

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY  
of the  
OLD CATHOLIC GROUP OF CHURCHES ;  
THEIR DOCTRINAL AND LITURGICAL POSITION ;  
and the Development of their  
RELATIONS WITH OTHER NON-PAPAL COMMUNIONS .

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A THESIS

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## FOREWORD.

In this thesis a brief survey of the Jansenist controversy will be given in so far as this came to affect the fortunes of the remnant that was left to the Papal Church in Holland after the triumph of Protestantism in the United Provinces.

The work of British missionaries in the early days of Christianity in the Netherlands will be noticed, and then, passing to the Post-Reformation period, the troubled history of the See of Utrecht will be dealt with necessarily at some length. An endeavour will be made to show that the so-called "Jansenist Church of Holland" can justly disclaim the imputation of heresy which its enemies fastened upon it, and that the Archbishops of Utrecht of what is now called the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands are the legitimate successors of St. Willibrord, who founded the See in A.D. 696.

The Dutch Catholics who were driven out of communion with Rome chiefly by Jesuit intrigue, did not desire the schism, and ineffectual efforts were made to heal it. The obstinacy of the Vatican and the continued enmity of the Jesuits perpetuated the separation, and in the course of years doctrinal developments within the Papal Church widened the breach. The Vatican Council of 1870 finally killed all hope of reunion.

The same Vatican Council drove from the Roman Obedience a considerable number of Catholic Christians in Central Europe. These organised themselves and declared for reform in matters of doctrine and discipline, appealing to the standards of the Early Church, before the division of Western from Eastern Christendom. They decided to simplify their rites and to give them vernacular form. They adopted the name "Old Catholic" to defend their own orthodoxy and as a protest against the novel doctrines of the Church of Rome. They had no wish to be considered as Protestants in the sense in which that word is popularly used. They intended to remain Catholic in their faith and worship. But they sought relations with other non-Papal Christian Churches.

These Old Catholics wished to retain the form of the ministry and the Apostolical Succession of the episcopate which they had enjoyed while in communion with the See of Rome. But they numbered no bishop in their ranks. They appealed to the Church of Utrecht to supply that want and the request was granted. From this association arose a federation of independent national Catholic Churches. These form the Old Catholic group of Churches whose history, doctrine, and worship will be considered in this thesis.

The liberal views of some of the younger members of this federation of Churches, somewhat alarmed the more conservative and older Church in Holland, but in 1889 all the Old Catholic bishops then consecrated agreed to the Declaration of Utrecht which defined an agreed doctrinal position which has remained the bond of union between all genuine Old Catholics ever since.

In the years which have followed Old Catholic fortunes have varied. There have been losses and compensating gains. In the present century a very large number of Polish immigrants in the United States of America have abandoned the Papal Obedience and have adopted Old Catholic principles. All genuine Old Catholics accord to the Archbishop of Utrecht a primacy of Honour - not of jurisdiction - which is not dissimilar from that which Anglicans throughout the world allow to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In some countries movements of quasi-Old Catholic character have appeared. In others there have been ineffective or abortive attempts to establish Churches on Old Catholic principles. Pseudo-Old Catholic Bodies have arisen in several lands. Some of these will be noticed briefly since their existence has caused confusion and annoyance both to genuine Old Catholic Churches and to the Anglican Communion. Utrecht and Canterbury now enjoy inter-communion, but the pseudo-Old Catholic Bodies are recognised by neither.

The independent units of the Old Catholic group of Churches which whom this thesis is primarily concerned are the following :-

1. The Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands, to which belongs the oversight of a small number of Old Catholics in France. The name " Old Catholic " cannot properly be applied to this Church as it existed before 1870. Called by its enemies the "Jansenist Church of Holland", and styling itself the " Old Roman Church", it has also been described by J.M. Neale and others the "National Catholic Church of Holland" or the "Dutch Catholic Church". To avoid confusion it will be styled in this thesis, the "Church of Utrecht" in periods before the name "Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands" (or "of Holland") was adopted.
2. The German Old Catholic Church. This includes a congregation at Nordstrand ( Schleswig-Holstein ) which was formerly under the Old Catholic Church of Holland, and several congregations now located inside the Polish frontiers.
3. The Christian-Catholic Church of Switzerland.

4. The Austrian Old Catholic Church, from which have arisen two now independent daughter-Churches :-
5. The Old Catholic Church in Czech-Slovakia , and
6. The Old Catholic Church in Croatia ( Yugoslavia ).  
In the Croatian Old Catholic Church a schism exists. The larger section continues in Communion with Utrecht. The lesser section ( which, however, includes the Bishop ) has been excluded from communion with other Old Catholics.

To the above must be added :-

7. The Polish National Catholic Church in the United States of America. This Church has missions also in the Polish homeland in Europe, but these must not be confused with the congregations which are under the German Old Catholic Bishop, nor yet with another Church in Poland which once had an Old Catholic connection, but has lost that status through heresy. This (formerly Old Catholic) Church is the Mariavite Church in Poland, which has departed far from the paths of Old Catholic orthodoxy.

In Europe Old Catholic adherents number about 170,000. Numbers in America are difficult to obtain with accuracy, but they are a considerable body of people. Compared with other Christian Bodies, the Old Catholic Communion is a small one, but fewness of numbers does not mean that Old Catholics are of no great account. They occupy a position that is unique between Rome, (which recognises Old Catholic Orders as being valid), and Protestantism. Already they have played an important part in assisting efforts made to further Christian reunion.

In Part 3 of this thesis, in Chapters 3 and 4, will be found matter which the writer contributed to a book published by the Faith Press, Ltd., in 1936, i.e " Old Catholic Eucharistic Worship". This incorporated matter is in print.

Walter H. de Voil.

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PART ONE.

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The so-called

" JANSENIST CHURCH OF HOLLAND ".

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## Chapter 1.

Jansenism.

In the new Cathedral Church of St. Martin at Ypres in Belgium which has arisen to replace that which was destroyed in the Great War of 1914 - 1918, there will be found in the pavement near to the High Altar, a white stone. It bears the simple inscription :-

1	6
3	8

It marks the spot where the body of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, was buried after his untimely death in A.D.1638. He was the victim of a plague that had raged through the Netherlands. He was buried with honour as a good and Faithful prelate, a scholar of international reputation, and a loyal son of the Papal Church. Yet in 1658 his successor in the See of Ypres tore down a ~~monument~~ monument that had been erected in the Cathedral to his memory, for by this time Cornelius Jansen, though dead, had been branded as a heretic.

Jansen has never wanted for defenders, and has always had enemies. Amongst the latter, members of the Society of Jesus have consistently and persistently blackened his memory. The Jesuits succeeded in getting various occupants of the See of Peter to condemn Jansen and his teaching in the most definite terms. Amongst the Bishop of Ypres' defenders, ( and such have always suffered persecution by the Jesuits and at the hands of the Vatican authorities ), Catholics of the Metropolitan See of Utrecht took a leading part. They suffered greatly for their daring. Fidelity to Christian doctrine as taught by the great Doctor of the Church, St. Augustine of Hippo, and as expounded by Jansen in an age when the Society of Jesus had obscured this teaching and given to popular Roman Catholicism less austerity and laxer morals, led to the See of Utrecht ultimately finding itself out of communion with the Pope.

The Jansenist controversy raged fiercely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not yet entirely dead. The very existence of what is now called the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands keeps alive memories of Jansen's

teaching. The Roman Catholic Church still maintains that Jansen misrepresented the doctrine of St. Augustine.

Before considering further the question of doctrine as expounded by Jansen, some facts concerning the man himself, his environment, and activities, may help to explain why he came to be regarded with so much animosity by the Jesuits.

Cornelius Jansen was born in 1585 at Acquoi, near Leerdam, in Holland. He was of humble origin, but rose to be a professor in the University of Louvain where Michael Bajus had taught. This Bajus was one of a number of scholars who sought to free the writings of the Early Fathers of the Church from the accretions of medieval Scholastic comment. By so doing he had incurred Papal condemnation. After the Bull " *Ex omnibus afflictionibus* " Bajus made his submission to Rome. In 1587 - twenty years after his condemnation -, and at a time when Jansen was but an infant, Michael Bajus died, but " *Baianism* " continued to influence those thinkers who had become interested in the writings of St. Augustine of Hippo.

Jansen, and a fellow-student at Louvain - Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, later well known as the Abbé de St. Cyran - became fast friends. Both were devoted disciples of St. Augustine and Jansen eventually produced a work on St. Augustine's teaching. In this he had been much aided by St. Cyran. It was published in 1640, two years after the author's death. The three volumes, ( which were destined to raise so much controversy ), were entitled :- " *Augustinus, seu doctrina Sancti Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, et medicina, adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses* ". More shortly they are generally known as Jansen's " *Augustinus* ".

Even before this book appeared Jesuit influence attempted to wreck the work. The Society of Jesus had reason to dislike the University of Louvain in general and Jansen, its professor, in particular. Louvain was at that time under Spanish rule, and Jansen had been the University's successful ambassador to Madrid when a dispute was settled by the Jesuits in Louvain being ordered to submit their Schools to the control of the University, whose rules and statutes they were required to observe. Moreover, the Jesuits knew Jansen sufficiently well to be aware that his work would set out clearly St. Augustine's teaching in regard to Divine grace, and that it would excite opposition to the moral theology as taught by the Jesuits, whose casuists were dealing far too leniently with grave sins, the Sacrament of Penance being thereby made a blasphemous mockery. The teaching of such Jesuits as Molina and Lessius had been so vile that it ~~later~~ called down the bitter ridicule

would have that Grace to be such, as the will of man might resist it or obey it.

5. It is semipelagianisme to say that Jesus Christ died, or shed his blood, generally for all men. "

( Quoted, with the ancient spelling unaltered, from "An Answer to the Provinciall Letters" (1659); pp. xxiii - xxiv. ).

In regard to the last of these Propositions, the enemies of the Jansenists condemned the use of a form of the Crucifix that was popular at the time. This was one in which the arms of the figure of Christ were not widespread, but were extended above the head in the form of a " Y ". The Jesuits held that this form was Jansenistic because it indicated that the arms of Christ could embrace but a few, and not all mankind. The real explanation of most of such Crucifixes appears to be that it was often possible to carve the figure from one piece of ivory if the arms were made to stretch above the head. Any other design made carving more difficult.

Before the Papal condemnation, Jansen's defenders had attempted to defend the Propositions as being capable of bearing a good and Catholic interpretation, but in view of misrepresentation of this attitude, they accepted the condemnation of them, but asked where these five heresies were to be found in Jansen's " Augustinus ". Louis XIV of France became a bitter anti-Jansenist. This king asked the Count de Grammont to read Jansen's work. The ~~xxxxx~~ Count had to report to his royal master that he had not been so fortunate as to find the Five Propositions in the " Augustinus ", but added, "they may be there, for all that, incognito". Eight French bishops reported that they had found the Propositions and that they correctly represented Jansen's heretical views. Jansen's defenders asked for chapter and verse, and this request has always presented difficulties to Jansen's detractors.

Several Popes have maintained that the Five Propositions are in fact to be found in the " Augustinus ". This kind of declaration as to facts led to what came to be called the ~~xx&~~ " 'fait' or 'droit' " dispute. Jansen's defenders maintained that though a Pope had a right to define doctrinal matters, he might err in regard to his utterances which concerned facts. They recalled that the Seventh Œcumenical Council had erred as to matters of fact in its dealings with Christian Art. If a whole General Council had so erred, a Pope could not be regarded as infallible as regards matters of fact. ∅.

( Cf. J.M. Neale, "The Jansenists and recent Ultramontanism", an Article in "The Christian Remembrancer" of January 1852 ).

∅ A similar claim to Papal infallibility as to facts arose in 1844 when two German priests of Bonn University were dismissed. They were named Achterfeldt and Braun. They had defended the orthodoxy of the writings of Georg Hermes.

( Cf. "English Review" of July, 1844. )

Despite the "'fait' or 'droit' " dispute, Pope Alexander VII was unwise enough in 1665 to impose a "Formulary" in stronger terms than had hitherto been required against Jansenism. This required " all the world " to subscribe on oath, "..... I do with a sincere mind reject and condemn the Five Propositions, taken out of Cornelius Jansen's book, named " Augustinus ", and in the sense intended by the same author". A further Papal Bull, " Vineam Domini " again condemned the Propositions in 1705.

In 1713 came the Bull " Unigenitus " which condemned as Jansenistic, or otherwise heretical, no fewer than 101 Propositions taken from the " Moral Reflections " of Pasquier Quesnel. The Bull " Unigenitus " makes remarkable reading for the Pope condemned statements which are substantially identical with the words of Holy Scripture; of St. Augustine of Hippo; and of the Council of Trent. Quesnel fled to Holland and settled in Amsterdam. He aided the Catholics there who were suffering as Jansenists, and influenced Archbishop Codde, who was the last of his line who continued in communion with the Papal See. Quesnel from the place of his exile, was also in touch with the Anglican Church.

In the course of time civil and ecclesiastical pressure broke up Jansenism in France. Those who bore the name in later years had little in common with the early defenders of Cornelius Jansen's orthodoxy, or with the doctrine of St. Augustine. They degenerated to such an extent that one finds the name applied to convulsionists and fanatics who crucified simple-minded women in the name of religion. The protagonists of the French Revolution have even been designated thus. This usage of the term was largely due to the fact that the Jesuits ~~never~~ employed it as a stick to beat any inconvenient dog. In many other countries excellent and orthodox Catholics who failed to favour the designs of of the Society of Jesus were denounced to Rome, and suffered persecution or ill-favour as supposed Jansenists. Nowhere more freely was the charge of Jansenism made than amongst the remnant left to the Roman Catholic Church in Holland. This had cruel results for many innocent victims, whose only "crime" was fidelity to the doctrine of St. Augustine, and refusal to sign a "Formulary" which in conscience they could not do.

In Holland Jesuit manoeuvres to secure control of Church government, and their policy of defaming all who resisted, coupled with the disregard of the Vatican for local rights, and obstinacy in regard to the terms of the Formulary against Jansenism, not only created a schism, but defeated many attempts made to heal it. Had greater understanding and charity prevailed, a so-called "Jansenist Church" in Holland would never have arisen.

## Chapter 2.

The See of Utrecht from its foundation until the Reformation.

The heathen tribes of the Catti, Batavi, and Frisones, may be classed together as "Frisians". They lived in the district between the Weser and the Schelde. For many years they resisted the efforts of Christian missionaries to evangelise them. They associated Christianity with encroachments upon their territory which were constantly made by the Franks. When Christianity at last did effect an entrance, it was largely due to the efforts of missionaries from Great Britain.

St. Wilfred of York, when on a journey to Rome, spent the winter of the years 678 - 679 in Fresia. He made and baptised a number of converts. Shortly after this St. Egbert sent two missions to the Low Countries. Egbert was a Northumbrian who had studied in Ireland. He died at Iona on Easter Day 729. Withbert, who achieved but small success, was first sent by St. Egbert. Better fortune attended a later attempt when Willibrord and a number of companions set out to Fresia, in A.D. 692.

.. Willibrord was a Northumbrian who had been born in 658. He had been educated at Ripon and in Ireland where he had been influenced by St. Egbert. On arrival in the Low Countries, Willibrord obtained the support of Pepin ( of Heristal ) who was ruler of the Franks. One of the missionary party, Swidbert, was chosen by his companions as bishop and was consecrated as such by St. Wilfred, then an exile in Mercia. The Venerable Bede relates how St. Swidbert was relegated by Pepin to a place called Inlitore, where he died. This is identified with Kaiserswerth-am-Rhein, near Düsseldorf, where a large Church contains the shrine of this early bishop. Willibrord became bishop by the will of Pepin. Bede gives details of his consecration in Rome in A.D. 696 at the hands of Pope Sergius I. Willibrord was given the new name of Clement, though he is seldom called by it.

Pepin assigned Utrecht as the headquarters of the new See. Willibrord had an enormous diocese of indefinite boundaries. He consecrated regional bishops to assist his administration. A mission was sent, without much result, to Denmark, but a successful entry was made into other pagan parts. Willibrord became friendly with Radbod, the pagan prince, but this ruler achieved a temporary success against Charles Martel who had succeeded as ruler of the Franks after the death of Pepin in 714. In these disorders Christianity suffered a set-back, but recovered. Willibrord died in 739 at Echternach. He is regarded as the first Archbishop of Utrecht. He was quickly canonised by popular regard for his work, and his name finds place in the Kalendar under the date, November 7th. Ø.

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Ø. Dutch influence has given him place in the Anglican Kalendar of the Church in South Africa.

St. Willibrord was succeeded at Utrecht by St. Boniface, a native of Crediton in Devon. His original name was Winfred. Boniface is best known as the Apostle of Germany, but he left his work on and beyond the Rhine to return to Utrecht where he had laboured in earlier days. He died a martyr's death in 755.

Other missionaries from Britain to the Low Countries include two who bear somewhat similar names, i.e. St. Lebwin ( or Livinus ), and St. Lebuin ( or Leafwine ). Lebwin was of Irish birth. He was consecrated to episcopal rank by St. Augustine of Canterbury who sent him to Flanders. He was martyred in 650. His relics are to be found in Ghent. St. Lebuin was an English priest who laboured in Holland a century later. He died in 785 and is venerated especially in Utrecht and Deventer. Both of these saints are commemorated on November 12th.

After the death of St. Boniface the pretensions of the See of Cologne caused Utrecht to be reduced to the status of a simple bishopric, but the See was a large one, and throughout the Middle Ages it was of great importance. In 1560 its archiepiscopal dignity was restored though by that time the results of the Reformation struggle made this a matter of but small importance.

After paganism disappeared, the Bishops of Utrecht became temporal princes, and the See was rich and attractive enough to make it a prize at which unworthy men strove to clutch. Christianity in the Netherlands shared in the general corruption of the Papal Church in the Middle Ages. Yet in the darkest days of sin and worldliness the Low Countries nourished men and women of singular piety. Sisterhoods of women, known as Beguines, arose, whose successors continue to the present day and are given to personal piety and good works within the Roman Catholic Obedience. Geert Groote ( Gerardus Magnus ), who died in 1384, founded a noble movement known as the Brothers of the Common Life. This body excited much opposition on account of its high ideals in a worldly age. One of its members, Floris Radewijzoon, exhibited something of the puritanism which in later days came to be associated with the defenders of Jansen. Radewijzoon had studied in Prague under teachers who had come under the influence of Wycliffe, and himself was denounced as a Lollard. The best known of the Brothers of the Common Life was Thomas à Kempis. The Common Life Movement disappeared in the upheaval of the Reformation.

In the course of years the election of a Bishop of Utrecht passed from the popular ~~of~~ vote of clergy and laity into the hands of a Chapter. The 57th. bishop of the See, (Philip of Burgundy), obtained from Pope Leo X ( 1513 - 1522 ), a Papal Bull which later Popes must have regretted. This Bull, "Debitum Pastoralis", declared that neither Philip, nor any succeeding

Bishop of Utrecht, nor any of their clergy or laity, should ever in the first instance, have his cause evoked to any external tribunal; not even under pretence of any Apostolic Letters whatsoever, and that all such proceedings should be ipso facto null and void.

J.M. Neale observes regarding this :- " The Pontiff was here only confirming an inalienable right of the Church, but his confirmation was providential, as viewed in respect of the great schism that was, in the course of years, to break out".

( "Jansenist Church of Holland", p. 72.)

In the year 1528 the temporal sovereignty attached to the See was ceded to the Emperor Charles V, as Count of Holland. This ruler had been born in Ghent. He espoused the cause of the Counter-Reformation, but did not press his measures for the extirpation of "heresy" too hardly in the Netherlands. In 1556 he abdicated, and the Low Countries passed to his son, Philip II of Spain. This monarch, (who married Mary I of England), appointed Ferdinand, Duke of Alva, as his agent in the Netherlands. The zeal and cruelty of Alva in his efforts to repress Protestantism have left his memory odious. But Alva was only partially successful in spite of this coercion. What is now known as Belgium returned to the Papal Obedience, but Protestantism persisted in Holland under the protection of William ( the Silent ), of Orange.

Part of the plan to restore Roman Catholicism caused Philip to secure Papal approval for an increase in the number of bishoprics. This reform was long over-due, but came too late to be effective in Holland. Moreover, the Church was weakened by the plunder of monasteries to endow the new Sees. Malines, (not previously a bishopric), became an archiepiscopal See, with seven suffragans. Utrecht was in 1560 restored to its ancient dignity with dependent dioceses at Haarlem, Deventer, Groningen, Leeuwarden, and Middleburg. This arrangement proved abortive, for the whole area of the ecclesiastical Province of Utrecht was one in which Protestantism had triumphed. Ø.

Those who remained loyal to the Papal Church suffered much persecution in Holland. It was not unnatural that they should still regard the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands as their de jure ruler, even though they were de facto under Protestant political rulers. But political factors apart, religious toleration was as yet little known, and Catholics and Protestants can both claim their confessors and martyrs in the Netherlands as elsewhere.

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Ø. "Protestantism" is a less correct term than "Calvinism".  
Lutheranism found small footing in the United Provinces.

The successors of St. Willibrord as Archbishops of Utrecht, found their restored dignity an empty glory. Moreover, they and their following suffered not only from severe political persecution, but also had to endure domestic discord. This was due in part to their attachment to the theology of St. Augustine, and as a consequence their defence of Jansen's orthodoxy, but chiefly to the undermining of their authority by agents of the Society of Jesus. The course of this intrigue will be set out in succeeding chapters.

## Chapter 3.

Internal troubles begin.

Despite the difficulties of the local situation there were still about six hundred priests in the diocese of Utrecht when Archbishop Schenk died in 1580. Jesuit influence at Rome prevented the immediate consecration of a successor, and in days of increasing difficulty there was no Archbishop.

The Society of Jesus desired to assume control of all ecclesiastical affairs in Holland, and to that end they pressed for the complete suppression of the diocesan system there. The contention that the administration in the newly-created Sees had broken down, could not be denied. But when the endeavour was extended to suppress the ancient See of Utrecht, the Jesuits reckoned without local feeling, quite apart from the violation of ancient rights that were involved. The effect of their interference in Dutch affairs may be seen from the fact that although Jesuit numbers increased rapidly after the arrival of two members of the Society in 1592, there were less than two hundred of the clergy left in the country at the end of the century.

The Chapter of Utrecht had continued in existence all through the Reformation period, and the days that succeeded, but it had become a strangely mixed body. The States had intruded Protestants, ( as to honourable sinecures ), into vacant canonries. This now heterogeneous Chapter met together to manage the temporal affairs of their estates and of the Cathedral fabric, but the Catholic members assembled separately to deal with matters ecclesiastical. This arrangement continued until 1622, when it became necessary to take measures to secure continuity, since the States had decided to appoint no more Catholic members to the Chapter. The Church of Utrecht's action in this regard will be noted in due course.

The Council of Trent had ruled that when a vacancy occurred in any diocese, the Chapter should elect a Grand Vicar within eight days. The particular statutes of Utrecht required the Dean to assume that office. When Archbishop Schenk died, his Dean - John de ~~Rijk~~ Bruhezen - was a political exile. From Cologne Bruhezen appointed Sasbold Vosmeer as his deputy, and this nominee was regularly elected as Grand Vicar in 1583.

Vosmeer had to overcome enormous difficulties. Two Archbishops were elected but never consecrated. He himself was nominated as Bishop of Haarlem, but Jesuit influence at Rome prevented his consecration.

At this time the Protestant rulers were engaged in severe repressive measures against the Catholic minority. In 1589 the States of Holland and West Friesland banished all clerics, making their return a capital offence. Catholics therefore, not unnaturally envied their brethren still under Spanish rule in the Southern Netherlands. Vosmeer tried to enlist the influence of the Spanish Governor, the Archduke Albert, in an endeavour to obtain the consecration of a new Archbishop of Utrecht. The Papal Nuncio in Brussels approved, but feared to support the project because of Jesuit opposition. Vosmeer himself then went to Rome, but was delayed en route by an illness which was generally believed to have been caused by poison administered by Jesuit agents. When he did reach Rome, Pope Clement VIII insisted on ~~xxxxx~~ the consecration of Vosmeer himself. This took place on September 2nd. 1602, and is of considerable importance.

Sasbold Vosmeer was consecrated as the Pope's Vicar-Apostolic, under the title of Archbishop of Philippi in partibus infidelium. This conformed to the advice given by the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands. The intended office and style as Archbishop of Utrecht was to be kept secret until more propitious times should enable this to be assumed openly.

The Jesuits were furious at the defeat of their plans, and denounced Vosmeer to the Protestant States General for having accepted the Archbishopric of Utrecht from the Spanish Governor. In consequence Vosmeer was banished, but from exile in Cologne he continued to administer his Province.

Despite the grounds on which the Jesuits had denounced Vosmeer to the civil authorities, they began to maintain that he was never intended to be other than a Vicar-Apostolic, i.e. that he was never actually Archbishop of Utrecht. This contention is refuted by the fact that ~~xxx~~ not only did Vosmeer himself, and the Archduke also, use the title in official documents, but the Jesuits themselves accorded it to him until it became convenient to dispute it. The States General proceeded against Vosmeer for using the title and for exercising the office of Archbishop of Utrecht. The Utrecht designation was sometimes used alone, but also in conjunction with that of Philippi.

In 1609 the Archbishop prohibited Jesuits from interfering with parochial clergymen, and from meddling in diocesan administration. The Society complained to Rome and Vosmeer was suspended, but he defended his action so ably that the suspension was withdrawn.

Vosmeer visited his Province at great personal risk. He desired a coadjutor, but died before one was consecrated. In 1613 some forty priests were still able to live in Utrecht and to say Mass daily. Eighteen monasteries and convents also had survived, but the civil authorities eventually closed these as a result of the indiscretions of a Jesuit named Leeuw.

In 1614 Sasbold Vosmeer died and was succeeded by Philip Rovenius, Dean of Odenzaal. He was consecrated also as Archbishop of Philippi, holding the Utrecht title in petto.

Rovenius wished to avoid consecration, but the matter was placed before an arbitrator who persuaded him to accept nomination. That arbitrator was the President of the College of Hadrian VI at Louvain, and was none other than Cornelius Jansen. This fact made Rovenius the object of Jesuit displeasure, more particularly also since they themselves had a member of their Society, Arboreus by name, who had schemed to become Vicar-Apostolic.

It was Rovenius who remodelled the Utrecht Chapter in 1622, to save it from extinction. He wished to avoid conflict with the State, and being unable to nominate any new Canons, he created what he termed a "Vicariate". This at first consisted of the seven existing Canons plus four other priests, but later the number was reduced to make it a Body of nine, and finally, eight, ecclesiastics. The "Vicariate" was really the old Chapter under a new name, with new methods of appointment to vacancies. The change was necessitated by altered conditions in the Church of Utrecht. Rovenius's action was subsequently pronounced to be ~~xx~~ entirely in order by the great Canonist of Louvain, Zegers Bernard van Espen, who was born in 1646. The Jesuits refused to accept van Espen's opinion.

Civil persecution ~~cont~~ of Catholics continued in Holland during the episcopate of Rovenius. He himself was banished, but contrived to live secretly in Utrecht, though in ~~xx~~ constant danger of arrest. At this time Catholic Churches were little more than hiding-places in side streets. Many of them were rooms attached to taverns, being so situated ~~xx~~ to divert attention from their real purpose. Altars were concealed, and Church furniture was of a kind that could be made to look non-ecclesiastical. The remnant of the faithful were summoned to worship by a body of women known as "Klopjes", or "Knocking-Sisters". These women would each bring to the gathering for worship some necessary article; one a paten, another a chalice, others such other articles as were required. In case of alarm the Klopjes dispersed carrying such things away with them. They also taught, catechised, and visited the Sick. Their devoted labours made many converts, but inevitably they incurred civil persecution.

From 1596 till 1667 so great was the State pressure against Roman Catholics in Holland, that it is remarkable that the Papal Church survived at all to preserve any semblance of diocesan organisation. The survival is still more surprising in view of the added difficulties due to internal dissention fomented by the Jesuits.

In 1641, Rovenius and nine of his priests, expressed approval of Jansen's "Augustinus". This action did not ease their troubles. After an episcopate lasting thirty-one years, Archbishop Philip Rovenius died in 1651. He was a patient confessor and good administrator, and only little less than a martyr.

The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 obliged Spain to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces. The Jesuits used this circumstance to argue that the Archbishopric of Utrecht had now definitely come to an end. They contended that diocesan organisation was applicable only to Catholic countries and could not exist in any land where the accepted government was heretical. They maintained that in such circumstances there could be nothing more than administration under a Vicar-Apostolic. The feeble character of this argument may be judged from the fact that Rome has seen fit to establish diocesan organisation in various Protestant lands when it has suited Papal policy so to do.

The successor of Rovenius was James de la Torre who bore the open title of Archbishop of Ephesus. This prelate was consecrated by fewer than three other bishops (such as Catholic custom normally requires), though consecration by a single bishop is held to be valid in cases of necessity. ∅.

Archbishop de la Torre was a weak prelate who made concessions to the Jesuit missions. His parochial clergy complained, and under pressure from them he obtained a Papal

∅. Evidence is wanting as to whether one or two bishops consecrated Archbishop de la Torre.

Roman Catholic practice supplies many instances of consecrations by a single bishop. Two examples may suffice :- (1). On July 30th. 1724, the Bishop of Antwerp, acting alone, consecrated his own brother as Bishop of Rhodes in partibus infidelium. The Chapter of Utrecht afterwards found this a useful precedent.

(2). Papal approval was given for the consecration on January 29th 1741, of the English Roman Catholic Bishop Richard Challoner by one prelate only, ( Bishop Petre).

It may be added that most of the early Roman Catholic Bishops in the United States of America had but one consecrator.

Decree which subjected all Religious Orders, and the Jesuits, to diocesan administration. The Jesuits objected, and the Archbishop weakened. His unstable administration was further complicated by a coadjutor whom the Pope had intruded into the diocese. This was Zachary de Metz, Bishop of Tralles. This prelate died before de la Torre, who himself expired on September 16th. 1661.

This unhappy Archbishop was a disaster to the Church of Utrecht. He abandoned the use of the Utrecht designation, and openly sought for a less arduous position. He allowed Jesuit influence to be used in this connection. He was actually presented to the See of Ypres which Jansen had filled a generation earlier, but de la Torre's mind became enfeebled and he had to be confined in the monastery at Huybergen.

The Vicariate, ( or Chapter ), assembled after the death of the intruded Bishop of Tralles, and elected John van Neercassel as coadjutor and successor to Archbishop de la Torre. Their action makes it clear that they intended to elect ~~one~~ one who was to become Archbishop of Utrecht. They did not conceive that they were merely nominating a Vicar-Apostolic for Papal approval. Pope Alexander VII confirmed van Neercassel's appointment, but his consecration had not taken place when de la Torre died. When this happened the Pope acted in a ~~marked~~ manner which greatly offended the Dutch clergy. Alexander VII ignored the Chapter's rights and made Baldwin Catz Archbishop, though continuing van Neercassel as coadjutor with right of succession. An awkward situation was thus created, but both prelates-designate were reasonable men and anxious for the best interests of the Church of Utrecht. They therefore accepted the arrangement, and both were consecrated together at Cologne on September 9th. 1662. Baldwin Catz received the title of Archbishop of Philippi, and John van Neercassel that of Bishop of Castoria. The diocesan clergy compelled an arrangement by which van Neercassel who had been elected by the Vicariate took charge of the Archdiocese, while Catz, ( despite the Pope's wish to have it otherwise ), actually had to be content to administer the See of Haarlem. The situation was eased by the death of Catz in 1663, so that van Neercassel became de facto as well as de jure Archbishop of Utrecht. The Church of Utrecht has never recognised the intruded Baldwin Catz as its Archbishop.

Van Neercassel settled a troublesome question which concerned Church patronage. In pre-Reformation days noblemen had possessed a right of presentation. Revenues and church buildings were now in Protestant hands, but certain noblemen attempted to exercise the old rights in the new Roman Catholic congregations which had arisen. The Archbishop decided against such claims. He also ruled that Protestant marriages should be regarded as valid, though if the parties subsequently joined the Papal Church, a

further benediction was to be added. Pope Benedict XIV adopted this view, and in 1741 made it the general law of the Roman Catholic Church, and it continued to be such until Leo XIII exacted new requirements.

It was in Archbishop van Neercassel's episcopate that Pope Alexander VII in 1665 decided to impose on "all the world" the famous Formulary in condemnation of the Five Propositions which were stated to be found in Jansen's "Augustinus". The Archbishop, and his parochial clergy, all of whom had been reared in an atmosphere where Augustine's teaching was traditional, found themselves placed in a difficult position, for they naturally favoured those who defended the orthodoxy of Jansen. In 1671 van Neercassel found it necessary to go to Rome, where he secured, but not without difficulty, a ruling which curbed the influence of Jesuit missions within his jurisdiction.

The same Archbishop saw the ancient Cathedral of Utrecht return for a short period to Catholic possession. This occurred in a war during which the States were engaged against both France and England. When the Protestants returned, van Neercassel was obliged to live away from Utrecht and more or less in retirement. At this period he wrote a number of books, one of which was a treatise on Anglican Orders. These, he decided, must be regarded as invalid, but the sources of his information were scanty, and he seems to have regarded Bishops Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin, ( important links in the Anglican succession ), as simple laymen.

Archbishop van Neercassel also wrote a book, " Amor Pœnitens", in which he contended against certain opinions of Luther, but had as his principal object a desire to correct corrupt moral theology. It is concerning this book that Dr. J.M. Neale wrote:-

" The corrupted morals of the Jesuits had fearfully and fatally injured the doctrine of absolution. A man without contrition, without love of God, without a steadfast and sincere purpose of amendment of life, presented himself at the tribunal of penitence - confessed, or rather professed, his sin, - went away absolved - again confessed, and was again absolved; nothing, in fact, was easier as the Jesuits boasted, than confession so made, and penance so administered. To counteract the poison of such teaching, van Neercassel composed the work in question. "

( "Jansenist Church of Holland", pp. 178-179. )

Pope Innocent XI welcomed the book, and declared its author to be a saint. But it excited intense Jesuit opposition, and in 1690, ( four years after van Neercassel's death ), the book was censured, " until corrected ", by Pope Alexander VIII.

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The rigour of the laws against Roman Catholics had begun to relax in Holland, when these were suddenly tightened once more as a result of repercussions in the United Provinces which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France. The stories of refugees excited popular feeling against the Roman Catholic Church. At this time there were in Holland about half-a-million Papists, with nearly three hundred secular, and one-hundred-and-twenty regular, priests.

All the Regular clergy worked loyally under the Archbishop, the Jesuits alone excepted. Discipline in general was good, except that in Guelderland and the Duchy of Cleeve, where Catholicism was openly tolerated, the Elector of Brandenburg sold benefices. The result of this simony was that the clergy in those parts were most unsatisfactory in character.

## Chapter 4.

Heading towards schism.

Archbishop van Neercassel died in 1686. Hugh Francis van Heussen was elected as his successor, but Rome refused to give confirmation owing to Jesuit representations that van Heussen was a Jansenist. After many difficulties had been encountered, one of several candidates whose names were submitted by the Chapter, was accepted and consecrated in 1689 under the title of Archbishop of Sebaste. This was Peter Codde. He too, after consecration, was denounced to Rome for Gallican and Jansenist sympathies, the secular clergy being included along with the Archbishop in this denunciation. Three hundred priests who were thus defamed in the Church of Utrecht sent a memorial defending themselves and their new prelate. They said :-

" Some of our adversaries call this a novelty, - to uphold, intact and entire, the doctrine of S. Augustine and S. Thomas: and that not for the sake of party, but of edification; and..." ... ( we are accused because we) .. " endeavour to carry out the discipline of S. Charles Borromeo, which has been received with such applause by the whole Church, and, as we are informed, in Rome itself. "

( Quoted by J.M. Neale; "Jansenist Church of Holland",  
p. 211. )

The Archbishop was acquitted, albeit reluctantly, for he was forbidden to exercise his office. Theodore De Cock was intruded as Pro-Vicar Apostolic in the United Provinces. This appointment caused internal strife in the Church, and the Civil authorities intervened and forbade De Cock to exercise any jurisdiction over Roman Catholics in Holland. This was done by a placard dated August 17th., 1702. At this time, all Religious Bodies, except the sect of the Socinians, were tolerated in Holland, and Roman Catholics enjoyed comparative freedom. The State did not intend to allow the Jesuits to make trouble. Archbishop Codde was still detained in Rome, and was released only when the States threatened to imprison De Cock and to banish all members of the Society of Jesus.

Two parties now appeared amongst the Dutch Roman Catholics. One contended for Archbishop Codde; the other acknowledged De Cock. These sections were more or less out of communion with each other. Then De Cock was banished, having fallen foul of the Civil authorities.

When this happened, the Chapter of Haarlem, suffragan to Utrecht, began to enquire as to its rights. Van Espen, the

Canonist of the University of Louvain, advised that the captivity or exile of a bishop causes his jurisdiction to revert to the Chapter, as if the see were vacant. For this reason, ( and also because De Cock's claim to jurisdiction was only doubtfully valid, and in any case had ceased ), the Haarlem Chapter was bound to defend its rights. This that Chapter did not do, but Utrecht remembered the advice, and in later years acted upon it.

Van Espen also advised Archbishop Codde to continue to act as Archbishop, distinguishing between his archiepiscopal authority, and his Vicarial functions. He was recommended to exercise the former, whilst protesting that he had been unjustly deprived of the latter. Codde hesitated, but was persuaded by Pasquier Quesnel, ( who had sought refuge in exile in Holland ), with others, that such action as Van Espen advised, would produce open schism. The Archbishop therefore decided to retire under protest of the injustice of the Papal suspension. He announced his decision in a Pastoral letter dated March 19th. 1704.

For a short time, Gerhard Potkamp ( in whose appointment Codde acquiesced ), acted as Vicar-Apostolic, but he died in 1705. By all canonical authority the spiritual jurisdiction now reverted to the Chapters, but Rome attempted to override such rights. In 1707, Adam Daeman, ( a native of Amsterdam; a Canon of Cologne, and a man of questionable character ), was consecrated under the title of Archbishop of Hadrianople, and was appointed Vicar-Apostolic. The Dutch Chapters had not been consulted as to this appointment.

Daeman's appearance caused a rift to appear between the Chapters of Haarlem and Utrecht. A majority of the Haarlem Chapter presented a memorial to the States advising the acceptance of Daeman's appointment. To this the States replied by referring the Haarlem Chapter to a placard of 1702 which forbade nomination to that office without the States' consent. Daemen was forbidden to live in Holland unless he abdicated his new dignity.

The Chapter of Utrecht stood firmly by its rights and refused to acknowledge Daemen in any sort of way. The Chapter had elected Jacob Katz and Hugh van Heussen as Grand Vicars. These men were summoned to appear before Bussi, the Papal Nuncio at Cologne, who had consecrated Daemen. The States of Holland forbade any of their subjects to obey any such citation. Thereupon the Nuncio issued instructions that all Catholics should cease all intercourse with those of their brethren who stood with the Chapter of Utrecht in defence of their local rights. They were not even to pray for the souls of such of them as might die. Priests were sent from Cologne in large

numbers to weaken the Dutch resistance, but Katz and van Heussen kept their clergy and congregations together. A real schism had begun.

Daemen gave up the struggle to obtain general recognition. He did not wish to live in exile. In 1710 he resigned any claim he had had as Vicar-Apostolic. On December 18th. of the same year, Archbishop Codde died.

In the Archbishop's last days the Abbé Borgia was sent to him to try to obtain his signature to the Formulary of Alexander VII. Codde refused to sign, and left a document stating that he condemned the Propositions as heretical, and any book that contained them - the " Augustinus " not excluded, if the Propositions were in fact to be found in it - , but he would not commit the sacrilege of calling God to witness that he asserted as a fact, something that was open to doubt. The result of this refusal was that on December 30th, 1710, Archbishop Peter Codde was condemned as a heretic and declared to be unworthy of the prayers of the faithful, or of Christian burial. But by this time his body already lay in a hallowed grave.

Peter Codde was the last Archbishop of Utrecht who was ever, as such, in communion with the See of Rome. Jesuit ~~xxxxx~~ lust for administrative power, and Ultramontane Papalism, had forced a schism. Moreover, those Catholics in Holland who stood firmly resolved to defend their local right to elect an Archbishop were branded as Jansenists, and therefore as heretics.

Though he disavowed so-called Jansenist doctrine, Archbishop Codde died in disfavour with Rome. There followed a long vacancy in the See, but in 1724 a new Archbishop was validly consecrated in defiance of Papal prohibition. This meant that Rome and Utrecht were to part company very definitely.

## Chapter 5.

The breach with Rome.

After Archbishop Codde's death, Rome steadily tried to break down the resistance of the Church of Utrecht. The Papal Nuncio at Cologne and Internuncio of Brussels fulminated against the remnant that would not surrender its local rights. The clergy who remained loyal to the Chapter of Utrecht were declared to be incapable of administering any valid Sacrament, other than Penance to the dying.

The Church of Utrecht was now contending for a great deal more than the right to possess and elect its own Archbishop. A nominated Vicar-Apostolic might have been tolerable had it not been that the best of Utrecht's clerics were being deliberately hounded from place and honour. Their enemies seemed to find a more effective weapon in denouncing them as heretics, (i.e. Jansenists), than in treating them only as rebels against Papal jurisdiction. The Church of Utrecht readily acknowledged the Pope's primacy of honour, and, (subject to canonical authority), the Pope's primacy of jurisdiction. But the Utrecht Catholics were definitely anti-Ultramontane. In their moral outlook they were austere, and not lax; - they were Augustinian, not Molinist. Their courage and will to resist both the invasion of their rights, and the doctrinal novelties fostered by the Jesuits, was not to be broken easily. The Bull "Unigenitus" of 1713, which condemned Quesnel's writings, only served to stiffen opposition to the Papal pressure.

Rome was now the tool of Jesuit policy, and the mouth-piece of Jesuit doctrinal innovations. All over Europe bishops and priests appealed against the Bull "Unigenitus". In 1719 the Chapter of Utrecht appealed not only against the Bull, but also against the injustice to itself caused by Archbishop Codde's unjust suspension. Priests died, and there was no bishop to ordain others. The want in Holland was met to some extent by the influx of clerics who were "Appellants", i.e. those who appealed against the Bull "Unigenitus" to "the Pope better informed" or to a General Council. A number of sympathetic bishops were willing to ordain priests for the Chapter of Utrecht, though they did this at considerable risk to themselves.

Through the influence of Father Marison, (An English Carmelite priest), Luke Fagan, Bishop of Meath in Ireland, ordained twelve priests for Utrecht in the years 1715-1716. He required them to sign the Formulary of Alexander VII, but with an explanatory clause added :-

" nimirum sensum ab autore intentum esse sensum verborum ut jacent, vel sonant; et extractus ex Libro

" Jansenii , vel esse in Libro Jansenii non cadere sub juramento, sed tantum supponi. "

Amongst those so ordained was a future Bishop of Haarlem, ( Jerome de Bock ); and Peter John Meindaerts who later became Archbishop of Utrecht. Bishop Fagan's correspondence on the matter shows that he was frightened at the possible consequences of his action. In letters he is referred to as a "merchant", and the epistles make interesting reading.

