated. The doctrines of the 'Syllabus' were to be emphatically recognised and enforced. Two

Objects for
which it
was to as-
semble.

¹ The Rev. J. M. Capes, in an able article in the *Contemporary Review* (Oct. 1871), has rightly pointed out that 'in the nature of things there is no more difficulty in attributing infallibility to a single living Pope than in attributing it to an assembly of several hundred dead bishops.' It is evident that historical precedents and Scriptural authority must constitute the final test in deciding between the two rival theories.

² *Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii, Divina Providentia Papae IX., Litterae Apostolicae, quibus indicitur Œcumenicum Concilium Romae habendum et die Immaculatae Conceptioni Deiparae Virginis sacro A.D. 1869 incipiendum.* (Printed, with translation, in *Dublin Rev.*, Oct. 1868.)

great and pressing evils, it was alleged, were menacing the Church: first, the existence of a large number of politicians and public men bitterly hostile to her interests; while, secondly, as the result of the activity of this body, a great social calamity was impending over Europe—the severance of civil society from the Church’s control and influence. ‘Indifferentism,’ as denounced in the ‘Syllabus,’ was declared to be the special cause of these evils, and was consequently to form the special subject of the Council’s deliberations. ‘As previous Councils,’ said a writer in the ‘Dublin Review,’ ‘have been summoned against Arianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Lutheranism, so this has been summoned against Indifferentism and the evils thence flowing forth.’¹ A number of minor subjects were somewhat vaguely described, as likely to be brought under the Council’s consideration, but not a word occurred bearing upon the dogma of Papal Infallibility; and the same journal, referring to rumours to the effect that this question would be brought forward, observed, ‘We cannot find, in the Bull of Convocation, any reference, however distant, to such a subject.’ In the spring of 1869 it began, however, to be very currently reported, that the dogma would form at least one of the questions which the Council would be called upon to discuss, if, indeed, its promulgation were not really the main object that the assembly was designed to accomplish; and while by the Ultramontane press the prospect was hailed with

Papal Infallibility not mentioned.

¹ *Dublin Review* (New Series), XI. 513.

expressions of rapturous delight, not a few of the organs of the Liberal party indicated with considerable boldness the theoretical conclusions involved in such a dogma, and the practical results to which it might lead.¹

Protest of
the press
against its
reported
object.

It well deserves, indeed, to be placed on record, and is a fact that renders the supineness of the principal European Powers all the more remarkable, that energetic protests, as regarded both the political and ecclesiastical significance of the projected Council, were not wanting, long before the opportunity for energetic counter-action had passed away. The ‘Allgemeine Zeitung,’ in a series of able articles published in the month of March, entitled ‘The Council and the Civilta,’ first exhibited in the light of historical research the true bearing of the questions which it was believed would be brought forward for the Council’s decision.² On the 9th of the same month, eight months before the Coun-

¹ See *Quirinus*, pp. 3, 4. It is significant of the insidious policy and elaborate strategy of the Romish Church, under Jesuit guidance, that the public mind was thus artfully prepared for the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility by a series of carefully preconceived measures, the ultimate design of which was, at the time, formally disavowed. Dean Howson, at the Bonn Conference in 1874, observed that it was well understood in England that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was only a *ballon d’essai* sent up before the Vatican Council—an assertion to which Dr. Döllinger had already given the sanction of his authority.

² To these articles (better known in their collected form under the pseudonym of *Janus*) may be attributed the more earnest tone in which the subject now began to be discussed by the Liberal press. They clearly pointed out how erroneous it would be to conclude that, because the doctrine had long been maintained by a party, it would add but little to its importance to elevate it into a dogma. ‘Once fixed as an article of faith,’ said the writer, ‘it will become a new principle of unlimited significance, whether viewed retrospectively or prospectively. It will become a principle embracing all individual and social life, for there will then no

cil assembled, Prince Hohenlohe, the Premier of Bavaria, called the attention of the Cabinets of Europe to the grave political import of the approaching event. He stated that it had been ascertained, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the object of the Ultramontane party was the dogmatisation of the 'Syllabus' and of the theory of papal infallibility, and pointed out the effects that such a proclamation must necessarily have upon the relations of Church and State throughout Europe. His individual opinion was reinforced by that of the faculties of theology and law in the University of Munich, who, in reply to five questions which the prince had formally submitted for their consideration, set forth, in terms which afterwards became only too painfully intelligible, the evils that would ensue if the aims of the Ultramontanists were successful.¹ Unfortunately, the representations of the Bavarian Premier failed to convince the statesmen whom he addressed, and the opportunity for interference was allowed to pass by. We shall afterwards see how, when it was too late, the action which he recommended was attempted, and attempted in vain.

It will be interesting here to note the previous career and position at the time of some of those who were now to represent, either by their presence or their writings, the Liberal element in Roman Catholicism,

longer be any question of the Pope going beyond his proper sphere. Infallibility must define its own limits.'

¹ Their opinion was subsequently ratified by that of the Catholic faculties of four other German universities. The questions, with the answers, are printed in the *Dublin Review* (New Series), XIII. 469-474.

CHAP.
I.

Leaders of
the Liberal
party in
Germany.
Dr. Döllin-
ger.

and, at a later period, the party driven by the action of the Ultramontanists into openly-avowed dissent.

Dr. Johann Joseph Ignatius von Döllinger was born at Bamberg, in February 1799, and is consequently now in his 77th year. He was educated at Würzburg, and after having been for some time professor at the ecclesiastical seminary at Aschaffenberg, was appointed in 1826 one of the faculty of theology in the university of Munich, then just founded. At that time there were few ecclesiastical scholars of note in Catholic Germany, and, in default of a really authoritative guide, his active intellect and scholarly tastes led him to prosecute an independent course of research into the *origines* of Church history. The first published result of his labours—‘The Doctrine of the Eucharist in the First Three Centuries’—appeared in 1826, and was subsequently incorporated in the two volumes of his ‘Church History’ (1833–5), a work of which, up to the present time, no more volumes have been issued, though his ‘Compendium of the History of the Church down to the Reformation’ (1836–43) bore witness to the ability and thoroughness of his researches upon a later period. His ‘History of Islamism’ (1838), and his work on German Lutheranism, ‘The Reformation, its Internal Development, and its Effects,’ were regarded as works of a high order. His lectures in the university also produced a considerable impression, though he for some years ceded his chair to Möhler, of whom he was an attached admirer and friend, and whose minor

works he subsequently edited. About this time he assumed the editorship of the 'Historisch-politische Blätter'; and from 1845 to 1847 he represented the university in the Bavarian Chamber, where he was generally regarded as a leader of the Ultramontane party; but in 1848, under the predominating influence of a faction in the Cabinet, who feared alike his abilities and his high character, he was deprived of both his professorship and his seat in the Chamber. He was thereupon nominated and elected by the Liberal party to a deputyship to the National Parliament, and, while filling this post, he both wrote and spoke with great effect in defence of religious liberty, and as the champion of ecclesiastical freedom represented in Germany views nearly identical with those espoused by Montalembert in France. In the spring of 1849 he returned to Munich, and was restored to his professorship and also to his seat in the Chamber. His 'Hippolytus and Callistus; or, the Roman Church in the Third Century' (1853), his 'Paganism and Judaism' (1857), and his 'Christianity and the Church at the Period of their Foundation' (1860), now successively appeared, and raised his reputation, both as a scholar and a writer, to the highest eminence—the last-named production being generally regarded as his masterpiece. In 1861 he published his 'Church and the Churches,' a work undertaken partly from a perception of the dangers that were then threatening the temporal power of the Pope, and having for its object to show 'the universal import-

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I.

ance of the papacy as a world-power,' and to indicate the doctrinal basis of a possible re-union of the Churches, although with respect to such a scheme he frankly admitted in his preface, that there was not 'the smallest probability' that it could immediately be carried into effect. In fact, for a long time, Dr. Döllinger was regarded as a pillar of Ultramontanism; and a recent writer in the 'Contemporary Review' has even ventured to declare him to be 'mainly responsible for the mental slavery, the narrow views, and servile and superstitious submission to the Pope observable in the Catholic clergy of Bavaria.'¹ In the year 1863 he showed, however, sympathies of a very different character, in the controversy in which he became involved while supporting Professor Frohschammer in his defence of the liberties of science against the archbishop of Munich and the Pope. He invited some of the most distinguished *savants* of Germany to a conference, professedly summoned for the purpose of considering and formally declaring the rights of science. The results were singularly disappointing. The energetic and overbearing opposition of those who represented the Jesuit party so far prevailed with the assembly as completely to change its purpose, and Dr. Döllinger, who presided, eventually found himself charged with the duty of transmitting to the Pope a telegraphic message, to the effect that the question had been decided 'in the sense of the subjection of science to authority.'

Dr. Döllinger and Frohschammer.

¹ *Contemporary Review*, XVII. 268.

The doctrines advocated by Frohschammer were thus placed under a ban ; his supporters were silenced and humiliated ; and the professor himself was left completely isolated. Döllinger submitted unhesitatingly ; and the proceedings probably served really to hasten on the promulgation of the ‘ Syllabus ’ of 1864.

Such were the antecedents and attitude of the future leader of the movement with the history of which these pages are especially concerned. Dr. Döllinger was not himself present at the Council ; but there were not a few of the same party—if such a name may be applied to the various elements that composed, for a few short months, the anti-Ultramontanist section at the assembly—but little his inferiors in ability or in the capacity to estimate in all its bearings the significance of the occasion that had called them together.¹

Dr. Friedrich, professor of theology at Munich—a profound ecclesiastical scholar, to whom the history of Councils, and especially that of Trent, had for years been the subject of especial study—attended Cardinal Hohenlohe in the capacity of theological adviser ; and his journal of the Council, during the greater part of its proceedings, appeared in the following year, and

Dr. Friedrich.

¹ The reference to Dr. Döllinger thus early in these pages will become more intelligible in connexion with the following reference to him : ‘ The cardinal legate, Bizzari, observed to a Roman prelate that “ the German bishops, who had once been noted for their docility, were now inconceivably obstinate ; Döllinger, however, pulled the strings (*stehe hinter ihnen*) ; and his position in Germany was like that of the Pope himself. ’ ’ Friedrich, *Tagebuch*, p. 122 (Jan. 21, 1870). Similarly the *Civiltà Cattolica* for Sept. 4, 1869, had already intimated that Döllinger was the prime instigator of the German opposition. ‘ All the threads of the movement,’ it declared, ‘ converge at Munich.’

- CHAP. I. forms a highly valuable record. Equally eminent, though known chiefly as an ecclesiastical jurist, was
- Professor Von Schulte. Von Schulte, professor of the Canon Law at Prague. At the commencement, indeed, his reputation was that of a decided Ultramontanist ; but he proved courageous enough to avow the convictions which gradually forced themselves upon him with the progress of events.
- Haneberg. Haneberg, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Boniface at Munich, represented an influence unsurpassed by that of any ecclesiastic, in a city conspicuous for its strong Catholic sympathies. Strossmayer, bishop of the Croatian diocese of Diakovar, and an ardent Pan Slavist, was soon to give evidence of that signal ability as an orator which marked him out for the leadership of the minority in debate. Cardinal Schwarzenberg, archbishop of Prague ; Ketteler, bishop of Mayence ; and cardinal Rauscher, archbishop of Vienna, apart from their high position, were also distinguished either by their active participation in the proceedings of the Council or by their written contributions to the controversy.
- Leaders of the Liberal party in France. Darboy. Among the French bishops, the learned and eloquent Darboy, archbishop of Paris, whose tragical fate, a few months later, attracted the attention of all Europe, was well known to be strongly opposed to the proposed dogma ; and the vote of Dupanloup, bishop of Orleans, was probably regarded by the papal party as already decided. A native of Savoy, who had risen almost solely by personal merit, he was distinguished
- Dupanloup.

by his labours in the cause of religious education. His liberal advocacy of classical studies, as an important element in such an education, had exposed him to the attacks of the 'Univers,' while his courageous maintenance of Gallican liberties against Ultramontane pretensions had drawn upon him the hostility of the Jesuits. On the other hand, he was a strenuous opposer of secular education, and his influence had proved fatal to the claims of M. Littré at the candidature of that eminent scholar for the vacant chair in the Academy in the year 1854. Ginoulhiac, bishop of Grenoble, sustained the reputation of his Order for learning, a quality for which the French episcopate is but moderately distinguished. England sent archbishop Manning, whose known determination from the first, to support the dogma unflinchingly, stood in strong contrast to the moderation of bishop Clifford and the candour of the aged MacHale. The most conspicuous of the American episcopate was bishop Kenrick of St. Louis, whose pamphlet, towards the close of the Council, so ably vindicated the position assumed by himself and his brother bishops.

CHAP.
I.

Ginoulhiac.

English
bishops.

During the week preceding the opening of the Council, the 'Methodus' and 'Ordo' for the regulation of its manner of procedure were in circulation among the assembling members, and at once attracted a large amount of criticism.¹ It was found that, in singular

Criticism
evoked by
the publica-
tion of the
Methodus
and *Ordo*.

¹ This is the Bull known as '*Multiplices inter*,' or *Litterae Apostolicae quibus ordo generalis in ss. oecum. Concilii Vaticani celebratione servandus constituitur*. Friedrich, in his Journal, under date Dec. 5, 1869, at once

contrast to the order which had obtained at the earlier General Councils and even at that of Trent,¹ the Pope assumed to himself the sole right to initiate topics for discussion and the exclusive nomination of the officers of the Council. The bishops, it is true, were invited to bring forward proposals of their own;² but it was necessary that they should first of all submit them to a commission appointed by the Pope, half of whom were to be Italians. If any proposal were passed by this commission, the Pope still reserved to himself the power of excluding it from discussion. Four election commissions, consisting each of twenty-four members, and presided over by a cardinal nominated by the Pope, were to mediate between the Council and the Pope. When a decree had been discussed and opposed it was to be referred, together with the amendments,

noted it down as singularly strange, that 'it fixed, as already decided upon, every important point, without the opinion of the Council having been heard;' and after quoting the phraseology of different passages, observes, 'It must be admitted by everyone who reads these sentences that the Pope, and he alone, defines and decides: infallibility is here already ascribed not to the Council but to himself.'—See *Tagebuch*, pp. 9-12.

¹ Father Theiner, the librarian of the Vatican, who during the Council ventured to print a portion of the Tridentine Acts, showing the *modus procedendi*, was forbidden to publish it. He was subsequently dismissed for having, as it was alleged, shown the MSS. to Hefele and Strossmayer, contrary to the injunctions he had received not to permit any bishop to see them. See *Quirinus*, pp. 194, 655. The *Ordo et modus in celebratione sacri et oecumenici Concilii Tridentini observatus* is printed by Friedrich (*Documenta* I. 265-276), from the Codex Latinus at Munich.

² 'Licet jus et munus proponendi negotia, quae in sancta oecumenica Synodo tractari debebunt, de iisque Patrum sententias rogandi non nisi ad Nos, et ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem pertineant, nihilominus non modo optamus, sed etiam hortamur, ut si qui inter Concilii Patres aliquid proponendum habuerint, quod ad publicam utilitatem conferre posse existiment, id libere exequi velint.'—Friedrich, *Tagebuch*, pp. 10, 11.

to one of these commissions, by which body it was again to be discussed with the assistance of other theologians. When it came back from the commission it was to be put to the vote as it then stood, with the corrections and comments, and to be passed or rejected without further debate. What the Council discussed was to be the work of unknown divines. What it voted was to be the work of a majority in a commission of twenty-four. In the right conceded to them of electing these commissions the bishops certainly acquired some influence over the Council's decrees; but their position was in every way inferior to that of the theologians nominated by the Pope, for while the latter might be summoned to defend or alter their work in council, the bishops who had spoken, or proposed amendments, were excluded from such further action. 'The Pope,' said Quirinus, 'appears as the author of the decrees, the one authoritative legislator, who out of courtesy allows the bishops to express their opinions, but finally decides himself, in the plenitude of his sovereign power, as seems good to him.' It can scarcely be regarded as surprising that cardinal Schwarzenberg declared to professor Friedrich that he found the proposed 'Ordo' 'very entangling' (*sehr verhänglich*).

It was on the eighth of December, a day of pouring rain, amid the thunder of cannon and the pealing of bells, that the Council assembled for the first time. The business was chiefly of a formal character—a

First assembling of the Council.

CHAP.
I.

Its compo-
sition.

Inequali-
ties in the
representa-
tion of dif-
ferent
countries.

sermon, an allocution from the Holy Father, and an official decree announcing the Council opened, and appointing Epiphany for its next session. In the meantime the Liberal party began to take more accurate estimate of its strength, and to find that its numerical inferiority was only too apparent. Out of 921 prelates who had received summons to attend the Council 767 were present, and of these 276 were from Italian dioceses. On December 22nd the bishops of Germany and Hungary accordingly convened a meeting, at which it was decided to endeavour to obtain, as at the Council of Constance,¹ some remedy against the numerical preponderance of Italy. Representing as they did, though only sixty-seven in number, a population of forty-six millions of Catholics, they considered it unjust that they should be liable to be constantly outvoted by nearly five times their number, when this large majority of votes represented only some twenty-seven millions, the population of Italy. It was therefore resolved, in conjunction with the more moderate prelates of every nationality represented at the Council, to address the Pope on the subject, and to petition that the grievance might be adjusted by the division of the whole number of representatives into eight² national sections,—each section to have freedom of discussion

¹ See *supra*, p. 13.

² The petition, as finally adopted, says, ‘in *sex* circiter dividantur coetus.’ See Friedrich, *Documenta* I. 247–250. Quirinus, pp. 140–1, gives some interesting statistics of the inequality thus really obtained as regards a representation of numbers. ‘In Church matters,’ he says, ‘twenty Germans count for less than one Italian.’

among its members, and to be entitled to suggest proposals to the four commissions. This petition was curtly rejected;¹ and the *Civiltà Cattolica* denounced it as an unheard-of thing to seek to introduce 'the modern theory of numbers' into the Church. The bishop of Formione, it insisted, with his diocese of 70,000 souls, was entitled to as much weight as the archbishop of Cologne, who directed the spiritual interests of nearly two millions.

CHAP.
I.

On December 28th the articles proposed for the Council's adoption were published under the title of *Schema constitutionis dogmaticae de doctrina Catholica contra multiplices errores ex rationalismo derivatos*. It presented a kind of compendium of doctrine, divided into eighteen chapters, embodying a sort of amplification of the earlier part of the 'Syllabus.' Its great length and 'wholly unconciliar form' were freely commented on by Quirinus. It was already known to be entirely the work of the Jesuit party, and it now transpired that its authors were two German members of that body, of but slight theological eminence. On December 28th and 29th the first debate took place, and the *Schema* encountered vigorous resistance. On the first day cardinal Rauscher opposed it in a brilliant speech, and was followed by five others. On the following day Strossmayer and Ginoulhiac distinguished themselves by the boldness of their censures—the former

*Schema de
Doctrina.*

Vigorous
opposition.

¹ Prof. Friedrich admits that the proposed plan would have been found productive of delay, and that it had been attempted at the Council of Trent and abandoned as impracticable.—*Tagebuch*, p. 35.

CHAP.
I.

The *Schema*
withdrawn
for amend-
ment.

selecting for especial attack the autocratic mode of expression employed by the Pope in its promulgation. The freedom of these criticisms alarmed the Ultramontanists; and when the Council re-assembled, as appointed on Epiphany (January 6th), the *Schema* was withdrawn, and it was sought to disguise the unsatisfactory progress of affairs by occupying the Council with an individual subscription to a confession of the Catholic faith.

Schema de
Disciplina.

From this time, up to nearly the close of January, the Council was occupied with the *Schema de disciplina*, which dealt with the duties of the episcopal order, their modes of life, their visitation of the clergy and people, and the obligations under which they lay to visit Rome frequently and to give in regular reports on the state of their dioceses. Friedrich noted down in his 'Diary' that he found it yet worse than the *Schema de fide*, and censures the manner in which it passed over the gravest scandal of the time—the immoral life of many of the clergy¹—without attempting any effectual remedy. Archbishop Darboy significantly observed that it rendered necessary the discussion, not only of the duties assigned to the bishops by Rome, but also of the rights of the Order. 'The design is every-

¹ On this point, as not material to the main subject, I here omit to give the references made in the course of the debate; but Friedrich has given in his *Tagebuch* a series of statements with respect to the 'Pfarrköchinnen' which are well deserving of attention. (See pp. 89-92, 138.) It is difficult to understand how, with such facts before him, Mr. Capes, in the *Contemporary Review*, (Oct. 1871), found himself able to say that 'the Roman Church does not exhibit, as a rule, those flagrant scandals which give life to the arguments of controversial assailants.'

where apparent,' observed Quirinus, 'of increasing their dependence on the *Curia*, and centralising all Church government in Rome still more than before.' It was in the debate to which this measure gave rise, that Strossmayer assumed that leading position which he continued to occupy so long as it seemed possible that reason and argument might not altogether be thrown away on the majority of his auditors in the Council. His tact, eloquence, and mastery of each subject at once marked him out for the leadership of the Opposition, and his superiority was finally conceded even by Dupanloup, on whom it had at first seemed probable that the office might devolve. The effect produced by his magnificent speech on this occasion, as he passed under review every main defect in the Romish ecclesiastical system, may be inferred from the fact that, on the following day, the president deemed it advisable specially to enjoin the discontinuance of audible applause.

In the meantime the majority, alarmed by the resolution with which the French and German opposition bishops maintained their resistance to both portions of the *Schema*, resolved on a more expeditious and less deferential course of action. Under the inspiration of bishop Martin of Paderborn and Senestrey of Regensburg, a petition was proposed, urging that the public good of Christianity seemed to demand, 'that the Holy Council of the Vatican, professing and again and again explaining more fully the Florentine decree, should define clearly and in words that ad-

CHAP.
I.

Ability with which it was opposed by Strossmayer.

Petition of the majority for an enunciation of the dogma of papal infallibility.

CHAP.
I.

mitted of no doubt, that the authority of the Roman pontiff is supreme, and therefore exempt from error, when in matters of faith and morality he decrees and ordains what is to be believed and held by all the faithful of Christ and what is to be rejected and condemned by them.'

Counter-
petition of
the mi-
nority.

The petition was not ready for presentation until the end of January, and as soon as the opposition party were apprised of the design they prepared a counter-petition, which was signed by a majority of the French and by nearly all the German and Hungarian bishops—in all 137 names. A third petition was drawn up by a party of compromise, consisting chiefly of Spanish representatives, and recommending the adoption of a less positive formula in the dogma. The Pope rejected the opposition address; and the acceptance of the infallibilist petition being thereby rendered difficult, it was hastily withdrawn at the last moment.

Petition of
a third
party.

Rumours of
designs of
the ma-
jority.

It was now that rumours of a yet more unscrupulous course of action on the part of the majority began to give rise to considerable excitement. It was said that, on the *Schema de doctrina* (which had been referred to the commission for revision) being again brought before the Council, it would be proposed to adopt it without further discussion, and that the precedent thus established would be made use of in carrying through measures of yet greater importance. On the other hand, rumours of a dissolution began also

to be heard. The minority could learn nothing satisfactory except that the French Government had conveyed to cardinal Antonelli, through the Marquis de Bonneville, the resident ambassador, the feeling of the Cabinet as adverse to any declaration of papal infallibility whatever. This indicated that the Pope could no longer count on the support of France; but it also soon became known that the ambassador had received for reply a denial of the right of his Government to interfere, and a general assertion of the rights of the Council.

CHAP.
I.
Intimation
of the
French
Govern-
ment.

The convictions of the minority at this juncture were, however, not a little strengthened by the moral support which they received from some of the most eminent leaders of religious thought in Europe. An able criticism of the infallibilist address, from the pen of Dr. Dollinger, elicited general attention, and his statement that his views were shared by the greater number of the German bishops was angrily but vainly challenged by the Roman party. At nearly the same time Father Gratry's 'First Letter,'¹ a sad and solemn appeal, found its way to Rome. Dr. Pusey's volume² had arrived shortly before, in which he pointed out that the consequences resulting from the promulgation of the dogma could not but be fatal to the prospects of reunion with the Eastern or the English Church. Dr. Newman,³

Published
expressions
of opinion
by Dollin-
ger, Gratre,
Pusey,
Newman,
and Montal-
embert.

¹ See *Letters to Mgr. Dechamp* (transl. by Baily). Hayes, 1870.

² *Is Healthful Reunion Impossible?* By E. B. Pusey, D.D. Rivingtons, 1870.

³ *Letter to Bishop Ullathorne*. *Standard*, April 7, 1870.

while declining to give a definite expression of opinion, pointed out the difficulty of maintaining such a doctrine in the face of historical evidence. But the protest of Montalembert excited by far the deepest interest. That eminent man, than whom no Frenchman living had given stronger proofs of unselfish devotion to the Church, was now on his death-bed. In a letter dated February 22nd he declared that as an Ultramontane of the old school he felt himself completely severed from those of the new, whom he described as 'spiritual absolutists transferring to the ecclesiastical world those traditions of individual and exclusive rule which belong to secular despotisms. That which was Ultramontanism in 1847 was called Gallicanism in 1870!' ¹

The belief in a dissolution soon died away as the intentions of the papal party began further to develop themselves. On February 22nd the oppositionists were thrown into a state approaching consternation by the announcement of a new *Regolamento*, professedly introduced for the sake of facilitating the despatch of business. By this the president was to have the power of imposing silence on any speaker, and, in the event of a majority of votes being on his side, to bring any debate to a peremptory close. It was also announced that all decrees would in future be regarded as carried if a majority of votes were in their favour. This latter decision necessarily called forth the strongest

¹ It is, however, right to add that Montalembert confessed that, in anticipation of the doctrine of infallibility being proclaimed, he should submit to the Council's decision. See *Life*, by Oliphant, II. 393-8.

protests from the Opposition, who, of course, maintained the traditional principle that the decrees of a General Council require the unanimous, or all but unanimous, assent of its members, to give them the necessary validity.

The only prudent course of action for the minority at this juncture would obviously have been, to decline all further participation in the Council's proceedings until the *Regolamento* had been withdrawn. They shrunk, however, from so decided a policy, and their antagonists turned their hesitation to rapid advantage by now bringing forward the dogma concerning papal infallibility in its most arrogant and uncompromising form. On March 6th copies of the decree were forwarded to the residences of the different members of the Council. 'This,' said Quirinus, 'was the answer to the protesting movement. . . . The *Curia* has known how to give so emphatic an expression to its contempt for opposition, that even the sharpest and bitterest words would show less scorn and insolence. By choosing the precise moment, when the minority declare that their conscience is troubled and in doubt about the legitimacy and result of the Council altogether, for bringing forward the very decree which has all along been the main cause of that doubt and trouble of conscience, they proclaim plainly and emphatically that they know the Opposition regards its own words as nothing but words, and that there is no earnest manly decision or religious conviction behind them.'

Reluctance
of the Opposi-
tion to
adopt a
decided
course.

CHAP.
I.Opposition
to the
Regolamento.Stross-
mayer's
speech.

He vindicates Protestantism from the charge of infidelity.

On March 22nd the inevitable collision came on. The *Regolamento* still stopped the way; and a few, determined spirits were resolved that it should not become the law of the assembly without at least a protest, however ineffectual, on their part. It soon became evident that their opponents were equally resolute. Schwarzenberg alluded very slightly to the subject in his speech, but was at once called to order. Bishop Kenrick, who followed next, spoke with significant emphasis of the necessity of defending the rights and privileges of his Order. It was on Strossmayer, however, that the brunt of the battle devolved. Passing over the question of the *Regolamento*, he proceeded to criticise a passage in the *Schema de doctrina*. The *Schema* had come back from the commission with alterations of sufficient importance to indicate a wish to conciliate the feelings of the minority, but it still contained an assertion which was felt by all liberal Catholics to be untrue, in stigmatising the Protestant Churches as the parents of modern infidelity, 'of monstrous systems known under the names of Mythism, Rationalism, and Indifferentism.' Strossmayer protested against the injustice of these charges, and declared that the 'indifference' of Catholics before the Reformation, and their rationalistic doctrines before the Revolution, had been the real causes of those evils. There were many able champions of Christian doctrine among the Protestants, of whom it might be said with St. Augustine, 'errant, sed bona fide errant.'

Long ago Protestants had ably refuted the very errors condemned in the *Schema*, and it was but simple justice to assert that Leibnitz and Guizot had earned the gratitude of all Christian men.

‘Each one of these statements,’ says Quirinus, ‘and the two last names, were received with loud murmurs, which at last broke out into a storm of indignation. The president, De Angelis, cried out, “Hicce non est locus laudandi Protestantas.” And he was right, for the Palace of the Inquisition is hardly a hundred paces from the spot where he was speaking. Strossmayer, then reverting to the *Regolamento*, exclaimed, in the midst of a great uproar, “That alone can be imposed on the faithful as a dogma which has a moral unanimity of the Church in its favour.” At these words a frightful tumult arose. Several bishops rushed from their seats to the tribune, and shook their fists in the speaker’s face. Place, bishop of Marseilles, one of the boldest of the minority, and the first to give in his public adhesion to Dupanloup’s Pastoral, cried out, “Ego illum non damno.” Thereupon a shout resounded from all sides, “Omnes, omnes illum damnamus.” The President called Strossmayer to order, but the latter did not leave the tribune before he had solemnly protested against the violence to which he had been subjected. There was hardly less excitement in the church outside than in the council-hall. Some thought the Garibaldians had broken in; others, with more presence of mind, thought infallibility had been proclaimed, and

Scene in
the as-
sembly.

CHAP.
I.

these last began shouting "Long live the infallible Pope!" A bishop of the United States said afterwards, not without a sense of patriotic pride, "that he knew now of one assembly still rougher than the Congress of his own country."'

This stormy scene was succeeded, on the following day, by a lull, and the majority even appeared ashamed of their previous violence. They manifested, however, no signs of yielding, though some of the most eminent members of the minority made urgent representations to the president. At last, on the morning of the 26th, the influence of an English bishop (said to be bishop Clifford) prevailed, and the preamble which had been so strongly denounced was withdrawn. It came back, duly amended, on the 28th, and was then accepted unanimously.

The preamble with-
drawn and
amended.

The feelings thus temporarily allayed were soon again aroused by the appearance of a supplemental paragraph, appended to the fourth canon of the fourth chapter of the *Schema de fide et ratione*,¹ the import of which pointed plainly at exalting the judicial authority of the Roman Congregations—the tribunals

¹ 'Quoniam vero satis non est, haereticam pravitatem devitare, nisi ii quoque errores diligenter fugiantur, qui ad illam plus minusve accedunt; omnes officii monemus, servandi Constitutiones et Decreta, quibus pravae ejusmodi opiniones, quae istis diserte non enumerantur, ab hac Sancta Sede proscriptae et prohibitaee sunt.'—Friedrich, *Documenta*, II. 70. Quirinus erroneously refers to this (p. 434) as part of the *Constitutio Dogmatica de Ecclesia Christi*, which had not yet been voted upon. The Canons contain the anathemas pronounced against those who maintain opinions at variance with the doctrinal teaching enunciated in the chapter.

through which the Pope immediately asserts his autocratic powers. The opposition to this paragraph was considerable, but less unanimous than that previously exhibited, and was dexterously met by the papal party. The paragraph embodied, it was urged, a form dear to the traditions of the *Curia*; the preamble had been withdrawn; the decree itself had been materially modified; and any further concession would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of defeat. By persuasion of this kind the scruples of the Opposition were overcome. The paragraph was allowed to take its place along with the first four chapters of the *Schema*, with which it was now submitted for the Council's acceptance. These chapters had already received considerable modification; and in the opinion of many the chief danger now lurked in the supplementary paragraph. But the concession once made could not be revoked, and on April 24th the Council passed the *Constitutio dogmatica de fide Catholica*¹ (now no longer a *Schema*), almost without a dissentient voice.

The party of the *Curia* had thus virtually ensured its triumph. It had procured the definition and promulgation of the Church's decrees by the Pope as supreme legislator, the Council simply confirming and approving them; a new method of procedure in the assembly had been implicitly accepted; while, in the fatal paragraph, the Council had been induced to assent to a declaration which invested with supreme authority

CHAP.
I.

Opposition to the clause enhancing the authority of the Roman Congregations.

The clause ultimately allowed to stand.

Results hitherto attained by the majority.

¹ *Documenta*, II. 76-83.

CHAP.
I.

the former dogmatic utterances of the Vatican.¹ It needed but one step more and their triumph would be complete. It was accordingly now resolved to bring on at once the doctrine of Papal Infallibility for formal acceptance.

Renewed
protests of
European
Powers.

As the supreme crisis drew near, the interest felt by all Europe in the question became unmistakeably evident. The Powers who had disregarded Prince Hohenlohe's warnings stirred themselves to energetic action. Both France and Austria, while disclaiming any intention of controlling the policy of the Council, announced that they repudiated all responsibility for acts which might exhibit the teachings of the Church in direct antagonism to the principles recognised by all European governments and nations. Prussia, Portugal, and Bavaria followed with similar protests. 'All,' said Quirinus, 'give warning that they shall regard the threatened decrees on the power and infallibility of the Pope as a declaration of war against the order and authority of the State.' In England, in the House of Lords, the bishop of Ely (Dr. Harold Browne)² protested against any decision at which the Council might arrive on account of the Council 'not being general,

¹ 'Some Catholics really seem to speak as though he had never defined *ex cathedra* any verity except the Immaculate Conception. On the contrary, he expressly declares that he has "never ceased" (*nunquam intermisimus*) from condemning *ex cathedra* "perverse doctrines." . . . If for more than twenty-three years he has never ceased from such condemnations, the number of his *ex cathedra* acts must by this time be very considerable.'—*Dublin Review* (New Series), XV. 187.

² On presenting a petition from the Anglo-Continental Society (July 8).

not being free, and not anything like that General Council to which our forefathers professed themselves ready to submit.' On the other hand, the great majority in the Council, together with the Jesuits and the English converts without, urged on the final measure. An address, signed by 300 Catholics, residents or visitors in Rome, was drawn up for the purpose of encouraging the Pope by the expression of their profound devotion to the Church and to its head. There were also other reasons for despatch than those derived from past success, and these were to be found in the risks attendant upon postponement. It was now May; the hot season was approaching; and it was feared that if the whole *Schema*, consisting of no less than seventy articles, were taken in regular order, the Council would have to be prorogued before the chapter relating to the all-important dogma could be discussed.

Reasons for hastening on the acceptance of the dogma.

The chapter¹ concerning the infallibility of the Pope which it was proposed to annex to the *Decretum de Romani Pontificis primatu*, had been distributed among the members of the Council as early as March 8th; and on May 1st there appeared, for like distribution, the observations and suggestions of no less than forty-seven bishops (among whom were Rauscher, Ketteler, Furstenberg, Hefele, and Schwarzenberg), which the Commission had analysed for the purpose.² The *Constitutio dogmatica prima de ecclesia Christi*,³ in the

Constitutio de Ecclesia Christi.

¹ With the heading 'Romanum Pontificem in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errare non posse.'—*Documenta* II. 178.

² *Ibid.* II. 212-289.

³ Also known as the Bull 'Pastor aternus.'

CHAP.
I.

form in which it was now brought before the Council and eventually carried, was divided into four chapters : (1) Concerning the institution of the Apostolic primacy in St. Peter. (2) Concerning the perpetuity of the primacy of St. Peter in the Roman pontiffs. (3) Concerning the scope and significance of the primacy of the Roman pontiff. (4) Concerning the infallible supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

Of these chapters the first two attracted comparatively little attention, for they embodied nothing that might not fairly be regarded as the prevalent belief of Catholics ; but the interpretation given to the theory of the primacy in the third chapter was at once seen to be a considerable advance even upon the definition of the Council of Florence, for by the insertion of four additional new clauses the jurisdiction of the Pope was extended as 'ordinary and immediate' over the whole Church.¹ A blow was thus aimed at all those episcopal

Extension
given to
papal juris-
diction.

¹ 'Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem jurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem hujus supremae potestatis; aut hanc ejus potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas ecclesias sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles; anathema sit.'—*Documenta*, II. 316. 'The words "potestas immediata et ordinaria" mean that all Christians, whether laymen or clerics, are personally the subjects, body and soul, of their lord and master the Pope, who can impose on them without restriction whatever commands seem good to him. There are, besides the Pope, who exercises immediate authority by virtue of his universal episcopate, papal commissaries in the separate dioceses, who call themselves bishops, and are so named by the Roman Chancery. They exercise the powers delegated to them by the one true and universal bishop, and carry out the particular orders they receive

rights for which the archbishop of Paris had recently so successfully contended, and which, if abolished, would leave the whole Order in a state of abject submission to the Pope. 'Bishops,' observes Quirinus, 'remain only as papal commissaries, possessed of so much power as the Pope finds good to leave them, and exercising only such authority as he does not directly exercise himself; *there is no longer any episcopate*, and thus one grade of the hierarchy is abolished.'¹ In addition to this, in order to preclude the possibility of any appeal, the decision of the Council of Constance, establishing the supreme authority of General Councils, was distinctly set aside, by a declaration that 'it was a departure from truth to assert that it was lawful to appeal from the decisions of the Roman pontiffs to an Œcumenic Council, as though to an authority superior to the Roman pontiff.'²

Of the fourth chapter the following is a literal translation :—

That the supreme power of the *magisterium* is also contained in the Apostolic primacy, which the Roman pontiff,

from Rome. According to this view the whole Church has, properly speaking, no other right or law or order but the pleasure of the reigning Pope.—*Quirinus*, p. 787.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 668-9.

² 'Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus jure Romanus Pontifex universæ Ecclesiæ præest, docemus etiam, eum esse supremum judicem fidelium, et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse judicium recurri; Sedis vero Apostolicæ, cujus auctoritate major non est, judicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio. Quare a recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab judiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad œcumenicum Concilium tanquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.'—*Documenta*, II. 316.

The dogma concerning papal infallibility.

CHAP.
I.

Historical precedents pleaded in justification.

as successor of Peter the Prince of Apostles, possesses over the Universal Church, has always been held by this Holy See, is proved by the perpetual use of the Church, and has been declared by Œcumenical Councils themselves, and by those especially in which the East agreed with the West in the union of faith and charity. So the fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, following the footsteps of their predecessors, put forth the solemn profession: ‘The first condition of safety is to keep the rule of right faith, and because it is impossible that the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ should be set aside, who said: “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,” these words are verified by facts, for in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been preserved immaculate, and holy doctrine has always been proclaimed. Desiring therefore never to be separated from its faith and doctrine, we hope that we may deserve to be in the one communion which the Apostolic See proclaims, in which is the whole and true solidity of the Christian religion.’¹ Also the Greeks professed, with the approbation of the Second Council of Lyons, that the Holy Roman Church possesses the supreme and full primacy and sovereignty over the Universal Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges itself to have received with plenitude of power from our Lord himself in Blessed Peter, the Prince or Chief of the Apostles, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor; and as he, beyond all others, is bound to defend the truth of the faith, so also, if any questions concerning the faith shall arise, they ought to be defined by his judgment. Lastly, the Council of Florence defined: that the Roman pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ and the head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in Blessed Peter, was given

¹ *From the Formula of Pope S. Hormisdas, as proposed by Adrian II., and subscribed to by the Fathers of the Eighth Œcumenical Council, the Fourth of Constantinople.*

by our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church.

