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I.

ENGLISH THEISTIC THOUGHT AT THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* Prof. Flint expresses the opinion in his article on "Theism" that far more labor had been expended on the theistic proofs during the twenty years immediately preceding (1865–1885) than during the entire previous part of the century. No one will question the truth of this assertion, nor, we suppose, of the one we venture to add—that theism has received far more attention since that statement was published than it did during the two decades referred to.

Several reasons may be assigned for this revival of interest in theistic questions. Philosophy, which has so often recognized a community of interest with theism in fundamental problems, seems disposed to-day to acknowledge this more than ever, and to admit to the area of discussion on equal terms with other proposed solutions the theistic theory of the universe with its bearing on such ultimate questions as those of epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, and æsthetics. So that Principal Fairbairn may say with little fear of contradiction that "Theism may with equal truth be described as either the last chapter of a philosophy or the first of a theology. Its methods, principles, formulæ, arguments are all philosophical; the systems it criticises are the philosophies; the authorities it invokes are philosophers."* It is but a step in the same direction when the Philosophy of Religion with its discussion as to the truth of theism is made by some writers—*e.g.*, Ladd, Külpe and Wundt†—a branch of philosophy, and coördinated

* *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 402.

† Ladd, *Introduction to Philosophy*, p. 176; Külpe, *Introduction to Philosophy*, Eng. trans., pp. 20, 90–95; Wundt, *System der Philosophie*, S. 35, 642–654.

V.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

*LOS VON ROM!**

COMMERCIAL and maritime nations are naturally better acquainted with the most distant coasts of the world than with the interior of their own countries. This was and is true of the Anglo-Saxon race especially. Britannia rules the waves, and the United States together with Britain, and the one as well as the other, knows Yokohama, Calcutta and Hongkong better than Prague, Brünn and Vienna. Even Shakespeare had his own geography, according to which he put Bohemia on the coast instead of in the heart of Europe. And Bohemia is a *terra incognita* to many an English-speaking cosmopolitan who is equally at home in New York and in San Francisco, and who sometimes visits Carlsbad, careless as to where Germany ends and Bohemia begins. The interior of Europe is for an Englishman and an American a dark continent, especially as to its nationalities. And therefore, when something extraordinary happens in this innermost European interior of the Austrian Cis-Leithania, it is to our Atlantic neighbors the more obscure in proportion to the distance of this region from the sea, and to its kaleidoscopic grouping of nations and tongues. In Cis-Leithania the foreigner alternately meets Slavs and Germans. Prague is a Bohemian city, but the foreigner when he arrives there does not need to hear a word of the Bohemian language if he lodges in a Chauvinistic German hotel. Vienna is a German city; but there are more Bohemians in Vienna than in Prague, and a foreigner could live in the Bohemian quarter for a week without needing to speak a word of German. This, of course, must greatly confuse the foreigner—who is necessarily a superficial observer—and when he reads in the papers of such a movement as the *Los von Rom*, he has to ask, Is this a general or a partial movement, a Bohemian or a German one?

Los von Rom is for the present a purely German movement. The geographical boundaries between Bohemians and Germans in Austria are well-nigh extinct. But, on the contrary, the boundaries of language for Bohemians and Germans are sharply fixed as never before—not excepting even the time of John Hus, when he saved the University of Prague for Bohemians. These boundaries, invisible on the maps, which cannot be drawn upon them indeed, because they interlace to the right

* [This paper has been kindly translated for the REVIEW from the author's MS. by the Rev. Messrs. Václav Loša and Charles E. Edwards.—EDITORS.]

and to the left like a spider's web, establish in the village, no less than in the city, that national Chauvinism, that intolerant selfish nationalism, which is so epidemic in this age—one of the hateful features of the *fin de siècle* of the nineteenth century. "America for Americans!" "Britain for Britons!" etc., etc. Where do they speak otherwise to-day? And who would be against it, if every one would be lord of his own house? On this ground reasons might even be found why the Transvaal should not be left to the Boers, or China to the Chinese. Modern nationalism is simply the mediæval principle of fist law. The stronger has the right to swallow the weaker. The Austrian Germans assert against the Austrian Slavs this right of hegemony, of privilege as to language, as to commerce, and as to politics. The Slavs combined are stronger numerically than the Germans, but they are split up into sections. They have such different aims that a Bohemian, a Pole and a Slovenian cannot unite in solid front even against Germans, and thus these, though numerically weaker, dominate and defend their own "Besitzstand" and alter the geographical idea of an Austrian Empire into the ethnographical idea of a German one. With all seriousness they proclaim, "Austria for Germans!" The Austrian Empire would not be against it. It was German and it is German. Yet not so much now as in the times of *olim*, when the German Kaiser was also the Austrian Kaiser, and when the Slavonic nationalities of Austria, especially the Bohemians, oppressed by feudal service to the nobility and by the spiritual feudalism of Rome, signified little in the Austrian Empire for culture, and in politics nothing. To-day the Bohemian nation occupies two-thirds of Bohemia and three-fourths of Moravia, as compared with the German element, and has its representatives in all the countries of Cis-Leithania. As to culture, it stands first among all Slavonic nations; and if it were not dragging the yoke of bigotry and clericalism, it would in Cis-Leithania soon be master of the political situation.