The Internuncio at Brussels could not obtain particulars of the ordinations, and spread a report that a Greek Orthodox bishop must have obliged the Utrecht Chapter. Rome has even denied that the ordinations ever took place, but Miss Ruth Clark, in her book, " Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal", is able to reprint a copy of the actual Letters of Orders issued by Bishop Fagan. She also repeats a story that is often told concerning the matter. This is to the effect that Fagan became Archbishop of Dublin, and as such received a request from Rome to find out what Irish bishop had ordained priests for Utrecht. Fagan replied that ' he had enquired of all his subordinates, and all denied having done so! '.

In 1718, Soanen, Bishop of Senes, ordained four priests for Utrecht, one of them being Cornelius John Barchman Wuytiers who eventually became Archbishop of Utrecht. Soanen was afterwards condemned and imprisoned for his Gallican and Jansenist sympathies.

In 1717 the Chapter obtained a canonical opinion from the Doctors of Louvain University, as follows :-

1. Question. Is the Church of Utrecht to be considered as collapsed, and reduced to the condition of a mere mission ?.
- Answer. No.
2. Question. Has the Metropolitan Chapter survived ?.
- Answer. Yes.
3. Question. Does the Vicariate represent that Chapter ?.
- Answer. Yes.

Shortly afterwards the whole Faculty in Paris gave their adhesion to this opinion of the Louvain Doctors.

In 1719, Bishop Dominique Marie Varlet, (regarding whom more details will later be given), passed through Holland where, at Amsterdam, he confirmed 604 persons, some of whom had been waiting twenty years to receive this Sacrament. The results of this charitable act were disastrous to the bishop himself, but led to a situation which saved the Church of Utrecht.

In June 1721 the Chapter of Utrecht again appealed to Rome for a bishop to be consecrated. Pope Innocent XIII returned no answer. The Chapter then again sought canonical advice. Van Eypen and two other Doctors of Louvain issued their answers in a document entitled, "Dissertatio de misero Ecclesiae Ultrajectinae statu". This asserted that by Divine and Canon Law the Utrecht Church was entitled to a bishop; that the right of election lay with the Vicariate, as a perpetuation of the Chapter; that this right still existed; and, the Chapter might elect and secure the consecration of their candidate, even though Rome should refuse the usual Bulls; and also that in case of necessity, one bishop acting alone, might so consecrate a new prelate. Ø.

Nineteen Doctors of the Sorbonne, with other Canonists elsewhere, approved the above opinions. The Chapter then sounded the Protestant government as to its attitude towards the consecration of a prelate who might use the title of Archbishop of Utrecht quite openly. The State did not object, and a Protestant lawyer named Slicher, published a pamphlet which advocated the restoration of the episcopate, on a national basis, amongst the Catholic minority in Holland. Some well-wishers counselled delay in the hope that Rome would modify its attitude, but this was never likely to happen in respect of any appellant from the Bull "Unigenitus".

In 1723 the Chapter elected Cornelius Steenoven as Archbishop of Utrecht, who sent his Profession of Faith - that of Pope Pius IV - to Rome. Application was made for the usual Bulls, and for a dispensation to allow one bishop alone to consecrate, if necessary. No answer was returned. Innocent XIII died, and Pope Benedict XIII who succeeded also refused to confirm the election or to authorise the consecration. The Chapter then addressed letters to bishops all over Europe. Some did not reply; many sent messages of sympathy; but none would act alone, though the Bishops of Antwerp, Arras, and St. Omer were almost persuaded. It was

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Ø. The Papal Bull authorising a consecration is an example of the growth of Papal power. Dr. Neale in his "Jansenist Church of Holland", pp. 247-248 deals with this innovation, showing that though Bulls were refused consecrations nevertheless took place. Portugal was refused Bulls, so that Spain should not be offended. In France, Rome frequently capitulated to avoid trouble. Some of the French nominees had not accepted "Unigenitus". But the weaker Church of Utrecht, being small and impoverished, and unsupported by the secular power, could be treated with scant consideration.

then that the Bishop of Antwerp acted alone in the consecration of his brother as Bishop of Rhodes. This showed a possible way in which the Chapter of Utrecht might overcome their difficulty, since Bishop Varlet had now settled in Holland. He had confirmed for them, and he might be willing to consecrate their Archbishop.

To Bishop Varlet the Chapter of Utrecht therefore applied, mentioning the recent consecration of the Bishop of Rhodes by a single prelate. The appeal was not in vain. Bishop Varlet consecrated ~~consecrated~~ Cornelius Steenoven as Archbishop of Utrecht on September 15th., 1724.

Some facts concerning Bishop Dominique Marie Varlet may now be given. He was a Frenchman who had laboured as a Roman Catholic priest in Canada and Louisiana. In 1719 he was consecrated in France, (by order of Pope Clement XI), by James Goyon de Matignon, (Bishop of Condom), as Bishop of Ascalon in partibus infidelium. This title was given him as coadjutor to the missionary Bishop of Babylon. The death of this bishop had already occurred over a year earlier, though the fact was not known at the time, so that Varlet at once became Bishop of Babylon. He was ordered to proceed to his diocese beyond the Caspian Sea, and to do so incognito. War dangers that threatened a more direct route made Bishop Varlet travel by way of Amsterdam, and then by ship to Russia. He never signed the "Formulary" against Jansenism, and to have done so would have been contrary to the law of France at the time. To preserve his incognito, he did not call upon the Papal Nuncio in Paris, nor on the Internuncio at Brussels. These facts were later quoted against him.

Whilst waiting for his ship at Amsterdam he confirmed a large number of Dutch Catholics, as has already been noticed. For this charitable act he found, as soon as he arrived in Persia, that he had been suspended. He was obliged to return to Europe. He received no satisfaction in Rome, for he was unwilling to ~~sign~~ accept the Bull "Unigenitus"; nor would he express regret for his kindly act in confirming candidates in Amsterdam; and he was unwilling to resign. To be free from Papal annoyance, and for his own safety, he returned to Amsterdam, and settled there. His letters to Rome from that place were ignored. He therefore appealed to a future General Council of the Church, both against his unjust suspension, and from the Bull "Unigenitus".

.....

Archbishop Steenoven received congratulations on his consecration from bishops in many parts of Europe. The Pope was officially informed of the consecration. Benedict XIII replied declaring the election null and void, and the consecration illicit. Bishop Varlet was roundly condemned, and all Catholics were forbidden to hold any communication with the new Archbishop of Utrecht.

Rome was angry, but the consecration was an accomplished fact. To this day the Vatican is obliged to acknowledge the validity of the Orders of the Church of Utrecht. But though it is through Bishop Varlet that present day Orders of the Old Catholic Churches are derived, these do not descend through Archbishop Cornelius Steenoven. He died on April 3rd., 1725, after replying to the Pope by an appeal to a future General Council of the Church.

## Chapter 6.

The early days of separation.

Cornelius John Barchman Wuytiers was elected as Steenoven's successor. Once more Papal confirmation was asked. Benedict XIII replied with a condemnation and stated that the late Archbishop's death was an act of Divine vengeance. The Pope added that the same was true in regard to "the layman Doncker, a great supporter of the party, who died in impenitence and damnable disobedience". Doncker was neither dead, nor was he a layman. He lived for many years to point to the Pope's letter as an excellent example of Papal fallibility in regard to matters of fact.

The Chapter again asked the Bishop of Babylon to act as consecrator. He did so, and consecrated Archbishop Wuytiers on September 30th. 1725. An attempt had been made to prevent this by carrying off the Bishop of Babylon in a ship which he was invited to visit, but the plot miscarried.

Persecution was now directed against Zegers Bernard van Espen, the Canonist who had championed the rights of the Church of Utrecht. He was driven from his post at Louvain and sought refuge in exile in Holland where he assisted in the training of clergy at a seminary which had been established at Amersfoort. In this town van Espen died and was buried in 1728. The seminary whose early fortunes he aided still exists and flourishes.

Archbishop Wuytiers was helped by French Carthusian and Cistercian priests who would not accept the Bull "Unigenitus". He ~~xxxxxx~~ entered into correspondence with the Russian Orthodox Church, but his negotiations were wrecked by the letters falling into the hands of Cardinal Dubois,  $\emptyset$ .

Wuytiers projected a mission to the islands of Laos on the Malabar coast, and was supported in this by Bishop Varlet, but nothing came of the proposals. The Archbishop died in 1733.

Theodore van der Croon was next elected. He was consecrated by Bishop Varlet in 1734. Van der Croon attempted to effect a reconciliation with Rome, but failed. In this endeavour he sought the co-operation of the Archbishop of Malines, but that prelate replied in such intemperate terms that even Pope Clement XII advised him to confine his zeal for the Church of Utrecht in future to his prayers. Van der Croon died in 1739.

$\emptyset$ . Dubois, an astute and unprincipled ecclesiastic and statesman, also ruined negotiations conducted in 1718-1719 between Louis E. Dupin and Archbishop Wake of Canterbury with a view to an understanding between the Gallican and Anglican Churches. Dupin had already suffered for Jansenist sympathies.

Peter John Meindaerts was the last Archbishop of Utrecht to receive consecration at the hands of the Bishop of Babylon. This happened in 1739. Three years later, in 1742, Bishop Varlet died at the Hague, defamed by Jesuits and Ultramontanists, but beloved and gratefully remembered by the Church of Utrecht. It now became necessary to take steps to preserve the episcopal succession. With this end in view, Archbishop Meindaerts nominated Jerome de Bock as Bishop of Haarlem whom he consecrated in 1742. This exercise of metropolitical power was necessary since all the Archbishops of Utrecht, from Cornelius Steenoven onwards, had endeavoured to persuade the Haazlem Chapter to elect a bishop, but had failed. The nomination was made with the consent of the clergy of the Haarlem diocese who recognised the Archbishop as Metropolitan. De Bock died, and John van Stiphout was consecrated in his place in 1745. In 1758 the titular See of Deventer was revived, the bishop becoming coadjutor to the Archbishop of Utrecht. In the actual diocese of Deventer all the clergy had passed over to the Papal party. There were now three bishops, so that the episcopal succession of the Church of Utrecht was more adequately protected, but even so, in the next hundred years the succession depended on the life of a single bishop on more than one occasion.

Negotiations were again begun in the hope of healing the schism. Rome's insistence on subscription to the Formulary, and the Bull "Unigenitus", rendered this and every similar attempt abortive. Rome has never admitted any mistake in this matter, or that facts might possibly be different from that which Papal utterance had declared them to be.

In 1763, Archbishop Meindaerts convoked a Provincial at Utrecht. ~~This~~ findings of this assembly accorded to the Pope a proper honour and authority; stiffened discipline, and also condemned the teaching of Peter Le Clerc. This man was a sub-deacon from Rouen who had settled in Amsterdam and had written a work which attacked Ultramontanism, but also maintained that bishops and priests were of equal rank. This Second Council ~~was~~ ( or Synod ) of Utrecht ~~Ø.~~, greatly helped to reassure Roman Catholics in Europe as to the orthodoxy of Archbishop Meindaerts and the Church of Utrecht. Nevertheless, the Papal reply, secured by Jesuit influence, was a condemnatory Bull entitled " Non sine acerbo dolere ".

Archbishop Meindaerts died in 1767 after an episcopate lasting twenty-eight years. He was defamed by the Jesuits even after his death in circumstances which involved the Roman Catholic Church in Spain as well as the Church of Utrecht. This happened in the following way.

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Ø. A First Council of Utrecht had been convened in 1565 by Archbishop Schenk.

Catholics in Spain began to press for the canonization of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, a saintly bishop who had seen service both in Mexico and Spain. In the former country he had encountered bitter Jesuit opposition on account of his exposure of the Society's irreligious practices and commercial activities. Jesuit opposition to the proposed canonization was bitter and the methods employed may be judged from the circumstance which caused Archbishop Meindaerts' successor, ( W.M. Van Nieuwenhuisen ), and his suffragans to protest to Pope Clement XIV. This was that a letter had been produced bearing the date December 15th. 1770.Ø., and ~~carrying~~ signatures one of which purported to be that of Archbishop Meindaerts. This document also bore the imprint of Van der Weyde, a Jansenist bookseller of Utrecht. It stated that Palafox had a known attachment to the "Five Propositions" and his canonization would therefore amount to a cancellation of the anti-Jansenist Bulls. But the letter was a palpable forgery. The paper bore the watermark of the Jesuit~~conducted~~ factory at Albano, and the envelope was of Roman manufacture. The sentiments attributed to Meindaerts were in direct opposition to the declarations of the Second Council of Utrecht of 1763.

Pope Clement XIV was much gratified by the disavowal of the Church of Utrecht. He adopted a friendly attitude which was strengthened by the interest of the Court of Spain and the Empress Maria Theresa. Jesuit intrigue all over the world had now brought the Society into disrepute and demands were being made in many places for its suppression. Had Clement XIV lived longer, it is quite possible that he might have found a way to end the schism in Holland.

The Palafox controversy in Spain had a side-issue. This was the interest aroused there in the revival of Provincial Councils - a matter strongly opposed by the Society of Jesus. The Bishop of Barcelona issued a treatise in favour of such Councils and mentioned the Second Council of Utrecht with approbation. For this he was denounced to Rome, but the Ecclesiastical Council in Spain, which decided to try the case against the bishop, acquitted him of any lack of deference to Rome, and added :-

" It was not likely that twenty or thirty bishops, a hundred Doctors of the Sorbonne, the University of Louvain, and so many superiors of different Orders, should have supported the Church of Holland, had they not been in possession of proofs that that Communion was perfectly orthodox. It was true that Rome had

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Ø. Meindaerts on October 31st. 1767. It was not difficult therefore for the Bishops of the Church of Utrecht to show that " one of the names attached to it" (the forged letter), "was that of a prelate who was dead three years previously".

( See Neale's "Jansenist Church of Holland" p. 334.)

" condemned the Church of Holland, but the case had never been fairly heard: it should have been in the first instance, decided on the spot; and then, if need were, carried to the Roman Pontiff; and that not only by the common right of every Church, but by special priveleges, and more particularly the Bulls of 1515 and 1517 appertaining to the Church of Holland ".

( Quoted by Neale, "Jansenist Church of Holland",  
pp. 332-333. )

Pope Pius VI, who succeeded Clement XIV, was not friendly to the Church of Utrecht and hopes of reunion disappeared. Archbishop Van Nieuwenhuisen of Utrecht died in 1797, shortly after the establishment of the Batavian Republic.

The French Revolution, and its consequences to the unhappy people of Holland, are matters of general history. The same events had reactions which nearly exterminated the remnant left to the Church of Utrecht.

## Chapter 7.

Later history and developments.

John Jacob Van Rhijn succeeded Nieuwenhuisen, and was Archbishop from 1797 till 1808. This was during a time in which the Church of Utrecht watched with interest the experiment of the Constitutional Church in France. Utrecht was attracted towards the nobler kind of French Constitutional Catholics, such as Bishop Grégoire Ø, for the Catholics of Utrecht were not in sympathy with political and religious adventurers and had never harboured such men within their own borders. Catholics in Holland who had suffered so much in defence of their own local rights not unnaturally felt some accord with men who claimed to be animated by the spirit of the Gallican articles of 1682. ØØ.

Napoleon I obliged the Pope to come to terms with the French Constitutional Catholics, and insisted on Gallican liberties, though ultimately the discomfiture of the Pope in this matter worked out in France for a total eclipse of Gallicanism and a triumph of Ultramontane principles. Napoleon also wanted to end the schism in Holland, but here he sought to coerce the Church of Utrecht rather than the Pope. The French Emperor adopted a similar policy to that which his brother, Louis Napoleon, ( as King of Holland ), had acted upon. This was to refuse to allow the consecration of new bishops by the Church of Utrecht so that their small remnant would be left unshepherded and thus tend to return to the Papal Obedience. Napoleon even contemplated the confiscation of the Utrecht revenues. From such a purpose he was deflected by the intervention of Willibrord van Os who later became Archbishop of Utrecht.

For a time the episcopal succession in the Church of Utrecht depended upon a single prelate - Gisbert de Jong, and this one bishop nearly lost his life by drowning when he fell into a canal on a dark winter's night. In 1814, when Napoleon was a fallen idol, Bishop de Jong consecrated Willibrord van Os as Archbishop of Utrecht, but the consent of King William of the Netherlands was not sought. The king resented this, but later his government was asked to consent to the consecration of a new Bishop of Haarlem, and rather tardily consented. The prelate then consecrated - John Bon -, is notable as being

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Ø. Bishop Grégoire admired Jansen, and assisted Mrs. M.A. Schimmelpenninck who wrote several works on the Port Royalists. ØØ. The Gallican Articles recognised the Pope's spiritual authority but denied his right to interfere in the civil government of princes. Further, the Articles maintained that Popes could not override General Councils, and declared that Apostolic authority was subject to Canon Law, and France's traditions required respect. Papal Decrees were held to be binding only if ratified by the general consent of the Church.

the only bishop of the Church of Utrecht not to receive a Papal condemnation after notifying his consecration to Rome. Bishop Bon was later nominated by the King of the Netherlands to the See of Bruges, under Papal jurisdiction, but the translation was never effected. It is interesting to conjecture what might have happened if King William had pressed the matter. Would Rome have capitulated, as was done when Napoleon insisted that the Pope should accept a number of the Constitutional bishops in France ?.

In 1823 a Papal Nuncio was sent to Holland to make a concordat with the government. Archbishop van Os and his suffragans were in touch with this Nuncio, and hopes for the healing of the schism were again raised, but the requirements of the Vatican were impossible of acceptance. An oath was demanded which the bishops and clergy could not in conscience take. They were prepared to condemn the Five Propositions as heretical, and to go so far as to say that such were "stated to be found in Jansen's "Augustinus" ". This was not enough for the Nuncio who demanded a renunciation which declared that they were in fact and without doubt to be found in Jansen's book. This much good came of the negotiations ; the government of the Netherlands definitely recognised the non-Papal Catholics, though considering their prelates as bishops only at Utrecht, Haarlem, and Deventer.

Bishop de Jong died in 1824, and Archbishop van Os a year later. Once more a single bishop remained - John Bon of Haarlem. He, however, in 1825 consecrated William Vet to Deventer, and John van Santen as Archbishop of Utrecht. The latter, in notifying his consecration to Rome, did so styling himself the Pope's "brother", instead of using the term "son" which had been employed hitherto.

The year 1827 was an important one. It was then that Rome again introduced Vicars-Apostolic into Holland amongst those who adhered to the Papal Obedience. These bishops were consecrated with a title in partibus infidelium, and their appearance was in the nature of a blow to the Catholics of the Utrecht Obedience. Till that time not a few converts had been won from the Papal Church because Utrecht had a recognised hierarchy.

In the same year, 1827, yet another attempt was made to heal the breach with Rome, but still the bishops of the Utrecht Church would not sign the Formulary. The plausible and mendacious arguments used by Monseigneur Capaccini  $\phi$ , to persuade Archbishop van Santen to perjure himself are recorded at length both by Dr. J.M. Neale and the Rev. S.P. Tragelless, both of whom enjoyed the personal acquaintance of the Archbishop. ( See Neale's "Jansenist Church of Holland" pp. 359-364 and Tragelless' "The Jansenists, Their rise &c" pp. 82-92.)

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$\phi$  Dr. Tregelless spells the Nuncio's name as " Cappucini ".

The loss of Belgium to the Dutch Crown in 1830 did not affect the fortunes of the Church of Utrecht. The provinces which revolted were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Malines, and were out of sympathy with Utrecht. Later, however, King William II, from a desire to consolidate his Dutch kingdom reverted to the Napoleonic policy of preventing new consecrations so that the Church of Utrecht should die out. Archbishop van Santen was not to be deterred by this. In 1843 he consecrated Henry John van Buul as Bishop of Haarlem, despite the royal ban. Strained relations with the State followed, but the new bishop was eventually recognised.

In 1853 Pope Pius IX replaced the Vicars-Apostolic in Holland by a new hierarchy of the Papal Obedience bearing local territorial names. This caused a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht to appear. He was given Metropolitan authority with suffragan Sees at Haarlem, Breda, Roermond, and Bois-le-Duc (otherwise s'Hertogenbosch). The non-Papal Catholics objected to the appropriation of the titles of two of their prelates, - bishops who claimed to be the rightful occupants of these Sees. But the Church of Utrecht failed to secure any redress. The government did not intervene, for the Roman Catholics at this time could claim a million adherents, and were a political power of some consequence. The Church of Utrecht could number only about five thousand members. Ø.

During all the period since the separation from Rome, there was little, (other than some small differences in the celebration of Mass), to distinguish the Church of Utrecht from its larger Papal competitor in Holland. But the Roman Catholics were now not only much more numerous, but the secular clergy were assisted by Religious Orders of both men and women. Regular Orders had long ceased in the Church of Utrecht. Ordinary Roman Catholic books of devotion, provided that they were not Ultramontane in character, circulated amongst Utrecht Catholics. The Mass continued in its ordinary Latin form, as also the administration of other rites and sacraments. A Missal published by the Church of Utrecht as late as 1870 was still called "Het Roomsche Misboek". In it the Latin Mass of the Papal Church was set out with a Dutch translation in a parallel column. For the benefit of the laity the rubrics <sup>WERE</sup> give in Dutch with all Liturgical Proper matter. Such Latin services continued to be the common use right down till 1909.

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Ø. A situation, technically parallel, arose in England in 1850 when Rome ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ erected a new hierarchy there. The British government objected and passed, (though ineffectively), an "Ecclesiastical Titles" Act. Confusion results from the existence of a Roman Catholic and an Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht. In 1936 the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury was misled, and sent the Old Catholics in Holland a letter of condolence, but it was the Roman Catholic prelate that had died. ( See "Church Times" of June 5th. 1936.)

The sermons and doctrine of the Utrecht Catholics might ~~also~~ have been distinguished from those of Roman Catholics by a certain austerity, due to traditional Augustinianism. The poverty of the Church of Utrecht would also be apparent. Apart from such differences, it would have been difficult to detect any great variations between Catholics of the Roman and Utrecht Obediences. The latter were styled "Jansenists" by the Papists. The Church of Utrecht called itself the "Old Roman Church" to distinguish itself from the Ultramontanes. The name "Old Catholic" had not yet come into use.

The erection of the new Roman Catholic hierarchy in Holland did not entirely banish hopes of reunion, but the ecclesiastical policy of Pope Pius IX soon created fresh barriers. In 1854, the Pope issued his Bull "Ineffabilis Deus", in which he claimed to make the pious opinion concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an article of the Catholic faith. This doctrine had long been a matter of debate, and for centuries there had been two opinions within the Papal fold. Franciscans had contended for it, and Dominicans had been ranged against it. The Jesuits espoused the doctrine and documents were forged to support it.

When the doctrine was thus laid on the consciences of Catholic Christians by Pope Pius IX, Archbishop van Santen with his suffragans of Haarlem and Deventer wrote a long and reasoned protest to Rome. The document ended with these words :-

" Our Church has often appealed to a future Œcumenical Council that should be legitimately assembled. It appears to us necessary to renew that appeal. On account of the violation which the deposit of the Faith has suffered, and because of the injury which has been done to the episcopal Order", Ø ... "when it was desired to establish as a dogma revealed from God, the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our Saviour, we reserve to ourselves the right to make our appeal in time and place fitting . "

The Syllabus of Errors, issued by the same Pius IX, in 1864, with his Encyclical "Quanta Cura" made matters worse. This Syllabus was directed against Germany rather than Holland, but its obscurantist policy, and the fact that it assumed Papal Infallibility, further alienated the Church of Utrecht. The Vatican Council of 1870 fully and finally set Rome and Utrecht upon different roads. Ultramontane opinion had long objected to Councils and Synods, but Papal Infallibility was too great

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Ø. This is a reference to the attempt of the Pope - a single bishop, to define a matter of faith for all the Church, without calling together a General Council.

an issue to be decided by a mere Papal Bull.

The Vatican Council purported to be free and Œcumenical. The Pope invited bishops from all over Christendom to attend. Eastern Orthodox, Armenian, Assyrian, Jacobite and Coptic Churches received invitations. Some prelates were summoned whose Churches had been out of communion with Rome for fourteen centuries. None of these bishops of separated Churches attended as to have done so would have admitted Papal jurisdiction. Anglican bishops were not invited for Rome did not acknowledge their Orders to be valid. But Rome did not dispute the Orders of the Church of Utrecht - a Church which had repeatedly appealed for the judgment of a General Council. Yet neither of the two bishops of the Church of Utrecht Ø. received any summons or invitation to attend the Vatican Council. The Papal slight was studied and deliberate, though what sort of reception would have been accorded to the "Jansenist" bishops had they attended, may be judged from the manner in which the Council was managed entirely in the Ultramontane interest.

After 1870 much history affecting the Church of Utrecht, including the steps by which it came to have closer relations with the Anglican Communion, is merged in events which concern the whole of the federated Old Catholic Group of Churches. What is important in these matters will be noticed later in this thesis. Along with other Churches that came into being after 1870 in protest against the Papal Church's departure from Catholic orthodoxy, the Church of Utrecht adopted the designation "Old Catholic" and will henceforth be referred to as the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands, ( or "in Holland").

Although the words "..... Papa nostro N. ...." remained in the official text of the "Te igitur" prayer in the Mass books, of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, the Pope's name was in practice dropped on the ground that he could no longer be considered an orthodox Christian bishop. No other change of importance was made until years later.

The request of the German Old Catholic Church that a Dutch Old Catholic bishop should confirm for them was granted, and also that Dr. Reinkens should be consecrated as a bishop for Germany. This consecration took place in 1873, but the Dutch Old Catholics declined similar action in regard to the bishop elected for the Swiss Old Catholics as they considered that the orthodoxy of the candidate was open to question.

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Ø. The See of Haarlem was vacant from 1867 to 1873. Henry Loos was Archbishop of Utrecht and Hermann Heykamp Bishop of Deventer, at the time of the Vatican Council of 1870.

In 1889 doctrinal accord with the newer Old Catholic Churches was achieved when the Declaration of Utrecht was signed. This document is given in Chapter 3, of Part 3 of this thesis. The Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands exerted a restraining influence upon the reforming zeal of the younger Churches now federated with it, while their liturgical and disciplinary experiments at length led to cautious changes being made by the Dutch Old Catholics.

The Dutch were slow to adopt vernacular rites. Joseph Troxler in his book "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus", (page 64), states that Archbishop Heykamp of Utrecht was the first prelate to relax the rule concerning Latin, ~~when~~ In 1889 he allowed the use of vernacular rites at Nordstrand in Schleswig-Holstein, where there was a congregation under his jurisdiction Ø. Ten years later Bishop Spit of Deventer used a vernacular form of the Mass and Confirmation rites in his church at Rotterdam. At the ordination of a priest in 1900, and at the consecration of Bishop John James van Thiel, (of Haarlem), in 1906, the ordination and consecration prayers were said for the first time in Dutch, but Latin continued to be the ordinary language of worship right down till 1909. Latin may still be used, for the vernacular rites were permissive, but they have now won general acceptance. The Dutch liturgical revision has been much less radical than <sup>the</sup> other Old Catholic Churches' rites.

Not till 1923 were the Dutch Old Catholic clergy permitted to marry freely, though instances had occurred before this, and a priest desiring to marry could seek a post in the German or Swiss Old Catholic Churches. ØØ. The Dutch Old Catholic attitude towards marriage of the clergy was stated well by Bishop J.J. van Thiel who as President of the Amersfoort Theological Seminary, (he was not a bishop at the time), was sent by Archbishop Gul in 1893 to take over the congregation in Paris from the married Père Hyacinthe Loyson. In Paris he said:-  
 "..... Christ saw in marriage no barrier to the Apostolate. Clerical celibacy is but an ancient custom and Church discipline, but it should be abolished only by competent authority".  
 ( Vide. J. Troxler, "Die n. E. des Altkatholizismus" p. 63. )

Ø. Nordstrand has now passed to the German Old Catholic Church.

ØØ. Joseph Troxler states that in 1903 the Dutch Old Catholic priest at Kuilenburg married, his colleague at the Hague performing the ceremony, but the Kuilenburg congregation objected and the married priest had to relinquish his post. In October of the same year, 1903, the Old Catholic priest at Oudewater delivered a lecture in Utrecht strongly condemning compulsory celibacy.

For twenty years after this the general ban on a married clergy remained.

The Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands today numbers about 10,000 adherents. The two dioceses of Utrecht and Haarlem, and the titular See of Deventer, remain as Archbishop Meindaerts settled internal organisation nearly two hundred years ago. There are about twenty priests, and four or five students for Holy Orders at Amersfoort Seminary. Dutch Old Catholic laymen are well-instructed. They have a strong anti-Roman Catholic bias, but they would much resent any suggestion that they belonged to a Protestant Church. The clergy are well trained. Most belong to an active little society named "Cor unum et anima unu", which encourages post-ordination study.

At Egmond-aan-Zee the Old Catholics are a majority of the townspeople, and they possess the ancient parish Church. Elsewhere they have some fine church buildings including a new Cathedral of St. Gertrude at Utrecht. The former church at Utrecht is now a museum. It was built in days of penal laws and was situated behind other houses and had a non-ecclesiastical exterior. ∅.

The last Old Catholic bishop to notify his consecration to Rome was Gerard Gul, who became Archbishop of Utrecht in 1892. The present primate is Monseigneur Andreas Rinkel, formerly professor at Amersfoort Seminary. He was elected after the death of Archbishop Francis Kenninck which occurred on February 10th. 1937. ∅∅.

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∅. In the museum in the former Old Catholic Church at Utrecht are many relics of the days of persecution of Jansenist and Port Royalist sympathisers. A hammer that belonged to St. Martin of Tours may also be seen, and an alb once possessed by St. Bernulphus, a canonized Bishop of Utrecht. Below the altar in the new Cathedral of St. Gertrude rest authentic relics of St. Willibrord who founded the See.

∅∅. Mgr. Andreas Rinkel was consecrated at Utrecht on 12th. June, 1937, by Dr. J.H. Berends, (Bishop of Deventer) assisted by Bishops H.J.T. van Vlijmen (Haarlem), and A. Kéry (Switzerland). The Anglican Bishops of Gloucester and Fulham (A.C. Headlam and B.S. Batty) also acted as co-consecrators.

(See "The Church Times", 18/6/1937, p. 730.)

PART TWO.

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" THE NEWER OLD CATHOLIC CHURCHES !".

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## Chapter 1.

Forerunners of Old Catholicism.

Erasmus ( A.D. 1466-1536 ), was nurtured in the Church of the Netherlands. He saw the need for reform both in regard to discipline and in the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the New Learning. He died before the Council of Trent attempted reforms. The liberty-loving Erasmus would probably have agreed with Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger that the Council of Trent was not a free one, since " the Papal Legates at Trent used at once to rebuke bishops as heretics who ever dared to express any view of their own".

The spirit of such men as Erasmus, - men who remained within the Papal Church -, chafed after the Council of Trent, and in particular against the Ultramontane views which were sedulously fostered by the Society of Jesus. Long before the Vatican Council of 1870 made it impossible for many liberally-minded Catholics to continue within the Roman fold, there were prophets of that free, non-Papal Catholicism which after 1870 organised itself in separation from Rome. A spirit of nationalism had manifested itself since the Reformation, and that not only in lands which had thrown off the Papal yoke. This tended towards the development of local customs in Churches still Roman Catholic. The liberty of Protestants in regard to a vernacular worship, sacramental confession of sins, and a married clergy, encouraged agitation within the Papal Church for similar concessions and greater personal liberty. It was the aim of the Jesuit Society to combat these developments, by fair means or by foul.

The Renaissance and Reformation eras were followed by what German-speaking peoples call " Die Aufklärung ", or " The Clearing up ". This was an age in which new enlightenment and new philosophies caused men to re-adjust their attitude towards life and living, thought and religion, Church and State. In Europe " Die Aufklärung " contributed much to the forces which brought about the French Revolution and the break-up of the remnants of the Holy Roman Empire.

Princes could persecute reformers, but they could also protect them, and some did so. One such ruler was the Emperor Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa. He was himself a keen Catholic reformer, and an anti-Jesuit. So liberal was he in his views and administration that Pope Pius VI visited him in some alarm. Joseph had been influenced by "Febronianism", or opinions which took their rise from a work published by "Justinius Febronius", who in reality was Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, Bishop of Trier, (Treves). Though von Hontheim's early education had been under Jesuit direction, he had been

at Louvain and Leyden when the Jesuits were working for the ruin of the Church of Utrecht. His writings contained severe attacks upon Papal usurpations and Curialism.

Joseph II refused to allow the Bull "Unigenitus" to be published in his domains, and on that account he has been charged with Jansenism. The accusation <sup>is</sup> false. Actually he was determined that Rome should not interfere unduly, or make trouble within the Hapsburg dominions. The Emperor and von Hontheim both died in 1790.

Brief notices of some of the more important forerunners of the Old Catholic exodus from the Church of Rome may now be given. ∅.

Benedikt Maria von Werkmeister (b.1745; d.1823), nearly forsook his intention to seek Holy Orders after reading Pope's "Essay on Man", but he became a Roman Catholic priest and a liberal reformer. In 1784 he was made Court Chaplain to Karl Eugen, Count of Württemberg, who was a kindred spirit. Werkmeister introduced a German vernacular Mass, the Canon alone being retained in Latin, and he made use of Protestant hymns. He denied that the Papal Church was infallible. His liturgical innovations caused some opposition, but in 1806 the public were admitted to his services in the Court Chapel.

Johann Michael von Sailer (b.1751; d.1832), was a Theological Professor and Bishop of Regensburg. His liberal views were strongly disapproved by the Roman Curia. Through his efforts many priests were trained who in Germany and Switzerland united sound learning with moral earnestness. They had also a definitely non-Ultramontane frame of mind.

Werkmeister and Sailer both influenced Ignaz Heinrich Karl, Freiherr von Wessenberg (b.1774; d.1860), who never saw the rise of the present German Old Catholic Church, but did much to prepare the way for its appearance. Wessenberg's liberal views annoyed the Jesuits from whom he had received his early training. The Papal suppression of the See of Constance was the result of Jesuit pressure to prevent Wessenberg from becoming its bishop, or of what remained of the diocese after the Napoleonic upheavals. Wessenberg favoured the use of the vernacular in worship. His manual of German prayers may still be found in many Old Catholic homes. He was a great German nationalist who endeavoured, though without success, to get the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, to authorise the erection

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Schaff-Herzog's "Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge" notices them all. Special treatment is given in Vol. X. by Carl Mirbt in the article "Sailer; Johann Michael von ", and in Vol. XII by K. Benrath, under the heading, "Wessenberg; Ignaz Heinrich Karl von ".

See also article on Wessenberg by Dr. H. Ortner in the German "Alt-katholischer Kalender" for 1934, pp. 25-29.

of a German National Catholic Church upon the basis of the four Gallican Articles of 1682 of the French Church. He favoured the revival of Councils - an idea repugnant to the Ultramontanes -, and constantly drew attention to conditions which prevailed in the Early Christian Church. Rome's hostility prevented Wessenberg from becoming Bishop of Rottenburg. He retired into private life and became a member of the Baden House of Representatives.

Georg Hermes (b.1775; d.1831), was professor of Theology at Münster University, and afterwards at Bonn. He sought to find a philosophic basis for Catholic faith and doctrine, and was influenced by Kant's 'critical' theory of knowledge. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Augustus von Droste, Archbishop of Cologne, tried to force his clergy into signing a formulary which rejected Hermesian teaching, and in 1835, four years after the death of Hermes, a Papal condemnation was issued. The Hermesian school of thought - and many in Germany inclined to it, was diametrically opposed to ideas of Papal infallibility. This accounted for the strong opposition which was aroused, especially after the publication of his lectures (by his scholars Achterfeld and Braun), in 1831-4, under the title "Christkatholische Dogmatik".

( vide K. Werner, "Geschichte der Katholischen Theologie", (1866), pp. 405, sqq.)

In 1845 the Archbishop of Freiburg, ( who was an Ultramontane and in conflict with the Grand Ducal government in Baden), received a largely signed petition requesting a Synod, and indicating that reforms were called for in the Church along the lines of the policy of the Emperor Joseph II and Wessenberg. The abolition of compulsory clerical celibacy was sought also. The petition accused the Ultramontane party of being anti-Nationalist, and blamed them for the appearance of the schismatic "German Catholics". At this time Dr. Schreiber, a priest and professor of History in the University of Freiburg, ( of which he had been pro-Rector ), seceded from the Roman Church.

The above-mentioned "German Catholics" were followers of two ex-priests, both of whom were born in 1813. Their names were Johannes Ronge and Johann Czerski. They created a considerable stir in Germany. Ronge had been suspended in 1843 for writing an article on "Rome and the Cathedral Chapter of Breslau". In 1844 he led an attack upon Bishop Wilhelm Arnoldi of Trier who in that city had caused the "Holy Coat", ( the supposed Seamless Robe of Christ), to be solemnly exposed. This exposition had attracted a multitude of people, and was part of an Ultramontane demonstration against the Prussian government. Ronge accused the Roman hierarchy of causing a credulous people to be induced to pay Divine worship to a material garment. Ronge was then excommunicated.

Ronge joined with Czerski, who had married, and had founded a "Christian-Catholic" congregation in Schneidemühl. In 1845 they organised a great congress in Leipzig from which the "German Catholic Church" emerged. This was an organisation so latitudinarian in outlook that within five years it had abandoned almost every distinctive Catholic dogma. In 1850 it merged its fortunes with the "Lichtfreunde", (Friends of Light), a Protestant-cum-Rationalist body. Thereafter the German Catholics, ( known also as Neo-Catholics and Christian-Catholics), became known as the "Religionsgesellschaft freier Gemeinden", or Religious Society of Free Congregations, which soon ceased to have any serious importance. Ø.

In the early days of the German-Catholic Movement, not a few joined it in the hope that it would prove to be a serious attempt at Catholic reform. They left it when such hopes were not realised. Amongst such temporary adherents were Anton Theiner and M.E. Regensbrecht, two professors - (the former of Catholic Theology, and the latter of Canon Law)- of Breslau University. Dr. Pribil, an ex-Roman Catholic priest, and his congregation in Berlin, also ~~xxxxxxx~~ associated themselves for a time with Ronge and Czerski, but left them to maintain greater orthodoxy.

Dr. Pribil was not an important personage, but he is interesting as being imbued with the same outlook and principles as appeared with the German Old Catholics of a generation later. After leaving the German-Catholic Movement, Dr. Pribil called his small following "Protestant-Catholics", his "protest" being chiefly against the growth of heresy in the Ronge-Czerski Movement. In his disciplinary code, Dr. Pribil included features that were akin to Presbyterian methods, and he was willing to pay considerable respect to the Civil power's wishes as to what Holy Days should be observed, and in regard to marriage laws. The "English Review" of October 1845, (pp.244-247), printed a long document in which the principles of the Pribil sect were set out.

Although these Movements in Germany before 1850 degenerated and came to nothing, they were disturbing features in their day both to the Papal Church and to the governments of the several States affected. They were symptomatic of a widespread desire for reform and of impatience with the Vatican. The chief causes of religious trouble in Germany at the time were:- (1) The political activity of the Roman Catholic clergy on instructions received from Rome. (2) Constant conflicts with various governments within Germany in regard to mixed marriages and Religious education, and (3) The obscurantist and dictatorial

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It is important that the Christian-Catholic Church of Switzerland, which arose after 1870 and is an Old Catholic Body, should not be thought to have had any connection with the "Christian-Catholics" of the earlier Ronge-Czerski Movement in Germany.

policy of the Papacy which ultimately led Pope Pius IX to issue his "Syllabus of Errors" in 1864. This last factor offended scholars, wounded broad-minded Catholics, and also caused unnecessary friction with the State. It was one of the principal causes of Bismarck's Kulturkampf of a decade later.

The attitude of Dr. Ignaz von Döllinger and his associates in regard to the need for reform, and in opposition to the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870, will be noted later.

Austria and Switzerland had their advocates of Catholic reform, and so had most other European countries, and the United States of America.

The situation which developed in France during the nineteenth century was peculiar. The Concordat with Rome made by Napoleon I had driven some thirty-five bishops and their adherents into schism to become a body known as "La Petite Église". Their descendants continue in a small way till the present day, though their bishops and clergy died out many decades ago. The official Church in France, as established under the Concordat of Napoleon's days, was really a newly-constituted Body, only the Apostolic succession in the ministry and familiar services continuing from former days. Although Napoleon professed a desire for Gallican liberties, and wished to restrain Rome's jurisdiction, the reverse state of affairs ultimately prevailed.

Gallicanism did not disappear without a struggle. The "Edinburgh Review" of March 1st. 1833, prints a document headed "Confession of the Constitutional Church of France". A priest named Roch was the author of this thesis. It expressed belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but in terms open to criticism as heretical. But it declared that the Gospel contained all the rules and maxims necessary to human perfection. It admitted the Seven Catholic Sacraments, but disclaimed any right of the Church to enact laws which might not be broken without incurring the penalty of mortal sin. Rules regarding fasting, celibacy, and excommunication were denounced, as was also the Papal claim to jurisdiction over all other bishops. Indulgences were condemned, but belief in the intercession of the Saints was asserted. A right was claimed for the laity to elect their own bishops and pastors. The Ultramontane party was denounced for spreading opinions contrary to the general belief of the Church.

The Revolution of 1848 produced unrest in the French Church, and the clergy began to assert their right to hold Synods and Councils. In 1849 the Abbé Chantome addressed a petition to the Pope calling for various reforms, including liturgical changes and the use of the vernacular; Communion in Both Kinds to be restored; the Agapè to be re-introduced; endowments and State salaries to be renounced, and that the principle of the solidarité

of Catholics in regard to their property should be preached from the pulpits.

The Abbé Leray was a still more advanced radical. Socialism and Communism found their advocates in the ranks of the French clergy of this period, but the unrest passed, and the call for reform died away.

At this time there was an Anglican bishop in Paris. He was ~~xxx~~ Matthew H.T. Luscombe (b.1776; d.1846) who was consecrated in 1825 at Stirling by Scottish Bishops "for work amongst Anglicans, and members of other Reformed Episcopal Churches on the Continent". Evidence is wanting that this prelate did establish contact with Reformed Episcopal Churches in Europe, though he did so with the Russian Orthodox Church. It is possible that he had some touch with the "Petite Eglise", and Professor A.J. van den Bergh of Amersfoort Seminary, Holland, hazards the view that he may have known the Abbe Guettée who wrote several books on Christian reunion, and with the "Amis de la Vérité" a society of friends of the Church of Utrecht.