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‘To fulfil this pastoral duty, our predecessors have laboured unweariedly that the salutary teaching of Christ should be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and have watched with like care that when it had been received it should be preserved pure and uncorrupted. Wherefore the bishops of the whole world, now singly and now assembled in Synod, following an ancient custom of the Church (S. Cyril of Alexandria to Pope S. Celestine), and the form of the ancient rule (S. Innocent I. to the Council of Carthage), have reported to the Apostolic See such dangers as emerged especially in matters of faith, that the injuries done to the faith might be repaired in that quarter where the faith can experience no failure. And the Roman pontiffs, as time and circumstance required, either by convening Œcumenical Councils, or by consulting the Church spread over the world, or by local synods, or by other helps supplied by Divine providence, have defined that those things should be held which they knew, by the help of God, to be in accordance with Holy Writ and Apostolic tradition. For the Holy Spirit did not promise the successors of St. Peter to reveal to them new doctrine for them to publish, but to assist them to keep holily and expound faithfully the revelation handed down through the Apostles, *i.e.* the Deposit of Faith. Their Apostolic doctrine has been embraced by all the venerable fathers, and has been revered and followed by all the holy orthodox doctors, knowing well that this See of S. Peter remains always exempt from all error, according to the divine promise of our Lord and Saviour to the chief of his disciples,—“I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.”

Definition of doctrine by preceding Popes.

Infallibility bestowed on the successors of St. Peter.

‘This gift of unfailing truth and faith was divinely bestowed on Peter and on his successors in this Chair, that they might discharge the duties of their exalted office for

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I.

the salvation of all; that the universal flock of Christ, turned by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished by heavenly teaching, that the occasion of schism being removed, the whole Church might be preserved in unity, and supported by its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.

‘But since in this our age, in which the salutary efficacy of the Apostolic office is more than ever required, not a few are found who oppose its authority, we judge it to be necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only begotten Son of God deigned to join to the supreme pastoral office.

The dogma defined.

‘Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition derived from the commencement of the Christian faith, to the glory of God our Saviour, to the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and to the salvation of Christian nations, *sacro approbante Concilio*, we teach and define that it is a divinely revealed dogma: that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of his office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, he defines, in virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is endowed with the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, with that infallibility with which our divine Redeemer willed that the Church should be furnished in defining doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not in virtue of the consent of the Church.

‘That if any (which may God avert) shall presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.’¹

Debate on the dogma.

The debate began on May 15th, and during the first week a succession of ecclesiastical dignitaries of the first rank, among whom were the archbishops of Vienna,

¹ *Documenta*, II. 317.

Prague, Gran, Paris, Antioch, and Tuam, protested against the fourth article. Archbishop Manning, on the other hand, maintained that any denial of the doctrine of infallibility was a heresy, and deserving of the penalty of excommunication. Bishop Hefele and cardinal Schwarzenberg were among the first principal speakers; the former bringing to bear upon the subject an amount of historical knowledge which shone superior to that of every other orator. On the 19th cardinal Cullen, 'the protagonist of Romanism in the British Isles,' as Quirinus styles him, vainly endeavoured to show that the bishop of Rottenberg had contradicted the assertions contained in his own writings. Simor, primate of Hungary, to the manifest discomfiture of the majority, arrayed his unrivalled powers as a Latin orator on the side of their antagonists. MacHale, archbishop of Tuam, now a feeble old man, opposed both the statements and the arguments of cardinal Cullen. In the prime of life he had occupied a foremost place among the Irish bishops; and he did not affect to forget that, at the time of the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill he had emphatically repudiated the dogma now presented for his acceptance.¹ His prolix and somewhat involved speech was succeeded by the eloquent and scholarly harangue of the archbishop of Paris, who not only predicted that the dogma, if carried, would be fatal both to the Church

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Speeches of
Hefele,
Schwarzen-
berg,
Cullen,
Simor,
MacHale,
Darbois,
Stross-
mayer.

¹ See on this subject the evidence collected by Mr. Lowry Whittle, in his *Catholicism and the Vatican*, ch. II.: 'The Teaching of the Catholic Church in Ireland on Papal Authority.'

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and to the temporal power, but declared that a decree concerning doctrine not accepted by the whole episcopal body could have no binding force. He concluded by urging that if the question could not be allowed to drop, it might at least be deferred to a future discussion.¹

The next great speeches were those of Conolly, archbishop of Halifax, and Strossmayer. The last effort of the bishop of Diakovar was not unworthy the reputation he had gained. He fell back on the strong position afforded in the third century by the doctrinal teaching of St. Cyprian and the controversy maintained by that father with Stephen of Rome. He spoke with energy in defence of the Gallican Church; and declared that the dogma of papal infallibility, once proclaimed, would be ‘the death-knell of General Councils.’ At the close of his speech he pleaded forcibly for the principle of moral unanimity, arguing that all patristic authority pointed to three essential conditions for propounding an article of faith—‘antiquity, universality, and agreement.’ Of all the speeches delivered during the Council this attracted, perhaps, the largest amount of attention. ‘It became,’ says Quirinus, ‘the topic of conversation in all circles in Rome.’

The speech
of bishop
Maret in-
terrupted.

The debate held its course thus far with little interruption. There were still forty-nine bishops to speak, when, on June 3rd, bishop Maret addressed the assembly. His speech was distinguished rather by candour than

¹ A translation of this speech is given by Quirinus in Appendix I.

tact; and after some trenchant remarks, he was proceeding to argue that for a Council 'to confer' infallibility on the Pope involved a kind of palpable contradiction and absurdity, when he was rudely interrupted by the president. A petition, signed by 150 members, for the closing of the debate was suddenly produced; the question was put, and carried by a large majority, and the proceedings were abruptly terminated.¹

It was now clearly seen that the minority had nothing to hope for from the consideration of their opponents, and that their protest might as effectually be given by a silent vote. It even became a question, whether complete silence would not be the most dignified mode of testifying their sense that the Council was no longer free. Hitherto it had been hoped that by prolonging the debates a prorogation might be rendered inevitable; but this justifiable strategy, it was now apparent, would not be practicable. At one time it was resolved to petition that the Council might be prorogued; but the increasing acerbity of temper exhibited by the pontiff, and the fierceness of his tone at several of his public audiences, convinced the minority of the hopelessness of such an appeal. It was evident too that before long, if not prorogued, the Council would dissolve of itself. The summer heat was beginning to tell perceptibly on the health of those represen-

Fore-
bodings of
the mino-
rity.

Illness of
many of
the bishops.

¹ The circumstances are detailed at greater length by Quirinus in his Fifty-seventh Letter.

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I.

tatives who came from Northern climes. Rome, said Quirinus, at the end of June, was like an episcopal lazaret-house. The Opposition members were, of course, the chief sufferers ; the Spanish and Italian bishops, who were either natives of Italy or a similar climate, being comparatively but slightly affected. As the police had orders to prevent the departure of any of the members unprovided with a passport, and applications for passports were in most cases refused, the unhappy invalids found themselves in a position not unlike that of the inhabitants of a besieged city. The numerical strength of the Ultramontane party, again, enabled it quickly to repair any losses sustained through sickness, while the Opposition had already mustered all its available strength ; and finally, while the former were encouraged by the prospect of a speedy triumph, and of substantial rewards in the shape of cardinals' hats and offices of honour and emolument, the latter were dejected by the consciousness of failure and by forebodings of the consequences which would probably follow upon a faithful adherence to their convictions. Already, indeed, a certain degree of vacillation began to be observable on the part of not a few ; and it was in vain that the more heroic spirits endeavoured to inspire them with bolder sentiments. Even the unlooked-for secession of cardinal Guidi to the side of the minority failed to produce more than a passing elation. A scheme was now proposed, whereby at the first voting (the *secret* voting, as it was termed)

Signs of yielding on the part of some members of the Opposition.

each member of the Opposition should give his vote *juxta modum*, signifying thereby only a conditional assent to the new dogma; the condition being, that certain modifications (which he was subsequently to propose in writing) should be adopted before the dogma was brought before the Council to receive their public and final assent. It was proposed by bishop Ketteler, bishop Melchers, and archbishop Landriot of Rheims that the minority should for the present content themselves with voting in this manner; and should at the same time unite in a declaration to the effect that, unless their written demands were complied with, their final vote must be a *Non placet*. This proposal was fortunately rejected, under the influence of more courageous advisers, and the sequel fully justified the hopeful estimate which the latter had formed of the resolution of their party.

At length, on July 13th, the Council assembled to vote upon the famous fourth clause. Every effort had been made by the papal party to intimidate their antagonists by prophecies of a complete success. The Pope himself was said to have predicted that not above ten would vote *Non placet*. As it was, there were eighty-eight; 400 voted *Placet*, and sixty-one *Placet juxta modum*; ninety-one abstained from recording their votes. The elements of which the phalanx of the *Non placets* was composed are deserving of special notice. It included, almost without exception, the bishops of the East—a sinister omen for the prospects of a united

The final voting.

Strength of the minority.

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Christendom. The whole Hungarian episcopate were there. Nearly all whose dioceses represented important and stirring cities, the bishops of North America, of Ireland, and of England, were found in these ranks; and not a few whose dioceses lay in Northern Italy completed the list. The names, again, comprised beyond all question three-fourths of the most eminent members of the Council,—Schwarzenberg, Mathieu, Darboy, Rauscher, Simor, Ginoulhiac, MacHale, Dupanloup, Ketteler, Strossmayer, Clifford, Kenrick, Maret, and Hefele. In the list of those who voted *Placet juxta modum* scarcely a name of note appears.

After the voting had taken place, it was proposed by the archbishop of Paris, at a meeting of the Opposition, that the dissentients should leave Rome in a body, so as not to be present on the 18th, when the dogma was to be promulgated in its entirety. In the meantime the general feeling of the minority at the manner in which the Council had been overruled, the precedents of former Œcumenical Councils disregarded, and real freedom of action suppressed, had found expression in two notable pamphlets,—*Ce qui se passe au Concile* and *La Dernière Heure du Concile*. The former, published at Paris, and believed to be from the pen of M. Guillard, was a sarcastic *exposé* from official documents of the whole course of procedure, and concluded with a significant intimation that the political interests of France were largely involved in the conclusions of the Council. The second, the work

Pamphlets
by Darboy
and
Guillard.

of Darboy himself, was an eloquent and convincing piece of argumentation, pointing out how effectually the intervention of the pontiff had extinguished the freedom of the Council, and consequently deprived its decisions of all just claim to be regarded as authoritative utterances of the Church.

The suggestion with reference to the joint action of the minority made by the archbishop of Paris was almost unanimously acted upon; but before leaving Rome he and his brother dissentients addressed a memorial to the Pope, wherein having recorded their adherence to their already avowed sentiments, they expressed their unwillingness to give them public expression on the approaching final occasion. 'They shrank,' says Michaud, 'from uttering their *Non placet* in the presence of the Pope, and from opposing him to his face upon a question to which he, personally, attached so great an importance.'¹ To this declaration they subjoined a unanimous protestation of their unchanged loyalty to his Holiness in all other matters. Having delivered the document at the Vatican, they then hastened to quit Rome.

The minority determine to leave Rome.

It was thus that, on the appointed day, only two prelates—bishop Riccio of Cajazzo and bishop Fitzgerald of

¹ 'C'est ainsi, en effet, que les évêques de la minorité ont expliqué leur abstention du 18, s'en référant à leur vote du 13.' Letter 'A Monsieur Du Lac, rédacteur de l'Univers,' 1^{er} Mai, 1872. Par M. Michaud. *Les Faux Libéraux*, p. 162. The language of 'A Bavarian Catholic,' who, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1871, characterises the conduct of the minority bishops as 'pitiful,' seems hardly warranted at this stage of the proceedings.

CHAP.
I.Declaration
of the
dogma.

Little Rock—uttered their *Non placets*, as the question was finally put to the assembly in the dark and gloomy Council Hall. It was a day clouded with ominous forebodings. The great war was on the point of breaking out, and but few visitors remained in Rome to be spectators of the concluding act of the drama. As the Pope read aloud the decree of his own infallibility a storm which had long been gathering broke over St. Peter's, and the decree was read by the aid of a taper, and to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning. To most these circumstances seemed an inauspicious omen; but the supporters of the decree professed to accept them as an expression of the divine sanction, like that which attended the promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai.

‘Future historians,’ said Quirinus, ‘will begin a new period of Church history with July 18, 1870, as with October 31, 1517.’

Outbreak of
the war.

On the very same day that the dogma was proclaimed at Rome the declaration of war by France was made known in the capital of Prussia. To those who have carefully watched the progress of events during the last ten years it will be difficult to believe that this was a mere coincidence. It is now very generally admitted that, under the empress's influence, the state policy of France had for some years before been more and more subservient to the aims of the Jesuits; that the emperor was thus led to conceive and set in motion the ill-fated expedition to Mexico, design-

ing, by the aid of those who there favoured the same views, to found, side by side with the Great Republic of the North, a Catholic Empire.¹ Devotion to the interests of Ultramontaniam, it was notorious, had long been the best stepping-stone to advancement in the civil administration of France, and was almost essential to like promotion in the army; and up to the very day when the French lines were rolled back in irretrievable disaster at Wörth and Gravelotte, the priest and the soldier exulted in the confident assurance of the simultaneous victory of Catholic France and Jesuit Rome.²

CHAP.
I.
Connexion
between the
two events.

However much the proclamation of the dogma might be regarded as a triumph, the political results by which it was immediately attended could have given but little satisfaction to its supporters. In England it evoked a display of anti-Catholic feeling such as had not been witnessed since the creation of the Catholic bishoprics. It perceptibly augmented the dislike to

Political
results of
the decla-
ration of
the dogma.

¹ See three able articles in *Fraser's Magazine* for Feb., March, and April, 1874, on 'The Religious Question in Switzerland.'

² So early as May 2, 1870, Friedrich notes down in his *Journal*, 'Man munkelt von einem Einverständnisse der Curie und der Jesuiten mit den Tuilerien. Auch andere Plän, ja eine formliche Restaurationspolitik soll sich daran knüpfen.—*Tagebuch*, p. 375. Compare the language of Prince Bismark, so late as Dec. 5, 1874, in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies: 'Gentlemen, I am in possession of conclusive evidence proving that the war of 1870 was the combined work of Rome and France; that the (Ecumenical Council was cut short on account of the war; and that very different votes would have been taken by the Council had the French been victorious. I know from the very best sources that the emperor Napoleon was dragged into the war very much against his will by the Jesuitical influences rampant at his Court; that he strove hard to resist these influences; that in the eleventh hour he determined to maintain peace; that he stuck to this determination for half an hour, and that he was ultimately overpowered by persons representing Rome.'

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I.

dogmatic teaching in Germany. It provoked the abolition of the Concordat in Austria. In both Italy and Spain the old absolutist traditions seemed to have passed away, and religious influences to be banished from the political sphere.

Fall of the
temporal
power.

In the following October, though the circumstance attracted but little notice during the concentration of European interest on the progress of the war, Victor Emmanuel issued a decree for annexing Rome to the Italian kingdom; and in the language of the present Prime Minister, 'that immemorial and sacred throne, which emperors and kings for centuries failed to control, vanished like a dream.'¹ 'It is remarkable,' observed a writer in the *Saturday Review*, 'how little attention has been excited by this sudden and to all appearance final collapse.'

¹ Speech of Mr. Disraeli at the Mansion House, Nov. 9, 1874.

CHAPTER II.

THE YEAR 1871 AND THE CONGRESS OF MUNICH.

IT had originally been agreed among the Opposition party before they quitted Rome, that no further action should be taken by any individual member without previous consultation with the rest. But as, one by one, they regained their dioceses and began to ponder, in comparative isolation, upon the difficulties of their position and the sacrifices which adherence to a policy of resistance might involve, the original compact was forgotten. ‘The Pope,’ observes M. Michaud, ‘perfectly well knew that they were not of the race of St. Paul, and would prefer their personal comfort and the preservation of their bishoprics to duty; and he dealt with them accordingly.’ In the following September seventeen German bishops issued a Pastoral from Fulda, declaring that it was incompatible with the principles of the Catholic religion to assert that the doctrine of papal infallibility was not contained in Scripture and tradition. Their example was the signal for a general recantation; and some of the bishops who had most distinguished themselves by their bold resistance to the dogma, now sought to atone for their former temerity by uncalled-for harshness towards

CHAP.
II.
Tergiver-
sation of
the German
bishops.

The Pas-
toral from
Fulda.

those of their clergy who showed a tardy submission. It is painful to record among the number of those who exhibited this pitiable tergiversation the names of Darboy, of Rauscher, Dupanloup, and Schwarzenberg. 'It is grievous,' said Renftle of Mehring, writing in the following May to Van Vlooten, 'that not a single bishop in Bavaria and Germany should have remained true to us.'¹ The course adopted by their two most distinguished prelates was unanimously followed by the French clergy. Even in Hungary and America the defection was scarcely less complete. Among the English Catholics bishop Clifford observed an ominous silence, which he subsequently broke by declaring the decrees of the Vatican to be binding on all Catholics; while bishop Brown of Newport, though declaring his acceptance of the dogma, affected to believe that, if erroneous, it might even yet be corrected by another General Council!

On the other hand, the language of a very small minority continued to be firm and explicit. In England, Lord Acton published a pamphlet, wherein he contented himself with recalling with damaging effect the arguments and emphatic protestations which had been so freely employed by the Opposition three months before. 'Men,' he observed in conclusion, 'in high position at Rome used to say that the Opposition was abusing its freedom, to disseminate heresies. If, at the last moment, the bishops have themselves come

Lord
Acton's
letter.

¹ *Die Apostolische Reise des Erzbischofs von Utrecht*, p. 5.

round to this view, and recognise as the doctrine and law of the Church the contrary of what they have hitherto maintained, they will inevitably have to atone for the scandal they have given. These are things requiring not simply to be recanted but refuted, for they were listened to and have roused conviction in many hearts. The announcement that the Vatican Council was a long intrigue, carried through by treachery and force, has penetrated the whole world.'¹

In Bavaria the attention of the clergy was mainly concentrated on Munich, and at Munich all were watching for the decision of one eminent leader. Immediately after the proclamation of the dogma, the archbishop had returned to the city and summoned a meeting of the theological faculty. It was attended by nearly all the professors, at whose head Döllinger appeared as spokesman. After a few general remarks, the archbishop, evidently nerving himself for a painful effort, turned to the subject nearest to the minds of all present. '*Roma locuta est,*' said he; 'gentlemen present know full well what follows, and that we have no other course before us than to submit.' He then proceeded to give as favourable a colouring as possible to the transactions and decisions of the Council. Haneberg, who stood by the side of Döllinger, expressed the difficulty he felt in accepting the theory of the Pope's personal infallibility. The archbishop hastened to

CHAP.
II.

The arch-
bishop of
Munich
and Dr.
Döllinger.

¹ *Sendschreiben an einen Deutschen Bischof des Vaticanischen Concils, von Lord Acton.* Nordlingen, p. 18.

assure him that this dogma had nowhere been defined ! If one part of the decree appeared to imply such a doctrine, it must be taken in conjunction with other sentences and expressions. Towards the close of the audience he turned to Döllinger. ‘Ought we not,’ he said, ‘to be ready to begin to labour afresh in the cause of the Holy Church?’ ‘Yes,’ replied Döllinger, in his peculiarly decisive manner, ‘yes, *for the Old Church.*’ One could see, says Friedrich, that had it been anyone else who stood before him, the archbishop would have given expression to his evident displeasure. As it was, he restrained himself, and simply rejoined, ‘There is but one Church, and that is neither new nor old.’ ‘But they have made a new one,’ replied Döllinger. The archbishop continued his observations. A man of slender theological attainments, and respected rather for his moderate and well-meaning policy, than for ability and learning, he was no match for the eminent scholars by whom he was surrounded. He talked on loosely and almost incoherently, until at last a sentence fell from his lips which Friedrich noted down ‘as worthy of record and transmission to posterity,’ ‘considering,’ he adds, ‘that it was uttered in the presence of an entire theological faculty.’ ‘You know, of course,’ the archbishop began, ‘that there always have been changes in the Church and in her doctrines.’ These words were sufficient to give rise to manifest sensation. ‘I shall never,’ says Friedrich, ‘forget the bearing of Döllinger and Haneberg as they heard

them.' It could not escape the notice even of the speaker. 'At least,' he added, 'you know that dogmas have often required to be defined.'

CHAP.
II.

In the following August a Protest was drawn up by fourteen Catholic professors at Nürnberg. 'Sketched,' as Reinkens long afterwards observed, 'amid the din of war, it appeared immediately before the catastrophe of Sedan, and was the first published declaration against the Vatican treason.' It expressed with admirable terseness and clearness the grounds on which the Liberal party rejected alike the decree and the authority of the Vatican Council, and concluded with the following significant words: 'By the assertion that all doctrinal judgments of the Popes addressed to the whole Church are infallible, those ecclesiastico-political maxims and statements of ancient and modern papal decrees are declared to be infallible rules of faith, which teach the subjection of states, peoples, and princes to the authority of the Popes even in secular matters, and establish principles, concerning the toleration of heretics and the civil rights of the clergy, opposed to the present order of society. And thus the peaceful understanding between Church and State, clergy and laity, Catholics and non-Catholics, will be rendered impossible for the future.'

Protest of
professors
of Nürnberg.

It calls attention to the political bearing of the new dogma.

The publication of this Protest was followed, shortly after, by the suspension by bishop Förster (the bishop of the diocese) of three of the professors, Reinkens, Baltzer, and Weber, who had been most prominent in

Consequent suspension of three of the professors.

CHAP.
II.

its preparation. This act on the part of the bishop wore the appearance of yet greater harshness, in that he had notoriously himself contemplated the resignation of his office as an alternative to the acceptance of the Vatican decrees. Measures of this kind were, however, evidently not likely to meet with much success among those who still remained firm to their convictions. In the Rhine country, Tangermann, deprived of his parish by the archbishop of Cologne, became the moving spirit of the party; and another Protest, drawn up at Coblenz, was largely signed in that and other large towns by many of the educated laity; while the 'Rheinischer Merkur', shortly afterwards started at Cologne, appeared as an authoritative organ of the supporters of the movement.

Movement
in the
Rhine
country.

Declaration
published
at Munich.

But the manifesto which excited most attention was undoubtedly that published at Munich, which concluded with the following words: 'We do not accept the decrees illegally established at Rome on July 18th; we remain true to our ancient Catholic faith, in which our fathers lived and died, and shall therefore offer an active and passive resistance to every attempt to force on us a new doctrine or to drive us out of the Church.'

Position of
the Old
Catholic
party at
the commence-
ment
of 1871.

When the year 1871 dawned upon Europe, the attitude of the Old Catholic party was thus simply that of dignified and earnest protest. All that their leaders had hitherto done had been to refuse submission to the decrees of the Vatican Council—pointing out how free-

dom and sincerity had alike been wanting to its deliberations—and to expose and refute by historical or theological arguments the conclusions involved in the new dogma. The cause, at this stage, was consequently defended solely by a few eminent theologians and their immediate followers. It was a learned controversy rather than a popular movement. From the inferior clergy it received scarcely any support. The relations of the parish priest to his bishop in Germany, it is to be remembered, differ widely from those that obtain in England. The former renders to his spiritual superior the same submission in doctrinal matters that he looks himself to receive from his own parishioners. ‘From the moment a young man takes orders,’ says a correspondent of the ‘Rheinischer Merkur,’ in allusion to this subject, ‘he submits himself, body and soul, mind and conscience, to his bishop, unless he would be denounced as contumacious, whether these commands are in accordance with canonical rules or not. An appeal to conscience is a protest against the bishop’s authority, therefore against one whom the Holy Ghost has appointed to govern the Church of God. Appeals against such an one are appeals against the Church, and against the only one not bound to obey the Church—against the Pope.’ Bishop Ketteler, whose twenty years’ occupancy of the see of Mayence entitle him to be heard on such a question, publicly declared ‘that the servility of the lower *clerus*, in respect of obedience,

Servility of
the inferior
clergy in
Germany.

is beyond belief, beyond parallel, and even carried so far as to place bishops in the position of despots.’¹

It was accordingly with no little reassurance that, after the Pastoral from Fulda, the Ultramontanists awaited the gradual subsidence of so much virtuous indignation and lofty sentiment. They calculated, not without reason, on the slow but certain effects of prudence or despair, and confidently believed that a few more months could not fail to reduce what yet remained of the old Opposition to the mere shadow of a party, which would ultimately entirely disappear. That these anticipations were not verified in the sequel is undoubtedly to be attributed mainly to a few dauntless spirits, whom neither the prospect of temporal losses, of deprivation of office, nor the hostility of the uneducated masses, could move to swerve from their plighted faith and allegiance to their own conscience.

Among those who thus began to attract to themselves the attention of Europe—though such publicity was far from being courted by the thoughtful and retiring scholars who found themselves summoned to the front—M. Hyacinthe Loyson, better known as Father Hyacinthe, now assumed a conspicuous part. A native

Father
Hyacinthe.

¹ See *Report of the Anglo-Continental Society for 1871*, pp. 38, 39. It must, however, be admitted that the French clergy, with few exceptions, have generally been equally wanting in independence. ‘We give them the word of command to march,’ said cardinal Bonnechose in the French Senate, ‘and they march.’ It may be urged, as some excuse, that the Concordat between Napoleon and the Pope gives to the French bishops more arbitrary power over their clergy than in either Germany or Italy, for in these latter countries the canon law still regulates the relations between the different ecclesiastical orders.

of Orleans, where his father was a professor, and where he was born in the year 1827, he entered in 1845 the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and was ordained a priest in the year 1849. He subsequently became a professor of philosophy at Avignon and Nantes, but eventually resigned his post at the latter city to assume the vows of a friar of the Order of the Carmelites. It was in this last capacity, as a preacher at Lyons and Bordeaux, that he acquired his reputation as the most effective pulpit orator of his day; and his success soon afterwards induced him to seek the more critical audiences of Paris, where he further established his fame at the Madeleine and Nôtre Dame. The boldness of his language, however, gave offence to the Jesuits, and he was enjoined to exercise greater moderation. The interference, and the dictatorial spirit in which the injunction was conveyed, roused his spirit—already smarting under the despotic rule to which the French clergy are systematically subjected. He threw aside his friar's gown and declared himself independent. This was at the very time when the announcement of the impending Council roused the attention of Europe, and his pamphlet on the subject—a fearless criticism of the conditions under which the Council was to assemble—was, perhaps, the most vigorous protest uttered by the Liberal party. His courageous conduct and real talents made him at this juncture the object of widespread sympathy. It was well known that he had sacrificed brilliant prospects of preferment, and his

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career was everywhere followed with interest. He crossed the Atlantic and preached to large audiences in New York, and was enthusiastically received. His marriage, on his return to London, completed his act of separation from his Order.¹

In personal appearance, as well as in the character of his genius, Father Hyacinthe differs considerably from Dr. Döllinger. In some respects he strongly resembles Mr. Spurgeon. In striking contrast to the thin, spare form, commanding eye, and intellectual head of the Munich professor, he possesses a somewhat sensual physiognomy; his frame is short and thickset; and his countenance, though full of energy, is defective from the drooping eyelids and thick lips. His gait is singularly ungraceful. But notwithstanding these disadvantages, his resonant voice and impassioned rhetoric possess, especially for his own countrymen, a powerful charm. In his capacity for stirring a large and popular assembly he is equalled by none, Reinikens, perhaps, alone excepted, of his fellow-labourers in the cause.

His *Appel*
aux
Evêques
Catholiques.

In the month of January, 1871, Father Hyacinthe published his 'Appel aux Evêques Catholiques,' addressed to those of the Opposition bishops who had brought such signal discredit on the cause they had originally espoused. It gained a larger share of atten-

¹ 'It ought to be known that Père Hyacinthe, kneeling side by side with his betrothed, received a nuptial benediction from a Roman Catholic archbishop, who said that he regarded enforced clerical celibacy as a "*plaie de l'Église.*"—*Letter of the Bishop of Lincoln on his return from the Congress at Cologne*, p. 33.

tion than any other individual expression of opinion, and was at once seized by the Italian police, though the Government subsequently excused the act as that of an indiscreet subordinate. A report which had gained credence in some quarters, that the author had joined the Irvingites, was set at rest by his simple declaration that he still belonged to the Church of his baptism—‘a Church greater than those who govern it, greater than those who defend it.’ The ‘Appeal’ was marked throughout by singular calmness and dignity of expression; and his demand that those whom he addressed should clearly state whether ‘the decrees of the late Council were or were not binding on those who professed the true faith,’ told with unanswerable effect. He dwelt on the indisputable fact, that throughout the sessions of the Council a numerous and influential minority had frequently attested by their complaints the pressure of unjust restrictions upon their liberty of discussion. The Council therefore had *not been free*. As to the dogma which it had promulgated concerning papal infallibility, this was no subtle question of doctrine, but a tenet which required to be tested by historical evidence; and if, on being subjected to such a test, it was found to rest solely on forgeries which criticism had already condemned, its rejection became not merely a right but a duty. With regard to the ‘Syllabus’—when they saw its ablest defenders compelled to explain away its articles in a sense opposed to that in which they were conceived and plainly expressed

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—the same liberty of judgment must be conceded ; especially when it was evident that, if interpreted in a natural sense, they could not fail to place the allegiance of the faithful Catholic and the loyalty of the subject in direct and perpetual antagonism. Passing on to the effects of the policy of Rome for the last ten years, he proceeded to point out the disastrous influence of that policy on religious feeling in France. Compelled to choose between Ultramontanism and Infidelity, the greater proportion of the educated laity had lapsed into unbelief, and the consequences, as regarded the prevailing tone of morality, had been deplorable. The conclusion of his ‘Appeal’ was marked more distinctly by the spirit of the theologian, and breathed the atmosphere in which the writer had been educated. It consisted in a fanciful comparison of the wounds of the Saviour on the Cross to the present condition of the Church, sorely wounded in five points relating to her spiritual life. These were (1) ‘the darkening of the Word of God,’ in withholding the Scriptures in the vernacular from the people ; (2) ‘the oppression of intellect and conscience by the abuse of the hierarchical power ;’ (3) enforced celibacy ; (4) and (5) the wounds of the feet, represented in ‘worldliness of policy and superstitious devotion.’¹

The Five
Wounds
of the
Church.

Switzer-
land.

In Switzerland, though the dissatisfaction of the different cantons with the results of the Council had been plainly evinced, the clergy showed little more

¹ *De la Réforme Catholique*, pp. 86-93.

disposition to independent action than their German brethren. One isolated instance, however, cannot be suffered to pass unnoticed. Early in February an episcopal mandate appeared, enjoining a general fast, on the occasion of the proclamation of the dogma as a divinely revealed article of faith. In Aargau the authorities refused to sanction the proclamation; but in the neighbouring canton of Luzern, though the Council was professedly Liberal, the necessary assent was given.

On February 19th, Pfarrer Egli of Luzern proceeded to read the mandate, but, instead of the sentence containing the dogma, he made the following declaration: 'I have been taught from my youth, in the Catechism, by the professors when a student of theology, and since then in those theological treatises which bear the episcopal *imprimatur* on the titlepage, that the infallible teaching of the Church is to be found in the decisions of the bishops and the Pope in their collective capacity, not in those of the Pope alone without the assent of the bishops, but *in their collective capacity*, in their unanimous agreement one with another. All the arguments adduced to prove that the Pope alone, by himself, is infallible in matters of belief, produce in me no conviction and can consequently form no part of my belief. I cannot flatter, I can only be true to my convictions, and cannot consequently reconcile it to my conscience to confess with the lips that which I do not inwardly believe; nor can I proclaim to others as articles of faith and lay down as binding on the belief

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11.

Pfarrer
Egli of
Luzern
refuses to
read the
dogma.

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of others what I cannot believe myself. I consequently protest against all coercive measures whereby the dogma in question is made compulsory as regards either myself or others, and against all consequences resulting therefrom.'

Pamphlet
by Dr. Von
Schulte.

Another protest of a different character, in the form of a pamphlet by Dr. Von Schulte, professor of the canon law at Prague, and at one time an ardent Ultramontanist, did nothing to popularise the movement. It was the learned, profound, and deliberate opinion of an eminent jurist, declaring the new dogma incompatible with the principles laid down in the canon law. 'The limits of papal omnipotence on earth,' said the writer, 'are thereby made dependent solely on the Pope's own will.'

Friedrich
and Döllinger
refuse to
accept the
Vatican
Decrees.

The general interest in the contest was still chiefly confined to Munich, where Döllinger and Friedrich now alone defended the banner of the Opposition. It was felt that on their determination the hopes of their party, whose numbers were rapidly dwindling from successive defections, almost entirely depended. At last the archbishop sent in a formal demand for their declaration and submission, at the same time specifying a day before which their compliance must be notified, unless they chose to incur ecclesiastical punishment. Both the professors still demurred, and an extension of the term was granted. The archbishop, it may be observed, brought but little unpopularity upon himself by these proceedings. A man of far from brilliant attainments, but

moderate in his sentiments, and, so far as his policy had been able to find independent expression, not unfriendly to the Liberal party, he was looked upon as simply a somewhat reluctant instrument in the hands of the Pope. At the expiration of the extended term Friedrich sent in his declaration, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Vatican Council or the dogma of papal infallibility. Döllinger, however, petitioned for further delay, and another fortnight was granted him. At the end of that time he declared his agreement with his brother professor, though his rejection of the dogma was couched in far more decided and explicit terms. His decision was received with surprise and considerable irritation by the Ultramontanists and hailed by the Liberals with equal satisfaction.

On March 28th the letter conveying his refusal was published in the 'Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung.' The reasons which it set forth were nearly identical with those urged by Father Hyacinthe, though bearing the impress of a more profound estimate of the whole question and of greater deliberation. The writer urged that the dogma of infallibility had been maintained on altogether untenable grounds; that the passages of Scripture adduced in its support had been wrested from their true sense and from the sense in which they had ever been understood by Catholic theologians; that it violated the canon which required that Scripture should always be interpreted in harmony with the fathers, for the fathers had never applied the passages to which

Döllinger's
defence of
his refusal.

appeal had been made to the question of the absolute power and authority of the Pope ; that the statement so frequently put forth in the pastorals of the bishops—that the dogma had been of universal acceptance throughout the Christian centuries—was erroneous ; that those bishops whose suffrages had been given in support of the dogma had been themselves deceived and misguided by the teaching of erroneous text-books, like those of Liguori,¹ the Jesuit Perronne, Cardoni, Ghilardi, &c. ; that two General Councils of the fifteenth century had solemnly defined the limit and character of papal infallibility in a manner which placed their decisions in direct antagonism to the Vatican decree ;² and finally he pointed out that in sanctioning the doctrines promulgated in the ‘Syllabus’ the Council had given its adhesion to doctrines incompatible with the requirements of States and the obligations of loyal citizens. ‘This system,’ said the declaration at its conclusion, ‘bears its Latin origin on its front, and will never be able to make its way in German lands. *As a Christian, a theologian, a historical student, and a citizen, I cannot receive the doctrine.* Not as a Christian, for it is irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel and with the express declaration of Christ and the Apostles ; it sets up that kingdom of this world which Christ disclaimed, and that dominion over the Churches which

¹ The elevation of Liguori to the dignity of a ‘Doctor of the Church’ by Pius IX., in the preceding July, had excited great indignation in Catholic Germany, as indicating more than any other act his determination to support the doctrines of the Jesuits by every means in his power.

² See *supra*, pp. 13, 19.

Peter forbade to all, himself included. Not as a theologian, for the entire genuine tradition of the Church is directly at issue with it. Not as a student of history, for as such I know that the persistent endeavour to carry out this theory has cost Europe rivers of blood, distracted and ruined whole countries, overthrown the fair organisation of the ancient Church, and produced and fostered the deadliest abuses in her bosom. Lastly, I must reject it as a citizen, because with its claim for the subjection of countries and monarchs and the whole political order to papal authority, and by the exemptions demanded for the clergy, it gives occasion to endless and fatal divisions between Church and State, clergy and laity. For I cannot conceal from myself that this doctrine, whose consequences brought the old German Empire to destruction, would, were it now to become dominant in Catholic Germany, at once implant the seeds of a deadly malady in the new empire just established.¹

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He calls attention to its political bearings.

On these grounds Dr. Döllinger had the courage to demand a reconsideration of the whole question. Let it, he urged, be discussed on its merits as a theological theory, by the assembled episcopate of Germany, or at least by the archbishop of Munich and the Chapter of the cathedral. He can scarcely be supposed to have entertained any real expectation that his suggestion would be listened to; and in the hopelessness of the proposal his friends and enemies alike discerned

He asks for another Council.

¹ *Erklärung* (Munich, 1871), p. 17.

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II.Reply of
the arch-
bishop.Address to
Döllinger
by the
professors
of the
university.Public
interest
in the
question.

his resolution to maintain the position he had taken up. The archbishop replied by a pastoral, denouncing the declaration, and declaring that the proposition attached to it was impracticable; it was likewise intimated that Döllinger's adherence to the opinions he had put forth would convict him of heresy and of disobedience to the authority of the Church as asserted at a General Council. It was felt that the crisis demanded a fresh expression of the sentiments of the Liberal party. An address was accordingly drawn up and signed by the professors of the university (with but three exceptions) expressive of their sympathy with their eminent colleague, and assuring him of their support. In this, the point to which Döllinger and Friedrich had directed attention—the antagonism created by the dogma between Church and State—was again emphasised with much significance; and from that time to the present this aspect of the question has never been lost sight of, and, as we shall hereafter see, has been brought by successive events into yet greater prominence. It was fully understood that the king was favourable to Döllinger, and the sympathy of all Bavaria was roused as it saw its greatest scholar thus calmly preparing for a contest almost single-handed with the Pope. A large meeting of laymen was held at Munich on April 10th, at which it was resolved to petition the king that he might be pleased to assert his full prerogative in opposing the tendencies of the dogma. Addresses of sympathy came in, representing important communities—one

from the Town Council of Vienna, another from an influential assembly of the citizens of Linz. Nor was the interest evinced confined to Germany, it was shared at nearly all the great centres of learning or of political importance. Father Dalgairns, writing in the 'Contemporary Review,' scarcely exaggerated the amount of attention the struggle had evoked, when he declared that 'by the light of burning Paris men were still watching every move of the combat going on between the archbishop of Munich and Dr. Döllinger.'

