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Eduard Herzog and the ‘Anglo-American’ Church, c. 1870–1882

Mark D. Chapman

The famous declaration of the English Reformation in 1533 that ‘this realm of England is an Empire’¹ made one thing obvious: whatever claim the Church of England might have to be a catholic church was fundamentally transformed. When the ‘Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of *England*’,² catholicity had to be based on something other than communion with the church overseas. For many apologists during the Reformation period, and again in the mid-nineteenth century, the catholicity of the church was defended in terms of a continuity with the apostolic church: the primitive church and the writings of the Fathers became the key criteria for identifying a church as catholic. National churches – including the Church of England – could be regarded as catholic if they fulfilled these key conditions. Not surprisingly, interest in relations with other churches outside England was for the most part not high on the agenda of the Church of England, although there had been occasional moments of ecumenical activity. However, despite some efforts at closer relationships with Roman Catholics from the mid-nineteenth century, particularly by Anglo-Catholic enthusiasts such as F. G. Lee and, more tentatively, Edward Bouverie Pusey, Bishop Alexander Forbes, and Henry Liddon,³ for the most part, members of the Church of England remained loyal to the Reformation and Rome remained the foe, especially in its

¹ Preamble to the Act in Restraint of Annates, Statute 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.

² Article XXXVII of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England (1571).

³ See my essays, ‘An ecumenical front against liberalism: Bishop Alexander Penrose Forbes of Brechin and *An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*’, *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte/Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 17 (2010), vol. 2, pp. 147–161; ‘Pusey, Newman, and the end of a “healthful Reunion”: The Second and Third Volumes of Pusey’s *Eirenicon*’, *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte/Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 15 (2008), pp. 208–231; ‘A Catholicism of the Word and a Catholicism of Devotion: Pusey, Newman and the first *Eirenicon*’, *Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte/Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 14 (2007), pp. 167–90; ‘The Fantasy of Reunion: The Rise and Fall of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007), pp. 49–74.

Ultramontane form represented by many of the 'restored' English hierarchy, including Henry Edward Manning.

While the 1870 Declaration of Infallibility put a temporary end to conversations with Roman Catholics, it also opened up new possibilities. For the majority of Anglicans who understood the Reformation as a return to the purity of the ancient church and a purging of the country of the errors of Rome, the nascent Old Catholic movement presented significant opportunities: what was happening in Germany and Switzerland showed more than a passing resemblance to the English church of the 1530s. This was noted by Edward Harold Browne (1811–1891),⁴ Bishop of Winchester, a conservative high churchman and President of the Anglo-Continental Society, and one of the Church of England's leading observers of developments on the continent. Browne, who had produced a standard exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles,⁵ observed that the Vatican Council was not truly ecumenical since it had regarded Anglican bishops as 'belonging to an undistinguished body of heretics'⁶. The Old Catholics were following the path taken by the Church of England at the Reformation, since they similarly 'appealed to primitive purity' and 'professed themselves ready to abide by the judgement of the first six centuries, and accepted the doctrinal decrees of all truly general councils'⁷. Similarly, Edward Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield, noted that after the growth of the Old Catholics it was 'impossible that the English Church can remain a passive or uninterested spectator of this great movement. For a long time we have been, in a measure, isolated, as it were, from the rest of Christendom'⁸.

This new opportunity meant that ecumenism suddenly mutated into something mainstream: these new national old catholic churches looked like attractive dialogue partners in building a catholic alliance of independent churches pitted against Rome. For the Church of England, however, a complicating factor was that from the 1860s Anglicanism was be-

⁴ See George Kitchin, *Edward Harold Browne, Lord Bishop of Winchester: A Memoir*, London (John Murray) 1896, esp. ch. 11.

⁵ Edward Harold Browne, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles: Historical and Doctrinal*, London (Parker) 1850, 2 vols.

⁶ Edward Harold Browne, *The Old Catholic Movement on the Continent of Europe: A Paper Read at the Church Congress, Brighton, 1874*, London (Wells Gardner) 1875, p. 6.

⁷ Browne, *The Old Catholic Movement*, p. 7.

⁸ Edward Bickersteth/Frederick Meyrick, *Two Papers on the Old Catholic Movement and the Bonn Conference*, London (Wells Gardner) 1877, p. 7.

coming increasingly aware of its worldwide character. This was particularly true in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, which, having cast off the British Crown, had been forced into a life of separate development from its inception at the end of the eighteenth century. Especially after the American Civil War, its dominant model of an independent church for the nation became quite distinct from the English model of an established national church. As will become clear, while it shared with the Church of England an animosity towards Rome, it had other reasons for looking for catholic alliances further afield. This combination of circumstances meant that there was a warm response from many traditional Anglicans from both sides of the Atlantic to the Old Catholic Movement in its early years.

This paper explores the relations of the first bishop of the Swiss 'Christkatholiken' (as the Old Catholics were called in Switzerland), Eduard Herzog (1841–1924), both to the Church of England and to the American Episcopal Church. The story reveals very different approaches to ecumenism and the concept of the national church among the two largest churches of the Anglican Communion. This in turn demonstrates important distinctions in their understandings of the nature of Anglicanism, which was to have a lasting impact on the relationships between the different churches of the Anglican Communion. I focus solely on the early years of Herzog's episcopate, concluding in about 1882, principally because after it had become apparent that the Old Catholic Movement was not going to pose a significant challenge to the European religious settlement, Anglican attitudes to the Old Catholic churches changed from the mid-1880s. Anglo-Catholics turned again to Rome, and most mainstream Anglicans, while offering encouraging and sympathetic words and a modicum of financial support, treated the Old Catholics as one small if favoured denomination among many.

The Context of Anglican–Old Catholic Relations⁹

In the Church of England the change in mood in ecumenical relations after the Vatican Council can be illustrated from the key parts played by three

⁹ See C. B. Moss, *The Old Catholic Movement, its Origins and History*, London (SPCK) 1948, pp. 330–38; A. M. E. Scarth, *The Story of the Old Catholic and Kindred Movements leading up to the Union of National Independent Churches*, London (Simpkin, Marshall and Co) 1883; Joseph Troxler, *Die neuere Entwicklung des Alt-*

important figures: first was Edward Harold Browne; second was Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, who had established a reputation as an anti-Roman polemicist earlier in his career. He had, for instance, produced a collection of letters first published in the French periodical *L'Univers* 'on the destructive character of the Church of Rome, both in religion and policy'¹⁰. A few years later he produced his second series of Hulsean lectures under the title, *Babylon; or, the Question Examined, Is the Church of Rome the Babylon of the Apocalypse?*¹¹ Not surprisingly, Wordsworth watched developments in the Roman Catholic Church very closely, writing the official Church of England response in Latin to the humiliating papal letter *Omnibus Protestantibus* of 13 September 1868¹². His linguistic skills were later demonstrated in his translations of the resolutions of the 1878 Lambeth Conference into Latin and Greek, ancient and modern¹³. The third key figure in this early stage of post-Vatican Council ecumenism was one of Wordsworth's examining chaplains and prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, Frederick Meyrick (1827–1906). Meyrick, Rector of Blickling in Norfolk, was secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, which he founded in 1853 with the intention 'of making the principles of the English Church known in the different countries of Europe and throughout the world'. This included 'her doctrine, discipline and status'¹⁴. The Society did not aim to proselytise but to bring about the

katholizismus: Ein Beitrag zur Sektengeschichte der Gegenwart, Cologne (Bachem) 1908, pp. 97–104; Johann Friedrich von Schulte, *Der Altkatholicismus: Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, inneren Gestaltung und rechtlichen Stellung in Deutschland* (1887), Aalen (Scientia) 1965, pp. 654–656. More generally, see Willibald Beyschlag, 'The Origin and Development of the Old Catholic Movement', *American Journal of Theology* 2 (1898), pp. 481–526.

¹⁰ Christopher Wordsworth, *Letters to M. Gondon, author of 'Mouvement religieux en Angleterre', 'Conversion de soixantes ministres anglicans', &c. &c. &c. on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Policy*, London (Rivington) 1847.

¹¹ Originally published as *Is the Church of Rome the Babylon of the Book of Revelation?*, London (Rivington) 1850.

¹² The document is reprinted at: Eugenio Cecconi, *Storia del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano, Parte Prima: Antecedenti del Concilio*, Rome (Tipografica Vaticana) 1872, vol. I, ii, documents, pp. 82–5.

¹³ See Robert Fitzsimmons, 'The Church of England and the First Vatican Council' in *Journal of Religious History* 27 (2003), pp. 29–46.

¹⁴ *The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* [hereafter *FCC*], London (Wells Gardner), vol. 1, 1877, p. 252. From 1879 it was published by Rivington's.

'internal reformation of National Churches and other religious communities, by spreading information within them, rather than by proselytising from them', and to seek to make alliances with those who had rejected the pope¹⁵. Finally, it sought to 'save men, whose religious convictions are already unsettled, from drifting into infidelity, by exhibiting to them a purified Christianity which they may be able to embrace'¹⁶.

Meyrick was often the eyes and ears of the English church in its dealings with continental Europe. To this end, he edited *The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review*, founded in 1877, which offered detailed reports on the developments in non-Roman churches outside Britain. Implicitly accepting a branch theory of the Church, he grouped churches into 'Continental Christendom, Oriental Christendom, the Christendom of the British Colonies, and that of the United States'. There was no explicit mention of either Protestantism or Roman Catholicism¹⁷. In the first edition, Meyrick outlined the *Chronicle's* purposes:

If we deal honestly with ourselves, we shall acknowledge that our acquaintance with the religious state of any of these divisions or sub-divisions is very superficial and very little worth. A primary object of this Chronicle will be to increase this acquaintance, and to substitute something approaching to knowledge for the vague impressions with which we are generally content to rest satisfied.¹⁸

The *Foreign Church Chronicle's* accounts of the development of European churches were widely reported throughout England. Statistics featured prominently,¹⁹ and there were regular news articles and accounts of services from across Europe and other parts of the world, including South America and the Middle East. Not surprisingly, the Old Catholic Movement was one of the key areas of interest for Meyrick and the Anglo-Continental Society. Numbers of resolutions were adopted which sought to encourage further discussions. In particular, the declaration of Papal Infallibility presented 'an occasion of offering an earnest and affectionate ap-

¹⁵ *What is the Anglo-Continental Society?*, London (Rivington) 1878, pp. 2, 5. The Society was founded after Meyrick and his brother James had visited Spain and had translated books of English theology into Spanish (Scarth, *The Story*, p. 182).

¹⁶ *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 257.

¹⁷ *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 1–2.

¹⁸ *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 2.

¹⁹ For example, it reported that there were 55 congregations, 66 priests and 73,380 members of the Swiss Old Catholics in 1877. *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 52–3.

peal to members of the Roman Catholic Communion throughout the world, beseeching them to return from the novelties of modern doctrine and mediaeval discipline to the Scriptural Faith and Apostolic Order of the Primitive Church'. This merited 'a warm and affectionate recognition on the part of the rulers of the Anglican Church, at a crisis which may be as eventful as the Reformation of the sixteenth century'²⁰. At least in the rhetoric of the Anglo-Continental Society, a new reformation was taking place.