A little later the growing power of Ultramontane opinion in France found opponents in the Comte de Montalembert, a politician of Gallican views, who had outspoken friends amongst the clergy, and in particular the Abbés Lamennais and Lacordaire. The 1854 Bull, "Ineffabilis Deus", regarding the Immaculate Conception raised a storm, but Frenchmen had now less interest for theological discussion than for the political designs of Napoleon III. Ultramontane opinion was fostered by Louis Veillot, editor of "L'Univers", a paper which was suppressed from 1860 till 1867. "L'Univers" ranged French bishops one against another, but it undoubtedly helped to prepare France for a general acceptance of the Vatican Decrees of 1870. Ø.

Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, and Archbishop Darboy of Paris were brilliant men and both were anti-Ultramontanes. Both, however, accepted the Vatican Council Decrees, the latter shortly before his murder by the Communists in 1841. Amongst the lesser clergy the Abbé Gratry opposed Papal Infallibility, but submitted shortly before his death in 1872. There were many others of similar views in France, but it was left to the brilliant, though erratic Père Hyacinthe Loyson to try to organise real resistance and lead an Old Catholic Movement in France. What success he achieved will be noticed later.

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 Veillot was a candid writer, and frankly declared, (and with truth), that Roman Catholic policy was to claim liberty according to Protestant principles, where in a minority, but to refuse it, according to Roman Catholic principles, where in a majority.

Roman Catholicism in England had not been Ultramontane until H.E. Manning, (the convert from Anglicanism who became Archbishop of Westminster), succeeded in conforming it to the Italian type. Manning's success in this direction silenced any effective resistance to the growing claims of Rome.

In Spain and Portugal a reform movement had no brilliant leaders, and development was not in an Old Catholic direction. The same may be said of disaffection which appeared in Latin America. In the United States of America an Old Catholic Movement arose towards the end of the nineteenth century, but its causes had no immediate connection with the Vatican Council of 1870.

## Chapter 2.

The Vatican Council.

Pope Pius IX had a passion for definition. Under such a Pontiff the Jesuits and Ultramontanists found the time ripe and favourable for the execution of their plans which aimed at the suppression of private opinion within the Papal Church, and the entire subjection of Catholic Christians to the will of the Holy Father. The preparation for this had been long and diligent. Councils and Synods had been discouraged as creating "useless fracas" in the Church. Every obstacle had been laid in the way of those who contended for ancient liberties and freedom to use their own reason, and to follow their own consciences, possibly in directions not approved at Rome.

The designs of the coming Council were sufficiently known well in advance of its meeting, through the publication in the "Civita Cattolica",- a Review conducted by the Jesuits -, of an article which clearly aimed at testing Ultramontane strength by drawing the fire of adversaries. Opposition or anxiety as to the intention of the Council was widespread. Governments were agitated. In April, 1869, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, the Bavarian Foreign Minister, circulated all the European Courts with a warning of political dangers that might arise. Within the Papal Church it was seen that resistance would be considerable. Many of the German bishops met at Fulda in September, 1869, from which place they sent an address to the Pope, urging him to hold his hand, and deprecating what had been suggested in the "Civita Cattolica". Dr. von Döllinger and many other German theologians were in active opposition. In Austria Cardinal Schwartzburg and Bishop Strossmayer made no secret of their opposition; nor did Archbishop Darbois, or Bishops Dupanloup, Maret, and others in France. In the United States of America, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis was alarmed, whilst in England, Manning, Archbishop of Westminster was known to be a keen Ultramontane, even as J.H. Newman, and Lord Acton, (who had been Döllinger's pupil), were the reverse.

The Council met on December 8th, 1869, and was prorogued on October 20th., 1870, largely on account of the outbreak of War between France and Germany. Technically it is still in existence. The Decree concerning Papal Infallibility was confirmed by the Pope on the very eve of the outbreak of hostilities which led Napoleon III to remove his French troops from Rome, a fact which helped the Italian Nationalists to put an end to the Pope's temporal sovereignty two months later.

The Council was not a free one. Bishops of the minority who were in opposition to the proposed enactments found it impossible to get a fair hearing, even though they had great weight of learning on their side. The titular prelates (who had no territorial jurisdiction), and the large number of Italian bishops, whose sees were minute, (and many of whom were very ignorant men), always outvoted the scholarly bishops of the minority, many of whom ruled over extremely large dioceses.

Possibly the ultimate decisions of the Council were in accordance with what a majority of the Roman Catholic laity throughout the world might have expected, for in all non-German countries Ultramontane opinion predominated. The French bishops who voted with the minority hardly represented the general opinion of the laity of their dioceses.

Appeals to history and sound learning made by the minority availed nothing. Interruption and angry clamour was employed to silence opposition. The Rev. C.B. Moss, in his book "The Old Catholic Churches and Reunion", pp. 28 -29, summarises the proceedings as follows:-

".... 759 bishops were present; of these 276 were from Italy, and 200 more were titulars without sees, or missionary bishops, all of whom had been nominated by the Pope, and were entirely at his disposal. 300 of these bishops were living at the Pope's expense while in Rome. The bishops of France and Germany, who represented millions of Catholics, and had among their theologians some of the most learned scholars in Europe, were outvoted by a multitude of obscure Italian prelates, representing minute dioceses, some of whom were unable even to read the Greek Testament. Moreover, the Pope, who was known to be determined that the Council should obey his will, was the civil as well as the ecclesiastical ruler. There was no freedom of the Press; the regulations of the Council were entirely in the hands of the majority: the bishops of the minority could not correspond freely with their friends; they could not be sure even of their personal liberty if they opposed the Pope's wishes. Every device was employed to induce the minority to yield. The proceedings of the Council were prolonged into the Roman summer, easily endured by native Italians, but intolerable to bishops from more northern lands, who sickened one by one in the stifling heat of the insanitary city....."  
 .....(The Council)"added two new dogmas to the Roman Catholic Faith, the infallibility and universal episcopate of the Pope; and it sanctioned the dogma of

"the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, which had been proclaimed in the Bull Ineffabilis. Of the 535 bishops who took part in the final vote, four-fifths were Cardinals and other officials, Italians, or missionary bishops. Most of the bishops of the minority left Rome in despair before the final vote, and being committed to the infallibility of a General Council confirmed by the Pope, and bound by their oath of obedience, they all surrendered sooner or later. "

The Rev. Dr. R.F. Littledale, also comments on the proceedings of the Council as follows:- Ø.

" .....a council claiming to be oecumenical must speak with the consent of both East and West. But, even if the very large concession be made that the Uniat churches in communion with Rome are in truth the lawful representatives of the ancient Oriental Church, the fact remains that the number and rank of the Orientals in the minority was such as to make the vote at best only a Latin one. The Melchite and Syrian patriarchs of Antioch, the Chaldee patriarch of Babylon, the Melchite archbishop of Tyre, the Maronite archbishops of Tyre and Sidon, of Beyrout, and of Aleppo, with several others, were in one or other of the three groups of dissentients, and thus nullified the Eastern suffrages in the majority. Immediately after this preliminary voting nearly all the bishops of the minority abruptly quitted Rome, after previously lodging a protest against the proceedings. Their flight was prompted by fears for their personal safety. They were given to understand that each of them would have two papers tendered to him for his signature in the ensuing session, one being a profession of adhesion to the infallibility dogma, the other a resignation of his diocese in case he refused such adhesion. And they had good reason to think that the Pope, who had declared that he intended to be proclaimed infallible "without limitation" (*senza condizione*), and had shown open enmity to more than one of their number, would employ direct coercion in the event of continued resistance, bringing his temporal power as sovereign of Rome to bear on the rebels within his territory. Accordingly, when the public session was held on 18th. July, 1870, while 535 voted for

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Vide his article on the Vatican Council in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 112.

" the constitution Pastor Aeternus, only two, those of Ajaccio\* and Little Rock, remained to utter their "non placet". The pope thereupon confirmed the decree, and the proceedings virtually ended. "

Though all the bishops of the Roman Communion eventually submitted, their submission would be wrongly interpreted as conversion to belief in the dogma in the sense desired by Pope Pius IX and the Ultramontane party. Even the majority soon began to realise that they had voted away the independance of the Roman Catholic episcopate; abrogated their teaching and attestive functions, and had really reduced the creed of Roman Catholics to one matter - belief in the infallibility of the Pope. That this was so may be seen from the manner in which Pius IX confirmed the Decree. He innovated on ancient custom. He declared it authoritative by himself " the Council assenting".

Before they gave up hope of securing justice for their views, the ~~majority~~ minority had tried in vain to get the Council to insert modifying clauses, but the Pope's "senza condizione" requirement triumphed. But what the minority failed to secure in the Council had to be conceded very soon by the Pope himself. He had been coercive and intolerant when he was an effective temporal sovereign, but he was a changed man when Victor Emmanuel ruled in Rome; when France was humbled and a new German Empire had arisen in which a Protestantism definitely unfriendly to himself predominated; and when the Old Catholic Movement threatened a schism that seemed likely to receive political backing in various States. The Pope climbed down a considerable degree in 1871 when he approved a treatise which was published by Bishop Fessler of St. Pölten, Austria, who had been Secretary-General to the Council. This treatise, "Die wahre und falsche Unfehlbarkeit der Päpste", purported to be a reply to the Canonist von Schulte who had bitterly opposed Papal Infallibility. Actually the document was designed to allay fears and aid conscientious objectors to take a minimal view of the consequences of the new doctrine. It was stated that ex cathedra utterances would be extremely rare in the future, and had been but rare in the past. Gallican and liberal opinion was placated by the representation that the Pope had been, and would continue to be, little more than the official spokesman of the Church, holding a constitutional and limited authority. Such a view was a great departure from the Pope's attitude during the Council. From 1870 onwards two opinions have existed, one "maximal" and the other "minimal", in the Roman Church as to the extent of Papal Infallibility. Manning was an exponent of the former view, Newman of the latter. The Pope's real sympathies in this matter may be judged from his treatment of these two great English clerics. In 1875 Manning was rewarded with a Cardinal's hat. It was left to a more liberal Pontiff,

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\* This appears to be a error. The dissentient bishop was Riccio of Cajazzo.

Leo XIII, to bestow a like honour upon Newman.

Pope Pius IX sought to enhance the glory of the Papal see, but he not only lost its temporal sovereignty  $\emptyset$ .; - in his spiritual domain his reward was but in the nature of Dead Sea fruit. His claim to infallibility and to a universal episcopate drove not a few earnest Catholic Christians to abandon communion with a Pontiff who thus sought to lord it over Christ's heritage. Eyes were turned wistfully back to ~~the~~ an age in which Ultramontane doctrinal novelties were unknown; to the simpler Apostolic and undivided Early Church, with a desire to return to its standards of teaching and discipline.

Some who thought thus joined Protestant Churches. Others hoped to retain familiar and traditional Catholic Order and accustomed ways of worship. This caused the rise of Old Catholic Churches in several lands. These newly-formed Communion gave to the Archbishop of Utrecht a primacy of honour, but those prelates who have received that distinction, have never been given, and themselves would strongly disclaim, any primacy or jurisdiction of a monarchical character such as the Popes of the Latin Church have claimed.

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$\emptyset$ . From 1870 onwards the Popes lived as voluntary "prisoners in the Vatican" as a protest against the annexation by Italy of the former Papal States. In 1929 Pius XI and the Italian Kingdom came to terms when the tiny Vatican City State - 108 acres in extent - was set up. Over this the Pope enjoys an acknowledged temporal sovereignty, and he is not the subject of any other Power.

## Chapter 3.

Dr. von Döllinger.

Dr. Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger occupies a place of unique character in the Old Catholic Movement. His influence upon, and attitude towards, the new Old Catholic Churches was such that special mention of him is desirable before the separate histories of these Churches are considered.

Dr. von Döllinger was born at Bamberg, in Bavaria, on February 28th., 1799. From his parents he inherited an intellect much above the average. His early training as well as his own natural ability marked him out to become a scholar who would not only be respectful for authority, but also be capable of independent investigation and judgment, who would follow his conscience no matter if its leading took him into paths disadvantageous to his own personal interests.

In early youth he came into contact with his father's contemporary and friend, the philosopher Friedrich William Joseph von Schelling, by whom he was much influenced. In 1818 he began to study theology, and his thoroughness soon made him dissatisfied with the poor way in which history was taught. He was ordained as a priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1822. Two years before this he had become acquainted with one, then only a boy, - Johann Nepomuk Huber -, who later became a fellow professor with him at Munich. Döllinger and Huber drew together closely in the course of years. Their views were sympathetic when both came into conflict with the Roman Catholic Church authorities.

In 1823 Döllinger was made professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law at Aschaffenburg. Three years later, after having obtained his doctorate, he became professor of Theology at Munich where he remained until his death in 1890.

In his earlier years he was caught by the glamour thrown around the Papal See. In those days he regarded separation from Rome as the sure road to agnosticism, ever-increasing schism, and spiritual ruin. In early middle-life he wrote a work on the Reformation, ("Die Reformation!", 1846). The tone was not kindly towards the Protestant leaders. At this time he was in touch with Anglicans, but he did not like the Church of England, and the secession of a number of the English Tractarians pleased him. But before long the Ultramontane views espoused by H.E. Manning made Döllinger reconsider his judgment, and **Mr.** W.E. Gladstone, a keen Anglican Churchman, became his life-long friend.

As an honest student of history Dr. von Döllinger could not assent to the false statements made by Jesuit and other teachers to advance the interests of the Papal Chair. Dissent was rife within the Roman Catholic Church, despite boasts of unity, and the policy of Pope Pius IX was autocratic and illiberal. That policy was causing disaster to the Catholic cause in Germany. Schreiber, professor of History at Freiburg University left the Church of Rome. Döllinger's teaching of history was attacked by the Jesuits. He was a hard thinker, and though he had no sympathy with the Ronge-Czerski movement, he would not associate himself with Ultramontane agitators. He regarded a triumph of Ultramontane principles as a violation of truth and disastrous to ecclesiastical policy. It would lead to trouble with Civil governments, and would also mean a loss of personal liberty and enslavement of the intellect.

As far back as 1832 Catholics of liberal outlook had visited Germany from France, - the Abbé Lamennais, Abbé Lacordaire, and the Comte de Montalembert - and had aroused interest in an agitation which aimed at securing a modification of the obscurantist attitude of the Vatican. Döllinger began to adopt similar views, and his sympathies broadened after visits made by him to France, Holland and England.

The assumption of Papal Infallibility in the terms of the Bull "Ineffabilis Deus", (which Bull declared the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be a Catholic dogma), alarmed Döllinger. Not immediately after the Bull was published, but seven years later, in 1861, he published two works, "Kirche und Kirchen", and "Papsthum und Kirchenstaat" which showed him to be resolutely opposed to any increase of Papal claims or definition powers in an Ultramontanist direction. Two years after this, in 1863, Döllinger took an even stronger line in an address to an assembly of Divines. This assembly was dissolved after four days of debate, by order of the Pope, who next year issued his "Syllabus of Errors" in terms which once more assumed Papal Infallibility.

The 1864 "Syllabus" not only brought the vexed questions of mixed marriages and religious education in schools to the point of open conflict between some of the German States and the Vatican, but the autocratic Pope appeared, through what he condemned, to be the opponent of sound learning and progress. Intellectual honesty was to become impossible if the Pope had correctly determined what was to be required of a pious Roman Catholic. Dr. von Döllinger could never accept such a position, and he did not pretend to do so. He was now definitely persona non grata in Rome, and the Jesuits, who aimed at securing the definition of Papal Infallibility as a dogma, regarded him as a most dangerous opponent.



When it became clear that the attempt was to be made to suppress all liberal opinion in the Papal Church, and to force Infallibility as a dogma to be held de fide, resistance stiffened. Dr. von Döllinger was in the van of a large array of scholars of international reputation who resolved to fight for a reform in the opposite direction, i.e. for greater liberality in the Papal policy, the abandonment of the claim to infallibility, and more liberty for the individual conscience. Associated at this time in these efforts with Döllinger were Professors F.H. Reusch and von Schulte, (of Bonn and Prague respectively), with J.N. Huber, and J. Friedrich of Munich, Edouard Herzog of Switzerland, and many others.

Professors Huber and Friedrich assisted Döllinger in preparing the famous "Letters of Janus" which were published anonymously in Germany in 1869. An authorised English translation appeared in the same year under the title "The Pope and the Council". The preface to that book states:-

" For many reasons no names are placed on our title-page. We consider that a work so entirely made up of facts, and supporting all its statements by reference to the original authorities, must and can speak for itself."

Had the writers attached their names, they would probably have been subjected to personal violence by their enemies, so high did feeling run.

These "Letters of Janus" betrayed their authorship through their sound scholarship. It was shown how Papal pretensions had gradually grown as the result of the deliberate suppression of historical facts, falsification and forgery of documents, and unworthy intrigue. The absurdity of pretended Papal Infallibility was shown from the evidence of history, while on moral grounds it would be an intolerable burden to the individual conscience. The attempts that were being made to distinguish between ex cathedra utterances and private opinions of a Pope, were ridiculed in these words:-

" When a Pope speaks publicly on a point of doctrine, either of his own accord, or in answer to questions addressed to him, he has spoken ex cathedra, for he was questioned as Pope, as the successor of other Popes, and the mere fact that he has made his declaration publicly and in writing makes it an ex cathedra judgment. The moment that any accidental or arbitrary condition is fixed on which the ex cathedra nature of a Papal decision is made to depend, we enter the sphere of the private crotchets of theologians, such as are wont to be devised simply to meet the difficulties of the system. Of such notions, one is as good as another; they come and go, and are afterwards noted down. It is just as if one chose to say afterwards of a physician who had been consulted, and had given

" his opinion upon a disease, that he had formed his diagnosis or prescribed his remedies as a private person, and not as a physician. . . . . the expression doctor privatus , when used of a Pope, is like talking of wooden iron. "

(Vide "The Pope and the Council", by Janus. Rivingtons, London, 1869. pp. 404-405.)

When the Vatican Council was in session, the world heard of the progress of the debates, and of how sound learning was being countered by the angry clamour of the more ignorant members. This information was revealed in the "Letters of Quirinus", of which Döllinger and Huber were the authors. Their source of information was Augustin Theiner, then Librarian at the Vatican. This liberally minded theologian was removed from his post in 1870.

After the Vatican Council Decrees were promulgated, the Archbishop of Munich called upon Dr. von Döllinger to submit to them. He refused, and in a carefully prepared document he declared them to be contrary to Holy Scripture; to the tradition of the Church for the first thousand years; to the evidence of history; and to the decrees of the Councils of Basle and Constance. He added :- "As a Christian, as a theologian, and as a citizen, I refuse to submit".

To the charge that he had departed from his earlier attachment to the Papacy he declared:-

" Papal Infallibility was in early times a matter of opinion, never of doctrine; and what a gulf there is between an opinion and an article of faith !. I sometimes feel deep within me pricks of conscience for having, as a teacher of theology, approved of certain things, and represented them in my writings in the best possible light, concealing many a weak point, in my honest zeal for religion and the Church. By so doing I was helping to train those clergy who have now adopted and made themselves responsible for the dogma of Infallibility. A man may go far and yet come suddenly to a point where he must pull up, because his conscience refuses to go further. That was my case when the question of this dogma arose. "

(Vide "Briefe und Erklärungen von J. von Döllinger über Die Vatikanischen Dekrete". Munich, 1890. ).

Döllinger never submitted to the Vatican Decrees. Pleading, cajoling, and threatening were all alike ineffective to move him from the stand he had taken. His steadfast attitude recalls the words of another brave German, Martin Luther, who at the Diet of Worms in 1521 would not retract, declaring, "Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders. Gott Hilfe mir ! Amen."

The Greater Excommunication was declared against Döllinger, (Ø) the Archbishop<sup>of Munich</sup> reminding him that this made him an outlaw in the eyes of the Church, and that Canon Law still declared:- "We judge that they are not murderers who, burning with zeal for their Catholic mother against the excommunicated, should happen to kill any of them". A commentary on this warning was provided when the Munich police informed Döllinger of a plot against his personal safety. For a time he had to receive protection. Despite such persecution he never uttered a word of bitterness against his opponents. His friend, Louise von Kobell records that when he differed from another he would say:-

" You are right to think thus. I hold a different opinion, and all the representations of man or woman, lay person or cleric, cannot make me perjure myself".

( Vide " Conversations of Dr. Döllinger", by Louise von Kobell. English Translation. London, 1892. pp.16-17.)

An even greater testimony to his freedom from all malice is provided in the words of Mr. W.E. Gladstone, who wrote:-

" 'Who', I said to him, 'is that dignified ecclesiastic ?.' 'That', he replied, 'is the Archbishop of Munich, by whom I was excommunicated'. But neither then, nor at any other time, did he, in speech or in writing, either towards the Archbishop, or towards the Pope, or towards the Latin Church in general, let fall a single word of harshness, or, indeed, of complaint." ( Vide, Article on Dr. von Döllinger, in "The Speaker" of January 18th, 1890.)

Dr. von Döllinger's noble stand for conscience and truth led the Universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and Marburg to confer on him doctorates in Laws, and a doctorate in Philosophy came to him from the University of Vienna. Munich made him Rector Magnificus of the University, and as such he presided at the 400th anniversary celebrations held in 1872.

Döllinger was the author of a considerable number of books, many of which have had English translations. His two chief early works were "The Eucharist in the First Three Centuries"(1826), and a "History of the Christian Church" (1833-5). These, and his " Reformation" history of 1846 betray no anti-Papal bias. His middle period includes the 1861 publications ("The Church and the Churches" and " The Papacy and the States of the Church"), " The First age of Christianity" (1860), and the "Janus" and "Quirinus" letters. In his "History of the Council of Trent"(1876), he arrived at the position that this Council could not be considered Oecumenical, and his Lectures on the "Reunion of the Churches" showed a widening sympathy. His last great work was written in conjunction with his friend, Professor F.H. Reusch and dealt with the Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus de Liguori. It was published in 1889 at Nordlingen under the long title " Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche seit

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Ø. Shortly after his excommunication, Dr. Döllinger was visited by Archbishop Tait of Canterbury.

dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert, mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens".

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Is Dr. von Döllinger to be accounted an Old Catholic ?  
 This question has been long debated and answered in various ways. The matter is considered at some length by Professor Dr. Rudolf Keussen of Bonn in the Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift, (Bern), ( pp. 168-192 of the Third volume published for 1935). (1935)  
 Dr. Keussen contends that Old Catholics may rightly claim Döllinger as one of their number, but that he was by his own choice somewhat isolated amongst other Old Catholics. He allowed his name to appear in the list of German Old Catholic clergy, but he never exercised his ministry, nor received the Sacraments. He contented himself with a "Communion of longing" ( an act of spiritual Communion), He was, as it were, a Catholic without a Church. He would not make submission to Rome, nor yet would he enter into the full life of the Old Catholic Communion.

After his excommunication by Rome, Dr. von Döllinger never celebrated Mass himself, and until the hour of death was cut off from sacramental grace, but he did receive the Last Sacraments, and not from Roman Catholic, but Old Catholic hands.

He had no wish to join a sect; he did not desire to be out of communion with Rome; yet he declared " As for myself, I declare that I belong by conviction to the Old Catholic Community". Many of those who were Döllinger's best friends joined the Old Catholic Church. He himself, though he never exercised his ministry (~~after~~ ~~the~~ he said his last Mass in the Chapel Royal at Munich, on Easter Day, 1871), was always ready to give his opinion to Old Catholics if asked, and he watched their developments with interest. His advice was not always taken, and he saw with some alarm the agitation for reform lead the Old Catholics into paths which he did not personally approve. He opposed the decision to set up new congregations in opposition to those of the Papal Church, and he disliked a married clergy. When the German Old Catholics permitted this in 1878, Dr. F.H. Reusch and others left the ranks of the Old Catholic ministry. Reusch declared :- " I am, and I remain, an Old Catholic, but one a la Döllinger". It is probable that the older Dutch Old Catholic Church most accorded with Döllinger's visions, but he never sought active or personal communion even there. Nevertheless he advocated and worked for reunion amongst the Christian Churches separated from Rome. He desired to see a Church free from Roman Catholic errors, and he was a critic of the fussy ceremonial of the Roman Court, as well as of the casual habits of Rome in other directions. ∅. His opinions in regard to Reformation leaders mellowed, for he came to respect Luther and Melancthon, though not Calvin, and the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination he abhorred. ∅∅.

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∅. Vide L. von Kobell, "Conversations of Dr. Döllinger", pp. 137-142.  
 ∅∅. Ibidem. pp. 142-149.

Up till the time that the German Old Catholics decided to elect a bishop, and to seek for his consecration at the hands of the bishops of the Church of Utrecht, Dr. von Döllinger may be regarded as being in general sympathy with them, if not as actually one of them. But when a course of action was definitely decided upon which he strongly opposed, he withdrew from further active participation in the Movement. The Rev. J. J. Lias observes Ø.:-

" This was the critical moment in the history of the resistance to the decrees. Had Döllinger, with his immense reputation as a scholar, as a divine, and as a man, allowed himself to be consecrated bishop of an Anti-Vaticanist Church, it is impossible to say how wide the schism would have been. But he declined to initiate a schism. His refusal lost Bavaria to the Movement....."

The refusal caused bitter memories to those on whom the leadership of the Old Catholic Movement devolved. The Roman Catholics secretly rejoiced. One of their writers made the following comment in a book published at Cologne in 1908. :-

"From the beginning Döllinger told his followers of great things that would result from his influence. But the expected stroke failed. Döllinger opposed the erection of congregations; at every step he attempted hindrance; - 'which of my opponents can say with truth, that of necessity I led a schism?'. Bishop Reinkens often stated that 'a quite different powerful Movement would have been possible, if Döllinger could have persuaded himself, or even if he had but once only openly celebrated Mass after his excommunication'."

( Vide J. Troxler, "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus". p. 7. ).

There have been suggestions that Dr. von Döllinger made his peace with Rome before he died. Such was not the case. He refused the Last Sacraments when they were proffered to him on his death-bed by a Roman Catholic priest, but accepted them at the hands of his old friend, Dr. J. Friedrich Ø., who had joined the ranks of the Old Catholic ministry. Any doubt as to whether Döllinger died in communion with Rome or not is removed by a letter from his niece which appeared in the pages of "The Guardian" newspaper under the date, February 13th., 1914. That letter was as follows :-

" Dr. Dollinger and Rome.

" Sir:- It has just come to my knowledge that Lady Macdonnell says in her book of Reminiscences of Diplomatic Life, p.166, that "Dr. Döllinger sued for

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Ø. Vide his article on Döllinger in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, (10th. Edition). Vol. XXVII, p. 504.

Ø. Ibidem. p. 505.

"pardon and absolution from Rome before dying, and received it."

As a niece of Dr. Döllinger who lived with him and nursed him in his last illness, I must contradict such imputation. He sued for no pardon or absolution from Rome either before dying or at any other time.

There is more than one inaccuracy in what Lady Macdonell says about my uncle, but this is the most serious one, and cannot be allowed to pass.

Jeanette Fisher (née Döllinger),  
Lower Hisley, Lustleigh,  
South Devon. "

Dr. von Döllinger died at Munich on January 14th, 1890, at the age of ninety-one.

One arrives at the following conclusion. Döllinger was driven from the Roman Obedience against his will. His conscience drove him to oppose the Vatican Council Decrees, and in this matter he never wavered, but he refused to accept the role of founder of any new schism. Rather would he labour for the reunion of Christendom, and he dreamed of a united Christian Church which was not a pan-Protestant federation, but would include the two great Churches of Eastern and Western Christendom, (the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic), with those that had separated from either. All who came into such a reunited Church would have to reform, and the basis of reunion would need to be the standards of doctrine, discipline, and order which prevailed in the early days of Christianity, before a monarchical Pope was ever heard of, and when there was but one Church on earth for all faithful Christians, though its dispersion through many lands allowed variety of custom. Such a reunited Church would conform to that which had catholic consent in the days of old, and might therefore properly style itself "Old Catholic". The Communions which arose after 1870 and adopted the name "Old Catholic" did not conform to Döllinger's ideal. Out of Communion with Rome, and of his own choice ~~was~~ only in loose association with the Anti-Vaticanist "Old Catholic" Church which had arisen, Döllinger was driven on his death-bed to make a choice between them in order to receive the Last Sacraments. His conscience would still not allow him to ~~submit~~ submit to the Vatican Council Decrees, and he deliberately <sup>turned</sup> from Rome to the other Communion. It is possible that the fact that the priest~~s~~ who ministered to him had not been ordained in schism, but had belonged to the pre-1870 Roman Catholic Church, had some influence as to his ultimate decision.

## Chapter 4.

Reunion Conferences.

In 1874 and 1875 Dr. von Döllinger presided over two Conferences in Bonn, which were called with the object of seeking a basis of agreement between separated Christian Churches, and to exchange views in regard to the promotion of reunion. These conferences are sometimes regarded as being Old Catholic assemblies to which delegates from other Communion were invited. That view is incorrect, though from the circumstances of the times the new Old Catholic Churches had a large representation, and their platform for Church reform provided a basis for the discussions. Dr. von Döllinger in his addresses as president showed a wide sympathy, and though he had opposed the election and consecration of a bishop for the German Old Catholic Church, he was not hostile to the new Communion and he maintained the most friendly relations with its leaders. The discussions and resolutions of the two conferences greatly influenced the subsequent trend of Old Catholic developments in Germany and Switzerland. Ø.

The 1874 conference was the more important. It was attended by about forty delegates and a large number of other observers. Lutheran and German Evangelical representatives came, along with Old Catholic, Anglican, Eastern Orthodox, and liberally minded Roman Catholics. The delegates from the several countries represented were all ecclesiastics of good standing and sound learning. At one or both of the conferences there appeared men of high reputation such as Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln; His son John (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury); Bishop Harold Browne of Ely; Lord Plunket ( Archbishop of Dublin); Dean J.H. Howson of Chester; Canon H.P. Liddon of St. Pauls, London; with Lycurgus (Archbishop of Syros and Tenos); Professor Ossinine of St. Petersburg, and many of the most prominent leaders of the Old Catholic Movement.

The gatherings were but conferences which committed none of the Communion represented to any legislative action, but the results of the discussions have remained as the basis on which efforts towards intercommunion have since been conducted between the Old Catholic, Anglican, and Eastern Orthodox Churches, and ~~is~~ reflected in the "Appeal to all Christian People" ( for reunion ), which the bishops of the Anglican Church addressed to all the world from the Lambeth Conference of 1920. An immediate result of the Bonn reunion conferences was seen in the willingness of the German and Swiss Old Catholics to examine sympathetically the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, and their attitude became clear in the readiness with which they admitted Anglicans to Holy Communion at their altars.

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The Church of Utrecht sent no representatives to the Bonn Conferences.

The Conferences at Bonn dealt with the following matters:-

- (1). Holy Scripture, including the books of the Apocrypha. These were held to be authoritative, but that no translation should be regarded as superior to the original language of the books.
- (2). Holy Scripture and the Liturgy, it was agreed, were matters which should be read in the vernacular.
- (3). "Justification" was declared to be by faith working through love.
- (4). Salvation was declared to be not a matter of merit, but of grace. The conference thus agreed with the standpoint taken by the "Jansenist" Church of Utrecht, in following St. Augustine's theology, as opposed to Jesuit teaching. Lutheran teaching agrees in general with the formula accepted at Bonn.
- (5). The Roman Catholic doctrines relating to a "Treasury of Merit" and Indulgences were attacked, and Papal teaching in regard to so-called "Works of Supererogation" was condemned.
- (6) The Seven Catholic Sacraments were recognised as channels of Divine grace, a distinction being made in regard to Baptism and Holy Communion as standing on a higher level than the other five, as "Sacraments of the Gospel".
- (7). The authority of Holy Scripture and of Christian Tradition was asserted, "Tradition" being carefully defined and related to the standards of the Early Church.
- (8). The novel dogma of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was rejected.
- (9). The principle was affirmed that the Sacrament of Penance should be freed from constraint.
- (10). Prayers for the Departed were held to be part of the teaching and custom of the Primitive Church.
- (11). Roman Catholic Eucharistic doctrine was examined, and in part rejected, but it was maintained that the Holy Eucharist is a Christian Sacrifice.
- (12). The uncertain validity of the "Filioque" clause in the Nicene Creed was discussed at great length, this being a matter which has crept into the Creed as used in Western Christendom, and without consent of an Oecumenical Council, the clause being rejected by Eastern Orthodox Christians who adhere to Niceno-Constantinopolitan form.

In the discussions regarding this last matter the learning of Dr. von Döllinger guided the conference to come to agreement. The Rev. J.J. Lias, Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral, observes in this connection:-

"Not the least of his" (Döllinger's) "achievements on this occasion was the successful attempt, made with

" extraordinary tact, ability, knowledge, and perseverance, to induce the Orientals, Anglicans, and Old Catholics present to accept a formula of concord, drawn from the writings of the leading theologians of the Greek Church, on the long-vexed question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. " Ø.;øø.

The extent of Anglican interest in the Bonn Reunion Conference of 1874 is reflected in the terms of a resolution sent to Dr. von Döllinger in November of that year by the Bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland assembled in their Episcopal Synod. That unanimous resolution expressed high praise for and grateful thanks to Dr. von Döllinger for his wise and impartial presidency, and added:-

(The Scottish Bishops) "cannot but regard such united action as an earnest of yet fuller agreement and more intimate union among those who hold the one faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who adhere closely to the form of doctrine delivered by Apostolic teaching, and held by the Primitive and Undivided Church."

(Vide the Minute Book of the Episcopal Synod of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Minutes of the Synod of 1874).

The Minutes of the Synod quoted above make it clear that the resolution passed had reference only "to what took place at Bonn".

The reason for this note of nervousness was that certain of those present at Bonn were connected with the German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches, in which there were at the time signs of instability and chaos. Anxiety in this respect was allayed later, as will be shown in succeeding chapters.

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(Vide his article on "Döllinger" in Encycp. Brit. 10th. Edn. Vol XXVII, p. 504.)

øø. In the doctrinal and liturgical reforms of the various Old Catholic Churches, which came after the Bonn Reunion Conferences the Old Catholics acted upon the Döllinger formula. Old Catholics now hold that the "Filioque" clause is not a dogma, but only a theological opinion. Accordingly, the German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches have printed the words, "and the Son" in the Nicene Creed, but in brackets, with the qualification "addition of the Western Church". The very conservatively minded Dutch Old Catholic Church went even further by omitting "Filioque" altogether at its revision in 1909 when vernacular services were authorised.

Anglican opinion has tended to explain rather than to abandon the "Filioque" clause. (See Dr. E.B. Pusey's treatise "On the Clause 'And the Son'", - a Letter addressed to Dr. Liddon in 1876. Dr. Liddon had been at Bonn and had accepted the formula.

## Chapter 5.

Germany.

Though German Roman Catholic bishops had attempted to influence the Vatican Council in a way contrary to the decisions at which it finally arrived, all the German prelates submitted to the new Decrees. The University professors who had been in opposition were not so easily won over. In Bavaria much popular support was being given to the opposition within the University. Dr. von Döllinger was denounced by the Archbishop of Munich in a Pastoral Letter on Palm Sunday, 1871, but this failed to silence him, or to rob him of the support that he was receiving.

A petition was signed by 12,000 people who addressed the King of Bavaria both against the new Decrees and the treatment of Döllinger. On April 18th., the Archbishop declared the signatories to be ipso facto excommunicated, and Dr. von Döllinger was denounced as a heretic. In June, 1871, Professor L. Zenger was refused the Last Sacraments in Munich, but Professors G. Messmer and J. Friedrich supplied the want. The latter conducted the funeral which was attended by about 20,000 persons. These rites were probably the first to be conducted in direct defiance of the Roman Catholic authorities.

Ludwig II, King of Bavaria at this time, - his mental faculties which failed later were still unimpaired - was a vigorous opponent of the Ultramontanes, and his government refused to intervene in the Papal interest, and intimated that it did not accept the validity of the Vatican Decrees. The rights of the clergy who took the same view were to be protected. This allowed a number of church buildings to pass into Old Catholic possession. The same kind of thing happened in Prussian territory Ø.

It was at this time that the name "Old Catholic" was generally adopted by those who refused to submit to the new Decrees. For a generation in Germany, those who had come out from the Roman Obedience after 1870, were wont to have inscribed over their graves, the fact that they died "true to the ancient Catholic faith". It was the Papists, not they, who had departed from the "old" Catholic position.

The Movement was as yet but loosely organised, and there was inevitably some uncertainty as to its legal position, and the extent Ø. Where an Old Catholic majority secured a church building, the Roman Catholics left, but did not abandon claim to the building. In later years these claims have caused governments to require some adjustments, and a number of buildings returned to the Romans. At Dortmund, (Westphalia), the Old Catholic congregation still uses the chapel of a Roman Catholic Sisterhood which lives next door. The furniture left by the Romans in 1870 still remains in situ to comply with legal requirements.

to which reform should be carried. A number of small conferences preceded the First Old Catholic Congress which met in Munich on September 22nd to 24th, 1871. At this gathering Professor J.F. von Schulte ~~xxxxxxx~~ of Prague presided over some 300 delegates who came from all over Germany, Austria, and Switzerland; and a number of Roman Catholics from France, Spain, Ireland, and Brazil. The Church of Utrecht sent three priests. Dr. Ossinine of St. Petersburg represented the Russian and Eastern Orthodox Church. Sympathetic watchers came from the Anglican Communion in England and America, one of the English clerics being Dean Stanley. Protestant Churches were also represented.

The Munich Congress set the character of the Old Catholic Movement. Doctrine and discipline were to be Catholic, but according to the standards of the Primitive Church before the rise of a powerful Pope and Roman Curia. The Movement was seen to be of international character, and not a merely local upheaval, and there was no question of its going the way of Ronge's "German Catholic Church" of a generation earlier. Holy Scripture, Catholic tradition, and ancient Catholic worship were to be maintained. Bishops were declared to have an immediate right to independent government of their dioceses. The Pope was to be regarded only as primus inter pares amongst bishops. No Council which was not free, - (a reference to the late Vatican Council) -, could be regarded as a genuine General Council of the Church. Existing abuses were to be remedied, and lay claims to participation in church administration were to be examined. The cleaning-up was to be thorough, and in the spirit of the Council of Constance, i.e. "reform of the Church in its Head and in its Members".

The Congress also declared that the Church of Utrecht had been unjustly accused of Jansenism; that reunion ~~with~~ with the Eastern Orthodox Churches was to be sought, and relations established with other episcopal Churches. The training and discipline of the clergy were declared to be matters calling for vigorous reform, and pernicious Ultramontane teaching was to be combatted. A legal right to real property and possession of church buildings was affirmed, and it was resolved to set up "vereine" (societies) to organise the Movement, and to erect congregations wherever this should prove possible.

As has already been noted, (in the previous chapter), the Old Catholic programme for reform, (which the Munich Congress of September, 1871, clarified), suggested the grounds on which the Bonn Reunion Conferences of 1874-1875 were able to proceed.

A new factor now came in, - one which, but for wise guidance, might have ruined the whole Movement. This was the "Kulturkampf" in Germany, during which Bismarck was inclined, for political

reasons, to show favour to the Old Catholics. Bismarck had deliberately excluded Austria - which country he could have crushed -, from the new Germany which had become a powerful Empire. His will was to make the Prussian influence undisputed, and to preserve a Protestant ascendancy. Roman Catholic political influence was to be curbed. Tension with the Vatican was nothing new, and the "Infallible" Pope had to be restrained. Bismarck intended to make this clear. In July 1871 Prussia suppressed the "Ministry for the Catholic Religion" and constituted one ministry for Catholics and Protestants together. In July 1872, the Emperor expelled the Jesuits from the Empire, Next year, in May, Redemptorists, Lazarists, and other congregations were also expelled. In the same month a law was passed which required that every priest, before entering upon a cure of souls should have passed through a German Gymnasium, and have spent three years at a German University. The same law forbade students to live in a seminary while studying at a University. In December 1873 the bishops were required to submit to these laws on oath. In May 1874, it was ordered that no priest should exercise his ministry unless he possessed a ticket of approval from the State, and the State claimed the right to nominate to vacant cures without the bishop's consent, should he nominate contrary to the law. Not till 1880 was any relaxation made in this Kulturkampf.

During the progress of this struggle, Bismarck would have been pleased to drive the Roman Catholic laity into the Old Catholic ranks, but though some did thus come in, the general effect was otherwise. "Haben Sie Pöbel hinter sich?", enquired Bismarck of Dr. Reinkens, one of the Old Catholic leaders. But ~~the Pöbel~~ "der Pöbel" ( the mob ), did not follow the Old Catholic lead to any great extent, for the Movement remained very largely a professorial one. The average German, like the ordinary Frenchman of that day, was more concerned with politics than with theological differences.

One permanent thing of importance has remained from the Kulturkampf days which affects the Old Catholics. They received official recognition as a Catholic Church, and were protected as a recognised religion, despite the comparative smallness of their numbers. Any support Bismarck gave to the Movement disappeared as soon as he made peace with the Vatican, and political pressure began to be exercised rather against the Old Catholics. Bavaria ceased to support the Movement after the death of Dr. von Dollinger in 1890.

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The German Old Catholic Church soon organised itself after the Munich Congress of 1871. In September of 1872 a Second Old Catholic Congress was held in Cologne. Archbishop Loos of Utrecht attended, as also the Anglican Bishops of Ely, Lincoln and Maryland (U.S.A.), along with the Russian Archpriest

Janyschew,

and General Alex. von Kirejew, a Russian who was much interested in the Old Catholic Movement. The Cologne Congress attracted 4,000 spectators in addition to the 500 delegates and invited guests.

Despite the objections of Dr. von Döllinger, arrangements were made for the election of a bishop, and before that election took place, Archbishop Loos of Utrecht accepted the invitation of the Old Catholic clergy in Bavaria to visit that country to administer confirmation. He was received with great joy, and confirmed candidates in Bavaria, Swabia, and the Rhine valley. The Archbishop died on June 4th, 1873, the very day on which Dr. Hubert Reinkens was elected in Cologne as first Catholic Bishop of the Old Catholics of the German Reich. Dr. Reinkens received his consecration in Rotterdam on August 11th, 1873, at the hands of Bishop Hermann Heykamp of Deventer. He took the customary oath, tendered to a Catholic bishop, in Berlin, and was officially recognised by the King of Prussia, and by the governments of Baden and Hessen.

In September 1873, a Congress was held at Constance to complete the organisation of the Church. Synodal and congregational constitutions were drawn up in which the laity had a share with the clergy. Reforms in discipline and worship were left for future action. These were subsequently carried out on the following principles:-

1. Worship was given vernacular form, and simplified, whilst adhering to ancient models.
2. Penance was freed from constraint, i.e. Confession in the presence of a priest was made voluntary and not compulsory. This was on the lines of Anglican practice.
3. Clerical celibacy was also made a voluntary instead of a compulsory matter.
4. Laymen were given an active part in Church government.

In 1876, Bishop Reinkens consecrated Edouard Herzog as bishop for the Old Catholics in Switzerland, or, as they preferred to call themselves, the "Christian-Catholics" of that land. The Dutch bishops would not participate in that consecration and Reinkens acted alone. The Dutch refusal was prompted by the chaotic state of the Swiss Christian-Catholic Church both as regards doctrine and discipline, and also because Herzog himself was unable to satisfy the Dutch bishops as to his own orthodoxy. In 1889, however, Herzog and Reinkens joined with the Dutch prelates in establishing a standard in regard to Old Catholic orthodoxy. This was achieved when all of them signed the Declaration of Utrecht. ∅.