The Pope had resigned to the archbishop the ungrateful task of resorting to final measures, and for some weeks the latter, influenced, it was said, by the fear of offending King Louis, delayed to strike the blow by excommunicating the recusants. At last, in April, the mandate was issued; both Dr. Döllinger and professor Friedrich were declared excommunicated, and the sentence was read from the city pulpits to the different congregations. Their fellow-professors of theology, having all submitted, were now compelled to separate themselves from their two colleagues by a public declaration.

Dr. Döllinger made no appeal to the ecclesiastical courts, and, by desisting from his function as court minister, he practically recognised the validity of the sentence. His example was followed by Friedrich. Renfle, a parish priest at Mehring, near Augsburg, adopted a bolder policy. He had, like Egli at Luzern, protested against the dogma from the pulpit, and had

The archbishop excommunicates Döllinger and Friedrich.

Renfle follows the example of Egli.

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like him been excommunicated. With the support and encouragement of his parishioners he had, however, continued to discharge the duties of his post, and the Government refused to allow the bishop of Augsburg to carry out the sentence by force.

Old Catholic
address to
the King.

In pursuance of the policy they had adopted, of laying the main stress on the political bearing of the dogma, Dr. Döllinger's supporters next drew up an address to the king, which received the signatures of some 12,000 Catholics. Their committee was censured by the archbishop, who found himself in turn sharply criticised by professor Huber, and was compelled to see his new line of conduct placed in striking contrast with the language he had held at the Council. As yet professor Friedrich had not published his *Tagebuch*, and an article which he now inserted in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung'—depicting the course of procedure at the Council, and exposing the tactics of the *Curia* and the moral cowardice of the bishops—contained what were to many altogether novel disclosures, and excited considerable attention. A meeting held at Munich, at Whitsuntide, was addressed by professor Michelis, of Braunsberg, and by professor Huber (Dr. Döllinger standing aloof from public demonstrations); but although affording expression for considerable enthusiasm, it resulted in nothing that could be regarded as an extension of the Old Catholic programme. On the other hand, the submission of Hefeie (who had refused to sign the Pastoral issued from Fulda), and of Haneberg, whose example could not but carry great weight in

Public
meeting at
Munich.

Submission
of Hefeie
and Hane-
berg.

Munich, were felt as a serious blow. Their decision appeared to be the result of correspondence with each other, and both justified it on the same grounds—the paramount obligation to labour for the peace of the Church, and the necessity of ecclesiastical obedience.¹

The meeting held at Whitsuntide determined the German bishops to draw up a counter-manifesto. Towards the end of May they published two addresses; one to the clergy, another to the faithful laity. In the first they strenuously inculcated the duty of complete submission to the decrees of the late Council. They accused the leaders of the Liberal party of deliberately altering the tenour of these decrees, ‘partly by reporting the words in a mutilated form or incorrectly, partly by altering their meaning, by unduly amplifying them, or by false interpretations.’ They affirmed that the Council had invested the Pope with no powers superior to those to which he had before laid claim, certainly not with any supreme power. ‘It has not,’ continued the address, ‘conferred on the Pope any personal infallibility, but simply declared that infallibility is promised to him in a certain precisely defined and lofty exercise of his doctrinal office.’ They repudiated, as a calumny, the assertion that the new decrees were in any way prejudicial to the peace of States or the interests of

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Address of
German
bishops
to the
clergy.

Denial of
personal
infalli-
bility.

¹ ‘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 Hefele and Haneberg fell victims to this scrupulosity. Because conscience is not independent, they could no longer apprehend the clear thought that unity in a lie profits nothing, but ruins all.’—Bp. Reinkens, *Speech at Cologne Congress*, Sept. 22, 1872.

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II.
Accept-
ance of the
Bull *Unam
Sanctam*.

their rulers. As for the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, that had been sanctioned by a Council, and, unless it was proposed to set aside alike conciliar and papal decisions, its doctrines must be accepted. But even if the papal claims had ever threatened to interfere with the rights of States, it was certain that the Pope had long ago retired within the limits of a legitimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and any apprehension, as regarded the future, was absurd.

The whole address was certainly dexterously conceived. It called first of all for unhesitating submission, and then proceeded to disavow the interpretation generally given to the new doctrines, by retorting upon the Liberal party all those charges of disingenuous artifice which had for months been so loudly preferred against the Ultramontanes themselves. And lastly, inasmuch as it had become impossible to disavow a series of printed and published documents, an endeavour was made to explain away the most startling expressions and passages by assigning to them a vague or non-natural meaning. But again practice stood out in singular contrast to profession. The archbishop of Bamberg applied to the Government for permission to publish the dogma, and was met by a refusal—he published it notwithstanding! The other bishops, in direct contravention of the existing laws of the State, published it without even soliciting any permission whatever. Such were the practical proofs whereby the supporters of the principles laid down in the ‘Syllabus’

and the *Constitutio de Ecclesia* sought to convince the world of their political harmlessness and irrelevancy to questions of civil obedience!

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The address to the faithful laity appealed to the prejudices, still too prevalent in certain sections of society in Southern Germany, against modern science; and artfully sought to associate with the tendencies of materialistic doctrines the views of thinkers like Döllinger, Schulte, and Friedrich. ‘Learning in Germany,’ it said, ‘has of late entered upon paths even in the province of theology which are incompatible with the Catholic faith. This tendency among learned men to shake off the authority of the Church and believe in nothing but their own infallibility, cannot be reconciled with loyalty to the teaching of the true faith.’ ‘It is a falling away from the true spirit of the Church, since it obeys a spirit of false liberty, which prefers individual views and opinions to a belief in the divine authority of the Church inspired by the Holy Ghost. Taken in connexion with these phenomena, does it not appear providential that just at the time that so-called free theological science has raised its head so loftily, the dogma of the doctrinal infallibility of the chief shepherd and teacher of the Church should have been proclaimed, in direct contradiction to this false tendency in theology?’ It then proceeded to protest against the assertion ‘that a new doctrine had been proclaimed which was not contained in the ancient traditions of the Church, or that in the doctrine of the

Address to
the laity.

Denunci-
ation of
modern
learning.

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infallibility and hierarchical supremacy of the Pope a change had been introduced into the relations of Church and State, which could in any way endanger the power of the State.'

Encyclicals
and Allocution
of the Pope.

Two Papal Encyclicals which appeared, the first in May, the second in June, though containing no direct reference to the contest in Bavaria, attracted attention from the vehement animosity which they evinced towards the Old Catholic party; and an Allocution, addressed to a deputation of French Catholics at Rome, gave a shock to the common sense of Europe. In the latter, Pope Pius denounced the adherents of the Liberal movement as leaders of a cause more formidable than the Revolution, as men more to be dreaded than the Communists, 'those fiends let loose from hell.' On the other hand, his language to some deputies from Belgium went far to alienate the sympathies of France, when he unfeelingly contrasted the security enjoyed by the former country—the divine reward of Ultramontane loyalty—with the terrible calamities that had befallen the French empire in its unhallowed compact with Liberalism.

New Declaration
by the leaders
of the Old
Catholic
party.

The singular unfairness of the charges and grossness of the misrepresentations to which they had been subjected, roused the Old Catholics to a more formal vindication of their principles. Dr. Döllinger himself now came forward, and, in conjunction with thirty others, issued a new manifesto.¹ An able though far

¹ This is given in a French version in Father Hyacinthe's *De la*

from altogether friendly critic of the whole movement,¹ whose writings have called attention, in this country, mainly to the difficulties which have beset its progress, professed to discern in this document an abandonment of the position before occupied by its subscribers. He observed that it no longer spoke of the rights of a collective episcopate to withstand the mandates of the Pope—such a justification having been, in fact, withdrawn by the almost complete defection of the bishops to the papal party; and that the appeal was consequently now made to an alleged infallible element residing in the theologians, the laity, and in uniform Church tradition. The criticism, unfair at the time, has since, as we shall hereafter see, become obsolete. The Old Catholic party was then in a transition state; and it would be easy to point to similar apparent inconsistencies in past religious movements in their progress towards harmonious and complete development.²

The intolerance of the Ultramontane party at this juncture unexpectedly supplied the Old Catholics with new and yet more forcible arguments whereby to

Réforme Catholique, pp. 73-84. 'Je donne à la *déclaration* signée à Munich par M. le professeur Döllinger et par ses amis l'adhésion la plus entière et la plus explicite. J'ai la confiance que ce grand acte de foi, de science et de conscience sera le point de départ du mouvement réformateur qui seul peut sauver l'Église Catholique, et qui la sauvera.'—Hyacinthe. Rome, 7 juillet, 1871.

¹ See articles in *Contemporary Review*, for May and December 1871, by 'A Bavarian Catholic.'

² See, for instance, the almost exactly similar criticism of Luther by Möhler, quoted at p. 26.

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Refusal
of the rites
of the
Church to
Dr. Zenger.

justify their demands for State protection. Towards the close of June, Dr. Zenger, professor of the Roman law at Munich, died at the age of seventy-three. He had warmly sympathised with the Liberal party, having been among the first to sign the address of sympathy to Dr. Döllinger. When on his deathbed he sent for a Franciscan friar who had long been his personal friend, and desired at his hands the last sacraments of the Church. He was told that he could neither be permitted to receive the sacraments nor even Christian burial until he had retracted the opinions implied in his signature to the address. This he firmly refused to do, and the friar departed. The archbishop was appealed to, but was found inexorable. Dr. Messmer subsequently, however, gave the dying man the priestly absolution; Renfle sent in from Mehring the holy oils and viaticum; and these were administered by the excommunicated professor Friedrich.

Old
Catholic
memorial
to the Go-
vernment.¹

The feeling evoked by the whole circumstances led to the presentation, on the very day following Dr. Zenger's death, of another petition to the Government, signed by 18,000 persons, and formally presented by Döllinger, Friedrich, and others. In this the memorialists distinctly declared that the state of the law with regard to the relations between Church and State imperatively called for revision. The denial of the sacraments of the Church to a man so eminent for his worth and piety was incontestable proof that liberty of conscience no longer existed. They called, therefore,



for the interference of the authorities to enable them to exercise their religious rights without molestation. They asked for the grant of one church in Munich, with its furniture and revenues, wherein they might assemble. They also requested that it might be made obligatory on parish priests to give the necessary civil sanction to marriages required by the Bavarian law, whenever the ceremony itself might be performed by an Old Catholic priest. It was not without reason that the *Saturday Review*, in referring to this petition, affirmed that the contest had entered upon a new stage, and had become an 'affair of grave public interest directly affecting the relations of Church and State.'

This petition to the Government was followed by a great public demonstration at Dr. Zenger's funeral. The rites were performed by Friedrich; and several State officials, nearly the whole professorial staff of the university, together with deputations from the different bodies of students, were present. The Choral Society sang portions of the service, and at night the students made a procession by torchlight to the grave.

Funeral of
Dr. Zenger.

That the Government was far from indifferent to the contest that was going on, was sufficiently indicated by a series of articles that appeared, in the month of June, in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, and which had really already embodied the only answer which the State authorities were able to give to the Old Catholic appeal. In these it was clearly pointed out how, under the existing state of the law, the

Position
of the Go-
vernment.

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Government was powerless to take any decided action in the matter; and that, until new laws had been introduced, this inability must continue to exist. As the majority of the representatives in the two Bavarian Chambers were notoriously Ultramontane, it followed that the Old Catholics were precluded from entertaining any hope of State protection until they should succeed in producing such an effect on public opinion as would, in turn, influence the decisions of the representative Chamber. To this task, therefore, the more energetic leaders of the party now began resolutely to address themselves.

Action
of the
University
of Munich.

The university of Munich, an academic body which, though of comparatively recent foundation, now ranks third among the universities of Germany, was the first to take the initiative. In the month of August it elected Döllinger rector of the university; and shortly after, on the occurrence of six vacancies in the 'Senate,' or governing body, it elected, from its 114 professors, six who were conspicuous for their resistance to the Vatican decrees, among whom was Friedrich. Such was the response of the great educational centre of Catholic Germany to the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the archbishop of Munich.

Mere demonstrations of sentiment were, however, not likely to produce any effect at Rome. Pius IX. was intent on treading in the steps of Pius IV., though he exhibited none of his predecessor's practical sagacity; and he was prepared to drive the most

enlightened, virtuous, and influential members of the Romish communion into open revolt, rather than concede one iota of the unjustifiable claims which he now asserted. It was, therefore, not surprising that, amid circumstances of such perplexity and under such injustice, the minds of the Liberal party, like those of the leaders of the Reformation in its earlier stages, reverted again and again to the idea of a free Council. Œcumenical, indeed, it might scarcely claim to be; but then neither was the Council of Trent œcumenical, nor, indeed, in strictly accurate sense, any mediæval Council that had assembled since the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. It might, however, from its composition, aspire to win the respect and confidence of impartial observers; its proceedings might be such as to convince the world that they were the efforts of conscientious men seeking to arrive, by legitimate and unfettered interchange of opinion, at a common basis of belief; and might not its decisions eventually serve to bring about an amount of agreement with regard to the fundamental doctrines of the faith such as Christendom had not witnessed for ten centuries? Tridentine experiences and Tridentine doctrines were, as we shall see, present to the minds of not a few, as warnings or as precedents to guide the deliberations of the Council which it was now proposed to assemble at Munich.¹

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II.

Proposals
for a new
Council.

¹ For the whole proceedings of the Congress see *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Katholiken Congresses zu München*. München, 1871.

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The rapid progress of the Old Catholic party since the Congress of 1871, both as regards doctrinal views and general organisation, has doubtless served to impart to its deliberations on that occasion a historic rather than a practical interest, but it will be none the less worth while to note the conditions under which it assembled and the aims proposed for its attainment at this stage in its development.

The Con-
gress of
Munich.

The Congress assembled at Munich and lasted from the 22nd to the 24th of September. It was presided over by professor Von Schulte,¹ and was composed of some 500 delegates, from almost every European country, and even from North America and Brazil, though, as might have been anticipated, by far the larger number were from Germany. Among the latter were to be found representatives of nearly all sections of society, the noble, the Government official, and the man of commerce.² The Bavarian representatives, with excellent judgment and good taste, declined, as far as possible, that prominent share in the proceedings to which their previous exertions and sacrifices

¹ Of this eminent leader of the movement Mr. Lowry Whittle says: 'His appearance and demeanour were much more those of an intellectual soldier than a professor. Everyone remarked the striking likeness he bore to the portraits of Count Bismark—a likeness heightened by his prompt, decided bearing, always, as chairman, appreciating each point made, and recognising the rights of all the members, but taking care to prevent confusion and waste of time. His fellow-labourers at the Congress spoke of him proudly as *unserer Bismark*.'—*Catholicism and the Vatican*, p. 60.

² Nearly all the delegates, it was ascertained, had, notwithstanding their different social status, been students at one or other of the German universities.—*Ibid.*, p. 54.

fairly entitled them; but the admiration and respect for Döllinger evinced by all present was unmistakable. On his first appearance the whole assemblage rose up to render him an emphatic mark of homage. The vice-presidents were Landammann Keller of Aarau, and Windscheid; the latter professor of Roman law at Heidelberg; the former, a statesman of eminence in his own country, whose massive presence, piercing glance, and resonant voice, gave on the present occasion singular effect to a masculine and commanding style of oratory. The committee included Döllinger, professor Langen of Bonn, Reinkens of Breslau, Maassen, professor of the canon law at Vienna, Friedrich, and Huber, one of the authors of 'Janus.' The most effective speakers were perhaps Michelis and Reinkens, both of whom exhibited the resources of a highly nervous and telling rhetoric, as they visited with well-deserved denunciation the policy of the Jesuits, and combined in declaring that the suppression of the Order was essential to the tranquillity of the State not less than that of the Church. Father Hyacinthe alone, among the speakers, represented the country with which Germany was on terms of such bitter hostility. No Englishman addressed the Congress; but a telegram from the bishop of Ely expressed the sympathy of his Church; and a synodical letter from the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Lincoln gave assurance of their 'brotherly feeling' and promise of 'whatever active co-operation it might hereafter be in their power

to render.' The Rev. F. S. May attended with 'letters commendatory' from both prelates (the former signing in the capacity of president of the *Anglo-Continental Society*), having left England for the express purpose of putting himself in direct communication with the Old Catholic party and obtaining a fuller interchange of views between its leaders and the English Church.¹

Scheme
for local
organisa-
tions.

A portion of the business of the Congress was transacted in private. Organisation was clearly seen to be essential for success; and it was accordingly resolved to draw up a scheme for the guidance of those who might be endeavouring to form Old Catholic Unions and Congregations (*Vereine und Gemeine*) in different parts of Europe. The scheme was necessarily merely provisional in character; and its authors laboured under a double difficulty in their uncertainty, on the one hand, how far the existing authorities might continue to deny the rites of the Church to members of the Old Catholic party, and, on the other, how far the State itself might be willing to support the new movement in the endeavour to establish independent organisations. The attitude of the German Government at this time, it is to be remembered, widely differed from that which it has since been compelled to assume under the irresistible logic of facts. The testimony of

¹ Mr. May was also the bearer of letters from bishop Browne and bishop Wordsworth to 'our most reverend brethren in Christ the Lord Archbishop of Utrecht, Metropolitan of the Netherlands, with his provincials the Lords Bishops of Haarlem and Deventer.'—See Report of *Anglo-Continental Society* (1871), pp. 34, 35.

Reinkens on this point, given two years later, admits of no reasonable doubt. ‘Our religious struggle against Rome,’ he says, in a published letter to professor Mayor, ‘was for a long time exceedingly irksome to the leading statesmen in Germany; we found not the smallest encouragement or support amongst the governments, and only a partial negative protection.’¹ Again, as Michelis distinctly stated, their design was not to perpetuate a schism, but simply to provide for their own pressing necessities. Wherever they were not actually debarred from access to the established ministrations of the Church, it was accordingly no part of their policy to found a rival communion. We can thus easily understand that it was not without some decided differences of opinion² and some hesitation that the Congress ultimately drew up the following resolutions, designed simply to guide the efforts of their widely scattered little communions towards maintaining and strengthening their local existence:—

1. In all places where the necessity exists, and where there is a resident element, a regular cure of souls is to be instituted. The local committees are to decide whether such a necessity really exists.

2. We have a right to the recognition of our priests by the State as entitled to discharge Church functions, wherever and so long as the same involve religious rights.

¹ Reinkens’ *Speeches*, ed. Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, p. 4.

² Of the opposition of Dr. Döllinger to these resolutions—an opposition which he could not be induced to withdraw during the proceedings—I consider it here unnecessary to say anything further than that he subsequently heartily approved the scheme, and that no one, at the time, ever called in question the motives in which his dissent originated.

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3. Where practicable, this recognition is to be claimed.

4. The circumstances warrant our priests in soliciting from foreign bishops the performance of episcopal functions; and we shall be justified, as soon as the proper time has arrived, in providing for the introduction of a regular episcopal jurisdiction.

Declaration
of religious
policy.

The programme in which it was sought to lay down an acknowledged doctrinal basis of their policy and to define their aims, was a more important document. It was publicly discussed, and after having been embodied in seven resolutions, was adopted with remarkable unanimity by the Congress.

The first resolution indicated the doctrinal standpoint—a repudiation of the new dogmas and adherence to the Tridentine canons:—

First Re-
solution, on
doctrine.

1. We hold fast to the Old Catholic faith, as witnessed in Scripture and in tradition, and to the old Catholic worship. As rightful members of the Catholic Church, we refuse to be expelled either from Church communion or from the enjoyment of ecclesiastical and social rights proceeding from the same. We declare that the ecclesiastical censures with which we have been visited are arbitrary and objectless, and that we shall not suffer our consciences to be hindered thereby from active participation in Church communion. *From the standpoint of the Confession of Faith contained in the Tridentine Creed*, we reject the dogmas set up under Pope Pius IX. in contradiction to the teaching of the Church and to the principles of the Apostolic Council, especially that of the infallible teaching office, and of the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope.

The second resolution was aimed at the third chapter of the *Constitutio de Ecclesia Christi*:—

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Second
Resolutions
concerning
the constitu-
tion of
the Church.

2. We hold fast to the ancient constitution of the Church, and repudiate every attempt to thrust out the bishops from the immediate and independent direction of the separate churches. *According to the Tridentine Canon* there exists a divinely instituted hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. We acknowledge the primacy of the Roman bishop, as it was received by the Fathers on the ground of Scripture. We declare that dogmas of faith can only be defined in accordance with Holy Scripture, and that the dogmatic decisions of a Council must be shown to be in harmony with the originally delivered faith of the Church, in the direct consciousness of belief of the Catholic people and in theological science. We claim for the Catholic laity, for the clergy, and for scientific theology, the right of a voice and testimony in the enunciation of rules of faith.

The third Resolution expressed the sense of the Congress of the necessity for Church Reform, and, in contrast to the whole spirit of the Vatican Council, of the desirability of admitting the laity to participate in Church policy. It then went on to record the assembly's disapprobation of a continued severance from national communions between whom and themselves no real dogmatic difference existed, and it was at this stage of the proceedings that a pleasing task devolved upon Döllinger, which he discharged in a manner that gave a special charm to a subject in itself fraught with no ordinary interest. In order to render the whole matter more intelligible, it will be necessary once more to go back to history and to give in succinct outline the substance of his explanation.

Among the different religious communities which

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II.
Outline of
the history
of the
Church of
Utrecht.

refer back their origin to the sixteenth century, none so closely resembled in spirit and in doctrine the movement with which we are now occupied, as the so-called Jansenist Church of Utrecht. Its members called themselves by the same name (*Oud-Katholieken*). They denied the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope. They strongly opposed the superstitious teaching of the Mendicant Friars, and recommended the study of the Bible by the laity. They encouraged the use of the vernacular in the offices of the Church. They accepted without demur the decisions of the Council of Trent. Amid the religious struggles that agitated the Low Countries in the sixteenth century the fidelity of the Church of Utrecht to Rome was thankfully accepted and its *doctrinale* passed uncriticised. No sooner, however, had the Jesuits begun to prevail in Holland than they at once detected the presence of a school of religious thought in little harmony with their own. The House of Orange, on the other hand, could not extend its favour to a communion which recognised the Tridentine canons. Between the coldness of the Lutheran party and the hostility of the Jesuits, this inoffensive community found itself isolated and defenceless. In the year 1580 its political rights ceased to exist, while its revenues became forfeited to the State. It still preserved its connexion with Rome, until, in the succeeding century, it became involved in the Jansenistic struggle. Rovenius, the archbishop of the diocese,

was the personal friend of Jansenius, and had read, and admired without misgiving, the learned arguments of the *Augustinus*. The condemnation of these doctrines at Rome was received at Utrecht with dismay, although the little Church hastened to disarm the anger of the Vatican by ready submission. But its sympathies had already been unmistakably evinced. It had given shelter to Arnould, Nicole, and Quesnel, when driven from France by the intolerance of Louis XIV., and had thus earned the bitter enmity of the Jesuits. The machinations of the latter proved only too successful; and in the year 1779 the excommunication of both the episcopate and the Church was pronounced by Pius VI. *coram populo*. Since that time the Church of Utrecht has rarely engaged the attention of Europe. With the accession of each new Pope it has prayed for a new enquiry and the restoration of its privileges, but has simply been met with a new anathema. It has, however, resolutely adhered to its traditional principles, and stoutly asserted the episcopal rights against the centralising tendencies of Rome. It has preserved its ancient organisation; and though now numbering little more than 6,000 souls, still maintains an archbishop, two bishops, one at Deventer, the other at Haarlem, together with a college and a clerical staff adequate to the wants of the five-and-twenty parishes in which its congregations are to be found. With the return of the Jesuit party to power, it was called to suffer the extreme displeasure

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and final disavowal of the head of the Church, in the institution of a new archbishop and bishops, in opposition to its own,—a measure enacted by Pius IX. in the year 1853. On the other hand, it boldly protested against the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The heroism and adverse fortunes of this isolated community have not escaped the notice of sympathisers both on the Continent and at home; and a few years back its history was sketched by an English clergyman. ‘It seems to me,’ said the Rev. J. M. Neale, at the conclusion of his work, ‘that the little remnant of this afflicted Church are reserved for happier days. Wherever and whenever that Œcumenical Council may be, or whatever other means God shall employ to restore the lost unity of Christendom, the labours and trials and sufferings of this communion will not be forgotten.’¹

It was scarcely possible but that the similarity of their position and principles should strike the leaders of the Old Catholics in Bavaria. They resolved on in-

Negotiations between the Bavarian Old Catholics and those of Utrecht.

¹ *Hist. of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland*, p. 380. In remarkable agreement with Mr. Neale’s anticipations we find the *Rheinischer Merkur* asking, some fifteen years later, ‘May not these so-called “Utrecht schismatics” have been preserved by Providence in their unregarded existence for more than a century, in spite of all the persecutions of Rome, and of their chief foes the Jesuits, for the express purpose of maintaining the true Apostolic faith in its original purity; and now amidst the general shipwreck of well-nigh the whole episcopate, restoring to the Church an orthodox episcopate untainted by the Jesuit heresy?’ For further information respecting the Church of Utrecht, see Nippold, *Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht*, Heidelberg, 1872; also an interesting article by M. Réville in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 1872), entitled *L’église des anciens Catholiques de Hollande*; and an article by Theodor Wenzelburger in *Unsere Zeit*, X. 155, *Die altkatholische Kirche in Holland*, 1874.

viting the co-operation of their brethren in Utrecht. Van Vlooten, the pastor at the Hague, had already written to the committee at Munich to express his admiration of the 'wise, powerful, and spirited' opposition they were offering to Roman usurpation, and the sympathy with which their efforts were watched by those who, 'ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century, had in the Netherlands striven and suffered for the same cause.' The letter gave rise to a correspondence between Renfle of Mehring and the archbishop of Utrecht, which has since been published and affords an interesting illustration of the relative position of the two parties. Renfle had applied to the archbishop to obtain from him those rites of confirmation which, owing to his excommunication, were withheld from his congregation by Von Dinkel, the bishop of the diocese.¹ The archbishop, in his reply (dated Aug. 19th, 1871), intimated that he should be willing to render this service, if the proposal were approved by his own chapter, but at the same time expressed his desire that the Tridentine canons, or, as he expressed it, the *Symbolum* of Pius IV., should be understood to represent the basis of doctrinal agreement. It was also his hope, he said, that schemes of Church reform, at that time somewhat vaguely indicated, would not be attempted by the leaders of the new movement, 'without co-operation with constituted authority. *That*

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Correspondence
between
Renfle
and the
archbishop
of Utrecht.

¹ A similar application was made at nearly the same time by M. Aloysius Anton of Vienna.

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Deputies
sent by
the arch-
bishop.

would be to have the Reformation over again.' And finally, writing as he did within a month of the proposed Congress, he decided that it would be best to await the result of its deliberations. Three deputies from Utrecht were accordingly despatched to Munich—Van Vlooten, Van Beck, and Van Thiel; and a speech delivered by the last named was received with unanimous applause; while the response of the Old Catholics of Germany to the sympathy thus shown by their brethren in Munich was now clearly conveyed in a clause of the following (the third) Resolution:—

Third Re-
solution:
on Church
reform and
re-union.

3. We aim, with the assistance of theological and canonical science, at a reform in the Church, which may serve to abolish the faults and abuses at present existing, and especially meet the justifiable desire of the Catholic laity for constitutionally regulated participation in Church affairs, whereby, without danger to Church doctrinal union, the national views and requirements of the Catholic peoples may be recognised. *We declare that the reproach of Jansenism against the Utrecht Church is causeless; there is no dogmatic difference between her and ourselves.* We hope for re-union with the Oriental-Greek and the Russian Churches, separation from these having been unnecessary and founded upon no irreconcilable dogmatic differences. In contemplation of the reform at which we aim, and in the progress of science and increased Christian culture, we hope for a gradual understanding with the Protestant and the Episcopal Churches.

The fourth Resolution dealt with the subject of clerical education, calling attention to the dependent state of the 'inferior clergy':—

4. We regard the culture of scientific knowledge as imperatively necessary in the training of the Catholic clergy. We look upon the exclusion (in boys' schools and in the higher seminaries, under the one-sided direction of the bishops) of the clergy from the intellectual training of the age, as dangerous, in consequence of their great influence, to civilisation, and as entirely inappropriate to the education of a morally virtuous, scientifically intelligent, and patriotic clergy. We demand for the so-called inferior clergy a position of dignity, and one protected against the arbitrary exercise of superior hierarchical power. We condemn the authority vested in the bishops of removing at discretion (*amovibilitas ad nutum*) priests with cure of souls, which was introduced by the French law, and has lately been more generally exercised.¹

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Fourth Resolution: relating to education and status of the inferior clergy.

The fifth Resolution re-asserted fidelity to the civil power:—

We hold fast to the constitutions of our countries, which guarantee civil freedom and humanitarian culture; and we assert our loyal and steadfast adhesion to our governments in the contest against the dogmatised Ultramontanism of the *Syllabus*.

Fifth Resolution: on allegiance to the State

The sixth was an explicit declaration of their belief

¹ The Concordat of 1801; see *supra*, p. 45. A condition of abject dependence which the *Saturday Review* declares 'has led in France to hundreds of suspended priests being now employed as cabmen, waiters, and compositors at Paris.' Compare the observations of Michaud: 'Jamais les anciens catholiques ne pourront, en France, provoquer un grand mouvement de réforme religieuse tant que le concordat de 1801 sera interprété dans un sens favorable à l'ultramontanisme, tant que les églises et le budget de cultes seront à la disposition des seuls ultramontains; car, aussi longtemps qu'il en sera ainsi, les ecclésiastiques qui en conscience rejettent l'ultramontanisme n'oseront pas se prononcer contre lui, dans la crainte, parfaitement fondée, d'être interdits par leur évêque, et conséquemment de perdre la place qui leur donne du pain.'—*Le Mouvement Contemporain*, pp. 356-7.

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in the necessity for State interference and the suppression of the Jesuit Order :—

Sixth Resolution :
demanding suppression of the Jesuits.

As it is notorious that the present mischievous confusion is the result of Jesuit activity, and as this Order has abused its power for the purpose of spreading and fostering in the hierarchy, the clergy, and the laity tendencies inimical to civilisation, dangerous to the State, and unpatriotic, and as again it inculcates and imposes a false and corrupting morality, we declare our conviction that peace, prosperity, and union in the Church, and just relations between it and civil society, will be possible only when an end is made to the pernicious activity of this Order.

The seventh Resolution was as follows, and, in the light of recent events, has acquired additional interest :—

Seventh Resolution :
assertion of Old Catholic rights.

As members of that Catholic Church not yet altered by the Vatican decrees, to which the States have guaranteed political acknowledgment and public protection, we maintain our right to all real goods and possessions of the Church.

Expression of respect for Döllinger.

When the Congress was at an end, and Döllinger passed down the hall, the assembly again rose as one man to pay him a final tribute of respect. So far as was well possible, he had resigned to others the more important duties throughout the proceedings, and his language had been studiously guarded, to some even disappointing. But it was felt that he was still the real leader of the movement, and that his self-devotion and quiet heroism had won for the cause a large amount of public sympathy.

Conclusion of the Congress.

And thus the first Congress ended. Some of its

effects were soon visible. Within a few weeks Bernard and Hosemann, the parish priests of Kiefersfelden and Tuntenhausen, followed the example of Egli and Kenftle, and on refusing to accept the Vatican decrees were excommunicated by the archbishop of Munich. At Kiefersfelden the proceedings gave rise to a singular scene; for on the morning of October 28th, while the archbishop was pronouncing the sentence of excommunication within the church, the congregation had withdrawn and were listening to an address from Bernard, who had ascended a stone pulpit without the walls.

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Subsequent
results.
Bernard
and Hose-
mann.

The scheme of organisation was taken up with energy; *Vereins* were formed at Stuttgard, Nürnberg, Strassburg, Carlsruhe, Tachau, Gratz, Kaiserslautern, and other places, and amounted before the close of the year to twenty-three in number. The irritation of the Ultramontanists found vent in unmeasured vituperation, which in some instances recoiled with damaging effect upon its authors—the bishop of Regensberg, for instance, being indicted and fined seventy-five gulden for abusing the Bürgermeister of Kötzing. In the month of November appeared the first edition of Friedrich's *Tagebuch*, or Journal, kept during the sitting of the Vatican Council; and its disclosures, confirming and supplementing the anonymous revelations of 'Quirinus,' told with considerable effect on the state of feeling throughout Germany.

Formation
of *Vereins*
or Unions.

In the wider range of European opinion the prevailing impression was evidently to the effect that the atti-

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Prevalent
impression
in Europe
with re-
spect to
the position
of the Old
Catholic
body.

tude assumed by the Old Catholics was fully justified by the proceedings against which they protested, but that a more distinct and more liberal enunciation of doctrinal belief was necessary before they could hope to win the active co-operation of other Churches. While Utrecht appealed to them to take their stand by the Decrees of Trent, the organs of Protestantism—notwithstanding the sanguine tone of the Anglican party—plainly intimated that such a decision must exclude the possibility of intercommunion with the Lutheran or the English Church. Admiration of the noble spirit and high purpose of Dollinger and his supporters could not bridge over the wide chasm that would still exist between them and Protestant communions. But was it not possible that the convictions which had found such notable expression in the course of the last eighteen months might lead to yet more definite results? Might not the Old Catholic party, in its earnest repudiation of new and unscriptural dogmas and in its sense of the spirit of usurpation in which those dogmas had taken their rise, begin to examine with more insight the foundations of even the Tridentine decrees? Such was the question which those who watched the movement with the most unselfish interest were asking, at the close of the year which witnessed the first Old Catholic Congress.

CHAPTER III.

THE YEAR 1872 AND THE CONGRESS OF COLOGNE.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1871, Dr. Döllinger delivered at Munich his Inaugural Address as rector of the university. The theological faculty, after their recent submission, had of course no alternative but to withhold their countenance from the occasion, but their absence only served to bring into stronger relief the sympathy expressed by an overflowing and distinguished audience. Members of the Court and Government, foreign ambassadors, and nearly all the lay professors and students of the university, thronged the hall; and the address, occupying nearly two hours in the delivery, was frequently interrupted by loud applause. Its most important feature, in relation to our subject, was the emphasis with which the speaker dwelt on the intimate connexion between recent political events and the Vatican decrees; and on the direct challenge thrown out by the promulgation of the dogma to those views with respect to which the learning and intellect of Germany were rapidly arriving at an almost unanimous conclusion. ‘And what,’ he asked, ‘has been the influence of late events upon our universities? Why, history, philosophy, and above

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Döllinger's
Inaugural
Address.

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all theology, have received a fresh impulse. We are entering upon a new era in the religious history of Europe; and it is evident that the narrow polemical spirit which has prevailed since the Reformation must give place to one of compromise and reconciliation. The restored unity of Germany points imperatively to this; for until the religious disunion has been bridged over, the new empire will be but an unfinished edifice.' Throughout Europe, he affirmed, there was a growing desire for the reunion of the separated Churches.

Views of
the Old
Catholic
party.

It must certainly be admitted that, in relation to the question thus indicated, the Old Catholic party had already clearly vindicated its claims to the attention not only of the theologian but of the politician. 'The Old Catholics of Germany,' said M. Michaud, 'understand perfectly well that society in the nineteenth century differs widely from that of the sixteenth; and they aim at a different method of procedure from that of Luther and his followers.' And similarly another observer, an Irish clergyman, in a thoughtful and appreciative sketch of the movement written about the same time, said: 'We are struck by the quiet and unobtrusive spirit which characterises this movement of the nineteenth century, as contrasted with the enthusiasm and the passion of the Reformation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'¹ If, indeed, we must needs seek for a parallel to Old Catholicism in past history, it will be found rather in the Reformation of

Döllinger
compared
to Wyclif.

¹ *The Old Catholic Movement in Bavaria.* By John Newenham Hoare, M.A., p. 36.

Wyclif than that of Luther; and there are not a few respects in which the Munich professor strongly resembles the Oxford schoolman. Both are to be seen taking their stand on resistance to mediæval innovations; both are distinguished by their learning; both seek to bring back the simplicity of the faith by a movement resulting from profound enquiry and taking its origin in a learned community.

Notwithstanding the manifest justice of the appeal to the sympathies of the State contained in Dr. Döllinger's address, the Government still seemed desirous of maintaining strict neutrality. An application from Renfle of Mehring, dated Nov. 17th, 1871, for the sanction of the Government to a confirmation to be held in his parish by the archbishop of Utrecht, was met by an intimation that the authorities did not consider the matter to be within their cognizance.¹ The earliest indication of a different policy was given in the month of January, 1872, on the refusal of the clergy at Amberg, in the Regensberg diocese, to inter an Old Catholic with the customary rites. On this occasion the district authorities acted with spirit and promptitude. They directed that a church should forthwith be assigned for the service (which professor Friedrich undertook to perform), and that the usual rites should be formally observed. The Prussian Government was soon called upon to act with equal decision. In the Rhine country Tangermann continued to display un-

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Policy of
the Bava-
rian and
Prussian
Govern-
ments.

¹ The reply of the Government is printed in *Die Apostolische Reise des Erzbischofs von Utrecht*, p. 19.

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diminished energy ; and early in February the first Old Catholic service in Cologne was celebrated in the church of St. Pantaleon. The archbishop immediately ordered a decree of excommunication to be read from the city pulpits against all who attended these services ; and this proceeding was warmly supported by the army bishop, Namszanowski, who forbade the celebration of the mass in a church which he professed to consider polluted by such rites. The intolerance of this order was all the more striking, inasmuch as the church had already long been used for the performance of Protestant worship without any objection being raised. The Government now gave expression to its disapproval of this persecution, by formally authorising the Old Catholic service, and by removing Namszanowski from his office. In conjunction with the Bavarian Government, it shortly afterwards decreed that congregations registering themselves as Old Catholics should be legally free from the payment of church taxes to the Roman Catholic parish. The Austrian Government exhibited less liberality, and published a decree to the effect that marriages performed by excommunicated priests would not be recognised as legal.

Decree
of the
Austrian
Govern-
ment.

Course of
lectures at
Munich.