In 1871, shortly after the Vatican Council, Wordsworth had asked the new diocesan synod in Lincoln to address a letter of support for the Movement in Germany. It passed a motion expressing 'its sympathy with those pious and learned men on the continent of Europe, who are zealously contending against dangerous errors, and in defence of the doctrines taught by our Saviour Christ and His holy apostles, and received by the primitive Church; and it earnestly prays for the union of all in "the faith once delivered to the saints"'²¹. A similar motion had been carried at the 1871 Nottingham Church Congress²². This understanding of the church as resting on a primitive catholicity purged of the modernizing errors of Rome led Wordsworth to attend the Old Catholic Congress in Cologne in 1872, which made a deep impression on him.²³ Browne also participated, noting that there was a suggestion to include Irish and Scots clergy on any reunion committee to 'show to German Old Catholics and others that Anglican ideas of unity are quite unaffected by "establishment" or "disestablishment"'²⁴. Alternative models of a national church to that of the Church of England were on offer even in the churches of the British Isles.

²⁰ FCC 1 (1877), p. 261.

²¹ *Account of the Visit to England of the Old Catholic Bishops Bishop Reinkens, of Germany and Bishop Herzog, of Switzerland together with the meetings held to express sympathy with the Old Catholic Reform Movement also The Sermons Preached on the Occasion at Cambridge by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester and the Rev. J. J. Lias MA, Vicar of St Edward's, Cambridge and at Farnham by the Rev. Robert Browne, MA, chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, to which are prefixed some notes and dates concerning the rise of the Old Catholic Movement*, London (Rivington) 1882 [hereafter, *Account*], pp. 65–6. On the development of the Swiss Old Catholic Church in Switzerland, see Scarth, *The Story*, pp. 139–49.

²² *Account*, p. 67.

²³ John Henry Overton/Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, 1807–1885*, London (Rivington) 1888, pp. 374–5.

²⁴ G[eorge] W[illiam] Kitchin, *Edward Harold Browne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester, and Prelate of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. A Memoir*, London (John Murray) 1895, p. 409.

After the Old Catholic Congress at Constance in September 1873, which Wordsworth was unable to attend, George Edward Biber (1801–1874), perpetual curate of Roehampton and Anglo-Catholic controversialist, sent him a copy of the proceedings accompanied by a lengthy letter. Biber, who had edited the guide to *The English Church on the Continent*,²⁵ was from Ludwigsburg in Württemberg, had studied in Tübingen and had gained a doctorate in law from Göttingen. He translated regularly for the Anglo-Continental Society, including the lengthy letter *A Word of Love and Hope, addressed to the Old Catholics of Germany* in 1872²⁶. Biber shared Wordsworth's anti-papalism, also holding a high view of the vocation of national churches. Christian unity, he claimed in 1844, meant

either submission on the part of all the churches to the arrogant claims of the Roman bishop (...) or else, on the part of all the churches which are not in bondage to the Roman usurpation, a simultaneous assertion of their independence, accompanied by brotherly union and communion among one another²⁷.

Biber reported to Wordsworth that he had heard from Moritz Heidenheim (1824–1898), a Jewish convert and Old Testament scholar, who had studied at King's College, London, and been ordained as an Anglican priest serving as English chaplain in Zürich from 1864, 'that there is reason to fear that among the Old Catholics of Switzerland rationalistic tendencies are rife, and the movement is in danger of becoming a political one'²⁸. He went on to express concern about Father Hyacinthe Loyson, leader of the movement for a Gallican Church, who was 'to say the least of it, a very broad Churchman; [He] ... was the guest of Dean Stanley', the liberal Dean of Westminster²⁹. Among conservative high churchmen the fear of rationalism and of political interference equalled that of Romanism, which meant that some reformers – whatever their opinions about Rome – might be regarded with a degree of suspicion. Biber went on to inform Wordsworth

²⁵ G. E. Biber, *The English Church on the Continent or, An Account of the Foreign Settlements of the English Church*, London (Rivington) 1845.

²⁶ G. E. Biber, *A Word of Love and Hope, addressed to the Old Catholics of Germany*, London 1872.

²⁷ G. E. Biber, *The Position of the Anglican Church and the Work that is Before Her*, London (Rivington) 1844, p. 229.

²⁸ Biber to Wordsworth, 1 December 1873, Anglo-Continental Society Papers, Lambeth Palace Library, MS2908, f.181.

²⁹ Ibid.

of the forthcoming Bonn Conference on reunion scheduled for 1874. Presumably aware that the Anglican delegates would not necessarily be representative of the opinions of the Church of England, he went on to suggest

that it would be well for your Lordship in conjunction with the B[isho]p of Winchester to initiate a special *Committee* of the A[nglo]-C[ontinental] S[ociety] to whom the communication with the proposed Old Catholic Union Committee should be intrusted; so that the overture which Dr [Johann Friedrich] von Schulte [1827–1914] tells me will shortly be made to our President may not find us not prepared.³⁰

Thus, alongside the Bonn Conference Committee which included Wordsworth and Meyrick, there also emerged what amounted to a semi-official dialogue process under the leadership of Browne, Wordsworth and the Anglo-Continental Church Society. This group proceeded independently of the Bonn Conferences, avoiding the extremes of Anglican opinion.

The English and American churches sent delegations to the Bonn Reunion conferences of 1874 and 1875, with delegates from across the wings of the churches showing enthusiasm for reunion with a remarkable degree of unanimity³¹. At the first Conference, even though he had to leave after the first day, Browne provided the episcopal lead. Afterwards he spoke of the ‘general good feeling and sober piety which pervaded the whole assembly’³². He wrote later to the Bishop of Melbourne: ‘I call myself an old-fashioned English Churchman, and I find more to repel me in any one of the extreme schools in England than I do in anything I have seen or heard in the Old Catholics.’³³ Some years later, Herzog praised Browne’s contribution to the opening session of the Conference³⁴. Browne had spoken

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ On the Bonn Conferences see my essay, ‘Liddon, Döllinger and the Bonn Conferences of 1874 and 1875: a case study in Nationalism and Ecumenism’, *IKZ* 22 (2002), pp. 21–59; Thomas Albert Howard, ‘Neither a Secular nor Confessional Age: the Bonn Reunion Conferences of 1874 and 1875’, *The Journal of the Historical Society* 11 (2011), pp. 59–84. Howard sees the Bonn Conferences as evidence for a deconfessionalization of Europe. The evidence of this paper suggests a rather more complex set of historical processes.

³² Browne, *The Old Catholic Movement*, p. 13.

³³ Browne to Bishop of Melbourne, 9 October 1874 in KITCHIN, Browne, p. 410.

³⁴ Eduard Herzog, ‘Hirtenbrief über die kirchliche Gemeinschaft mit der Anglo-amerikanischen Kirche’ in *Gemeinschaft mit der Anglo-amerikanischen Kirche*:

of the possibility of intercommunion between the Old Catholics and the English Church. I have taken counsel with my English friends on this last point, and I may affirm that, in our opinion, there exists no reason on the part of the English Church against intercommunion with the Old Catholics. The Old Catholics would be admitted to Communion by the English clergy without hesitation. We hold the orders of Catholic priests, whether Old Catholic or Roman Catholic, to be valid, and any one of them could obtain an ecclesiastical office in England under the same conditions as an English clergyman.³⁵

The same sentiments were repeated by Bishop John Barrett Kerfoot of Pittsburgh³⁶. Although intercommunion with the Eastern churches proved impossible, it was clear by the end of the second Bonn Conference that the Anglican churches were taking the Old Catholic Movement very seriously and doing what they could to offer support. The Anglo-Continental Society passed the following motion in 1875:

(...) the Committee thankfully recognises the spirit in which the Bonn Conference has been conducted, and the endeavours, alike able and conscientious, which were made by members of the Orthodox Oriental, Old Catholic, and Anglican Churches, to form a more correct estimate of the points of difference which have for so long a period hindered the intercommunion of the Churches; and prays Almighty God that they may be blessed to the healing of the wounds of Christendom, and the visible reunion upon earth under Christ their Head of His own Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church³⁷.

The reaction to the Vatican Council meant that the future for 'catholic' reunion had begun to look far more promising.

Beobachtungen und Mitteilungen, Bern (K. J. Wyss) 1881, pp. 57–77, here pp. 57–8 (hereafter AAK).

³⁵ *Report of the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn on September 14, 15, and 16, 1874 translated from the German of Professor Reusch by EMB with a preface by H. P. Liddon*, London (Rivington) 1875, pp. 9–10 [hereafter *Bonn Report* (1874)]. The German Report was published the previous year: *Bericht über die am 14., 15., und 16. September zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen, im Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger*, ed. F. H. Reusch, Bonn (Neusser) 1874. Browne lectured very favourably on the Old Catholic Movement at the Brighton Church Congress in 1874: *The Old Catholic Movement on the Continent of Europe*, London (Wells Gardner) 1875.

³⁶ *Bonn Report* (1874), pp. 11–12.

³⁷ FCC 1 (1877), p. 261.

Herzog, at the time Professor at Bern and Vicar of Olten, participated in the second Congress in 1875,³⁸ although he is not reported as having contributed to the debates. At the close of the meeting the American delegates held a banquet where Meyrick sat between Herzog and the ailing Archbishop Lycurgos of the Cyclades, who died shortly afterwards³⁹. It seems that Herzog had greatly impressed the English and American delegates, since from that time he received regular invitations to both churches⁴⁰. Meyrick sent Herzog's account of the Bonn Conference to the statesman and former prime minister William Ewart Gladstone. Gladstone, a high churchman who campaigned vigorously against the Vatican Decrees, replied that 'I do not know enough of the position and of the relation of the Swiss to the German Old Catholics to be prepared to take any active part about it'. He went on to comment in the *Foreign Church Chronicle*: it 'seems to me to fill a great gap, and, if well supported, to have great promise of utility. I propose to subscribe to it, wishing it all manner of good'⁴¹. After his election as bishop, Herzog's pastoral letters appeared regularly in the *Chronicle*,⁴² which also regularly reviewed Old Catholic Churches in Switzerland together with service times⁴³.

Probably because of Meyrick's influence, Herzog's election as bishop at the Olten Synod, which 'caused great rejoicing among his many friends in Germany'⁴⁴, and his subsequent consecration on 23 September 1876

³⁸ *Report of the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn between the 10th and 16th of August, 1875*, translated from the German of Professor Reusch by Alfred Plummer with a preface by H. P. Liddon, London (Basil Montagu Pickering) 1875, p. 2. The German Report was published as *Bericht über die vom 10. bis 16. August 1875 zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen im Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger*, edited by F. H. Reusch (Bonn: P. Neusser, 1875). Meyrick also offered a lengthy description of the Bonn Conference in Edward Bickersteth/F. Meyrick, *Two Papers*, pp. 10–19.

³⁹ *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 129–36.

⁴⁰ Frederick Meyrick, *Memories of Life at Oxford, and Experiences in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Spain and Elsewhere*, London (John Murray) 1905, p. 270.

⁴¹ Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 241. Gladstone's name does not appear in the list of subscribers to the Anglo-Continental Society included in the final edition of each volume of the *FCC*.

⁴² For example, Herzog's pastoral letter on episcopacy was published in *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 40–50; on papal election, *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 116–22. Biber was likely to have been responsible for the translations, which began to carry his initials in 1880 (*FCC* [1880], pp. 104–9).

⁴³ See, for example, *FCC* 7 (1883), p. 118.