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∅. A translation of this Declaration will be found in Chapter 3, of Part 3, of this thesis.

The agreement secured by the Declaration of Utrecht ended a period of uncertainty, and in place of a loose association, brought a definite group of recognised Old Catholic Churches into being. In the following year, 1890, a First International Old Catholic Congress was held at Cologne in September of that year.

In regard to Liturgical reform, Germany moved a little more slowly and cautiously than did Switzerland. Dr. F. H. Reusch, Professor of Old Testament Theology at Bonn, became Bishop Reinken's Vicar-General. In 1877 Reusch's vernacular prayer book ( "Vollständiges Gebetbuch für katholische Christen" ) appeared. The Latin of the Mass prayers was given at the bottom of the relative pages. This book was not an official Old Catholic publication. Two years earlier than this there appeared in Bonn a " Catholic Rituale, published according to the Decrees of the First Two Synods of the Old Catholics of the German Empire " ∅.

This book provided a short form for Communion to be interpolated into the Latin Mass, after the manner in which the Anglican "Order of the Communion" of 1548 paved the way for the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI in England. The German Old Catholic Rituale contained fuller vernacular rites for Baptism; Confirmation; Confession; Communion and Unction of the Sick; Holy Matrimony; Churching of Women; Burial of an adult and of a child; with a form for blessing Holy Water; Explanatory Notes; Prayers for the Sick, and a General Intercession. The Ordination Rites were not dealt with till later. The Rituale was revised finally in 1933.

A number of unofficial prayer books, ( similar to Dr. Reusch's ), appeared in the early days of experiment. Uncertainty ended with the official adoption of Professor F. A. Thürlings' Altar Book, first printed in 1888. In this the German vernacular Mass was given two forms, a "First" and "Second" Order. The Second Order adhered more closely than the first to the Latin model, but was not a slavish translation of the Roman Mass. The Austrian and Czecho-Slovak Old Catholic Churches have adopted Thürlings' rite, with but small amendments.

In 1924 the German Old Catholic Synodical Representative Body revised the official " Katholisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch für die Alt-katholiken des Deutschen Reiches " which is the prayer book for the laity. It contains a number of Lutheran hymns. The present German Old Catholic Bishop, ( Erwin Kreuzer ), produced a slightly revised form of the Liturgy in pamphlet form in 1936.

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In 1876 an English Translation was published in London under the title " The Offices of the Old Catholic Prayer Book, done into English, and compared with the Offices of the Roman and Old German Rituals. "

The clergy were given liberty to marry in 1878. As has been noticed already, this met with opposition. Dr. Reusch resigned his post as Pfarrer at Bonn, but he continued to lecture, to hear confessions, and otherwise to minister occasionally.

The Bishop has a "Synodalvertretung" (formerly called the "Synodalrepräsentanz") which consists of himself, two priests, and three laymen. When a new bishop has to be elected, (there is but one in Germany), this is done by vote of the clergy and of representatives of every 300 of the laity. The clergy are trained at Bonn under the Bishop's supervision, or in the Old Catholic Faculty at Berne in Switzerland. Roman Catholic priests have often been admitted to the Old Catholic ranks. In the present generation they are somewhat suspect by the "born" Old Catholics.

There is no special Cathedral Church. The Bishop may appoint a Vicar-general, if he so desires, to assist in administration. During a vacancy in the episcopate, the Synodalvertretung elects an Administrator, (Bisthumsverweser), who takes charge until the new Bishop is consecrated. There is a Code of Canons, last issued in 1922, known as the "Kirchliche Ordnungen und Satzungen".

Confirmation in the German Old Catholic Church frequently follows First Communion, (a custom inherited from the Roman Church), and candidates are usually about fourteen years of age. Some of the clergy have been ordained when still very young. A reform in this matter is under consideration.

The Jesuits have never ceased to misrepresent Old Catholicism, (especially that of the German variety), and there have been severe Anglican critics. . . Baring-Gould was a bad prophet as to their future. He describes poorly-attended and spiritless services in his day. It is undoubtedly true that after the first generation of brilliant scholars, German Old Catholicism suffered some eclipse, but if anything could have killed the struggling little Church, (if it were so moribund as Baring-Gould suggests), it would have been the Great War, and the financial confusion that followed. Actually, however, these proved to be the beginning years of a new revival. That revival has received impetus from the national recovery which has taken place under the Hitler regime.

The old claim to be a German, (not a Latin), Catholic Church has received renewed attention, and conflict with the State has been avoided. This does not mean that every German Old Catholic is an ardent National Socialist, and the dangers attendant upon State patronage are not forgotten from the days of the Kulturkampf.

But many very loyal German Old Catholics share the fears of outside observers that the present German Old Catholic bishop and his advisers are in some danger of setting nationalism before Catholicism, and of using the present toleration of themselves by the government; (and its campaign against the Papal Church), in ways that may secure them some present advantages at the ~~XXXXXX~~ risk of possible set-backs in the future.

The present bishop was consecrated in 1935. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent his felicitations, but no Anglican prelate participated in the consecration despite the German request for this. King George Vth.'s Silver Jubilee celebrations falling at the same time was the official reason given for this, although the consecration was the first after the establishment of intercommunion between the Old Catholics and the Anglican Churches, and Anglican participation was to be expected. Bishop Kreuzer took an oath of loyalty to the Nazi regime, and was thus admonished by Hanns Kerrl, the National Socialist Minister for Church affairs:-

" The future belongs to that Church which is best able, within the bounds of universal Christianity, to combine racial and human considerations. If, Herr Bishop, you administer your high significant office in this spirit, they you may be sure, through me, of support and protection for the Old Catholic Church from the Reich government."

( Translated from German newspapers of December 17th. 1935. )

The bishop must, like Agag, walk warily. It is reported that he shares the anti-Semitic views of the government, and for this reason, ( though probably also from motives of political prudence), he has refused to ordain an ex-Jew, Dr. Herbert Neufeld. But he resisted in Synod a proposal to make the "Aryan Clause" a condition of membership of the German Old Catholic Church. He, (the bishop), approves the strongly anti-Roman Catholic and Nazi-Minded paper, "Der Romfrier Katholik" published in Essen, and withholds approval of the little "Gemeindebote", ( a typewritten periodical), which has been published by a number of priests who disapprove their Church's seeming entanglement in politics and apparently greater interest in aiding the government's campaign against Rome, than for common Christianity and Catholic truth for which, (all official statements to the contrary notwithstanding), the German government has little sympathy.

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The German "Alt-katholischer Kalendar" for 1937, has deleted "SS. Philip & James" under date of May 1st. and has substituted the State's "Nat. Feiertag des Deutschen Volkes". There are many other examples of this kind of thing.

One considerable difficulty of the German Old Catholic Church is its poverty, and the necessity to retain the goodwill of the government to pay for the clergy and church services by means of "Kirchensteuer", ( Church Tax ), without which organisation would collapse. Should the Vatican come to terms with German Nationalism, ( as it has done with Italian Fascism ), Hitler might be decorated by the Pope even as was Bismarck by Pius IX. Hitler is nominally a Roman Catholic, and hopes are entertained both within and without Germany that Hitler's antagonism to Russian politics may yet prove a means of reconciling Berlin and the Vatican. Should this happen, German Old Catholic fortunes will suffer a severe set-back.

The "Romfrier Katholik", mentioned above, is the organ of an anti-Roman Catholic propaganda movement of the German Old Catholic Church, which goes by the name of the "German National Catholic Movement". This movement has had a good deal of success in the Ruhr. At Bottrop an Old Catholic congregation has arisen, over a thousand strong, all of whom are ex-Roman Catholics. Two new churches have been opened recently in the suburbs of Cologne. Whether such accessions to Old Catholic strength will prove permanent or only temporary, time alone will show.

The tendencies of the "German National Catholic Movement" are sanely viewed in the English monthly periodical, "Friends of Europe", ( Number 28, of August, 1936 ), which states with truth, "..... it is, perhaps, too early yet to estimate its political and religious significance."

It was in Germany, at Bonn, on July 1st. and 2nd., 1931, (before the National Socialist Revolution), that a joint Commission of Old Catholic and Anglican delegates met, and drew up the formula which was accepted on both sides ~~xxxxxxx~~ for the establishment of inter-communion.

## Chapter 6.

Switzerland.

The démocratic traditions of the Swiss peoples are reflected in the fact that the Roman Catholic laity took a strong lead in the troubles which followed the Vatican Council of 1870. They were restrained only with difficulty from pursuing a course which would have led to the abolition of the episcopate.

The doctrine of Papal Infallibility had never been taught from the pulpits, nor had it been maintained in the Colleges of German-speaking Switzerland. For this reason, the Old Catholic Movement, when it came, was found to be much stronger in the German-speaking, than in the French-speaking Cantons.

In April, 1870, four priests in Lucerne began the publication of a paper in defence of the Old Catholic position. They met with ecclesiastical censure, and only one, Dr. Edouard Herzog - the future Old Catholic bishop, remained steadfast of purpose. He attended the 1872 Old Catholic Congress in Cologne, and became Pfarrer of the congregation set up at Crefeld in Germany.

In some Cantons, troubles arose over the reading of a Lenten Pastoral Letter in 1871 which concerned the definition of the Vatican Council Decrees. The Civil powers objected that their consent had not been obtained. Nevertheless, some of the clergy who refused to read the Pastoral were excommunicated by their bishop. Excitement over the Franco-Prussian War diverted attention for a time, but the split in the Roman Church increased. The opposition of the laity was most pronounced. A meeting arranged by them at Soleure on September 18th., 1871, rejected a proposal to secede from the Church, but requested the Cantonal governments to declare the Papal Syllabus of 1864, and the Vatican Council Decrees to be contrary to the laws of the State. They asked for State protection in regard to endowments for such congregations as might secede from the jurisdiction of an Ultramontane bishop, and to secure the free election of curates for such charges. The clergy were not involved in these proposals. Many sympathised; others did not. Some tried to prevent such congregations being formed. A number of the clergy were excommunicated.

At Olten, in December 1872, clerical and lay representatives decided to correspond with the German Old Catholics; to throw off the Papal obedience; and to erect Old Catholic congregations. Provision was also made for the scholarly education of theological students. Dr. Herzog returned from Crefeld to minister at Olten. Some congregations dismissed their priest. Others came over with him.

The Berne Cantonal government revoked the bishop's licence because of his attitude towards non-Ultramontane clergy. Sixty-nine priests were then deprived of their cures for maintaining relations with the deposed bishop. The government called for other priests to fill their places. An inadequate number responded, and some who did were men of unsatisfactory reputation. Pius IX declared the Greater Excommunication against the Canton. Leo XIII caused new Roman Catholic congregations to be organised, but the action of Pius IX had already resulted in the erection of the Old Catholic Faculty in the University of Berne, and this continues in existence today.

Pius IX caused further trouble in Geneva by appointing a Vicar-Apostolic, (whom the government expelled), contrary to an agreement by which the Bishop of Freiburg had episcopal oversight in Geneva. The government's actions consolidated the Ultramontanes, but a liberal congregation was formed which invited Père Hyacinthe Loyson from Paris to be its priest. He accepted the call and came thither as a married man, - a fact known to those who had elected him. He said Mass in French, and declared auricular confession to be optional. These matters he settled by no other authority than his own. But the Swiss Old Catholic Movement was still largely unorganised and lacked proper Synods. Père Hyacinthe was at Geneva only till 1874, but while there he worked in concert with Dr. Herzog. In June of 1874 together they saved a Conference held at Berne from recommending the abolition of the office of bishop. At a later Convention in the same year, the bishop-to-be's rights were very severely limited. He was to be assisted by a Synod in which the clergy and laity were both to be represented. The president of this Synod was to be elected by popular vote from time to time.

In 1876 the Synod elected Dr. Edouard Herzog to be bishop, and in due course he was consecrated by Dr. Reinkens, the German Old Catholic bishop. The Dutch Old Catholic Church refused to be associated with this consecration, chiefly because Dr. Herzog was not willing to subscribe to the creed of Pope Pius IV as a test of his orthodoxy. Bishop Herzog received the formal recognition of the Federal government, and four Cantons sent representatives to his consecration.

The Christian-Catholic Church in Switzerland, (for such was the name officially adopted), now settled down in less erratic ways. The clergy were given the same liberty as the laity in regard to marriage, and freedom to use, or not to use, Sacramental confession was conceded. Liturgical confusion ended after 1880 in which year the bishop secured acceptance for draft proposals for vernacular services.

Bishop Herzog maintained close relations with the Anglican Churches in England and America. Anglican Chaplains in Switzerland have always been in close touch with the Christian-Catholics. For many years, until the Great War, American Episcopalians and Christian-Catholics used the same building for worship in Lucerne. Ø. In 1883, before the establishment of inter-communion, the Swiss Christian-Catholics formally agreed to admit such Anglicans as desired it to Communion at their altars.

It was an Anglican Bishop who assisted to introduce Communion in Both Kinds to Swiss Old Catholics ØØ. This was Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh, who with Bishop Eden, Primus of the Scottish Church had given some oversight to Père Hyacinthe's work in Paris. Details of this will be noticed in a later chapter. Through Père Hyacinthe, Bishop Cotterill was induced to visit Switzerland. At Berne, on Sunday, August 10th., 1879, the Bishop of Edinburgh, with Bishop Herzog of Switzerland, received Holy Communion in Both Kinds at the hands of Bishop Reinkens of Germany. Thereafter Bishop Cotterill administered the Chalice, and Bishop Herzog the Consecrated Bread. Père Hyacinthe preached the sermon. The Orthodox son of the Greek Ambassador in Berlin was present. This service, and other matters, raised some alarm in Scottish Episcopalian circles, and after a decision of the Episcopal Synod held in Edinburgh on December 3rd. 1879, the connection of Scottish bishops with Père Hyacinthe and other Continental Old Catholics had to cease. The "Scottish Guardian" of December 5th, 1879, gives a long explanation by Bishop Cotterill of his action at Berne.

The Swiss Christian-Catholic Church settled down as the Church of a minority, though in possession of some of the old church buildings. Its adherents are somewhat dispersed, a fact which brought in a system of itinerating priests who endeavour to minister to scattered believers. There are "High" and "Low" Church factions. Much greater freedom of thought is found than exists in the more conservative Dutch Old Catholic Church. Whereas the Dutch clergy are trained in a strictly controlled and disciplined seminary, the Divinity students of the Old Catholic Faculty in Berne do not even enjoy a collegiate life, but simply live in lodgings, and have the same latitude as other students of the University. Most of the French-speaking clergy are married, and about one half of those in German-speaking Cantons.

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Ø. Since the war such joint use of one building has ceased. The English Church in Lucerne is a different building, and there American Episcopalians now join with Church of England people. ØØ. A few congregations still give Communion in One Kind only, but this is not the general practice of Swiss Christian-Catholics.

The Swiss Christian-Catholics make good use of the printing-press. Of particular merit is the publication now known as the "Internationale Kircheliche Zeitschrift". This was founded after the International Old Catholic Congress of 1892, and was known as the "Revue internationale de Théologie" until 1911. Its present editor is Dr. Adolf Küry, a scholar of merit, who was consecrated as bishop of The Christian-Catholic Church in 1924. The "I.K.Z.", (by which initials the quarterly periodical is generally known), publishes no article that lacks learning or literary taste, and it labours in the cause of Christian reunion.

Bishop Edouard Herzog, who died in 1924, signed the Declaration of Utrecht in 1889, and so brought his Church into conformity with definite Old Catholic standards. He enjoyed a long, eventful, and fruitful episcopate. He was an apostle of Christian reunion. His associations with Anglicans were many. He attended the Lambeth Conferences of 1888 and 1897, and also travelled in America.

A candid critic might say with some justice that his heart sometimes got the better of his head, for it must be confessed that he was sometimes wanting in judgment in his dealings with foreigners. He was inclined to favour the proposal for the Old Catholics to consecrate a bishop for the definitely Protestant Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Churches, and his ordination of Joseph René Vilatte to the priesthood was ill-advised. As will be seen, this man started, but almost wrecked, the Old Catholic Movement in America. Bishop Herzog's association with Count di Campello's abortive Old Catholic Movement in Italy was unfortunate, and the Swiss bishop was the unhappy intermediary in negotiations which led to the consecration in 1908 of Arnold Harris Matthew, who compromised all the Old Catholic Churches, and nearly wrecked cordial relations with the Church of England.

Nevertheless, Edouard Herzog was a worthy prelate. The fact that the Christian-Catholic Church in Switzerland moves in comparatively peaceful waters is in no small measure due to the patient and careful steering of him who was called to the helm at a time when dangerous rocks loomed ahead for the little ship into which a mixed company had entered, - a company not entirely at unity amongst themselves, though all agreed that the Church of Rome which they had abandoned had become anything but an Ark of Salvation.

The Old Catholic Theological Faculty at Berne prepares candidates for ordination not only in Switzerland, but also in Germany and Austria.

## Chapter 7.

Austria, and the States formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century there were not a few struggles in adjusting Church and State relations in Austria and Hungary. After the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866, there was much discontent, and an opinion found favour that Papalism had sapped the strength of the nation, the northern Germans being more virile because of their more independent Protestant religion. The feeling of indignation grew when it was seen that the Vatican had found France a weak tool, and was endeavouring to build up strong Anti-Protestant feeling in the Austrian and Slav territories. The German element within the Dual Monarchy disapproved this, and this finally found expression in the "Los von Rom" (away from Rome) Movement.

This "Los von Rom" Movement ultimately took shape in 1898 under the fostering care of Ritter von Schönerer, leader of the German National Party. This movement is not yet a spent force. In what is now the Austrian Republic it has become intensified as a result of the close alliance that has arisen between Church and State, an alliance which aims at preventing Nazi Germany from overthrowing Austrian independence. Since the concordat of 1936 between Berlin and Vienna, it may be that the Austrian State may incline to allow greater liberty to non-Roman Catholics, (~~other than~~ <sup>but not to</sup> Jews, for there is strong anti-Semitic feeling in Austria), but there is little sign of this at present. Certain it is, that despite the liberal traditions of the Emperor Joseph II, and frequent quarrels with the Vatican in the nineteenth century, Ultramontanism has triumphed in Austria, and there is very little religious freedom in that land.

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After the Vatican Council, Professor von Schulte of Prague continued his opposition, but the hope that Bishop J.G. Strossmeyer might become an Old Catholic was not to be realised. Opposition to the new Decrees was not so well organised as in Germany and Switzerland. Moreover, many of those who in conscience could not accept the new dogmas were still able to receive the Sacraments, so that the need to form an opposition Church was less urgent. Nevertheless, Austrian delegates attended the Munich Old Catholic Congress of 1871, and societies were formed in Vienna, Bohemia, and Upper Austria. These the government harried as improper elements in the State. Marriages performed by Old Catholic priests were not recognised, and those of the clergy who married were treated as living in adultery. Unless a congregation was of a considerable size, the government would not tolerate a resident priest, so that the few clergy had to travel considerable distances to minister to scattered minorities.

It took a long time to secure State recognition and freedom of worship. Thus came in 1877, but was attended by great poverty since the Old Catholics secured no share of the old endowments or church buildings.

As early as 1872 there were congregations in Vienna, Warnsdorf (Bohemia), and Ried (Upper Austria). The first "Synodalrat" met in 1879 under the "Synodal- und Gemeindeordnung" which had been drawn up as a sort of Code of Canons and Constitution. The Synodalrat is an executive body containing both clerical and lay members. In 1880 the first full Synod met in Vienna. Next year a Synod held at Warnsdorf elected Pfarrer Anton Mittel (b.1826; d.1907), as "Bisthumsverweser" (Administrator of the diocese), but the State prevented his consecration as bishop and forbade him to exercise his administrative office. In 1888 Pfarrer Amandus Czech, of Vienna, was elected Administrator. He received State recognition as such, but his consecration as bishop was vetoed. In 1896 he moved to Warnsdorf as Pfarrer of the Old Catholic congregation there, but continued his diocesan duties. The State's pretext for preventing the consecration of a bishop was that there was no adequate provision for a stipend, apart from an incumbency.

During these days priests were obtained by ordination outside the Austrian dominions, or by the accession of priests from the Papal Obedience. The government refused to allow the Swiss or German Old Catholic bishops to exercise oversight, or to confirm. Candidates for confirmation were sometimes sent over the frontier, or the Administrator administered confirmation, "per delegationem", as do Eastern Orthodox priests.

In spite of governmental hindrances, the Old Catholic Movement slowly expanded, especially in northern Bohemia. Discontent amongst the German element there against concessions to the Czechs, and the way in which Rome was fostering Czech national feeling, fanned into flame the "Los von Rom" Movement, and though the motives were primarily political, after 1898 sufficient new adherents of Old Catholicism allowed congregations to appear in Bohemia and elsewhere. Old Catholic charges were formed at Gratz, Märish-Schönberg, Brünn, Friedland-an-der-Mohra, Linz, Salzburg, Innsbruck, and at a few other places.

The Austrian Old Catholics had adopted Dr. Thürlings' German Old Catholic Liturgy, with slight modifications, and Communion was given in Two Kinds, the Host being dipped into the Chalice.

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The "Los von Rom" Movement caused many to join Protestant Churches, while a large number of persons lapsed into agnosticism. Hatred of Rome was more pronounced than zeal for Church reform.

The age for confirmation came to be at about twelve years. This is rather later than general Roman Catholic practice, but earlier than Old Catholic custom in Germany.

The break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the Great War led to the division of the Austrian Old Catholic Church into three separate self-governing parts, which may now be considered one by one.

#### Austrian Republic.

The Old Catholics left in the Austrian Republic were mostly grouped around four centres:- Vienna, Gratz, Linz (with Ried), and Salzburg. In all of these districts there were reasonably large central congregations with various out-stations and scattered adherents. There were no proper churches. Halls and other adapted buildings were, (and still are), in use. The Linz congregation has been able to hire an old church building from the Municipality. This is of such historic interest as to merit special description.

It is the chapel of the old Prunerstift monastic community. The Emperor Joseph II suppressed this institution and made the buildings an orphanage. Today they have degenerated into tenements for very poor families. The chapel had become a warehouse. When the Old Catholics secured the building a few years ago different families still made their homes in the vestries, sacristy, organ-loft, and church porch. The Old Catholics have been able to find alternative accommodation for all of these, except the family which still occupies the porch. The congregation is poor, but much care and money have been expended on restoration work. The chapel contains three altars, - an unusual feature for an Old Catholic church.

This Linz congregation has had many troubles of late. In September 1934, the assistant priest, Dr. Hanns Kreczi, consented to bury the ashes of a deceased Roman Catholic woman who had been cremated. Cremation is bitterly opposed by Austrian Roman Catholics, but encouraged by the Old Catholics. Herr Kreczi was denounced to the State by the woman's former priest who was also annoyed at the loss in the previous month of eleven of his congregation who had <sup>joined</sup> the Old Catholic Church. The State found Dr. Kreczi guilty of an act likely to cause disorder & an untrue statement- and sentenced him to ~~three months~~ a month's imprisonment, but suspended the sentence for three years, placing the young priest in question on probation. He has now sole charge of the large Old Catholic congregation and outstations, for early in the present year, (1937), his superior, Pfarrer O. Siegmars-Rehm had to be deposed by the Synod from his clerical status.

⌘ Such was the position in 1937.

The financial and economic distress in Austria after the Great War made enormous difficulties for the Old Catholics, but compensation came in another direction. Under the new regime hindrances to the consecration of a bishop disappeared, so that Pfarrer Adalbert Schindelar was consecrated (at Berne), in September 1925. He died thirteen months later. In his place Robert Tüchler, of Viennese birth, was elected and consecrated. He still presides over the fortunes of the Austrian Old Catholic Church. He is married. Formerly he was a Roman Catholic Barnabit monk.

Bishop Tüchler has done much to organise the scattered members of his Communion. These now number 45,000 of whom about two-thirds live in the Vienna area. This Vienna district recently received a large accession of members after the overthrow of the Social Democratic regime. This was partly due to the deflection from the Roman Obedience of many who were not in sympathy with the way in which the Papal Church had aided and abetted the revolution. Others came to the Old Catholics when the new government made it strictly necessary for all citizens to adopt one or other of the Confessions recognised by the State, of which Old Catholicism is one. These new recruits to a struggling Church created such a problem in regard to accommodation, that in 1934, the Bishop of Fulham, ( who, under the Bishop of London exercises jurisdiction over Anglicans in North and Central Europe), appealed in the press of England for funds to enable the Old Catholics in Vienna to build a new Church. The new recruits were mostly of the "Beamter" ( i.e. uniformed functionary) class, with a sprinkling of professional men. It may be doubted whether such "converts" are of any real value to the Old Catholics, who, however, cannot very well refuse to receive them. Time will show whether their adhesion is of any real value. As in the "Los von Rom" Movement, the Roman Catholic Church's political activity has again caused an exodus from her ranks to the Old Catholics. Rome's reply is to villify the Old Catholics, but it must be admitted that in Austria the Old Catholic Church has been willing to admit too readily to its ranks, both clergy and laity from the Papal Church, whose real trouble has been that they have chafed under the strict ecclesiastical discipline. Lack of discipline has been, and still is, a charge against the Austrian Old Catholic Church, - a charge which must be admitted to contain much truth.

Old Catholicism in Vienna is very liberal in outlook, and the moral tone of many members, ( not excluding the clergy), is far from satisfactory. This known fact, ( and especially the toleration of divorce), causes much disquiet to the Old Catholics of the Netherlands and other countries.

Another source of weakness is the diverse training of the few clergy. There are only about eighteen priests in the Austrian Old Catholic Church. About one half are ex-Roman Catholics; one is a former Protestant; and of the rest (who have been trained at Berne or by the Old Catholics themselves in Vienna), several have small claim to learning. At least two of the priests in Vienna were ordained late in life when they were pensioned ex-Railway servants. It is therefore not surprising that Bishop Tüchler finds his few clergy a body within which there is some disharmony Ø.

Bishop Tüchler would like to resign, but has been persuaded to continue in office, lest his departure should result in a disputed election. Moreover, as the Old Catholics are out of favour with the government, and because of Roman Catholic opposition, it is probable that the government would revive the ban on the consecration of another bishop.

A new edition of Dr. Thürlings' German Liturgy was authorised by Bishop Tüchler in 1933. The Rituale of the Austrian Old Catholic Church has certain interesting features. In addition to vernacular forms for the Seven Sacraments, it contains provision for Thanksgiving Services in connection with Silver and Golden Weddings; for an Advent (pre-Christmas) festivity; and also for religious observances in connection with cremation of the dead.

It was perhaps not unnatural that after the Great War, and in days of a Social Democratic government which gave them a freedom not previously enjoyed, the Austrian Old Catholics should have identified themselves very largely with Social Democratic politics and institutions. That association which for a time brought them favour, now works in the opposite direction, for Austria's present rulers have not forgotten this. Bishop Tüchler himself is persona non grata to the civil authorities, not only because he is an ex-Roman Catholic, but also because he once had an official position in a Social-Democratic Co-operative Society (Konsumverein), in Ried, and had attended parades of the political party. This may not have been prudent, but when this is pointed out by Roman Catholics in high position in their Church, who themselves dabble all the time in politics, the charge is seen to be little more than Roman Catholic venom. Bishop Tüchler's detractors would have done the same had it suited the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

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Pfarrer O. Siegmars-Rehm of Linz was the Bishop's chief opponent. A clever man, he aimed to become bishop himself, but on moral grounds has in 1937 been deposed from clerical status. His removal should make for peace.

The Austrian Old Catholics have enormous difficulties to overcome, and constant trouble is caused by Roman Catholic calumny and persecution. Nevertheless, various reforms seem to be needed. These should be along the following lines:-

- (1). A more disciplined body of clergy is desirable. They should be trained in more uniform fashion, and preferably should be without Roman Catholic antecedents.
- (2). Matrimonial discipline should be tightened.
- (3). At the risk of losing members, it should be made less easy for lapsed Roman Catholics to find a harbour in the Old Catholic Church.
- (4). Latitudinarian attitude towards doctrine, (especially in Vienna), should be banished, and replaced by stricter Old Catholic standards. Teaching should be positive. At present the Austrian Old Catholic appeal is too much by way of negatives:- e.g. "We have no compulsory confession; no enforced celibacy; no irksome discipline;" &c. &c.
- (5). Political complications should be avoided at all costs.
- (6). Despite poverty, the Austrian Old Catholics should endeavour to build better churches, to overcome an "inferiority complex" which results from make-shift places of worship, and this should be done without begging from others, - a habit all too common in Austria, even when there is no need.
- (7). A strong bishop is desirable, and one who is not politically offensive to the government.

The Austrian Old Catholic Church appears to be passing through a transition period. It is difficult to predict its future.

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### Czecho-Slovakia.

Warnsdorf, a frontier town in the north of the new Republic, had long been a strong Old Catholic centre. Here the Bisthumsverweser ( Diocesan Administrator), had lived in the days of the Dual Monarchy. The very fine Old Catholic Church stands in a street appropriately named "Döllingerstrasse". Pfarrer Alois Paschek, the priest at Warnsdorf, was elected Administrator in 1922, after the death of Amandus Czech. Two years later he was consecrated as first bishop of the independant Old Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia. He is a scholar and wise administrator, and a very humble man.

Bishop Paschek is a Czech by birth, but he presides over the fortunes of about 25,000 Old Catholics most of whom belong to the considerable German minority in the Republic.

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25% of the fourteen-and-a-half inhabitants of the Republic are of German speech, and of German or Austrian sympathies.

In 1936 the newly organised Church had eleven congregations, twelve churches, two smaller chapels, and fifteen priests. The German minority are badly hit by unemployment, especially in the glass-making centres. This creates a serious problem for the little Old Catholic Church. The congregation at Morchenstern, near Gablonz, finds itself unable to afford the increased rent demanded for the use of the Evangelical Church where services have been held. An effort is being made to build a church for these people. In 1934 Dutch Old Catholic friends loaned money which enabled a fine new church to be built at Tetschen, (opposite Bodenbach), on the Elbe.

In the matter of church buildings, the Czecho-Slovak Old Catholics are better off than are the Austrians with whom they were united until after the Great War. Moreover, they have profited by Austrian mistakes, and so have tried to avoid internal frictions and lax standards such as in Austrian Old Catholicism. The Czecho-Slovak Old Catholics are not sorry to be free from the old Austrian connection.

The Synod has strictly forbidden the clergy to associate themselves with political parties, but the State causes some anxiety to Old Catholic officials. Not only is there an enormous amount of secretarial work involved in the elaborate statistics and information demanded from the clergy, but pressure is being brought to bear to de-Germanise the Church services. At present German is the language of the Liturgy in all places except Praha (Prague). In the Capital city there is a small Czech Old Catholic congregation, but it has no settled church.

In August of 1936 Bishop Paschek was summoned by State officials, at the instance of a few Old Catholic Czechs, to a meeting at which the provision of church services in the Czech language was urged. The bishop, though himself a Czech, contended that this was a domestic matter for his church to settle for itself, and that the need for services in the Czech language outside of Praha was not apparent. To force an unfamiliar language upon contented congregations would create disharmony, and in any case the use of the vernacular of the people was an Old Catholic principle. The bishop's suggestion to this meeting was accepted. This was that services in the Czech tongue should be provided (but not to the exclusion of German), in all places where Czechs who claim to be Old Catholics reside, provided that such Czechs pay the recognised Kirchensteuer (Church Tax), which hitherto they had not been doing.

Ø. Bishop Paschek desires to see co-operation with Anglicans who also have no church or Chaplain in Prague; so that a building may be obtained which both Communions might use. No action in this matter has been taken at present.

The Old Catholic Church in the Republic is a quiet, non-aggressive body, anxious to avoid political complications, and strives to live in harmony with neighbours of other Confessions. It provides a spiritual home and quiet haven of rest for not a few who have left the Papal Church, disillusioned, but have not plunged into the wild excesses of irreligion which ensnare many, in Czecho-Slovakia as elsewhere, who have thrown off the Papal yoke.

Bishop Paschek rejoices at the establishment of inter-communion with the Anglican Church, and is working for closer relations with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Czecho-Slovak Old Catholic Church has no ecclesiastical relations with the so-called "Czecho-Slovak National Church", which appears to be developing along non-Trinitarian and latitudinarian lines.

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#### Croatia. ( Yugoslavia ).

In 1924 Marko Kalogjera was consecrated at Utrecht as bishop for those Old Catholics who found themselves inside the frontiers of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Information as to their number is not very satisfactory. The German "Alt-katholischer Kalendar" for 1925 states them to be "at least 100,000." At this time the unpopularity of Italy had caused many Roman Catholics in Yugoslavia to seek a national Catholic Church such as the Croatian Old Catholic Church promised to become.

Events have shown that the selection of Kalogjera as bishop was an unfortunate choice. He was present at the International Old Catholic Congress held in Vienna in 1931, but two years later he was excluded by all other Old Catholic bishops from the recognised periodical conferences of bishops called together by the Archbishop of Utrecht. The reasons for this action were various, but it may be stated that he ruined the consolidation of his new diocese by political activities. Kalogjera was more a Statesman than a bishop. He was, and still remains, in favour with the Yugoslav government. He began to accuse all other Old Catholic bishops of "Pan-Germanism", i.e. of favouring that political creed which finds its expression in advanced Hitlerism. This accusation was quite untrue. Moreover, Bishop Kalogjera seems to have been too willing to make divorce easy- and that to the benefit of his own pocket. The Minute of his exclusion from the Old Catholic Bishops' Conference was sent to the bishop himself and to the Yugoslav government, but the State continued to recognise him.

A third of the Old Catholics remained with the bishop, the

other two-thirds organised themselves in separation from him and continued in fellowship with Utrecht. The Anglican Church had to be informed, and the Bishop of Gibraltar ( who has oversight of Anglicans in countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, investigated the matter, and reported unfavourably to Bishop Kalogjera.

Under a wiser prelate the new independant Old Catholic Church in Croatia might have had a more happy beginning. Croatia was formerly under Hungary, not Austria, but their former connection with Old Catholics in Austria gave the new independant Church a capacity for internal friction. Austrian Old Catholics, while acquiescing in the exclusion of Kalogjera, remain not unfavourably disposed towards him.

It is hoped that a permanent schism may be avoided. The section which has remained loyal to Utrecht has had its own administrators, and also sought the oversight of Bishop Paschek of Czecho-Slovakia. That prelate, a born Czech, was, as a man of kindred race, sympathetic, but he could not consent to give the help asked. To have done so would have raised political difficulties of an international kind in an acute form.

In 1936 the Croatian Old Catholic majority elected Generalvikar Anton Donkovitsch to be their Adminsitrator  $\emptyset$ ., and requested his consecration as bishop. That request has not been granted, and it is unlikely that the consecration of another bishop will take place so long as Bishop Kalogjera lives to claim the See and is recognised by the Yugoslav government. The consecration of another bishop might be vetoed by the government, and if it took place, might result in a permanent schism which it is desired to avoid.

The situation remains somewhat obscure and it is not easy to secure reliable information. It is clear that the unhappy state of schism reflects little credit upon the bishop who caused it. He has occasioned much pain, not only to his own flock, but to Old Catholics in other lands.

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$\emptyset$ . Vide the German "Alt-katholisches Volksblatt" of 7/8/1936.

## Chapter 8.

France; Italy; Spain and Portugal.France.

The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War left the majority of Frenchmen with little appetite for religious controversy. Moreover, anti-clericalism was strong, and Catholics tried to pull together in the face of irreligion. Archbishop Darboy was at heart a Gallican. Before and during the Vatican Council he contended against the proposed Decrees, and left the Council in protest. Worn down by the dominating Ultramontanes, he ultimately submitted to the Decrees. Seized as a hostage by the communists of Paris, he was murdered by them on May 27th., 1871 in the prison of La Roquette.

Père Gratry, whom many looked to as a possible Old Catholic leader in France, was ill. He accepted the Decrees, however, and died in 1872. Opposition there was, but the times were not propitious for a revival of the old Gallican spirit. Old Catholicism found an exponent in Charles Jean Marie Augustin Hyacinthe Loyson, better known as Père Hyacinthe.

Loyson was born in 1827 and died in 1912. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1851, from which year until 1854 he was professor of Philosophy in the Seminary at Avignon. He entered the Order of the Discalced Carmelites, and became a noted preacher at Notre Dame, Paris. He encountered enmity and opposition, and in 1869 he was excommunicated for his liberal views, though he remained on good terms with many in high position in the Roman Catholic Church in France. He toured America as a lecturer and then returned to France as champion of those who opposed the Vatican Council Decrees. In 1871 he attended the Old Catholic Congress in Munich.

In 1872 Père Hyacinthe married an American. He asked Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln to defend this action to the Old Catholic Congress held in Cologne in September of the same year.

There is little doubt that his marriage destroyed much of his influence. As has been noticed already, he accepted the call to minister to an Old Catholic congregation in Geneva. This was in 1873, but he soon returned to Paris where he engaged in a struggle with the government to secure authorisation for his services. Permission to hold religious services privately was given in 1877. His aim was to work for the setting up of a national Catholic Church in France, with an episcopate not subject to Rome, and with vernacular worship.

The political situation made it difficult for him to establish relations with Old Catholics in other countries, and his hope of securing an Old Catholic bishop for France was not to be realised. So long as he was in control, his movement remained only quasi-Old Catholic. He was unwilling to proceed without some episcopal supervision, and he began to look to the Anglican Church for ~~some~~ assistance. He attended the Lambeth Conference of 1878, and applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury for recognition of his efforts ... "as forming a Christian Mission, - Catholic and Reformed -, to be placed provisionally under one or several Anglican bishops, until it should prove possible to constitute a complete and autonomous Church".

The 1878 Lambeth Conference referred this petition to a Committee. The position was delicate. The bishops did not care to refuse all help, but the view was expressed in England that the Church of England, as an Established Church, ought not to interfere in the province of another Established Church, even though not in communion with it. Then it was remembered that in an earlier generation, ( in 1825 ), the Episcopal Church in Scotland had consecrated Bishop Matthew Luscombe to have oversight of Anglicans on the European Continent, and "to work amongst members of other Reformed Episcopal Churches on the Continent". Ø. The Episcopal Church in Scotland had therefore had some such connection with the Continent as Père Hyacinthe now desired. Moreover, the Scottish bishops were not prelates of an Established Church, and therefore might be freer to act. Accordingly, Bishop Robert Eden, Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland was approached. He agreed to act, but he did so on his own responsibility only, though he associated Bishop Henry Cotterill of Edinburgh with him in his efforts. From the outset this arrangement caused some uneasiness amongst other Scottish bishops, and members of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.

Père Hyacinthe now announced the formation of the "Gallican Catholic Church". Premises for worship were secured in Paris. No Mass was celebrated until Primus Robert Eden had completed a revision of Hyacinthe's Liturgy in French. The hand of the Scottish Primus would seem, (from internal evidence of this Liturgy), to have inserted certain footnotes, such as:-

" Il importe de remarquer que l'adoration qui a lieu après la consécration ne s'adresse pas au pain et au vin, mais à Jesus-Christ, rendu dès lors mystérieusement présent dans le Sacrement. "

In the Intercession, prayer was made for "le Pape de Rome, le Patriarche de Constantinople, l'Archevêque de Cantorbury, tous les Evêques, les Prêtres, les Diacres, et tous qui font profession de la foi catholique et apostolique."

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Ø. The consecration of Bishop Luscombe took place in Scotland owing to difficulties in England to secure such consecration.

A footnote explains that the three prelates named rule over the three principal divisions of Catholic Christendom.

Hyacinthe's Liturgy, which restored Communion in Both Kinds, followed the general lines of the Latin Mass, but was a free adaptation rather than a translation.

The "Gallican Catholic Church" was to be a reformed one with these special marks:-

- (1). Papal Infallibility was rejected.
- (2). Bishops and clergy were to be elected by the faithful.
- (3). The clergy were to be allowed to marry.
- (4). Services were to be in the vernacular, along with Bible reading. Worship was to have liturgical character.
- (5). "Liberty and morality" were to be observed in regard to Penance; i.e. Confession to a priest was not to be forced on the unwilling.

Père Hyacinthe received financial aid from America. Bishop Herzog of Switzerland was interested. He was not allowed by the Swiss government to perform episcopal acts outside Switzerland, but he was willing to ordain any candidates sent to him by Père Hyacinthe, whilst approving Anglican oversight as a pro tempore measure.

It has already been noticed that Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh, through Père Hyacinthe's influence, assisted to introduce Communion in Both Kinds to the Swiss Christian-Catholic Church. That incident in August 1879 brought to a head the agitation which Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrews, and others, were engaged in to put an end to Primus Robert Eden's and Bishop Cotterill's association with Père Hyacinthe, which had been arranged at Lambeth in the previous year. The pages of the "Scottish Guardian" of 1879 are full of letters and comments of apprehension at the Continental entanglement of Scottish bishops. This resulted in the Episcopal Synod of 1879, (i.e. the bishops assembled in Council), passing a resolution :-

"..... without reference to anything past, that no Bishop of this Church is authorised to recognise any Body of Christians not recognised by Canon as in Communion with ourselves, unless it be after deliberation and assent of the Bishops in Synod."

As a majority of the Scottish bishops were not at this time prepared to recognise the "Gallican Catholic Church", the Primus and the Bishop of Edinburgh had no option but to relinquish the oversight that they had been exercising.

Père Hyacinthe next secured the oversight of Bishop H.L. Jenner, who at this time was Vicar of Preston in Kent Ø., and later of Bishop Cleveland Coxe of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.

The "Gallican Catholic Church" was never much more than Père Hyacinthe's own personal following - people attracted by his great power as a preacher. Though he espoused the principles of Old Catholicism he failed to convince many others to hold them with him. In 1893 he resigned his pastorate in Paris, having made an arrangement with Archbishop Gul of Utrecht for the Dutch Old Catholics to take over the work. The congregation fell away, and Père Hyacinthe became disappointed and bitter. Those of his congregation who accepted the new arrangement became orthodox Old Catholics, and an anomalous situation ended. The work in Paris was given to Georges A. Volet, who had worked under Père Hyacinthe, and whom Bishop Herzog had ordained as priest in 1887. Volet died in 1915 and the congregation almost died out in the Great War. Services were resumed in 1920 when the Old Catholic priest at Rotterdam took charge. Since that time occasional ministrations have been provided.

Père Hyacinthe retired to Switzerland and became very erratic in thought and action. After 1901 he was sometimes seen again in Old Catholic or Protestant pulpits.

Shortly before the Great War, M. Volet, in connection with the Rev. G.E. Barber, (founder of the Society of St. Willibrord for the promotion of Old Catholic and Anglican friendly relations), was in touch with members of the remnant of the "Petite Eglise". These people had no clergy of their own, and might have been won for Old Catholicism, but both Mr. Barber and M. Volet died, and the War killed all further effort in this direction.