The Austrian Germans observed this danger, and in the times of Badeni, when the scale was strongly inclining in favor of Bohemians, they sought for means that did not and will not fail them. The Papal *Kirchenstaat* or temporal power is reduced in Italy to the Vatican and its belongings. But in Austria it is yet in existence, at least within the bounds of Cis-Leithania. Therefore nothing could be more dangerous to the existence of the Austrian state, at least in the eyes of those who are the arbiters, than a centrifugal movement away from Rome. It is certainly understood to-day, and it was at least deemed probable before, that to create an anti-Romish movement would be the same as to put a pistol against the breast of this or that organizer of a definite political regime in the Austrian Government. "Give what I want or——!" This was the expectation. And when, about two years ago, during the political demonstrations, a German student of medicine in Vienna was making a speech, and haranguing in behalf of the Pan-German idea

(he was afterwards suspended from the University for this, but got his degree later, nevertheless), he was the first to utter publicly the motto "*Los von Rom!*" This motto, accepted at first only as a political weapon of German nationalism against the imminent preponderance of the Austrian Slavs, seemingly supported by clericalism—this motto was the spark which did not flash only to expire, but kindled a flame.

"Durch hundert tausend zucht es schnell
Und aller Augen blitzen hell;
Der Deutsche bieder, fromm und stark,
Beschütz die heil'ge Landesmarck,"

sing the Germans, in all the world, in the well-known song, "Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhell." And the Austrian Germans sing this and act accordingly. *Los von Rom!* shot through them like an electric spark. It did not kindle fires everywhere, but it touched hundreds of thousands. Even to this time it has enflamed and still enflames tens of thousands. What that medical student proclaimed—from a national Chauvinism, more or less, or at least from a national enthusiasm, which has no connection at all with creeds—that, the political leaders and trained parliamentarians of the Germans, Schoenerer and Wolf (who not long ago were grandly portrayed by Mark Twain), put on the drum of political agitation. For the reason that the Ultramontanes began to support the Slavonic party (according to our conviction, only in appearance) Schoenerer's threat was fulfilled comparatively soon—that he would allure ten thousand Catholics from Rome. Of the first ten thousand Germans that left the Romish Church, many remained without any Church connection. Many joined the Old Catholics. Nevertheless, the main body of them joined the Evangelical Church, that is to say, the Lutheran. For Luther—"das ist der grösste Deutsche:" Hus the greatest Bohemian, Calvin the Frenchman, but Luther the German. And because the Lutheran Church in Austria is almost entirely German, and the Reformed Church, on the other hand, almost entirely Bohemian, how could Schoenerer and Wolf counsel otherwise than to join the Lutherans? If they had joined the Reformed Church, they would have gone from bad to worse, from the rain to the cataract—that is, in that case Germans would have gone over to the Bohemians. Such was the plain warning of Schoenerer's newspaper, *Unverfälschte deutsche Worte*.

And so the movement *Los von Rom* was at the beginning wholly political, and it remains so to-day to a great extent. Yet the political coloring of this movement is fading. Schoenerer and Wolf, *et consortes*, though they be *Los von Rom*, very seldom go to Wittenberg, very seldom darken the doors of a Lutheran church. But politics, and politics only, does not absorb every German's life; and thus many a one because he has deserted Romanism for Protestantism, seeks to investigate it more closely. Perhaps he has never heard a Protestant sermon or taken part in a Protestant service. And he has had an idea which is common in Austria among Catholics (who are religiously ignorant, though they may

be among the cultured classes) that Protestantism is simply a weakened solution of Romanism; or, again, that it is simply a negation of everything, even of pure Christianity. And so when any one with such an idea begins to interest himself in Protestantism, even from sheer curiosity, and when he learns what Rosegger says (who of all the Austrian Germans most frequently repeats the statement), that nowhere is the teaching of Christ heard in such purity as among the Evangelicals—then no wonder that many a German who seceded from Rome at first for the sake of Schoenerer, now adheres to the Evangelical Church for the sake of Christ. That is to say, the movement *Los von Rom*, which at first was only a German national one, is now changing slowly into a religious one. It is gradually making less noise, just as shallow waters are the noisiest and still waters run deep. Even so the quieter the *Los von Rom* becomes the deeper it becomes and the more religious.