⁴⁴ *The Guardian* (14 June 1876), p. 771.

were widely reported in the English press⁴⁵. Bishop Browne sent him 'friendly greetings'⁴⁶. Shortly afterwards, Meyrick spent time with him in Bern⁴⁷. Herzog's excommunication⁴⁸ was reported, as was the third Old Catholic Synod at Bern,⁴⁹ where the unnamed correspondent pointed to 'the respect and regard shown towards [Herzog] by all, and especially by his clergy'⁵⁰. He went on to report that a 'Swiss *Roman Catholic*, who is not acquainted with the Bishop' had commented that the 'movement is spreading, and had we a few hundred apostles like Herzog, as sound in principle, as pure in conduct, the movement would succeed'⁵¹. He concluded by noting that the Movement was 'no mere momentary ebullition of passing excitement, nor is it, as some would assert, only another phase of rationalism'⁵². The progress of the Swiss Church continued to be widely reported in the British Press. In 1877, for instance, *The Guardian* contained an article on Bern, noting that Herzog had not moved further into discussions with the Anglican bishops because of his desire to allow the Swiss Church to become self-standing⁵³. The following year a widely syndicated article reported that the number of clergy who had joined Herzog was 74 with 65 congregations and 1800 [sic] people, although the number was in fact much higher⁵⁴.

Such accounts were in part aimed at encouraging financial support for the growing churches. After the second Bonn Conference in 1875, Meyrick preached a sermon in Lincoln to raise funds for the education of Old Catholic students at Bonn University,⁵⁵ a Catholic Theological Faculty, with a majority of Old Catholic Professors until 1886, which also attracted

⁴⁵ *The Guardian* (27 September 1876), p. 1259. See Scarth, *The Story*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 413.

⁴⁷ Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 271.

⁴⁸ *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 97–107. The Pope had called the Christian Catholics a 'sect of the neo-heretics', *FCC* 1 (1877), 177–87.

⁴⁹ *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 173–76.

⁵⁰ *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 175.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 176.

⁵³ *The Guardian* (6 June 1877), p. 770.

⁵⁴ See, for example, *The Hampshire Advertiser*, 30 January 1878, p. 4. *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 October 1878, reported that Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath, had spoken about the Swiss Catholics in his diocesan charge, claiming a membership of the church of about 80,000 or approximately $\frac{1}{10}$ of all Swiss Catholics.

⁵⁵ *FCC* 1 (1877), pp. 110–11; Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 240.

Swiss students⁵⁶. The fund was led by Meyrick and John Saul Howson (1816–1885), Dean of Chester, an evangelical and one of the leading English contributors to the Bonn conferences. The Catholic Faculty at Bern was quickly added to the fund. Howson published an appeal letter in *The Guardian* on 9 May 1877, where he spoke of the ‘feeling of disappointment among the Swiss Old Catholics’ that less sympathy had been felt for them than for the Germans. He went on to describe Herzog as ‘devout, learned and energetic,’ but at the same time ‘modest and conciliatory’. He also noted that ‘the people of Switzerland are not generally rich’⁵⁷. The following week it was reported that £40 had been raised for both institutions⁵⁸. By the end of 1877 the list of subscribers was impressive. Gladstone contributed generously to the fund,⁵⁹ as did the wealthy baronet Sir Walter Farquhar, who donated £40. Liddon gave £10 as did R. J. Nevin, Rector of the American Church in Rome. Howson had even managed to persuade the students from his own theological college at St Bees to raise £7 18s⁶⁰. The following year Biber was able to report on the success of Bern University,⁶¹ while *The Guardian* claimed its success was far greater than that of Bonn⁶². In 1878 the Bern fund amounted to around Fr. 22,100⁶³. Later, Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath in the Church of Ireland, proved particularly supportive of the scholarship fund to Bern⁶⁴.

⁵⁶ Joseph Troxler, *Die ‚katholisch‘-theologische Fakultät an der Hochschule Bern und ihre Vorgeschichte*, Basel (Actiendruckerei ‚Basler Volksblatt‘) 1903, p. 81. For the Swiss students in Bonn, see Angela Berlis, ‘Tapfere Cherusker, tüchtige Theologen. Ausbildung alt-katholischer Theologen an der Universität Bonn bis 1902’, in Günther Esser/Matthias Ring (eds), *Zwischen Freiheit und Gebundenheit: Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Alt-Katholischen Seminars der Universität Bonn (1902–2002)*, Bonn (Alt-Katholischer Bistumsverlag) 2002, 49–111, esp. pp. 59, 106.

⁵⁷ *The Guardian* (9 May 1877), p. 627.

⁵⁸ FCC 1 (1877), p. 250; *The Guardian* (16 May 1877), p. 666.

⁵⁹ Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 241.

⁶⁰ FCC 1 (1877), pp. 262–3.

⁶¹ FCC 2 (1878), pp. 33–5. On the Old Catholic Faculty of Theology at Bern, see Urs von Arx, ‘Ein Porträt der christkatholischen Lehranstalt der Universität Bern’ in Günther Esser/Matthias Ring (eds), *Zwischen Freiheit und Gebundenheit: Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Alt-Katholischen Seminars der Universität Bonn (1902–2002)*, Bonn (Alt-Katholischer Bistumsverlag) 2002, pp. 209–35.

⁶² *The Guardian* (19 December 1877), p. 1739.

⁶³ Troxler, *Die ‚katholisch‘-theologische Fakultät*, p. 81.

⁶⁴ FCC 4 (1880), p. 182.

The Lambeth Conference 1878

The wide publicity given to the Old Catholic Movement meant that in 1878, when most of the bishops from across the Anglican Communion assembled in London for the second Lambeth Conference, the question of reunion would be an important topic of discussion. In June 1877 in the run-up to the conference, the Anglo-Continental Society had passed a number of resolutions calling for the discussion of the Old Catholic Movement at the Lambeth Conference:

That whereas it appears very desirable to exhibit to the world the belief held by members of the Anglican Communion that there is a position which men of primitive, Catholic, and manly faith may take up on the Continent, separate from prevailing Ultramontane excesses on one side and an irreligious tendency to Atheism on the other (...)

We, the Committee of the Anglo-Continental Society, humbly pray your lordships not to disregard the claims for notice on the part of the Anglican Communion, which the Old Catholics appear to us to have, in the programme of the proceedings of the Lambeth Conference of 1878.⁶⁵

Of the one hundred bishops who attended the Conference, virtually all represented the churches of the British Isles, the United States and the English-speaking colonies, with only twelve coming from India, the West Indies and Africa, plus two American missionary bishops from Haiti and Shanghai. The agenda included specific mention of the Old Catholic churches on the Continent of Europe, as well as the Spanish and Portuguese reformed episcopal churches⁶⁶. In the aftermath of the Vatican Council the atmosphere was positive. Wordsworth drafted the paragraph on reunion for the Official Letter in typically strong anti-Roman language:

All sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the Churches and individuals protesting against [the errors of the See of Rome], and labouring, it may be under special difficulties, from the assaults of unbelief as well as from the pretensions of Rome. (...) The principles on which the Church of England has reformed itself are well known. (...) We assert the just liberties of particular or national Churches. We gladly welcome every effort for reform upon the model of the Primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity; we deprecate needless divisions; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeav-

⁶⁵ FCC 1 (1877), p. 250.

⁶⁶ Randall Davidson (ed.), *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888 with the Official Reports and Resolutions, together with the Sermons preached at the Conferences*, London (SPCK) 1896, p. 180.

our to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help, and such privileges as may be acceptable to them and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies.⁶⁷

The national church ideal under the supremacy of Scripture and with a vernacular liturgy was upheld as the standard to judge other churches.

Shortly after the Lambeth Conference, Bishop Browne invited Bishop Herzog to an informal meeting on 31 July 1878 at his residence, Farnham Castle, sponsored by the Anglo-Continental Society,⁶⁸

for the purpose conferring with Bishops and Clergy of the Churches of Great Britain and Ireland, the British Colonies, and America, on the state of Religion on the Continent of Europe and in the East, in concert with some of the leaders of the Old Catholic Movement⁶⁹.

More than twenty bishops attended the meeting, which, as Herzog noted, lasted six hours⁷⁰. These included Robert Eden, primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and no fewer than fifteen North American bishops, including Bishop William Doane of Albany and Arthur Cleveland Coxe of Western New York, both of whom would host Herzog two years later during his visit to the USA. Along with Herzog, the Old Catholic Movement was represented by the Czech Pfarrer P. Miloš Čech and 'M. Loyson, the celebrated Père Hyacinthe', with whom the Scottish Church was establishing relations. Also present was Count Enrico di Campello, the Italian reformer,⁷¹ and Juan Bautista Cabrera from Spain⁷². Letters of apology were read from Gladstone, Bishop Joseph Hubert Reinkens (1821–1896) of Germany, as well as Johann Friedrich von Schulte of Bonn, the leading

⁶⁷ Davidson (ed.), *The Lambeth Conferences*, pp. 181, 182. See also Alan M. G. Stephenson, *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conference*, London (SPCK) 1978, p. 65.

⁶⁸ 'The Anglo-Continental Society's Conference at Farnham', *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 172–82.

⁶⁹ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 172; *The Guardian* (7 August 1878), pp. 1106–7.

⁷⁰ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 271.

⁷¹ On this see, Alexander Robertson, *Count Campello and Catholic Reform in Italy*, London (Sampson Low, Marston and Co) 1891.

⁷² See H. E. Noyes, *Church Reform in Spain and Portugal: A Short History of the Reformed Episcopal Churches of Spain and Portugal, from 1868 to the Present Time*, London (Cassell) 1897; Lord Plunket, *Reformation Movements in Foreign Churches (With Special Reference To Spain And Portugal.) A paper read at the Church Congress, Portsmouth, October, 1885*, London (Bemrose) 1885. See also Scarth, *The Story*, p. 183.

layman, who 'said that at this grave crisis of the history of the Old Catholic Movement [he was referring to the disputes in the Bern canton] he regretted extremely that he could not confer with the chiefs of the Anglican Church'⁷³. Meyrick was prevented from attending because of an accident.

Browne opened proceedings, expressing support for the Old Catholics 'rather by way of brotherly sympathy than of ecclesiastical interference'⁷⁴. He pointed to the importance of the primitive church in the writings of the English Reformers,⁷⁵ which meant that the Church of England had not departed from antiquity like the Roman Catholics and Protestants. He went on to suggest that it was the vocation of the English Church 'occupying a *via media* position, to reunite the disunited members of the one Catholic body, not by trying to detach people from systems to which they now belong'⁷⁶. He enunciated a number of Anglican ecumenical principles:

- (1) (...) setting forth the Primitive and Catholic faith;
- (2) (...) removing the misapprehensions among 'Catholics' and 'Protestants' (...) some of the latter thinking the former had so thrown off the essentials of the faith of Christ as to be almost beyond the pale of salvation, while the former, seeing how many protestants had become Rationalists and Atheists, judged all to be such, and treated them as heretics and unbelievers;
- (3) (...) circulating publications showing that we hold the Creeds and are as much Catholics as those of any Church on the Continent, convincing Roman Catholics that we have only thrown off accretion to the Catholic faith, and Protestants that we have a more perfect constitution than they; and so commending a truly Catholic Reformation to both.

The Bishop concluded by hoping 'that yet the Church of England, putting one hand on Roman Catholics and one on Protestants, might say, "Sirs, Ye are brethren believing in a common God and Saviour; cannot you in some way unite together in the Truth?"'⁷⁷

Coxe, who had recently visited the Swiss Old Catholics, felt that the Churches of England and America had not done enough for the Old Catholic Movement. Using strongly anti-Roman language, he asked:

⁷³ *The Standard* (1 August 1878), p. 4.

⁷⁴ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414.

⁷⁵ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 173.

⁷⁶ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 173–4; Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414.

⁷⁷ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 173–4; Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414.