The small congregation in Paris is not the sole Old Catholic representation in the French Republic. For some years there has been a congregation at Nantes under Père Fatome. This languished for a while, but it has revived, and now has an outstation at Rennes. It publishes a paper entitled "Le Catholique Français; organ de l'Eglise Catholique Gallicane ( vieux-catholique )." This is edited by Père Fatome from Rennes. These small outposts represent all that orthodox Old Catholicism can claim in France, though a number of pseudo-Old Catholic bodies exist. These cause some confusion. Chief of them is the so-called "Gallican Church of Southern France" which has an episcopate derived through "Mar Timotheus", ( Joseph Rene Vilatte), who will be noticed later.

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Ø. Bishop Jenner was consecrated in 1865 for the new See of Dunedin, New Zealand. The method of his appointment and his High Church views made him unwelcome in his diocese and he resigned in 1871. He was first bishop of Dunedin, but his name is usually omitted from official lists. He was a hymn-writer of some distinction.

the American Episcopal Church, and later became an Anglican. After this he founded the "Chiesa Cattolica Nazionale d'Italia", or "National Catholic Church of Italy."

Associated with Campello was another ex-Roman Catholic priest, Monsignor G.B. Savarese, who was the author of the excellent vernacular Liturgy which came into use. ~~But~~ Savarese returned to the Roman Catholic Obedience in 1886.

Anglicans and Old Catholics became interested, but missions of the American Episcopal Church in Italy lost adherents to the new Communion. Count di Campello was styled "president" of the Church, ~~though~~ he was never consecrated as its bishop. Bishop Herzog of Switzerland exercised a friendly oversight. He ordained three priests for these Italian Old Catholics :- Filippo Liechitti-Suriane; Alessandro Luzzi, and Ugo Janni. The last-named is still alive (1937), but he has joined the Vaudois Church and ministers to a congregation in San Remo. ∅.

The National Catholic Church of Italy was never large. It had to contend with severe Roman Catholic obstruction and financial difficulties, help being sought outside Italy from interested friends, principally Anglicans of Protestant sympathies. Campello, though a devout and sincere man, was not a gifted organiser.

Congregations were established at Polino (near Arrone), Dovadola, St. Angelo di Lombardi, and San Remo. In 1900 another appeared in Rome. This last-named came later under the Protestant Episcopal Church of America which maintains a number of Anglican chaplaincies in various parts of Europe. In 1902 there were thirteen congregations when Count di Campello retired from oversight, his place then being taken by Professor Cicchitti of Milan. There were then six priests in either Roman or Old Catholic Orders.

The Articles of Association show this Italian Church to have been conceived on genuinely Old Catholic lines, and to have been influenced by the opinions of Dr. von Döllinger and Père Hyacinthe, but the "Filioque" clause was suffered to remain untouched in the Ninene Creed.

The venture was fated to prove a failure. Trouble was caused through the interference of the globe-trotting Bishop Vilatte, who, (though himself only episcopus vagans), on May 6th., 1900, consecrated Paolo Miraglia, an ex-Roman Catholic priest, as an "Old Catholic Bishop for Italy". Miraglia soon had to make his departure from Italy in consequence of trouble with the police which arose from articles in a weekly paper which he began to publish. He was later associated with Vilatte

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Ugo Janni is a liturgiologist; (he has written an Italian vernacular Liturgy); He is also D.D. honoris causa of St. Andrews.

in America.

The final blow to Old Catholic hopes in Italy came when Count di Campello, having resigned from office in the Church he had founded, returned to the Roman Obedience in 1902. He died in the year following. After this the Chiesa Cattolica Nazionale d'Italia quietly faded out of existence, some of its members joining other reformed Communions, others returning to the Roman Church.

There is no prospect at present of any attempt to begin any other Old Catholic venture in Italy.

### Spain and Portugal.

In 1868 a revolution in Spain opened a door to Protestant missionaries. A native movement for Church reform also appeared about this time and attracted a number of ex-Roman Catholic priests. A parallel agitation also manifested itself in Portugal. Both of these movements were fostered by the "Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society", which was founded in 1867. It still exists and appeals for funds from Anglican "Low Church", ( chiefly Irish ), sources.

The Spanish Reformed Church, and the Lusitanian Church, (the latter in Portugal), came into being. They are separate bodies. Both adopted the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church. They accepted the principle of vernacular worship, but they did not develop on Old Catholic lines. Their theology became definitely of an advanced Calvinistic kind, and both Churches abandoned nearly all the ornaments and traditional ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Lusitanian Church elected the Rev. Godfrey P. Pope, who was a British Chaplain in Lisbon, to be their bishop. He was never consecrated as such, though he became president of the Lusitanian Church Synod. Relations with the Spanish Reformed Church were close, and episcopal ministrations later on came to be obtained from that source. ∅.

The Rev. H.E. Noyes, D.D., in his book "Church Reform in Spain and Portugal", gives a sympathetic account of the rise and organisation of the Spanish Reformed and Lusitanian Churches. He relates at some length the difficulties that were encountered before consecration was secured for Juan Bautista Cabrera, an ex-Roman Catholic priest who was elected as bishop for the Spanish Reformed Church.

The Old Catholics were approached, and showed interest, but even the liberally-minded Bishop Herzog of Switzerland could not be persuaded to consecrate Cabrera on account of his advanced Protestantism. The authorities of the Church of England  
∅. In 1897 the Irish Bishops were asked to consecrate the Rev. G.P. Pope, but declined to do so. Mr. Pope died in 1902.

were also addressed, and a petition was laid before the Lambeth Conference of 1878, (i.e. the same Conference which had before it a petition from Père Hyacinthe), asking for the consecration of a bishop, and intimating that a clergyman of the Church of England, nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London would be accepted; or alternatively a clergyman nominated by the Irish Primate, and consecrated by the Church of Ireland.

The 1878 Lambeth Conference declined action of this kind, but requested Bishop Henry Chauncey Riley, recently consecrated by the American Protestant Episcopal Church as Bishop of the Valley of Mexico, to undertake episcopal oversight of the Reformed Churches in Spain and Portugal. Bishop Riley's work in Mexico was concerned with the consolidation of a diocese to be formed amongst people who were there leaving the Church of Rome, and were therefore of Old Catholic sympathies and outlook. Bishop Riley undertook the work, visiting Portugal and Spain, where he ordained and confirmed as was necessary. Eventually he withdrew from this kind of oversight. The next Lambeth Conference (1888), again had the question before it and passed the following resolutions:-

" (1). That with regard to the Reformers in Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, struggling to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion, we trust they may be enabled to adopt such sound forms of doctrine and discipline, and to secure such Catholic organisation, as will permit us to give them a fuller recognition.

(2). That without desiring to interfere with the rights of Bishops of the Catholic Church to interfere in cases of extreme necessity, we deprecate any action that does not regard primitive and established principles of jurisdiction and the interests of the whole Anglican Communion. "

The effect of these resolutions was that the Anglican episcopate as a whole, (the resolutions were passed nemine contradicente), was not prepared to consecrate Cabrera, who as Bishop-elect of the Spanish Reformed Church had "conferred full powers of representation upon the Right Rev. H.C. Riley, D.D." by an instrument dated at Madrid on April 3rd. 1880.

Some of the Irish bishops were disposed to consider that the conditions in the Spanish Reformed Church created a situation in which they were justified in interfering "in a case of extreme necessity". Accordingly, after some preliminary requirements had been complied with, (the erection of a Provisional Council on which two or three Irish or other Anglican bishops were to serve; that without leave of such Council no other bishops be elected or consecrated; and similar action to govern any proposed alterations of doctrine or discipline), Jean Bautista Cabrera was consecrated to the episcopate on 1894, by

Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Clogher (Stack), and Down (Welland), of the Church of Ireland.

The consecration caused an outcry in England, and alarmed the High Church faction in the Anglican Communion. When Cabrera died in 1916 no successor was consecrated in his place. The Church of Ireland was never officially connected with the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Churches, but the Episcopal Council of three, (not responsible to the Church of Ireland), which Lord Plunket caused to be erected still exists, but it has not met for many years. The present Archbishop of Dublin visits Spain and Portugal to confirm and ordain, but he has no jurisdiction there, other than such extraordinary jurisdiction which is his as a member of the Episcopal Council referred to above.

Neither the Spanish Reformed nor the Lusitanian Church is a member of the Anglican Communion of Churches; nor are they Old Catholic, though writers Ø. have sometimes referred to them as such. They both belong definitely to the Protestant group of Churches, though in their early stages they were in touch with sympathetic Old Catholics, and still rely upon the friendly offices of bishops of one of the Anglican Churches.

Bishop Cabrera would be notable, if for nothing else, for the fine vernacular Liturgy which he produced, which combined features of the ancient Mozarabic rite and the Anglican Liturgy. A Translation of this into English appeared in Dublin in 1889, and a second edition in 1894.

"Light and Truth" of January 1937; - the periodical published by the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society, relates the persecution of the clergy and laity of the Spanish Reformed Church at the hands of the Insurgents under General Franco in the present Civil War in Spain. The same publication states:-  
"almost complete freedom of Protestant worship exists in the area controlled by the Madrid Government".

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A so-called "Old Catholic Bishop" - Antonio Rodriguez -, is reported with the vague address "Lisbon, Portugal". There is no evidence that he has any permanent residence there or any following. Actually he is a suffragan of William Henry Francis Brothers, ("Archbishop Francis"), a pseudo-Old Catholic bishop in the United States of America, who will be noticed later.

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Ø. e.g. Joseph Troxler. See his "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus". (Cologne, 1908); pp. 84-85.

## Chapter 9.

Poland and Lithuania.

In Poland there have been at one and the same time three separate and distinct Old Catholic Churches. Two of them remain today. The third has departed from paths of orthodoxy and is no longer in communion with the See of Utrecht. The Old Catholic Church in Lithuania has now no separate existence.

The three Old Catholic Churches in Poland which require separate mention are:-

- (1). The congregations which adhere to the German Old Catholic Bishop's jurisdiction.
- (2). The Missions of the Polish National Catholic Church.
- (3). The Mariavite Church - formerly Old Catholic, now no longer so.

(1). Congregations of the German Old Catholic Church.

The history of these congregations is bound up with that of the German Old Catholic Church from which they sprang. There are congregations at Katowice (Kattowitz); (from which a mission is served at Wilno (Vilna)); and at Biatobrzegi, and Jastkowize. At Katowice and Wilno services in both the German and Polish languages are provided.

(Vide, the German " Alt-katholischer Kalendar " 1936, p.70).

(2). Missions of the Polish National Catholic Church.

The parent Church is in America. Its history will be noted in a later Chapter. From the United States of America the Old Catholic Movement spread to the Polish homeland in Europe where throughout the present century there has been considerable unrest amongst Roman Catholics.

Francis Bonczak, an ex-Roman Catholic priest, who had served afterwards at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A, in the Polish National Catholic Church of America, was consecrated as bishop. The missions in Poland were placed under his jurisdiction, but he was not a good organiser and the condition of affairs became chaotic. He returned to the Roman Obedience, and for some years nothing was done to replace him. Information of a reliable nature, and statistics, are difficult to obtain, since the Polish National Catholic Church, ( whether in America, or as regards its missions in Poland), corresponds little with other Old Catholic Churches, and is very reticent respecting its affairs. Applications to its bishops bring no satisfactory information. The Synod of the parent Church in America, held

at Chicago in 1935, decided to send an episcopal delegation to Poland, and to call a Synod there. In 1936 two new bishops were consecrated in America. One of them, named Padewski, has had affairs in Poland placed under his jurisdiction. He has proceeded to Europe with the intention of restoring order. No report as to what success he has so far achieved, or of statistics regarding his Polish diocese, has so far been made public in Europe. Ø.

### (3). The Mariavite Church in Poland.

In 1908 General Alex. Kiréeff (or Kiréjew), a Russian theologian and friend of the Old Catholic cause, (which as an Eastern Orthodox Christian he was wont to style the "Western Orthodox Church"), brought the Mariavites of Poland into touch with the Old Catholic bishops. As a result of this the Mariavite Old Catholic Church came into being.

This Church took its rise as the result of Jesuit interference and persecution of a community of Roman Catholic nuns, and an Order of priests of the Franciscan rule. The name Mariavite has no doctrinal significance, other than ~~the fact~~ that the Franciscan priests in question were known as Mariavites from the fact that they practiced special devotion to the Mother of our Lord. They seem to have been an interesting body which applied principles of Christian Socialism on a wide scale. Less generous critics would say that they engaged in trade, for they owned their own spinning and weaving mills and looms, and a number of flour mills. Over 200 Franciscan brothers and a larger number of Sisters and deaconesses disposed of the produce. But they also had some 25 Schools, 45 nurseries, 18 Free dispensaries, 35 orphanages, and 25 homes for aged poor.

( Vide "The Story of the Old Catholic Church" a pamphlet published by the so-called "Catholic Church of North America". )

In 1909, John Maria Michael Kowalski, was consecrated at Utrecht as first bishop for the Mariavite Church. Next year two more suffragans were consecrated for him at Plock. These were Roman Maria Jakob Prochniewski and Leo Maria Andreas Golebiowski. (spelled also Golembiowski). On them fell the organisation of the new Church, which, as regards numbers, was a very considerable adherence to the Old Catholic ranks, for there were about 200,000 church members. The German Old Catholic Kalendars for 1911 and 1912 provide many pages of information enthusiastically written, concerning them, with portraits of their bishops and of General Kiréeff, who had brought them into the

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Ø. " In Poland they have about 80 parishes"; Thus writes an American Episcopal Church priest. See letter of Rev. V.A. Paterson, quoted in next chapter.

Old Catholic fold, with pictures of their churches, schools, and other institutions.

The ravages of the Great War wrought much havoc amongst them, and then moral and doctrinal disorder set in. These facts were scarcely known when the Lambeth Conference of 1920 noted "the remarkable rise of the Mariavite Church in Poland". ( Page 154 of Report of Lambeth Conference of 1920 , under "Old Catholics").

Archbishop Kowalski formed a liason with a nun, - Sister Marie Isabella Wilucka, and thereafter a system of so-called "mystical Marriages" grew up between the nuns and clergy. But these associations were of a very carnal, and not spiritual, nature. Sister Marie Isabella obtained great power, and came to be called " Episcopal Sister", and even "High Priestess". The "visions" of the nuns were accepted as of Divine revelation. The ranks of the priesthood were opened to women.

Clearly such developments could not be tolerated by orthodox Old Catholics. In 1924 the Archbishop of Utrecht and other Old Catholic bishops took steps which broke off all communion between themselves and the Mariavite Church.

Since the Mariavite Church lost its Old Catholic status it has been torn by internal dissention. The Archbishop came still more under the domination of the "Episcopal Sister" until another bishop appeared on the scene who purposed to end this state of affairs. This prelate, Bishop Feldman, passed from rebellion against the Archbishop, to greater power, and has succeeded in deposing Kowalski, and has taken his place in control of Mariavite affairs. The former Archbishop has been confined in a monastery, and those who take a charitable view, state that his mind has weakened. The domination of Sister Maria Isabella Wilucka and her satellites has also been ended, and other reforms have been carried out.

News of the progress of Feldman's rebellion and reforms appeared in the "Alt-katholische Kirchen Zeitung"(published in Czecho-Slovakia at Mähren-Schönberg), in its issue of April 20th, 1935. The information was second-hand and was taken from a report in the "Rola Boża" , a paper which circulates in Polish circles in the United States of America.

Bishop Feldman has undoubtedly accomplished some reforms. He has also sought to have the communion with the Old Catholic group of Churches restored, but priestesses still continue in some parishes, and other disorders still exist. There is no question at present of restoration to communion with Utrecht. An American source reports that "the number of Mariavites in Poland is steadily diminishing, and in America they have no followers". A pseudo-Old Catholic Church in America, the "Catholic Church of North America" alias the "Orthodox Old

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∅. Information supplied by the Rev. R. Pawlikowski of the Polish National Catholic Church parish in Detroit, Michagan.

Catholic Church in America" claims to be in communion with the Mariavites in Poland. One of the bishops of this American pseudo-Old Catholic Church is described by them as "Joseph Zielonko, Bishop of the Polish Old Catholic Church in America"; and he is also stated to be a member of the Synod of Mariavite Bishops in Poland. This man is known in America as a notorious adventurer.

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### Lithuania.

The Polish National Catholic Church of America placed one of its suffragan bishops, (Grittenas, of Scranton, Pennsylvania), in charge of an Old Catholic venture in Lithuania. The extent of this venture is not reported. It has died out, and the mission of the German Old Catholic Church at Vilna (the ancient Lithuanian capital, but now in Polish possession), seems to be the only definitely acknowledged Old Catholic congregation amongst Lithuanian peoples. The German Old Catholic Kalendar for 1926, under the heading "Lithuanian Old Catholic Church" could give no fuller information than Bishop Grittenas's name and address, and the latter was simply rendered "Scranton". In 1931 there appeared mention of the Lithuanian Old Catholic in the same Kalendar for the last time. Less than twenty words state "fuller information will be given when the situation becomes clear". Since 1931 there has been nothing noted. There are definitely recognised Lithuanian elements in the Polish National Catholic Church in America.

### Note.

There was evidently an attempt by the Poles in America to found a Lithuanian Old Catholic Church, even if such never existed for any length of time. In other parts of the world any "Los von Rom" movement has sometimes been called Old Catholic. There has never been, for example, an Armenian Old Catholic Church, yet Joseph Troxler in his "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus" (Cologne 1908) pp.88-89, makes ~~xx~~ a good deal of comment on the fact that before the Vatican Council a revolt against the R.C. Patriarch led in 1870 to the excommunication of 35 clergy and many of the Armenian laity. Thereafter certain Armenian students appeared Old Catholic circles in Switzerland.

## Chapter 10.

Great Britain.

The progress of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England, ( and kindred Churches ), had brought the Anglican Communion by the end of the nineteenth century to a position where, ( although most Anglicans may not have been aware of it ), it approximated to the newer Old Catholic Churches on the Continent. The Anglican Churches' renewed interest in doctrine and ceremonial had been accompanied by internal friction, and the law had been invoked, ( but not very effectively ), to restrain what "Low Churchmen" believed to be excesses. That some of the clergy and laity of the "High Church" party had strained beyond the limits of Anglican loyalty cannot be denied. At the beginning of the present century there was an agitation to restrain, or remove, those who had come to be called "Anglo-Catholics".

At the same period there was internal discontent in the Roman Catholic Church in England. An article concerning this appeared in ~~the~~ an issue of the "Fortnightly Review" for September, 1902, from the pen of the Rev. Arthur Galton, an Anglican Vicar, who had been a Roman Catholic priest. There was a certain amount of underground suggestion that Anglo-Catholics and non-Ultramontane Roman Catholics might be able to unite on an Old Catholic basis.

In this atmosphere "Mar Timotheus" - Joseph René Vilatte, turned his attention to ecclesiastical affairs in England. ∅. At Blackheath, in 1903, he consecrated as "Bishop of Caerleon", the Rev. H.M. Marsh-Edwards, who had been Rector of West Bridgford. ( Vide Joseph Troxler; "Die neuere Entwicklung des Katholizismus" ( Cologne, 1908 ), p. 74. ). Marsh-Edwards had no following and achieved little more than the loss of his living in the Anglican Church. Another adventurer appeared in England in 1905, who had been associated with Vilatte. This was Edward Benedict Donkin, who claimed consecration "from a Syrian-Chaldean Bishop in India, on November 30th, 1902". He styled himself, when in England in 1905, as "Apostolic Vicar of the Independent Church of Southern Switzerland". There is no record that such a Church really existed. Donkin died at the beginning of 1906. ( Vide. Troxler, p. 74. ).

In 1904 a Ritual Commission was set up in England to examine

∅. In 1898 Vilatte had ordained to the priesthood an English Deacon, Joseph Lycester Lyne, who had tried to restore the Benedictine Order in the Church of England, and founded Llanthony Abbey. J.L. Lyne was known as "Father Ignatius, O.S.B." ( See his Life by the Baroness de Bertouch, Methuen, 1904 )

evidence relating to alleged illegal Anglo-Catholic practices. In July 1906, the Commission reported favouring legislation in the direction of greater elasticity, and while condemning some matters, approved others. Ø.

The Ritual Commission unsettled some Anglicans, for if Anglo-Catholics, -clergymen and laymen-, were to be ejected from the Church of England, many would not submit to Rome, and married clergymen who did so would have to be content to remain as laymen. As it was known that there was discontent also in the Roman Catholic Church in England, an opinion, (not expressed very openly), manifested itself. This was to the effect that an Old Catholic Church, in communion with Utrecht, might be the solution of difficulties. Some Roman Catholics and some Anglicans might be disposed to join it. It was from the discontented Roman Catholic side that action was taken to erect such a Church. The prime mover in this enterprise was the Rev. Richard O'Halloran, Roman Catholic priest at St. Joseph's and St. Pether's Mission, West Ealing. He and others associated with him were led to exploit a disagreement which they had had with their ecclesiastical superiors, in the direction of an exodus from the Roman Catholic Obedience.

The "Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift" of Bern, in its issue of July-September 1915, (pages 342-349), gives a full account of the way in which Fr. O'Halloran deceived Bishop Herzog of Switzerland, in negotiations with Utrecht. A document was produced, (afterwards proved to be false), purporting to give the names of parishes, clergymen, and trustees of congregations which desired to place themselves under an Old Catholic bishop. There was also a list of 16 lay and 17 clerical members who were stated to have met at Chelsfield, on February 18th., 1908, to elect a bishop. Their choice had fallen upon a married ex-Roman Catholic priest, - Arnold Harris Mathew. There was a further letter, dated march, 13th., signed by three clerics and three laymen, requesting the Archbishop of Utrecht to consecrate Mathew.

O'Halloran and Mathew visited Holland, where the former represented the matter as one of urgency. Bishop van Thiel of Haarlem, who desired to visit England to investigate, was dissuaded from that purpose. After some delay, due to the discovery by the Dutch bishops of the fact that Mathew was a married man, - a matter which had not been disclosed -, he was consecrated to the Episcopate at Utrecht on April 28th. 1908.

Mathew had scarcely arrived in England before he wrote to Utrecht stating that facts were not as had been represented, and saying that both he and the Old Catholic bishops had been deceived. He offered to resign. This offer was not accepted,

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Ø. Since this date a number of Alternative Prayer Books have been authorised in various Anglican Provinces. In England the consent of Parliament to such a book was refused in 1927 and 1928.

though in the light of subsequent events, it should have been. A letter from the Dutch, German, and Swiss Old Catholic bishops appeared in the "Guardian" newspaper in England, explaining the deception, (for at this time the consecrators believed in Mathew's own integrity), and the hope was expressed that the British people would be kind to Mathew in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. Ø.

In 1908, the 69th. Resolution of the Lambeth Conference held in that year, deprecated "the setting up of a new organised body in regions where a Church with Apostolic Ministry and Catholic doctrine offers religious priveleges without the imposition of uncatholic terms of Communion". To this complaint of the Anglican Church, the Old Catholics of Holland replied that they would not again make trouble of this kind in the region of a friendly Church.

Mathew now began to ordain and consecrate a number of strange persons as priests and bishops. In 1909 he produced a book of some interest. This was his "Old Catholic Missal and Ritual, prepared for the use of English-speaking congregations, in communion with the ancient Archiepiscopal Church of Utrecht. ". It bore the Imprimatur of Archbishop Gul of Utrecht, but was full of misprints and errors due to faulty correction of the proofs.

On December 29th. 1910, Mathew withdrew from communion with Utrecht, ostensibly because he objected to the new vernacular revision of the Dutch Liturgy. This was a mere excuse, for he had used the Swiss Christian-Catholic bishop in his approach to Utrecht, and the Swiss Church had long used a Prayer Book of much more Protestant complexion than was the milder Dutch revision.

Mathew consecrated as bishops, in secret, two Roman Catholic priests, (H.D. Beale, and A.S. Howarth), who were, with Mathew himself, excommunicated on February 9th. 1911, by Pope Pius X. The Pope had referred to Mathew as a "pseudo-Bishop". The "Times" newspaper applied the same term to him, and was sued by Mathew for libel, but the newspaper won the case.

The 1Xth. International Old Catholic Congress, in September 1913, from its side broke off all relations with Mathew by deciding not to recognise him or his acts. After subsequent negotiations with the Anglican Church, the 1920 Lambeth Conference was able to report that " the Old Catholic bishops had represented that Mathew's consecration was obtained by sacrilegious fraud, and that they had no ecclesiastical relations with persons ordained or consecrated by him or his successors".

Mathew was a religious adventurer whose history reads more strangely than fiction. He made trouble for the Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, and Anglican Churches. It was his habit, ( or, perhaps  
 Ø This letter appeared in "The Guardian" under date, June 3rd. 1908.  
 It was signed by Bishop J.J. van Thiel on behalf of all his episcopal colleagues.

misfortune), to be associated with persons of deplorable moral character. He claimed to be de jure 4th. Earl of Landaff of Thomastown, County Tipperary. Debrett's "Peerage" admitted him to its pages as a claimant to that title.

After his breach with Utrecht, Mathew's conduct was most erratic. He began by trying to erect a Uniat Church which Rome might recognise. This failed, and he sought to make his submission to Rome, but the terms were such that he would not accept them and he continued as episcopus vagans. From the strange people on whom he laid hands a multitude of so-called bishops are to be found in several continents. He died in obscurity and was buried by the Rev. W. Noel Lambert, one of the "bishops" whom he had ordained, but who subsequently became an Anglican priest.

Mathew had the audacity to offer to "re-consecrate" the present Bishop of London (A.F. Winnington-Ingram), and the late Archbishop of Canterbury (Randall Thomas Davidson). This led his exposure by Archbishop Davidson in a letter headed "An Episcopal Odyssey" which appeared in the "Guardian" newspaper of May 19th. 1915. This was very damaging to his reputation, but Mathew attempted a reply in an "Open Letter", addressed to the Archbishop, which he published and sold, (price fourpence), from his residence at Kingsdown, near Deal.

Mathew claimed that his independent Church, was "received-into communion with the Eastern Orthodox Church, in August, 1911", (vide his "Open Letter"). This was supposed to have been granted by Archbishop Gerasimos Messara, Metropolitan of Beyrout, Syria. Whatever recognition may have been given from that source must have been far less than Mathew imagined, for Mathew was married, and a married bishop is unknown to the Eastern Orthodox Church, and differences of theology would have made recognition impossible. Moreover, the Metropolitan of Beyrout had no power to accept a bishop into communion without the consent of the Patriarch of Antioch, and this was never given.

Some of Mathew's Old Catholic clergy became Anglicans. One of these, a "bishop", Francis Bacon by name, ended his career as an Anglican priest by being sent to prison. The so-called "Old Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain", which is the continuation of Mathew's attempt to found a Uniate Church, has a single prelate, "Archbishop Bernard M. Williams", who lives the life of a hermit at Madam's Wood, Painswick, Gloucestershire. He has no following and no suffragans. He was consecrated by Mathew in 1916.

One Old Catholic priest, a man of German birth, (Rev. Carl. W. Bollman), continued to minister in London in Anglican churches under a semi-official recognition given him by the Bishop of London. This arrangement did not continue for long. This man is

interesting from the fact that while the Great War was in progress his name still appeared, as the only representative of Old Catholicism in England, in the German "Alt-katholischer Kalendar" for 1915. He is therein styled as being in charge of the "Alt-katholische Ausländergemeinde in England". A number of pseudo-Old Catholic sects which derive their episcopate from Mathew or others consecrated by him, will be noticed in a later chapter.

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The Church of Utrecht, before it came to be called the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands, was once before accused of consecrating bishops for England. This was in connection with an illicit society which arose about 1877 and was known as the "Order of Corporate Reunion"  $\emptyset$ . The object of this society was to secure the consecration of certain Anglican priests as bishops of a succession which the Church of Rome would recognise as valid. These bishops would then "validate" the Orders of any Anglican priest who desired this,  $\emptyset\emptyset$ . The Order itself claimed to possess bishops with Orders derived from three separate sources recognised by Rome as valid, but a story was current that three Anglican clergymen had been consecrated as bishops by "a Jansenist prelate, on board a ship on the High Seas". The Rev. Dr. F.G. Lee, sometime Incumbent of St. John's Episcopal Church, Aberdeen, and later Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth, London, was supposed to be one of these three bishops. ( Dr. Lee died in 1902, shortly after becoming a Roman Catholic).

The Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands knows nothing of the supposed consecration which is alleged to have taken place on the High Seas, and denies that such a thing would have been possible. In the endeavour to secure an official Roman Catholic opinion as to the source of Orders of the Order of Corporate Reunion's bishops, the writer addressed a letter on the subject to Monsignor R. Hinsley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. The following reply was received:-

" North Lodge, Poles, Ware, Herts.  
20th. Aug. 1936.

" Dear Sir:- The Secretary to the Archbishop of Westminster has sent on your letter to me and has asked me to answer it. So far as I know, the best account of the consecration of Dr. F.G. Lee and others is that given by the Abbé G. Coolen,

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$\emptyset$ . A lot of "backstairs gossip" about the Order of Corporate Reunion will be found in Chapter 5 of Walter Walsh's "Secret History of the Oxford Movement."

$\emptyset\emptyset$ . Rome gave a doubtful acceptance of Orders conferred in this way, reordaining sub conditione any who submitted to Rome. This information was given to the writer by the Rev. A. Henderson, a former R.C. priest who became Vicar of St. John de Sepulchre, Norwich.

" in his "Anglicanisme d'aujourd'hui", (Bloud & Gay, 1932), pp. 106-109. He says that:- "On ne sait pas au juste de qui ces personnages auraient reçu la consécration épiscopale. On croit que Lee aurait été consacré sur un navire, à vingt milles au large de Venise, par un évêque en communion avec le patriarche de Constantinople. Mossman" .. (É. e. Rev. T.W. Mossman, another bishop of the Order of Corporate Reunion) .." l'aurait été par l'archevêque de Milan, et Secombe par un certain Jules Ferrette ... qui aurait reçu la consécration épiscopale de l'évêque Jacobite d'Emèse, Bedros...". He continues:- "Ces évêques ordonnèrent évidemment des prêtres. Combien ?..... Il est difficile de savoir l'exacte vérité."; and concludes:- "Que reste-t-il de cette hiérarchie de contrabande, en marge des cadres officiels, qui assurait, par porte de service, l'accès des ordres valides ? . Il est difficile de le dire. Son histoire n'a pas été, que nous sachions, écrite, et beaucoup de points demeurent encore mystérieux."  
 .....

Yours faithfully.

E.C. Messenger. " . Ø.

The writer of the above letter is the author of a book, " The Reformation, The Mass, and the Priesthood, (Longmans , Green & Co. Ltd.)

Though the exact truth may be difficult to determine, Roman Catholic opinion seems to acquit the "Jansenists" of the charge of consecrating bishops on the High Seas.

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Ø. Mr. Messenger's letter concluded with the words:-

"Dr. Lee, as you doubtless know, was received into the Church" --(of Rome)--"on his deathbed, but the question of the validity or otherwise of his episcopal consecration would hardly arise under such circumstances, as in any case Rome would not ordinarily allow the exercise of any orders obtained in such an irregular way".

## Chapter 11.

The New World. The Americas, and the Philippine Islands.

Hopes were entertained that, after the Vatican Council, a strong Old Catholic Movement would manifest itself in Latin America. These hopes were not to be realised. Unrest there was, but no Old Catholic Church came into being. In more recent times pseudo-Old Catholic bishops have appeared, with little or no following. Of these ~~xx~~ two were noted recently in the German "Romfreier Katholik" newspaper of April 16th, 1936, one in Brazil and another in California. The latter - Albert Dehner Bell by name, was consecrated by "Archbishop Francis", (whose surname is Brothers), whose activities will be noticed later. Bell soon denounced his consecrators as evil men, and they on their part deposed him.

It will clarify the situation to deal separately with all countries in the New World where any Movement has manifested itself, and has been classified as "Old Catholic". In no American country, other than the United States of America, has any genuine Old Catholic Church come into being.

Mexico.

In Mexico, amongst a people largely semi-civilised only, the Roman Church was very corrupt. The reasons for this go back a long way, at least to the seventeenth century, when Jesuit methods of tolerating a "reduced" Christianity defeated more honest men such as Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. ∅.

In the nineteenth century the discipline of clergy and laity alike was at a very low level. Doctrine was presented in most crude forms, mixed with superstition, to such an extent that even the Roman Curia could not approve. About the time of the Vatican Council a reform movement appeared, but it did not become Old Catholic. The presence of a number of Anglicans in America induced the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States to erect a missionary diocese in Mexico to deal with the

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As in China, so also in Latin America, the Jesuits "reduced" Christianity to suit the supposed low mentality of the people. Dr. R.F. Littledale records that at Lima the Jesuits in Council decided that it was inexpedient to impose any act of Christian devotion, other than Baptism, on their South American converts. Bernardin de Cardenas, R.C. bishop in Paraguay, and Palafox of Angelopolis, in Mexico, laid charges against the Society. The Pope could only save Palafox, (who fled for his life from the Jesuits), by giving him another see in Spain. See Littledale's article on the Jesuits; Encycl. Brit. 9th. Edn. Vol. xiii, p. 654.

situation. Bishop H.C. Riley was consecrated for this purpose. This was the prelate who was asked to take over provisional oversight of the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Churches. This he did and was so brought into touch with Old Catholics in Europe, and quasi-Old Catholics. When back in Mexico it became clear that something different from the mere establishment of a new Anglican diocese was called for by local needs. The separation of Church (Roman Catholic) and State in 1857, gave toleration to any religion. There were visions of a possible large National Mexican Episcopal Reformed Church. The Mission of the American Episcopal Church was organised on that basis; rather as beginning of a new Communion, than as an off-shoot of the Anglican Church in the United States of America. The doctrinal basis was distinctly of an Old Catholic nature, rather than Anglican. Until a complete Mexican episcopate could take charge; the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was recognised as having authority over the acts of a Synod composed of clergy and laity. The pamphlets of the Movement (for so it was, rather than an extra-territorial United States diocese), bore the legend:- "The National Church; Catholic, but not Roman; Evangelical, but not Protestant". In 1899 there were 28 congregations, 7 priests, 6 deacons and a number of candidates for ordination in training.

The above information is gathered principally from Joseph Troxler's book "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus", (Cologne, 1908), pp85-87.

The Movement never grew into a large Church, with a hierarchy of its own. Though quasi-Old Catholic, it remained dependant upon the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. That Church still has a Missionary Bishop in Mexico, in which country religious work of any kind is rendered extremely difficult by the anti-religious attitude of the present regime.

### Haiti.

As far back as 1861, an "Orthodox Church of Haiti" came into being. Its origin was an exodus from the Roman Catholic Church of a large number of coloured clergy and laity. In 1865, Bishop Lee of Delaware, (Protestant Episcopal Church), visited the Island. In 1874 a negro ex-Roman Catholic priest, Dr. James Theodore Holly, was consecrated as bishop by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and thereafter the "Episcopal National Church of Haiti" really became a missionary diocese of the American branch of the Anglican Communion. Bishop Holly was represented at the Old Catholic Congress held at Lucerne in 1892, and sent a letter to a similar gathering at Rotterdam in 1894; But the Haiti exodus from Rome became Anglican and not Old Catholic. (Authorities:- J. Troxler (as above), p.88 and "A History of the American Church" by Leighton Coleman, Rivingtons, 1903, p.89.)

Brazil.

In 1907 the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America founded a missionary diocese in Southern Brazil. Work is chiefly amongst lapsed Roman Catholics. Ø.

The Philippine Islands.

In the days of Spanish rule the Regular Orders of the Church of Rome possessed political power in the Philippines that was most pernicious. The Council of Trent had decreed that Regular priests might be missionaries, but that when there were no further converts to be made, secular clergy should take charge of parishes, Regulars being only available as temporary incumbents. Filipinos had, indeed, long been in the ranks of the secular clergy, but the control of the Regular Orders remained supreme. There were the largest landowners, and all their influence was in the direction of the suppression of any Filipino Nationalist movement. The Orders engineered an insurrection, so that the unrest might be drastically curbed. In 1872, Father Burgos, who had led a Nationalist movement to secure better observation of the Trent Decrees was publically garotted at Manila; many Filipino priests were deposed; the most influential Filipino families were broken; and leaders exiled to the Ladrone Islands. Oppression continued all through the nineteenth century.

When the Philippines passed to American rule in 1898, the land-owning interests of the Regular Orders, and their political power had to be severely curbed. In a newly-found freedom Filipino anger at the Roman Catholic Church overflowed, and an exodus of some four million persons, priests and laymen resulted. They found a leader in a priest named Gregorio Aglipay, and in ~~1898~~ 1902 the "Iglesia Filipina Independiente", (Independent Philippine Church), was founded with Aglipay at its head under the style of "Obispo Maximo" i.e Archbishop. The new Church soon erected a hierarchy, and obtained possession of some 700 churches and 12 seminaries. It had 300 priests. By a decision of the High Court at Manila in 1906 most of the property was restored to Roman Catholic ownership, but this did not kill the new Communion.

Aglipay sent a letter of sympathy to the Old Catholic Bishops' Conference, which met at the time of the International Old Catholic Congress in Olten in 1904. A reply was sent in which it was indicated that, subject to conditions, the Old

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A reflection of Roman Catholic unrest in these parts is seen in the fact that Monsignor Julio Garrett, R.C. Bishop of Cochabamba, Paraguay, left the Papal Church a few years ago, and accepted work in Costa Rica under the bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. (Vide, "Scottish Guardian" 16.10.1931.)

Catholic bishops might be willing, if asked, to take action to give a Catholic consecration to the new Communion's bishops, and for the establishment of intercommunion.

But recognition by, and intercommunion with, the Old Catholic Churches, became impossible as the Independent Filipino Church developed. In its early days there were friendly relations with American Presbyterian and Methodist missions. Latin was abandoned, and Spanish became the official language of worship; ritual and ceremonial continued to resemble that of the Roman Catholic Church. In matters of theology, however, the Independent Filipino Church adopted the position that modern science is superior to Biblical tradition; miracles were denied; and God was ~~xx~~ held to be an Invisible Father, of one essence, and a single Person.

The Independent Filipino Church, still numbers about four million persons, ( about half the number of Roman Catholics in the same area), as compared with 200,000 Protestants in the Islands.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America established a missionary diocese in the Philippines in 1901, the first bishop of which, ( Rt. Rev. C.H. Brent ), was present at the 1904 International Old Catholic Congress at Olten, Switzerland.

(Authorities:- John Foreman, F.R.G.S.; "The Philippine Islands", Article in Ency. Brit. 10th Edn. Vol. xxxi, x: Joseph Troxler, "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus" (Cologne, 1908), pp. 87-88. and the "Consolidated Encyclopaedia", (U.S.A. 1936); Vol. 8.; Article on the Philippine Islands; ).

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#### THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis who contended, in the Vatican Council, very strongly against the Infallibility dogma; and also Fitzgerald, Bishop of Little Rock, who had been one of the two to vote against it in the final ballot, both submitted when the Decree was promulgated. There was no immediate action in the United States of America by dissatisfied Roman Catholics. Dr. von Döllinger and his associates received much support in America, but this came mostly from Episcopalians. The Protestant Episcopal Church gained some accessions, and began to make special provision for immigrants from Europe. In 1861 a Prayer Book in German had been issued. In 1879 this was replaced by another in German, which had

special features in regard to the Communion Office which were likely to appeal to those holding Old Catholic ideals of Eucharistic worship. Ø. This book was in use in a number of congregations for many years, but has now disappeared.

Bishop Herzog of Switzerland attended the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church which was held in New York in 1880.

Bishop Herzog also ordained to the priesthood one who played a curious part in bringing into existence a separate Old Catholic Church in the United States of America. This man was Joseph René Vilatte who was born in Paris in 1854, served in the Franco-Prussian War, and then emigrated to Canada. After working some time as a Roman Catholic layman, Vilatte spent some time in a Belgian Seminary. He then returned to Canada where he was influenced by the lectures of the ex-priest Chiniquy, and entered a Presbyterian College in Montreal, but found this place too Protestant for his liking. He wrote to Père Hyacinthe, in Paris, who advised him to consult either Bishop Herzog in Switzerland, or else Bishop Brown of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Wisconsin, U.S.A.. Bishop Brown was willing to ordain Vilatte to the priesthood, but the candidate preferred to go to Switzerland, where Bishop Herzog ordained him as priest in 1885.

Back in the United States, Vilatte began a Mission, assisted by several ex-Roman Catholic priests. The venture was successful and received semi-official recognition by, and some dependence upon, the Protestant Episcopal See of Fond du Lac.

The Old Catholic Church in Holland now became interested and treated with Vilatte, but insisted that the connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church should be dropped. This caused Bishop Charles C. Grafton of Fond du Lac to address a protest to Archbishop Heykamp of Utrecht in a letter which stoutly defended the orthodoxy and Catholicity of American Anglicanism. Bishop Grafton suggested that instead of ending the connection with the Episcopal Church, Vilatte should be consecrated as an Abbot-bishop with monastic jurisdiction only, and not as an Old Catholic bishop with territorial jurisdiction.

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An Introit, with a Confession, and the "Gloria in Excelsis" were placed before the Collect. There was an alternative form of the "Sanctus"; "Benedictus qui venit" and "Agnus Dei" were included.

A special General Confession and Absolution were provided as an extra Office. German hymns, (many of Lutheran origin), were also included. The Holy Table was always called the "Altar".

Vilatte cut his connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church, but his consecration by the Old Catholics did not take place. His head itched for a mitre, and he entered into negotiations with the Russian Orthodox Church, through Bishop Vladimir of Alaska. Nothing came of this, so he looked further afield.

Vilatte got into touch with Francis Xavier Alvarez in Ceylon. Alvarez was a Roman Catholic priest who had led an exodus of Portuguese from the Papal Obedience, and had been received into communion with the Syrian-Jacobite Church. He was consecrated a bishop of that Communion, taking the name of Mar Julius I. Ø. This Mar Julius, (Alvarez), assisted by two other bishops, - Niranam and Kottayan - consecrated Vilatte as a bishop on May 29th., 1892 at Colombo, under authority received from Ignatius Peter III, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.

Vilatte now became known as "Mar Timotheus; Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Old Catholics in America". He returned to the United States, but found that he had very definitely "queered" his relations with the Old Catholic as well as with the Anglican Churches. Nevertheless, he continued his efforts.

About this time there was a widespread revolt amongst Roman Catholics in America against certain bishops of Irish blood. Congregations of Polish immigrants were most affected. The causes and motives were various. The trouble was in part doctrinal, but came to a head as the result of struggles ~~in~~ ~~1889~~ in regard to buildings and funds. In Detroit, Chicago, and Buffalo, congregations came under Vilatte, who, however, was unable to control his growing flock. Nor was Vilatte's claim to jurisdiction as "Old Catholic Archbishop" tamely accepted by all the Poles. Some of the Polish congregations had elected a priest, Anton Kozlowski, to be bishop, and had presented him for consecration to the Old Catholic bishops in Europe. Kozlowski was duly consecrated at Berne in 1897, by Bishop Herzog, assisted by Archbishop Gul of Utrecht, and Bishop Theodore Weber, of Germany. Vilatte replied to this by consecrating another priest, Kaminski of Buffalo, as his suffragan. There was therefore a state of schism amongst the Poles who called themselves Old Catholics.