And this fact must rejoice the heart of Reformed Bohemians, and of every true Protestant believer of the whole world. It is true that this movement in favor of Protestantism in Austria is thus far purely German, but it is no more merely political. Thus far the Lutheran Church is gaining from it, not the Reformed, because this is Bohemian. But the Chinese wall of national Chauvinism is not eternally impenetrable to mighty progressive ideas. The national walls in Austria will not last forever. They will end with a victory for one side and a defeat for the other, or (God grant it!) by the reconciliation of both.

To-day, among Bohemians, nationalism swallows up everything, and especially the most important things. So far, there is among Bohemians only one party that is thorough—quite often not prudent or tactful, but with a sense for the better things—the party of the Realists, led by Prof. Masaryk and the editor Dr. Herben. Naturally these two are also *Los von Rom* men, and they joined the Protestant Church, which in Bohemia is the Reformed. Masaryk and Herben have within them besides Christ, also Tolstoi, Ruskin, Conte and *tutti quanti*. I say *besides*, and they have not yet come so far that they can judge *δι' ἐσθς πάντα*, that is, all through Christ. But we can guarantee that there is in Masaryk and Herben a good deal larger percentage of positive Christianity, and especially evangelical Protestantism, than in Schoenerer and Wolf. For the conversion of these leaders of the Realistic party was at first entirely through inward causes, which were personal, truly religious, and not conditioned by politics, though of course, here and there, influencing politics. These Realistic leaders were determined to separate from Rome a long time before any one even among the Austrian Germans dreamed of *Los von Rom*. And this, we say, is typical. The Apostle Paul once considered the conversion of Israel to Christ possible, for the reason that he was himself an Israelite. Therefore, as long as there are in the Bohemian nation born Protestant leaders such as Palacký and Šafařík, and as long as such men in this nation as the foremost Realistic leaders can separate from Rome, so long is there a

capacity in this nation for returning to that situation from which they were burned out, harried out, forced out, namely, to the Reformation.

But in the meantime the Bohemian nation has been, as a rule, a lackey of Rome and a contemptible assistant of clericalism and reactionism. And just because the Goliaths of the German Philistines are apostatizing—according to Rome—the Herolds (Dr. Herold is the leader of the Young Czechs) of the Bohemian Israel offer themselves—entirely without necessity—as Davids against these Goliaths. But the affair will not proceed as smoothly and quickly as in Saul's reign. It is a perverted politics which the Bohemian Realism rebukes, but which the Bohemian nation for the most part adopts. The Bohemian nation imitated the Germans in obstructionism in Parliament, and was whipped for it. *Los von Rom* does not pattern after this. On the contrary, it despises this policy, and will have its whipping, too. Romish clericalism being sure of a dog-like submissiveness from Bohemians, and fearing the determination of the descendants of Vandals and Goths, strokes the Germans with the fur and strikes Bohemians in the face; which is just what each deserves. But on this very account even a nation of slaves, as the foremost Bohemian poet, Svatopluk Čech, called his people, must at last lose patience with Rome. In the meantime aversion appears only here and there—and, stupidly enough, in the new Cyrillo-Methodianism, which is the endeavor to supplant the Latin by the old Slavonic language, and thus feed the wolf, leaving the goat to the eagle, that is not to injure a hair of Rome. This is the case in Dr. Tška's national Catholicism, in which he advocates some kind of *quodlibet*, so indefinite that it is hardly possible to take it seriously. But all these and similar phenomena are only flashes that do not strike or burn and are not even accompanied by the rolling of thunder. These, if the Lord of Hosts has so determined, may prove in time to be the premonitions of a storm in which a something will thunder more mightily than the present German *Los von Rom*—before which Rome will take to its heels as once the Crusaders, with their cardinal, fled before the Hussites at Domazlic. Of course such a prophecy has its conditions—*Deo volente*. And even with this condition it cannot be proclaimed for to-morrow. It will take years yet before the Bohemian Reformed Church will be able to fish in the deep, as the German Lutheran Church does to-day. Nevertheless, here a hundred years will not divide Hus from Luther. For the present we have to rejoice that what is happening happens. The growth of the German Evangelical Church in Austria is at least a moral support for the Bohemian Evangelical Church. According to the official report of the Imperial Evangelical Consistory, 2703 converts from Rome joined the Lutheran Church and 233 converts the Reformed Church, from the 1st of July to December 31, 1899—altogether 2936 persons. *Vice versa*, 338 persons left the Church, so that the net increase was 2598 accessions from the Romish Church. For the whole year 1899 the net gain for both Churches from conversions was