Can we refuse them our sympathy? (...) For we are representatives of the Old Catholic Church in England; the Roman Church, as it now exists, was never established in England. The creed of those who built and worshipped in our English Churches was the Creed of Nicea, not of Trent: the Creed of the Tridentine Council was never pronounced or taught in Westminster Abbey. The fact is, that as the Church of Rome was for the first three centuries of its existence only a colonial Greek Church, so the modern Roman Church has been for the last three centuries only a creation of Trent.⁷⁸

Speaking in more moderate terms in French,⁷⁹ Herzog reported the growth of the movement in Switzerland where 'the public opinion was in its favour' and where 'fanatical opposition to it was growing weaker'. It was being 'well weeded' with fifty clergy having been declared unfit for service⁸⁰. He went on to express 'the greatest esteem for the Church of England, a Church which had retained the Catholic discipline, organisation, and liturgy, which had recovered Christian liberty and combined with it true order'. He hoped that the 'small Old Catholic Church of Switzerland' would be 'a worthy sister of the Anglican Church'⁸¹ which would dispel the accusations of sectarianism by the Ultramontane faction⁸². Pointing to a fundamental agreement on the authority of the primitive church, and on the doctrine of the eucharist,⁸³ he concluded by appealing to 'Anglican Churchmen for a continuance of sympathy, of their prayers and support', and he asked, 'What hinders us from a closer and more fraternal unity?'⁸⁴.

Expressing his gratitude to Herzog for the respect paid to him and to Charles Sandford, the Bishop of Gibraltar, a few months before, Plunket proposed a resolution of support recalling the Irish Missionaries sent to Switzerland, including St Gallus. Churches, he held, were not to be 'fused together' but were connected 'like links'. The Anglican Church thus sought to assist rather than to assimilate. It set before them 'the example of a Church which had succeeded in shaking off Romish error without abandoning primitive truth. (...) The Lambeth Conference has shown that such unity might exist within the Anglican Communion among the vari-

⁷⁸ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 174.

⁷⁹ *The Standard* reported him as speaking in English (1 August 1878), p. 4.

⁸⁰ *The Guardian* (7 August 1878), p. 1106.

⁸¹ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 174–5.

⁸² *The Guardian* (7 August 1878), p. 1106.

⁸³ *The Guardian* (7 August 1878), p. 1106.

⁸⁴ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 175.

ously constituted branches of that body'⁸⁵. He also spoke of the movements in Spain and Italy with which he was particularly associated.

Loyson's speech was 'eloquent, rapid, and fiery' and defied 'any attempt at summarising'. He asked for assistance from the Anglican Church on the basis of an understanding of catholicity rooted in the primitive church: 'He besought the Church of England to help him in thus building up a reformed Gallican Church, and so to remove the ecclesiastical Pas de Calais between the two neighbouring nations.'⁸⁶ Bishop Coxe went on to express his hope that the Episcopal Church of Scotland would come to their rescue. Given the large number of Americans it is not surprising that there was discussion of reform movements in America, Haiti and Mexico. The Conference concluded with resolutions to support two theological students at Bern,⁸⁷ which rapidly raised some Fr. 2500,⁸⁸ and 'to raise a special fund to help Father Hyacinthe in his efforts for a reformed Catholic Church in France'. The Conference broke up with 'a feeling of hope and solid advance'⁸⁹.

The following day Herzog met with several American bishops in London, before going to Wells as guest of the Bishop Lord Arthur Hervey of Bath and Wells on 2 August, attending a service and visiting the ruins at Glastonbury. The *Chronicle* reporter notes a 'pleasing incident' which had occurred during lunch: when Herzog discovered that the Bishop of Dunedin was present, he shook hands with him across the table in gratitude for the vote of sympathy which had been expressed by the New Zealand General Synod for the Old Catholics in February 1877. He 'testified to the encouragement given to himself and his companions in their labours by the knowledge of the recognition of their efforts to return to primitive doctrine, discipline, and order by the Church at the ends of the earth'⁹⁰. On his return Herzog commented that the 'spirit of faith and love which animated the assembly made all who took part in it feel that it was one of the most noteworthy days of their lives'⁹¹.

⁸⁵ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 175.

⁸⁶ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 177–178; *The Guardian* (7 August 1878), p. 1106.

⁸⁷ *Katholik* 32 (1878), pp. 249–251, 271.

⁸⁸ Troxler, *Die ,katholisch'-theologische Fakultät*, p. 82.

⁸⁹ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414.

⁹⁰ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 271.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Shortly afterwards, J. J. Lias (1834–1923), vicar of St Edward's in Cambridge and a regular correspondent for the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, reported on four years of reunion work, concluding with the Farnham meeting⁹². 'Where,' he asked 'can the Old Catholic Churches of the Continent look for a better ally than in the Churches of the Anglican Communion?' 'Anything more hopeful for the future', he noted, 'can hardly be conceived than this Conference. Bishop Herzog acknowledged the orthodoxy and Catholicity of our Church. Père Hyacinthe spoke strongly of the prospects of future reunion'. He went on to express his hope for an anti-Roman alliance:

The establishment of full union and intercommunion between the Catholic and non-Roman Churches of the West would be the most deadly blow struck at the Papacy since the Reformation. (...) We have nothing to lose, and everything to gain by it. It may prevent the Old Catholic body in Germany from being reabsorbed into the Church of Rome; it must give it a solidity and resources which can in no other way be obtained. We commit ourselves to nothing beyond the recognition of the Old Catholic Bishops and Clergy as canonically ordained ministers of the Catholic Church, and the admission of all members of the Old Catholic body to communion at our altars whenever they desire it. They commit themselves to nothing beyond the recognition of the vast and vigorous Anglican Church as a living branch of the Church Catholic.⁹³

Both sides could thus benefit from a mutual assurance of their catholicity in opposition to Rome. Herzog wrote to Loyson shortly after the meeting expressing his 'satisfaction with the results of my journey'. He was greatly impressed with what had happened:

My esteem of the Anglican Church could not be otherwise than augmented and strengthened by all that I saw, heard, and experienced. I regard the principles promulgated by the Synod of Lambeth in the Article relating to the Old Catholic movement as altogether Catholic. I shall always be ready to administer the Holy Communion in my Church to all who acknowledge such principles, and I shall personally have no scruple in communicating in an Anglican Church.⁹⁴

⁹² FCC 2 (1878), pp. 154–63. Lias went on to be Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral, and contributed articles on Reusch and Döllinger for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

⁹³ FCC 2 (1878), pp. 162–163.

⁹⁴ Letter from Herzog to Loyson, 26 August 1878, in *Catholic Reform and the Anglican Church: Correspondence published by M. Hyacinthe Loyson, priest, translated by Lady Duval*, London (Rivington) 1879, pp. 20–21.

At the end of the year, after Loyson had written asking for his support, Herzog replied that 'I authorize you to declare formally that I have on several occasions acknowledged the Catholicity of the Anglo-American Church'⁹⁵.

The following year the optimism of the Conference yielded some practical results. The Christian Catholic Synod meeting at Solothurn on 5 June 1879 affirmed its commitment to what it called the 'Anglo-American Church'. *The Guardian*, which gave the Synod very full coverage, reported that it had taken the promises of the Anglican Bishops at their word. The anonymous reporter, one of the two English clergymen present, noted that at the banquet afterwards, the one toast had been to the Anglican Church⁹⁶. The resolutions were explicit in their affirmation of the Anglican churches. Pointing to the Olten resolution of 1876,⁹⁷ which had sought to advance union on the principles of the undivided church, the synod took

cognisance of the resolutions of the hundred Bishops of the Catholic Anglo-American Church, assembled in London in July 1878, so far as those resolutions concern the Catholic reform movement, and expresses on its part its opinion, with reference to the resolutions of the Olten Synod of 1876, that in essential thing it stands on the same Christian and Catholic ground as the Anglo-American Church⁹⁸.

Secondly it emphasised the importance of 'the independence of national churches, and the retention of their lawful characteristics'. Thirdly, it expressed its 'respectful thanks to the Anglo-American Church for its manifold proofs of benevolent sympathy'. Finally, it asked Herzog to communicate the resolutions to 'those Bishops of the Anglo-American Church who have been the intermediaries in the correspondence between the above Church and the Old Catholic Church of Switzerland'⁹⁹.

⁹⁵ Herzog to Loyson, 2 December 1878, in *Catholic Reform and the Anglican Church*, p. 22.

⁹⁶ This synod was reported at length in *The Guardian* (11 June 1879), p. 794.

⁹⁷ *Protokoll der zweiten Session der National-Synode der christkatholischen Kirche der Schweiz*, Olten (Volksblatt vom Jura) 1876, pp. 26–27.

⁹⁸ *Protokoll der fünften Session der National-Synode der christkatholischen Kirche der Schweiz*, Olten (Volksblatt vom Jura) 1879, pp. 27–28; *The Guardian* (11 June 1879), p. 794; *FCC* 3 (1879), pp. 140–143.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

There was, however, a note of dissent in the Swiss Church. At the 1876 Synod Eugène Michaud (1839–1917),¹⁰⁰ who had been appointed Professor of Dogmatics and Church History at Bern earlier in the summer, had ensured that the first seven ecumenical councils were to be regarded as expressing the teaching of the primitive church¹⁰¹. Michaud, who had been vicar of the Madeleine in Paris and close to Archbishop Darboy, displayed a far greater sympathy with the Eastern Churches, which was noted by the *Foreign Church Chronicle* correspondent in his report of the 1877 Synod where issues had been raised over the church catechism. While Michaud was a ‘most ardent reformer, well read, and animated with desire for union (...) his zeal inclines him to concede to Eastern theologians far more than the most learned and thoughtful Anglican Churchman would approve’¹⁰². Indeed, it was claimed, he wanted ‘to orientalize the Old Catholic movement in Switzerland’, which posed a threat to reunion with Anglicanism¹⁰³. In 1878, the historian and man of letters, C. H. E. Carmichael (1842–1895) reported on a visit to Herzog,¹⁰⁴ again pointing to the differences between the Bishop and Michaud, in ‘regard to the catechisms and rituals’:

It will easily be understood that there is in Switzerland an undercurrent of opposition between Oriental and Western influences, and the Russian element has an ecclesiastical footing in the country which gives it, perhaps, greater power than it would otherwise be likely to obtain in the West. (...) I anticipate for next year’s Synod some keen discussions on ritual and doctrine, in which Eastern views are likely to be warmly urged upon a Western Church. In Switzerland, as in a microcosm, may be studied one of the latest phases of a long-standing conflict between Eastern and Western religious thought. This is surely an additional reason for taking a deep interest in the fortunes of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland and in her earnest and honoured chief pastor, Eduard Herzog.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Raoul Dederen, *Un réformateur catholique au XIX^e siècle: Eugène Michaud*, Geneva (Droz) 1963. On Michaud in the history of the Bern Faculty, see ‘Hundert Jahre christkatholische Fakultät der Universität Bern’ in *Beiheft zur IKZ* 64 (1974), p. 17.

¹⁰¹ On Michaud’s sympathy with the Greek church, see J. H. Morgan, ‘Early Orthodox–Old Catholic Relations: General Kireeff and Professor Michaud’, *The Church Quarterly Review* 112 (1951), pp. 1–10, esp. p. 8.

¹⁰² *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 175. Biber provided a further account of the synod later in the year: ‘The Catholic Christians of Switzerland’, *FCC* (1877), pp. 231–35.

¹⁰³ *FCC* 1 (1877), p. 247.

¹⁰⁴ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 30–33.

¹⁰⁵ *FCC* 2 (1878), pp. 32–3. The conflicts over the catechisms were reported further on pp. 54–61. See also *The Guardian* (11 July 1877), p. 942.