With a view to creating among the laity a more intelligent interest in the cause, it was next decided to commence a series of lectures at Munich. They were delivered by Reinkens, Döllinger, Cornelius, and Ritter, and attracted large audiences, and produced a marked impression on public feeling in that city. At the same

time it was resolved to extend the scheme to other large cities, and the assistance rendered in this part of the undertaking by Reinkens proved invaluable. It was about this time that he began to assume that prominent position in connexion with the movement which has since familiarised all Europe with his name. In the prime of life (he was now fifty years of age), his growing reputation for eloquence and learning had long before exposed him to the dislike and suspicion of the obscurantist clergy. His literary efforts had been remarkably wide and varied; and in the province of Church history there was no prominent school of thought which he had not illustrated by able investigation and graphic portraiture. Clemens and the philosophic school of Alexandria, Augustine and the historic school of Africa, St. Hilary of Poitiers, Martin of Tours, and Bernard of Clairvaux, have all in turn been the subjects of his eloquent and subtle pen. Educated at Bonn and Cologne, he finally settled at Breslau, where in the year 1853 he was appointed extraordinary professor of Church History, and subsequently succeeded as ordinary professor to the chair of the eminent Ritter. The fearless honesty which characterised his History of the University, published in 1862, exposed him to the attacks of the Ultramontane party, whose hostility, however, did not prevent his election to the rectorship of the university three years later. His suspension, in 1871, in consequence of his signature of the Nürnberg Protest, has already

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Reinkens.

been recorded. 'The suspension,' says professor Mayor, 'emptied the theological lecture-rooms; but the University of Leipzig did itself honour by conferring on Reinkens the degree of *Doctor philosophiæ honoris causa*.'

'Reinkens,' says a journal of his own country, in describing his character and personal traits, 'is a man in the prime of manly strength, with 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, are combined with solid learning in theology and history, with rare energy, with an unflagging power of action and inexhaustible zeal on behalf of his Church, and lastly with polished manners, betraying the highest social breeding.'¹

While Reinkens was passing from city to city of Southern Germany and winning multitudes—who, up to that time, had regarded the cause he advocated with suspicion, if not with aversion—to real interest and sympathy, a new leader appeared in France. The religious condition of that country has long been such as no well-wisher can contemplate without misgiving. It is represented almost entirely by two extremes, those of scepticism and superstition. The advocate of the

Religion in
France.

¹ *Life of Bp. Reinkens*, by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, in *Reinkens' Speeches*, p. 10.

doctrines of the Commune smiles sarcastically at the excitement displayed in the repudiation of one dogma more, by those who accept ninety-nine others which he regards as equally false. The devout Ultramontanist rejoices in the belief that religious assurance has been confirmed by the proclamation of an infallible spiritual guide. On the one hand is to be seen nothing but complete indifference, the indifference of those who believe that all religion is but a remnant of past superstition, destined soon to disappear in the increasing light of science. On the other hand, all mental independence is wanting, and nothing prevails but a slavish 'submission of the intellect'—on the part of the layman to the priest, on the part of the priest to his bishop. The great party which once endeavoured to reconcile, both in theory and practice, a liberal and expansive ecclesiastical policy with loyalty to the head of the Church, has well-nigh disappeared. 'The Gallican priest,' says a writer long resident in the country, 'exists no longer but as an historical remembrance.'¹

Under such circumstances the resolution formed by M. Michaud, of following in the steps of Father Hyacinthe, seems all the more deserving of admiration. A curate at the Madeleine, and still young, he was already distinguished among his countrymen by his learning and by attainments far from common in

The Abbé
Michaud.

¹ Letter to Dr. Oldknow, in *Report of Anglo-Continental Society for 1872*, pp. 8-14.

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III.Michaud's
decision.Effect pro-
duced in
France.

France. He is conversant with both English and German literature, and is personally well known in this country. He now resolved on resigning all his ecclesiastical appointments ; and accordingly addressed a letter to the archbishop, announcing his determination—the result of his inability to accept the Vatican decrees. ‘The sensation caused by the publication of this letter,’ says a correspondent of the *Anglo-Continental Society*, ‘was very great ; the more so as the step taken in this instance did not announce itself, as in the case of the Père Hyacinthe, to be a mere individual act, but professed to be the precursor of, and to have in view, general plans of reform. And, in fact, the designation of *Vieux Catholiques* first began to be heard and spoken of in France only after the step taken and the movement originated by the Abbé Michaud.’¹

His scheme
of reunion.

Unfettered by previous declarations, and a watchful observer of the tendencies of the new movement, M. Michaud soon began to advocate a more liberal programme and a more distinct avowal of policy on the part of those by whom he was now gladly welcomed as a fellow-labourer. In a series of spirited appeals,² he called upon all Christian communions, ‘Eastern, Anglican, Protestant, and Roman,’ to work together with a view to a return to primitive and universal faith. He pointed out that the Tridentine canons

¹ Same Report, p. 4.

² See *Plutôt la mort que le deshonneur*, 1872. *Comment l'église romaine n'est plus l'église catholique*, 1872.

could only represent a position temporarily assumed by the Old Catholics in their repudiation of the Vatican decrees, and that Protestantism, whether on the Continent or in England, could never admit the œcumenicity of a Council which had been convened in declared hostility to Reformation doctrines. He further pointed out that no mediæval General Council—that is to say, no Council subsequent to the schism between East and West—could be supposed to command the submission of the Greek Church. If, therefore, the wide scheme of reconciliation indicated by Döllinger were to be adopted by his party, would it not be necessary at once to go back to the common ground afforded in Christian doctrine as universally received by the Churches of Christendom before the ninth century? Once let this view receive the assent of those who might henceforth represent the Old Catholic party, and their standpoint became intelligible to all. Rome, with her vast system of mediæval doctrine, her canonical forgeries, and her more recent innovations, would thus stand convicted of heresy. Pius IX. and the bishops would be the real schismatics; and it would consequently devolve on all true Catholics to seek the services of a new episcopate, who should render to the reformed Church the ministrations of their order and be the guardians of the faith in its ancient simplicity and integrity.¹

Such was the ‘programme’ advocated by M. Michaud; and in the remarkable progress of ideas dis-

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Progress of ideas among the Old Catholic party.

¹ *Programme de Réforme de l'Église d'Occident*, 1872.

cernible in the interval between the Congress of 1871 and that of 1872, that programme had come to be regarded with an amount of favour which, at the time when the Congress at Munich broke up, would probably have been deemed impossible. Much, however, has been meanwhile effected by an interchange of views with the representatives of other communions; much, again, by the unyielding intolerance of the Ultramontane party. Bishop Förster's excommunication, in the month of May, of four men of such eminence as Reinkens, Weber, Hassler, and Hirschwälder, for their steadfast adherence to those views which he had at first visited only by suspension, evoked a strong feeling in favour of organised resistance, and largely weighed with the Committee at Munich in the resolve which they now formed of inviting the archbishop of Utrecht to undertake a confirmation tour in Bavaria. The correspondence on the subject, carried on between Van Vlooten and Renfle, shows the honourable sentiments, as well as generous sympathy, by which the archbishop was actuated.¹ The refusal of the Bavarian Government directly to sanction the invitation appeared to him, at first, an insuperable barrier; but after further consultation with his Chapter he ultimately intimated his readiness to come in the following July. The Journal of the tour which he subsequently took was edited and published by Renfle, and forms one of the most interesting records as yet furnished by the Old Catho-

Invitation
to the arch-
bishop of
Utrecht.

¹ *Die Apostolische Reise des Erzbischofs von Utrecht*, pp. 1-32.

lic movement. There are probably few who will follow without sympathy the narrative of the experiences of this venerable representative of a community which had so long maintained amid obscurity and neglect the principles of the ancient faith, and who now found himself suddenly summoned, from a comparatively humble sphere of action, to minister to the wants of an illustrious party in a great nation, and himself to receive in turn the encouragement imparted by assurances of widespread and powerful sympathy.

He visits
Cologne.

At Cologne the archbishop was received by Tangemann, who, as already stated, was carrying on the Old Catholic services at the garrison church, which the Government had assigned for his use. ‘The Ultramontanists,’ observes the journalist, ‘profess to consider it desecrated. It has long been used by Protestants, and during this time no such charge has been made. But now that it is used by those who stand by the ancient faith, it is “desecrated,” and desecrated solely because they maintain the ancient faith!’ The aspect of affairs at Cologne was generally cheering. The Old Catholics mustered nearly 3,000 strong in the city, and Tangemann had already received the names of more than 2,000—many of them residents of good position and liberal education.

His arrival
at Munich.

It was on the fifth of July that the archbishop arrived at Munich, where he was received by a deputation consisting of Von Wolf, the solicitor-general, and Count Von Moy (acting in the capacity of presidents of

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the Old Catholic central Committee), and also by Friedrich, Hassler, and others. On the following Sunday morning the archbishop, clad in his episcopal robes, held a confirmation service in the little church of St. Nicholas. The following account of the ceremony and of subsequent proceedings connected with his visit, furnished by a correspondent of the *Anglo-Continental Society*, offers a more appreciative description than could well be furnished in the pages of the Journal :

Confirma-
tion at the
church of
St. Nicho-
las.

The morning was bright, and as many people as possible crammed the church early, and hundreds more were quietly awaiting the archbishop's arrival who could not possibly get into the church. There could not have been less than 1,500 to 2,000 persons interested enough to come out to the church to witness the archbishop's arrival and the ceremony. A hearty layman, Herr Schaumberger, kindly brought the archbishop in his carriage with his chaplain, canon Van Vlooten of Utrecht, and Herr Von Wolf. At the church door they were met by professors Friedrich and Messmer, and another priest, Franz Hirschwulder, editor of the Old Catholic organ, the 'Deutscher Merkur.' These were the officiating clergy, with the archbishop and his chaplain. As the archbishop does not feel himself sufficiently at home in the German tongue to address a congregation, professor Friedrich read from the pulpit his pastoral address. Friedrich delivered it with all the simple hearty earnestness which marks him, and I never saw people listen with more marked attention. The archbishop was attired in full archiepiscopal robes, with mitre and pastoral staff, the latter being held by professor Friedrich during most of the service. The officiating clergy accompanied him to the door, kneeling there for his parting blessing. The crowd outside reverently saluted him as he entered the carriage and drove off. Two

attachés of the papal Nuncio were present to watch the proceedings throughout.

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Dinner in
honour of
the arch-
bishop.

At the dinner there were some twenty of the Committee and their friends, so we were twenty-three or twenty-four in all. The university was strongly represented by professors Friedrich (theology), Cornelius (history), Huber (philosophy), Berchthold (canon law), Messmer (Christian archaeology), Ritter (law), and, I think, another; the president, Herr Von Wolf, who holds a very important public post as director of the Department of Public Security for Bavaria; Count Moy, master of ceremonies at the Court; with Herr Schaumberger, and one or two other laymen of some official stamp; also Pfarrer Renftle, the parish priest of Mehring, another priest, Stockbauer, professor in the Munich Art Institute, and some younger laymen (whom I was specially glad to see, as showing a succession to come on in their turn), made up the little gathering. The archbishop and his chaplain were placed in the centre, supported by Herr Von Wolf, Friedrich, Count Moy, and another councillor. As soon as dinner was over Döllinger came in, and was received by all standing. I was glad to see him looking quite as well as last year, and not showing such signs of pressure from heavy work as might have been expected. Herr Von Wolf gave the archbishop's health, and thanked him earnestly and heartily for so kindly coming to their aid, in the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves, because they had resolved not to follow the 'Esel-tritt'—the ass's tread—of blind unreasoning submission demanded by Rome, but to go forward in the path of truth and freedom. The archbishop desired his chaplain (who speaks German well) to return his thanks and express his earnest prayer and hope that they would persevere in the path of truth and righteousness. The archbishop is a most gentle, kind, and yet dignified old prelate, and his bearing manifestly told most favourably on his German friends. We all, after Herr Von Wolf's

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speech, went up in turn (after German fashion), to touch glasses with the archbishop and wish him health. There was no other speechifying, and the party broke into knots, moving about the room to chat with friends. I found all most kind, including the archbishop. Some asked if much sympathy was felt in England for their move for reformation. I assured them there was, and that if a few of them, who can speak English well, could visit England and see for themselves what we really are, they would find a hearty reception, and would effectively increase sympathy for their cause. Our good friend, Mr. Bullock, had suggested this notion to me. I asked professor Huber if he thought that correct knowledge of the Anglican Church was frequent among them. He frankly said, No; that in their training little heed had been paid to accurate information about foreign Churches.

Confirma-
tion at
Kiefersfel-
den.

The day after the Munich confirmation the archbishop, with his chaplain and professor Friedrich, went to confirm at Kiefersfelden. At Kiefersfelden, as at Mehring and Tuntenhäusen, the Pfarrers hold their churches, parsonages, and incomes. This is owing to the practice in Bavaria, whereby the Crown institutes to the 'temporalities' of all Church benefices, and the ecclesiastical censure and excommunication does not carry with it temporal deprivation, if the incumbent can show that he has transgressed no condition of the Concordat between Rome and the State. This is just the present case. These Pfarrers appealed to the Concordat whilst rejecting the infallibility dogma, and the Government decided their appeal was valid, and left them undisturbed in possession of the 'temporalia.' Their example may of course be followed by others if so disposed.

Confirma-
tion at-
Mehring.

On Wednesday evening the archbishop went to Mehring. His passage up the broad main street to the parsonage was touching, preceded and followed as he was by hundreds of the people, the men bareheaded, all quiet and reverent; some

were awaiting his coming, kneeling to receive his blessing, which he kept giving as he passed slowly along, in his open carriage, in which also sat the vicar, both bareheaded, going at foot pace. He was partially attired in his robes, and held a large white lily in one hand. Next morning the place looked in holyday trim, the confirmation children flocking to the church accompanied by sponsors and parents, the girls in white, with neat wreaths of flowers on their heads. There were 180 odd, for Pfarrer Renftle has carried his flock, almost entirely, heartily with him, and the ice had been broken at Munich and Kiefersfelden. The church is large, and was filled with not less than 1,000 people—all most attentive and interested—for this was the first confirmation held in the place, Augsburg having usually been their centre. After the service we were kindly asked into the parsonage, and I was glad to leave our prayer-book with the good Pfarrer, ‘in memoriam’ of this most interesting day. Mehring, probably, is the most notable ‘Alt-Katholik’ gain yet won, and shows what a few more Pfarrers of the stamp of Renftle might in no long time accomplish.

On leaving Munich the next stage in the episcopal visitation was the ancient town of Kempten, where a confirmation was held of seventy-one children from the town and from Waltenhofen. From Kempten the archbishop proceeded by Lindau and Romanshorn to Constance, where he visited the museum which preserves so many mementos of the great and good bishop Wessenberg.¹ From Constance he went by Carlsruhe to

Confirmations at Kempten, Kaiserslautern, Zweibrücken, and Landau.

¹ An Old Catholic before Old Catholicism was known by that name. He died in 1860, bequeathing to Constance his house, together with a large collection of paintings, engravings, and books. He also founded two schools for orphans, and expressly enjoined that the children should never be entrusted to Jesuit education. His life has been written by J. Beck, Freib., 1862.

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Kaiserslautern, where he was received by Pfarrer Kühn, and another confirmation was held. Two-thirds of the population of Kaiserslautern are Protestants, and Pfarrer Kühn's ministrations extended to two other towns, Landau and Zweibrücken. He had accordingly arranged for another confirmation at Zweibrücken; here again the Protestants represent a majority of the inhabitants, and their friendly feeling was evinced by the readiness with which they lent their church for the performance of the ceremony. At Landau the archbishop confirmed forty-eight children; and in a conversation with Dr. Zeigler, the president of the Old Catholic Committee, expressed himself gratified with all that he had seen and heard, and full of hope for the future.

Return of
the arch-
bishop to
Utrecht.

On his return to Utrecht the officials of his church hastened to congratulate him on the auspicious circumstances of his journey and his safe return. He was presented with a valuable diamond cross and amethyst ring. And when, on the following Sunday, adorned with these gifts, the venerable archbishop celebrated divine service in the Klarenberg church, surrounded by an overflowing congregation, while the choir, to the accompaniment of the organ and of silver trumpets, gave hearty thanks to God, it seemed as though the little Church of Utrecht were entering upon brighter days, and the prophecy of her historian were approaching its accomplishment.

‘I think,’ observed the correspondent already

quoted, ‘this decided step forward—the archbishop’s confirmation tour—cannot fail to have an important bearing on the further course of the movement. It marks, more emphatically than before, the determination of the Old Catholics to sustain their spiritual life through church worship and ordinances. . . . Several thousands of people have now been not only shaken loose from faith in an infallible Pope, and from confidence in a good deal more of Ultramontane teaching, but have visibly realised that they can have a bishop and enjoy all the functions that the Church allots to him, “by the mercy of God,” without depending on “the grace of the Apostolic See;” and thus a powerful link has been snapped—a powerful spell broken.’

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Influence
of the
arch-
bishop’s
tour on the
whole
question.

In Bavaria the contest was at this time chiefly directed to the question of the endowment of new professorships of philosophy and ecclesiastical history at Munich. The Ultramontanes, intent on withdrawing the students from the reach of an influence like that of Dr. Döllinger, pleaded that it was impossible to send the youth of the university to lectures delivered by excommunicated professors. The Government so far yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon the Cabinet, as to consent that a sum of 4,000 florins for the endowment of new chairs should be included in the yearly budget, leaving it with the Senate of the university to accept or decline the proffered aid; but the Senate refused to sanction a scheme which involved the implied condemnation of the rector of the uni-

Contest in
the univer-
sity of
Munich
with re-
spect to the
professor-
ships.

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versity, and the efforts of the Ultramontanists were consequently foiled.

The second
Old Catho-
lic Con-
gress.

In the following September the second Old Catholic Congress assembled at Cologne, and held its sittings on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of the month. The work before it was not less arduous than that of the preceding year, and important questions of detail awaited careful consideration. The extension of the original programme demanded by Michaud and others would, it was foreseen, probably require to be discussed, even although it might not be desirable, as yet, to arrive at definite conclusions. The selection of the chief city of the Rhineland, so famous for its Ultramontane traditions, showed how the movement was extending northwards; and the increasing interest in its progress felt by the English Church was proved by the presence of the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and of other distinguished members of that communion, among whom were the Rev. Lord Charles Harvey, Dr. Biber, Dr. Hobart, Rev. L. M. Hogg, Rev. W. C. Langdon, Rev. F. S. May, and Revs. J. and C. Wordsworth. The party of progress in Russia¹ was represented by the archpriest Janyschew (rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy in St. Petersburg), and Col. Alex. Kiréef. America was represented by the bishop of Maryland. The archbishop of Utrecht attended with four of his clergy. Michaud and Father Hyacinthe² were there,

Members
represent-
ing other
commu-
nions.

¹ *The Society of Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment*, an organisation representing the Liberal Church movement in Russia.

² Before attending the Congress, Father Hyacinthe addressed a letter

as supporters of Old Catholicism in France; Pressensé, as representing a French Protestant element. The total number amounted to nearly 500, and included strangers from Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Hungary, and various parts of Germany.

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In order that no misapprehension might arise with respect to the presence of the English bishops, his lordship of Lincoln, before leaving England, had deemed it desirable to offer the clergy and laity of his diocese some explanation of the motives by which he was actuated, and of his views in connexion with the whole movement. In a letter written on the occasion he disclaimed all pretensions of going 'as a representative of the Church of England or even of the diocese;' he went not 'of his own accord,' and had 'neither asked nor wished for an invitation;' 'but having been invited to go he did not feel it right to decline.' 'If I go to the Congress,' said his lordship, 'it will be in order to show sympathy with a body of men whom I greatly admire, and to testify an interest in a cause which I believe to be the cause of God; and which seems to

Letter
of the
bishop of
Lincoln to
the clergy
of his
diocese.

to the President requesting that the Congress might have an opportunity afforded it of formally deciding whether, notwithstanding his marriage, his attendance was recognised and welcomed by the assembly. His appeal was supported in an able letter from the bishop of Lincoln, inviting the consideration of the Congress to the subject, and recapitulating some of the most cogent arguments in favour of the abolition of enforced clerical celibacy. (See letter printed along with the bishop's *Letter on his Return from the Congress at Cologne*, Lincoln, 1872.) The President, in his reply to Father Hyacinthe's first letter, intimated that there was no wish on the part of the Congress to withdraw the invitation that had been already sent. Father Hyacinthe accordingly attended the Congress; but as it was thought better to reserve the subject of clerical celibacy for future consideration, he took no active part in the proceedings.

have a strong claim on the support and co-operation of all who wish well to the peace, freedom, good order, and happiness of civil governments, as well as of the Christian Church.' 'I shall go,' he further added, 'in a spirit of uncompromising loyalty to those fundamental principles of Christian doctrine and discipline which are contained in Holy Scripture as received and expounded by the judgment and practice of the primitive Church, and as re-asserted by the Church of England at the Reformation in the sixteenth century.'¹ This letter was accompanied by the Reply (written in Latin) which his lordship had forwarded to the Old Catholic Committee on receiving their invitation to attend the Congress. In this he pointed out the broad basis of agreement between those whom he addressed and the English Church, and also the still existing points of difference. With regard to the latter, he distinctly stated that the *Symbolum* of Pius IV., recognised at the Munich Conference as the creed of Old Catholicism, could never be accepted by the communion to which he belonged. That creed, in addition to the creed sanctioned by the first seven Councils of the Church, imposed twelve other articles of faith, and these not as 'probabiles opiniones,' but as essential to salvation. But it was impossible to prove that these had ever been accepted by the ancient Church, and it was certain that they could not be regarded as

¹ *The Old Catholics and the Cologne Congress for 1872.* By the Bishop of Lincoln. Lincoln, 1872.

the doctrines of the *undivided* Church. In conclusion, the writer expressed his firm conviction that while thus tenaciously adhering to the dogmas of Pius IV. they would never be able to oppose effectual resistance to those of Pius IX.¹

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In relation to other subjects the bishop's advice was given and discussed with equal frankness, and was probably of real service in rendering more clear the views of the communion he represented. While readily conceding the large allowance to be made for the Old Catholic party, amid the exigencies of their circumstances at the time—with governmental authorities and Ultramontanists alike only too ready to note signs of an undue complaisance towards the Eastern and Anglican Churches, which might invalidate their claim to State recognition—his lordship took occasion, at a preliminary private meeting, to utter a few words of well-timed exhortation that care should be taken lest the religious tone and spirit of the movement should be too much lost sight of in the interest attaching to a political struggle. In a final and admirable speech, delivered at the opening meeting of the delegates, he compared the position of the party whom he addressed with that of the English Reformers—his views, as thus explained, much resembling those of the venerable archbishop Loos, who immediately preceded him, inasmuch as both claimed for the communions they

His suggestions
to the
Congress.

¹ See *Veteribus Catholicis ad Congressum Coloniensem benevole invitantibus. Episcopi Lincolnienſis Gratias agentis Responsio.* Lincolniae, 1872.

represented the honour of having preserved the purity of that Church from which Rome had pronounced them excommunicate. He further urged upon the meeting the necessity of well considering the consequences involved in setting up a rival episcopate; and finally expressed his confidence that, in looking to the State for support, their 'appeal to Cæsar' would not be in vain.¹

Speech of
the bishop
of Ely.

The bishop of Ely, addressing the meeting in his capacity of president of the Anglo-Continental Society, confined himself to pointing out the grounds of agreement with the English Church. 'I may say,' observed his lordship, 'that the Old Catholics are doing, or are promising to do, the very work which the Anglo-Continental Society desires to see done, viz., the work of internal purification of the Church, without, if possible, producing schism in the Church. We in England have had to struggle against aggression on the one hand, and against licentiousness and unbelief on the other. You have the same struggle now.' These words, together with the bishop of Lincoln's letter, suffice to explain the attitude of the representatives of their Church throughout the Congress; which may be characterised as that of cordial sympathy, without, however, involving unqualified assent to all the principles laid down.

Four business sessions, attended only by delegates

¹ *Letter from the Bishop of Lincoln on his Return from the Congress at Cologne*, pp. 48-57.

and invited guests, and two public meetings, at which some thousand persons were present, comprised the transactions of the Congress.¹ The spirit and purpose by which the Committee were actuated were ably set forth in a speech by professor Huber, who warmly vindicated himself and those with whom he was co-operating from the charge—to which he evidently felt that the peculiar necessities of their position and the whole conduct of the movement had exposed them—of ‘half-heartedness.’ ‘What,’ he asked, ‘is halfness? It is to be on the road and not yet to have reached the goal. It is the necessary characteristic of every true movement, of every true development. Every human being is, in this sense, always but half himself. But, in the only sense in which the charge would be a reproach, we are not half-hearted, for we wish, we aim at the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. We are engaged in a vast process of historical revision—in an endeavour to distinguish the eternal from the temporary elements of Christianity; and this process, this endeavour, can only be successfully carried out with German earnestness and German thoroughness; and it is this earnestness and thoroughness which are cast in our teeth as half-heartedness.’

Speech of
Huber.

The deliberations of the Congress and the Committee were devoted to three different aspects of the movement: (1) the organisation of the Old Catholic body;

Chief subjects of
debate.

¹ See *Die Verhandlungen des zweiten Alt-katholiken Congresses zu Köln*, Leipzig, 1872.

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(2) their relations to other Churches; (3) the reforms necessary within the Catholic Church itself.

Question of
Old Catho-
lic organi-
sation.

In connexion with the first question some difference of opinion was manifested. It was felt that in proportion as the work of independent organisation advanced, the greater became the divergence from Rome, and the more completely all prospect of reconciliation was shut out. But the necessities of the Church were pressing; and it was finally resolved to give further extension to the resolutions passed at Munich by authorising the establishment of regular parochial cures, with all the necessary arrangements for separate services and sacramental ordinances. As, again, dependence on the Church of Utrecht was tantamount to a confession of defective ecclesiastical organisation, it was also ultimately resolved to appoint a Committee, composed of priests and laymen, empowered to take measures *for the election of a bishop*.¹

Appoint-
ment of
Reunion
Committee.

The questions connected with reunion naturally excited most general interest, especially among those of our own countrymen who were present. It was decided to appoint a Reunion Committee, who should give detailed consideration to the subject and bring proposals before the next Congress, and the following members were elected:—²

¹ On this cardinal measure, as will be seen in the following chapter, the whole question of the legal constitution of the Old Catholic body and its claims on the State for protection and support, was considered to hinge. See *Antrag betreffend die Rechte der (Alt-) Katholiken*, &c. (Köln, 1872), pp. 9, 10.

² The Congress did not hold itself empowered to elect members of other confessions.

Dr. DÖLLINGER, *President*.

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Prof. FRIEDRICH (<i>Secretary</i>), Munich.	Prof. MICHELIS, Bransberg.
„ Von SCHULTE, Prague (now Bonn).	„ LUTTERBECK, Giessen.
„ LANGEN, Bonn.	Herr ROTTELS, Cologne.
„ REUSCH, Bonn.	Prof. REINKENS, Breslau.
	Abbé MICHAUD, Paris.

Professor Reinkens, in a speech proposing the appointment of the Committee, gave admirable expression to the views by which his party was actuated. There were four things, he said, with which no desire for concord could induce them to make terms in the prosecution of their design. These were unbelief, which has no hope; superstition, which has no light; indifferentism, which lacks energy and force; and politics, which have an entirely different sphere from that of Church-union. ‘If politics employ religion as a means to ends, this is an outrage against religion, which is surely the highest end of human life; 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.’

Speech of
Reinkens.

He next proceeded to point out the lessons taught by history with regard to the reunion of Churches. Attempts at reunion had hitherto chiefly originated in politics; and as religion thus again became subordinated to secular aims, these attempts could not possibly be productive of permanent and stable results. Individual efforts, like those of Bossuet, Leibnitz, and

Union not
to be at-
tained by
uniformity.

Grotius, though dictated by purer motives, had proved of no avail, conceived as they were in a spirit beyond the comprehension of their age. One lesson, however, was plainly to be deduced from past failure; and that was that a union of confessions cannot possibly consist in *uniformity*. 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. '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.' The interest of his audience culminated as the speaker went on to state that Döllinger and himself were agreed '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.'

Reverting to the question of the means whereby this scheme of reunion might be brought to successful accomplishment, he declared that there was no more hope in the guidance of a hierarchy than in that of statesmen. The foundation of union was to be found only in the hearts of the faithful. Their present efforts were novel in character, and consequently afforded ground for new hope. He hailed the example already

set them in England and in Russia.¹ All endeavours again must be dictated by a spirit of humility and a frank admission of possible imperfections. *Union* and not *conversion* must be the object of each Church. ‘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.’

A proposal having been made by Michaud, that the Congress should declare its acceptance of the first seven General Councils and disavow the œcumenicity of the Occidental Councils, Reinkens intimated his opinion that the proposal was premature. The question concerning the Western Councils stood on a different footing to that of the Vatican Council, and would require careful and lengthened investigation. ‘The function of the Committee,’ he said, ‘is precisely to organise scientific researches, and by means of popular writings to make known the results thereby established to the public.’

Proposition
of Abbé
Michaud.

The position indicated by this eloquent exposition received a cordial recognition from a distinguished representative of German Protestantism, Dr. Bluntschli of Heidelberg. His speech, while virtually a disclaimer of any notions of a fusion of his Church with the Old Catholics, whom he regarded as assimilating much more

Dr. Bluntschli on renunciation of exclusive pretensions.

¹ ‘These two Churches’ (the English and the Russian), he observed with admirable candour, ‘have maintained better than we have done the consciousness of the unity of the great Christian Church.’

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closely to the Anglican and Roman Churches, was remarkable for the emphasis with which it dwelt on spirit and sentiment, rather than on dogma, as the true basis of a united Christendom. 'Each Church,' he said, 'must hold its own view of the truth, but hold it with the conviction that it is relative, not absolute. *The principle on which Churches were built up in former centuries—the principle of exclusive possession of the truth, of delighting to damn each other—must be now and for ever abandoned.*'

Conference
of Com-
mittee with
other
members
of the
Congress.

On the last day (the 23rd) a conference was held between the Committee for Reunion and the other members present at the Congress. Professor Michelis, after a forcible criticism of the scholastic theology and its baneful influences,¹ proceeded to suggest that some generally accepted basis of union of the simplest kind should be agreed upon,² and dwelt with enthusiasm on the hopeful aspect of the future. His speech was eminently effective, and one passage will probably never be forgotten by those who heard it. Referring back to the time when, as a student, he had first visited Cologne, he described the cathedral as he had then seen it, unfinished, almost in ruins; the towers standing apart from the nave, the nave separated from the choir; while now he found it advancing rapidly to-

Speech of
Michelis.

¹ The professor's observations were chiefly directed against the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas.

² (A) 'We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, as well as the Son of Man, and that faith in Christ is the means of our salvation. (B) We believe that Jesus Christ founded one Church on earth.'

wards completion—choir and nave united in one, the majestic proportions restored, and the original plan carried out. ‘In this outward fact,’ he said, ‘I see a figure of what has befallen, and also of what may yet await the divided, ruined Church of Christ, in its restoration to unity and in the consolidation of its different parts. And this metaphor derives additional significance from the fact that the restoration of this Catholic cathedral was conceived and carried out by a Protestant king. *It is only with the help of Protestantism that Catholicism can be united and regenerated.*’

CHAP.
III.

The basis indicated by Michelis was accepted by the bishop of Maryland,¹ who remarked that all who received the Holy Scriptures, the threefold Apostolic ministry, the three ancient Creeds, and the first four Councils, were gladly welcomed into the communion of the American Church. The bishop of Ely stated that at the Conference held at Lambeth, which was attended by bishops from every part of Great Britain, as well as from America and the Colonies, it had been agreed that the English Church took its stand on Holy Scripture, the Catholic Creeds, the doctrines of the Primitive Church, and the decrees of the General Councils whose authority was not called in question, though in this category his lordship did not include the *seventh* Council, which had not been recognised by the Council of Frankfort.

Statements
of Anglican
bishops.

¹ The bishop of Lincoln had been compelled to leave Cologne before the Conference took place.

CHAP.
III.Discussion
on ques-
tions of
Church
reform.Speeches of
Friedrich,
Von
Schulte,
and Rein-
kens.

It was not until the evening of the last day that the third subject—the reforms necessary within the Catholic Church itself—became a subject of discussion by the whole Congress; and the outspoken declarations of some of the speakers, especially Friedrich, Reinkens, and Von Schulte, contrasted strongly and favourably with the reticence which their party had hitherto maintained on certain points. No one could have condemned more emphatically than Friedrich the abuses of the confessional, the evils of clerical celibacy (a subject which Bauer of Mannheim had already brought before the Congress, but with which it was considered premature, as yet, to deal), and the injurious influence exerted by the religious Orders. No one could have exposed with greater ability than Schulte the glaring inconsistency and pitiable tergiversation of those bishops who had signed the protest of April 10th, 1870. The most marked impression, however, as before, was produced by Reinkens. In a speech of considerable length, in which his great ability as an orator shone out superior to that of every other speaker, he de-claimed with unanswerable logic against the Ultramontane system of ignoring the individual conscience by a transfer of all moral responsibility to the Pope—against the use of the confessional as a means of gaining for the priesthood almost despotic power over the female part of the community—against the multiplicity of dogmas in contrast to the simplicity of the creed of the early Church—and against the mendacity of the

Ultramontane press. Never before had language with regard to the conduct of the episcopate been heard so incisive, so fearless, and so expressive of genuine indignation as the following :—

CHAP.
III.

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 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 deserving 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.* 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!* 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 was exalted above every state dignity, judges,

Reinkens’
denuncia-
tion of the
conduct of
the bishops.

CHAP.
III.

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 that Governments should engage in conflicts with them, when they themselves predicted that a conflict was inevitable! 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 judgment of God they disclaimed the responsibility of all the consequences. 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 judgment 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.

The foregoing outline will suffice to show the scope of the proceedings of the Congress and the spirit in which they were conducted; but it would require a far

more extended method of treatment and no small descriptive power to bring home to the reader the enthusiasm and admiration evoked by the admirable ability and tact of the chief directors of the deliberations—to quote the language of the ‘Times’ correspondent, ‘the astonishing inspiration of the scenes which the Congress presented.’ ‘It was not useless,’ said the same writer, ‘to assist at a series of discussions on the most complicated and burning topics, on which no one from first to last was betrayed into a loss of temper—to watch from day to day the incessant vigilance, the consummate statesmanship, the instantaneous decision with which the business of the meetings was controlled by its president; to witness a vast miscellaneous audience listening for hours (with a patience which reminded one of the celebrated saying of Charles V. on the German nation) to elaborate philosophical and historical discussions on the details of education, on the scholastic relations between Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas—to see that same audience roused to bursts of fervid enthusiasm by eloquent expressions of religious freedom, such as might have proceeded from the lips of Luther, and of religious devotion such as might have proceeded from the lips of St. Bernard—to behold this vast assemblage united in the ancient hall of the “holy” city of Cologne, with no interference or disturbance on the part of their fellow-townsmen, Catholic or Protestant.’

CHAP.
III.

General impression produced by the whole proceedings of the Congress.

The close of the year exhibited a remarkable ex-

CHAP.
III.

Extension
of the
movement
to Switzer-
land.

Pfarrer
Geschwind
of Starr-
kirch.

tension of the movement to Switzerland. The example set by Egli at Luzern had not been followed by the priest of any other parish until the eloquence of Reinkens roused the Western Cantons. At Starrkirch, in the canton of Soleure, not far from Olten, the cure was held by Geschwind, an old pupil of bishop Hefele. He was about forty years of age, already well known as a theological writer, and widely respected both for his character and attainments. He now began to preach against the dogma of infallibility and was immediately visited by the censure of bishop Lachat, the constituted head of the seven cantons. The laws of Switzerland, however, differ from those of Germany, in requiring that no priest shall be removed from his parish before the Government has been satisfied that sufficient cause for such a proceeding exists. In contravention of this law bishop Lachat sent the letter of excommunication to Geschwind, without consulting the cantonal authorities, at the same time calling upon him to resign his church and parish to a neighbouring Capuchin. Geschwind boldly tore the letter in the presence of the messengers, and declared the bishop himself excommunicated as the adherent of a heretical dogma. The authorities called upon the bishop to withdraw his censure, but without avail. In the meantime public feeling began to manifest itself in an unmistakeable manner. Under the direction of the Central Committee, the Old Catholics convened a meeting at the parish church in Olten, which was

Meeting at
Olten.

attended by upwards of 3,000 delegates. Various resolutions were passed, and the cantonal authorities were especially solicited to secure to the Old Catholics the free exercise of their religious and educational rights. A petition was also drawn up for the removal of the Swiss nuncio, Mgr. Mermillod, from Geneva. The movement was powerfully stimulated by the presence and stirring oratory of Reinkens, who not only delivered an admirable speech at Olten but also addressed large meetings in the course of the ensuing ten days at Luzern, Soleure, Bern, and Rheinfelden. Before leaving Switzerland he received the assurance that 'the cause of Church Reform in the Old Catholic sense was now triumphant in Switzerland,' and this mainly through his efforts.

CHAP.
III.

Success of
Reinkens'
oratory.

The irritation betrayed by the Ultramontane journals, who singled him out for the coarsest abuse and most unscrupulous misrepresentation, seemed to corroborate the assertion; and before the year closed there appeared an episcopal manifesto to the Churches of Switzerland, expressly warning them against the influences of a corrupt and heretical press. The prospects of the Old Catholic party were certainly such as to justify no little hope for the future. The programme laid down at Munich had been carried out with energy and fair promise of success. In Germany, indeed, the established relations between the clergy and the episcopate were such that it was almost impossible for the former to assume an independent attitude; but in

Position
and pro-
spects of
the Old
Catholic
party at
the close
of 1872.

Bavaria, Hosemann, Bernard, and Renftle retained their churches, parsonages, and incomes. In numerous other parishes—at Munich, Simbach, Passau, Straubing, Erlangen, Nürnberg, Fürth, Hof, Amberg, Bayreuth, Kempten, Memminger, Waltenhofer, Immenslack, Weiler, Lindenberg, Nördlingen, Kaiserslautern, Speier, Landau—congregations had been formed of those who refused to violate their consciences by unreasoning submission to priest, bishop, or pope. In Baden like communities had been established at Offenberg, Carlsruhe, Heidelberg, Constance; in Prussia, at Wiesbaden, Cologne, Boppart, Crefeld, Essen, Königsberg, Kattowitz, and other places; in Austria, in Vienna and at Warndorf.

The tone of both the English and the Continental press plainly showed that a prudent policy, united with firmness of resolve and moderation of speech, was producing favourable impressions; but notwithstanding, this effect was mainly perceptible in the leading journals and among the educated classes; and the leaders of the movement clearly perceived that the problem still lay before them, how far the modifications, in doctrine, discipline, and practice, foreshadowed in the programme at Cologne, could be carried out without prejudice to the claims put forth to State protection and recognition, and without exciting alarm and distrust among the people at large.

CHAPTER IV.

THE YEAR 1873 AND THE CONGRESS OF CONSTANCE.

THE resolutions drawn up by the Congress at Munich embodied, it will be remembered, two important requisitions to the State: the third resolution calling for a complete reformation in the schools of the Catholic clergy; the second, demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits. It must certainly be regarded as strongly corroborative of the views advocated by the leaders of the Old Catholic party, that we find the German Government, at the commencement of the year 1873, actually proceeding to carry the latter measure into effect; while on January 9th, Dr. Falk, the Cultus minister, brought in a Bill in the Lower House for the revision of the ecclesiastical laws.