5620 persons, of whom 5372 came from the Roman Catholic Church. In the first quarter of 1900, 1280 persons went over from the Roman Catholic Church, and so it steadily goes on. In northern Bohemia, in the city of Vienna, in Grätz and elsewhere, *Los von Rom* is becoming quiet. From the beginning of this movement up to the present time Rome certainly has lost 16,000 persons, and of these Protestantism has gained from 10,000 to 12,000. Undoubtedly the first flood will lessen, but the stream will flow on. The audacity of Schoenerer in the Reichsrath at Vienna is remarkable, for he does not wish any one to be a member with full privileges in his caucus who is not *Los von Rom*. And this, Schoenerer dares to proclaim through the public press in the largest ecclesiastical state in the world which the Pope can claim as his own. These are certainly characteristic things, in conjunction with those that happen in France and elsewhere, ominous for Rome.

Are they at the same time promising for Protestantism? That is the question. The Protestant west of Europe can very easily kill *Los von Rom* in the east and in the heart of Europe. It needs only to bring into this movement a stream of our unhappy sectarianism—which in English-speaking lands alone is comparatively harmless and sometimes even useful. It is necessary to notice that neither Schoenerer and Wolf nor Masaryk and Herben join any denomination imported from beyond the sea into Austria. Austria has already had a Reformation, both German and Bohemian, and the remnants of it had a resurrection when the Tolerance Patent was published in 1781. And these historic Churches, Lutheran and Reformed, are the only points around which the movement in Austria, centrifugal from Rome, may crystallize. To-day, among Germans, such a centre is the Lutheran Church. If the movement away from Rome crosses over the Chinese wall of nationalism and if it spreads even among the Bohemian people, it will redound to the growth of the Reformed Church. Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, not to speak of other denominations beyond the sea, will not penetrate into any Catholic nation of the European continent. There are many reasons for this. And only foreigners who are supporting and directing such missionary enterprises are unable to see what to us is clear as the day. Sectarianism, like the mistletoe on a tree and not otherwise, can get its life only from us, from the Churches already in existence which are evangelical and whose roots are deep in history. And alas! this parasitical course is commencing, and that, too, against the Reformed Church.

Thus our joy in the movement *Los von Rom* is not unmixed. While in Klostergrab, where the Thirty Years' War began through the destruction of the Evangelical Church in 1618, the cornerstone is being laid for the new Evangelical Church building, and the Gospel among Germans, through the *Los von Rom*, is cutting at least a narrow way from the Bohemian Rudohori up to the Styrian and Tyrolean Alps—western Protestantism is committing the same mistake in Austria that it did in

Italy, through the same denominationalism. There, instead of combining under the banner of the Waldensians exclusively, as the western denominations ought to do, efforts for evangelization are divided in order that this or that denomination may proclaim at home, "We have a Church in Italy right under the eyes of the Pope!" Perhaps only Presbyterians have the better understanding of the matter (we so read at least in their journals) that to strengthen the Continental Protestant Churches is the safest way to evangelize Catholic Europe and thus to help the *Los von Rom*. The present Austrian *Los von Rom* proves this view perfectly. And Germans, in the German Empire—especially the *Evangelischer Bund*, supporting this movement materially and morally with all its power—does not try in the least to import into Austria either its organization or its "Old Lutheranism."

The matter grows under our pen against our will, and yet we must add one more thing. What is the Government doing, and what is Rome doing against *Los von Rom*? The Government and Rome are one here, and do against *Los von Rom* all they can. But stakes and dungeons are possible no more, and the chicaneries which are sometimes perpetrated through existing laws cannot go on indefinitely. Here and there a theologian from Germany is refused Austrian citizenship; a city refuses a location for a new evangelical church, etc. But this cannot go on eternally. The Evangelical Church is recognized (not established) by the Government, and as such has her autonomy incorporated in State legislation, which the Reichsrath only could change to the injury of Protestantism. And that will not happen so long as Germans are the most efficient element in the Austrian Parliament, and especially that cannot happen now, when the whole of Schoenerer's caucus in the Reichsrath writes over its portal, "*Lasciate Roma voi ch'entrate.*" And lastly, the gray Austrian Emperor himself, always tolerant and kind to his heart's core, and joined in fellowship with the German Kaiser and the King of Italy, knows that "*Roma intangibile*" is not the Pope's Rome, but the Rome of the King. The times when the Pope could dispose of thrones and commanded *urbi et orbi* are *tempi passati*. New opportunities have come, and the question is only whether those who profess the pure Gospel will know how to profit by them for the growth of God's kingdom, or whether they will miss them. This last is also only too possible, and in Bohemia even probable; and therefore may the Holy Spirit be merciful to the people of John Hus!

KLOBOUKY, MORAVIA.

FERDINAND CISAŘ.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

FROM time immemorial the opening of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had always been on a Thursday, and the closing