In his speech at Farnham, Herzog had alluded to Michaud. Speaking of the 1876 Synod resolutions on union, he noted his own sympathies for the western church:

Unfortunately (*malheureusement*), in drawing up the constitution of the Church, the number of 'seven' oecumenical councils had been inserted; but the Swiss Old Catholics did not adore images, and their doctrine respecting the veneration of saints did not differ from that of the English Church. They permitted the marriage of the clergy, and had abolished compulsory private confession.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, in his report on reunion Lias had emphasised that there was no sense in which the Anglican churches sought to absorb the new bodies, or to insist on their acceptance of English liturgical and doctrinal formularies, 'as the Abbé Michaud seems to fear'¹⁰⁷.

Not surprisingly, the 1879 resolutions provoked disagreement from Michaud. *The Guardian* reported that he was losing support and had 'ceased to be a tower of strength', which meant that the 'rope that was drawing the Swiss towards the East has snapped, and the recoil has sent them eagerly towards ourselves'¹⁰⁸. Nevertheless he made a formal protest,¹⁰⁹ which was to become the subject of debate at the following year's synod. In the 1880 debates Michaud claimed that the Lambeth Conference Official Letter, which he observed had not even been translated into French, 'contained gross error and contradicted the key principles of catholicism'. However, the synod dismissed his charge, re-affirming the 1879 resolution and emphasizing its commitment to ecclesiastical independence¹¹⁰. Michaud remained dissatisfied, publishing a strongly-worded open letter, which he later retracted, but which deeply offended Herzog. By 1882 the *Foreign Church Chronicle* could express its delight that Michaud, 'whose role it has been to depreciate the Anglican Church for the purpose of orientalizing the Swiss Old Catholic movement, has given

¹⁰⁶ FCC 2 (1878), p. 175.

¹⁰⁷ FCC 2 (1878), p. 161.

¹⁰⁸ *The Guardian* (11 June 1879), p. 794.

¹⁰⁹ *Protokoll über die siebente Session der National-Synode ...*, Basel (Schweighauserische Buchdruckerei) 1881, p. 13.

¹¹⁰ *Protokoll der sechsten Session der National-Synode ...*, Basel (Schweighauserische Buchdruckerei) 1880, pp. 11–12.

up a task which he found hopeless and has withdrawn from Bern to Paris. The Swiss Church will not suffer loss from his absence'¹¹¹.

Shortly after the Solothurn synod, what Herzog described as a 'really memorable service' was held on 10 August 1879 in the *christkatholische Kirche* in Bern which, he felt, 'I am confident promises much for the future of our church'¹¹². The eucharist was attended by Reinkens, Henry Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and Loyson. Having sung 'The Church's one foundation', Loyson preached in French for an hour on the text 'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity',¹¹³ a sermon that Herzog thought 'matched the occasion'¹¹⁴. The service was also attended by Protestants and 'some members of the Greek Church'¹¹⁵. Reinkens celebrated and Herzog and Loyson were vested in surplice and stole. The Bishop of Edinburgh sat in choir, kneeling to receive communion from Reinkens, and administering the chalice¹¹⁶. With Herzog distributing the bread they 'all shared communion for the first time'¹¹⁷. In the same summer Bishop H. C. Riley of Mexico, who was extremely wealthy and had given \$100,000 to the nascent Mexican independent church,¹¹⁸ attended the Geneva Synod of the Christian Catholics¹¹⁹. In the *Foreign Church Chronicle* there were also frequent reports of the crisis affecting the Swiss Old Catholics because of the withdrawal of state funding for clergy in the Bern Canton,¹²⁰ which led to an open letter from Herzog to Meyrick on 'The Present Crisis in Switzerland'¹²¹. This was followed by an appeal to the bishops of the Anglo-

¹¹¹ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 4. Michaud's absence was short-lived. He remained professor in Bern until 1915.

¹¹² *Protokoll der sechsten Session der National-Synode ...*, 1880, p. 28; Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 289; Scarth, *The Story*, pp. 166–7.

¹¹³ *The Leeds Mercury* (26 August 1879).

¹¹⁴ Herzog, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 58.

¹¹⁵ Herzog, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 58.

¹¹⁶ According to Moss (in *The Old Catholic Movement*, p. 331), this created a stir in Scotland since there were no agreements about intercommunion, although I have not been able to corroborate this.

¹¹⁷ Herzog, *Gemeinschaft*, p. 58.

¹¹⁸ *New York Times* (28 September, 1879), p. 10.

¹¹⁹ The following year he was a guest at the English Church Congress at Leicester (Scarth, *The Story*, p. 186).

¹²⁰ Biber, in *FCC* (1879), pp. 145–49.

¹²¹ Herzog, 'The Present Crisis in Switzerland', in *FCC* (1879), pp. 214–18.

American Church to raise money to pay clergy in Bernese Jura to prevent a restoration of Ultramontanism¹²².

Herzog's Trip to America

The following year Herzog's ecumenical engagement stepped up a gear. In the summer of 1880, he received an invitation from the aged president of the House of Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, Bishop Benjamin Smith (1784–1884) of Kentucky, to attend the triennial meeting of the General Convention to be held from 6–27 October¹²³. Preparations for the visit had been made by a seven-member Committee, which included the Bishops of Connecticut, Western New York, and Long Island. Reporting at the end of 1878 for the planning of the General Convention they judged that the Old Catholic Movement 'has in it an abiding life; a life which is destined to enter largely into all movements for the advancement of Christian unity'¹²⁴. A desire to return to the primitive church characterised the Old Catholic churches:

It was said many years ago, by a godly and learned divine of our own Church, that as men, if they desired to recover the unbroken beam of light which has been spread out into the prismatic spectrum, must go behind the point where the prism was inserted, so we, if we desire to recover the unity of the Church and the Faith, must go back to a period which antedates those diversities of human opinion that have given us our shattered and discordant Christendom. Towards this point we believe the Old Catholics have been constantly, if quietly, moving. When all shall have reached it, if in God's mercy they do reach it, then there will come a true unity, because it will be a unity in the truth.¹²⁵

In his invitation letter, Bishop Smith expressed his admiration for the heroic resistance of the German and Swiss Old Catholics to what he called 'the unholy dogma of infallibility', asserting his belief that 'all who hold the apostolic teaching and honour God and hold to the great historical truths of the church are one and so can work and pray together'¹²⁶. Shortly afterwards it was reported widely in the British and American press that

¹²² *FCC* 4 (1880), p. 26.

¹²³ Herzog's part in the Convention is discussed in *FCC* (1881), pp. 18–22; see Scarth, *The Story*, pp. 172.

¹²⁴ *FCC* 2 (1878), p. 234.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ 3 August 1880, in *AAK*, p. 52.

Herzog was travelling to America with a scheme 'for the federation of all the Christian churches in the universe',¹²⁷ a somewhat hyperbolic claim which was corrected by Biber in the *Churchman* on 4 September:

This visit is made for the purpose of studying the workings of the Church in this country, and with the purpose of manifesting openly his full belief in the catholicity of the Church in America, and his earnest desire for a fully recognised intercommunion between it and the branch of the Church entrusted to his care (...). During his stay (...) he will be happy to render any assistance in his power to our bishops or clergy, by preaching or confirming in the German or French languages¹²⁸.

Herzog's fellow episcopal guest was Cotterill, with whom he shared the Atlantic crossing¹²⁹. They were treated with extraordinary respect by their American colleagues at the Convention, both playing a central part in the opening service, which lasted a staggering four hours¹³⁰. Herzog read the Epistle, and Cotterill the Gospel,¹³¹ with both bishops administering communion¹³². Herzog was dressed in an 'alb and richly embroidered cope, and wearing his pectoral cross', which 'formed a novel and picturesque feature in the long procession of bishops at the opening service at St George's, New York'¹³³. At the opening of the Convention a special committee was appointed to host them throughout the Convention¹³⁴. After addressing the House of Bishops, they took their seats to the left and right of the president of the House¹³⁵.

Given that the Anglican Communion was becoming increasingly important in Anglican self-consciousness and with the Lambeth Conference

¹²⁷ *The Pall Mall Gazette* (24 August 1880); *New York Times* (24 August 1880), p. 5; (29 August 1880), p. 10.

¹²⁸ 'G. E. B[iber]', reported in *FCC* 4 (1880), p. 236.

¹²⁹ *AAK*, p. 5.

¹³⁰ *AAK*, p. 15.

¹³¹ Report of Nevin, *FCC* 5 (1881), pp. 18–19.

¹³² *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, 1880* (New York: General Convention, 1881), p. 15; *AAK*, p. 15.

¹³³ William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883*, Boston (Osgood) 1885, 2 vols, ii, p. 366; William Stevens Perry, *A Handbook of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church giving its history and constitution, 1785–1880*, New York (Whittaker) 1881, p. 322.

¹³⁴ *Journal*, p. 24; *AAK*, p. 16.

¹³⁵ *Journal*, p. 205. There is no record of Herzog's address, although it is reported that it was brief and in German. *New York Times* (8 Oct 1880), p. 3.

only two years past, it is perhaps surprising that no English bishop was invited to the Convention. This suggests at least an implicit desire by the American church to assert its independence. The national church idea, which had been formulated by William Reed Huntington (1838–1909) in his influential *The Church Idea: An Essay towards Unity* in 1870, had become crucial for a church forging a revived identity after the calamity of the Civil War¹³⁶. Huntington, whose ideas led to the so-called Chicago-Lambeth quadrilateral adopted at the Lambeth Conference in 1888, promoted what he called the 'Anglican principle'. Rather than the vision of English 'village spires and cathedral towers',¹³⁷ this was a principle which saw the national church as 'the reconciler of a divided household'¹³⁸. The independence of the American church was founded in part on an anti-Englishness which resembled the anti-Britishness of the founding myths of the American republic. For Huntington, the Americanization of the Church was central for it to fulfil its national vocation¹³⁹.

In 1880 this non-English understanding of Anglicanism was emphasised by the presence of a Scottish Episcopal bishop, from whose church the American church derived its hierarchy, as well as Herzog, bishop of a recently independent national church. The Convention Handbook affirmed the importance of the independence of the American church, reporting that the 'interest felt abroad in our catholicity was attested by the presence of ... Herzog (...) who was, by his participation in the services, sacraments, and sessions of the Convention, brought into intimate relations with a Church, Catholic but not Roman – Protesting, but neither rationalistic nor infidel'¹⁴⁰. It is interesting to note that in 1881 when Bishop Perry began to work on his massive history of the American Church, the two volumes of which covered the 'American Colonial Church' and the

¹³⁶ See Robert Prichard, *A History of the Episcopal Church*, Harrisburg, PA (Morehouse) 1999, pp. 188–190. On the origins of the national church idea, see Paul T. Phillips, 'The Concept of a National Church in Late Nineteenth-century England and America', *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986), pp. 26–37, esp. pp. 31–32.

¹³⁷ William Reed Huntington, *The Church-Idea: An Essay Towards Unity*, New York (E. P. Dutton) 1870; fourth edition, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899, p. 124.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹³⁹ William Reed Huntington, *A National Church*, New York (Charles Scribner's Sons) 1897, pp. 52–3.

¹⁴⁰ Perry, *A Handbook*, p. 321.

'American Church',¹⁴¹ he had originally planned that Herzog would write a chapter on the National Churches of Continental Europe¹⁴². Although the plan was not realized, in describing the 'Missionary Convention' of 1880, Perry attests to the motives behind the invitation to Herzog, which were to show to a bishop who 'had thrown off the yoke of the Romish infallibility' that the American Church was 'a Church catholic, but not Roman; protesting against error, but neither rationalistic nor infidel'¹⁴³. Similarly, R. J. Nevin summarised the Convention as meeting:

(...) the Papal attack with the solid phalanx of the primitive episcopate, by which only has it ever been successfully and can be finally withstood (...). Hereafter, no bishop of the American Church could consistently refuse to join in the consecration of an Old Catholic Bishop (...). Theology, history, are useless if they are stored up in our libraries and brains only. The world looks to the Anglican Episcopate to sow the precious seed it holds in the rich soil of the days in which we are living, and let it bring forth its fruits for a hungering world¹⁴⁴.