Early in the present century Bishop Kozlowski made an approach to the Protestant Episcopal Church with proposals for affiliation. This was referred to the Committee of the Convention (of the Protestant Episcopal Church) of 1901, but

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The revolt of Alvarez from Rome dated from 1890. Joseph Troxler refers to it as an Old Catholic movement. It was not. It became subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, and never was connected with the See of Utrecht.

before definite action was taken, Kozlowski died, in 1907. Ø.

The influx of Poles into the Old Catholic Movement in America ultimately resulted in Vilatte dropping out. He became episcopus vagans, and his subsequent history shows him to have been unstable. Yet observers of developments in America incline to the view that he deserved a better fate, and might have had this but for his breach with Bishop Herzog and others in Europe. Had he been recognised as leader, control would not have passed so entirely into Polish hands. As things turned out, an Old Catholic Church, in Communion with Utrecht, was established, known as the "Polish National Catholic Church of America." In this, as the name suggests, Poles predominate, though there are Slovak and other congregations.

Kaminski's congregation in Buffalo-( he had no effective jurisdiction under Vilatte beyond this)-ultimately joined the Polish National Catholic Church. There is no other legitimate Old Catholic Church in America. Several sects claiming the Old Catholic name exist, some of which will be noted in a separate chapter.

In 1904 Francis Hodur was elected for a new diocese which has its headquarters at Scranton, Pennsylvania. He was consecrated at Utrecht in 1907, the year that Bishop Kozlowski died. Hodur has proved a great organiser, and credit is due to him for consolidating the Movement. He is now primate and head of a stable Communion with four dioceses.

Bishop Hodur, who is now an old man, is somewhat of an autocrat. He does not publish much information to the world at large, and while his Church is in friendly association with Anglicans in America, Hodur himself is cold in this matter. Official Relations between Hodur and the European Old Catholic bishops are correct, but formal. European Old Catholics are ill-informed as to affairs in America. A more cordial atmosphere will probably come with a new primate, when Bishop Hodur retires or dies.

It has been noted that the Polish National Catholic Church of America has established missions in the Polish homeland in Europe.

An article in the "Living Church", (.American weekly paper), of November 19th, 1932, by the Bishop of Eau Claire (Protestant Episcopal Church), gives the number of adherents of the Polish National Catholic Church in America as about 200,000. Others give a larger estimate. One of the present bishops, Jan L. Jasinski, was educated in an Anglican seminary. Two bishops, Jan Misiaszck and Joseph Padewski, were consecrated on August 26th., 1936.

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Ø. On November 20th. 1902, Bishop Weber wrote from Bonn expressing the European Old Catholic Bishops' alarm at Kozlowski's proposal to become an Anglican.

The Rev. W.C. Emhardt, S.T.D., in a pamphlet entitled "Old Catholics are Essential to Reunion", make the following statement:-

".... It is more than possible that when certain suspicions of irregularity in doctrine and polity are removed, .....the relation of the Episcopal and Polish Catholic Churches will be so close as to form practically one organisation."

These "suspicions of irregularity in doctrine and polity" are not enumerated by Dr. Emhardt, but they may be summarised as follows:- (1) Hodur, while still only a bishop-elect is believed to have ordained four priests, who have never been ordained again since his consecration. Hodur's act seems to indicate that he regards his election rather than his consecration, as giving him power to confer Orders. This is contrary to Catholic tradition, and shows weakness or disbelief in the necessity of an Apostolical Succession. (2) An "Eighth Sacrament" has been recognised, i.e. "Hearing the Word", by which Bible reading is designated. (3) The Poles seem to hold that faith is helpful to salvation, but not necessary thereto. (4) Whereas orthodox Old Catholics accept the Decrees of the first seven General Councils of the Church, the Polish National Catholic Church accepts the first four only.

Part of a letter from the Rev. V.A. Paterson, of Cleveland, Ohio, may be quoted, as coming from an American Episcopalian who is in close touch with the Poles. He wrote under date of August 8th, 1934, :-

".... The Movement started in several centers more or less simultaneously. It became an independent movement. Bp. Kozlowski in Chicago was consecrated by Herzog of Switzerland (Old Catholic); Hodur of Scranton was consecrated by Gul, Archbp. of Utrecht (Old Catholic), and Kominski in Buffalo was consecrated by the celebrated Vilatte. Kominski's movement was simply parochial, and when he died he left practically nothing except the Cathedral parish of what is now the Buffalo diocese. It is a parish, however, of 5,000 membership. Kozlowski died and left a following in the Middle West of about 60,000. Hodur consolidated the three movements between 1906 and 1926, and it now amounts to about 300,000 souls divided into four dioceses:- Scranton, Buffalo, Chicopee, Mass; and Chicago. Hodur is the primate and still rules in Scranton although a rather old and enfeebled man. Bp. Grochowski has the Chicago see; Bp. Jasinski is in Buffalo, and Chicopee was recently vacated by the death of Bp. Gawrychoski. It has not yet been filled. They are the only genuine Old Catholic body in the United States recognised by the Old Catholic Union and the Archsee of Utrecht, all other Old Catholic claimants being rated as clandestine by the Old Catholic body.

"They use the Western Rite in Polish and stand by the principle of the vernacular. In a few parishes under their jurisdiction composed of Slovak or Lithuanian people, they permit Latin. So far as I know, English is never used, but their bishops anticipate a gradual anglicizing of the Movement here in America. In Poland they have about 80 parishes under the jurisdiction of an administrator. ~~The~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ .....

Nothing has been done about the matter of the Breviary as yet, among them. Some recite the Latin Office, but many, I think, omit it. Vespers in the parishes is sung in the Polish language.

The clergy are permitted to marry under some restriction, namely, the consent of the bishop. The reason is that a man limits his usefulness if he marries, as a certain number of parishes will not permit a married priest to be sent to them. They are raising a native priesthood, at the present time, of rather fine young fellows. For many years they struggled with ex-Roman priests and seminarists who were a pretty unsatisfactory lot. ....At Scranton, they have, or had, about 30 men under preparation. They are very emphatic in their preparation for preaching, and most of them seem quite eloquent..... Their National Synod meets once in ten years..... Their theology is being systematized for them by one of our own priests, a very able scholar, a Doctor of Theology of Bonn University, and himself in Old Catholic Orders"Ø."It is an interesting movement and one that I am watching with much interest. ....

.... All parishes west of Ohio are in the Chicago diocese, I know there are one or two in Iowa, and I think as far out as Denver. I do not know whether any work has been carried out in the southwest or not. It is naturally limited to places where there is a substantial Polish group. Here in Cleveland there are three parishes;- Our Lady of Czestochovia; Sacred Heart; and the Good Shepherd. I have preached in all three, acted as Deacon at various functions, assisted at Forty Hours, Etc. and I have said Mass in English in the Cathedral in Buffalo, at a side altar. The altar-boys made all the responses in Polish."

From the above letter it will be seen that the Polish National Catholic Church in America has interesting marks. Good relations exist between them and local Episcopalian clergymen. The Poles have thrown off the Papal yoke, permit the vernacular, and the clergy may marry, subject to episcopal permission. But the Forty Hours' Devotion, and the names of the Cleveland parishes,

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Ø. A number of Old Catholic priests in America have been admitted to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Canon Mueller of Milwaukee is such a man.

show close adhesion as yet to the former Roman Catholic tradition. No European Old Catholic Church would tolerate a dedication to the Sacred Heart, since this particular devotion has Jesuit approbation, and was used as a pious method of fighting "Jansenism". ( Vide, "The Devotion to the Heart of Jesus, with an introduction on the history of Jansenism" by John Bernard Dalgairns, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.; published in London in 1857 by Thomas Richardson and Son.)

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Ex-Roman Catholic congregations.

There are a number of these in the United States of America which have some sort of loose association with the Polish National Catholic Church or with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Their unsatisfactory status is evidenced in the following letter written by a priest of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. Theodore Andrews, of Madison, New Jersey, under date of December 31st.1936:-

".. The Polish National Catholic priest at Passaic, N.J. ..  
.....spoke of the difficulty in holding the younger people, who speak mostly English. Concerning the Slovak congregation in the same town, which has services in Latin, he expressed some doubt as to its having more than a personal tie through its priest, with the N. Cath. Church. They did not, he said, see the difference between the new connection and the Roman Church. He thought this was true of most of the non-Polish congregations that are affiliated with Bishop Hodur.

In Garfield, N.J., there is an Italian congregation, which, adrift from Rome, has not found a Church mooring. ( Another such in the same place sought the care of the Prot. Episcopal Church, and the same is true of a congregation of Italians in Hackensack, N.J.). I think that the French and Belgian congregations in Wisconsin are now all affiliated with our Protestant Episcopal Church. "

The existence of such congregations indicates more than a local dissatisfaction in the Roman Catholic Communion in America, but it reveals a situation fraught with some dangers. "Affiliation" is not the same thing as full incorporation into a definite Communion. There is always the possibility of a fresh break away, and such anomalous congregations invite the attention of pseudo-Old Catholic episcopi vagantes.

Chapter 12.  
Pseudo-Old Catholics.

In the foregoing chapters mention has been made several times of pseudo-Old Catholic Churches and bishops. There are many others who in the present century have caused confusion in the minds of people not fully informed as to their status. Many episcopi vagantes exist whose episcopate though illicit, is undoubtedly derived from the Church of Utrecht, through Arnold Harris Mathew. These "bishops" who claim "undoubtedly valid Orders - redognised even by Rome", are a source of much annoyance to genuine Old Catholics.

Mathew is not the only channel from which pseudo-Old Catholic Orders flow. Vilatte, and certain obscure Eastern prelates are also involved. The attitude of the Anglican Church towards such clerics who claim Orders from sources of this kind, is laid down in the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1920, pages 154-156. Should any of them seek admission to the Anglican Church as clerics, it would be necessary, should they be found suitable in other respects, that they should in any case be ordained sub conditione. Old Catholic opinion agrees with this, and inclines to the view that an episcopus vagans cannot validly ordain, on the principle that "nulla ecclesia sine episcopo" has as its counterpart "nullus episcopus sine ecclesia".

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Whilst there are recognised Old Catholic Churches which do not use the term "Old Catholic" in their official designations, (i.e. The Christian-Catholic Church in Switzerland and the Polish National Catholic Church in America), there are also other small sects which loudly proclaim themselves as being "Old Catholic" though they are in no sort of communion or association with the Church of Utrecht. In such cases their use of the term must be regarded as inappropriate. It is particularly misleading if these sects, or wandering bishops, have Orders derived from legitimate Old Catholic sources.

Two sects which have caused a good deal of confusion in the minds of many are not very reputable bodies. This is an added reason why the "Old Catholic" status which they claim should be denied to them. These sects are the so-called "Catholic Church of North America" alias "The Orthodox Old Catholic Church in North America", and the so-called "North American Old Roman Catholic Church" calling itself "the principal body of Old Catholics in the U.S.". The episcopate of both is derived from the Prince-Duke de Landas Berghes et de Rache, whom in 1912, Mathew, (after his breach with Utrecht), consecrated as "O.C. Bishop

for  
 Scotland". There were never any Old Catholics in Scotland, but de Landas went to America, where for a while, (until his lack of status was discovered by representations from Archbishop Davidson of Canterbury), he associated with the Protestant Episcopal Church, taking part in 1915 in the consecration of a missionary bishop for Cuba.

Bishop the Prince-Duke de Landas was in 1916 himself deceived by an adventurer of most unsavoury character. This man's name is William Henry Francis Brothers, born at Nottingham, England, in 1889, of Roman Catholic parents, with whom he emigrated to America in 1901 and settled at Waukegan, Illinois. Believing this man to be a Syrian deacon, (which he was not), and possessing a doubtful priesthood, de Landas conditionally ordained him as priest, and then consecrated him as a bishop in 1916. de Landas soon discovered fraud and immorality in Brothers, who at the time de Landas met him was styled "Dom Francis" and was associated with a small so-called non-Roman Benedictine Order. de Landas thereupon excommunicated Brothers and degraded him, describing him as "an unnatural creature".

Brothers is silent in regard to these matters, and has since posed as the legitimate successor of de Landas in an Old Catholic Church, ~~sustated~~ to have been set up in the first instance by Jan Francis Tichy Ø., in opposition to the Old Catholic Church of which Hodur is primate - a Church which was supposed, but incorrectly, to exclude all but Poles. In this pseudo-Old Catholic Church Brothers masquerades under the name of "Archbishop Francis", Primate of the "Catholic Church of North America", or alternatively, "The Orthodox Old Catholic Church of North America". This body is believed to have no larger membership than 1,100 persons, but it has an imposing hierarchy, all the members of which, however, have unsatisfactory reputations.

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Tichy was a priest associated with Bishop Kozlowski of the Polish National Catholic Church in America. He (Tichy) desired to become bishop of a Slav Old Catholic diocese to be erected but Old Catholic bishops in Europe declined to consecrate him. Brothers represents that Tichy was consecrated a bishop by Kozlowski, but there is no evidence of this, and it is strongly denied by the Polish National Catholic Church. Tichy is one of several "prelates" whom Brothers has stated at various times to have ordained him to the priesthood. This supposed ordination by Tichy is mentioned in a biography of "Archbishop Francis" which appeared in a typewritten monthly magazine of the Brothers' sect, ("Pax- The Old Catholic Review"), dated October 1936. In the September 12th., 1914 issue of the American weekly "The Living Church" appeared a denunciation of " Bishop Gregorius", alias " Dom Francis", alias "the Rev. Willy Brothers" as a person repudiated by his supposed consecrators, i.e. Vilatte and the Armenian Archbishop Serapion.

These suffragans include:-

- (1) Antonio Rodriguez, consecrated by Brothers in 1918 "for the Portuguese". This man has a single small congregation in America, and the vague address "Lisbon, Portugal", but there is no evidence of any following in that land.
- (2) A. Jehan; formerly in the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Consecrated in 1924 by Brothers.
- (3) William Montgomery Brown, "re-consecrated" by Brothers in 1925. This prelate is an old man who in 1935 was deposed from the See of Arkansas in the Protestant Episcopal Church, for heresy. His heresy consisted in the fact that he held the Christian Creed in a symbolic sense only. ( See his own book, "My heresy" ).
- (4) Joseph Zielonko, a prelate with a dubious claim to a Syrian episcopate, whom Brothers "received into communion" in 1925. This man's matrimonial affairs have received some publicity in the American press. The claim is made that he is a member of the Synod of Mariavite bishops in Poland.

To the above may be added the name of Albert Dehner Bell, who was consecrated by Brothers in 1936 " for California ". This man almost immediately broke with Brothers and his other suffragans, and has denounced them as evil men. They on their part have "deprived" Bell, accusing him of obtaining consecration by fraud.

One is inclined to form the judgment that Brothers regards his organisation as, ( to adopt a term of American journalism ), " a religious 'racket' ", for he is the bitter enemy of a larger pseudo-Old Catholic Church, the prelates of which, on their side, do all they can to expose Brothers. This rival "Old Catholic" Church is the "North American Old Roman Catholic Church, which styles itself "the principal body of Old Catholics in the United States. It claims 14,793 members, and is under the leadership of "Archbishop C.H. Carfora" who was consecrated by de Landas in 1917. There are several suffragans, including a " Regionary Archbishop", E.W. Hunter by name, who is located at New Orleans, Louisiana. None of these prelates bear good reputations.

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Dr. R.F. Lau, of the Church Missions House in New York, ( of the Protestant Episcopal Church), estimates the number of Episcopi vagantes in the United States of America as numbering at least fifty. Some of these are dealt with by Dr. Herbert Neufeld of Berlin in two articles which appeared in the Old Catholic publication "Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift" (Berne) under dates January-March, 1933; and April-June, 1935. These articles bear the title " Die Kirchliche Gemeinschaften der 'episcopi vagantes' in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika".

The unimportance of some of these troublers of the peace, despite imposing names, may be learned from the fact that the "Holy Orthodox Church in America" which began in 1925 under a certain Bishop Aftimius, and merged its fortunes in 1934 with the "Anglican Universal Church in America", has a membership returned at 725 persons. Its present primate is George W. Plummer of 321, West 101st. Street, New York, who has a suffragan, William A Nicholls, ( an ex-Episcopalian clergyman), at Staaten Island, New York.

Both Vilatte and Arnold Harris Mathew have left legacies in the form of numerous small sects and wandering bishops. Of the Vilatte line, mention must be made of the "Gallican Church of Southern France" not so much for its own small importance as because from this source Vilattist Orders have been given to the High Church Lutheran Movement in Germany, which aims at giving "Catholic Orders" to Continental Protestants after the same manner in which the "Order of Corporate Reunion" tried to give Anglicans in the last century, Orders of a kind which Rome might be disposed to regard as valid. Professor Dr. Friedrich Heiler of Marburg University, approached legitimate Old Catholic bishops, seeking the episcopate for such a purpose. The Old Catholic bishops declined to be associated ~~with~~ with any such anomalous procedure. Dr. Heiler and Dr. Karl Eugen Herzog both subsequently received Vilattist Orders from the source mentioned. The matter is dealt with by Dr. Herzog himself in an article in the small publication "Die ungeteilte Kirche", (issues of October and November, 1935), under the title "Woher die evangelisch-katholisch Successionsweihe?". Dr. Heiler makes a defence of this kind of action in an article, an English translation of which appeared in "The Living Church" (U.S.A.) of April 4th. 1931, (pp789-791) under the heading "The Historic Episcopate".

Of the various bishops consecrated by Mathew /one was a was a man of deplorable character. He had been deprived of his Living in the Church of England. This was Frederick Samuel Willoughby, whom Mathew raised to the episcopate in 1914. From Willoughby a whole train of strange bishops claim an Old Catholic episcopal succession. One such man, James Banks, was an Anglican theological student at Lichfield, who now styles himself the "Patriarch of Windsor". Little has been heard of him in recent years.

The "Liberal Catholic Church" also derives its episcopate from Willoughby. This body is an off-shoot of the Theosophical Society on the premises of which services are usually held. Vernacular rites, with Roman Catholic ceremonial, are mixed up with doctrine that is not Christian but theosophical. Ø.

Ø. See the writer's articles on "The Liberal Catholic Church" in "The Scottish Guardian" of August 28th.1931 and following issues.

The "Daily Express" newspaper of November 21st. 1932, printed a paragraph under the heading "Ballroom Church of all Creeds . . . . Images of Christ and Buddha". It spoke of a bishop who preached a religion that embraced nearly every creed from 'Hinduism to Protestantism'. An enquiry to Miss F. Seth, the Secretary to this sect, which met at "The Sanctuary", 23, Basil Street, London, S.W.1 ., brought the reply, under date of November 29th. 1932:- " Bishop Frederick James derives his Orders through Archbishop Mathew, but is not connected with any organised Church".

The "Liberal Catholic Church" boldly claims an Old Catholic episcopate derived from Utrecht. A booklet published in London in 1926,( "The Liberal Catholic Church" By F.W. Pigott" ), Ø. gives a list of ten bishops consecrated to that date, deriving their Orders from Willoughby, and located in Great Britain, America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands and Dutch Indies. More bishops have been consecrated since that date.

Bishop L.C.I. Winnaert of the "Free Catholic" Church of St. George, Paris, who secured Orders from J.I. Wedgwood,(a "Liberal Catholic" bishop) has been noticed in a previous chapter. So also has Archbishop Bernard M. Williams of the so-called "Old Roman Catholic Church of Great Britain", a body which have very little, or no following.

Another prelate in a different line of succession, who is sometimes stated to be willing to confer "Old Catholic" Orders, is Vernon Herford, "Bishop of Mercia". According to the Report of the 1920 Lambeth Conference,( page 156 thereof), this prelate claims an episcopate received from "Mar Basilius", Metropolitan of India, &c.'.

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In the preparation of this chapter the writer has received much help from Dr. R.F. Lau of New York, and the Rev. Theodore Andrews, of Madison, New Jersey; and from Pfarrer Paul H. Vogel, Old Catholic priest at Witten- Ruhr, Germany.

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Ø.  
F.W. Pigott, was formerly a priest in the Church of England, The booklet quoted is called "Liberal Catholic Literature, Pamphlet No.2." It is published by the St. Alban Press, 2, Upper Woburn Place, London, W.C.1.

## Chapter 13.

List of Old Catholic Bishops.

The undermentioned bishops have been consecrated since the breach of the Church of Utrecht with Rome in A.D. 1724.

Archbishops of Utrecht.

Cornelius van Steenoven	A.D. 1724 - 1725)	All conse- :crated by Bishop D.M. Varlet.
Cornelius John Barchman Wuytiers	1725 - 1733)	
Theodore van der Croon	1734 - 1739)	
Peter John Meindaerts	1739 - 1767)	
Walter van Nieuwenhuisen	1768 - 1797.	
John James van Rhijn	1797 - 1808.	
Willibrord van Os	1814 - 1825.	
John van Santen	1825 - 1858.	
Henry Loos	1858 - 1873.	
John Heykamp	1875 - 1892.	
Gerard Gül	1892 - 1920.	Last O.C. Bishop to notify his consecration to Rome.
Francis Kenninck	1920 - 1937.	
Andreas Rinkel	1937 - --	

Bishops of Haarlem.

Jerome de Bock	1742 - 1744.
John van Stiphout	1745 - 1777.
Adrian John Broekman	1778 - 1800.
John Nieuwenhuis	1801 - 1810.
John Bon	1819 - 1841.
Henry John van Buul	1843 - 1862.
Lambert de Jong	1865 - 1867.
Gaspard John Rinkel	1873 - 1906.
John James van Thiel	1906 - 1912.
Nicholas Prins	1912 - 1916.
Henry John Theodore van Vlijmen	1916 - --

Bishops of Deventer.

Bartholomew John Byleveldt	1758 - 1778.
Nicholas Nellemans	1778 - 1805.
Gisbert de Jong	1805 - 1824.
William Vet	1825 - 1853.
Herman Heykamp	1853 - 1874.
Cornelius Diependaal	1875 - 1893.
Nicholas Bartholomew Peter Spit	1894 - 1929.
John Herman Berends	1929 - --

Bishops of the German Old Catholic Church.

John Hubert Reinkens	A.D. 1873 - 1896.
Theodore Weber	1896 - 1906.
Joseph Demmel	1906 - 1913.
George Moog	1913 - 1934.
Erwin Kreuzer	1935 - --

Bishops of the Swiss Christian-Catholic Church.

Edouard Herzog	1876 - 1924.
Adolf Küry	1924 - --

Bishop of the Czecho-Slovak Old Catholic Church.

Alois Paschek	1924 - --
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Bishops of the Austrian Old Catholic Church.

(under Administrators -not consecrated- till 1925)

Adalbert Schindelaar.	1925 - 1926.
Robert Tüchler	1928 - --

Bishop of the Old Catholic Church in Croatia (Yugoslavia).

Marko Kalogjera 1924 - --  
 In 1933 this Bishop was excluded from communion with other Old Catholic bishops. He remains in charge of a minority section of the Croatian Old Catholic Church. The larger part remains in communion with Utrecht under an Administrator:- Anton Donkovitsch - not consecrated as bishop - elected 1936.

Bishops of the Mariavite Church in Poland.

Johann Maria Michael Kowalski	consecrated 1909.)	All excluded, with their followers, in 1924, from the Old Catholic Communion.
Roman Maria Jakob Prochniewski	" 1910.)	
Leo Maria Andreas Golebiowski (or Golembiowski)	" 1910.)	
( Other bishops, not in communion with ( Utrecht, have been consecrated at later dates)	)	

Old Catholic Bishop in Great Britain.

Arnold Harris Mathew. Consecrated 1908.  
 He renounced communion with Utrecht in 1910. Old Catholic bishops have since broken off all ecclesiastical relations with any persons ordained or consecrated by him and his successors.

Bishops of the Polish National Catholic Church in America.

Stanislaus Kozlowski (Chicago) Consecrated 1897 - died 1907.  
 Francis Hodur (present Primate) (Scranton); 1907 - --

Present Suffragans:-

John Zenon Jasinski ( Buffalo ).

John Misiaszck consecrated 1936.

Joseph Padewski " 1936. (In charge of Missions in Poland in Europe.)

Other bishops of this Church have been:-

Leon Grochowski ( Chicago ). deceased.

Valentine Gawrychowski ( Chicopee ) deceased.

Francis Bonczak ( Returned to Roman Obedience in which he was formerly a priest. Was in charge of Missions of the Polish National Catholic Church in the Polish homeland).

- Grittenas. Was assistant bishop at Scranton, Pennsylvania, and for a time in charge of the "Old Catholic Church in Lithuania".

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PART THREE.

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OLD CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENTS

and

OLD CATHOLIC DOCTRINE and WORSHIP .

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## Chapter 1.

Relations with other Communions.

Miss Ruth Clark gave to her book "Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal", the interesting sub-title, "Being an account of the connections between the British Isles and the Jansenists of France and Holland". It was not only with anti-Ultramontane Roman Catholics that the "Jansenists" had dealings, but with Anglicans also. The theology and liturgical practice of the English Caroline divines had points of similarity with the Church of Utrecht, but the slight contact that was established led to no permanent association. The exodus of the Non-Jurors from the English Church removed most of those who would have desired friendly relations with the Jansenists.

Dr. J. Mason Neale, in his "Jansenist Church of Holland", notes that the Second Council of Utrecht of 1763 censured the Eastern Orthodox Church for its separation from Rome as a result of sympathy with Photius. This was a remarkable declaration by bishops who themselves were under sentence of excommunication by Rome. The attitude of the Church of Utrecht at that time is explained by the fact that they were not then anxious for association with Eastern Christianity, but did desire not to be in schism with Rome. Time mellowed these opinions. After 1870 the whole Old Catholic family of Churches courted the friendship of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Old Catholics followed the Eastern lead in rejecting the "Filioque" clause from the Nicene Creed, while an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, following closely upon Eastern Orthodox models, found its way into the Liturgies of Germany and Switzerland, though not in the exact position in which the words appear in Eastern rites. Intercommunion between Utrecht and the East has not yet been achieved, but relations are cordial and closer association is desired on both sides. The Russian Orthodox congregations amongst exiles in Germany are in friendly concord with the Old Catholic Church. ∅.

The Old Catholic Congresses and Conferences, and the Reunion conferences held at Bommin 1874- 1875, are historically interesting as being the first occasions on which Eastern and Western Churchmen met to discuss questions of

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On Sunday, March 29th. 1936, the writer with two Old Catholic priests attended the Holy Eucharist in the Orthodox Church of the Russian exiles in Hamburg. The party were given places of honour next to the altar, i.e. beyond the iconostasis, and thus heard the full rite and saw the secret ceremonial, a privilege which few Orthodox laymen have received.

Christian unity since the unsuccessful Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438. The Eastern Churches recognise the validity of Old Catholic Orders. The Eastern custom of a married priesthood did much to encourage Old Catholics to abolish clerical celibacy, though when that step was taken, all liberty like that existing in the Anglican Communion was claimed. The Easterns do not permit marriage after ordination; nor the re-marriage of widower priests; nor yet married bishops. Old Catholics and Anglicans allow all of these.

Post-1870 contact with Continental Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches, and with Anglicans, helped the Old Catholics to concede to the laity an important place in Church administration and government. On the other side, the German Lutheran High Church Movement has adopted doctrinal standards which owe much to Old Catholic influence. Examples of this are given in a postscript to this chapter.

The German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches frankly use Lutheran hymns, and Luther's translation of the Bible is permitted, but other versions also are allowed.

In Austria the Old Catholics hold "Unionsgottesdienste", (Union services), in various places. These are not intercommunion services, but an Old Catholic Mass is said with intention for the reunion of Christendom. Orthodox clergy attend in their robes, and one of them may preach the sermon. Ministers of Protestant Churches, such as the Lutheran, or the Czech (Hussite) National Church, also attend and preach. Such visiting clergymen do not receive Holy Communion, but join in the prayers and preaching, thus seeking to aid Christian reunion.

The steps which led to the establishment of intercommunion between Utrecht and Canterbury will be recorded later. This does not extend to the Church of Sweden, members of which may receive Holy Communion at Anglican altars. The Anglican relations with the Scandinavian and Finnish Lutheran Churches are watched by Old Catholics with sympathetic interest, though with some degree of apprehension. Ø.

At least one priest in Anglican Orders has passed into the ministry of the Old Catholic Church. This was Pfarrer Heinrich Meissner, who died in Bonn in 1936. He was ordained by Bishop Potter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Old Catholics have co-operated in the "Stockholm" (Life and Work) Movement, and in the World Conference on Faith Ø. See letter of Canon E. Lagerwey of Utrecht in the "Church Times" of Jan 16th. 1935.

and Order. ∅.

It has been noticed that the first Old Catholic bishop in America - Stanislaus Kozlowski, of the Polish National Catholic Church, sought affiliation in 1902 with the Protestant Episcopal Church. These negotiations broke down, but they are noteworthy from the fact that the Old Catholic bishop made his approach on the basis of a formula known as the "Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral". This was a declaration of the American bishops, made in 1886, and afterwards shaped by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 into four propositions which aimed at providing a platform on which negotiations for Christian reunion might be discussed. The four propositions were as follows:-

1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain all things necessary to salvation, and should be the rule and ultimate standard of faith.
2. The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol, and the Nicene Creed, as a sufficient statement of the Christian Faith, should be accepted by all.
3. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself- Baptism and Holy Communion - should be accepted, with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.
4. The historic episcopate should be retained, but it might be adapted locally in its methods and administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

( See Leighton Coleman's "History of the American Church" (Oxford Church Text Books) 1903, p. 105. )

To the above four propositions Old Catholics of today would add their own Declaration of Utrecht of 1889, regarding which the Lambeth Conference of 1930 reported that it contained no impediment to union between the Church of England and the Old Catholic Church. ( vide p.141 of the 1930 Lambeth Conference Report).

Old Catholics have no Orders under Rule of priests or of women. In this they differ from the Roman, Anglican, and Eastern Orthodox Churches ∅∅. This is in part due to smallness of numbers, but also because the Orders of the Roman Church persecuted them in the past, and also interfered with the bishops' administration. There is, however, a very small community of Sisters in Bonn who nurse the Sick.

Old Catholics have never been able to engage in missions to the non-Christian world, nor to comment their own people, (except to the Polish National Catholic Church in America-) who emigrate Overseas, to priests of their own Communion.

∅. See "Convictions" (S.C.M. Press, 1934) pp.210-212 for Old Catholic comments on the 1927 Lausanne Conference Report.  
∅∅. The erstwhile Old Catholic Mariavite Church had, and still retains, such Orders. They are of the Franciscan Rule.

It has been noted that Old Catholic Churches outside of Holland are more liberal in their views than is the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the words of the late Archbishop of Utrecht, (Monsignor Francis Kenninck), quoted on page 141 of the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1930, may be said to sum up the attitude of all the various Old Catholic Churches:- "..... The Old Catholics stood for Catholicism, which must not be confounded with Romanism, and they wished to defend this Catholicism with stress and energy."

Old Catholics do not seek to enter any Pan-Protestant federation of Churches. They would repudiate the name of Protestant, if applied to themselves, and they do not favour an outward unity which might be achieved by breadth at the expense of depth in matters of doctrine. There is a certain elasticity amongst themselves, but the limits of comprehension amongst Old Catholics are not so great as will be found within the Anglican Communion.

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#### Postscript.

The extent to which opinions which are characteristic of the Old Catholics have found favour in the German Lutheran High Church Movement, may be judged by reference to almost any article on doctrinal, liturgical, or disciplinary matters which appear in the publications edited by Professor Friedrich Heiler or Dr. Karl Eugen Herzog. The chief of the small magazines in which they appear are:- "Eine Heilige Kirche"; "Die ungeteilte Kirche" and the "Augustana Bote". The writings in these have a like object to that which prompted the "Tracts for the Times" in England a hundred years ago.

Below is given a translation of two articles which appeared in the "Augustana Bote" for December 1935. With the exception of a few particular references to the German Lutheran Church and the High Church Movement therein, both articles might have been penned by an Old Catholic.

#### " Ideals of Life in the Church. "

"

1. A true Christian associates himself daily with the Church in the reading of Holy Scripture, and in ordered prayer.
2. A true Christian receives the Holy Sacrament of the Altar frequently, and everywhere joyfully and decidedly contends for its celebration as the chief congregational service; by which is meant the restoration of the German Mass, which is, according to the Scriptures and our Confession, the only true worship in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession.

- "
3. A true Christian, according to opportunity, and at least once annually, receives the grace of private (particular) Absolution.
  4. A true Christian regularly attends Church service on Sundays and Festivals, and by his prayers, works, and offerings, participates in the work and life of the Church.
  5. A true Christian contends earnestly for œcumenical unity and fellowship with Christians of other Confessions, especially with those in our own Fatherland.
  6. It is expected that every adherent of the High Church Society will zealously participate in the work of the Society within his Regional Group, and that he will, according to opportunity, join in a Retreat or in Quiet Days, that he may be deepened in the Scriptures and in his Churchmanship. "

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The above are ideals to be aimed at. It should not be supposed that every member of the German High Church Movement observes them, or mutatis mutandis, that every Old Catholic observes like rules strictly.

" The Church is Catholic."

"

The Church is Catholic. Many believers shrink back before this name because it is not understood by them. "Catholic" means 'universal, - all-embracing'. This word is one of the honoured names of the Church. Unhappily, by misuse it has become a party designation. A large section of the Church claims to apply this name exclusively to itself. But the name "Roman Catholic" contains a contradiction within itself. What is merely Roman cannot be all-embracing, and contrariwise, that which is all-embracing cannot possibly limit itself as Roman. The Church is Catholic, or all-embracing, because she contains all believing children of God, not those living now alone, but also all who have fallen asleep since the first Pentecost.

No single Christian Communion is the Church alone; They are all but different parts and fragments of the One Church. Therefore it is both wrong and carnal if the adherents of any ecclesiastical party employ the designation "our Church". Does not that itself sound as though the Church is but a man-made Society which receives and excludes members according to man-made rules? But the Church is a Divine Foundation, and according to God's will that foundation is catholic, which means that she embraces all the Baptised. Further, the Church is catholic because she is not limited to one people, ( as once was the case with Israel under the Old Covenant ); rather will she take

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into her lap men from all the peoples of the world, since she is commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature, and to sprinkle the streams of Living Water on all sides over the desert of this world, and to make all - without distinction -, who believe, partakers of the Salvation that is through Christ Jesus, and by Baptism to lead them into the same relation as children of God.

The Church is also catholic because she embraces, and in her service purifies and sanctifies, men of all kinds of talents and characters, since she has a heart for every need and suffering of mankind, and offers the right remedy for every misery."

(Pastor L. Albrecht †.) "

Any Old Catholic theologian might have written the above article, and the doctrine thereof is at variance with the Fifth of the "Five Propositions against Jansenism", a proposition which Catholics of the Church of Utrecht agreed with Rome as being heretical, but denied that it could with certainty be found in the writings of Cornelius Jansen.

## Chapter 2.

Intercommunion with the Anglican Churches.

The English Tractarians could not but be interested in the fortunes of the so-called "Jansenist" Church of Holland. The Rev. S.P. Tregelles, LL.D., in his little book on their history, wrote in 1851 that he found in Archbishop van Santen one who was deeply attached to the Holy Scriptures. He added:-

" It is interesting to meet with persons in different paths, learning from the Word of God what the hope of the true Church is, and the gathering together to Him of those who are His - the living that shall still remain, and all those who have fallen asleep in the faith of His Name."

(Tragelles; "The Jansenists, Their Rise &c.." p.98.)

A few years later Dr. J. Mason Neale made the following prophesy:-

" It seems to me that the little remnant of this afflicted Church are reserved for happier days. ....  
... Whatever...means God shall employ to restore the lost unity of Christendom, the labours, trials, and sufferings of this communion will not be forgotten. Marvellously raised up as she was when human help seemed at an end, ..... she can scarcely have been thus maintained that her end should be without honour, and that she should dwindle and dwindle till her last spark is extinguished. She can scarcely have been held up, from her protest against the Unigenitus, till she has also protested against the more dangerous Ineffabilis, that, after these struggles for the truth, she should be permitted to fall."  
(Neale; "Jansenist Church of Holland" pp. 380-381.)

In the days since Dr. Neale wrote, Tractarian influence has recovered for Canterbury much of its Catholic heritage which had been in eclipse. During the same period Utrecht definitely severed the last strands of a former Papal connection, and so far from becoming extinguished, has increased her own membership, and has found herself supported and strengthened by a whole family of daughter Churches.

The Vatican Council of 1870 brought Utrecht and Canterbury closer together. The Convocation of Canterbury of 1871 formally repudiated the Vatican Council and also sent a letter of sympathy to Archbishop Henry Loos of Utrecht. But Anglican comprehensiveness found closer association with the newer and more liberal Old Catholic Churches, which grew up after 1870, than with the more conservative Old Catholic Church in Holland.

It was outside Holland, and in Germany and Switzerland, that that Old Catholic and Anglican theologians formed personal friendships, exchanged courtesies, and began the rapprochement which led in a later generation to the establishment of intercommunion. Dr. von Döllinger, ( though not a formal Old Catholic ), and Bishop Edouard Herzog of Switzerland are the two outstanding figures in the earlier stages of this movement for closer association of the Old Catholics with the Anglican Communion.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America in 1871, thus expressed itself:-

" We .....put on record the expression of our earnest sympathy with the heroic struggle for religious liberty being made by the members of that Congress" ( i.e. the 1871 Old Catholic Congress held at Munich ), " and of our anxious hopes and prayers that God may give them counsel and might to maintain and carry out their determination."

The attendance of Anglicans at the Bonn Reunion Conferences and at subsequent Old Catholic Congresses, as well as the presence of Old Catholics at Lambeth Conferences, made for mutual understanding. In both Communion scholars began to study the history, traditions, and circumstances of the other. Long before the formal establishment of intercommunion, "economic Communion" was recognised as existing between the German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches, and the Church of England and vice versa. It has been noticed that an Anglican Bishop, ( Cotterill of Edinburgh ), assisted in 1879 in the introduction of Holy Communion in Two Kinds into the Christian-Catholic Church of Switzerland and received the Sacrament at Old Catholic hands. Bishop Herzog, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1881 stated that he regarded the question of intercommunion between Old Catholics and Anglicans as being settled by the service held in 1879.

In 1880 Bishop Herzog attended the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America :-

" where he communicated at the opening service, and assisted in administering the Chalice. He also preached and confirmed, and was received with open arms by all parties."

( Peter Lambert Jnr. "The Old Catholic Movement, Its History and Relations to the Anglican Church." p.76.)

The German Old Catholics took a similar view to the Swiss by including in their Canons a formal permission for their priests to communicate Anglicans. On the Anglican side the Lambeth Conference of 1888 formally recognised the German and Swiss Old Catholic Churches and recommended the admission of their members to Communion in the Anglican Church.

The Dutch Old Catholics stood somewhat aloof from these approaches towards intercommunion, but Mr. Lambert records that during this period at least one Anglican, the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Rev. F.W.Fuller, made friends with the Dean of Utrecht, and was admitted to receive the Sacrament at a service in Utrecht. (. Peter Lambert Jnr.; The Old Catholic Movement, &c. "p.77.)

The rather anomalous Anglican episcopal oversight of Père Hyacinthe's quasi-Old Catholic congregation in Paris did no permanent harm, and in any case the Old Catholic Churches at that time, ( i.e. before the signing of the Declaration of Utrecht), were but loosely federated. When they were in closer union together, it was from their Old Catholic side that relations between Utrecht and Canterbury were endangered by the unfortunate consecration of Bishop A.H. Mathew in 1908. The Vilatte experiment of a few years earlier had been unfortunate, but was settled by Vilatte himself who withdrew from association with either of the Old Catholic or Anglican Communions, and set himself up in opposition to both.

The non-invitation of the bishops of the Church of Utrecht to the Vatican Council was perhaps providential. It served to show Utrecht that <sup>Rome</sup> despised and disregarded them. The Church thus excluded from participation in what purported to be a General Council of the Church, could not but watch with interest the attitude of Rome in regard to Anglican Orders. Pope Leo XIII condemned Anglican Orders as invalid on September 13th., 1896. The Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands was at this time inclined to share that view, for a commission appointed by the Dutch bishops to examine the same matter reported unfavourably to the Old Catholic Congress which met in Rotterdam in 1894. This, however, caused Bishop Reinkens of the German Old Catholic Church, to collaborate with Professor Friedrich in the publication of a defence of Anglican Orders. This was almost the last public act of Bishop Reinkens before his death in 1896.

From the Anglican side, it may be said that from the date of Pope Leo XIII's condemnation of Anglican Orders, ~~Anglican~~ interest in the Old Catholics quickened. In 1908 the Rev. G.E. Barber founded the Society of St. Willibrord to promote friendly relations and better understanding between Christians in communion with Canterbury and Utrecht. The first presidents were the Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar (Collins), and the Old Catholic Bishop of Haarlem ( van Thiel). Archbishop Gul of Utrecht became the Society's Patron. In spite of the Mathew consecration the Society made much progress - though it has never been large - until it lapsed somewhat in the years of the Great War. The Society has Anglican and Old Catholic sections and branches in several countries. In 1913, Bishop Nicholas Prins of Haarlem visited England - the first Dutch Old Catholic prelate to do so. He stayed with Bishop Charles Gore at Cuddesdon, and attended

Anglican services, ( Holy Communion), in London and Oxford.

The Society of St. Willibrord did much to clear away misconceptions in the minds of both Old Catholics and Anglicans regarding the other Communion. Much confusion of thought still exists of this kind in regard to matters of history, doctrine, and discipline. Anglicans who went abroad rarely got into touch with the Old Catholics, and mistaken notions were gained from unfriendly Roman Catholic comment, or from occasional references in the press, or from the erratic behaviour of such prelates as "Mar Timotheus" (Vilatte), or A.H. Mathew and others connected with them. Such episcopi vagantes sought publicity; genuine Old Catholics did not.

Old Catholics on their side read ordinary text books which classed the Anglican Church as definitely Protestant, somewhat akin to Scandinavian Lutheranism. Anglican Chaplaincies abound on the Continent of Europe, but many are maintained by a Society of definitely Protestant complexion, (The Colonial and Continental Church Society), and all of them tend to offer spiritual hospitality to any who come, merely because they speak English, rather than on account of any Anglican Church connection at home. For this reason Old Catholics often saw Churches of this kind, and no others, and judged the Anglican Church to be weak in discipline, doctrinally muddled, and to worship in a way that seemed more Protestant than Catholic. The absence of Eucharistic vestments; the small amount of ceremonial - and what there was of that showing great variety in different places -; and the fact that the Office for Morning Prayer frequently appeared to be the chief Sunday worship instead of the Holy Eucharist; - these were matters which took a great deal to explain to conscientious Old Catholics. The Dutch Old Catholics complained that in Holland Anglicans there rarely stressed the sacerdotal character of the ministry of their clergy, for Chaplains ~~in Holland~~ were content to be called by the Protestant term "Domine", rather than "Pastoor", the style employed by Old Catholics. Further, a Dutch translation of the English Book of Common Prayer existed in which Protestant terms and phraseology were used when Catholic wording <sup>was</sup> available  $\emptyset$ .