CHAP.
IV.

Expulsion
of the
Jesuits
from Ger-
many.

But however much the sentiments of the Old Catholics might be approved, in the abstract, by the State authorities, the immediate occasion of their action was probably the publication of the Papal Encyclical of December 23rd, 1872. In this manifesto Pius IX. laid aside all pretext of a conciliatory demeanour; he denounced the whole action and policy of the Prussian Cabinet, and at once aroused the patriotism of every German by a singularly impolitic allusion to the newly

Papal
Encyclical,
Dec. 1872.

consolidated Empire, as the 'Colossus' which 'a little stone (slung, of course, from the Vatican) might yet shatter.' The covert menace undoubtedly largely served, in the minds of Germany, to associate the Ultramontane cause yet more distinctly with that of its political foes, and to win for the Old Catholic movement increased favour and eventually open recognition from the State. In this relation indeed more than one influential leader of the party publicly referred to the papal Allocution as marking the turning-point of their history.¹ The Prussian Government replied by forbidding the newspapers to publish the document; a long debate on the subject took place in the House of Representatives; and it soon became evident that the result must inevitably be to verify in the most conspicuous manner the assertions which, two years ago, had been made by Döllinger, Von Schulte, and other members of the Old Catholic party, though apparently with so little effect.

The Falk
Laws.

The provisions of the Bill brought in by Dr. Falk dealt, it is to be observed, with the relations of the State to *all religious parties*, with those of the Protestant as well as with those of the Catholic Church. They were designed to afford to the individual entire freedom of conscience; to secure for Germany a system of education for the clergy which should train them up in natural alliance and sympathy with the nation and the State, rather than leave them to the influence of Jesuit

¹ See *Reinkens' Speeches* (transl. by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor), p. 6. *Report of Congress of Constance*, by the same, p. 25.

teachers and theories of supreme allegiance to Rome ; and, lastly, to give to the whole body of inferior clergy a larger discretion in the control of their parishes and to render them less dependent on the arbitrary authority of the bishop. The main difficulty that confronted the proposed legislation was the fact that the surveillance which the State now proposed to institute over the education of the clergy—including, it is to be noted, those of all denominations—was undeniably opposed to the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Articles of the celebrated Constitution of 1850. And perhaps no more striking illustration could be found of the great change which, during the last quarter of the century, has come over the relations of the *Curia* to the different European Governments, than the fact that these Articles had originally been introduced in the confident expectation that the Prussian State would thereby secure the moral support of Rome.¹ The emphatic and outspoken de-

¹ The following is the text of these two articles, the words in italics denoting the *alterations introduced* in order to render them compatible with the introduction of the Falk Laws:—

‘ART. 15. The Evangelical and Roman Catholic Churches, as well as every other religious community, order and administer their own affairs independently, *but remain subject to the statutes and legal inspection of the State. In the same measure, every religious community remains in possession and enjoyment of the establishments, foundations, and endowments appertaining to its various objects, religious, educational, and charitable.*’

‘ART. 18. The rights of nomination, proposal, election, and confirmation in the filling up of ecclesiastical offices are abolished, as far as depends upon the State, and so far as the rights of patrons and other legal privileges are not involved. This provision does not apply to the appointments of clergymen in the army and other State institutions. *Moreover the law regulates the privileges of the State in reference to the training, appointment, and dismissal of clergymen and ministers of religion, and fixes the limit of ecclesiastical disciplinary power.*’

CHAP.
IV.
Speeches of
Prince
Bismark,
March
1873,

and April
1875.

claration of Prince Bismark, in the course of the debate, leaves, however, no doubt on this point. In a speech delivered in the Upper House on March 10th, when the alteration of these Articles came on for discussion, he said: 'These Articles were introduced into the Constitution at a time when the State required, or thought it required, help, and believed that it would find this help by leaning on the Catholic Church. It was probably led to this belief by the fact that in the National Assembly of 1848 all the electoral districts with a preponderant Catholic population returned, I will not say royalist representatives, but certainly men who were the friends of order, which was not the case in the evangelical districts.'¹ Two years have passed since these words were uttered, and we may now perceive how the conviction they embody has grown upon the minds of the great party represented by the orator. In the debate which preceded the final abrogation of these Articles, on April 16th, 1875, the same statesman thus once more summed up the question: 'If the present condition of things had arisen in 1851, we should hardly have embodied such provisions in the Constitution. At that time we thought we possessed guarantees that Catholic citizens and Catholic bishops would never forget their obedience to the State and their duties as subjects. *This state of things has*

¹ On the whole subject of the relation of the Ultramontanists to the legislature of Prussia see a series of able articles entitled 'Prussia and the Vatican,' in *Macmillan's Magazine* for Sept., Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1874.

changed since the Vatican Council. Since that Council the Pope is the Catholic Church. He stands at the head of a compact party, has a well-organised semi-official press, and an army of obedient priests, and has overspun us with a net of congregations. In short, no one possesses so great an influence as this Italian prelate. Even if he were a native this power would be serious. But in this case it is a foreign monarch who possesses it, who, if he had the power to carry out in Prussia the programme he has solemnly proclaimed, would have to begin by destroying the majority of the Prussian nation. The latter would either have to forswear their faith at once, or would risk losing all that they possess. We cannot concede to one who wields such forces the power that has hitherto been afforded him by the constitution; we must limit it. We cannot ask for peace before we have clearly defined the position of those to whom, in moments of ill-advised and badly-rewarded confidence, we have granted only too many privileges. That confidence has caused breaches in the strong bulwark of the State; when they have been filled up, we shall be able to conclude peace with the Centre party, and with the far more moderate Catholic Church.'

By May 1st the new laws had passed both Houses, and at the closing of the Diet, on the 20th, the speech from the Throne gave expression to the confidence of the Government that they would serve to promote concord among the various confessions, and lead the Church to devote its strength solely to the pure service

CHAP.
IV.

Action of
the Go-
vernment.

of God's Word. But legislation of such a character was opposed to all the instincts of Ultramontaniam; and on April 28th the Catholic bishops of Prussia, assembled at the tomb of St. Boniface at Fulda, published a solemn Protest, addressed to the clergy and the faithful of their dioceses. Four of their number, the bishops of Paderborn, Posen, Fulda, and Trèves, subsequently refused to submit the seminaries over which they presided to governmental inspection. The Government acted with unexpected vigour. The bishop of Paderborn found the pupils in the seminary in his diocese declared ineligible for ecclesiastical appointments throughout Prussia. In the diocese of the bishop of Ermeland the State contributions to the salaries of his Chapter were withheld. The schools presided over by the bishop of Fulda were forcibly closed; and the archbishop of Posen was informed that ordination in his diocese would not avail to protect the younger clergy from being called upon to serve as ordinary soldiers in the army.

Switzer-
land.
Nippold's
address at
Bern.

While the attention of their antagonists was thus challenged by these new difficulties, the Old Catholic party continued to progress; the earlier months of the year being principally notable for the continued extension of the movement in Switzerland. An able address, delivered on January 7th by professor Nippold, in the Council Hall at Bern, was listened to by an overflowing assembly. He rapidly traced the chief points in the whole history of the struggle; and ad-

verting to the deposition of Geschwind, triumphantly pointed out, amid enthusiastic applause, that ‘behind the little Starrkirch another parish, the largest in the canton of Soleure, had appeared in armed array, and that the flame had spread over the whole of Catholic Switzerland.’ Referring to Reinkens and the effects produced by his tour, Dr. Nippold said: ‘If my observation and that of my friends does not deceive us, this is a man who the people must see is truly their well-wisher. He is no polemic; his voice is not that of passion, but of the clear light of truth. He has talent, and he has piety in yet larger measure; he is the Melancthon of the assembly. Reinkens is all the more the man for the people, in that he is not likely to run the risk of rooting up the seed of true religion along with the tares which have spread so luxuriantly over the field of the Church.’¹

CHAP.
IV.

The struggle between bishop Lachat and his diocese had now reached a climax. The diocesan conference of the seven cantons, meeting for a third time on January 29th, after a formal enumeration of the irregularities which had marked his administration, declared him deposed from his see, and called upon the Federal Council to enforce their decision and fill up the vacancy. He was accordingly compelled to leave his palace at Soleure, and retired to Luzern; only two cantons out of seven—those of Luzern and Unter-

Bishop
Lachat
expelled
from
Soleure.

¹ See *Ursprung, Umfang, Hemmnisse und Aussichten der altkatholischen Bewegung, von Friedrich Nippold, in Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen*, Berlin, 1873.

CHAP.
IV.

walden—remaining subject to his authority out of the seven over which he claimed jurisdiction.

Mgr. Mermillod expelled from Geneva.

The expulsion of Monsignor Mermillod from Geneva, in the month of February, was hailed with unqualified satisfaction by a large majority in the canton. A man of obscure origin, but of imposing presence and unsurpassed assurance, with a talent for intrigue, and possessed of a certain showy art of rhetoric improved by his Jesuit training at Rome, he had been recognised by Queen Isabella, on her passage through Geneva, as one well qualified to aid her in her political designs. Towards the close of 1870 he had been constantly journeying to and fro between Geneva and Rigot-Tingrelin, aiding the Queen and the ex-Empress Eugénie and the Comte de Chambord in their political counsels. The political allies of the Ultramontane party were devising how they might yet retrieve their adverse fortunes, and his presence at Geneva was regarded as an element of disquiet by those who felt little interest in religious questions. His position, too, differed widely from that of bishop Lachat. The latter represented the legitimate authority appointed to preside over the diocese under a Concordat between Rome and the seven cantons. Mgr. Mermillod, on the contrary, possessed merely a nominal see, and his very appointment to this see had worn the character of an act of hostility to the State. During its annexation to France, under Napoleon I., Geneva had formed a part of the French diocese of Chambéry;

but when restored to Switzerland it had, at the request of the Council of the canton and with the papal sanction, been transferred to the Swiss diocese of Lausanne and Freiburg. It was thus that matters remained until Pius IX., by an exertion of his authority similar to that which gave rise to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in England, appointed Mgr. Mermillod bishop of Geneva—a measure whereby Geneva again became severed from the diocese of Lausanne, contrary to the wishes of the civil authorities, and even, it was asserted, of a majority of the Catholic population.

CHAP.
IV.

Such were the circumstances under which the Government now decided to prohibit the residence of the nuncio until he should have resigned the functions conferred upon him by the Pope. The latter retaliated by prohibiting the bishop of Lausanne from exercising (as the Government had desired him to do) episcopal functions in Geneva. Upon this the Council of State brought in a bill, which was approved by a committee composed chiefly of Catholics, enacting that neither episcopal nor parochial jurisdiction should be permitted in the canton unless sanctioned by the State; and that, for the future, all parish priests should be elected by the Catholic inhabitants, and be removable by the State on sufficient cause being shown.¹ In pursuance of this measure the canton was divided into twenty-three parishes, three of which were in Geneva; and in

Reforms
instituted
by the
Council of
State.

¹ The curés were required to take an oath to the constitution, and were liable to suspension for four years if proved guilty of violation of their oath.

CHAP.
IV.

Father
Hyacinthe
invited to
lecture at
Geneva.

the following March, Father Hyacinthe was invited by the Old Catholics to lecture in that city. In a series of able discourses he boldly advocated a complete system of Church reform, to be carried out in conjunction with the Old Catholic party. Let every nation, he urged, establish a national Christian Church in harmony with the genius of the people; and let the different Churches thus established become an international confederation. Of the general favour with which his views and talents were regarded a signal proof was given in his election, along with MM. Hurtault and Chavard, in the following October, to the three vacant benefices in Geneva.

In Switzerland the laws of the State rendered it impossible for the bishop to venture on a policy of retaliation; but in Germany the episcopate possessed a larger discretion, and the excommunication of baron Richthofen, canon of Breslau, by bishop Förster proved how little was to be expected from their forbearance. The canon, a man of aristocratic rank, and long regarded as a sympathiser with the Liberal party, refused to sign the Protest of Fulda, and also induced his friend, Dr. Künzer, to withdraw his signature. At the same time he published a formal protest, 'for truth and conscience sake,' referring in outspoken terms to the scepticism and dishonest reservations of those who had submitted to the Vatican decrees, and the consequent injustice of their attacks upon the unconsenting minority.

Excom-
munication
of baron
Richthofen.

The spirit of the Old Catholic party was, however, in no small measure raised by an official declaration on the part of the Prussian Government, to the effect that Old Catholics were to be regarded as Catholics, and that any member of the Breslau Chapter who might join the movement should remain in possession of his benefice.

CHAP.
IV.
Old Catholics recognised by the Prussian Government.

The eventual adoption of the Falk Laws by the Prussian Chambers also gave new confidence to the party of reform. The recognition which had so long been demanded had at length been vouchsafed; the voice of authority had declared itself on the side of freedom; and fidelity to conviction no longer involved the conscientious priest in starvation and disgrace. It was accordingly with new hopes and less misgiving that the committee, especially appointed at Cologne for the purpose, proceeded to take steps for the election of a bishop. The election was held at Cologne, where, since the preceding year, the progress of the Old Catholic cause had been rapid, their numbers now reaching nearly 4,000 in that city alone. It was on the morning of Wednesday, June 4th, 1873, amid a crowded audience, that the initiatory service was held in the church of St. Pantaleon.

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 sixty-nine votes, Reusch five, Langen and Michelis each one;

Election of Reinkens as Old Catholic bishop.

CHAP.
IV.

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 professor Von Schulte, seconded by the other electors, at last overcame his scruples. Few eyes were dry in the chapel when Von 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.¹

‘This election,’ said Von Schulte, when referring to the event three months later at Constance, ‘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 eyewitness, 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

¹ *Reinkens’ Speeches* (by Mayor), p. 15.

at other times 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, 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.*'

By a remarkable coincidence, on the very day that the elections took place the good and venerable archbishop of Utrecht died. He had promised to preside at the consecration; and his death accordingly was interpreted, with evident exultation, by the Ultramontanists, as a manifest judgment. On the one remaining bishop of the little church, Heykamp of Deventer, it devolved to perform the ceremony; and at Rotterdam, on August 11th, assisted by two presbyters, bishop Heykamp admitted the first bishop of the Old Catholic Church to his office.¹ The title received by

Death of
the arch-
bishop of
Utrecht.

¹ The ancient canons enjoin that at least three bishops shall unite in the ceremony of consecration, and this injunction has always been carefully observed in the Anglican Church; but, according to Van Espen and other eminent canonists, this number is by no means essential to the validity of the consecration—a view which has been sanctioned by the Romish Church. See Appendix II. to *Nineteenth Report of the Anglo-Continental Society*.

CHAP.
IV.Consecra-
tion of
bishop
Reinkens.

bishop Reinkens was that of missionary bishop of Germany, and at the same time Rinkel was consecrated bishop of Haarlem. Instead of the papal mandate the formal proofs of the new elections were read, and both bishops determined not to notify their consecration to the Pope.

The epis-
copal office
as thus
restored.

The position taken up by bishop Reinkens in virtue of his office deserves to be carefully compared with that of the episcopal order in the Romish Communion, and also to be noted in its relation to German Protestantism.¹ In contrast to the former, it will be observed that it rested on the choice of priests and laymen, and thus offered to Christendom an example of that revised conception of the office to which Von Schulte, in the speech above quoted, referred, when he said: '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."' The ancient councils have declared this 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

¹ 'Mgr. Reinkens,' observes Michaud in his last work, *Le Mouvement Contemporain* (1874), 'agira en évêque des premiers siècles;' it is not without justice that he characterises 'la consécration d'un tel évêque' as 'un fait extrêmement grave, dans les circonstances actuelles.'

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.' On the other hand, in relation to the Protestantism of Germany, the consecration of bishop Reinkens could scarcely fail to suggest the restoration of an office in the primitive Church which Lutheranism and Calvinism had alike too precipitately discarded; and the following comments in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, on the pastoral issued by the bishop after his consecration, are deserving of careful attention:—

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IV.

Comments
of the
*Allgemeine
Zeitung.*

‘*Utinam restituere possem episcopos!*’ That sigh of the noble Melancthon, the organiser of the German Reformation, involuntarily escaped our lips after the perusal of Dr. Reinkens’ pastoral. Here at last were a genuine pastor’s words, for German Christians to read, replete with pious faith and true love, and begetting courage out of humility; without anathemas, and yet with clear decision rebuking the dominant errors of the day; discovering with deep penetration the ultimate causes of our Church’s destitution and pointing with engaging confidence to the way of deliverance and peace. Long has it been since any Protestant authority has spoken to our congregations so wisely and so well. . . . The breach of continuity with the ancient Church which befell us at the Reformation has been productive of consequences *which prove that breach to have been the reverse of a real progress.* Efforts, since the time of Luther, to erect an episcopacy self-evolved by Protestantism have been ever abortive; yet it is only of late that the writings of Rothe and Bunsen have brought home to many of us the conviction that this must necessarily continue to be the case. If now Dr. Rein-

CHAP.
IV.

kens, as the first German bishop excommunicated by Rome, but by his consecration indisputably partaker of the Apostolic succession, proceeds to fulfil the duties of his office according to the spirit which Christ gave to his Apostles, we doubt not that also among German Protestants the desire for such an institution will be felt more and more, and that even that external continuity with the ancient Church will be restored which was lost at our Reformation rather from the circumstances of the times than from any intentional sectarian tendency.¹

Spread of
the move-
ment in
Switzer-
land.

The example thus set by Germany was not lost upon Switzerland, where, ever since Reinkens' visit, the Old Catholic movement had been rapidly spreading; and on August 31st a Conference was held at Olten, attended by some 250 persons, of whom 100 were delegates. At this Conference it was stated that Old Catholic societies had been formed in almost every district of importance in the Swiss Confederation, and that a number of communes had publicly prohibited the teaching of the dogma of infallibility or any doctrine derivable therefrom. The Conference also passed the following resolutions:—

Resolutions
of the
Conference
at Olten.

1. That Church reform must be carried out by the proper Synodical organisation.
2. That such an organisation be constituted for Switzerland.
3. That a committee be appointed for drafting the constitution of the Swiss National Church.
4. That a bishop be elected.
5. That the elected bishop take no oaths of subservience to any foreign prince, potentate, or authority.

¹ Compare account of the Reformation, *supra*, pp. 22–30.

In this scheme it will be easy to discern both the influence of the example set by Germany and that of Father Hyacinthe, who attended the Conference and largely guided its deliberations. In the meantime the efforts of the Old Catholic party in Germany in the direction of 'proper Synodical organisation' had also been assuming a definite shape, and the body represented a fortnight later at Constance could no longer be regarded as a mere assemblage of protesting and excommunicated men, but could point to a definite programme and a completed constitution.

The Third Congress of the Old Catholics met in the ancient city of Constance, and held its sittings on the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, from the 12th to the 14th of September. It assembled in the Council Hall, so well known to every visitor to Constance as the scene of the memorable Council of 1414;¹ and the allusions made by different speakers in the course of

The Congress at
Constance.

¹ The bishop of Lincoln, who was unable to be present, acknowledged the invitation of the president in a felicitous set of Latin elegiacs, in which the following stanzas happily contrasted the conditions of the mediæval Council with those of the approaching Congress:—

*'Inclÿta quâ tollit veteres Constantia tures,
Jam video doctum se glomerare chorum;
Agnosco præsens in te, Constantia, Numen;
Concilium Nemesis convocat ipsa Tuum.*

*Tu famosa nimis Synodo, Constantia, saevâ
Nunc es Concilio nobilitanda pio.
Martyrum ubi quondam maduit tua sanguine tellus,
Nunc seges albescit messis Apostolicæ;*

*Ecce! novo cineres Hussi fulgore coruscant,
Fitque Evangelii fax pyra Martyrii;
Pragensis video venerandam surgere formam.
Inque tuo coetu vivida verba loqui.*

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IV.

News of the
approach-
ing recog-
nition of
bishop
Reinkens
by the
Prussian
Govern-
ment.

the proceedings to the names of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, came with force and appropriateness, as addressed to those who found themselves gathered on the same spot to protest against similar abuses and to vindicate the same principles. While the Congress was still assembling, new intelligence arrived to cheer the hearts of its supporters—the news that the election of bishop Reinkens would be ratified by the Government; while a voice from England, in the form of a congratulatory letter from the bishop of Winchester, greeted the new bishop as ‘indisputably included in that Apostolical succession which has descended from the hill-side of Olivet down to the Christendom of this day, even as it shall continue until the Unseen Head of the Church shall return unto earth again.’

Foreigners
present at
the Con-
gress.

Many laymen and ladies of distinction attended the Congress, while the Continental clergy were represented by a long list of illustrious names, including those of bishop Reinkens; professors Von Schulte, Reusch, Knoodt, Langen, Ritter, Doutrelepont, of Bonn; Messmer, Huber, Cornelius, and Friedrich, of Munich; Michelis, of Braunsberg; Lutterbeck and Willbrand, of Geissen; Ernenwein, of Würzburg; Weisshaupt, of Kempten; Holtzmann (Protestant), of Heidelberg; Stahl, of Mannheim; Weber, of Breslau, &c. Among the pfarrers or curés were Thürlings, of Kempten; Herzog, of Olten; Kaminski, of Kattowitz; Hassler, Kühn, Duren, Prof. Hort, Renftle; Geschwind, of Starrkirch; Rol, of Utrecht; Van Vlooten, of Amers-

foort ; Bernus, of Ormont-Dessus ; Hoffmann, of Essen ; Hosemann, of Constance ; Santen, sub-deacon of Utrecht ; &c. Michaud and Pressensé alone represented Paris ; Father Hyacinthe and Chavard came from Geneva ; M. Wallon from Nancy ; and archpriest Wassiljeff, along with Col. Von Kirejeff, represented Russia.

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IV.

The American and English guests included bishop Doane, of Albany ; assistant-bishop Lyman, of S. Carolina ; Dr. Howson, dean of Chester, and his son ; the Rev. Robert J. Nevin, rector of the American church at Rome ; the Rev. William Chauncy Langdon and his wife ; the Rev. Muchleisen Arnold, with his wife ; the Rev. G. E. Broade ; Dr. Heidenheim, British chaplain at Zürich, editor of the ‘Quarterly Journal of Theology ;’ the Rev. C. F. Lowder ; the Rev. John Hunt and his wife ; professor Mayor, of Cambridge ; and J. Lowry Whittle, Esq., the author of a volume before referred to, entitled ‘Catholicism and the Vatican.’

American
and Eng-
lish guests.

At a preliminary meeting, held on Thursday, the 11th, addresses were delivered by Staatsanwalt Fieser, president of the local committee, bishop Doane, archpriest Wassiljeff, professor Holtzmann, the abbé Michaud, Dr. Heidenheim, Landammann Keller, and bishop Reinkens—each of whom expressed, on behalf of the nationality or community he represented, a thorough sympathy with the movement, and contributed by his suggestions to the interest of the occasion. The chief value of these speeches consisted, however, in their relation to the actual state of affairs,

Pre-
liminary
addresses.

CHAP.
IV.

Assembly
of dele-
gates.

Address of
Von
Schulte.

and, as they have been rendered generally accessible in other pages, any abstract will here be unnecessary.¹

On the Friday the delegates from the different congregations assembled in the Theater-saal. The number present, including visitors who were invited to take part as listeners, amounted to 200. Von Schulte, who, as at the former Congress, had been unanimously elected president, delivered the opening address. He began by reminding his audience that the policy of the party had from the commencement been one of sobriety and caution, and strongly advised that such should still be its prevailing character. ‘We now,’ he said, ‘know our goal; it is twofold, partly near, partly still far off. Let us not hurry, for “the better is ever the enemy of the good.” In the Council of Constance Sigismund endeavoured to give one Head to Christendom; but the enemies of reform, acting on the maxim *divide et impera*, in the *concordia Constantiensis*, sowed discord between the more ardent and the cooler reformers. *We* have now one head, and a head freely chosen by a unanimous vote.’ After adverting to the principal events in their history since the last Congress, he proceeded to explain their new relations to the State. ‘Prince Bismark and minister Falk in no way required a sacrifice of the freedom of the Church. They look upon our movement with favour from the point of view of civilisation, as catholic, religious, moral; as national,

¹ See the very able *Report of the Congress of Constance*, by professor J. E. B. Mayor. Rivingtons, 1874.

but in no exclusive sense German. . . The committee undertook that no one should be elected who did not possess the confidence of the Government, and that the bishop should take the oath of allegiance to the State.' He described their statistics as very imperfect, but gave the following: 'In Prussia there are twenty-two fully constituted congregations, consisting of 4,200 men enrolled as members, and a total of about 14,000 souls. In Bavaria thirty-three congregations, with 4,100 men, 13,000 souls. In Baden (where the reports are very defective) twenty-seven congregations, 2,000 men, 9,000 souls. On the whole there must be at least 50,000 registered Old Catholics, and the whole number of adherents cannot be less than 200,000. . . Not a few of the old clergy will come over when our bishop is formally acknowledged by the State. Look back for an instant. On September 22nd, 1871, the first proposal was made for the constitution of a communion,¹ and already 100 congregations are in full action. Luther in three years after the publication of his theses, in 1517, made much slower progress, and he was supported by the power of his State.'²

The next subject that demanded the attention of the delegates was the newly-prepared constitution, drawn up by the Committee, which professor Reusch proceeded to explain. According to this it was pro-

Proposals
for a
Synod.

¹ See *supra*, p. 125.

² A comparison in which, however, we must not lose sight of the greatly increased facilities for transmitting intelligence and appealing to the masses, existing in the present day.

posed to institute a Synod which, in conjunction with the Synodal committee, was to be the legislative and executive organ of the Church. The scheme was embodied in seventy articles, of which the following is an outline :—

‘The bishop (appointed by an absolute majority of the Synod) is assisted by a Synodal committee of nine members, four ecclesiastics and five laymen. He may choose a vicar-general from among these four ecclesiastics, or (with the consent of the Synodal committee) from the entire body of the clergy. The Synodal committee is named by the Synod. The Synod to meet once a year ; and to be composed of the bishop, of the Synodal committee, of all the clergy of the diocese, and of one delegate for every 200 men. Each parish has its Church council, varying in number from six to eighteen, elected for three years, and re-eligible. All men of full age are electors who declare that they adhere to the Catholic religion, and are formally enrolled as members of the parish, or presented as such by authorised persons. The parochial assembly meets at least once a year : it is composed of all male members of the Church who are of age, and in the enjoyment of civil rights ; it nominates the incumbents, curates, and members of the Synod ; it fixes the budget and ecclesiastical contributions. No one can be nominated incumbent who does not satisfy the requirements of the canon and the national law, and who has not passed a theological examination, held after the completion of a three years’ university course, by a committee of three theologians and one canonist, under the presidency of the bishop or his deputy. The examiners are selected by the bishop out of a board of six, four theologians and two canonists, yearly appointed by the Synod. All fees are abolished.’

The above scheme, after a few slight emendations

(embodied in the outline given), was unanimously adopted, and then left for the final confirmation of the Synod, which was given in due course at Bonn in the following May.

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On Saturday the delegates held their final meeting, and were invited by the president to discuss a scheme authorising the Synodal committee to appoint sub-committees for the purpose of corresponding with the Greek, the Anglican, and the Protestant Churches. Professor Michelis warmly supported the project of reunion. ‘Hitherto,’ he said, ‘we have done little for reunion; we have been perfecting our own organisation; but our work will bear fruit for all mankind. Already it is bringing about peace between Church and State; the emperor has read and warmly approved the pastoral of our bishop. We hope to restore the Church from its caricature to its native purity. . . . We look forward to a true General Council, gathered from all confessions, which may put to shame the mock Council of the Vatican. I propose (1) that two committees be appointed, one to sit in Munich, and to correspond with the Greek and Eastern Churches; the other to sit in Bonn, and to correspond with the Western Churches; (2) that these committees work in concert with one another, and with members of other communions resident in Germany; (3) that a literary organ of union, weekly or monthly, be founded, which shall receive articles in various languages; (4) that the ultimate end kept in view be the convocation of a General Council.

Final
meeting.

Speech by
Michelis.

CHAP.
IV.

Scheme for assisting theological students and the poorer clergy.

The president next proposed a scheme for the maintenance of theological students and of such of the Old Catholic clergy as were past work or but imperfectly endowed. Some objections raised to the first part of the proposal, as calculated to attract students actuated solely by mercenary motives, was met by professor Reusch, by a declaration, that a capable professoriate might be trusted to encourage only those students who evinced real fitness for the clerical office; and both proposals were adopted.

Speech of dean Howson.

The answer to the invitation of the Evangelical Alliance was read and met with enthusiastic approval. Dean Howson, addressing the meeting in English, intimated the pleasure with which he availed himself of the opportunity of expressing the respect felt in England for the courage, faithfulness, zeal, and prudence displayed by the leaders of this great movement. 'I hope,' he added, 'your example will not be lost upon us. My chief excuse for speaking to you on this occasion is, that I bear a message from my dear and honoured friend the bishop of Ely, now appointed to the bishopric of Winchester. He desires me to "assure the Old Catholic leaders, bishop Reinkens and others, that he feels the deepest interest in their proceedings, and offers up daily supplications for their guidance and blessing."'

The session of the delegates finally broke up amid every indication of almost complete unanimity. Before departing they all paid, in the fashion of their country,

a tribute of silent reverence to the late archbishop of Utrecht, by rising up on the utterance of his name by the president.¹

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IV.

For the argument of the able and eloquent speeches delivered at the two public meetings of the Congress, we must again refer our readers to the pamphlet of professor Mayor. At the first, the president a second time recapitulated, in more general terms, the chief facts in their progress since the preceding year. Pastor Rol of Utrecht bore witness how the generous life of the movement in Germany had imparted new vitality to the little communion which he represented. Fürsprech Weber, from Soleure, gave expression to the sympathy and gratitude of Switzerland. Professor Messmer of Munich depicted with singular energy and in graphic language the superstition and fanaticism observable wherever Jesuit influence had once gained the ascendancy.

Speeches at
the first
public
meeting.

On Sunday an Anglo-American service was celebrated at 7.30, in the evangelical church; bishop Lyman and dean Howson officiating at the liturgy and Lord's Supper. After the reading of Scripture, professor Mayor delivered both a German and an English speech—utterances of no little interest as ‘the first words spoken by an Englishman in a church at Constance, since the Reformation.’ In the former he em-

The ser-
vices on
Sunday.

¹ The custom is of course classical in its derivation: so on Casaubon's tomb in Westminster Abbey, the inscription says,—

‘Assurgite
Huic tam colendo nomini.’

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IV.

phatically denounced lukewarmness and indifference as especially censurable in times of conflict, and reminded his audience how Huss, the martyr of Constance, had been awakened by the writings of an Englishman—Wyclif. A general service was held at 9 A.M. in the Augustinian church, the mass being said in Latin, the remainder of the service in German. The sermon was preached by Reinkens.

Proceed-
ings of the
second
general
meeting.

In the afternoon at 3 P.M. a second general meeting was held in the Council Hall. An influx of visitors from Switzerland and Southern Germany caused the great hall to overflow, it being, it was said, the first time in the memory of man that it had been seen crowded in every part. Weber of Breslau and Dr. Völk were the first two speakers; the former dwelling chiefly on the necessity for a learned and studious clergy to carry on the new work, the latter confining himself to the political aspects of the movement.¹ Professor Friedrich enlarged upon the illustration of the episcopal office, in its primitive and genuine simplicity, afforded in their newly-created bishop; and professor Schulte delivered a learned historical lecture, which was followed with the most complete attention, in

¹ It was during Dr. Völk's speech that M. de Pressensé quitted the hall and was followed by Father Hyacinthe, the former, as it afterwards appeared, misapprehending the tenour of the speaker's observations, and applying to France and Frenchmen generally criticisms which were really directed solely against the Ultramontanist party in France. M. de Pressensé subsequently expressed his regret, and stated in a letter to the president that he had been deeply interested in the proceedings of the Congress, and should retain a most favourable impression of all that he had heard and seen.

which he pointed out the successive encroachments whereby the predominance of the bishop of Rome had been gradually established. A speech from Rein-
kens, enforcing with his usual power the necessity for a return to the direct study of the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, as opposed to that of the scholastic commentators, brought the proceedings to a close.

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IV.
Conclusion.

In a letter addressed to the 'Times,' soon after the Congress, dean Howson summed up his whole impression of the proceedings, and observed that the first broad fact which must have arrested the attention of every observer, was 'the clear evidence afforded of a decisive and final breach with the papacy;' and that in harmony with this fact was the provision that had now been made 'for organised existence and systematic improvement in separation from the Pope.' Referring to the prospects of reunion, he observed: 'It would be ungrateful not to record the feeling manifested at Constance towards other Christian communions. This feeling was most noble and generous, and as different as possible from the spirit of the "Syllabus" and the papal and Curialistic tradition. There was, indeed, no symptoms of a fanatical belief that all Churches are suddenly to coalesce in one organic union; but it was contended by all that we may know one another better, and esteem one another more justly. . . . Side by side with this feeling, it was admitted that there must in due time be a revision of Church doctrine, a re-writing of

Dean
Howson's
letter to
the *Times*.

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IV.

Church history, and a thorough sifting of Church regulations. . . . But it is determined by these German Old Catholics that consolidation shall precede reform. The requisite alterations are to be made, not by this or that person according to his own predilections, but after careful debate and through regularly-constituted organs.' . . . 'We shall probably find,' he observed in conclusion, 'that we have something to learn at home from this movement as it advances. At all events it deserves, and it will have, the earnest and respectful sympathy of every faithful member of the Church of England.'

Michaud's
observations on the
proposed
Church
constitution.

With regard to the scheme of 'consolidation' above referred to, the main points cannot be better described than in the language of the abbé Michaud, as he reviewed the results of the Congress and contrasted the position now taken up by the Old Catholic party when compared with that of the preceding year. 'If we proceed to examine this constitution and enquire whether it be really Catholic, the question can only be answered by every competent and impartial theologian in the affirmative. For, firstly, the hierarchy with its claim to divine right is maintained, while the rights of the laity, in the presence of this claim, are loftily and freely asserted. The bishop will not occupy in relation to his clergy the position of an all-powerful pasha, as is to be seen in the Romish Church of the present day; and the clergy, while enjoying freedom under the jurisdiction of the bishop, will no longer be

able to tyrannise over their flocks. These will be as free as their pastors, whom indeed they will choose for themselves. From among these they will elect, again, those who appear to them most worthy to form along with others the church council, or to represent them at the Synod. They will administer the affairs of their parish; the Synod being the supreme authority, excepting only Councils of the universal Church convened for matters relating to the general community. But the Synod, though having authority over both the bishop and the Synodal committee, excludes no priest. Every priest is a member of it by virtue of his office, and every parish of 200 is entitled to send a delegate to the Synod. The lay delegates are entitled conjointly with the clerical delegates to control and criticise the acts and decisions of the bishop and of the Synodal committee, if occasion should arise.

‘It must be allowed that by this scheme the hierarchical system is admirably combined with the democratic spirit of the primitive discipline. This was the great difficulty to be overcome, and it is here solved. The above constitution offers us a threefold advantage: first, it places, *ipso facto*, the Old Catholics of Germany on the basis of primitive Catholicism, when bishops were consecrated to their office without reference to the bishop of Rome. Next, it is the best remedy for that indifference with regard to religious matters which, more and more, is taking possession of the laity in the Western Church; by the simple fact that

it obliges them to give attention to the affairs of their parish, and to participate either directly or indirectly in the affairs of the Synod—thus requiring from them a certain knowledge of religious questions, and so paving the way for their return to the faith and doctrine of the Church. The Roman Catholic, on the other hand, being a mere passive machine in the hands of his priest, is regarded as religious in proportion as he is ignorant and passively responds, Amen! But the Old Catholic must be active, he must be willing to share in the administration of the Church and to take his part as a jealous guardian of primitive tradition. Finally, the constitution which the Old Catholics of Germany have devised for themselves is a legal instrument of legal reform. The Ultramontanes, like the Pharisees of old, hold fast to the letter of the law in proportion as they are wanting in justice and in truth. It has become necessary to overcome them in their last stronghold, and such will doubtless be the result. The Old Catholics have now a competent authority which will invest all measures of necessary reform with the character of legality. . . . They will carry out their work, according as the laity, becoming better informed, are better able to comprehend its real nature; *and in this way they will reform the Church without revolutionising it.*¹

Election of
Reinkens
recognised
by the
Government.

On the 20th of September the election of bishop Reinkens was formally recognised by the German Go-

¹ *Le Mouvement Contemporain*, pp. 205-6.

vernment, and on the 7th of October he took the oath of allegiance. By this oath he was called upon to swear that he would regard it as his duty to resign his office rather than oppose the State authorities, and his assent to this condition exposed him to severe criticism from both English and Continental Catholics. Reinkens vindicated his conduct by pointing out, that through the sovereign's recognition of his orders a bishop became invested with considerable social and political influence, and that it would be treason to use such privileges and rights against the State. In conclusion, he said, 'I repudiate the doctrine of a State Church as resolutely as that of a theocratic State. Religion is no function of the State. I would never tolerate any interference of the Government in the doctrine, liturgy, and internal discipline of the Church. But with equal justice has the State the sovereign right, whenever a religious society enters the external domain of the law, to determine independently this external relation of the Church and the State, and to allow no interference within the province of its own legal authority.'

CHAP.
IV.
He takes
the oath of
allegiance.

His defence
of his
conduct.

The favourable feeling, evinced throughout the Congress, in relation to the question of reunion, could not fail to excite among the members of other communions considerable hope and expectation in looking forward to the results of the coming year. Already, as early as April 1872, the secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society at Düsseldorf, the Rev. G. E. Broade, had

Corre-
spondence
between
the Old
Catholics
and the
Anglo-
Conti-
nental
Society.

CHAP.
IV.

Appoint-
ment of a
com-
mittee.

forwarded to Herr Wülffing, president of the Central Old Catholic Committee for Rhineland and Westphalia, a number of books and pamphlets illustrating the principles of the society and the doctrines of the English Church. The present had been cordially acknowledged and accepted, and in the month of November 1873, the bishop of Winchester, as president of the Anglo-Continental Society, forwarded a present of £100 in aid of the Old Catholic movement. On the 1st of the following December, professor Von Schulte wrote to the president to announce that a committee had been nominated, consisting of Döllinger, Friedrich, and Messmer, for the purpose of opening communication with the Anglo-Continental Society on the subject of reunion; and also stating that Dr. Döllinger would be happy to receive and consider any correspondence from the society on the subject, though precluded by the demands on his time and energies from assuming the initiative in such a correspondence.

To this communication the bishop of Winchester made the following reply:—

Letter of
the bishop
of Win-
chester.