The different treatment of Herzog in England and America is striking: where Herzog was treated courteously at an informal meeting by a number of senior churchmen in England who expressed a cautious optimism about the Old Catholic Movement, in America he was greeted with enthusiasm as a fellow catholic bishop at the governing body of the church¹⁴⁵. He was also invited to perform episcopal rites, including two confirmations¹⁴⁶. Scarth, noting that one of these took place in a town named Rome, commented that 'a catholic Bishop, excommunicated by the Pope of Old Rome, [was] administering Confirmation in New Rome'¹⁴⁷. Herzog was also guest of honour at a banquet held by the financier, J. P. Morgan in New York¹⁴⁸. On his return to Switzerland, he noted that he was treated in every way as a brother by all the other bishops¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴¹ William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883*, Boston (Osgood) 1885, 2 vols.

¹⁴² *New York Times* (17 October 1881), p. 5.

¹⁴³ Perry, *The History*, ii, p. 265.

¹⁴⁴ *Foreign Chronicle* (1881), pp. 21. 22.

¹⁴⁵ AAK, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ AAK, p. 22.

¹⁴⁷ Scarth, *The Story*, p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ AAK, p. 22.

¹⁴⁹ AAK, p. 46.

During his trip Herzog wrote a number of open letters home, which offer further evidence of the reshaping of the identity of the American Church. Before the Convention, Herzog had preached in New York to a German-speaking congregation,¹⁵⁰ and on 22 September he attended the synod of the diocese of Western New York in the city of Geneva, a name which greatly amused him¹⁵¹. At the service he sat in choir with Bishop Coxe, who was a 'long-standing friend of the *christkatholische Kirche*',¹⁵² who asked him to pronounce the blessing. After the welcome 'Herzog replied at some length in German',¹⁵³ defending the union between the churches not simply on a shared opposition to papalism, but on the positive commitment to unity 'on the same Christian and catholic ground'. Herzog had been reminded of what Coxe had said two years previously at Farnham that 'The Church of England has always been an old catholic church'¹⁵⁴. The *New York Times* called the synod 'one of the most interesting and impressive occasions in the history of the American Church. Bishop Herzog's remarks were filled with prophesies of a united Christendom'¹⁵⁵. The synod passed a resolution that the two churches were 'one in faith, in apostolic office, and in communion in the one holy catholic church', expressing its hope for further reform of the European churches¹⁵⁶. Herzog described his experience '*in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Genf*' as one of the happiest moments of his life¹⁵⁷. Throughout his trip he found Episcopalian liturgy to be deeply catholic,¹⁵⁸ commenting in particular that in some churches clergy were vested in the mass vestments of Roman priests¹⁵⁹.

After visiting the Niagara Falls, which he compared with the dynamism of America, Herzog reported on his stay with Bishop Doane of Al-

¹⁵⁰ At several points on his trip he notes the existence of German-speaking churches and comments on the number of people changing denomination (e.g. AAK, pp. 10. 12. 20. 22). He reports a moving encounter in Swiss German with a seriously-ill man (AAK, p. 23).

¹⁵¹ AAK, p. 8.

¹⁵² AAK, p. 9.

¹⁵³ *New York Times* (23 September 1880), p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ AAK, pp. 9–10.

¹⁵⁵ *New York Times* (23 September 1880), p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ AAK, pp. 9, 52–3.

¹⁵⁷ AAK, p. 10.

¹⁵⁸ AAK, p. 20; cf. pp. 42–3.

¹⁵⁹ AAK, p. 43.

bany¹⁶⁰. He was especially impressed by the social work of the Episcopal Church, as well as the revival of the religious life¹⁶¹. His comments on the Convention itself show a deep interest in mission among the native American and black populations,¹⁶² as well as in missions overseas¹⁶³. All in all, because he believed that the Episcopal Church was a catholic church, he felt it was quite unnecessary to establish a branch of the Old Catholics¹⁶⁴.

Herzog's presence led the House of Bishops to make a declaration on Catholic Reform. After adopting the resolution of the 1878 Lambeth Conference, the bishops added that the decrees of the Council of Trent of 1563 and of 1870 imposed 'dogmas having no warrant in Holy Scripture or the ancient creeds, which dogmas are so radically false as to corrupt and defile the faith'. Similarly, they claimed, 'the assumption of a universal Episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, making operative the definition of Papal Infallibility, has deprived of its original independence the Episcopal Order [and] destroyed the autonomy, if not the corporate existence, of National Churches'. The bishops went on to affirm 'not the right only, but the duty also, of protecting, in the holding of that Faith and the recovering of that Order, those who, by the methods before described, have been deprived of both'¹⁶⁵. In addition, the Convention had been given access to various resources of the Swiss Old Catholic Church, including a translation of its prayer book, which had been presented to the House by Bishop Doane¹⁶⁶. Although the prayer book was not debated, it led to a number of discussions in private about the breach of the Nicene canons at Herzog's consecration. Although nobody doubted the validity of Herzog's orders,¹⁶⁷ the bishops nevertheless added to the motion their

conviction that, in the organization of reformed Churches with which we may hope to have communion, they should follow the teaching of the Canons of Nicaea; and that where consecration cannot be had by three Bishops of the

¹⁶⁰ AAK, pp. 10–12; cf. p. 33.

¹⁶¹ AAK, p. 12.

¹⁶² AAK, p. 18; cf. p. 35.

¹⁶³ AAK, p. 20.

¹⁶⁴ AAK, p. 14. See also *New York Times* (13 March 1881), p. 10. The following summer it was reported that he had declined to set up an Old Catholic Church despite that request from 'many hundreds' of Irish priests from New York. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (3 April 1881), p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ *Journal*, pp. 263–264.

¹⁶⁶ *Journal*, p. 240.

¹⁶⁷ AAK, p. 21.

Province, Episcopal orders should at all events be conferred by three Bishops of National Churches¹⁶⁸.

This, it would seem, was the only mildly critical comment on Herzog's presence at the Convention, which was otherwise an unbridled success. By the spring of 1883, Herzog was performing episcopal tasks for the American Church at the Chaplaincy in Rome where he confirmed six young women¹⁶⁹. This had provoked much interest among the local Roman clergy. Robert Skinner, English chaplain at Bern, afterwards reported that

Bishop Herzog has informed me that during his late confirmation visit to Rome, several of the parochial clergy manifested a lively interest in the Old Catholic cause, but there were present difficulties in the way which prevented their joining it¹⁷⁰.

Herzog left the Convention on its eighteenth day on 26 October,¹⁷¹ sailing home on the *Main* four days later¹⁷². On his return he lectured on a number of occasions, reminding his audience that 'the Anglican Church emphasises that she is not a new church established at the Reformation, but stood in an unbroken continuity with the ancient church'¹⁷³. After outlining the history of the American Church, he expressed his amazement at the respect he had been given,¹⁷⁴ before repeating many of the themes of his earlier letters, especially mission outside the USA,¹⁷⁵ and the benefits of voluntarism for fundraising which was becoming increasingly important in Switzerland after the withdrawal of state subsidies¹⁷⁶. Herzog concluded by emphasizing the catholicity of what he called a 'sister church', which proved that 'we are not a small isolated sect'¹⁷⁷. Contrasting the teachings of the Episcopal Church with what he regarded as the novelties introduced by Rome, Herzog described it as primitive in doctrine and liturgy, humane

¹⁶⁸ *Journal*, p. 264.

¹⁶⁹ *New York Times* (10 April 1883), p. 1; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (10 April 1883), p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ *FCC* 7 (1883), p. 175–9, p. 177.

¹⁷¹ *Journal*, p. 298.

¹⁷² *New York Times* (30 October 1880), p. 3.

¹⁷³ *AAK*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁴ *AAK*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁵ *AAK*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶ *AAK*, p. 45.

¹⁷⁷ *AAK*, p. 47.

in its treatment of all people, national, tolerant and patriotic¹⁷⁸. The fact that he was allowed to vest in the traditional episcopal robes, which at the time were not used in the United States, proved that the American Church was accepting of diversity. Nevin wrote afterwards that Herzog 'made use of this fact on his return home to prove to his people that the American Church did not insist upon a strict uniformity, but demanded unity in essentials only'¹⁷⁹. There was thus a degree of reciprocity between the American Church and the Swiss Old Catholics: both sought to improve their catholic and national credentials through interaction with the other.

Herzog's pre-Lent Pastoral letter the following year took up a similar theme, with a particular emphasis on the biblical imperative for the unity of Christians,¹⁸⁰ as well as the errors of the Roman Church. Herzog reveals that his understanding of Anglican history was derived from the French translation of Christopher Wordsworth's book, *Theophilus Anglicanus: or Instruction Concerning the Church and the Anglican Branch of it*¹⁸¹ (*Theophilus Anglicanus ou De l'église catholique et de sa branche Anglicane*). In a passage emphasized by Herzog, Wordsworth claimed that the Church of England had never separated from the catholic church, but was forced to reform itself in order to remain catholic¹⁸². Herzog goes on to cite liberally from the Thirty-Nine Articles to prove that the Church of England is a branch of the catholic church,¹⁸³ with true catholic doctrine and order,¹⁸⁴ which means 'we have one and the same altar'¹⁸⁵. He concludes by reaf-

¹⁷⁸ AAK, pp. 48–9.

¹⁷⁹ FCC 5 (1881), p. 19.

¹⁸⁰ AAK, p. 60; English translation in *Foreign Chronicle* (1881), pp. 155–62, 228–37. In between the two parts is an account of a service in Berne. See also FCC 6 (1882), pp. 2–3.

¹⁸¹ Christopher Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus: or Instruction Concerning the Church and the Anglican Branch of it*, London (Rivington) 1843. An American edition had been produced by Hugh Davey Evans under the telling title: *Theophilus Americanus; or, Instruction for the young student, concerning the Church, and the American branch of it. Chiefly from the fifth edition of 'Theophilus Anglicanus'*, Philadelphia (Hooker) 1851.

¹⁸² Christopher Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus ou De l'église catholique et de sa branche Anglicane*, tr. Frédéric Godfray, Oxford (Parker) 1861, p. 245.

¹⁸³ AAK, pp. 63–64.

¹⁸⁴ AAK, p. 69.

¹⁸⁵ AAK, p. 70.

firming his understanding that 'we have not separated from Rome to become a new Christian sect, but because we strive after unity in truth'¹⁸⁶.

The experience and history of the Anglo-American church thus demonstrated to Herzog the idea of a national catholic church. In a later pastoral letter on the idea of a 'Christian Catholic National Church', he noted that during

my intercourse with members of the Anglo-American Church, I was often asked why we gave our Church the title of 'Christian Catholic.' ... The designation Christian Catholic surprised our English friends, because they had always believed the terms Christian and Catholic to be synonymous, that it was therefore superfluous to combine both titles. Our friends are in the main right.¹⁸⁷

What he emphasised were characteristics which he believed were shared by the national churches of the Anglican Communion and which were rooted in the teachings of the primitive church exemplified by the Vincentian rule as well as the importance of councils and the election of bishops¹⁸⁸. The American Church thereby provided a blueprint for further development in Switzerland.