Over and above this, the Old Catholic Churches claimed to be national Churches, but they were not **chained** to the State as the Church of England seemed to be. Much patience was

$\emptyset$ .

e.g. The word "Bevestiging" was applied to Confirmation, and not "Vormsel", which word Old Catholics use.

required to clear away misconceptions on both sides arising from causes like these.

The Mathew consecration opened a definite correspondence between Canterbury and Utrecht, with the result that the deception which had been practiced upon the Old Catholic bishops led them to desire better information and closer association with the Anglican Church, which was giving evidence of friendliness. The Great War did not altogether hinder progress, and the 1920 Lambeth Conference was able to report a satisfactory explanation in regard to the Mathew consecration.

The Lambeth Appeal for Christian Unity, (1920), was followed by an exhaustive Old Catholic examination of the Anglican position which resulted in the following resolution being passed at the Tenth International Old Catholic Congress held in Bern in 1925:-

" We believe that the Church of England has wished always to maintain the episcopal rule of antiquity, and that the Edwardine formula of consecration must be accounted valid  $\phi$ . We therefore declare, without reservation, that the Apostolic succession has not been broken in the Church of England."

In September 1925, the Conference of Old Catholic bishops, convened by the Archbishop of Utrecht, endorsed the acceptance of the validity of Anglican Orders, and expressed the fervent hope of a future more intimate and powerful association with the Church of England, and her daughter Churches " on a truly Catholic basis".

In March 1928 the Bishop of Willesden (Anglican) called a meeting of the Society of St. Willibrord, which had lapsed during the Great War, and a delegation was sent to the Old Catholic Congress at Utrecht, which was acclaimed in full Session. Since that time Old Catholic International Congresses, - the XIth. at Vienna in September 1931, and the XIIth. at Constance in August-September 1934 -, have given a full session to the Society, at which sessions Anglican dignitaries have been official speakers along with Old Catholics.

The 1930 Lambeth Conference marked a further definite stage

$\phi$ .

This refers to the Ordinal of 1552, (Second Prayer Book of King Edward VI), which was used when Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins consecrated Archbishop Matthew Parker, (of Canterbury, through whom the Anglican episcopate subsequently descends), on December 9th. 1559, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Rome condemns the Edwardine Ordinal as defective in form and intention, and has also cast doubts on the consecration of Barlow, the principal consecrator. (See B.M.H. Thompson; "The Consecration of Archbishop Parker"; Faith Press Ltd.).

forward. Anglican bishops who had been engaged in negotiations reported that they found nothing in the Declaration of Utrecht which might be an impediment to union between the Church of England and the Old Catholic Church. The three prelates of the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands (Kenninck, Archbishop of Utrecht; van Vlijmen, Bishop of Haarlem; and Berends, Bishop of Deventer, all attended at Lambeth. Bishop A. Küry of Switzerland, who was to have ~~attended~~ <sup>been the</sup> as Secretary, was unable to attend owing to illness. Thus the prelates present from the Old Catholic Church were all of the older more conservative Dutch Old Catholic Communion. They assured the Anglican bishops that they accepted as valid the Anglican Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist, as well as Anglican Orders. They further stated that Old Catholics themselves could always apply to be communicated in Both Kinds even where that custom was not the general practice. Anglicans who could satisfy an Old Catholic priest of their loyalty to the Anglican Church would be admitted to Holy Communion, no request being made that the applicant should first use private Sacramental Confession. Old Catholics would be permitted to communicate at Anglican altars if they so desired. Arrangements were made for a Joint Commission of the two Churches on Doctrine, the Archbishop of Utrecht stating that if closer intercommunion could be achieved, the natural corollary would be that bishops of the one Communion would assist at the consecrations of bishops of the other. The Lambeth delegation also discussed with Anglican bishops terms of Intercommunion with the Orthodox Churches.

In the following year accredited representatives of the two Communions met at Bonn, in Germany. On July 2nd, 1931, the following terms were unanimously accepted, and recommended to the Synods of the two Communions concerned for ratification:-

- (1) Each Communion recognises the Catholicity and independence of the other, and maintains its own.
- (2) Each Communion agrees to admit members of the other Communion to participate in the Sacraments.
- (3) Intercommunion does not require from either Communion the acceptance of all doctrinal opinion, sacramental devotion, or liturgical practice characteristic of

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Ø. The Anglican Commission consisted of the Bishops of Gloucester and Fulham; the Dean of Chichester; the Revs. N.P. Williams, D.D. (Oxford); G.F. Graham-Brown (Cambridge - now (1937) Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem); Canon J.A. Douglas, Ph.D.; P. Usher; C.B. Moss and C.L. Gage-Brown, the two last being Secretaries. The Old Catholic Commission comprised the Bishops of Deventer, Germany; and Switzerland, with a Dutch and a Swiss Professor.

The Swiss Professor, and the Rev. P. Usher were not present at Bonn.

the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold all the essentials of the Christian Faith.

In September 1931, the Conference of Old Catholic bishops, assembled at Vienna, at the time of the XIth. International Old Catholic Congress, unanimously accepted the formula, Bishop Moog of Germany, who was not present, having previously accepted the terms at Bonn. In 1932, unanimous resolutions of both the Canterbury and York Convocations approved the terms. The Episcopal Synod of the Episcopal Church in Scotland took like action in November 1932. Several other Anglican independent Provinces have ratified the terms at later dates, but full Anglican agreement is not yet, (1937), complete.

Before the establishment of intercommunion, the Old Catholic Bishop of Haarlem officially represented his Church at the enthronement of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, on his translation from the Archsee of York, in 1928. After the establishment of intercommunion, the Bishop of Haarlem, Monsignor H.J.T. van Vlijmen, assisted as co-consecrator of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem (Graham-Brown) and of the Bishop of Kensington (B.F.Simpson). This was June 29th, 1932, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. In the same place, on February 24th, 1933, the Bishop of Deventer, Monsignor J.H. Berends, similarly assisted at the consecration of the Bishop of Gibraltar (H.J.Buxton), and of the Assistant Bishop on the Niger (A.M. Gelsthorpe). ∅. In the contrary direction, Anglican bishops assisted for the first time at the consecration in Utrecht, on June 15th, 1937, of Monsignor Andreas Rinkel, as Archbishop of Utrecht.

In 1936 and 1937 a young Dutch Old Catholic cleric, the Rev. A. Zwart, has acted as an Anglican Curate at All Saints' Church, Hertford, England. He came as a deacon, and returned to Holland to be ordained as priest. Mr. Zwart's Vicar in Hertford, the Rev. V. Townshend Ducker, has preached in Dutch in Old Catholic Churches in Holland.

The establishment of intercommunion led Pfarrer P.H. Vogel of Witten-an-der-Ruhr, Germany, to publish a German translation of the English, Scottish, and American forms of the Anglican Eucharistic rite. Pfarrer Vogel has also published numerous articles on Anglican Church History, and liturgical practice, in the religious press of Germany and Switzerland. He ~~has~~ visited the British Islands in 1933 and 1934, going to

∅.

Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira was also present at the 1933 consecrations, as representing the Greek Church, along with the Great Archimandrite Constantinides and other priests of the Orthodox Church; representatives of the Armenian Church, and the Syrian Jacobite Dr. Bhabba.

Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. He ~~has been~~<sup>was</sup> received by both English Archbishops, by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath, by the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland ( Dr.W.J.F. Robberds), and by the Archdeacon of Monmouth and other dignitaries. He preached at All Saint's, Grangegorman, Dublin, ( being the first Old Catholic priest to preach anywhere in Ireland), and lectured to the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, Yorkshire. At Pittenweem, (Fife), in Chichester Cathedral, at Mirfield, and at St. Boniface College, Warminster, Wiltshire, he ~~has~~ celebrated Holy Communion according to his national rite, and many Anglicans communicated at his hands. ∅.

The number of Anglicans who receive Holy Communion at Old Catholic altars, and vice versa, grows steadily. The fact of intercommunion is also recognised by the German State. An example of this was seen in the Spring of 1936 when a number of London schoolboys met tragic deaths in a snowstorm in the Black Forest. Before removal to England, their bodies were conveyed to the Old Catholic Church at Freiburg, as being the Church with which most of them were in intercommunion. While they rested there the German government provided a Guard of Honour of members of the Hitler Youth Organisation.

Anglican priests , who desire the privelege, find no difficulty in being allowed to celebrate their own rite at Old Catholic altars. ∅∅.

The Anglican and Old Catholic Churches both regard the Intercommunion between themselves, not as an end accomplished to rest there, but as an incentive to work and pray for an extension of such fraternal relations, that the prayer of Christ Jesus, " ut omnes unum sint ", may be realised in greater measure.

∅.

In August 1935 the writer visited Pfarrer Vogel at Witten. Pfarrer Vogel met with an accident, and the writer was requested to act as his locum tenens. This involved celebrating the Holy Eucharist according to the German rite, in that language, and preaching a sermon. It was "General Communion Sunday", and the whole congregation communicated. This was the first example of an Anglican priest acting in lieu of an Old Catholic brother, since the establishment of Intercommunion.

∅∅.

The writer has frequently had this privelege in Germany, sometimes with a British, and sometimes with a German server. Owing to the similarity of the German Eucharistic rite to that of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the congregation has responded accurately in German, though English was being used by the celebrant.

Postscript.

Roman Catholics appear to be agitated lest the association of Old Catholics with the Anglican Church should result in Anglicans acquiring Orders of a kind which Rome would be obliged to acknowledge as valid. An indication of this anxiety is seen in a statement which appeared in the Roman Catholic newspaper, "The Universe" of March 25th., 1937. It appeared in a column headed "Enquiry Bureau":-

" W.H. - The Old Catholics are a schismatic body existing in Holland, Switzerland, and other countries. They possess valid orders, but it seems that they do not hold the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Their doctrine on these points approximates to that of the moderate High Anglicans, and this explains why they have recognised the validity of Anglican Orders. In theory, they could pass on their valid orders to Anglicans, but there are good reasons for thinking that they have not done so. This whole matter is explained in the second volume of Dr. Messenger's book, "The Reformation, the Mass, and the Priesthood".....(Longmans)."

One line of Roman Catholic argument in this connection is that unless the Old Catholic rite, ( which must be accounted valid by the Roman Catholic Church), be used, and ~~that~~ the principal consecrator be in Orders of the kind Rome admits, no consecration would be effected. It would be insufficient for an Old Catholic bishop to lay his hands on the head of the bishop-elect and say the Old Catholic formula along with the Anglican formula said by the Anglicans assisting. The argument is that both the Anglican rite, and the Orders of the principal Anglican consecrator are invalid, and therefore there is no "operation". Consequently there can be no "co-operation" by an Old Catholic bishop, whatever he may do or intend to do.

Rome has expressed no official opinion on the subject, and should this be done it would only have a technical interest for Anglicans or Old Catholics who regard each others Orders as possessing full validity, any opinion of Rome to the contrary notwithstanding.

## Chapter 3.

Old Catholic Doctrine.

The "Declaration of Utrecht", a translation of which is given below, is a profession of Faith which was formulated at Utrecht on September 24th. 1889. It was signed by the Dutch, German, and Swiss Old Catholic bishops :- Archbishop J. Heykamp of Utrecht, and Bishops G.P. Rinkel ( of Haarlem), C. Diependaal ( of Deventer ), J.H. Reinkens ( of Germany ), and E. Herzog ( of Switzerland ).

The Declaration is as follows :-

1. We adhere faithfully to the Rule of Faith laid down by St. Vincent of Lerins in these terms: "Id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum." For this reason we persevere in professing the faith of the primitive Church, as formulated in the œcumenical symbols and specified precisely by the unanimously accepted decisions of the Ecumenical Councils held in the undivided Church of the first thousand years.

2. We therefore reject the decrees of the so-called Council of the Vatican, which were promulgated July 18th, 1870, concerning the infallibility and the universal Episcopate of the Bishop of Rome—decrees which are in contradiction with the faith of the ancient Church, and which destroy its ancient canonical constitution by attributing to the Pope the plenitude of ecclesiastical powers over all Dioceses and over all the faithful. By denial of his primatial jurisdiction we do not wish to deny the historic primacy which several Ecumenical Councils and the Fathers of the ancient Church have attributed to the Bishop of Rome by recognizing him as the *Primus inter pares*.

3. We also reject the dogma of the Immaculate Conception promulgated by Pius IX. in 1854 in defiance of the Holy Scriptures and in contradiction to the tradition of the first centuries.

4. As for other Encyclicals published by the Bishops of Rome in recent times—for example, the Bulls *Unigenitus* and *Auctorem fidei*, and the Syllabus of 1864—we reject them on all such points as are in contradiction with the doctrine of the primitive Church, and we do not recognize them as binding on the consciences of the faithful. We also renew the ancient protests of the Catholic Church of Holland against the errors of the Roman Curia, and against its attacks upon the rights of national Churches.

5. We refuse to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent in matters of discipline, and as for the dogmatic decisions of that Council we accept them only so far as they are in harmony with the teaching of the primitive Church.

6. Considering that the Holy Eucharist has always been the true central point of Catholic worship, we consider it our duty to declare that we maintain with perfect fidelity the ancient Catholic doctrine concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, by believing that we receive the Body and the Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ under the species of bread and wine. The Eucharistic celebration in the Church is neither a continual repetition nor a renewal of the expiatory sacrifice which Jesus offered once for all upon the Cross; but it is a sacrifice because it is the perpetual commemoration of the sacrifice offered upon the Cross, and it is the act by which we represent upon earth and appropriate to ourselves the one offering which Jesus Christ makes in Heaven, according to the

Epistle to the Hebrews ix. 11, 12, for the salvation of redeemed humanity, by appearing for us in the presence of God (Heb. ix. 24). The character of the Holy Eucharist being thus understood, it is, at the same time, a sacrificial feast, by means of which the faithful, in receiving the Body and Blood of our Saviour, enter into communion with one another (1 Cor. i. 17).

7. We hope that Catholic theologians, in maintaining the faith of the undivided Church, will succeed in establishing an agreement upon questions which have been controverted ever since the divisions which have arisen between the Churches. We exhort the priests under our jurisdiction to teach, both by preaching and by the instruction of the young, especially the essential Christian truths professed by all the Christian confessions, to avoid, in discussing controverted doctrines, any violation of truth or charity, and in word and deed to set an example to the members of our churches in accordance with the spirit of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

8. By maintaining and professing faithfully the doctrine of Jesus Christ, by refusing to admit those errors which by the fault of men have crept into the Catholic Church, by laying aside the abuses in ecclesiastical matters, together with the worldly tendencies of the hierarchy, we believe that we shall be able to combat efficaciously the great evils of our day, which are unbelief and indifference in matters of religion.

The traditional Augustinianism of the Dutch Old Catholic Church is still very marked. The newer Old Catholic Churches agree with this, though in practice this is not very noticeable in the sermons of the clergy.

Belief in the intercession of the Saints in Glory is sincerely held, but direct invocation of them is minimised.

The Dutch Old Catholic Church has abandoned the use of the words "ever-Virgin" as applied to the Mother of Christ, but this does not mean that they disbelieve in her ever-virginity. Most Dutch Old Catholics would contend very strongly against any suggestion to the contrary, but they are content to use the language of the Primitive Church which called her simply "Blessed Virgin" or "Holy Virgin". That she is "Theotokos" and therefore to be honoured more highly than any other mortal numbered amongst the Saints in glory, is a doctrine held firmly by all Old Catholics in accordance with tradition.

The Roman Catholic doctrine of Merit, and the corresponding belief in Indulgences, is not held. The emphasis is upon Justification by Faith, but good works should follow naturally as evidence of a right faith in God, and appreciation of man's duty to love his neighbour as himself.

Prayers for the Dead and the celebration of the Holy Eucharist with intention for the repose of the souls of departed Christians, are matters accepted sine qua non by all Old Catholics. But the crudities of Roman Catholic Purgatorial doctrine are avoided. The dead are regarded as growing in grace; not as being detained in penal punishment. This is true even though in Holland a catechism of Roman Catholic origin may be found in use and tolerated by authority. Ø.

Bible reading is encouraged. Churches are adorned simply, though sometimes in a taste which British eyes regard without much favour. Statues and pictures are reduced to a minimum. Usually there is but one Altar in any church. The Blessed Sacrament is reserved, usually in a Tabernacle over the one Altar. Reservation is in One Kind only - i.e. the consecrated Wafer-breads. Access to pray before the Reserved Sacrament is not denied, if the church can be left open, but there is no cultus of such prayer such as is fostered by the Roman Catholic Church. Reservation is for the Sick, but also to assist in the

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Ø. The catechism in question is called "Het christelijk onderwijs. Eerst gedrukt op bevel der hoogwaarde bisschoppen van Angers, Rochelle, en Luçon.". It is also known as the "Catéchisme des Trois Henri", having been approved by Henri Arnaud, Henri de Laval, and Henri de Barillon, who were bishops of Angers, La Rochelle, and Luçon respectively. In the 17th. and 18th. centuries it had a Jansenist reputation. The catechism gives teaching on Purgatory, and commends devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the use of the "Ave Maria" prayer. It does not mention the Rosary, though Dutch Old Catholics use that devotion. Modern Roman Catholic opinion acquits it of "Jansenist rigour in regard to Holy Communion". ( See Joseph Troxler, "Die neuere Entwicklung des Altkatholizismus", 1908, pp.64-65.)

administration of Holy Communion at any Mass should this be required. A custom has been inherited from the Roman Catholic Church by which a large number of consecrated Wafers are reserved in a ciborium. Communion is given from them until the number is exhausted, when they are replenished. Thus it is not a custom to count the number of communicants at any particular service. The priest uses a new Wafer for his own communion whenever he celebrates the Holy Eucharist.

The traditional fast before Communion is generally well kept, but not with the rigidity, nor subject to penalties for non-observance, such as the Roman Church enforces. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is the usual Sunday evening service in Holland, but it has no special doctrinal significance, and is carried out quite simply. Vespers provides an alternative. Eucharistic doctrine is clearly set out in the Declaration of Utrecht. The Real Presence of Christ in His Sacrament is steadfastly maintained, but the language of the Latin Church in regard to Transubstantiation is avoided since the philosophy on which that doctrine is based is regarded as being of but doubtful validity, and in any case was unknown to the theologians of the early Christian Church.

Other matters may be summarised by reference to the Sacraments, other than the Holy Eucharist.

#### Baptism.

Baptismal regeneration is a matter of faith. ( Possibly the Polish National Catholic Church in America might not agree in this doctrine). The actual baptism is preceded by the rite for admission to the catechumenate. Infant baptism is usual. No good Old Catholic would willingly defer the baptism of his child till adult years.

#### Confirmation.

This is regarded as the completion of Baptism, though not merely as a re-affirmation of Baptismal vows. A special gift of grace from God the Holy Spirit is claimed to be bestowed on those confirmed to help them to live conformably to their high calling. No special age for confirmation is laid down, and Old Catholic custom is similar to Anglican practice in this respect. Holy Communion is often given before Confirmation, (~~xx~~ a practice inherited from the Roman Church), but Old Catholic theologians - in Holland especially - discourage this, and regard it as an abuse calling for reformation.

#### Penance.

Old Catholics hold that God alone forgives sinners, and that all Christians have free and unfettered access direct to Him. But even as Christ, in His Divine power, forgave sins, so His Church is also commissioned by Him to pronounce God's forgiveness to penitent sinners. The right to pronounce this

absolution belongs to the whole Church, but its exercise in particular cases is restricted to bishops and priests as executive officers of the priestly Body.

The terms of confession of sins may be general, ( as when a whole congregation joins in a general act of penitence such as is customary before a general Communion), or the confession may be that of an individual made in particular terms. Such confession is made to God in the presence of a bishop or priest, who, if satisfied as to the penitent's contrition and purpose of amendment, will pronounce a particular and individual absolution. Old Catholics hold that such confessions must be voluntary and free from constraint. In this matter Old Catholic teaching agrees with that of the Anglican Church. In practice, private confession is practiced more frequently by Dutch Old Catholics than by those in other lands. Inherited horror of Jesuit casuistry has resulted in the fact that Old Catholics have no systematised Moral Theology in relation to the Sacrament of Penance. A confessor in dealing with an individual penitent, relies upon the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, and "sanctified common sense".

#### Holy Matrimony.

The contracting parties are regarded as the ministers of the Sacrament. The Church adds a blessing to such unions as are not contrary to the law of God or of the ~~State~~ State, but the man and woman actually marry themselves by the contract they make in the sight of God before witnesses.

Strict Old Catholics regard marriage as being dissoluble only by death. Cases of nullity ab initio are different, for the marriage in such case was never a true marriage. The newer Old Catholic Churches, ( and that of Austria in particular), have shown a laxity in regard to the marriage law, and toleration of divorce. This is a cause of regret and apprehension to the Dutch Old Catholics. In regard to the whole Old Catholic Communion, the attitude towards divorce is similar to ~~that~~ that which obtains in the Anglican Communion, wherein the Provinces in the British Isles adopt a stricter standard than does the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, which allows a marriage service to be performed for an "innocent party" who may have taken advantage of opportunities provided by the State for divorce.

#### Unction of the Sick.

This Sacrament is available for all who are seriously ill, though all do not resort to its use. Contrary to Roman Catholic practice, ( which administers it only in extremis, as a preparation for death), Old Catholics regard it as a Divinely appointed means of grace, whereby the body is entrusted to God to do with it

Whatever He deems best. Thus Holy Unction may be a means of Divine healing, if God so wills, and in any case, if the recipient be penitent, it is a pledge of release from sins. The anointing is with blessed oil, accompanied by prayer.

### Holy Orders.

The Minor, as well as the Major Holy Orders are conferred. In this respect the Old Catholics differ from the Anglican Church which has abolished all Orders below the rank of Deacon. A bishop alone has the power to ordain deacons and priests, or to consecrate a new bishop. But the power to confer Holy Orders is strictly guarded, and may be exercised only by a diocesan bishop ( or by another bishop appointed to act for a diocesan bishop - should such a prelate be available). Ordinations and consecrations may take place only in conformity with recognised rules. No bishop may act indiscriminately. Priests share with a bishop in the ordination of new priests.

The traditional formulæ and ceremonial connected with the conferring of Holy Orders have been taken over from the Latin rite with but little variation, other than the use of the vernacular.

A bishop is regarded as having jurisdiction, and invested with a plenitude of the Christian priesthood here on earth, but is thought of more as an Arch-priest than as belonging to a totally distinct Order in the ministry. The step between the deacon and the priest is greater than that between the priest and the bishop. The laity are given full rights of objection to the ordination of every candidate presented to a bishop. Ø.

### Summary of Old Catholic Doctrine.

Old Catholics believe that Jesus Christ is the Head of the Church Catholic, and that He is the Great High Priest thereof. Within this Church there are three main divisions, i.e.

(1) The Church Triumphant in Heaven composed of the Saints in Glory, with the Holy Angels. These enjoy the Beatific Vision. The Saints in Glory are the spirits of just men made perfect.

(2) The second part of the Church comprises the Saints in Paradise, which is thought of as a stage on the road to Heaven. Between Paradise and Heaven no distinct line can be drawn, since God has not given sufficient revelation in this

Ø. In the "Scottish Guardian" of April 21st. 1933, an article written by the writer, with the help of Mgr. J.H. Berends, (Bishop of Deventer) dealt with the ~~theology~~ Old Catholic doctrine and formulæ connected with the conferring of Holy Orders.

matter. In the Christian creed the article of belief " He " (Jesus Christ) " descended into Hell " - or "Hades" - refers to the state or place which Christ Himself called "Paradise" when speaking to the dying robber. This descent by Christ into Paradise cannot mean the same thing as another article of Christian belief, i.e "He ascended into Heaven", referring to Christ's return to the glory that was His before the foundation of the world. Old Catholics may tolerate the term "Purgatory", but they think of departed Christian souls as growing in grace in Paradise, in the "many mansions" provided in the nearer presence of God, beyond the gate of physical death. The Saints thus growing in grace - free from the temptations that attended them when in the body on earth - are called the Church Expectant.

(3) The Saints on earth, or Church Militant, comprise the third part of the Church Catholic, admission to which is through the gate of a valid Baptism.

All Christians are called to be saints. The purpose of the Church on earth, indwelt by the Holy Spirit, is to make sinful men and women into God's saints. To the Church on earth, of which the Apostles were the first ministers and bishops, Christ the Founder committed the tradition of the Gospel and the means of grace necessary for the perfection of all believers. These means of grace include the seven Catholic Sacraments.

By the guidance of the Holy Spirit the Scriptures of the New Testament were written and preserved, and the Church was led to make a right selection in drawing up the Canon of Holy Scripture in which writings we have a record of God's partial revelation of Himself and His will in the days of the Old Dispensation, as well as the fuller light which came when He established a New Covenant through the ministry of His Incarnate Son. But the Christian Church herself is older than the books of the New Testament.

The Ecumenical Councils of the Church received similar Divine guidance in refuting heresy, and in defining matters of faith when it became necessary to state, in explicit terms, matters which had always been held implicitly in the tradition of the true Faith. In the unhappy divided state of the Church on earth, ( a condition contrary to the desire of the Founder), Old Catholics maintain that no one portion of the Church is entitled to define any new dogma to be held on the same level as the doctrines of the Undivided Church. There is no infallible bishop on earth, nor one who has a universal episcopate.

Old Catholics agree that all validly baptised persons are in covenanted relation with God under His New Testament revealed through Jesus Christ. Unbaptised persons are to be left to God's uncovenanted mercies, which are great.

All baptised Christians should be in visible unity on earth, because all are members of the One and only Church which Christ founded. But the sin of man has broken that unity, the

restoration of which must be the prayer and aim of all Christians.

Without condemning those whose consciences lead them to hold other views, Old Catholics maintain that the episcopate, and an Apostolic succession of bishops in unbroken line, is a matter of Catholic tradition to be preserved at all costs. Such a ministry they hold to be of the esse, - not merely of the bene esse - of the Church on earth, and essential to valid sacraments and ministrations. ∅.

Old Catholics would not assert that the grace of God is denied to the ministries and sacraments of Christian Bodies which have a non-episcopal ministry, or one lacking an Apostolical Succession. For themselves, however, Old Catholics cannot abandon what they firmly believe to be according to the plan and will of God. They expect, and amongst themselves exhibit, differences of local custom and administration.

Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, are regarded as forming a college wherein all are of equal rank, each bishop having a right to the proper administration of his diocese, and not holding it as the delegate of any one prelate who may claim a universal episcopate. Old Catholics recognise that the See of Rome has played an important part in Christian history, and they would be quite willing to accord to the occupant of that See the position of primus inter pares amongst other bishops. But such bishops would need to hold an orthodox Catholic faith unmixed with doctrines of novel character or claims to power and jurisdiction which the Undivided Church resisted.

Such is the conception of the Christian Church held by Old Catholics who are conscious of their own smallness of numbers but are not discouraged thereby. They feel that it may be their mission to persuade other non-Papal Communions to share this view, and they pray that in God's good time, the Papal Church from which they had to make an exit, may remove those hindrances to Christian unity to which at present she holds tenaciously.

In conformity with the custom of the Early Church, Old Catholics celebrate the Holy Eucharist every Sunday as the chief service and gathering together of the people. This does not mean that all present receive Holy Communion. General Communions are usual at the Greater Festivals and on such other occasions as may be arranged by local custom.

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∅. The Polish National Catholic Church in America, in which Bishop Hodur, while still only Bishop-elect ordained four priests, shows that the rigidity of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, has been departed from by these American Old Catholics.

## Chapter 4.

Old Catholic Eucharistic Worship.

General remarks ; Ceremonial and Music ; The Dutch Rite ;  
The German Rite ; Notes on the Swiss Rite.

.....

General Remarks.

The Swiss Christian-Catholic Church led the way in the matter of Old Catholic Liturgical reform. In the vernacular rites prepared for Switzerland the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America had some influence. Germany followed the Swiss lead. There Dr. Adolf Thürlings produced in 1888 an Altar Book which, with but slight amendments, continues in use to-day. This

German rite has also been adopted by the Old Catholic Churches in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. Dr. Thürling's revision was more conservative in character than was the Swiss vernacular rite and, therefore, adheres more closely to the model of the Roman Mass. But it was not a slavish translation, and in some parts of the service alternative forms are provided.

The Dutch Old Catholic Church continued to use the Latin rite until recent years, but omitted the name of the Pope since he could no longer be considered as an *orthodox* Christian Bishop. In 1909 a Dutch vernacular rite was authorized and this has won general acceptance. It kept very close to the Latin model, but such changes as were made were very deliberate. The reasons for such alterations are set out at length in a preface to the "Misboek" of 1909. The reader is invited to compare the translation of the Dutch Mass given later in this book with a copy of the Latin Mass.

In the Polish National Catholic Church of America both Latin and Polish languages are used, but a gradual anglicizing of the services is anticipated.

## CEREMONIAL AND MUSIC

Old Catholic ceremonial is simple and dignified and follows the general tradition and practice of Western Catholic Christendom. Those who left the Roman Catholic Church to become the first generation of Old Catholics contended against erroneous *doctrine* and *discipline*. They had little or no quarrel with matters connected with ceremonial. The old customs were, therefore, adapted to the new vernacular rites. Any person familiar with the ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church will, therefore, have no difficulty in following an Old Catholic Mass even though the language used may be a strange one. For the benefit of those less familiar with such ceremonial, the diagram below will show the Celebrant's position at the Altar during the various parts of the Eucharistic Service.

<i>Gospel Corner.</i>	<i>Centre.</i>	<i>Epistle Corner.</i>
	Preparation.	
	(If the Service be a Sung one, the Priest may stand here while the Introit is sung.)	Introit. (If the Service be a said one.)
	Gloria in Excelsis.	
		Collects. Epistle. (Gradual.)
Gospel.		
	Creed and all that follows, including Consecration and Communion, with the Ablutions.	(Lavabo, i.e. the washing of the Priest's hands.)
		(Communion Sentence.) Post Communion Prayers.
	Blessing.	
Last Gospel.		

Eucharistic Vestments are worn, and the Celebrant is attended by Servers. The Altar and its ornaments are similar to those in a Roman Catholic or Anglican church. A Sanctus Bell is rung. Incense is in common use in Holland. In Switzerland and Austria incense is not used so frequently, and it has disappeared from most of the German Old Catholic churches. There are no silent Masses. Said Masses, without music, will be found, but a Sung Eucharist is the usual Sunday morning service. Occasionally a High Mass, with a Deacon and Sub-Deacon in addition to the Celebrant, is provided where three clergy can be found for such purpose. In Germany a service which may be advertised as "Hochamt" may not be a High Mass, but a simpler Missa Cantata.

In Holland no hymns are sung while any part of the rite is proceeding at the Altar. The Celebrant will wait until singing ends before continuing the service. In Germany and Switzerland a popular form of the service allows the congregation to sing appropriate hymns while some parts of the rite are proceeding at the Altar in an undertone. This may occur at the following places :

While the Introit is said.

While the Gloria in Excelsis is said.

While the Gradual (and Sequence) are said—  
though usually only at Requiems.

During the Creed and until after the Lavabo.

During, or after the Sanctus, and while the  
succeeding prayers are said.

After the "Words of Institution."

During the Ablutions.

After the Blessing.

Various settings of music are employed for parts of the Liturgy, but traditional music (well known to Anglicans) is always used for Sursum Corda, the Prefaces, and the Lord's Prayer.

THE EUCHARISTIC RITE  
OF THE  
OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH  
OF  
THE NETHERLANDS

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES.

This translation has been made from the "Misboek" used by the laity. The Dutch Altar Book has fuller rubrics.

For the benefit of Anglicans certain headings for different parts of the rite; rubrical matters contained in other parts of the "Misboek" which affect the Liturgy; and a very few notes of some interest are inserted, either in the text of the rite, or as foot-notes. *All such matter is enclosed within square brackets.* With these exceptions the form in which the translation is presented adheres closely to the Dutch model. It had been intended to place this extra matter in a wide side column, or on left-hand pages which would otherwise have been left blank. The present method has been adopted, however, in order to keep the book smaller in size, that it may be carried more easily in the pocket.

In general, a rather close literal translation has been made, even at the risk of rendering the English wording somewhat stilted, but a little relief from such rigidity has been claimed in a few places where the use of familiar English forms does no real damage to the Dutch text. Thus, Psalms 26 and 43, the Nicene Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Last Gospel are given in the wording of the English Book of Common Prayer. Nevertheless, in order to show that there are some differences in Dutch counterparts, the division of the verses of these two Psalms is given according to the Dutch model (which follows the Vulgate), and the *antiphon* to Psalm 43, (though not the corresponding verse in the Psalm itself), has been literally translated.

Special Liturgical provision is made for Good Friday and Easter Eve. The Service here given is not used on those days.

ABBREVIATIONS: Pr., Priest; S., Servers.

AUTHORIZATION.

This translation into English of the Eucharistic Rite of the Old Catholic Church of the Netherlands is approved. Imprimatur!

- ✠ FRANCISCUS, Archbishop of Utrecht.
- ✠ HENRICUS THEODORUS JOANNES, Bishop of Haarlem.
- ✠ JOHANNES HERMANUS, Bishop of Deventer.

## 16 OLD CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

*Pr.* O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me : and bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling.

*S.* And that I may go unto the altar of God, even unto the God of my joy and gladness :

*Pr.* And upon the harp will I give thanks unto thee O God, my God. Why art thou so heavy, O my soul : and why art thou so disquieted within me?

*S.* O put thy trust in God : for I will yet give him thanks, which is the help of my countenance, and my God.

*Pr.* Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost ;

*S.* As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

*Pr.* I will go unto the Altar of God.

*S.* To God, Who ever giveth joy unto my soul.

*All sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross, as the Priest says :*

*Pr.* Our help is in the Name of the Lord.

*S.* Who hath made heaven and earth.

*Pr.* I confess to [1] God Almighty, and before [1] the holy Virgin Mary, the holy Archangel Michael, the holy John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all the Saints, and before you, brethren, that I have sinned exceedingly in thoughts, words, and deeds, through <sup>2</sup> my fault, my fault, my most grievous fault. Wherefore I beseech the holy Virgin Mary, the holy Archangel Michael, the holy John the Baptist,

[<sup>1</sup> Observe that confession is made to God, but before the Saints in glory and the Church on earth.]

<sup>2</sup> *At the words* " My fault, my fault, my most grievous fault " *the Priest smites his breast three times.*

## THE COMMON ORDER OF THE HOLY SERVICE OF THE MASS

according to the use of

## THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE NETHERLANDS

Translated from the Missal issued according to the Episcopal decisions of January 6th, 1909.

## [THE INTROIT.]

*This is proper to the day. It is omitted at said services.]*

*When the Priest and Servers have knelt at the foot of the Altar, the Choir begins to sing the Introduction Hymn. The Congregation also kneels. After the singing, or (at a service which is not sung), after they have knelt, the Priest and Servers rise, and, as all sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross, the Priest says :*

## [THE PREPARATION.]

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

I will go unto the Altar of God.

*The Servers answer :* To God, Who ever giveth joy unto my soul.

## PSALM 42.

[This is Psalm 43 by Anglican reckoning. It is omitted at Requiems.]

*Pr.* Give sentence with me, O God, and defend my cause against the ungodly people : O deliver me from the deceitful and wicked man.

*S.* For thou art the God of my strength, why hast thou put me from thee : and why go I so heavily, while the enemy oppresseth me?

the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all the Saints, and you, brethren, to pray for me to the Lord, our God.

S. May Almighty God be merciful unto thee, forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee to everlasting life.

*Pr.* Amen.

S. I confess to God Almighty, and before the holy Virgin Mary, the holy Archangel Michael, the holy John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, before all the Saints, and before you, Father, that I have sinned exceedingly in thoughts, words, and deeds, through <sup>3</sup> my fault, my fault, my most grievous fault. Wherefore I beseech the holy Virgin Mary, the holy Archangel Michael, the holy John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, all the Saints, and you, Father, to pray for me to the Lord, our God.

*Pr.* May Almighty God be merciful unto you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to everlasting life.

S. Amen.

*All sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross as the Priest says:*

*Pr.* May the Almighty and Merciful Lord grant unto you remission, absolution, and pardon of all your sins.

S. Amen.

*Pr.* O God, Thou wilt turn and enliven us.

S. And Thy people will rejoice in Thee.

*Pr.* Shew us Thy mercy, O Lord.

S. And give us Thy blessed aid.

<sup>3</sup> *At the words "My fault, my fault, my most grievous fault" all smite their breasts three times.*

*Pr.* Lord, hear our prayer.

S. And let our cry come unto Thee.

*Pr.* The Lord be with you. [<sup>4</sup>

S. And with thy spirit. <sup>5</sup>]

*Pr.* Let us pray.

*The Priest ascends to the Altar and says:*

We beseech Thee, O Lord, take away our iniquities from us, that we may approach to the Holy of Holies with a pure heart. Through Christ, our Lord.

S. Amen.

*Pr.* We beseech Thee, O Lord, in communion with Thy Saints, that Thou wilt deign to forgive us all our sins.

S. Amen.

[KYRIE.]

*In a Service that is not sung, the Priest and Servers say alternately:*

*Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

S. Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

S. Christ, have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* Christ, have mercy upon us.

S. Christ, have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

S. Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.<sup>5</sup>

[<sup>4</sup> This "Mutual Salutation" generally introduces a new part of the Service.]

<sup>5</sup> *The Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, which are intended for Choir and Congregational singing, may, in a Service that is not sung, be said by Priest and Servers, as indicated.*

SONG OF PRAISE.

[“*Gloria in Excelsis.*” *During Advent, and from Septuagesima until the end of Lent, this is omitted, except on certain Holy Days.*]

*Pr.* Glory be to God in the Highest, and on earth peace to men of good will. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we adore Thee, we glorify Thee. We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty. O Lord, the Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou Who takest away the sins of the world, receive our humble prayers. Thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us. For Thou alone art holy, Thou alone the Lord. Thou alone art the Most High, Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

[THE COLLECT(S).

*The Collect is Proper to the Day.* The multiplication of Collects is discouraged.]

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.  
People And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* Let us pray.

*The Priest sings the Collect for the day. At the end of this prayer the People sing:*  
Amen.

[THE EPISTLE OR LESSON.  
*This is Proper to the day.*]

*The Priest reads the Lesson for the day, and thereafter the Servers say:*  
Thanks be to God.

[Graduals have been discontinued, but in *Easter and Whitsun weeks, at Corpus Christi, and at some (but not all) Requiem, antiphonal hymns are sung after the Epistle.* These are the ancient “*Sequentiæ.*”]

*Pr.* Almighty God, Who didst cleanse the lips of the Prophet Isaiah by Thy touching, vouchsafe by Thy gracious mercy, so to cleanse my heart and lips, that I may worthily proclaim Thy holy Gospel. Through Christ our Lord.  
S. Amen.

[THE GOSPEL.

*This is Proper to the day.*]

*The Congregation stands up, and the Priest says:*  
The Lord be with you.  
S. And with thy spirit.

*The Priest reads the Gospel, at the announcement of which, Priest and Congregation sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross upon the forehead, mouth, and breast, after which the Servers say:*

Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

*After the Gospel the Servers say:*

Praise be to Thee, O Christ.

[SERMON.]

*If there is to be a Sermon, it will be preached after the Gospel. The Congregation then sits down.*

*After the Sermon the Congregation sings a hymn from the Catholic Hymnbook. [i.e. Katholiek gezangboek.]*

*While the Congregation stands, the Priest reads the*  
CREED [6].

[*This is omitted at a Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament.*]

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things

[<sup>6</sup>The Creed is in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan form. The “*Filioque*” clause, i.e. “and the Son” is held by Old Catholics to be a theological opinion and not a dogma. It is a Western addition to the ancient Creed. The bracketed “*I believe*” is not in the Dutch Text, but notice the inclusion of “*Holy*” before “*Catholic and Apostolic Church.*”]

visible and invisible. And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds. God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By Whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, <sup>1</sup> and was made man. And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; Whose Kingdom shall have no end. And [*I believe*] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come.

S. Amen.

[THE OFFERTORY.

An Offertory Sentence from Holy Scripture is  
no longer said.]

*The Congregation sits down.*

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.

S. And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* Let us pray.

<sup>1</sup> At the words "and was made man" the Priest kneels, and all bow the head.

*The Priest offers the Bread, and prays:*

Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God, accept this unspotted offering, which I Thine unworthy servant offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences; and for all present here, as also for all believing Christians, living and departed, that to me and to them it may avail unto everlasting life.

S. Amen.

*The Priest pours Wine and Water into the Chalice, and prays:*

O God, Who hast created in a wonderful manner the dignity of human nature, and hast still more wonderfully reformed it, grant conformably to the mystery of this  $\nabla$  water and this wine, that we may partake of the Divinity of Him Who has condescended to take our humanity, even Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God for ever and ever.

S.

*He offers the Chalice, and prays:*

We offer unto Thee, O Lord, the Chalice of Salvation, and we beseech Thy clemency that, for our salvation and that of all the world, it may ascend as a pleasant odour before the countenance of Thy Divine Majesty.

S. Amen.

*Pr.* In humility of spirit and with a contrite heart, we come unto Thee. Receive us favourably, O Lord, and let our offering this day be such before Thee, that it may be well-pleasing unto Thee, O Lord, our God.

Come, Sanctifying, Almighty, Eternal God, and bless this ✠ offering which is prepared for Thy Holy Name.

[THE INCENSING.]

*When he incenses, the Priest blesses the incense, saying:*

Be thou blessed ✠ by Him, in Whose honour thou shalt be burned.

*While he incenses the Oblations and the Altar, he prays:*

O Lord, let this incense, consecrated by Thy blessing, ascend unto Thee, and may Thy mercy descend upon us.

May my prayer ascend to Thee, O Lord, as a sweet-smelling offering in Thy sight. May the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice. Set a watch, O Lord, upon my mouth, and keep the door of my lips, that my heart incline not to evil words in order vainly to seek subtrefuges for sins [8].

*While passing the censer to the Server, he says:*

May the Lord enkindle in us the fire of His love, and may it burn unto eternity.

S. Amen.

[THE "LAVABO" CEREMONY.]

*The Priest washes his hands, and reads:*

PSALM 25.

[Psalm 26, v. 6—12, by Anglican reckoning. The "Gloria Patri" is omitted at Requiems.]

I will wash my hands in innocence, O Lord: and so will I go to thine Altar; that I may shew

[8] These verses are from Psalm 140 v. 2—4 according to the Vulgate version. (Psalm 141 by Anglican reckoning.)

the voice of thanksgiving: and tell of all thy wondrous works.

Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house: and the place where thine honour dwelleth.

O shut not up my soul with the sinners: nor my life with the blood-thirsty; in whose hands is wickedness: and their right hand is full of gifts.

But as for me, I will walk innocently: O deliver me, and be merciful unto me.