Honoured Sir,—

I rejoice to hear that the venerable Dr. Von Döllinger is able to undertake the task of examining into the question of union with the Anglican Church, and that so influential and able a committee has been appointed to co-operate with him.

We have already formed the committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, which has occupied itself many years in endeavouring to promote the intercommunion of Churches

and the union of Christians on the basis of the faith and discipline of the Primitive Church. I will now ask my brother the bishop of Lincoln, the Rev. prebendary Meyrick, secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, the Rev. professor Mayor, secretary of the Society for Germany, and the Rev. Dr. Biber, one of the secretaries of a committee of the society, to co-operate with me in carrying on a correspondence with Dr. Von Döllinger, professor Friedrich, and professor Messmer. Be good enough to let letters be addressed to the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, Villa Alexandra, Torquay, who has the honour of a personal acquaintance with Dr. Von Döllinger.

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At the same time a committee of three professors at Bonn was appointed to correspond with the committee of the Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment at St. Petersburg.

As the result of an arrangement made between the bishop of Winchester and professor Von Schulte, a series of letters, nine in number, was addressed to Dr. Döllinger by the Rev. F. Meyrick, upon—

1. The question of schism.
2. The spirit of the Church of England as exhibited in Anglican devotions.
3. The rule of faith maintained by her.
4. The nature and constitution of the Church as conceived by her.
5. Her dogmatic teaching.
6. The character of her Reformation.
7. The specific points on which she differs from the teaching of the Roman Church.
8. Her present sympathies.
9. Her teaching, compared with that of the Oriental and Roman Churches, on thirteen points submitted to the Bonn

Questions proposed for consideration in connexion with the Church of England.

CHAP. committee by the committee of the Friends of Spiritual En-
 IV. lightenment of St. Petersburg.

Copies of these letters were also sent to professors Friedrich and Messmer.

Proposals
 for a Con-
 ference.

Dr. Döllinger, in acknowledging the receipt of this communication, intimated his wish to defer his answer until after the subject had been brought before the Synod of Bonn, appointed to be held May 27–29th, 1874; and in the meantime proposed that a Conference of Old Catholics, Orientals, and Anglicans should be held at Bonn in September for the oral discussion of the questions raised.

Papal
 encyclic
 and bishop
 Reinkens'
 reply.

On November 21st another encyclic appeared from Rome, in which the disappointment and chagrin of the Pope at the tendency of events found expression in a general denunciation of all societies not organised under direct papal sanction. The 'sects of freemasons' were, with absurd extravagance, denounced as 'the main cause of all the misery in the world;' while it was asserted, on the other hand, that monastic communities and religious orders were necessary as auxiliaries and instruments of the papal policy. The encyclic called forth an able rejoinder in the form of a second pastoral from bishop Reinkens, who subjected the assertions of the pontiff, taken *seriatim*, to a masterly refutation. No happier reply, throughout the whole controversy since the Vatican Council, had been made than that in which he repelled the notion that the new ecclesiastico-political laws aimed at the utter ruin of the

Catholic Church, and repudiated the epithet of ‘cruel,’ as applied by the encyclic to the Prussian legislation, by reminding his readers that ‘the admired emperors, Constantine the Great, Justinian, and Charles the Great, exercised over the clergy and bishops rights in every respect greater, and that even the Roman bishops found therein no danger for the existence of the Catholic Church.’ In adverting to the papal condemnation of the new enactments he reminded those whom he addressed that ‘the most feared and, in earthly grandeur, the greatest of all the Popes—Innocent III.—rejected the *Magna Charta* of England, condemned it, adjured heaven and earth against it, beat it down with ban and interdict; but it did not fall; it made the people of England great, and that people had not lost Christianity.’ Equally telling was the paradox of which he convicted the bishops who were now to be found appealing to the Treaty of Westphalia against the Falk Laws, thereby ‘recognising all those provisions in regard to ecclesiastical polity which the Popes for more than two centuries so zealously condemned!’ Vindicating the validity of his own election, the writer went on to say, that to assert that ‘none can be regarded as a legitimate bishop who has not been confirmed by the Pope of Rome, was to bring forward false elements of a Catholic doctrine *never* known to Christian antiquity.’ . . . ‘Episcopal jurisdiction takes effect *by means of consecration* on the ground of the legal election, not by means of an act of jurisdiction

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coming from abroad from a "bishop of bishops." Herein I have the Council of Trent on my side.' In its dignified and Christian tone the whole pastoral, and especially the conclusion, offered a marked contrast to the unmeasured denunciations and virulence of the encyclic.

CHAPTER V.

THE YEAR 1874 : THE SYNOD OF BONN—THE CONGRESS OF
FREIBURG—THE CONFERENCE AT BONN.

WHEN the year 1874 opened, it became more than ever apparent that, however little such a result might have been anticipated or desired by either party, the religious struggle between the Ultramontanists and the Old Catholics had expanded into a widespread war between the Romish Church and the State. The sceptical in religious matters might deride the notion of investing with importance the Pope's decisions upon points of theology; the devout Catholic might loudly deny that he had been called upon 'to place his loyalty and civil duty as a citizen at the mercy of another;' but indications of feeling too strong to be overlooked, and facts too numerous to be ignored, had slowly compelled the Prussian Government to recognise in those who still avowed supreme allegiance to the Pope the supporters of a doctrine which, in the words of Döllinger, uttered three years before, would, 'if it were to become dominant in Catholic Germany, at once plant the seeds of a deadly malady in the new empire.' The warnings of Prince Hohenlohe, the protest of the Nürnberg professors, and the declarations of the Munich Congress

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State of
parties at
commence-
ment of the
year.

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had now become the avowed conviction of the great Liberal party throughout Germany. On New Year's Day, when bishop Reinkens presented to the Emperor the customary congratulations, the imperial reply to the 'Hochwuerdiger Bischof' implicitly admitted that such was the case. 'May the conviction which you share with others,' said the imperial letter, 'and which is certainly correct, continue to gain ground—that in my States respect for the law may easily be reconciled with the exercise of religion on the part of every community.'

Prince
Bismark
and the
Ultramon-
tanists
in the
Prussian
Diet.

It was not, however, to be expected that the conversion of Prince Bismark to the Old Catholic view of the question, and the energy with which he demonstrated his determination to enforce 'respect for the law,' would not call forth strong protest and even actual resistance; and in the month of January he was fiercely attacked in the Prussian Diet by Mallinckrodt, Schorlemer Ast, and other leaders of the Central or Ultramontane party. The chancellor unfalteringly maintained his ground. 'If,' he observed, in reply to Mallinckrodt, 'the Infallibility dogma is so interpreted as to lead to the establishment of an ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio*, if it occasions the setting aside of the laws of this country, because unapproved by the Vatican, I am naturally driven to assert the legitimate supremacy of the State. We Protestants are under the conviction that this kingdom of Prussia ought not to be ruled by the Pope, and we demand that you, the

Ultramontane section of the Roman Catholics, respect our convictions, as we do yours.' 'We will not go to Canossa,' he more than once observed to members of his party, in allusion to the memorable abasement of the civil power at the feet of Hildebrand; and the Liberals, of every shade, entered into the spirit of the declaration and rallied round the chancellor. The remedy was undeniably a stern one; but it was felt that in a great crisis like that through which the State was now passing, abstract principles must yield to the exigencies of the hour. Enquiries into the political opinions of village school teachers might wear the appearance of tyrannical interference, but it was only by such measures that the insidious policy of the foe could be really counteracted and frustrated.

Thus supported, Prince Bismark pressed on his policy without delay. On the 3rd of February, archbishop Ledochowski, on his refusal to pay the fines incurred by persistent violation of the Falk Laws, was arrested at his palace at Posen and imprisoned at Ostrowa. A few weeks later, a like blow descended on the bishop of Trèves and the archbishop of Cologne; and at the latter city, where a strong and influential Ultramontane party has always existed, the event did not pass without some demonstration of feeling on the part of the populace.

Imprisonment of German ecclesiastics.

The next step was to call in Federal legislation to the support of that of the Prussian Government, and during the spring session a Bill was submitted to the Federal

Bill passed by the Federal Council.

Council and the Reichstag, debarring those of the clergy who had once been imprisoned from reasserting their claims when their term of imprisonment was over ; while any attempt on the part of a priest to resume the exercise of the functions of which he had been deprived, or further refusal to obey the administrative authority, rendered him liable to forfeit his rights of citizenship and to be expelled from the German empire. These provisions were to apply equally to clergymen who should have exercised ecclesiastical functions contrary to the law of the land and thereby incurred a legal sentence in the Government Court. Persons thus forfeiting their right of citizenship in any one of the German States forfeited it in all other States, and could only regain it by a vote of the State Council. Another clause provided that ecclesiastics might be removed from their ordinary place of residence as soon as a prosecution against them had been formally instituted.

The determination of the Diet to support Prince Bismark was demonstrated by a majority of 257 to 95 on the third reading of the Bill.

At about the same time additional supplementary laws were enacted by the Prussian Parliament, for the purpose of determining the action of the Government in relation to dioceses or cures becoming vacant. With regard to the first, it was decreed that on the dismissal of a bishop the election of his successor by the Chapter should be approved by the Government before it could

become valid. If no successor were nominated or approved, a Government administrator of the revenues was to be appointed, and the ecclesiastical government of the diocese to be suspended. In the case of parishes deprived of their priests, it was decreed that patrons might still exercise the right of presentation; if, however, this were not done within a certain time, the right of presentation was to lapse to the congregation; in cases where there was no patron, the congregation was at once to be entitled to this right. The electors were to be the male members of each congregation, possessed of independent means,¹ and were to be summoned for the purpose of carrying out the election by the burgomaster or Landrath of the town, on petition received by him from ten of their number.

Such were the measures whereby the Government now proceeded to introduce into the Catholic Church in Germany ideas hitherto foreign to its constitution—the right of the laity to choose their own ministers and consequently to become the administrators of Church property.

The first glance will be sufficient to suggest that these enactments could not fail to meet the approval of the Old Catholic party, and, in fact, they appear in some respects almost a reflex of the scheme adopted at Constance. In a manifesto put forth while the Falk Laws were still under discussion, the leaders of the party did not hesitate to avow their sympathy with

Avowed
co-operation
of the
Old Catho-
lic party.

¹ *I.E.* Adults not subsisting on charity or chargeable to the State.

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V.

the policy of the Government. 'The State,' said this document, 'itself requires assistance, and this assistance Old Catholicism alone can give it.' At the same time it made an urgent appeal to all Catholics not identified with Ultramontanism to abandon a neutral line of conduct and enrol themselves under the banner of reform.

The *Synod*
of Bonn.

On the 27th, 28th, and 29th of May the Synod appointed at the Congress of Constance, as the constitutional organ 'to abolish or alter existing Church laws, and to issue new laws,' held its first meeting at Bonn.¹ It enunciated as its line of action 'to choose in the first instance for topics of deliberation in the Synod those matters which press most earnestly for solution, and on which a unanimous resolution may be confidently looked for as the goal of the debates; and in the next place, to defer those matters which on the one hand are not urgent, and on the other require a previous explanation in detail, oral and written, or, if prematurely taken in hand, might endanger harmony.'

Scheme of
Church
reform.

Among the reforms which it was decided might be carried out 'without any change of the existing Church laws,' were :—

¹ It may be of service here to point out the essential difference between the Congress, the Conference, and the Synod. The first is 'a voluntary gathering of such Church members as choose to assemble for the purpose of informally discussing the affairs of their Church and deepening interest in them.' The second is 'a meeting of *members of different communions* for common counsel.' The third, 'composed of the clergy of a diocese or province, together with delegates of the laity, is the legitimate organ of their Church, constituting its legislative and in part its executive.'—See *Report of Anglo-Continental Society* (1874), p. 29.

(a) The abolition of fees for masses, surplice fees, etc.

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(b) The like treatment of poor and rich in church functions, marriages, burials, etc.

(c) The avoidance of the abuses and offshoots of indulgences, veneration of the saints, scapularies, etc.

(d) The carrying out of holy Christian and Old Catholic principles in the administration of the office of preaching and in catechetical instruction, especially by abstinence from all theological subtleties, confessional bitterness, ecclesiastico-political declamations, etc.

(e) The administration of the sacrament of penance in a holy Christian spirit.

(f) The arrangement of public worship in a way corresponding to the religious needs of the congregation.

(g) The regulation of the affairs of the congregation by the harmonious co-operation of the clergy and of the church officers elected by the congregations.

In addition to this scheme, the Synod adopted a series of declarations on the subjects of auricular confession, fasting and abstinence, and the introduction of the vulgar tongue in divine service. In connexion with confession, it was decided that 'the necessity or profit of receiving the sacrament of penance is in the main to be referred to the personal judgment and self-knowledge of the individuals themselves;' and the injunction to confess once a year was declared to be 'not obligatory on those for whom there exists no inward necessity to receive the sacrament of penance.' But although the 'terrible abuse' to which the practice was liable was candidly admitted, the conclusion arrived at was, that even if an entire abolition were in itself allowable, it would not be justified, inasmuch as the institution of

Declarations on confession, fasting, and use of the vernacular in divine service.

confession is capable of an administration favourable to true morality, and in particular special confession is to many a source of comfort and tranquillity.' Fasting, 'in the pure, Christian sense,' was defined as 'not the denial of the nourishment needful to the frame for a sound bodily and spiritual life, but the denying oneself in meat and drink anything beyond the quantity absolutely indispensable. In this abstinence, exercised voluntarily and in the right temper, lies a wholesome self-control of moral and religious value.' The employment of the vulgar tongue as the liturgical language in public worship and in the administration of the sacraments was declared to be desirable; but such a reform was indicated as one which could only be carried out 'slowly and gradually,'—'the completion of the necessary liturgical books demanding thorough preliminary labours and a careful examination.'

Switzer-
land.

The conclusions of the Synod were adopted without hesitation by the party of reform in Switzerland, who, however, showed less willingness to imitate the cautious and moderate policy of their German brethren. Their progress had been singularly rapid, and their triumph was now almost complete. The close of 1874 saw the Old Catholics of Geneva in possession of every Catholic church except that of Notre Dame, and to this they were urging their claim. Father Hyacinthe, who was still identified with the movement, deemed it necessary to restrain rather than stimulate the ardour of his supporters; but he had accepted in their entirety the con-

clusions of the Bonn Synod; Latin was discontinued in the Church services; five priests had already married; confession was declared to be no longer obligatory.

The movement in the canton of Bern.

The movement in the canton of Bern, where the abbé Deramey, newly appointed curé of Porentruy in the extreme north of the canton, was the chief leader, advanced with even greater rapidity. In a letter written in December 1873, only six weeks after entering on his post, he declared that he and his coadjutors could almost feel persuaded 'that they had lived and laboured there for six years, so greatly had God been pleased to bless their efforts.' Writing in the following month, he observed that in contrast to the progress at Geneva, it was their wish, in which they were supported by the populations themselves, 'to remain strictly Catholic.' The people of the Swiss Jura, whose associations and sympathies are mainly French, regard the Genevan movement as merely political, and have not as yet placed themselves under the jurisdiction of bishop Reinkens.¹

Congress of Bern.

Among the supporters of the Southern movement, on the other hand, the whole question of retaining the episcopal office was openly discussed. On June 14th a Congress met at Bern, which was attended by Father Hyacinthe, Pfarrer Herzog of Olten, and Keller of

¹ For a complete account of this movement see the abbé Deramey's pamphlet, *Précis du Mouvement Catholique-libéral dans le Jura Bernois*, 1873-4: a striking illustration of the results of the acceptance of the Vatican Decrees by a whole population, and the difficulties thereby created in the action of the civil government.

Aarau, and upwards of seventy other delegates. On this occasion it was suggested that the episcopal office was unnecessary to the new constitution; but the idea was vigorously opposed by Herzog and Keller, the former of whom pointed out that their continuance as members of the Catholic Church would be virtually forfeited by the non-retention of the office, while the latter loudly advocated what he termed 'historic rights,' and warned the assembly against 'sketching a constitution for the moon.' The Congress finally passed the following resolutions:—

Resolutions
of the
Congress.

(1) That the title of their community should be 'the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.'

(2) That a bishop should be elected.

(3) That a Synodical Council should be nominated, consisting of five laymen and four ecclesiastics.

(4) That a Catholic National Synod should be formed, consisting of the bishop or bishops, the Synodical Council, all priests of the commune officiating in Switzerland, and one delegate from each parish.

At the same time the reforms indicated by the Synod of Bonn were formally adopted, and the use of Latin in the public services, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of sacramental confession, were each declared to be no longer part of Church belief or practice. The right of parishes to elect their own priests, and the recognition of the Bible as the sole standard of doctrine, were also unanimously proclaimed.

The counsels of Father Hyacinthe and the more moderate party prevailed at Bern; but on his return to

Geneva he found himself unable to restrain the extreme rigour with which the authorities there pressed on their proceedings against the Ultramontanists. The church of Notre Dame, in which the latter had taken refuge after their expulsion from the old town church of St. Germain, and where they had to carry on a regular cathedral service, was, as we have already stated, claimed by the Liberal party. On purely technical grounds, it would seem that this claim was valid. The site had originally been granted by the canton to the State Catholic Church, and of this Church the 'Christian Catholics' were now the acknowledged representatives. But, on the other hand, the church had been chiefly built by funds raised by Mgr. Mermillod, to which the Pope himself had been a subscriber; and again, the State authorities had hitherto forborne to expel those curés on the Savoy side of the canton who had refused to take the recently-imposed oath of allegiance to the State. To Father Hyacinthe it seemed that the expulsion of the Ultramontanists from the church of Notre Dame was morally unjustifiable; and he strongly urged that the recusant curés should be permitted to remain at their posts at least until steps had been taken to supply their parishes with duly qualified priests. But his remonstrances were fruitless.¹ He was outvoted at

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Father
Hyacinthe
disapproves
of the pro-
ceedings of
the Liberal
Catholics
at Geneva.

¹ Since this time the question has been referred to a committee, who decided (Feb. 1875) that the Ultramontanists should be regarded as the owners of the church, but that 'inhabitants of the right bank of the Rhône and of the Lake, belonging to the creed recognised by the State, should be entitled to use the edifice for ceremonies of baptism, marriage, or burial.'

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He resigns
his cure.

the City Council and publicly insulted in the streets; and, as it was sufficiently certain that the Council of the canton would not hesitate, when appealed to, to give effect to the new legislation, he decided that the only course open to him was to resign the cure to which he had been elected nine months before. This he did in the month of July, and in tendering his resignation he thus expressed his sentiments: 'Attached from the very depths of my heart to the Church in which I was baptized, whose reform I wish for, but not its overthrow—convinced besides by experience, now sufficiently lengthened, that the Liberal Catholicism of Geneva is neither Liberal in politics nor Catholic in religion—I have the honour to tender my resignation of my functions as curé of this city.' Since taking this step he has continued to reside at Geneva as minister of a congregation of some 700 souls, who like himself are not prepared to accept such changes in doctrine and in the relations of the Church to the State as those proclaimed by the main body of the Liberal Catholics in that city. He is, however, a supporter of the separation of Church and State, which he advocates rather as a course of expediency than as a principle.

The Old Catholics had now agreed upon and announced their future policy, and it was consequently only natural that the results of the deliberations of their Fourth Congress should be awaited with somewhat less interest by distant observers. The scheme of innovation and reform, with the exception of details

which few but Germans could intelligently follow, had been drawn up—the machinery for giving it effect had been set in motion—the recent Synod had forestalled a certain portion of the labours that formerly belonged to the Congress—the impending Conference was now the chief subject of discussion—and beyond endeavouring to sustain and extend the interest already excited by the whole movement, the speakers who addressed the public at Freiburg, in the first week in September, had but little to proclaim and enforce. This fact, indeed, was fully recognised in a Declaration prepared by professor Reusch in the course of the business transactions of the Congress. ‘The Old Catholic Congress,’ said this document, ‘will not in future have the same tasks before it as formerly, because questions of ecclesiastical organisation and reform will be referred to the yearly Synod for discussion and settlement. But the Congress will still be required to decide upon the means by which the Old Catholic movement may be extended and invigorated, on the basis of the reports and suggestions of the delegates from different parts. And especially there still remains to it the task of awakening a livelier sympathy with the cause and a clearer comprehension of its significance, by means of public addresses delivered by men of eminence. The president of the preceding Congress¹ . . . will, therefore, communicate with suitable individuals, for the

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The Con-
gress of
Freiburg.

Change in
the relative
importance
of the
Congress.

¹ The resolution, as originally proposed, assigned this duty to ‘the two central committees;’ the amendment was proposed by Dr. Petri.

purpose of agreeing upon subjects adapted for public addresses and likely to subserve the purpose of instructing and stirring up the laity at large.'¹

Success of
the move-
ment in the
Duchy of
Baden.

The selection of Freiburg im Breisgau, as the place of meeting, was justified not only by the central position of the city but also by the rapid progress which Old Catholicism had recently been making throughout the Grand Duchy of Baden. 'The movement,' said the preface to the official Report of the Congress, 'has acquired a momentum in Baden such as only those could have anticipated to whom this fair country is well known, and who are aware that both its Catholic and Evangelical population are deeply averse to Ultramontaniam, and support with enthusiasm any measures aiming at the purification of the Church from the abuses and excrescences originating with the Roman *Curia*.'² The opening speech of Von Schulte, at the first meeting of the delegates, further explains the marked success: 'In Baden, the law which regulates the relations between ourselves and the New Catholics³ has been sanctioned and promulgated, and thus a firm and legal basis has been afforded us such as we at present possess nowhere outside the Duchy, not even in Prussia. In a number of parishes the voting has taken place, and the constitution of the Church congregations has

The move-
ment aided
by the new
laws.

¹ See *Der vierte Altkatholiken Congress in Freiburg im Breisgau im Jahre 1874. Stenographischer Bericht* (Bonn, 1874), p. 58.

² *Ibid.* p. 3.

³ The use of this term to designate the Ultramontanists marks the new position taken up by the Old Catholic party.

been recognised by the State. According to law, the establishment and constitution of a congregation require, on the one hand, the sanction of the Old Catholic bishop, and on the other that of the Government itself. This twofold sanction has already been accorded to certain congregations, and a large number of others are looking forward to obtaining it. In all these cases, as the lists testify, the number of independent voters who have declared themselves on our side has proved much larger than it had been supposed it would be, whether from merely approximate calculations or from those formed on the basis of the parish lists. Some congregations, moreover, had not even been in communication with the *Synodal-Repräsentanz* and were entirely unknown to it; and among these were congregations in which the complete organisation had nevertheless been introduced. I can consequently assert that in Baden the movement has made enormous progress.'¹

The above statements will serve to explain the fact, that the majority of the delegates present at the Freiburg Congress were from the Duchy of Baden. Nearly all the leaders of the movement were, however, present, including Reinkens, Von Schulte, Reusch, Knoodt, Langen, Messmer, Huber, Cornelius, etc.

Delegates
and guests
present.

¹ *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 17. 'Die altkatholische Bewegung macht im Süden Deutschlands entschiedene Fortschritte,' is the observation of the editor of *Unsere Zeit*, in connexion with the Congress of Freiburg; though this journal has vouchsafed hitherto but little attention to the movement.

Switzerland sent Landammann Keller, and Pfarrer Herzog, Watterich, and Schröter. France was represented by the abbé Michaud alone. Dean Howson, professor J. E. B. Mayor, the warden of Keble College, Oxford, the Rev. John Hunt, and some six other clergymen and laymen were present from England; the bishop of Lincoln, unable to attend, conveyed his regrets and his greetings in a graceful set of Latin verses.¹ The Rev. G. E. Broade attended from Düsseldorf; Dr. Heidenheim from Zürich. There were three representatives of the Eastern Church—the archpriest from Wiesbaden, Von Kirejew from St. Petersburg, and Von Sukhotin from Moscow. The Marchese Gonzaga was warmly welcomed as a new adherent, especially as coming from Italy. No representatives of the Church of Utrecht attended;² and it was observed with regret that German Protestantism still held aloof—the attendance of professor Holtzmann of Heidelberg, who spoke on behalf of the *Protestanten-Verein*, being looked upon rather as a representation of the rationalistic party.

The language of bishop Reinkens at the preliminary

¹ *Egregio Praesidi C. A. Cornelio ad Concilium Veterum Catholicorum Friburgi habendum benevolè invitanti S. D. P. Christophorus Wordsworth, Episcopus Lincolnensis.* Printed in *Correspondence between Members of the Anglo-Continental Society and Old Catholics* (Rivingtons, 1874), p. 61. Gracefully acknowledged by Von Schulte in his opening address: 'Der Herr Bischof von Lincoln hat wieder ein sehr hübsches Gedicht in lateinischen Versen mit englischer Uebersetzung einschickt, das ja nach unserm bisherigen usus in die Congressakten aufgenommen werden kann.'—*Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 18.

² The bishop of Haarlem wrote to express his regret at being unable to be present.—*Ibid.*

meeting of welcome (Saturday evening, September 5th), as he reviewed the months that had elapsed since the Congress of Constance, was hopeful, even exultant. 'Within the last three months,' he said, 'I have traversed the whole of Germany, have twice been on the confines of Russia, have twice crossed over into Austria, and have finally come hither by the borders of Switzerland. Wherever I came, I was met by some thousand avowed supporters, behind whom appeared two or three thousand sympathisers or secret adherents. I consequently say that, in responding to this your greeting, I speak on behalf of 100,000 Old Catholics.' Equally encouraging was the tone of Von Schulte, who dwelt on the proof afforded by the extension of the movement from Bavaria to the Rhine Country as evidence of true German unity of feeling. 'In olden times,' he said, 'the Rhine was called "the priests' way of the Holy Roman Empire." In later times, I need scarcely say, we have witnessed the singular phenomenon of the Rhine becoming a Roman Catholic stream. But now the Old Catholics have also laid claim to it; and to the northernmost portion of its course, where it leaves the German land, you may find Old Catholic congregations. I bring you a brother's greeting from the entire river!'¹

At the first meeting of delegates, held the ensuing day (Sunday), Von Schulte, on his re-election as president, gave an opening address. He alluded hopefully

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V.

Reinkens' testimony to the increasing success of the movement.

Testimony of Von Schulte.

¹ *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 182.

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to the Conference which was to assemble at Bonn in the following week. 'I believe,' he said, 'I shall only express the general sense of this meeting in wishing that this Union-Conference may be attended by successful results. We cannot reasonably, indeed, indulge the flattering hope that the work of reunion will be then and there accomplished, but it will be well if such an interchange of ideas serves to pave the way for a complete understanding in the future.'¹

Change in
the Old
Catholic
claims
upon the
State.

No better proof of the consciousness of growing strength and of their real claims upon the German nation could have been given by the delegates than in the business to which they mainly devoted their time—the drawing up of a declaration of their right to be regarded by the State as the true Catholics, in opposition to the Ultramontanists, and a demand for recognition as the conscientious supporters of the Church against the innovations introduced by the Vatican Decrees. The following resolutions showed that they had assumed a new attitude with regard to the Prussian Government, and no longer appeared as petitioners for protection, but as claimants to privileges and support which the Ultramontane party retained in illegal possession :—

Resolutions
adopted by
the Con-
gress.

1. The Old Catholics, as already declared at former Congresses, adhere to their claims to the property of the Church, and demand from the State protection in their rights; without assuming to decide upon legal questions and

¹ *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 14.

without prejudice to established rights,¹ they assert that Church property belongs to the congregation, and they repudiate the Romish view that it belongs to the Church *in abstracto*, that is, according to Romish ideas, to the Pope. CHAP.
V.

2. It is not their design to hinder others from attending public worship, and they claim only a share in the churches, church furniture, endowments, and benefices, according to an equitable adjustment founded upon the numbers of each party; but they assert that the pretext imposed upon the Roman Catholic bishops throughout Germany, that the joint use of churches with Old Catholics is prohibited by the canon law, is a mere means of agitation put into the hands of the Ultramontanists.

3. The numerical strength of the Old Catholic party can only be ascertained, as the result of a census of Catholic electors in each parish on the question whether they acknowledge the decrees put forth in the Constitution of July 18, 1870, respecting the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope, inasmuch as the position of a party in the Church cannot be ascertained by a vote taken upon a merely negative proposition.

4. The State, whose duty it is to protect the Old Catholics in their rights and to ensure to them a commensurate portion of the Church property, has also as its duty to appoint such a census in all places where it may be demanded and where the rights of Old Catholics are infringed.²

The third resolution, which is given above as amended on the proposition of Dr. Petri, was not carried without considerable discussion. Von Berg of

¹ This clause gave rise to some discussion, owing to the different modes of tenure of Church property in Germany. In Prussia, as Dr. Petri observed, it belongs entirely to private persons; in other parts it sometimes, though very rarely, belongs to the congregation (*die Gemeinde*). — *Stenographischer Bericht*, pp. 35, 36.

² *Ibid.* pp. 22-42.

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Freiberg and Dr. Knoodt of Bonn concurred in deprecating a proposal to assume what was termed 'the guardianship of the indifferent.' The latter urged that it was invading religious freedom to compel any man to declare his opinions, and that it would be a serious thing if the earnestness of a small but united party were swamped by large numbers of those to whom the whole struggle was devoid of interest or meaning. The resolution was notwithstanding supported by Reinkens, and carried by a large majority.

Speeches at
the public
meetings.

The speeches delivered at the two public meetings were enthusiastically listened to by audiences of nearly 3,000 people and presented many points of interest. Schulte spoke with his customary powerful grasp of the whole situation, and pointed out the nature of the work that still lay before them. 'Munich had put forth the congregational system; Cologne had established a purified episcopacy; Constance had determined the rules and organisation of both. The question of infallibility might be regarded as set at rest. Their battle now was with the indifferentism and laxity of belief among the laity.' Huber followed up in a similar strain. Professor Knoodt appealed to the women for their sympathy and aid. Landammann Keller elicited loud applause by his vigorous satire of the Ultramontanists. Messmer made a singularly powerful attack on the policy of the German bishops. Reinkens, in language more decided than any he had hitherto used, expressed his conviction that their hopes lay not in dogmatic con-

Bishop
Reinkens
on Creeds.

sent with other communions but in unity of spirit. He repudiated the theory of a Church and a confession beyond the limits of which there was no salvation. The Reformers of the sixteenth century had, like the Pope, set up a claim to represent this Church. If one examined the other confessions—whether that of the Scotch, the Belgic, or the Swiss Church—the same theory was to be found. Let not then this dogma be made a reproach to any one communion, but let all alike be prepared to test it by Scriptural proof. Tried by that test, it would be found untenable. ‘The Church of God,’ he said, ‘is one, but it is not confined within the limits of any one formulary of faith. These formularies, even that of Trent, were drawn up in the chambers of learned theologians; and if anyone should say that the chambers of men of learning are barren, I will add, that the chambers of Romish theologians are the barrenest of all.’¹

An examination of these speeches in the authorised report will certainly not suggest any diminution of power or earnestness on the part of the different speakers; but not even the most effective oratory could impart to each oft-treated subject the same freshness that it wore on earlier occasions. Many of the arguments, novel and effective as they might appear to numbers who listened to them for the first time, were necessarily only a repetition of those that have already come under our notice. It was observed that some of

¹ *Stenographischer Bericht*, p. 152.

the speakers showed signs of the strain on their physical and mental energies undergone during the preceding months; and with the Conference at Bonn awaiting them in the following week, it was not surprising that they should seek to reserve their strength for an occasion which was likely to be one of no ordinary importance and interest.

The Conference of Bonn.

The objects of the memorable and interesting assembly which held its consultations at Bonn during the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September,¹ will be best explained by the following note of invitation, addressed by the great leader of the Old Catholic party to numerous sympathisers with the movement, in the month of August :—

Letter of invitation.

On the fourteenth of September and following days a Conference will be held in Bonn of members of different Church communions, actuated by the desire and hope of a future great reunion of believing Christians.

It is proposed to take, as the basis and standard of limitation of the endeavours of the Conference, the confessions, teaching, and institutions recognised by the Church in the first centuries, and regarded as essential by both the Eastern and Western communions before the great schism.

The aim specially proposed by the Conference is not a union of different sections of the Church whereby each should

¹ The following account is, for the most part, a translation of the official report.—*Bericht über die am 14. 15. und 16. September zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen, im Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger, herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Heinrich Reusch, Professor der Theologie.* Bonn, Neusser, 1874. In the debate on the *Filioque* Dr. Liddon's speeches have been revised from the translation recently published with his special sanction. See *Report of the Proceedings of the Reunion Conference held at Bonn, &c., with a Preface by H. P. Liddon.* Rivingtons, 1875.

become absorbed in the general body and lose its distinctive characteristics, but the re-establishment of intercommunion between the Churches on the basis of *unitas in necessariis*, without interference with those particular tenets of individual Churches which do not affect the essentials of the ancient Church confession.

*The Committee for the Promotion
of Church Reunion.*

DÖLLINGER.

The meetings were held in the Music Hall of the university of Bonn, and the following list of those present will show how warm a response the foregoing invitation elicited:—

From Germany.—Reinkens, Döllinger, Langen, Reusch, Knoodt—the last three being professors at Bonn; Lutterbeck, professor of philology at Giessen; Pfarrer Hochstein of Dortmund; Pfarrer Weidinger of Hagen, in Westphalia; Hasenclever, sanitary counsellor of Düsseldorf; Max Lossen of Munich. The foregoing were all Old Catholics, while the following represented the Evangelical Church:—A. Kamphausen, Krafft, and J. P. Lange, professors of theology, and Jürgen Bona Meyer, professor of philosophy, from Bonn; Von Gerlach, chaplain to the garrison at Frankfort; Kritzler, Scheden, G. Schmidt, Wolff, ministers of different Protestant congregations; H. Zwierlein, a doctor of the law and a landholder at Geisenheim.

Delegates
and guests.

From Switzerland.—P. M. Quily, curé de Chêne, Geneva.

From France.—Prof. Aug. Kerckhoff of Melun ; Dr. E. Michaud of Paris.

From Denmark.—Schöler, chief pastor of Wester Hassing ; J. Victor Bloch, provost ; P. Madsen, theological candidate, Copenhagen.

From Russia.—Johannes Janyschew, rector of the Clerical Academy at St. Petersburg ; Alexander Kirejew, secretary to the Society of Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment at St. Petersburg ; Theodor von Sukhotin, delegate from the branch of the same society at Moscow ; Arsenius Tatschaloff, chaplain of the Russian Church at Wiesbaden.

From Greece.—Zicos Rhossis, professor of theology and lecturer in the university of Athens.

From England.—The bishop of Winchester ; dean Howson ; Dr. Liddon ; Rev. E. S. Talbot, warden of Keble College ; Rev. Alfred Plummer, master of University College, Durham ; professor J. E. B. Mayor of Cambridge ; Rev. L. M. Hogg ; Rev. D. Trinder, vicar of Teddington, London ; Rev. G. E. Broade ; Rev. G. V. Reed, rector of Hayes ; Rev. W. Conway, canon of Westminster ; Rev. J. D. Macbride Croft of Sevenoaks ; Samuel Lowndes, Esq., J.P. ; James F. Cobb, Esq. of Torquay ; L. W. Wilshere, Esq., the Frythe, Welwyn ; Rev. John Hunt ; Rev. H. N. Oxenham ; Rev. J. Macmillan, congregational minister, West Burton.

From North America.—The bishop of Pittsburg, and his chaplain, Dr. Hartmann ; Dr. William Chauncey Langdon, rector of Emmanuel Church, Geneva ; Rev.

R. J. Nevin, rector of the American Church at Rome ;
 Rev. G. F. Arnold of Boston ; E. A. Renouf, presbyter
 of New Hampshire, &c.

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At the morning meeting held Monday, September 14th, professor Reusch opened the proceedings with a few explanatory statements. The meetings of the Conference were not public, and it was desirable that those present should exercise the requisite discretion in making known what passed. A short account would be forwarded to the public press of all that might appear to be of general interest. Shorthand reports were not to be taken, but Dr. Döllinger had instructed him to take notes in German, and Mr. Broade in English. It was important to recollect that none of those present appeared as delegates of any Church or religious body ; the Conference was simply to be a private discussion between individuals, each of whom was responsible solely in his individual capacity for what he advanced. In pursuance of this theory, it was proposed that the presidency of the assembly should not be assigned to any one of the ecclesiastical dignitaries present, but to one who was known simply as a man of learning. He felt certain that he should have the unanimous consent of the meeting in proposing Dr. Döllinger for the office. The proposal was received with loud cheering, and Dr. Döllinger forthwith took the chair.

Character
 of the
 proceed-
 ings.

He commenced by stating that, the aim of the Conference being the promotion of doctrinal unity, it was proposed to hold special conferences on the points

Dr. Döllin-
 ger's ad-
 dress.

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of difference between (1) the Old Catholics and English Churchmen, and (2) between the Old Catholics and the Orientals ;¹ the former would be conducted in English, the latter in German. All present would of course be entitled to take part in both discussions.

Propo-
sitions
forwarded
by Mr.
Meyrick.

He then proceeded to explain in English that Mr. Meyrick, who had unfortunately been hindered from coming, had forwarded a list of the principal points apparently requiring discussion,² and had suggested that the consideration of these should be delegated to an English, a Russian, and an Old Catholic member of the Conference. This appeared to him scarcely practicable, as it would prevent the Conference arriving at any immediate understanding on any one point. He proposed to make certain explanations, calculated, as he hoped, to remove misunderstandings and set aside some of the obstacles that intervened between them and the English Church. Certain points had accordingly been selected which it was thought they might at once proceed to discuss. It was open to anyone present to make a counter-proposal ; and if it was pre-

¹ This designation, which is that used in professor Reusch's report, will answer throughout these pages to denote the members of the Russian or Greek Church.

² The subjects suggested were as follows: (1) The Canon of Holy Scripture; (2) the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost; (3) Human Merit, including therein the question of Works of Supererogation and the Treasury of Merits applied by Indulgences; (4) The Septenary number of the Sacraments; (5) Transubstantiation; (6) Denial of the Cup; (7) Form of Baptism; (8) Clerical Marriage; (9) Authority of the bishop of Rome; (10) Dead Language; (11) Purgatory. Mr. Meyrick's letter is printed in *Correspondence between Members of the Anglo-Continental Society and Old Catholics*, &c. (Rivingtons, 1874), pp. 28, 29.

ferred to take the Thirty-nine Articles in succession, they were quite ready to do so.

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Mr. Hogg supported Mr. Meyrick's proposal, whereby the Conference would be able to limit its labours to defining the doctrine of the first five or six centuries, and thus avoid the difficulties that might arise from a discussion of either the Thirty-nine Articles or the Tridentine decrees. He accordingly proposed the appointment of a committee of three, to be appointed by the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Döllinger, and archpriest Janyschew, who should give their report to a Conference next year.