Herzog's 1881 Visit to England¹⁸⁹

In 1881 Herzog returned to England, accompanied by Bishop Reinkens¹⁹⁰. They had been invited by Browne on behalf of the Anglo-Continental Society to address a meeting at Cambridge on Saturday 29 October, which lasted nearly three hours and proved too large for the original room at the Guildhall¹⁹¹. Reinkens later spoke of his attendance as 'fulfilling a sacred

¹⁸⁶ AAK, p. 76.

¹⁸⁷ 'Die christkatholische Nationalkirche' in Eduard Herzog, *Synodalphilpredigten und Hirtenbriefe*, Bern (K.J. Wyss) 1886, pp. 231–56, p. 232; FCC 6 (1882), pp. 202–10, here p. 203. (Editor's note: the term *christkatholisch* is – like its earlier variant *christlich-katholisch* – the German translation of the Latin term *christiano-catholicus*, which can be traced back to the early 17th century. The connotations of the two German terms, however, are not fully identical.)

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ On this, see *Account*. Brief reports were included in *The Guardian* (2 November 1881), p. 1551, and *The Guardian* (9 November 1881), pp. 1597–8.

¹⁹⁰ Meyrick, *Memories*, pp. 271–2. Herzog describes this visit in *Protokoll über die achte Session der National-Synode ...*, Basel (Schweighauerische Buchdruckerei) 1882, p. 41.

¹⁹¹ FCC 6 (1882), pp. 4–13.

duty, and I thank God that I did fulfil it: for all that I saw and heard and experienced was to edification and encouragement in Christ Jesus – all was a common praise of our Lord and Saviour in the midst of brethren'¹⁹². At the meeting, Meyrick led the prayers, Lias acted as secretary, and letters were read from the Bishops of Lincoln, Carlisle, Edinburgh and Durham, who were unable to attend, as well as Professors Johann Friedrich von Schulte and Franz Peter Knoodt (1813–1889) of Bonn and Philipp Woker (1848–1924) of Bern. The Bishop of Ely, the Anglo-Catholic James Russell Woodford, presided over the proceedings, pointing out that 'for three hundred years the Anglican Church had occupied a solitary position. The *via media* platform of the Reformation had been taken on by no other'¹⁹³. He concluded by wishing them 'good luck in the name of the Lord'¹⁹⁴.

Reinkens spoke in German, receiving 'hearty applause'¹⁹⁵. In what was a strongly anti-Roman speech which emphasised the purity of a return to the primitive church, he pointed to the similarities between Anglicans and Old Catholics which had been expressed in the Bonn Conferences. He concluded that

after all these hard years I find, from the Russian to the Swiss frontiers, that there exists in many places deep attachment to the faith, and courage to confess it. While the Old Catholics rejoice to testify that it is not in an Italian (be he called Mastai-Ferretti [Pius IX] or Pecci [Leo XIII]), but in Jesus Christ, that they look for salvation, they also exclaim with confidence, 'We trust in the Lord'. From conscience the Old Catholic Reform movement arose; by conscience will it be ever made capable of life: Old Catholicism will exist among the German people as long as ever conscience lives within them.¹⁹⁶

Herzog spoke next, partly in English, and gained a 'hearty reception'. Outlining the history of the Swiss church, he spoke of the growing numbers of adherents as well as the difficult conditions in which they had to work. He also expressed his 'deep thanks' to the Anglo-Continental Society for its scholarships¹⁹⁷. Browne read out a letter from the ailing Ignaz

¹⁹² *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 11.

¹⁹³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (5 November 1881), p. 6.

¹⁹⁴ *Account*, pp. 17–19, here p. 19.

¹⁹⁵ *Account*, pp. 21–34.

¹⁹⁶ *Account*, p. 34.

¹⁹⁷ *Account*, pp. 34–5.

von Döllinger before speaking 'at some length on the "slow and cautious reformation" going on in Germany and Switzerland'¹⁹⁸.

Resolutions expressing sympathy with the movement were read out by the Vice-Chancellor, E. H. Perowne, William Maclagan, Bishop of Lichfield, A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, the Anglo-Catholic Member of Parliament for Cambridge, J. G. Talbot, Member of Parliament for Oxford, as well as many other Cambridge dignitaries¹⁹⁹. The motions were highly supportive. The first recognised in 'the ministry of the Old Catholic Churches of Germany and Switzerland, and in their adherence to the Catholic creeds, the notes of a true branch of the Catholic Church'²⁰⁰. Both MPs reminded the meeting that the Old Catholics were following the lead of the Reformation,²⁰¹ with Beresford-Hope moving the motion 'That this meeting desires to express sympathy with the Old Catholic Church of Germany and Switzerland in its present struggle, remembering that through which the Church of England passed in the 16th century'²⁰². Finally, thanks were offered to Reinkens and Herzog 'for the value of the opportunities which their visit has afforded of conference and united worship'²⁰³.

The following day the two bishops received communion at All Saints' Church, wearing their chains and crosses,²⁰⁴ before attending the commemoration of benefactors at the University Church, and the morning service at St Edward's, where Lias preached the sermon²⁰⁵. He began by asking 'What are Old Catholics?' to which he replied, 'We English Churchmen are Old Catholics; for the essential qualification for an "Old Catholic" is to hold to the ancient and primitive faith of the Christian Church, without either modern additions or modern subtractions'. This, he held, was shared with the Old Catholics of Germany and Switzerland²⁰⁶. Because of this shared inheritance, 'We may learn to welcome them at our altars, and to present ourselves gladly at theirs'. The sharing of communion signalled 'the starting-point of a new departure for the Church of

¹⁹⁸ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414. *Account*, p. 36.

¹⁹⁹ *The Morning Post* (31 October 1881), p. 3.

²⁰⁰ *Account*, p. 36.

²⁰¹ *Account*, p. 37.

²⁰² *Account*, p. 38.

²⁰³ *Account*, p. 40. These resolutions were published in German translation in the proceedings of the christkatholische Synod at Olten in 1882; *Protokoll*, 1882, pp. 41–42.

²⁰⁴ *Account*, p. 43.

²⁰⁵ *Account*, pp. 44–53.

²⁰⁶ *Account*, p. 46.

Christ, which shall end in breaking down all the barriers of prejudice and suspicion, and unite us all once more in that holy bond of faith and charity which has so long been broken.'²⁰⁷ After evensong at King's College,²⁰⁸ which particularly impressed him,²⁰⁹ Reinkens went to All Saints', where Browne preached on 'The faith once delivered to the saints' taking as his theme the organisation of the Christian Church, and the Roman claims'²¹⁰. Herzog attended St Edward's where Meyrick preached. Collections were taken for the student scholarships²¹¹. Reinkens described English worship as characterised by 'only reverence, dignity, and piety'. 'Every Catholic', he continued, 'who is not so unhistorically narrow as to recognize only his own Mass, or as to believe that this was thus compiled by the Apostles, in the Anglican celebration of the Holy Communion, must feel borne along by the Catholic spirit'²¹².

The bishops continued a hectic schedule the following week, with a visit on 31 October to Ely, and on 2 November they were guests of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archibald Campbell Tait, at Addington Palace²¹³. Along with Tait were the Liberal politician George Goschen, Prof. E. H. Plumptre of King's College and soon to be Dean of Wells, W. H. Fremantle, afterwards Dean of Ripon and a great pioneer of the national church idea, and Randall Thomas Davidson, Tait's chaplain and later Archbishop of Canterbury. A few days later Tait recorded in his diary that he had 'much interesting conversation with the Old Catholic bishops', while also noting the huge odds against which the two men were working:

Reinkens spoke only German; Herzog, good English. Their work is evidently slow and difficult. Humanly speaking, it seems impossible that these two can stand up against the Pope and all his influence, and yet keep themselves sepa-

²⁰⁷ *Account*, p. 52.

²⁰⁸ *Account*, p. 54.

²⁰⁹ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 12. *The Guardian* (23 December 1881), p. 1790.

²¹⁰ *Account*, pp. 54–64; Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414; *The Ipswich Journal*, 8 November 1881; Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 271.

²¹¹ *Account*, p. 64.

²¹² *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 12. *The Guardian* (23 December 1881), p. 1790.

²¹³ Randal Thomas Davidson/William Benham, *The Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, London (Macmillan) 1901, 2 vols, ii, p. 514. Reinkens describes this visit in his pastoral letter in *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 12. An invitation was also received from the Bishop of Durham, although shortness of time prevented them from visiting him.

rate from the Protestants. Bismarck is personally kind to Reinkens, but makes no sign of help. 'He would help us fast enough if we had two million followers.' Speaking of Bismarck, he said that when you shook hands with him you felt that his hand was the largest that had ever been seen.²¹⁴

This telling diary entry indicates that politics was high on the Archbishop's agenda. The recognition by the early 1880s that the Old Catholic churches were unlikely to win over large numbers of adherents was to have a rapid effect on the future of Anglican–Old Catholic relations, and Anglican ecumenism more generally. After Tait's death the two bishops sent a joint letter congratulating Edward White Benson on his appointment, and expressing their gratitude for his predecessor's hospitality: 'we were received with so much sympathy, and in a spirit of such true brotherly love, that it was a joy to us morning and evening to take part in the prayers, to sing psalms and hymns together, and to bow our heads in devotion whilst the worthy Primate of the glorious Church of England blessed us with his family'²¹⁵.

The bishops next went to see Christopher Wordsworth at his residence in Riseholme, near Lincoln²¹⁶. They spoke on 4 November at the theological college about their principles and heard expressions of 'sympathy with them in the promotion of the Catholic reformation'²¹⁷. Introducing the bishops, Wordsworth reminded the meeting of the resolutions of the 1871 Diocesan Synod and the Nottingham Church Congress, and spoke of his own involvement in ecumenism, as well as the missionaries who had gone from the British Isles, including Botolph and St Gallus. He again rehearsed his opinion that the Old Catholics – like the Church of England – had been forced into a reformation because of the innovations in Rome²¹⁸.

Since the Church of Rome will not give Episcopacy unless they believe that the Pope is infallible (as she declared on July 18th 1870), and unless they accept sundry other dogmas equally anti-Scriptural and anti-Catholic; in other words, since Rome will not allow men to have Episcopacy – which they be-

²¹⁴ 6 November 1881, Davidson/Benham, *Life of Tait*, p. 544.

²¹⁵ Letter from Reinkens and Herzog to Benson, 24 April 1883, *FCC* 7 (1883), pp. 168–169.

²¹⁶ Overton/Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth*, pp. 381–382. *The Guardian* (9 November 1881), pp. 1597–1598. This report included lengthy reports of the bishops' lectures.

²¹⁷ *Account*, p. 65.

²¹⁸ *Account*, p. 68.

lieve to be from Christ – unless they accept, at the same time, sundry dogmas which are not according to the faith of Christ, but are contrary to that faith; in fine, since men cannot have Episcopacy from Rome, unless they are guilty of apostacy from Christ: therefore they must seek for Episcopacy from some other quarter than from Rome; and this is precisely what our Right Rev. Brethren here present and the Old Catholics have done; and we believe them to be quite right in doing so. (...) Let us not be impatient for results. Let us remember how slow the progress was of our own Reformation in England.²¹⁹

Wordsworth was followed by Reinkens, who more or less repeated his Cambridge address²²⁰. In his lecture Herzog claimed that the Vatican Council ‘had put the seal on all the superstitions, errors, and false doctrines of the Church of Rome; and even the seal itself was a lie!’²²¹ This meant that there was no alternative but to find episcopacy from elsewhere in order to remain a true church. Again he emphasised the importance of the primitive and undivided church, together with a vernacular liturgy, which, he claimed, ‘some might think too conservative’, but which had encouraged Roman Catholics to attend their services. While the prospect ‘was an encouraging one’, there were difficulties. ‘They had to contend against indifferentism on the one hand, and open hostility on the other. But they cheered themselves with the thought that it was the same in their blessed Master’s time.’²²² The Lincoln meeting concluded with a recitation of the Nicene creed, before Reinkens gave the blessing. Afterwards they attended the cathedral for evensong²²³.