My foot standeth right: I will praise the Lord in the congregations.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end.

S. Amen.

*Pr.* Receive, O Holy Trinity, this offering which we present to Thee in remembrance of the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ; in honour also of the holy Virgin Mary, the holy John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all Thy Saints, that it may be to their honour, and tend to our blessedness, and that in Heaven they may intercede for us, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through the same Christ our Lord.

S. Amen.

["ORATE FRATRES."]

*Pr.* Pray brethren, that my and your sacrifice may be well-pleasing to God, the Almighty Father.

S. The Lord receive the sacrifice from thy hands to the praise and honour of His Name, to our benefit and that of all His holy Church.

*Pr.* Amen.

THE DUTCH OLD CATHOLIC LITURGY 25

*The Priest sings the*

OFFERTORY PRAYER.

[*This is Proper to the day. It was formerly called the "Secret."*]

*At the close of this prayer the Congregation sings:*  
Amen.

[“SURSUM CORDA.”]

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.

*People* And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* Lift up your hearts.

*People* We lift them to the Lord.

*Pr.* Let us bring our thanks unto the Lord, our God.

*People* It is meet and just.

THANKSGIVING FOR ORDINARY SUNDAYS.

[THE PREFACE.

*Special Prefaces are provided for Feasts and Holy Days.]*

*Pr.* Yea, meet it is, and just, rightful and salutary, that we should always and everywhere thank Thee; Thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God; through Christ our Lord, by Whom the Angels praise Thy Majesty, the Dominions adore Thee, the Powers tremble before Thee; By Whom also the Heavens, with the Heavenly Virtues and the Blessed Seraphim, mutually rejoice to glorify Thee. With whose voices, we beseech Thee, that Thou wilt admit ours also, who in humble confession cry:

[“SANCTUS” and “BENEDICTUS.”]

Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.

26 OLD CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

Hosanna in the Highest! Blessed<sup>9</sup> is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the Highest!

THE CANON.

[CONSECRATION PRAYER.]

*The Congregation kneels at a signal from the Altar-bell* [<sup>10</sup>], *and the Priest prays:*

We beseech Thee then, most merciful Father, and humbly pray Thee, through Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, that Thou wilt receive with favour and bless these ✠ gifts, these ✠ presents, these ✠ holy, unspotted sacrifices, which we offer unto Thee, firstly for Thy Holy Catholic Church, that Thou wilt vouchsafe to grant unto her peace, to preserve her, and to unite and govern her throughout all the world, together with our Bishops and all true believers and professors of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

COMMEMORATION OF THE LIVING.

Be mindful, O Lord, of Thy servants and handmaidens N . . . N . . .

*Here all pray for a short time for those whom they desire to remember before God. Thereafter the Priest continues:*

Think mercifully also upon all who are present here, whose faith and piety are known unto Thee, who offer unto Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and for all beloved by them, for the redemption of their souls and in hope of their blessedness in eternal safety;

<sup>9</sup> *All sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross.*

[<sup>10</sup> It may be noted that the Dutch Liturgy prescribes no ringing of a bell either at the Sanctus, or at the elevations which accompany the consecration of the Elements.]

beloved ones who also offer their prayers unto Thee, the Eternal, Living, and True God.

In the Communion of Saints we reverently commemorate [<sup>14</sup>] firstly, the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord, Jesus Christ; as also the holy Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus; the holy Basil and Chrysostom, Ambrose and Augustine, Willibrord and Boniface, Gregory, Martin, Bavon, Lebuin, and all Thy Saints. Grant unto us, we beseech Thee, through their intercession, that we may be strengthened with the help of Thy protection. Through the same Christ, our Lord.

S. Amen.

*The Priest stretches his hands over the Oblations, and prays:*

We beseech Thee, therefore, O Lord, that Thou wilt graciously accept this sacrifice from Thy servants, as also from Thy whole congregation, and that Thou wilt grant peace in our days; Deliver us from eternal damnation, and give us place amongst the number of Thine elect. Through Christ our Lord.

S. Amen.

*Pr.* Vouchsafe, O God, in all respects to bless ✠ this sacrifice, ✠ to accept, ✠ approve, and make it reasonable and well-pleasing, that it may be to

<sup>14</sup> At certain Festivals this prayer is amended to include special commemorations.

Our Lady, the Apostles, Four Doctors of the Church (two Eastern and two Western) are explicitly commemorated with Augustine (of Hippo), Willibrord (of Utrecht), Boniface (of Germany and Utrecht), Gregory (of Utrecht), Martin (of Tours), Eavo, or Bavon (of Ghent and Haarlem), and Lebuin, or Leafwine (of Deventer).]

us the ✠ Body and the ✠ Blood of Thy well-beloved Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ.

*He takes the Bread into his hand, and says:*

Who, on the day before His suffering, took Bread into His holy and venerable hands, and with His eyes lifted up towards Heaven, to Thee, O God, His Almighty Father, thanking Thee, He ✠ blessed, brake, and gave It to His disciples, saying: Take and eat of This, all of you, FOR THIS IS MY BODY.

*While the Priest elevates the sacred Host, all sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross.*

*He takes the Chalice and says:*

In like manner also, after Supper was over, He took this excellent Chalice into His holy and venerable hands; and thanking Thee, He ✠ blessed, and gave This to His disciples, saying: Take and drink of This, all of you, FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL TESTAMENT (A MYSTERY OF THE FAITH), WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.

As often as ye shall do this, ye shall do it for My memorial.

*While the Priest elevates the Chalice, all sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross.*

*Thereafter the Priest prays:*

Therefore, O Lord, remembering the blessed Passion of the same Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, as also His Resurrection and glorious Ascension into Heaven, we Thy servants and also Thy holy people, offer unto Thine exalted Majesty from Thy gifts and presents, a ✠ pure sacrifice, a ✠ holy sacrifice, an ✠ immaculate sacrifice, the ✠ holy Bread of eternal life, and the ✠ Chalice of everlasting blessedness.

Vouchsafe to look down with a merciful and favourable eye upon these Thy gifts, and to receive them as a welcome sacrifice, even as Thou wast pleased to accept favourably the gifts of Thy servant, righteous Abel; as also the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and the holy offering and immaculate oblation which Thy high-priest Melchisedech offered unto Thee.

We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, to permit this sacrifice to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thine exalted Altar, before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, that all we who by partaking at this Altar, feed upon the most sacred ✠ Body and ✠ Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly gracious blessing. Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.

#### COMMEMORATION OF THE DEPARTED.

*Pr.* Be mindful also, O Lord, of Thy servants and handmaidens *N . . . N . . .* who have gone before us with the sign of Faith, and rest in the sleep of peace.

*Here all pray for a short time for those whom they desire to remember before God. Thereafter the Priest continues:*

Give to them, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, the place of refreshment, light, and peace. Through the same Christ, our Lord.

*S.* Amen.

*Pr.* May we also, <sup>12</sup> Thy sinful servants, who trust in the multitude of Thy mercies, have some part and fellowship in the Communion of Thy

<sup>12</sup> *All smite themselves upon the breast.*

Saints. Admit us, we beseech Thee, to their company, and that not as a recompense for our merits, but of Thy pure grace alone. Through Christ, our Lord.

By ✠ Him, and with ✠ Him, and in ✠ Him, be brought unto Thee, O God, Almighty ✠ Father, in the unity of the Holy ✠ Ghost,

*(the Priest elevates the Host and Chalice and all sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross)*

all honour and glory for ever and ever.  
*People* Amen.

[*Lord's Prayer.*]

*Pr.* Let us pray.

Admonished by the precept of the Lord, and instructed by Divine teaching, we dare to say: Our Father, Which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation; *People* But deliver us from evil.

*Pr.* Amen. Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, from past, present, and future evil, and graciously grant peace in our days through the intercession of the holy and glorious Virgin and Mother of God, Mary; of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew, and of all Thy Saints; that we, assisted by the succour of Thy mercy, may remain at all times free from sin and every torment:

[*THE FRACTION.*]

*The Priest breaks the holy Host over the Chalice, in three parts, saying:*

Through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, Thy

Son, Who in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest, God for ever and ever.  
People Amen.

[THE PAX and COMMIXTURE.]

*Pr.* The peace ✠ of the Lord be ✠ with you ✠ always.  
*People* And with thy spirit.

*The Priest puts a particle of the holy Host into the Chalice.*

[AGNUS DEI.]

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

*S.* Have mercy upon us.<sup>13</sup> [<sup>14</sup>]

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

*S.* Have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

*S.* Grant us peace.

[*The following Prayer for Unity is omitted at Requiems.*]

*Pr.* O Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst say to Thine Apostles; Peace I leave with you, My peace give I unto you; Regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church, and vouchsafe to grant unto her, according to Thy good pleasure, peace and unity; Who livest and reignest, God for ever and ever.

*S.* Amen.

<sup>13</sup> *At the words "Have mercy upon us" and "Grant us Thy peace," all smite themselves upon the breast.*

<sup>14</sup> *At Requiems the responses are "Grant them rest," "Grant them rest," and "Grant them rest eternal." Moreover, the breast is not struck on such occasions.]*

[COMMUNION DEVOTIONS.]

*Pr.* O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Who according to the will of the Father, and with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by Thy death made the world to live, Deliver me by This, Thy most sacred Body and Blood, from all mine iniquities and from every evil; Make me ever to adhere to Thy commandments, and let me never be separated from Thee, Who with the same God the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest, God for ever and ever.

*S.* Amen.

*Pr.* O Lord Jesus Christ, let not the feeding upon Thy Body, which I, unworthy, yet presume to receive, redound to my judgment and condemnation; But of Thy mercy may It serve as a protection both of soul and body, and as a means of healing: Who with God the Father, livest and reignest in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God for ever and ever.

*S.* Amen.

*Pr.* I will take the heavenly Bread, and call upon the Name of the Lord.

*The Priest says three times:*

Lord, I am not worthy<sup>15</sup> that Thou shouldst come under my roof, but speak one word only, and my soul shall be whole.

[PRIEST'S COMMUNION.]

*The Priest consumes the holy Host, and says:*

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life.

*S.* Amen.

<sup>15</sup> *At the words "Lord, I am not worthy" all smite themselves upon the breast.*

*Pr.* What shall I return unto the Lord for all the benefits which He hath rendered unto me? I will take the Chalice of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord. Praising, I will call upon the Lord, and I shall be saved from mine enemies. [<sup>16</sup>]

*He consumes the holy Blood, and says:*

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto everlasting life.  
S. Amen.

[COMMUNION OF THE PEOPLE.]

*When there are other Communicants also, these come and kneel at the Communion-rail while the Priest is praying in silence. The Priest goes to the Communion-rail with a Ciborium or Paten, and dispenses the Communion, saying to every one of them:*

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.

*The Communicant answers:*  
Amen. [<sup>17</sup>]

[THE ABLUTIONS.

While the following Prayers are said the Sacred Vessels are cleansed.]

*After the reception:*

*Pr.* Grant, O Lord, that that which we have consumed with the mouth, we may receive with a pure heart; and make this temporal gift to us become an eternal remedy.  
May Thy Body, O Lord, which I have received, and Thy Blood which I have drunk, sincerely

[<sup>16</sup> This Prayer is adapted from the Vulgate version of Psalm 115, v. 12—14 (or by Anglican reckoning, Psalm 116, v. 11—13).

[<sup>17</sup> The laity may receive Holy Communion in Both Kinds, and this is the custom in a few Dutch Congregations.]

unite with me; And grant that no stain of sin may remain in me who have been refreshed with so pure and holy a Sacrament; Who livest and reignest for ever and ever.

S. Amen.

*The Congregation sings a hymn from the Catholic Hymnbook [i.e. Katholick gezangboek].*

[POST-COMMUNION PRAYER.<sup>18</sup>]

*Thereafter the Priest sings:*

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.

*People* And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* Let us pray.

*The Priest sings the THANKSGIVING PRAYER[<sup>19</sup>]. At the conclusion of this prayer the Congregation sings: Amen.*

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.

*People* And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* Praise and thank ye the Lord. (Alleluia.) [<sup>20</sup>

*People* Praise and thanks be to God. (Alleluia.) [<sup>20</sup>

*Pr.* O Holy Trinity, may the homage of Thy servant be well-pleasing unto Thee, and grant that the sacrifice which I, although unworthy, have offered in the sight of Thy Majesty, may be acceptable to Thee, and that through Thy mercy it may avail for reconciliation for me and for all for whom I have offered it. Through Christ, our Lord.

S. Amen.

[<sup>18</sup> A "Communion Sentence" from Holy Scripture is not said, as was formerly done, before the Post-Communion Prayer.

[<sup>19</sup> This prayer is *Proper to the day. Others may be added. The "Alleluia's" are added during Easter Week. At Requiems "Praise and thank ye the Lord" &c. is not said. Instead thereof, the Priest sings "May they rest in peace." The people reply "Amen."*]

[THE BLESSING.]

*Pr.* The Almighty God, <sup>21</sup> the Father, the Son, †  
and the Holy Ghost, give you His blessing.  
*S.* Amen.

[THE LAST GOSPEL.]

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.  
*S.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* The beginning of the holy Gospel according to  
John.

*All stand up and sign themselves upon the forehead,  
mouth, and breast, with the Sign of the Cross.*

*S.* Glory be to Thee, O Lord.  
*Pr.* In the beginning was the Word, and the Word  
was with God, and the Word was God. The  
same was in the beginning with God. All things  
were made by Him: and without Him was not  
anything made that was made. In Him was life,  
and the life was the light of men. And the  
light shineth in darkness, and the darkness  
comprehended it not. There was a man sent  
from God, whose name was John. The same  
came for a witness, to bear witness of the light,  
that all men through him might believe. He  
was not that light, but was sent to bear witness  
of that light. That was the true light, which  
lighteth every man that cometh into the world.  
He was in the world, and the world was made  
by Him, and the world knew Him not. He  
came unto His own, and His own received Him  
not. But as many as received Him, to them  
gave He power to become the Sons of God,  
even to them that believe on His Name: which  
were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the

<sup>21</sup> *While the Priest gives the Blessing, all sign themselves  
with the Sign of the Cross.*

flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.  
<sup>22</sup> And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt  
among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory  
as of the only-begotten of the Father) full of  
grace and truth.

*All sign themselves with the Sign of the Cross.*

*S.* Thanks be to God.

[*At the end of a Requiem Mass other devotions  
follow, i.e. Psalm 129—"De Profundis" (by Angli-  
can reckoning this is Psalm 130), which is sung  
antiphonally, and prayers for the soul(s) of the  
Departed.*]

<sup>22</sup> *At the words "And the Word was made flesh" all  
kneel.*

THE EUCHARISTIC RITE  
OF THE  
OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH  
IN  
GERMANY

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES.

The reader or user of this translation may find it helpful to secure a copy of the Prayer Book used by the German Old Catholic laity. This is the *Katholisches Gesang- und Gebetbuch für die Alt-Katholiken des Deutschen Reiches*. It is obtainable from the Willibrord Buchhandlung, of Lessingstrasse 13, Bonn, Germany. In this translation the Liturgical sub-divisions of the rite are given as they appear in the 1924 edition of the German Prayer Book. To facilitate comparison the actual German headings have been retained, with a translation of such terms, and sometimes with the names more generally used by Anglicans.

In using the German Book, however, it should be noted that it is without many rubrical directions. An attempt has been made to supply rubrics. Further, the German Book inserts into the text all the Proper Liturgical prayers for the First Sunday in Advent. All these have been omitted, as they vary during the Church's year. Moreover, there are recognized alternative forms for some parts of the rite. Forms which appear as an appendix in the German Book are here given on the right side of the page, parallel with the sections for which they may be substituted. Amongst such alternatives, those which are little used are printed in small type.

The German rite, with small modifications, is used by the Old Catholic Churches in Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

ABBREVIATIONS: Pr., Priest; C., Congregation.

AUTHORIZATION.

This translation into English, with rubrical notes, of the Eucharistic Rite of the Old Catholics of the German Reich has my full approval. Imprimatur!

ERWIN KREUZER,  
Catholic Bishop of the Old Catholics  
of the German Reich.

## THE ORDER OF THE HOLY OFFICE

AND

FORM FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION  
according to the use of

### THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GERMANY.

*When there is to be a general Communion a special Devotion with a General Confession and Absolution is provided. On ordinary occasions the Priest enters with his Server, who kneels. The Priest stands at the foot of the steps before the Altar. The Server says the responses with, or for, the Congregation. A hymn may be sung before or after this Preparation.*

#### STUFENGE BET.

#### PRAYER AT THE STEPS.

(Preparation.)

*Priest* In the Name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

(Ps. 43) Let us go unto the Altar of God.

*Congregation* Even unto the God of our joy and gladness.

*Pr.* (Ps. 15) Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle?

*C.* Who shall rest upon Thy holy hill?

*Pr.* Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life, and doeth the thing that is right;

*C.* He that speaketh the truth from his heart.

*Pr.* (Ps. 121) Our help is in the Name of the Lord.

*C.* Who hath made heaven and earth.

*Pr.* We confess to Thee, O God, that we have sinned grievously and often, in thought, word, and deed; against Thee, against our neighbour, and against ourselves.

### 42 OLD CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

*C.* We confess our fault, our grievous fault.

*Pr.* Wherefore we beseech Thee, Who art our Father, that Thou wilt mercifully pardon us.

*C.* We entreat Thee, O Lord.

*Pr.* May Almighty God have mercy upon us, forgive us our sins, and bring us to life everlasting.

*C.* Amen.

*Pr.* May the Almighty and merciful God grant unto us remission, ✠ absolution, and pardon of all our sins.

*C.* Amen.

*Pr.* O Lord, shew Thy mercy upon us.

*C.* And grant us Thy salvation.

*Pr.* O Lord, hear our prayer.

*C.* And let our cry come unto Thee.

*Pr.* The Lord be with you.

*C.* And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* Let us pray.

*He ascends the steps to the Altar.*

Take away from us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, all our iniquities, that with a pure heart we may enter Thy Holy of Holies, through Christ, our Lord.

*C.* Amen.

#### EINGANG.

#### THE INTROIT.

*This is proper to the Sunday or Holy Day and therefore varies. It consists of a verse of Scripture, part of a Psalm, with the Gloria Patri sometimes added. The opening verse may be repeated at the end.*

#### KYRIE.

#### KYRIE ELEISON.

*This is said in Advent, from Septuagesima till Palm Sunday, and at Requiems. It is omitted on all occasions on which the Gloria in Excelsis is said.*

- Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.  
*C.* Lord, have mercy upon us.  
*Pr.* Christ, have mercy upon us.  
*C.* Christ, have mercy upon us.  
*Pr.* Lord, have mercy upon us.  
*C.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

## GLORIA.

## GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

*This is omitted whenever the Kyries are ordered to be said. During its recitation at the Altar the congregation may sing a hymn. The opening words are always said aloud.*  
*Priest and congregation may also say it alternately, by sections, as printed below.*

- Pr.* Glory be to God on High.  
*(C.* And in earth peace to men of good will.  
*Pr.* We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee.  
*C.* We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory,  
*Pr.* O Lord, our God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.  
*C.* Thou, our Lord, the Only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ.  
*Pr.* Lord, our God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, Thou Who takest away the sins of the world, Have mercy upon us.  
*Pr.* Thou Who takest away the sins of the world, Receive our prayer.  
*Pr.* Thou Who sittest at the right hand of the Father,  
*C.* Have mercy upon us.  
*Pr.* For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord.  
*C.* Thou only art the Most High, Jesu Christ,  
*Pr.*) With the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father.  
*C.* Amen.

KIRCHENGEBET.  
THE COLLECT(S).

- Pr.* (*facing Congregation*) The Lord be with you.  
*C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* (*facing Altar*) Let us pray.  
*The Collect(s) which follow is/are Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day. At the conclusion is said:*  
*C.* Amen.

## EPISTEL.

## THE EPISTLE.

- Pr.* Hear the words of the Epistle for the day, written in . . .  
*The Epistle Proper to the occasion is then read. The Priest ends by saying:*  
 Thus far the words of the Epistle.  
*C.* Thanks be to God, the Lord.

## GRADUALE.

## THE GRADUAL.

*This is a short portion of Scripture, Proper to the occasion. It is read by the Priest. Alleluias are sometimes added. At Easter and Pentecost a hymn called the Sequence follows.*

## EVANGELIUM.

## THE GOSPEL.

- Pr.* (*facing Congregation*) The Lord be with you.  
*C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* Sign yourselves now with the Sign of the Holy Cross, in the Name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and give ear to the words of the Gospel for the day, written in . . .  
*The Gospel, Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day, is then read. At its conclusion the Priest says:*  
 Thus far the words of the Holy Gospel.  
*C.* Praise be to Thee, O Christ.

*A Hymn before the Sermon may follow here.*

PREDIGT.

THE SERMON.

*Before or after the Sermon, notices may be given out.*

GLAUBENSBEKENNTNIS.

THE CREED.<sup>1</sup>

*A Hymn may be sung by the congregation while the Creed is said.*

*The Creed is omitted on certain Holy Days and at Requiem.*

*Pr.* I believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten, not made; Consubstantial with the Father, by Whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,<sup>2</sup> and was made man. And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried. And the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the

<sup>1</sup> *The Apostles' Creed is a recognized alternative to the Nicene Creed.*

<sup>2</sup> *A genuflection is made here.*

Father (*Addition of the Western Church*: and the Son), Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And in one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the world to come.

C. Amen.

OPFERUNG.

THE OFFERTORY.

*Pr.* (*facing Congregation*) The Lord be with you.

C. And with thy spirit.

*Pr.* (*facing Altar*) Let us pray.

*The Offertory Sentence, Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day is then read. The Chalice is now uncovered and the Bread and Wine (mixed with a little water) are placed on the Altar. The Priest says one of the following:*

O Lord, Heavenly Father, giver of all good gifts, Who dost provide bread for our daily food, and hast given wine that it may gladden the heart of man, after the example and command of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, we lay upon the Altar these precious gifts of Thy favour, in readiness for the holy sacrifice.

*or,*  
*At the offering of the Bread.*

Receive, O Holy Father, Almighty everlasting God, this oblation which we Thine unworthy servants offer unto Thee, our true and living God, for our sins and negligencies, for this our whole congregation, and for all the Faithful, living and departed; that to us

With them we offer  
to Thee ourselves,  
and Thy whole  
world with its weal  
and woe.

Accept our humble  
hearts and look mer-  
cifully upon Thy  
whole creation  
which sighs and  
yearns for Thee.  
Come then, &c.  
(as below)

and to them it may  
avail for salvation  
unto everlasting life.  
C. Amen.

*At the blessing of the  
Water.*

O God, ✠ Who hast  
wonderfully created  
the dignity of  
human nature, and  
still more wonder-  
fully hast renewed  
it, by the mysterious  
meaning of this  
water and wine,  
grant unto us that  
we may enter into  
the communion of  
His Divinity, Who  
vouchsafed to be-  
come partaker of  
our humanity, even  
Jesus Christ, our  
Lord.

C. Amen.

*At the offering of the  
Chalice.*

We offer unto Thee,  
O Lord, the Chalice  
of salvation, and  
implore Thy favour  
that our offering  
may ascend in the  
sight of Thy majes-

ty, for our salvation  
and that of all the  
world, with all the  
odour of sweetness.  
Amen.

In the spirit of  
humility and with a  
contrite heart, we  
beseech Thee that  
we may be accepted  
by Thee, and that in  
the sight of Thine  
eyes our sacrifice  
may be such as shall  
be well-pleasing unto  
Thee, O Lord, our  
God.  
Come then, &c.  
(as below)

Come then, Thou Who dost quicken and  
sanctify all things, Almighty and eternal God,  
and bless the sacrifice that is prepared for  
Thy Holy Name.

*The Lavabo ceremony follows. The Priest washes  
his hands and while doing so recites Psalm 26,  
verses 6—12 with the Gloria Patri ("I will wash  
my hands in innocency, O Lord," &c.). The Priest  
then turns to the Congregation.*

*Pr.* Pray, most beloved, that our sacrifice may be  
well-pleasing unto the Father, God Almighty.  
C. So be it to the honour of His Name, and for  
the salvation of the world.

*The Priest faces the Altar again.*

*Pr.* Amen.

ZWÄCHENGEBET.  
THE INTERMEDIATE PRAYER.  
(Secreta.)

*This Prayer, said by the Priest, is Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day. At its conclusion is said:*

C. Amen.  
DANKSAGUNG.  
THANKSGIVING.  
(Sursum Corda and Preface.)

*The Priest faces the Altar.*

Pr. The Lord be with you.  
C. And with thy spirit.  
Pr. Lift up your hearts.  
C. We lift them up to God, the Lord.  
Pr. Let us give thanks and praise unto the Lord, our God.  
C. It is meet and salutary.

*The Preface follows. This varies in form. On ordinary occasions the Preface is as follows:*

Pr. It is truly meet and just, fitting, and for our salvation, that we should at all times and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God, for that we are united with Christ, our Lord, in Whose Spirit the hymn of praise to Thy Glory is sung by the angels and all the company of Heaven. We beseech Thee, that with them our voices also may come to Thine ear, who humbly, yet joyfully, confess and cry:

SANKTUS.  
SANCTUS.

Pr. (*continuing*) Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts. Heaven and earth are

full of His glory. Hosanna in the Highest! Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord, Hosanna in the Highest!

*A hymn may be sung here. It may continue while the "Petition" and "Fellowship" prayers are said.*

BITTE.  
THE PETITION.

*Alternative forms are provided:*

Pr. All-merciful Father, accept then and bless these gifts and this holy offering. In deepest humility we implore Thee, and pray Thee to remember especially Thy Holy and Universal Church, and give her peace, concord, and Thy Spirit. Look down on all those whom Thou hast set as pastors within her, especially upon our Bishop, all Priests of our congregations, and upon the devout company of the Faithful.

*or*  
Pr. All-merciful Father, accept then and bless these gifts and this holy offering. In deepest humility we implore Thee, and pray Thee to remember especially Thy Holy and Universal Church, and give her peace, concord, and Thy Spirit. Look down on all those whom Thou hast set as pastors within her, especially upon our Bishop, all Priests of our congregations, and upon the devout company of the Faithful.

*Then follows* GEMEINSCHAFT.  
FELLOWSHIP.

(Commemoration of the Living and of the Saints in Glory.)

*Alternative forms are provided:*

Pr. And behold, the whole Church throughout all the world in spirit wor-

*or*  
Pr. Remember also, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens . . .

## THE GERMAN OLD CATHOLIC LITURGY 51

ships with us. Hear her supplications, and give her concord, peace, and Thy Spirit. Look down on all those whom Thou hast set as Pastors within her, upon our Bishop, and all Priests and Ministers of our congregations, and upon the devout company of the Faithful. Bless and look upon our people and Fatherland, and all who bear rule therein. Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and hand-

maidens . . .  
(*here Priest and Congregation remember living persons in whom they have especial interest*)

As we belong to Thee, so also do they, with their faith and devotion, and bring to Thee their hearts' best as a holy vow, and as a sacrifice of praise. Thus we remain . . . &c. (*as below*)

(*here Priest and Congregation remember living persons in whom they have especial interest*)  
and all here present whose faith and devotion are known unto Thee, for whom we offer, or who themselves offer, the sacrifice of praise for themselves and their kindred, for their redemption and their hope of salvation. Thus we remain . . . &c. (*as below*)

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*Pr. (continuing)* Thus we remain in holy fellowship . . .

(*on certain Festivals a commemoration is made here*)  
. . . and hold in honour the memory of Mary, the blessed Mother of the Saviour, with all Apostles, Martyrs, and Heroes of the Faith, whose word, example, and prayer mayest Thou bless unto and for us all; Through Christ, our Lord.

C. Amen.

KONSEKRATION.

THE CONSECRATION.

*The opening Invocation has two forms:*

*or*  
*Pr.* Wherefore we hum-

bly beseech Thee to send us Thy Holy Spirit, the bestower of all life and sanctification, and let these earthly gifts be sanctified into heavenly, ✠ figured, and spiritual sacrificial gifts, that the Bread which we break may be the communion of the Bo ✠ dy of the Lord, and the Cup which we bless may be the communion of the Blo ✠ od of Jesus Christ. Who on the day before . . . &c. (*as below*)

*Pr.* Wherefore, O Lord, we beseech Thee to accept graciously this sacrifice which we, Thy servants, and Thy whole congregation bring unto Thee. Order our days in Thy peace, preserve us from eternal condemnation, and grant us to be numbered with Thine elect. Through Christ, our Lord.

C. Amen.

Mayest Thou, then, O Lord, accept our offering in all bless ✠ ing and favour. Be it transfused with Thy Spirit, and of Thy love may it be well-pleasing in such wise that in these gifts there may be dispensed to us the communion of the Bo ✠ dy and Blo ✠ od

of Thy most dearly  
beloved Son, our Lord,  
Jesus Christ;  
Who on the day before  
... &c. (as below)

*Pr. (continuing)* Who on the day before He suffered took the Bread into His holy and venerable hands, and looking up to Thee, O God, His Almighty Father, gave thanks to Thee, bless †ed, brake and gave It to His disciples, saying, Take and eat of This, all of you

FOR THIS IS MY BODY.

C. Amen.

*Pr.* Likewise after the Supper He took the Cup also into His holy and venerable hands, gave thanks to Thee again, bless †ed, and gave It to His disciples, saying, Drink of This, all of you  
FOR THIS IS THE CUP OF MY BLOOD, OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT—A MYSTERY OF THE FAITH—WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS.

These things, as often as ye do them, ye shall do in remembrance of Me.

C. Amen.

GEDAECHTNIS.

REMEMBRANCE.

(Oblation.)

*Pr. (continuing)* Wherefore O Lord, we Thy servants, with Thy whole Church, are remembering the blessed Passion of the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, as also His Resurrection from the dead, and His glorious Ascension into heaven. Him we set before Thee as our pure, † holy, immaculate sacrifice; as the holy †

Bread of everlasting life; and as the † Cup of our everlasting salvation.

NACH DEM GEDAECHTNIS.

AFTER THE { REMEMBRANCE  
(or Oblation).

*When this is said the first section of the Intercession is left out.*

[*Pr. (continuing)* Look down with gracious countenance upon these gifts, and of Thy good pleasure accept them as Thou wast graciously pleased to receive the gifts of Thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, as also that which Melchisedech Thy High Priest brought unto Thee,—a holy and unspotted sacrifice.] We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, to permit this offering to be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy sublime Altar in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, that all we who in this Communion receive Thy Son's most holy † Body and Blo †od, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace. Through the same Christ, our Lord.

C. Amen.

Ø. In 1936 a new edition of the Liturgy was published in pamphlet form, in which the bracketed words are omitted. This new edition is printed with alternatives in parallel columns, as in this translation.

## FUERBITTE.

## INTERCESSION.

*The first section, printed in the column below, is omitted if the foregoing "After the Remembrance" Prayers have been said.*

*Pr. (continuing)* We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, that all we who are partakers of this Communion and receive Thy Son's most holy Body and Blood, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace.

*Pr. (continuing)* Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens who have gone before us with the Sign of Faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace....

*Here Priest and Congregation remember those amongst the Departed for whom they especially desire to pray.*

...To them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, grant refreshment, light, and peace. And to us sinners also, Thy servants, who trust in the multitude of Thy mercies, graciously grant part and fellowship with the holy Apostles, and Martyrs, and with the company of Thy Saints, not according to our merits, but of Thy merciful pardon. This we beseech

E

Thee, through Christ our Lord, by Whom, Thou, Eternal Father, ever createst, sanctifiest, quickenest, blessest, and bestowest all these things upon us.

## ANBETUNG.

## THE ADORATION.

*Pr. (continuing, and making the Sign of the Cross, with the Host over the Chalice)* Through Him, and with † Him, and in Him, be all honour and glory to Thee, O God, Almighty Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.

C. Amen.

## GEBET DES HERRN.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER.

*Pr.* Let us pray.

As our Lord hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say: Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come to us. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

C. Amen.

## BROTBRECHUNG.

## THE BREAD-BREAKING.

(The Fraction and Commixture.)

*During this prayer the Bread is broken and a small particle is caused to fall into the Chalice. There are alternative forms:*

*Pr.* The Lamb Who died, <sup>or</sup> Pr. Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and hath reconciled us to God through seech Thee, O Lord,

His Blood, is worthy to take power, and riches, and wisdom, and greatness, and honour, and praise, and glory.

from all evil, past, present, and to come; and graciously give peace in our days, that under the protection of Thy mercy we may ever be free from sins and safe from all oppression. Through our Lord, Jesus Christ, Thy Son, to Whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory and honour for ever and ever.

C. Amen.

FRIEDENSGRUSS.

THE PEACE-GREETING.  
(The Pax.)

*Pr.* The Peace of the Lord be always with you.  
C. Peace with us all.

AGNUS DEI.

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

C. Have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

C. Have mercy upon us.

*Pr.* O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world.

C. Grant us peace.

*At Requiems the responses of the Congregation are:*

(1) *Grant them rest;* (2) *Grant them rest;*

(3) *Grant them rest eternal.*

VORBEREITUNG.

THE PREPARATION.

*Alternative forms are provided:*

*Pr.* O God, merciful Father, hear us, and through the death of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, grant forgiveness of sins to us and to Thy whole Church. We humbly beseech Thee, that we and all who are partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, that filled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, we may become one body with Him, that He may dwell in us and we in Him. Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, ever in the unity of the Holy Spirit.

C. Amen.

*or (especially on General Communion days)*

*Pr.* O Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst say to Thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My peace give I unto you; regard not our sins, but the faith of Thy congregation, and grant unto her Thy well-pleasing peace and concord.

O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Who according to the will of the Father, and in the power of the Holy Ghost, hast through Thy death given life unto the world, deliver us by Thy holy Body and Blood, from all our sins and from every evil. Let us ever adhere to Thy commandments, and suffer us never to be

separated from Thee.  
 Let not the participation of Thy Body, O Lord Jesu Christ, which although unworthy we presume to receive, redound to our judgment and condemnation, but of Thy goodness may it ever be unto us a defence of body and soul, and a sure way of salvation. To Thee with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory and honour for ever and ever.  
 C. Amen.

KOMMUNION.

THE COMMUNION.

*The Priest genuflects and then rises.*

*Pr.* Now let us receive the Heavenly Bread, and call upon the Name of the Lord.  
 O Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldst enter under my roof, but speak one word only, and my soul shall be whole.  
 O Lord, I am not worthy . . . &c.  
 O Lord, I am not worthy . . . &c.

*(repeated three times in all.)*

60 OLD CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

*Pr.* The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ ✠ preserve our souls unto everlasting life.  
 C. Amen.

*The Priest partakes of the Consecrated Bread, and the People make a spiritual Communion.*

*Note.* If others besides the Priest are also to Communicate, the Priest says "preserve my soul" when receiving Communion himself. He says "preserve thy soul" to a single Communicant, or "preserve your souls" either to all, or to every small group whom he Communicates.

*After a short pause for silent prayer, the Priest continues:*

*Pr.* What shall we repay unto the Lord?  
 C. For all that He hath done for us?  
*Pr.* Let us receive the Cup of Salvation.  
 C. And call upon the Name of the Lord.  
*Pr.* Praise the Lord, and cry unto Him.  
 C. He is the deliverance from all evil.  
*Pr.* The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ✠ preserve our souls unto everlasting life.  
 C. Amen.

*The Priest now consumes the Contents of the Chalice. The Ablutions follow. During this cleansing of the Sacred Vessels the Congregation may sing a hymn.*

*The Priest says these prayers:*

*Pr.* That which we have received with the mouth, O Lord, we will retain with a pure mind; and may that which Thou dost send to us in time guide us unto everlasting salvation.  
 Thy Body, O Lord, we have received; Thy Blood we have drunk. Abide now in us. Drive away every thought of the Evil One, since we are abundantly refreshed by Thy pure and holy Sacrament. To Thee be thanks and praise for ever.  
 C. Amen.

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ZUR KOMMUNION.

THE COMMUNION SENTENCE.

*The Priest now says the Communion Sentence which is Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day.*

SCHLUSSGEBET.

CLOSING PRAYER.

(Postcommunion Prayer.)

- Pr.* The Lord be with you.  
*C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* Let us pray.

*The Priest then says the Postcommunion Prayer which is Proper to the Sunday or Holy Day. At its conclusion is said:*

- C.* Amen.

SEGEN.

THE BLESSING.<sup>3</sup>

- Pr.* The Lord be with you.  
*C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* Let us all praise the Lord. (*Alleluia. Alleluia.*)  
*C.* Praise and thanks be to our God. (*Alleluia. Alleluia.*)

*The Alleluias are said during the Easter Season.*

- Pr.* May the Almighty and Merciful God, the Father, ✠ the Son, and the Holy Ghost, bless and keep us.  
*C.* Amen. Amen.

<sup>3</sup> *At Requiems the Blessing is replaced by the following:*  
*Pr.* The Lord be with you. *C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* May they(he) rest in peace. *C.* Amen.

62 OLD CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP

LETZTES EVANGELIUM.

THE LAST GOSPEL.<sup>4</sup>

*This is usually said in an undertone.*

- Pr.* The Lord be with you.  
*C.* And with thy spirit.  
*Pr.* The beginning of the Holy Gospel according to John.  
*C.* Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

*The Priest then reads S. John, i. 1-14 ("In the beginning ... &c. .... full of grace and truth").*

- C.* Thanks be to God.  
*Priest and Server then retire to the Sacristy.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Last Gospel, etc., is not printed in the German Prayer Book for the lady, i. e. in the 1924 "Gesang- und Gebetbuch", but in the 1936 pamphlet edition ("Ordnung des heiligen Amtes") it is fully printed as "Schlussevangelium", though without responses before and after.*

Notes on the Swiss Rite.

In the early days of the Christian-Catholic Church in Switzerland liturgical confusion prevailed. Bishop Edouard Herzog put an end to this uncertainty when in 1880 he was able to secure acceptance by both German-speaking and French-speaking congregations of draft proposals which he and a number of co-workers had produced.

These proposals were based upon a French liturgy which Père Hyacinthe Loyson had used unofficially in Geneva during his pastorate there in 1873-1874. Loyson's Liturgy was not so much a translation of the Latin Mass as a free adaptation of it in the French Language. Bishop Herzog also made use of language suggested by the Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.

Simplification of the Latin rite was desired in adapting it to the vernacular. Rubrical directions were reduced to a minimum. Communion in Both Kinds was restored. The names of particular Saints, other than that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, were omitted. The Last Gospel was made permissive and not obligatory.

The French and German recensions of the Christian-Catholic Eucharistic rite vary in small details, but in no essential particular. An authorised translation into English of that used in the German-speaking congregations has been made by Mr. H.D. Wynne-Bennett, D.Sc, and appears in "Old Catholic Eucharistic Worship" (Faith Press Ltd. 1936) pp. 65 - 82.

The Swiss Old Catholics were thus the first to adopt vernacular rites officially, and they have remained very conservative in regard to them. A revision of the French-Swiss rite was authorised by Bishop Herzog and approved by the Synodal Council. This was printed at Soleure in 1910 but has not come into use as the French-speaking congregations have maintained their right to use the older form.

The extent to which the Swiss departed from the model of the Latin Mass may be seen from the way in which they cast the "Kyrie" in a form suggested by Eastern Orthodox practice :-

" Kyrie Eleison.

" Pr. Let us pray for the welfare and unity of the Christian Churches.

℟. Lord, have mercy upon us . (Kyrie eleison).

- " Pr. Let us pray for our Fatherland, and for our spiritual and temporal rulers.
- ℟. Christ, have mercy upon us. ( Christi eleison.).
- Pr. Let us pray for the sick, and those in trouble; for the oppressed and needy; for those that err, and for sinners.
- ℟. Lord, have mercy upon us. ( Kyrie eleison.). "
- ( vide "Old Catholic Eucharistic Worship" p.70.)

The wording of the Prayer of Oblation, following immediately after the consecration of the Elements, is also a noteworthy example of the way in which the Swiss Old Catholics refused to be tied by the phraseology of the Latin Mass, departing from that model much further than the later German and ~~Sw~~ Dutch vernacular rites have done.

Dr. Wynne-Bennett's English translation of the Swiss Christian-Catholic Prayer of Oblation is as follows:-

" Pr. Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants remember the holy Passion of this Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, as also His Resurrection from the dead, and His glorious Ascension into Heaven. Look upon the unending love of Thy Son, Who came down to us from His Heavenly abode, Who was to Thee obedient even unto the death upon the Cross, and Whom, Heavenly Father, Thou hast exalted to Thy right hand. On Him hast Thou laid our transgressions, and on His shoulders hast Thou laid our sins. He has borne our debt, and on the Cross destroyed the handwriting of ordinances that was against us.

Him do we present to Thee as our pure, holy, unspotted sacrifice. He hath had pity on our weaknesses and by ordaining this celebration of His Body and Blood hath established for us an Altar, whereat we ever find mercy and obtain grace from Thee. To bless us there cometh the Interceding High Priest, now present with us and ever standing before Thy face.

Wherefore we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord, Heavenly Father, to grant that all we who at this Altar receive the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace; Through the same Christ our Lord. "

( vide "Old Catholic Eucharistic Worship", p.75-76.)

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Finis.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y .

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#### LETTERS.

Numerous letters from many sources, especially:-

The late Archbishop of Utrecht,(Mgr. Fr.Kenninck); Dr.J.H.  
Berends,(Bishop of Deventer); Dr. Adolf Küry(Christian-Catholic  
Bishop in Switzerland); Bishop Erwin Kreuzer (Germany);  
Bishop Alois Faschek (Czecho-Slovakia); and  
From Holland (Amersfoort Seminary):- Professor Mr.Dr.A.J. van  
den Bergh; Professors C Wijker; C.G.van Riel; and P.J.van Hard-  
erwijk.

From Germany:-Pfarrer P.H. Vogel.

From Switzerland:- Pfarrer M.L.Hegelbach; Pfarrer Hugo Flury.

From Austria:-Dr. Hanns Kreczi,(Assistant O.C.priest at Linz.)

From U.S.A.:- Rt.Rev.F.E.Wilson(Bishop of Eau Claire);

Rev. Dr.Frank Gavin; Rev.R.F.Lau,D.D.; Rev.Peter Lambert Jnr.;  
Rev.G.L.Grambs; Rev.Vivian A. Peterson; Rev.Theodore Andrews;  
Rev. W.C.Emhardt; - all of the Protestant Episcopal Church-  
Rev. R. Pawlikowski, and an anonymous Polish priest at  
Scranton,Pa.; - both of the Polish National Catholic Church.  
Great Britain:- Rev.A.C.Don,D.D.(Chaplain to the Archbishop of  
Canterbury); Rev. C.B.Moss,B.D.; the late Rev.W.M.Tuke; Rt.Rev.  
A.C.Headlam,(Bishop of Gloucester); Rev.R.F.Fielding; Mr.H.D.  
Wynne-Bennett, D.Sc.; Dr.E.C.Messenger; Miss G.Denroche of  
the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society; Bishop F.W.  
Pigott of the "Liberal Catholic Church"; Archbishop B.M.  
Williams of the "Old Roman Catholic Church"; and many others.

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