Dr. Döllinger: 'In the note of invitation to this Conference the doctrines of the ancient undivided Church were indicated as the basis of discussion. This is, therefore, the same basis as that proposed by Mr. Meyrick. So far as regards the Council of Trent, I believe I am at liberty to state, not only in my own name, but also in that of my colleagues, *that we in no way consider ourselves bound by all the decrees of that Council, which cannot be regarded as œcumenical.* This declaration will materially assist towards a mutual understanding.'

The Old Catholics disavow the binding nature of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

SECOND MEETING.

Monday, September 14, Afternoon.

Dr. Döllinger laid before the meeting the following declaration for discussion, first with the English and American representatives, and next with the Orientals :

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Discussion
on the
Filioque.

We agree that the way in which the words *Filioque* were inserted in the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, the original form of the creed as put forth by the General Councils of the undivided Church, ought to be restored.

The question, he observed, was twofold. First, there was the more important question concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and next there was the question of fact, with respect to the lawfulness of the enlargement of the *Symbolum* by the addition of the *Filioque*. He proposed to limit the discussion to the latter question. It was incontestable that, in determining the Confession of Belief, the Œcumenical Councils of the West added the *Filioque* without the assent of the East. The *Symbolum*, as formulated at Nicaea and Constantinople, and confirmed by subsequent General Councils, formed for centuries the sole bond of union in the entire Church. It was not until later, and in a manner not easy to explain, that the *Filioque* was added. Pope Leo III., in opposition to Charles the Great, declared himself decidedly opposed to the addition. It was, however, subsequently introduced at Rome also in the eleventh century, though not by a formal decree, but rather through oversight or negligence. Since that time it had been generally accepted in the West, and hence a breach had been made between the Eastern and Western Churches. The Eastern Church was justified in complaining of this overthrow of unity by a one-sided and illegal

alteration of the Confession of Faith—a confession with respect to which three successive General Councils had declared that nothing could be suffered to be added thereto; and of which it had been said, *Fides sic expressa est perfecta*. ‘We are bound,’ he said, ‘earnestly to consider whether it is not possible to find some remedy for the wound thus inflicted on Church unity.’

The Bishop of Winchester: ‘I confess I was not prepared to find this very difficult subject brought forward for our present discussion. I supposed that our debates would be on the theses laid before us by the president, and on the possibility of intercommunion between the Old Catholic and English Churches. I have conferred on the latter subject with my English friends, and am able to state our conviction that on the part of the English Church no scruples are felt with regard to intercommunion with the Old Catholic body. Old Catholics would be admitted to communion by English clergymen without hesitation. The orders of Catholic priests, both Old Catholic and Roman Catholic, are recognised by us as valid, and any such priest would be admissible to office in our Church under the same conditions as an English priest. With regard to the *Filioque*, inasmuch as we have had no discussion on the subject, I can of course only express my individual opinion. The English Church has long been painfully alive to the breach which, owing to the introduction of this word, intervenes be-

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tween her and the Greek Church. *We willingly admit that the word should not have been admitted into the Confession, and that its admission took place in an irregular manner.* But we cannot admit that, as the result, a false doctrine was introduced into the *Symbolum*. We hold that the teaching of the Eastern and that of the Western Church are equally orthodox. We admit, with the Orientals, but one *Fons Deitatis*, but we do not admit that the *Filioque* contradicts this doctrine. We can accordingly express our regret at the alteration of the *Symbolum*, but cannot declare that the *Filioque* ought to be expunged; and before it is possible to expunge a word which has stood there for so long a time, and has been received by all branches of the Western Church, it will be necessary to arrive at some more general understanding among ourselves than has as yet been effected. Our aim is to come to an agreement with respect to the doctrine without alteration of the formula which has for centuries been used by the entire Western Church.'

Dr. Döllinger: 'I can testify that on our part no very strong feeling exists with respect to the removal of the *Filioque*. We could give our assent to it for the sake of agreement, without declaring our opinion concerning the doctrine itself.'

The Bishop of Pittsburg: 'With respect to intercommunion, I can, as an American bishop, make the same declaration as the bishop of Winchester. The restoration of the *Symbolum* to its original form would

not, however, be viewed with the same hesitation in the American as in the English Church. The desire for a revision of the Confession has been loudly expressed in many American dioceses, and the General Convocation, to be convened in October, will have to give its attention to the subject. But the American Church will avoid any onesidedness in the matter and proceed in harmony with all branches of the Church in England. Perhaps we might insert, at the conclusion of the declaration laid before us by the president, the words "might be restored," instead of "ought to be restored."

Dr. Liddon: 'I should feel considerable hesitation in accepting the Article in the form in which it now lies before us. Dr. Pusey would also be opposed to it. The position we should assume, theologically, if the *Filioque* were expunged, would be altogether different from that which we might assume if the proposal before us were *the insertion* of the word. The expunging of the word would be sure to be interpreted in such a manner as to convey the idea that the doctrine expressed is erroneous or at least doubtful. It were much to be wished we could come to some agreement. Possibly the expressions employed by the Council of Florence might be suitable to our purpose.'

Mr. Nevin: 'I have no hesitation in giving my assent to the Article in the form in which it has been laid before us by the president.'

Dr. Döllinger: 'Our idea was, first of all to settle

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V.

the formal question respecting the insertion of the *Filioque* in the *Symbolum*, and then to proceed to the question concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost. If we fail to arrive at a decision with regard to the formal difficulty, the discussion of the dogma affords no prospect of an understanding with the Orientals. All previous attempts at coming to an understanding have been shipwrecked on the formal aspect of the question. The declaration now before us is designed to set the formal part of the question at rest, without prejudice to any decision respecting the material or dogmatic part. If we are to adhere to the present Western form of the *Symbolum*, any discussion with the Orientals becomes purposeless.'

Mr. Langdon: 'I am of Mr. Nevin's opinion that we can accept the Article. I see the difficulties that have been pointed out, but I consider that we cannot, on account of these, abstain from performing a duty which regard for the unity of the Church imposes on us—the duty of declaring that "the original form of the Confession ought to be restored."'

Dean Howson: 'If we allow that an alteration in the Form of Confession which has been in use in the West for eleven centuries cannot be made without a formal decision of the Church, and as the result of mature reflection and lengthened conferences between the several sections of the Western Church, it by no means follows that such an alteration is not admissible or desirable. We are far from requiring the Orientals

to accept the addition, or from regarding the difference in the two forms as an essential point of separation. When the archbishop of Syra and Tenos was in England some years ago, he recited the Nicene Creed without the words *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*. If, however, we assent to an alteration in our formulary, this ought not to be construed into a renunciation of the doctrine contained in the *Filioque*. I propose in the article before us, instead of the concluding words "ought to be restored," to read "might be restored," and then to add, "such restoration, however, being not understood as an abandonment of the doctrine involved in the *Filioque*."'

Mr. Owenham: 'Concessions on both sides are necessary to an understanding. The omission of the *Filioque*, after it has stood for seven or eight hundred years in the *Symbolum*, would be a concession on one side only, and certainly one of some importance. Theologians on both sides have admitted that there is no real doctrinal difference between the two Churches. If this be true, we have no interest in demanding from the Orientals the acceptance of the *Filioque*, nor need the Orientals, on the other hand, lay so much stress on its omission. I may add that the word first found its way, in all probability, into the *Symbolum* in the ninth, not the eleventh century, and the question is certainly deserving of more thorough investigation at the hands of both German and English theologians.'

Mr. Hogg: 'The difficulty will have been practically solved if, just as it has been stated that the Eng-

lish Church will admit an Oriental to communion, even although he adheres to his form of the *Symbolum*, so the Orientals will agree not to regard the retention of the Western formulary as a barrier to intercommunion.'

The Bishop of Pittsburg: 'It is not my desire in any way to prevent discussion on the subject. I wish, however, to observe that though the Orientals may be right in demanding the restoration of the *Symbolum* to its original form, they are wrong in making this the occasion for requiring the alteration from us. I am bound by my oath as a bishop to guard the *Symbolum* in all its integrity, and it is consequently out of my power to say that any part of it ought to be altered.'

The Bishop of Winchester: 'The real difficulty is not with the Westerns but with the Orientals. We do not regard adherence to the Eastern form as an obstacle to intercommunion; but the Orientals are inclined to look upon the retention of the *Filioque* as a heresy. I propose, as a means of effecting an understanding, the following resolution:—

We agree that the way in which the *Filioque* was inserted in the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, it is much to be desired that the whole Church should set itself to consider, whether the Creed could possibly be restored to its primitive form, without sacrifice of the truth which is enforced in the present Western form.'

Hauptpastor Schöler: 'I concur with the majority of the English speakers that it is almost impossible to expunge the *Filioque* from the Nicene Creed. But I

wish also to recall the fact that the Apostles' Creed contains all that is essential to salvation, and that the other confessions are to be looked upon as merely explanatory.'

Dr. Liddon: 'I support the amendment of the bishop of Winchester.'

After *Dr. Döllinger*, in reply to the question whether laymen were entitled to vote, had replied in the affirmative, the amendment was carried and the discussion with the Orientals adjourned to the evening.¹ It was then opened by an address from the president, who commenced by observing that all present were unanimous in regarding the separation between the two communions as an unmitigated evil. It had been a matter of exultation to the enemies of the Christian faith, and had diminished the authority and *prestige* of the Church among Mahommedans and other alien communions. Both parties were at fault, but the blame was very unequally divided; and it was impossible to deny that the larger share must be borne by the Western Church. From the commencement, and for centuries after, the Latins had been endeavouring to force upon the East acquiescence in their hierarchical misrepresentations and inventions and in the innovations and pretensions founded thereupon. The greed of power in the Western communion, combined with the apprehension that the spectacle of a free Eastern Church

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Döllinger's
speech
on the
Eastern
Church.

¹ In order to give an uninterrupted account of this debate, a deviation has been made from the order of *Dr. Reusch's* report, which preserves the chronological succession of the proceedings.

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might produce in the West an impression unfavourable to the papal monarchy, culpable ignorance of the history of ancient Christianity, and especially of the traditions and theological literature of the Greeks, had been the true causes of the schism. In the absence of those causes, the dogmatic differences respecting the Holy Ghost would certainly never have attained to such dimensions nor have been pronounced on both sides a damning heresy.

‘The Orientals, in their rich patristic literature, their collections of Church laws, their liturgies and conciliar enactments, possessed an undeniable touchstone which enabled them to test and expose the innovations involved in the papal pretensions, and the spuriousness of the passages again and again brought forward by the Popes and the Romish theologians. They had accordingly regarded all overtures and arguments coming from the West with a mistrust but too well founded, and a genuine understanding had never been effected.

True origin
of the great
schism.

‘The schism was not the work of Photius, as the Romish Church represented, nor was it that of Cærolarius. The communion of the two Churches, though for a time interrupted, could always in those days have been restored without much difficulty. Even towards the end of the twelfth century, Popes and Greek emperors are to be seen carrying on intercourse on the assumption of a still subsisting unity of the Church. It was not until the beginning of the thirteenth century that events occurred productive of a permanent schism

and rooted enmity between East and West. The taking of Constantinople, the spoliation and desecration of the Greek churches, the setting up of the Latin empire, and above all the part played by Innocent III. in sanctioning these acts of violence with the whole weight of his authority and power, and openly promoting the subjugation and Latinisation of the Greek Church—these were the acts which dug the chasm that remains unbridged over to the present day. Then a swarm of Latin ecclesiastics crowded into the East, and though ignorant of the vernacular, confronted the native clergy with the arrogance and tyranny of conquerors. The bishops and priests of the country were compelled to leave it, otherwise their churches and revenues were seized or they were driven to accept the Latin ritual. The Christian world had never before witnessed such a display of overbearing tyranny and rude oppression. The Popes and their legates set up altar against altar, appointed ignorant Italians or Frenchmen as patriarchs and bishops among the Greeks, transplanted the Inquisition itself with its executions on to Greek soil (thirteen Greek priests were burnt in Cyprus); and vainly do we look for the spiritual benefits, the gain to religion resulting to the Christians of the Eastern Church from this long-enduring invasion of the Western communion.¹

‘The pretended reunions of Lyons (1274) and of Florence (1438),² were extorted from the emperors, in

¹ See for confirmation of Dr. Döllinger's statements the array of authorities cited by Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, II. 412.

² See pp. 17, 18.

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V.
True character of subsequent Romish overtures.

their danger and alarm, amid the strenuous opposition of clergy and people. Romish craft, tyranny, and corruption wove at last a web at Florence; but the will of the people rent it in pieces again in the ensuing years. And all attempts and overtures made by the West, since that time, for the restoration of the Church's unity have really been only disguised demands for the unquestioning submission of the Eastern Church and her daughter, the Russian Church, to the supremacy of Rome. Greek sees, already occupied by lawfully constituted bishops, were assigned by Rome as titular dignities to Westerns. It is true that the Popes professed their willingness to leave the rites and regulations of the Eastern Church unaltered; but facts clashed sadly with their profession. The treatment of the Greek Christians in Poland and Southern Italy clearly showed what the Orientals, though politically independent of Rome, might expect in this direction, if once the secular power among themselves were arrayed on the side of Romish pretensions and aims.

The schism further perpetuated by the Vatican Council.

‘ Until the year 1870, however, the imputation made by the Westerns against the Orientals was, as a rule, that of schism merely, or resistance to papal authority, not that of heresy. But from the 18th of July, 1870, a change took place in this respect amounting to a complete revolution. For on that day, by a single blow, Pius IX. transformed the eighty million Eastern Christians, till then only schismatics, into formal heretics who denied a fundamental doctrine of Christ-

ianity—that of the absolute and universal sovereignty and infallibility of the Pope.¹ Henceforth the definitions of heresy in the Romish decrees apply also to these eighty million baptised Christians. This greatly simplifies all future negotiations with Rome on the subject of reunion. If the three great Churches of the East—the Russian, the Greek, and that presided over by the patriarch of Constantinople—agree to accept the two new articles of faith promulgated by Pius IX., the reunion will have been consummated, but this will be at the cost of a complete rupture with their own history and traditions.

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‘Henceforth those of the Western communion who have submitted to Rome have but one word for the East and the North—“unconditional surrender and abjuration of the heresy which gainsays the Pope.”

Sympathy
between the
Old Catho-
lics and the
Orientals.

‘Totally different from this is the position which we Germans hold in relation to you. With us, as with you, the fabrication of new doctrine is an abomination. To us, as to you, the Vatican decrees, invented and enacted by Pius IX. with so strong a hand, seem to imply a denial of all historic truth and of all the principles of the primitive Church, along with the renunciation of that tradition once the common possession of East and West. In your Churches we recognise the legitimate descendants of the original Apostolic congregations, who have maintained in unbroken and

¹ See, in confirmation of this statement, the voting on the ‘fourth clause’ at the Vatican Council, p. 87.

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peaceful succession the doctrines and ordinances bequeathed by Christ and his Apostles, without corrupting and falsifying them.

Obligations
of the Latin
to the
Greek
Church.

‘We are well aware that the ancient Latin fathers, in their interpretation of Holy Scripture, were chiefly indebted to their Greek instructors and predecessors. Your Churches were the mothers and teachers of the West. Before the first Latin treatise on Christianity was penned they were possessed of a Christian literature. The first six General Councils were entirely or in great part composed of Greek bishops, and their doctrinal decisions were the result of Greek tradition and theology. Your Churches, again, have had the incalculable advantage of reading the Apostolic writings in the original, and of thus receiving the fresh, unalloyed, and immediate impression derivable from the original text alone.

Progress of
the Latin
Church in
later times.

‘In later times, however, the West has far surpassed the East in the active prosecution of theological enquiry and in the fulness and soundness of her learning. After the time of Maximus the Confessor the Byzantine theology underwent a process of stagnation, and would seem to have ended altogether with John of Damascus. Since then there have been, it is true, learned compilers in the Eastern Church, but of independent theological and biblical research scarcely any traces are to be discerned; while in the West first of all the scholastic theology arose—full of energy and life, though exceedingly one-sided in character—and next

the Reformation, whereby a movement was initiated which caused the knowledge of genuine historical theology to be carried to a completeness and precision before unknown. Of this Western learning the results are now, in a variety of ways, penetrating the consciousness of the Eastern Churches with unprecedented effect and power. We have all—Orientals, Anglo-Saxons, Germans—to impart and to receive, to teach and to learn. If we can succeed in diffusing through distant circles the same spirit of love and peace that has brought us together here, we may cherish a confident hope of a great reunion, which would testify far more eloquently to the indwelling vitality of Christianity than a hundred apologies and panegyrics.'

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Prospect of
reunion.

Archpriest Janyschew, in responding, adverted to the highly favourable impression produced upon himself and the other representatives of the Oriental Church by the president's speech. They took their stand upon the ground of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, the Seven Sacraments, and the Seven General Councils. To an observation of Döllinger's, that the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments was not contained in the decrees of the seven General Councils, he replied that they were embodied, though not enumerated, in the ancient liturgies, as well as in the patristic writings recognised by the Councils; and he reiterated his conviction that the three sources of doctrine above referred to must be insisted on, in order to secure a satisfactory basis of reunion. The detailed

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Discussion
on the
Filioque
with the
Orientals.

differences had already been specified in writing in a document forwarded to the Bonn Committee. Dr. Döllinger then explained, that these differences, besides that of the primacy, were the *Filioque* and the doctrine of Purgatory. With respect to the last they hoped to offer some explanation. The discussion was then resumed on the doctrine of the *Filioque*, the Article as amended on the proposition of the bishop of Winchester forming the basis of the discussion with the Orientals.

They insist
upon its
omission.

Here the latter at once demurred to the words 'the truth which is expressed,' affirming that they for their part did not recognise in the interpolation any truth whatever. 'Our Church,' said Janyschew, 'acknowledges a *temporal* Procession or mission of the Holy Ghost from the Son; but she cannot accept as an article of faith an *eternal* Procession from both the other Persons of the Godhead.' 'The word ἐκπορεύεσθαι in John xv. 26,' said Rhossis, 'refers to the eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father, while the πέμπειν refers to the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost by the Son.' It was thus that he understood the words in St. Augustine *De Trinitate*—'Spiritus Sanctus principaliter ex Patre procedit.' He regarded *principaliter* as equivalent to *ab aeterno*; an interpretation to which Knoodt somewhat demurred, preferring to understand by the word that the Father was the *principium* or Fountain of the Godhead. Tatschaloff then said that if they were to limit themselves to the

teaching of the undivided Church, the rejection of the *Filioque* must follow. At the seventh, the last General Council, the *Symbolum* was recited without this word. All the fathers of the Church, a few only of the Westerns excepted, spoke of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone; and even in the West, so late as the seventh century, when the *Filioque* had become widely accepted, the testimony of Maximus the Confessor showed that nothing more than a temporal mission of the Holy Ghost by the Son was understood. Many still thus understood it in the ninth century, as appeared from Anastasius Bibliothecarius. It was not until later that, in the West, the *Filioque* was explained as implying an eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son.

The amended Article, then, said Döllinger, cannot be accepted by the gentlemen of the Eastern Church.

Reinkens besought the Oriental delegates not to grasp at too much. The concession already made to them, that the insertion of the *Filioque* was illegal, was considerable. 'We have declared,' he said, 'that we do not look upon the *Filioque* as an article of faith. The Eastern Church has held no General Council since the schism, and consequently has not been able to anathematise the *Filioque*.' He reminded them that theologians too often forget that the highest duty of all was charity.

Janyschew: 'Charity seeks to show its respect for the right, and is inconceivable apart from justice. It

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is charity that has brought us here. It is, however, right that we should call to mind that it is not we, but the Œcumenical Council which pronounced an anathema against whoever should venture to add anything to the *Symbolum*.'

The utmost that the Orientals would concede at this sitting was, that the *Symbolum* should be restored to its original form without any pronounced condemnation of the doctrine conveyed in the *Filioque*. Döllinger suggested that perhaps the words, 'the truth that may be expressed,' would meet the difficulty; and the discussion was here adjourned to be resumed the following day, in conjunction with the representatives of the English Church.

Third
meeting:
Tuesday
morning,
Sept. 15th.

On the following morning, the amended amendment was submitted to the Anglican members of the Conference. The bishop of Winchester had unfortunately been compelled to leave Bonn, and objections were immediately started against the clause as it now stood.

The dis-
cussion
resumed
with the
Anglican
members.

The Bishop of Pittsburg: 'I cannot personally give my assent to the alteration proposed. The words imply that possibly no truth is conveyed in the *Filioque*, and in this view I cannot concur. Might we substitute instead of "the truth," "the doctrine," or "any doctrine expressed in the present Western form"?'

Both Döllinger and Janyschew observed that there was really no difference in the two expressions; while the latter intimated that if 'the doctrine' of the

eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son were maintained by the Westerns as a truth, he saw but little hopes of a reunion.

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Dr. Liddon then proposed to read, ‘without sacrifice of the truth, which, according to the sense of the whole Western Church, is expressed in the present Western formula.’

This was supported by Dean Howson and rejected by archpriest Janyschew; and another amendment suggested by the bishop of Pittsburg met with no support. At last *Dr. Döllinger’s* acumen and tact succeeded in discovering a means of overcoming what threatened to prove an insuperable obstacle. ‘Our object,’ he said, ‘is to recognise, on the one hand, a historical fact, and, on the other, to leave a question of dogma for the present undecided. We are seeking to throw a bridge over the gulf which divides us, and not until that has been accomplished can we hope to build a house in which we may dwell together.’ He thought they might adopt the expression, ‘without sacrifice of any true doctrine expressed in the present Western form.’

This proposal seemed to be on the point of gaining the assent of all present, when Janyschew suggested that instead of ‘expressed’ they should substitute ‘contained;’ while *Rhossis* proposed instead of ‘without sacrifice’ to read ‘without deciding upon.’ Canon *Liddon* here explained that the word ‘contained’ had acquired in England, in recent disputes concerning the

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inspiration of Scripture, a fixed technical meaning which could not be accepted as the language of the present resolution. If adopted, it would be understood in England as implying that the doctrine 'contained' in the *Filioque* was not the same as the doctrine 'expressed.'

On this the Orientals finally gave way, and the following form of declaration was unanimously adopted :—

The Article
as finally
adopted.

We agree that the way in which the *Filioque* was inserted into the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, it is much to be desired that the whole Church should set itself seriously to consider whether the Creed could possibly be restored to its primitive form, without sacrifice of any true doctrine which is expressed in the present Western form.

The 'formal' difficulty having thus been surmounted, it was next resolved to appoint a committee to deal with the doctrinal question; and a committee of five, including a representative of the American and Greek Churches, was decided upon, though the members were not named, but their selection left for future consideration.¹

The discussions to which the retention or rejection of the *Filioque* gave rise in no way impaired the impression produced by the 'almost unhesitating unanimity with which a series of Articles of Faith, designed mainly to meet the objections of English Churchmen to Catholic doctrine, were suc-

¹ The members appointed were Dr. Döllinger, archpriest Janyschew, professor Rhossis, prebendary Meyrick, and Dr. Nevin.

cessively received. The following first four Articles elicited scarcely any criticism :—

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Art. 1. We agree that the apocryphal or deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament are not of the same canonicity as the books contained in the Hebrew canon.

Articles on the apocryphal books, the authority of translations of the Scriptures, the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the use of the vulgar tongue in the Liturgy.

2. We agree that no translation of the Holy Scriptures can claim an authority superior to that of the original text.

3. We agree that the reading of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue cannot lawfully be forbidden.

4. We agree that, *in general*, it is more fitting and in accordance with the spirit of the Church, that the Liturgy should be in the tongue understood by the people.

The fifth Article, as originally proposed, stood as follows :—

We agree, that faith working by love, and not faith alone, is the means and condition of man's justification before God.

To this it was objected that the use of the word 'alone' seemed to imply a condemnation of the eleventh Article of the Church of England, and on the motion of the bishop of Pittsburg it was resolved that the Article should stand as follows :—

5. We agree that faith working by love, not faith without love, is the means and condition of man's justification before God.

The sixth Article, as first proposed, stood as follows :—

Salvation cannot be merited by 'merit of condignity,' because there is no proportion between the infinite good of the salvation promised by God and the finite merit of man's good works.

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On the proposal of the bishop of Winchester,¹ the Article was thus modified :—

Sixth
Article : on
merited
salvation.

6. Salvation cannot be merited by ‘merit of condignity,’ because there is no proportion between the infinite worth of the salvation promised by God and the finite worth of man’s works.

The seventh and eighth Articles were then adopted without alteration :—

Seventh
and eighth
Articles :
on works of
supereroga-
tion, and
the number
of the
sacraments.

7. We agree that the doctrine of ‘*opera supererogationis*,’ and of a ‘*thesaurus meritorum sanctorum*’—*i.e.* that the overflowing merits of the saints can be transferred to others, either by the rulers of the Church, or by the authors of the good works themselves, is untenable.

8. *a.* We acknowledge that the number of sacraments was fixed at *seven*, first in the twelfth century, and then was received into the general teaching of the Church, not as a tradition coming down from the Apostles or from the earliest times, but as the result of theological speculation.

β. Catholic theologians (*e.g.*, Bellarmine) acknowledge, and we acknowledge with them, that Baptism and the Eucharist are *principalia, praeicipua, eximia salutis nostrae sacramenta*.

With reference to these Articles Dr. Döllinger observed that the former was peculiarly important as contravening the modern doctrine of Indulgences, which rested on that of the super-necessary merits of the saints. Of the eighth Article he said that, though only a statement of a historical fact, it was, notwith-

¹ The first eight Articles were passed before his lordship’s departure, at a sitting intervening between the first and second discussion on the *Filioque*.

standing, one of the highest importance from a dogmatic point of view. The Eastern Church also recognised seven sacraments, but the word by which it designated these, *μυστήριον*, was of yet greater latitude of signification than the Latin *sacramentum*. If at the time of the Reformation the meaning of the word ‘sacrament’ in the history of dogma had been more accurately understood, fewer objections would have been raised to the prevailing doctrine of the sacraments. The Reformers, in limiting the sacraments to two in number, had also given to the name a more restricted signification than that it had formerly received.

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Use of word
‘sacra-
ment.’

The Bishop of Winchester: ‘I give my assent to the Article. If the English Church holds that only two sacraments are generally essential to salvation, it by no means denies that there are other observances which may, in a more extended sense, be looked upon as “mysteries” or “sacraments.”’

Dr. Döllinger: ‘Not even baptism and the Lord’s Supper are equally generally necessary to salvation; the former is more generally necessary than the latter. And, in a certain sense, according to the doctrine of the English Church, ordination is also necessary.’

This discussion was resumed on the morning of Tuesday, after the question of the *Filioque* had been finally agreed upon, and the ninth Article, after some debate, was finally accepted in the following form:—

a. *The Holy Scriptures being recognised as the primary rule of faith*, we agree that the genuine tradition—*i.e.* the

Ninth
Article: on
tradition,
and the

unbroken transmission, partly oral, partly in writing, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and the Apostles, is an authoritative source of teaching for all successive generations of Christians. This tradition is partly to be found in the *consensus* of the great ecclesiastical bodies standing in historical continuity with the primitive Church, partly to be gathered by scientific method from the written documents of all centuries.

episcopal
succession
of the
English
Church.

β. We acknowledge that the Church of England, and the Churches derived through her, have maintained unbroken the Episcopal succession.

As at first proposed, the Article stood without the preamble in italics.¹ Archpriest Janyschew enquired who were 'the great ecclesiastical bodies' referred to.

Dr. Döllinger: 'First of all your own Church, and next the Western Church, with the exception of those sections of it which have severed their historical continuity.'

Bloch: 'Are the Churches of the Reformation included?'

Dr. Döllinger: 'It would be impossible for me to assert that the Danish Lutheran Church has broken the historical continuity in the same way as, for example, the Church of Geneva under Calvin has done.'

Bloch: 'The Swiss Reformed Church has also retained baptism, and its members have accordingly entered into the sheepfold by the door, and hence cannot be excluded from the Church by us Protestants, as the Baptists are.'

¹ This was not added until the fifth Conference.

The Bishop of Pittsburg: ‘I assent to the Article, with the understanding that it in no way contravenes the doctrine that the Bible is the rule of faith.’

Dr. Döllinger: ‘It is admitted that the Bible is the rule of faith, and the belief consequently does not require to be expressed, the Articles before us being designed solely for the purpose of betokening agreement on points respecting which some doubt really exists.’

Dean Howson: ‘I must make the same reservation as the bishop of Pittsburg.’

Dr. Liddon: ‘The Article is quite correct. It might be supposed to contradict the sixth Article of our Church, which says, “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith;” but the expression, “whatever cannot be proved thereby,” taken in connexion with the twentieth Article, which says, “the Church hath authority in controversies of Faith,” justifies us in giving our assent to the Article.’

Both Janyschew and Rhossis intimated that they conceived it would not be practicable to define more closely the relations between Scripture and Tradition; while Dr. Döllinger pointed out that the Article said, ‘the *consensus* of the great ecclesiastical bodies.’¹ Pass-

¹ The preamble in italics was eventually added at the fifth sitting of the Conference. Mr. Hunt, in an article on the Conference in the *Contemporary* (Nov. 1874), observes: ‘It is, however, doubtful if, even with this

ing on to paragraph (β), he observed that all they were here concerned with was the historical fact, but that it was of great importance that they should arrive at a unanimous declaration respecting that fact. The succession in the English Church had been recognised by several bishops of the Eastern Church.

Sukhotin: 'The late archbishop Philaret, a man of learning and highly respected in Russia, was accustomed to look upon the succession in the English Church as extremely doubtful.'

Dr. Döllinger: 'We know that her succession has been challenged, but in deciding the question we must be guided entirely by historical evidence; and I must avow that, as the result of my own enquiries, I entertain no doubt whatever with regard to the succession in the English Church. The ordination of English bishops since the Reformation was first impugned by now universally rejected fabrications (that of the Nag's Head story, for example), and then attacked by all kinds of objections resting partly on entirely unsupported presumptions, partly on facts which if we were to admit them to have any weight would tell with equal or greater force against the

Döllinger
vindicates
the episco-
pal succes-
sion of the
English
Church.

prefix, the Article is free from danger. If authority is taken in the secondary sense . . . the reasonableness of the rule is as obvious as to take the *consensus* of some of our great English divines as authority for the meaning of our Articles. But if this ecclesiastical *consensus* is to be the absolute authority while holding the place of interpreter, it may usurp the authority of the primary rule of faith. Such an authoritative interpreter of the law would become the law-maker. It is certain, I think, that the compilers of Article VI. never intended any such interference as this, when they said that nothing was to be believed as necessary to salvation but what could be proved by Holy Scripture.'

ordination of Roman Catholic bishops and priests. Everything turns upon the question whether the consecration of archbishop Parker and that of his ordinator, bishop Barlow, were, or were not, valid. The ordination of the latter was never called in question until eighty years after, in 1616, and may be looked upon as equally well established with any historical fact unattested by official records. Parker's consecration is not only confirmed by all his contemporaries but also by documentary evidence, so that not even Lingard has suggested any doubt on the subject. In the Western Church, before the Reformation, circumstances occurred which might suggest far more serious doubts as to an unbroken succession and the validity of many ordinations than anything that has been raised against English orders. Popes have sometimes set aside the ordinations of bishops and priests by their immediate predecessors (Constantinus and Formosus).¹ They have also, for centuries together, and with terrible confusion, declared innumerable ordinations invalid, some on the ground of simony, others on the pretext of the schism or the adherence to the Antipope. The worst of all, however, was that, led by an ignorant scholasticism, they altered the matter and form of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, although, according to their own teaching, all the virtue and validity of the ordinance consists in these. In the decree which he promulgated in the name of the Council of Florence (which bears in every

He declares the validity of many ordinations in the Romish Church far more questionable.

¹ Formosus, bishop of Porto (afterwards Pope) was excommunicated at the Council of Troyes, A.D. 878, by Pope John VIII.

way the character of a solemn definition of faith), Pope Eugenius IV. declared that the matter of the Sacrament of Ordination consists in the vessels or instruments, and the words of the bishop when touching these are the form. By this they degraded the imposition of hands and accompanying form of words—which, in the Western Church, had for a thousand years constituted the sole sacramental act—into a non-essential ceremony, which might accordingly be omitted without prejudice to the virtue and power of the act, somewhat like the salt in the ceremony of baptism. The thought unavoidably rises in the mind, that the bishops possessed by this new papal doctrine may, in many instances, and especially in large ordinations, have omitted the act which was regarded as non-essential. If the Orientals, from want of more complete knowledge of the facts, cannot give their assent to the clause, we must be content with affirming the view taken by the Old Catholic theologians present.

Bishop Reinkens having stated that his researches led him unhesitatingly to recognise the validity of the English episcopal orders, both Janyschew and Rhossis declared that it would give them only too much pleasure to see the question decided in the affirmative, and intimated their intention of making it a subject of investigation. The bishop of Pittsburg then expressed the satisfaction he felt on hearing such explicit declarations from the president and the bishop on the subject, which he looked upon as fresh evidence of the

brotherly feeling of the Old Catholics. A statement by canon Liddon to the effect that he had conversed with Philaret in the year before his death, and had been informed by the latter that he had never himself investigated the historical evidence for the English succession, but had taken his view from the statements of Roman Catholic writers, brought the discussion on this Article to a close.

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Fourth
meeting:
Tuesday
afternoon.

The tenth Article was proposed as follows:—

10. We reject the new Roman doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as being contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, according to which Christ alone was conceived without sin.

Tenth
Article:
rejection of
the doctrine
of the Im-
maculate
Concep-
tion.

The discussion that ensued was remarkable for revealing among some members of the Anglican party a certain leaning towards the condemned tenet. Canon Liddon expressed his wish that it could be condemned as ‘a dogma of faith,’ but not as ‘a pious opinion.’ ‘I myself,’ he said, ‘reject it whether as a dogma or as a pious opinion, but in the interest of liberty I feel bound to make this suggestion.’ Mr. Oxenham concurred in this view.

Dr. Döllinger’s protest was more emphatic than any made by him throughout the Conference. ‘If,’ he said, ‘the doctrine be, as we affirm, at variance with Church tradition during the first thirteen centuries, it cannot be a “pious opinion.” We theologians of Germany have a twofold reason for declaring ourselves emphatically opposed to the new doctrine. First,

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because history shows that it was introduced into the Church by a series of intrigues and falsehoods; secondly, because the dogmatisation of the doctrine by the Pope was beyond all doubt carried into effect as preparatory to the definition of papal infallibility. The doctrine has been with us a *fons et origo malorum*. We might, however, perhaps say, instead of "the new Romish doctrine," "the new Romish dogma."

The president's view was warmly supported by the bishop of Pittsburg and dean Howson, the latter averring that, although he had no faith in the personal infallibility of theologians, he could say *malò cum Bernardo et Doellingero errare quam cum aliis recte sentire*.

Dr. Liddon's amendment was ultimately rejected by a majority of twenty-five to nine.

The two following Articles passed without discussion:—

Eleventh
and twelfth
Articles: on
confession
and indul-
gences.

11. We agree that the practice of confession of sins before the congregation or a priest, together with the exercise of the power of the Keys, has come down to us from the Primitive Church, and, purged from abuses and freed from constraint, it should be preserved in the Church.

12. 'Indulgences' can only refer to penalties actually imposed by the Church herself.

The next Article gave rise to more difference of opinion:—

Thirteenth
Article: on
prayer for
the dead.

13. We agree that the commemoration of the faithful departed, *i.e.* a calling down of an outpouring of Christ's

grace for them, has come down to us from the primitive Church and should be preserved in the Church.

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Dean Howson, bearing in mind the abuses to which the perversion of the doctrine had given rise, and the silence of the English Church upon the subject, expressed his wish not to vote upon the Article. Canon Liddon, on the other hand, holding that *usum non tollit abusus*, and that the silence of the English Church might be attributed to the abuses associated with the doctrine of purgatory at the time of the Reformation, gave the Article his support, a course of action which he felt certain, he said, would be approved by Dr. Pusey. The Article was ultimately adopted by a large majority.

The following Article was then brought forward, and was immediately met by a strong demurrer on the part of the Orientals:—

We acknowledge that the Invocation of Saints is not commanded as a duty necessary to salvation for every Christian.

Article on
Invocation
of Saints
withdrawn.

M. Janyschew said it directly clashed with the decision of his Church, and he looked upon the decision of his Church as indicating his duty. Dr. Döllinger and bishop Reinkens urged that Roman theologians, like Belarmine and Muratori, had admitted that prayer to the saints was not a duty incumbent on all Christians; but here Rhossis produced Hefele's *History of Councils*, and pointed out that the Acts of the seventh Œcumenical Council expressly referred to the practice. The

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president then withdrew the Article, observing that he had not anticipated its acceptance, but had brought it forward in order to meet the wishes of the Anglican party.

Fifth
meeting:
Wednesday
morning,
Sept. 16th.

The Article which seemed likely to elicit the greatest difference of opinion, that relating to the Eucharist, was deferred to the last, the bishop of Pittsburg, Dr. Nevin, canon Liddon, the dean of Chester, and Dr. Döllinger having been previously appointed a committee to determine the precise form in which it should be proposed for acceptance. They determined on passing over points which might occasion controversy, and on endeavouring to frame an Article containing only what all might admit. The following was the result of their deliberations :—

Fourteenth
Article: on
the Eucha-
rist.

The Eucharistic celebration in the Church is not a continuous repetition or renewal of the propitiatory sacrifice offered once for ever by Christ upon the cross; but its sacrificial character consists in this—that it is the permanent memorial of it, and a representation and presentation (*Vergegenwärtigung*) on earth of the one oblation of Christ for the salvation (*Heil*) of redeemed mankind, which, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 11, 12), is continuously presented in heaven by Christ, who now appears in the presence of God for us (ix. 24).

While this is the character of the Eucharist in reference to the sacrifice of Christ, it is also a sacred feast, wherein the faithful, receiving the Body and Blood of our Lord, have communion one with another (1 Cor. x. 17).

The bishop of Pittsburg expressed his entire concurrence in the Article.

Rev. John Hunt: ‘Is the Article to be interpreted as implying that we receive the body and blood of Christ in any other sense than we receive them in all other acts of worship?’

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V.

Dr. Döllinger: ‘Yes. A contrary interpretation would be in opposition to the doctrine of both the Eastern and the Western Church, as well as that of the English and American Churches. Moreover, this is hardly the juncture for making an advance in the direction of Calvinistic doctrine.’

A proposal made by Mr. Trinder to read ‘have communion *with Christ* and one with another,’ was not adopted, the addition being regarded as superfluous.

M. Janyschew, on behalf of the Orientals, requested that the discussion with the Anglican members might be explained to them, in order that there might be no misapprehension with regard to the interpretation placed upon the whole Article.