The following day they travelled to Farnham Castle to stay with Bishop Browne,²²⁴ where, wearing their pectoral crosses, they received communion at the Parish Church on the Sunday morning. The sermon at the morning service was given by Robert Browne, the bishop’s son and chaplain, who followed the familiar theme of the need to return to the true faith of the primitive church against the innovations of Rome:

They call themselves Old Catholics for this very reason that they wish to bring the Church in their countries back to what she was before these modern errors had crept in. We see how closely this Old Catholic movement in Germany and Switzerland resembles the Reformation in our own country (...). We recog-

²¹⁹ *Account*, pp. 68–9.

²²⁰ *Account*, pp. 70–74.

²²¹ *Account*, p. 75.

²²² *Account*, pp. 76, 78.

²²³ *Account*, p. 79.

²²⁴ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 414; Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 241.

nize the strength of character, and we admire the wisdom, of these Old Catholics, because they are not afraid to keep all that they believe to be good. They would have received but little sympathy from the majority of English Churchmen, had they joined themselves to those extreme Protestants who have rejected much that was old and true together with the new and false. It is because they are keeping on the same lines as the Holy Catholic Church always has kept on from her earliest days that they have our full sympathy. In this, I say, they teach a lesson which many in our own country would do well to learn. When we test all things we should hold fast that which is good.²²⁵

Reinkens later described his positive experience of English episcopal life: 'Though exteriorly of another fashion, yet are the seats of the Anglican Bishops as the ancient coeobia of the Culdees – places where the Christian spirit is unceasingly nurtured, and where devotion penetrates the whole life.'²²⁶

The following day, 7 November, they went to London to attend a meeting of the Anglo-Continental Society chaired by the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was sitting between Reinkens and Herzog. Speaking in German, Reinkens promised to write about his visit on his return, before reminding them of the persecution his church had faced at the hands of the German government²²⁷. Herzog addressed the meeting in English about problems of finance, and the importance of the money raised by the Society. He concluded by outlining the plans for a student exchange between Bern and Cambridge put forward by Professor Woker²²⁸. Beresford-Hope and Walter Farquhar proposed a resolution of thanks, with Lias declaring 'his hope to see intercommunion between the Old Catholic and Anglican churches hastened and matured by the interchange of churches when possible, and the attendance of members of one Church at the altars of the other'²²⁹. This meeting was followed by a *Conversazione* attended by the

²²⁵ *Account*, p. 82.

²²⁶ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 12.

²²⁷ *Account*, p. 84.

²²⁸ *Account*, p. 86. *FCC* (1882), p. 260. After meeting three Bern professors including Herzog and Woker, Lias reported on the need for funds. *FCC* 7 (1883), p. 27. Skinner noted that Lias had invited a student from Bern to study in Cambridge to see the 'C of E as a true branch of the Church Catholic at one of our chief educational centres'. *FCC* 7 (1883), p. 179. The following year it was reported that the available funds had begun to dwindle, but also that a prize was to be set up in memory of the late Lewis M. Hogg. *FCC* 8 (1884), p. 252.

²²⁹ *Account*, p. 87.

Bishop of London, where Reinkens pronounced the blessing²³⁰. After a tour of Lambeth Palace by Davidson the following morning, where they were given a portrait of Tait, and where they expressed interest in Parker's consecration (which had been a cause of controversy in the debate over Anglican orders), they visited Goschen 'at his own request' and the Bishop of Edinburgh, before attending St Paul's for evensong, after which they returned home²³¹. As promised, Reinkens wrote a lengthy pastoral letter shortly after his return describing his experiences with a great deal of appreciation²³².

What is noticeable throughout this visit to England is a change in mood, particularly compared to Herzog's triumphant visit to the United States. Despite the excitement of the Cambridge meetings, and the forcefulness of the resolutions, the two bishops seem in general to have been understood more as victims in an impossible struggle than as leaders of a mass movement in reformed catholicism. The tone was marked more by sympathy than genuine optimism for the growth of the Old Catholic churches into national churches on the model of the Church of England. Unwittingly Reinkens had detected this, writing in his pastoral that 'Respected and distinguished members of the Anglican Church have eagerly embraced every occasion of testifying their Christian sympathy for us, publicly before the world and before God, in our meetings and in private intercourse'²³³.

This mood was marked in the lengthy leading article entitled 'Sympathy with the Old Catholics' published in the *Foreign Church Chronicle* shortly after the visit²³⁴. The writer held that the Church of England should sympathize with the Old Catholics on the grounds that they 'have taken up a position so very similar to that which we assumed in the sixteenth century. Like us, they have rejected Papal doctrine and retained Catholic truth; like us, they have rejected Papal authority and retained the government of the Church by bishops, priests, and deacons'. Although there might be points of disagreement they nevertheless stand with us in all

²³⁰ Meyrick, *Memories*, p. 241.

²³¹ *Account*, p. 88.

²³² FCC 6 (1882), pp. 11–12. *The Guardian* (23 December 1881), p. 1790. This was also reported in the *Birmingham Daily Post* (26 December 1881). German original in Joseph Hubert Reinkens, *Hirtenbriefe*, Bonn 1897, pp. 85–95.

²³³ FCC 6 (1882), p. 11.

²³⁴ FCC 6 (1882), pp. 192–202. The author is the Rev. F. Meyrick.

essential points²³⁵. 'Another reason for our sympathy', he goes on, 'is the personal character of the leaders of the movement (...) in particular Dr. Döllinger, Bishop Reinkens, and Bishop Herzog. (...) Those of us who were brought into contact with Bishop Reinkens and Bishop Herzog during their visit to England last year will not fail, I am sure, to bear their testimony to the high and noble character borne by those prelates'. He went on to describe a mass at Bern, where the only objection was that few people communicated, but recommending that younger and inexperienced people should attend Anglican churches abroad. Nevertheless he felt it was 'much to be desired that (...) intercommunion should become more common'²³⁶. He concluded by stressing his sympathy on the grounds that the

Old Catholics have nothing outside themselves to fall back upon, except it be the sympathy of the Anglo-American Church. This creates a great claim upon us, and if we allow the colossal power of Rome to crush these nascent Churches, as it has crushed other reforming efforts, we may be led to repent it even for our own sakes when it is too late²³⁷.

Conclusion

Despite these efforts to encourage sympathy, however, by 1882 it was clear that the Old Catholic Movement had changed: whatever its reforming zeal, its churches in Europe would never resemble the Church of England. The initial optimism about ecumenism following the Vatican Council was at an end, and was soon replaced by the old diplomacy. The meetings in 1881 show the beginning of a change in the perception of the Old Catholic Movement in England. Although there were significant discussions in the next few years leading up to the 1888 Lambeth Conference, which produced a report and further resolutions, there was little progress until well into the next century. While it expressed comforting words, Resolution 15

²³⁵ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 196–197.

²³⁶ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 200. Meyrick also visited Woker, Herzog and Michaud in May 1882 (p. 260). The following year Lias visited Old Catholics in Germany and Switzerland, noting that in 'German Switzerland the cause prospers', *FCC* 7 (1883), p. 22, and that the service resembled an 'advanced "Ritualistic" church among ourselves' (p. 23). R. Skinner, the English chaplain in Bern, observed something similar later in the year (p. 175).

²³⁷ *FCC* 6 (1882), p. 202.

did not go much further than that of 1878²³⁸. Despite the enthusiasm of many, including prominent figures like Wordsworth and Browne, the early years of Herzog's episcopate reveal that the Church of England was far more constrained than the American Church in its dealings with the Old Catholic Movement: while Herzog and Reinkens might be offered communion, they were not allowed to perform episcopal acts, except for the occasional blessing. The Church of England's established status meant that it was inevitably constrained by the demands of *Realpolitik*. This meant that when it was clear that the Movement had peaked the Church of England could do little more than offer words of comfort and sympathy. To do more would be to threaten the delicate European balance of power. Thus despite the initial enthusiasm expressed in a common anti-Romanism and the elevation of the primitive church idea by men such as Browne, Wordsworth, and Meyrick, there was little to interest most members of the Church of England in the Old Catholic Movement once it had become clear that it was unlikely to expand. In England Anglo-Catholics once again set their targets on Rome²³⁹. By 1888 Bishop Browne could write to Meyrick:

When you and I, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth (...) went to the Old Catholic Congress at Cologne and Bonn, the majority of High Churchmen writers hailed these gatherings as full of hope for the re-union of Christendom and of Catholic reform in Continental Churches. Now all similar, or rather identical, moves are clamoured against as schismatical interference with such Churches, and that by men who ought to know better.²⁴⁰

Browne's biographer observed that it was 'curious to notice how his centrally balanced mind was affected by this strong lurch of the High Church sentiment and practice towards Rome'²⁴¹.

At the same time, however, Herzog's relations with the American Church reveal a very different approach to ecumenism and the idea of a national church. Because of its minority and non-established status, the Episcopal Church could behave quite differently from the Church of England, without having to worry about the diplomatic and political repercussions of its actions. It may have claimed to be a national church, but it was only one among many others. While the Church of England might have

²³⁸ Davidson (ed.), *The Lambeth Conferences*, pp. 273, 282, 339–46.

²³⁹ Moss, *The Old Catholic Movement*, p. 333.

²⁴⁰ Kitchin, *Browne*, p. 415.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

had many competitors, it alone had the privileges and responsibilities of establishment, which were not shared by the American Church. In the post-Civil War period, however, the American Church's own identity was being reformed as an inclusive national body for all Americans whether or not they shared an English inheritance. Even though the enthusiasm for Old Catholics did not last any longer than in England, an alliance with a non-English national Church simply helped encourage that transformation. A nascent sense of American mission and imperialism meant that the American Church was becoming increasingly keen on freeing the Anglican Communion from what could seem like English servitude. Somewhat unexpectedly, then, Herzog reveals something important about the development of worldwide Anglicanism in one of its most formative periods.

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag erkundet Eduard Herzogs Beziehungen zur Kirche von England und zur amerikanischen Episkopalkirche in der Zeit nach dem Ersten Vatikanum, als eine Annäherung an die altkatholischen Kirchen möglich erschien. Beschrieben werden die recht unterschiedlichen Ansätze der beiden grössten Kirchen der anglikanischen Kirchengemeinschaft im Hinblick auf Ökumene und auf Konzepte der Nationalkirche. Der Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die frühen Jahre von Herzogs Episkopat, bis etwa zum Jahr 1882. Danach veränderte sich die Haltung der Kirche von England gegenüber den altkatholischen Kirchen. Während Herzog in England höflich behandelt wurde, durfte er dort keine bischöflichen Funktionen ausüben. Ganz anders in den USA: Dort wurde Herzog als Bischof einer Nationalkirche behandelt, die ähnlich wie die Episkopalkirche eine Minderheit darstellte. Wegen ihres Status als Minderheit und als Kirche, die nicht eine vom Staat anderen Kirchen gegenüber bevorzugte Stellung einnahm, konnte die Episkopalkirche sich Bischof Herzog und den Altkatholischen Kirchen gegenüber ganz anders als die Kirche von England verhalten, da sie keine diplomatischen und politischen Konsequenzen ihres Handelns zu befürchten brauchte.