Dr. Döllinger having explained the general purport of what had taken place,

M. Tutschaloff said: ‘I support the Article, although I believe it might be expressed more definitely and clearly. I will endeavour briefly to compare with it the doctrine of our Church. The offering in the Eucharist is essentially the same as the offering on the cross, so far as the same Lamb of God is offered as was once offered on the cross, but with this difference—that then our Lord offered the sacrifice visible in his own person, while in the Eucharist the sacrifice is hid from sight under the form of bread and wine—and

that then the sacrifice, by the actual shedding of blood, became a bloody sacrifice, while the Eucharistic sacrifice is a sacramental unbloody sacrifice, and certainly not only a thank-offering, but also a sin-offering for both living and dead.'

Dr. Döllinger : 'The Article contains nothing that contravenes the doctrine of the Eastern Church. But, with a view to a more ready agreement, we have thought it better to avail ourselves as much as possible of Scriptural rather than theological language.'

M. Tatschaloff : 'Then I declare my assent to the Article.'

M. Rhossis : 'The Article in no way contravenes the doctrine of our Church, provided that by the expression "representation and presentation" is denoted not merely an object of contemplation, but an internal relation of the Eucharistic offering to the heavenly offering, and a real connexion between the two.'

Dr. Döllinger : 'That is understood.'¹

¹ I have given, as closely as I could, the words of this discussion as reported by prof. Reusch. At the time that Mr. Hunt published his article in the *Contemporary* this report had not appeared, but his observations seem still deserving of consideration. 'Here is at first a distinct denial that the Lord's Supper is a repetition of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice, and an express affirmation that its sacrificial character consists in its being a permanent memorial of that sacrifice. I was unable to follow the objections of the Orientals, but, as reported in the *Guardian*, they are made to say that the Eastern Church regarded the Eucharist as the offering of that perfect sacrifice which Christ made on the cross, and that it was offered for the quick and the dead. The answer was that the Article did not contradict this. I certainly understood the first clause of the Article to be an express contradiction of the doctrine that the Eucharist is the offering of Christ's perfect sacrifice. Another question was, if it was intended to make a distinction between the presentation on earth and the permanent offering in heaven in its nature. The answer

M. Bloch then intimated his assent to the Article ; whereupon Dr. Döllinger observed that if he expressed the views of his Church, it was a matter for rejoicing to find that the Danish Lutheran Church was in harmony with them on this point, and the Article was finally adopted. Dr. Döllinger also subsequently stated, ‘for the satisfaction of his brethren of the Churches of England and America,’ that the Old Catholics fully accepted the distribution at the communion of both kinds, and were only waiting the fitting opportunity for the restoration of the ancient discipline.

The bishop of Pittsburg then desired (in his own name and that of the bishop of Winchester) to thank Dr. Döllinger, as the convener of the Conference, for the great wisdom and kindness which he had displayed in its conduct, and expressed his heartfelt satisfaction at the prospect of reunion which had opened out to them. To have been present at this Bonn Conference would be amongst the most agreeable reminiscences of his life, and he desired to hand a written statement to Dr. Döllinger of these views, which letter he hoped would be inserted in the minutes of the proceedings :—

It is understood that these propositions, coming from Dr. Döllinger and his associates in the Old Catholic community, bring out only *some* of the points on which we hope for con-

Resolution passed at close of the fifth meeting.

to this was “certainly not.” But the meaning of this answer depends on the answer to the previous question. If Christ is continually repeating his propitiatory sacrifice in heaven, and if the Eucharist is an offering of the same nature, it follows that the Eucharist *is* a renewal of Christ’s propitiatory sacrifice, which is the thing condemned by the Article.’

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V.

currence more wide, as time goes on, among believers, and that the propositions on some of the points are limited in their expression of the doctrine, though true so far as the proposition goes. That this Conference and its agreements aim now at the promotion of intercommunion, and do not profess to have completed a doctrinal basis of agreement, but to manifest the brotherly concurrence of those here assenting to the propositions, in the truths so far as expressed, and in the hope and prayer that our Lord may speedily make all His members to be of one mind and of one heart, in the communion of His Holy Catholic Church.

JOHN B. KERFOOT, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pittsburg.

Sixth
meeting :
Wednesday
afternoon.

Points of
difference
between the
Western
and
Eastern
Churches.

The sixth and last sitting of the Conference was devoted to a discussion of the points of difference between the Eastern and Western Churches enumerated in the communication forwarded from St. Petersburg to which reference has already been made.¹ The first point raised—that of the doctrine of the Procession—was referred to the committee. The second was two-fold in character, being directed against the theory of the Romish primacy as well as against that of papal infallibility. Respecting the latter no difference of opinion was, of course, found to exist; but as regarded the former Dr. Döllinger intimated that the delegates could not ‘as yet make any definite statement, especially as the question was at present the subject of considerable discussion among themselves.’ The third, fourth, and fifth points had already been discussed at previous sessions. The sixth involved the considera-

¹ See *supra*, p. 250.

tion of a peculiar theory, differing altogether from that of purgatory, concerning the state of the soul after death, and on which, in Döllinger's opinion, they could not then come to any conclusion. He had, he said, not been aware before that it was a tenet of the Eastern Church. Janyschew thereupon stated that it was embodied in their catechetical instruction, and that he would forward a copy of the catechism.¹

CHAP.
V.
State of
the soul
after death.

The subject of baptism gave rise to some discussion, the Orientals repudiating the notion that sprinkling was either the primitive method or an adequate mode of administering the ordinance. They also maintained that, properly, the rite of confirmation followed directly upon that of baptism; and Tatschaloff declared the separation of the two to be 'a papal invention.' The question of the enforced celibacy of the clergy necessarily elicited some discussion. Döllinger pointed out the extreme antiquity of the divergence of the two Churches, the Eastern practice having been formally

Rites of
baptism
and con-
firmation.

Enforced
clerical
celibacy.

¹ The catechism which was subsequently sent contained the following:—

Q.—In what condition are the souls of the departed before the general resurrection?

A.—The souls of the just are in light and peace, and have a foretaste of eternal bliss; the souls of the wicked are in a contrary condition.

Q.—Why do not the souls of the just enjoy complete happiness immediately after death?

A.—Because it has been preordained that the full recompense of the entire man must be delayed until the resurrection of the body and the last judgment. (II. Tim. iv. 8; II. Corinth. v. 10.)

Q.—Does the foretaste of this include the beholding of Jesus Christ himself?

A.—With the saints this is especially the case, as the Apostle implies when he says, 'I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ.' (Philipp. i. 23.)

established by the Quinisext Council in the year 692 ; while celibacy had become a rule in the Western Church so early as the fourth century. But this difference in practice had not constituted a ground of division in earlier times, nor was there any reason why it should do so now. To this Tatschaloff rejoined that the establishment of celibacy as a universal rule had been the work of the Popes, and was certainly designed to promote their own absolutism ; while Janyschew considered that it would be impossible for the Eastern Church to approve of the celibacy of the clergy being made a law by any particular Church.

Dr. Döllinger : ‘ It would certainly have been better if the two divisions of the Church had been led to discuss this point in the fifth, sixth, or seventh century. But the rule of the Greek Church was similarly enacted at a Council where the Western Church was not represented. If a General Council should ever be again convened, the whole question will probably be discussed, and then the rule of both Churches may possibly be modified. The only real differences between us are two main points which must be reserved for further discussion.’

The Conference concluded with a joint recitation of the *Te Deum* and the Lord’s Prayer, bishop Reinkens adding a few sentences of improvised supplication that all present might be kept in the bond of peace, charity, and truth.

A few days later an address from the Anglo-Catho-

lic Society, signed by the bishop of Winchester, was forwarded to Dr. Dollinger, congratulating him on the general results of the Conference, and expressing their admiration 'of the calm, wise, patient, forbearing, and impartial manner' in which he had guided its proceedings. Of the justice of this tribute to his services none present on the occasion could have felt the slightest doubt. That venerable form and benignant countenance will remain for ever in their recollection; nor will they ever forget the wonderful energy displayed throughout the almost uninterrupted exertions of the three days' discussions—the clearness and terseness with which in alternate English and German the tenour of the debate was made intelligible to all—and the calm and courteous consideration extended to every proposition, from whatever quarter.

With regard to the general results of the Conference, the prevailing impression, among those whose interest in its transactions was greatest and whose knowledge of the whole question was most accurate, was undoubtedly that, in the language of the 'Guardian,' it had been a great success. 'In other words,' said the same journal, 'it was made apparent that when the Old Catholics, who adhere substantially to the Roman faith as laid down in the decrees of Trent, the ecclesiastics of the Greek Church, Anglican and American clergymen of very varying views and party connexions, and pastors of the Reformed German and Danish Churches, come to compare

CHAP.
V.
Address of
the Anglo-
Catholic
Society.

Criticisms
of the
English
Press on
the results
attained by
the Con-
ference.

The
Guardian.

notes, there are, so far as doctrines and the outlines of ritual go, not only no impassable chasms between them, but even no differences which do not admit of being treated as of a formal and technical rather than of a fundamental and real nature. In other words, when those who in these discussions approached the topics of difference rather from the Latin or Roman side, came to state the *minimum* on which they must insist, out of that elaborate system of doctrine and discipline in which they had been brought up, and the others took in hand to set forth the *maximum* which they could bring themselves in conscience and consistency to grant, it appeared, when the parties came to explain, that, so far from any gulf yawning between the two, each was ready to go far farther towards the other side than that side would have exacted as a condition of intercommunion.¹

The view taken by this writer may perhaps appear too favourable, on a close examination of the proceedings of the Congress; but the passage was quoted with approval in the columns of the *Deutscher Merkur*, and is undoubtedly far nearer the truth than the comments of some of the popular organs of the English press. To demonstrate the shallowness of criticisms like those wherein it was asserted that the discussions at Bonn had been ‘based on the convenient principle of pretending that there exists a basis of union when there really is none,’² or that it was too late to attempt

The *Times*.

The *Daily News*.

¹ *Guardian*, Sept. 23rd, 1874.

² *Times*, Sept. 18th, 1874.

a mere revival of a 'Church of the sixth century,'¹ will be superfluous in these pages. To *agree* that certain non-essential differences in doctrine shall no longer be barriers to intercommunion and fellow-feeling among Christian men, is something entirely different from 'pretending' that these differences do not exist; and an endeavour to bring back the simpler and more Scriptural creed of the Church, as she existed before mediæval abuses and pretensions had vitiated alike her faith and her practice, may more justly be regarded as a reaction of nineteenth century enlightenment against the tyranny which has ruled over the greater part of Western Christendom for nearly twelve centuries.

CHAP.
V.

The language of the bishop of Lincoln at the Diocesan Conference a few days later, and that of the dean of Chester at the Brighton Conference, together with the admirable *résumé* of the whole question by the bishop of Winchester on the same occasion, indicated that truer appreciation of Old Catholicism which, it is to be hoped, is now becoming general among the clergy and the educated and thoughtful laity of this country.

Views expressed at the Brighton Conference.

¹ *Daily News*, Sept. 18th, 1874. It was perhaps to be regretted that the *Deutscher Merkur*, while passing by these and similar comments, should have selected for quotation the absurd criticisms of the *Daily Telegraph*.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLU. THE progress of the movement since the Bonn Conference has elicited but little comment from the public press, and the statistics published by the *Synodal Re-präsentanz*¹ up to March 31st, 1875, do not indicate any great accession to the numerical strength of the party. In the whole of Prussia the increase is 1,459 members; the total being 18,765, distributed among thirty-two congregations. In Baden, where the Act of June 1874² gave important aid to the cause, there are thirty-five congregations, and the numbers show an increase of nearly 8,000, or a total of 15,000, while some twenty congregations are still awaiting episcopal recognition. In Bavaria—though the addresses delivered by Berchtold and Huber at the final winter meeting at Munich (May 8) were received with considerable enthusiasm—no progress has been made; the number of congregations is twenty-six, and the total number of Old Catholics somewhat over 13,000. ‘The unhappy position of the Old Catholics in Bavaria,’ says the Synodal Report, ‘is sufficiently notorious and needs no detailed explanation, though it forms the burden of many of the

¹ *Bericht über die alt-Katholische Bewegung seit der ersten Synode des Jahres 1874.* (See *Deutscher Merkur*, May 22nd.)

² See *supra*, pp. 222-3.

reports. We would fain hope, however, that with CONCLU. January 1st, 1876, by which time the new enactments of February 6th, 1875 (relating to marriages and legal status, and removing the main objection to the recognition of an Old Catholic bishop and rendering clerical proceedings essentially matters for Church cognisance), will have come into force, we shall have entered on a new period; that a new day will dawn upon Bavaria, when justice will be accorded to us, and those citizens will no longer be singled out for dislike to whom the Word of God, and the good of the State and the community, appear to have higher claims on their allegiance than the word of the Pope of Rome. . . . But as it is, though exceptions may be named, in many, and in fact in most parts, of Bavaria, the movement is at a standstill.¹

If we add to the statistics above given about a thousand more for Hesse, Wirtemberg, and Oldenberg, the total number in Germany will still appear to be under 50,000. The greatest difficulty is not to gain converts, but to find sufficiently instructed and earnest priests to take the charge of the congregations. This difficulty was discussed in the pages of the *Deutscher Merkur*, in the first number for the present year, and was admitted to be as potent as ever. ‘The Old Catholic priest,’ said the writer, ‘is persecuted and abused. He must be contented to see himself ridiculed and reviled week by week in the *Volkszeitung* of his town; he must not expect that his clerical coat will any longer be a

¹ *Deutscher Merkur*, May 22nd.

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passport to power, for he is the elected of the people, and has to work in the Church and outside to satisfy them and gain their goodwill; he must preach well, and must be able to lecture on topics which interest his flock and relate to the movement; he must be a student and not a mere sayer of mass.'

Prospects
of the
movement
in France.

In France Old Catholicism must be regarded as virtually non-existent,¹ and an effort has recently been made by its opponents to organise a counter movement.

Switzer-
land.

In Switzerland the progress has been uninterrupted, and an Easter celebration of Old Catholic service at St. Gall proved the growing interest in the cause. Herzog stated that though he had attended the Congresses of Cologne, Constance, and Freiburg, he had never before witnessed such devotional earnestness and enthusiasm. This success, indeed, has been so marked as to draw from the Pope another encyclical (March 23rd, 1875) warning the faithful against 'the serious and prolonged efforts of the new heretics' 'daily multiplying' in that country. A 'deplorable sect,' which 'draws from the arsenal of old heresies so many errors about the leading principles of Catholic faith.' 'Let the faithful,' it continues, 'avoid their writings and all contact with them; let them have no relations whatever with the apostate priests, who have been thrust in among

¹ The letter of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire to the abbé Derzney (Feb. 1875), encouraging him 'to persevere in the mission he has undertaken' in the Jura Bernois (see *supra*, p. 217) is a pleasing exception to the general apathy of France in relation to the whole movement. Otherwise M. Michaud's statement in his last volume is definite: 'il n'y a plus en France de Catholiques libéraux.'

them, and who dare to exercise the functions of the ecclesiastical ministry, but who are absolutely destitute of all consideration and of all legitimate missionary authority; *let them hold them in abhorrence as strangers from without and as robbers who come in only to plunder, destroy, and murder.*' CONCLU.

In Austria, notwithstanding the numerical weakness Austria. of the party, its principles have gained for it the sympathies of the Liberals, and a Bill brought in by Dr. Klepsh for extending official recognition to the Old Catholics as a religious body, was passed in March of the present year by a large majority of the members of the Lower House of the Reichsrath. The first Old Catholic church in the empire was opened, at the commencement of the year, at Warnsdorf, in Bohemia.

In Italy, the events of the last few weeks have indicated that the Government of Rome may before long feel itself compelled to follow in the steps of the Government of Prussia; while at Naples another movement, which may be regarded with far more unqualified satisfaction, is of singular interest, as the result of modest but long-sustained endeavour to disseminate truly catholic doctrine. An Italian National Church, with a newly-elected bishop at its head, has at last arisen from the patient labours of the late Count Tasca, Signor Rota, and others.¹ 'This, the most recent creation of Remarkable advance in Italy.

¹ The following is the programme of Church Reform advocated in the *Emancipatore Cattolico*, published at Naples, so far back as 1865:—

'1. The Pope to be bishop of Rome and primate of the universal Church; an Ecumenical Council, presided over by the Pope, to be the supreme judge of questions of faith.

CONCLU. Old Catholicism,' says the Naples Correspondent of the 'Times,' writing on May 12th, 'is the result of efforts continued patiently and perseveringly through many years, and in priority of time has the advantage of similar efforts made in Germany and Switserland. Whether it will last we have yet to see ; but it certainly expresses the wishes and wants of great numbers of thinking men, who have not yet, as too many have done in Italy, set themselves in opposition to all religion. Thus there are among their members several highly distinguished Deputies, many members of the bar, and of literary men not a few. Of priests there are a host, and among the working classes many men of strong common sense who cannot endure the exaggerated pretensions of modern Roman Catholicism. The movement is not confined to this city, but has stretched out its roots to some of the most considerable cities of Southern Italy, as Naples, Salerno, Foggia, Bari, Paler-

'2. Restitution to bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans of their rights of jurisdiction as they possessed them up to the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

'3. Preservation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy entire, and the free exercise of the votes of the clergy and the people in the election of bishops, parish priests, and even the Pontiff.

'4. Church service in the national tongue, and free circulation of the Holy Bible.

'5. Sacramental confession free on the part of the penitent, and conducted according to the canons of the third and fourth centuries on the part of the priest.

'6. Restoration to the priesthood of its consultative and deliberative voice in diocesan and provincial synods.

'7. Abolition of compulsory celibacy.

'8. Full and entire liberty of conscience.'

Does not, we may ask, the success that seems likely now to crown the movement in Italy justify hope for the kindred cause in Germany ?

mo, Messina, and Syracuse, besides smaller communes in almost every province; and now that the Church has been proclaimed adhesions are promised from Rome and many other places.’ CONCLU.

In Holland, the principal event has been the consecration of archbishop Heykamp, the successor to the late archbishop Loos; the see of Utrecht having remained vacant for nearly two years.¹ The consecration took place on the 28th of April, and was performed by bishop Rinkel of Haarlem, assisted by bishop Reinkens and the dean of the Chapter. The selection is regarded as full of promise for the Church, the new archbishop’s high qualifications for his office being generally admitted, and it is hoped that the dissensions which have for some time past troubled this communion are finally at an end. ‘The participation of bishop Reinkens in the ceremony of consecration,’ says the *Deutscher Merkur*, ‘has ratified and confirmed the connexion between the Old Catholics of Holland and those of Germany.’²

Holland : consecration of the new archbishop of Utrecht.

Across the Atlantic, in Mexico, the Old Catholics, Mexico under the name of the ‘Church of Jesus,’ have effected a considerable organisation, not only in the capital, but also in the neighbouring towns and villages. In the city itself they possess three churches; one, that of St. Francisco, being a magnificent building, and second only to the cathedral among the ecclesiastical edifices.

In the meantime the invitation conveyed by Dr.

¹ See *supra*, p. 185.

² *Deutscher Merkur*, May 8th.

CONCLU.
 Dr. Döllinger's invitation to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Döllinger to the Eastern Church has met with a cordial response,¹ and the presence of dignitaries and professors representing the Patriarchate of Constantinople will probably impart much additional interest to the forthcoming Conference, to be held at the end of August at Bonn. On the other hand, while Old Catholicism thus stretches out the hand of fellowship to the Greek Church, Roman Catholics are also to be seen seceding to the latter communion, in association with which they can hardly fail to regard the movement in Germany from a different point of view to that set forth in the papal encyclicals. In Poland no less than forty-five parishes in the bishopric of Siedletz, with a population of some 50,000, together with their clergy, were re-

Poland.

¹ The following is a translation of Dr. Döllinger's invitation: 'Last year a Conference was held at Bonn with members of the orthodox Church of Russia and Greece and of the Anglican Church, for the purpose of paving the way towards an agreement with respect to the fundamental doctrines of our holy religion, of a kind calculated to afford scope for the effective recognition of a common Church brotherhood and interests. The theologians who represented Germany on that occasion, belong to a section of the Catholic Church which refuses to recognise the Vatican Council and to accept the new dogmas of the infallibility and absolute authority of the Pope which that Council has put forth, and, on the other hand, believes the orthodox Church of the Patriarchate of Constantinople to be a true Church, which has preserved the Apostolic tradition, and forms part of the great and venerable Apostolic communion. As regards the dogmatic differences still existing between these German theologians and the Greek Church of the East, we believe that it will not be difficult to give explanations which may satisfy both sides, and tend to bring back Church unity, as it existed more than twelve centuries ago. It is accordingly our design to resume our Conference at Bonn, about the middle of August, and it would be gratifying to us to see there representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In order that the expense of the journey may not prove an obstacle, some Englishmen of rank have offered to defray the cost. The Committee for Reunion sends therefore this official invitation to our brethren in Jesus Christ, the professors of theology in Constantinople, and will be ready to supply any further information that they may wish to receive. Munich, March 18th, 1875.'

ceived into the Eastern Church at the commencement of the present year. CONCLU.

The letters of invitation to the fifth Old Catholic Congress, to be held at Breslau in the third week in August, have already been issued; and there is good reason for anticipating that the selection of this city will serve to impart new vigour to the cause in eastern Germany.¹

The coming Congress.

In estimating the present strength of the Old Catholics in Germany, it must be remembered that the statistics above given cannot be looked upon as including those accessions which the results that followed upon the encyclical of Feb. 5th, 1875,² can hardly fail to bring. In this now famous document, the Pope, irritated beyond all bounds at the course of events in Germany, chose to measure his strength with the dominant party in that country, and encountered a will as determined and inflexible as his own. He ventured to declare the recent legislation in Prussia invalid, and threatened with excommunication those of the clergy

Effects of the papal encyclic of Feb. 5th in Germany.

¹ The invitation issued from Bonn, May 24th, and signed by Dr. Von Schulte, says: 'Members of Old Catholic congregations and friends of the cause are respectfully and cordially invited to attend the Congress. The position of Breslau promises a numerous attendance from Austria and the eastern provinces of Prussia. The numbers of the Old Catholics at Breslau and the well-known character of the city are a guarantee of a good reception and of considerable local sympathy with the proceedings. The importance of Breslau as the chief city of Silesia, in which province Old Catholicism has taken deep root, renders the holding of the Congress very desirable as a means of promoting the movement. The time of year offers to visitors from a distance the opportunity for excursions into the beautiful *Riesengebirge*.'—*Deutscher Merkur*, June 5th.

² To this professor Michelis has recently published a reply—*Eine Katholische Antwort auf die papstliche Encyklika*. Neusser, Bonn, 1875.

CONCLU. who decided to obey the orders of the State. This manifesto rendered important service to the Old Catholic cause, for Prince Bismark at once proceeded to exact from the bishops and clergy a disavowal of its requirements and a declaration of fidelity to the State, by bringing in a Bill withdrawing all State grants from those who might refuse to sign the form of declaration.

The opportunity was not lost upon the Old Catholic party, who issued at Berlin an appeal to all true Catholics to embrace the principles of the new movement and declare their loyalty to the emperor and the empire.¹ At the same time Dr. Petri brought forward a Bill in the Landtag, for the recognition of the rights of Old Catholic bodies to the property of the Church. This measure, which was finally carried (May 8th, 1875), by a majority of 202 to 75, provides :—

Dr. Petri's
Bill in the
Prussian
Landtag.

(1) That, wherever in a parish the number of Old Catholics is fairly large, they shall, as a corporation, have a right to a share in Church property according to the specified enactments.

(2) That the joint use of the parish church, church furniture, and churchyard shall be granted to them, and where more than one church exists in a parish, a church may be entirely made over to them.

¹ The *Deutscher Merkur* (June 26th), in reviewing Dr. Liddon's preface to the *Report of the Bonn Conference*, vindicates Prince Bismark from the imputation of 'cynical indifference' to the religious phase of the question which Dr. Liddon makes against him. In adverting to the relations of the Old Catholics to the State, it asserts that all they wish for is, 'the freedom necessary to existence and to carrying on their purely spiritual struggle with Ultramontanism.' 'Staatsgesetze und Massregeln

(3) That if an incumbent joins the Old Catholics he shall retain his church and preferment, and on the avoidance of any benefice the Old Catholics may claim to fill the post with a priest of their own, where they constitute the majority. CONCLU.

(4) Old Catholics to be represented in the management of Church property according to their numbers, and wherever a parish is formed and they constitute a majority, to have the sole administration.

(5) The Old Catholic Unions, where not strong enough to form a congregation, to obtain like privileges, when recognised by the State.

(6) The provincial president to decide the legal *status* of an Old Catholic Union.

At nearly the same time the Government asserted its authority in a marked manner at Bonn. According to a compact made with the archbishop of Cologne in 1825, no professor could be appointed to the theological faculty in that university without the archbishop's sanction. Dr. Falk, however, appointed Dr. Menzel, the Old Catholic professor of Braunsberg, to the chair of dogmatic theology without consulting the archbishop; and at the present time the theological faculty possesses three Old Catholic professors (Reusch, Langen, and Menzel), and one Roman Catholic, although the proportion of Roman Catholic to Old Catholic students is at least six to one.

The university of Bonn.

While the statesmen of Germany have been thus

dagegen, die nicht diesem Zweck dienen, sind uns als Altkatholiken gleichgiltig oder sogar unerwünscht, wenn wir befürchten müssen, dass dadurch der religiöse und geistige Einfluss des Ultramontanismus eher gesteigert als vermindert wird.'

CONCLU.
Mr. Glad-
stone on
the Vatican
Decrees.

practically enforcing the conclusions of Old Catholicism in that country, the late Premier of England has been exciting scarcely less attention by his eloquent and powerful exposition of the same principles. It is well known that during a fortnight passed at Munich in the autumn of 1874, Mr. Gladstone conversed with Dr. Döllinger on the whole question of the Romish policy. At that time his own political experience at home had recently supplied a pertinent illustration of the views maintained by the Munich professors in 1871 respecting the tendencies of the Vatican decrees. A scheme of university education for Ireland, brought forward in the hope of conciliating the Catholic interest and dictated by a spirit of the widest tolerance, had been rejected by the votes of the Irish members of the House of Commons, voting under the influence of the Irish Catholic bishops, who had of course only obeyed the mandate of their Infallible Head at Rome. There appears to be no reasonable doubt that his personal experience at home, together with what he heard at Munich, produced almost a revolution in Mr. Gladstone's mind, the outcome of which were the famous pamphlets on the 'Vatican Decrees' and on 'Vaticanism;' and their fervid utterances may be read in a clearer light after a perusal of the foregoing pages. That 'Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith'—that 'she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused'—that 'no one can

now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another'—that 'she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history'—what are these but the propositions of Old Catholicism rejecting innovation on dogmatic belief and appealing in support to the past records of its Church? Nor has Mr. Gladstone failed to recognise the identity of his position with that of the leaders of the party. 'It seems,' he says, 'as though Germany, from which Luther blew the mighty trumpet that even now echoes through the land, still retained her primacy in the domain of conscience, still supplied the *centuria praerogativa* of the great *comitia* of the world.'¹

Into the subtleties of argumentation whereby archbishop Manning, Dr. Capel, and Dr. Newman have each sought to disprove Mr. Gladstone's interpretation of the Vatican decrees, we are not here called upon to enter. They seem, at best, to prove little more than that each writer places individually a different construction, from that of Mr. Gladstone, upon the claims put forth by the Pope in relation to the State. And over against such a construction we must place the direct significance of not a few of the facts given in the preceding pages, and the present aspect of affairs in Europe, where the scales of state policy in Catholic countries seem ever threatening to incline according as the Ultramontane vote is given. Those for whom

CONCLU.

Subsequent
contro-
versy on
the subject.

¹ *The Vatican Decrees*, p. 22.

CONCLU.

Indifferent-
ism not the
true
remedy.

religious questions have no interest profess to consider that the proclamations of the Vatican are best met by contemptuous indifference. Such has always been the policy of the sceptical party. 'Leave the theologians and their big talk alone,' was the advice of Voltaire to Frederic II., 'and speedy collapse will be sure to follow.' Exactly similar, during the last few years, has been the advice of the most influential organs of the English daily press. But of the wisdom of such tactics, recent events—to say nothing of those of the last three-quarters of a century—must suggest serious doubt; and it seems at least to bespeak more confidence than modesty to assume that the question is better understood by us in England than by the statesmen of Germany, who see the toils of Ultramontane intrigue woven daily around them, and are conscious at every step of the baffling influence of a formidable and widespread organisation. 'Prince Bismark,' says M. Michaud, in his last work, 'like a statesman of discernment, perceives that the Old Catholics do not limit themselves to a mere verbal expression of patriotic feeling, but also refuse to submit to the dictates of a foreign monarch, and thus give to the State and the realm at large true pledges of their patriotism and respect for the public welfare. He sees, on the other hand, that the Ultramontanists, by their admission of the Pope's infallibility and of his right to proscribe whatever he disapproves in civil or political legislation, set up a principle whereby they

The case
for Prussia
stated by
Michaud.

may one day subvert the State and revolutionise the country. And perceiving all this, he has the good sense not to treat it as a subject for laughter but, on the contrary, as a grave matter. And his policy is the logical result of his convictions.’¹ ‘There is an impression,’ says Mr. Gladstone, ‘which is not worthy to be called a conviction, but which holds the place of one, that the indifferentism, scepticism, materialism, and pantheism which for the moment are so fashionable, afford, among them, an effectual defence against Vaticanism. But one has truly said that the votaries of that system have three elements of real strength, namely, faith, self-sacrifice, and the spirit of continuity. None of these three are to be found in any of the negative systems, which, through the feelings of repugnance and alarm which they excite in many religious minds, are effectual allies of the Romanism of the day.’²

CONCLU.

His view
corrobo-
rated by
Mr. Glad-
stone.

‘The Church,’ said the *Dublin Review*, in 1868, ‘is contending rather against political and social disorders than against false religious theories;’ and the policy of the Roman *Curia* since these words were written must surely convince every dispassionate observer that, in the words of the eminent statesman above quoted, ‘it must be for some political object, of a very tangible

¹ *Le Mouvement Contemporain*, p. 221.

² Introductory Letter to M. de Laveleye’s *Protestantism and Catholicism in their bearing on the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations*. 1875.

CONCLU. kind, that the risks of so daring a raid upon the civil sphere have been deliberately run.'¹

Claims of the movement to the consideration of different parties in England.

In summing up, therefore, the claims of the Old Catholic movement to the consideration of Englishmen at large, we would assign a foremost place to the substantial promise which, if successful, it holds out of bringing about the gradual elimination of a constant source of political disquiet, by its recognition of loyalty to the State as a primary duty on the part of every citizen, and by its conception of religious belief and practice as involving no allegiance to the dictates of an alien power; while in the more special questions concurrently raised by this body in its progressive scheme of organisation—such as the connexion between Church and State, the relations between the episcopal order and the clergy, the participation of the laity in Church government—it is impossible not to recognise topics of great and practical interest bearing upon the religious difficulties of the day.

Passing on to the more strictly religious phase of the movement, it would seem to be no slight recommendation in its favour that it is in pronounced harmony with the spirit of the age, in the tendency which it exhibits to divert the mind from non-essential points of dogma and theological difference to those broader doctrines which admit of sympathy, agreement, and intercommunion. The Anglican, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, members of the Eastern and Western

¹ *The Vatican Decrees*, p. 48.

Churches alike, however firmly they may still maintain their distinctive tenets, cannot, if actuated by the true Christian spirit, but rejoice at the prospect of cordial co-operation against those great and crying dangers which, at the present time, menace all religious belief, and in comparison with which questions upon minor points of doctrine dwindle into insignificance. While those who, on the other hand, look upon the permanent element in Christianity as likely to become increasingly disassociated from dogmatic teaching, must hail with not less satisfaction a movement which turns from the letter to the spirit. ‘The Old Catholic body,’ says canon Liddon, ‘seems to hold out to the English Church an opportunity which has been denied to it for three hundred years. Catholic, yet not papal; episcopal, with no shadow of doubt or prejudice resting on the validity of its orders; friendly with the orthodox East, yet free from the stiffness and one-sidedness of an isolated tradition; sympathising with all that is thorough and honest in the critical methods of Protestant Germany, yet holding on firmly and strenuously to the Faith of antiquity—this body of priests and theologians, and simple believers, addresses to the English Church a language too long unheard, in the Name of our Common Lord and Master. Once more the vision of a body which shall compass the world seems to rise, however indistinctly, before the mind’s eye; a body which shall attract the many earnest souls whom we in our Anglican isolation cannot reach; a body through

CONCLU.

Canon Liddon's estimate of its merits.

CONCLU. which one pulse shall throb at Constantinople, at Munich, and at Lambeth, and to whose pleadings Rome herself, in the days that are assuredly before her, may not be always deaf. Is it irrational to hope that a body such as this, uniting all that is sincere in modern enquiry with all that is deepest and most tender in ancient Christian self-devotion, may yet hope to win the ear of Europe, and to bring succour to the intellectual and moral ailments of our modern world? ¹

NOTE.

WHILE the foregoing sheets have been passing through the press, the Second Synod of Bonn (May 19-21) has held its sittings. It was then announced that a Catechism and Manual of Religion, prepared by the Committee appointed for the purpose, were completed and in the press. These are intended to illustrate the principles of Old Catholicism, freed from the innovations and corruptions introduced with the scholastic theology. In the interval before the next Synod, it is proposed, after these manuals have been repeatedly revised by the Committee and the *Synodal-Repräsentanz*, to circulate them widely. A new Liturgy, in the German language, was also laid before the Synod, and underwent certain modifications. Orders were given that it should be printed, and forthwith adopted by Old Catholic congregations, unless special circumstances should appear to render the retention of the use of the old liturgy desirable for a time. The *Synodal-Repräsentanz* was also requested to draw up (a) a Form of Prayer and General Confession for use preparatory to Communion; (b) Prayers for use at the Communion service; (c) a Form of Prayer for use on the eve of a Fast; (d) a Liturgy for the last three days in Passion Week.

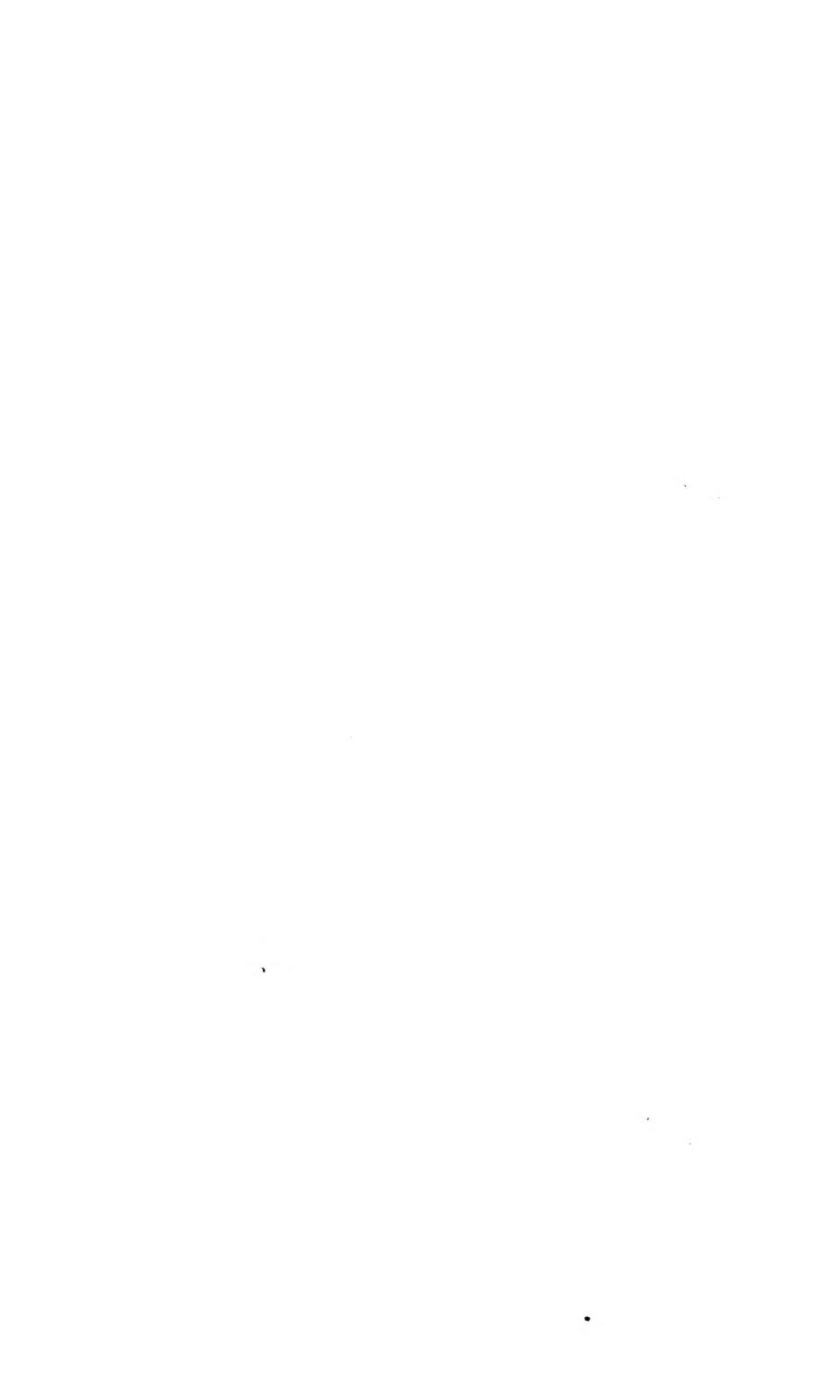
It was also decided by the Synod that it was highly desirable that the number of Saints' days observed should be diminished. It

¹ Preface to *Report of the Bonn Conference*, p. 25.

was accordingly ordered that in places where Old Catholic congregations existed divine service should be held on all days usually observed as holydays, but that the observance of these days by cessation from labour should not be inculcated, but be left to the custom and private judgment of each individual. The priest was instructed to give, in his sermons and lectures, an explanation of the true character of such days. The observance of Good Friday, although not inculcated in the ancient liturgies, was decided to be desirable both by attendance at divine service and by cessation from labour.

CONCLU.

On the question of enforced clerical celibacy it was concluded that nothing could be gained by any general declaration respecting the abstract desirability, usefulness, and binding nature of such a rule: but the practical question—whether married priests should be permitted to undertake the charge of Old Catholic congregations—was decided in the negative. The proceedings of the Synod terminated with the adoption of an Address, drawn up by bishop Reinkens, ‘from the second Old Catholic Synod to those priests of the German Empire who, though still subject to the Vatican bishops, are catholic in heart,’ appealing earnestly to them to declare ‘what hindered them from coming forward as defenders of the Faith and from bringing help to the faithful.’



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