

## HERMAN SCHELL AND THE REFORM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GERMANY

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GERMAN CATHOLICISM experienced a constellation of dynamic impulses at the turn of the century which promised a profound renewal of the Church in that country. The galvanizing of Catholic forces during the Kulturkampf of the 1870s had begun a renewal of the political influence of Catholicism in German culture, an influence which would become the subject of critical analysis in the decades to follow, and certainly into the early years of the 20th century.

At the heart of the Kulturkampf was a series of measures enacted between July 1871 and May 1873, including expulsion of the Jesuits from German territory, dissolution of most religious orders, and the "May Laws of 1873," proposed by the Prussian Minister of Education and Religion, Adalbert Falk, which established state control of seminary training, as well as of discipline and appointment of clergy.<sup>1</sup> Douglas Hatfield lists several currents afloat by the beginning of the 1870s which created the potential for conflict between Prussia and the Catholic Church. They included the judgment that the German unification movement was a victory of the Protestant State over Catholic interests and the emergence of the Catholic Center as "a strong parliamentary party, which attempted to influence Reich policy in favor of the papacy and served as a rallying point for Polish, Hanoverian, and other anti-Prussian parliamentary forces."<sup>2</sup>

So significant was the new-found Catholic cultural dynamic set in

<sup>1</sup> Niles Holt notes that the May Laws, directed primarily against the Catholic Church, had the effect ironically of accelerating departures from the Protestant Churches ("The Church Withdrawal Movement in Germany," *Journal of Church and State* 32 [1990] 40).

<sup>2</sup> "Kulturkampf: The Relationship of Church and State and the Failure of German Political Reform," *Journal of Church and State* 23 (1981) 467. Hatfield lists "the determination of the Catholic hierarchy to enforce conformity to the recently enunciated decree on papal infallibility, even against clergy who served simultaneously as state officials, [and] the increasing identification of the Polish nationalist current in Prussia's eastern provinces with the Catholic confession" as other elements in the conflict leading up to the Kulturkampf. "By 1879 nine of the twelve Prussian bishoprics stood vacant. There were also 955 vacant parishes. . . . In spite of these losses the unity of the Church was greatly strengthened" (473). On the Center Party, cf. Ellen Lovell Evans, *The German Center Party, 1870-1933: A Study in Political Catholicism* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois Univ., 1981).

motion by the Kulturkampf that historian Eduard Spranger wondered aloud whether the intellectual torch in Germany had not passed from Evangelical to Roman Catholic Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

There was a renewed liturgical movement which had its origins in the productive interaction between the Abbey of Maria Laach and a circle of Catholic intellectuals organized by Theodor Abele<sup>4</sup> and Hermann Platz.<sup>5</sup> Beginning in the fall of 1908 in Metz, Abele was introduced to French developments in philosophy, theology, and liturgy. With other companions, Abele forged an academic link in 1911 with the liturgical developments at the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron on the Danube River, and in 1913 he made contact with the Abbey of Maria Laach and its young abbot, Ildefons Herwegen. The German liturgical renewal is understood to have begun through this interaction. There were others involved in the liturgical renewal, of course; among them were P. Simon, abbot of Maria-Laach, Alois Dempf, F. X. Münch, and Romano Guardini.

The period also witnessed a renewed Catholic literary impulse centering around the magazine *Hochland* and its editor, Karl Muth.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> Eduard Spranger, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Geisteswissenschaft und die Schule* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1992). Spranger bemoans the then-current cultural fad of overemphasizing psychological explanations which fail to take adequate account of the cultural and structural dimensions of human existence.

<sup>4</sup> Theodor Anton Abele (1879–1965) studied in Munich, Tübingen, Würzburg, and Straßburg, where his circle of acquaintances included Eugen Bolz, later Minister-President of Württemberg and executed by the Nazis for resisting the Third Reich; Heinrich Brüning, later Reich Chancellor; Robert Schuman, later the French Minister-President; and Herman Platz. See August Heinrich Berning, "Eine Lebensfreundschaft mit Hermann Platz: Theodor Abele und die Anfänge der katholischen Akademiker- und der liturgischen Bewegung in Deutschland," repr. in Vincent Beerning, *Hermann Platz 1880–1945: Eine Gedenkschrift* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1980) 78–85; cf. Theodor Bogler, O.S.B., *Liturgische Erneuerung in aller Welt: Ein Sammelbericht* (Maria Laach: Ars Liturgica, 1950) 15.

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Platz (1880–1945), humanist and philosopher of culture. With Theodor Abele, Heinrich Brüning, and Robert Schuman, Platz was a member of a close group of young academics which in 1913 would form the Verband der Vereine katholischer Akademiker zur Pflege der katholischen Weltanschauung. Cf. H. Dausend, "Die liturgische Bewegung bei den Katholiken deutscher Zunge," *Liturgische Zeitschrift* 1 (1929) 168–73; and Anton Mayer-Pfannholz, "Liturgie und Laientum," in *Wiederbegegnung von Kirche und Kultur in Deutschland* (see n. 6 below) 225–40.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Muth (1867–1944) spent part of his secondary education in Algeria with the White Fathers, then studied political science and German philosophy. Connections with Paris put him in contact with the *renouveau catholique*. His programmatic essay, *Die Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis: Gedanken zur Psychologie des katholischen Literaturschaffens* (Munich: Kösel, 1909) was a continuation of two critical analyses of the contribution of Catholics to the cultural life of Germany which he had

journal, which introduced German Catholics to André Gide and Paul Claudel, Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, even to the renowned converts to Roman Catholicism, the English John Henry Cardinal Newman, and the German Theodor Haecker, was inaugurated by Muth in 1904. Prior to World War I *Hochland* restricted itself to literary criticism, then began pursuing political and social problems after the war's end. During World War II the journal was banned by the Nazis because of its outspoken criticism of the Hitler regime, but it resumed publication in 1946, only to cease in 1971.

Turn-of-the-century German Catholicism also enjoyed a new Youth Movement, with its three cofounders, Bernhard Strehler, Hermann Hoffmann, and Clemens Neumann;<sup>7</sup> and a social-justice movement surrounding the social scientist Franz Hitze,<sup>8</sup> the textile industrialist Franz Brandts<sup>9</sup> and the extraordinary parliamentarian from the Cen-

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published pseudonymously a decade earlier: "Steht die katholische Belletristik auf der Höhe der Zeit?" (1898) and "Die literarische Aufgaben der deutschen Katholiken" (1899). For a series of essays placing the work of Karl Muth in historical and cultural perspective, cf. *Wiederbegegnung von Kirche und Kultur in Deutschland: Eine Gabe für Karl Muth*, edited by Max Ettliger, Philipp Funk and Friedrich Fuchs for Muth's sixtieth birthday (Munich: Pustet and Kösel, 1927). Although invited to join by Muth, German Jesuits, who were already editing *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, declined to participate in *Hochland's* production; see Friedrich Fuchs, "Die deutschen Katholiken und die deutsche Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Wiederbegegnung von Kirche und Kultur in Deutschland* 54. On Muth, see also Anton Wilhelm Huffer, *Karl Muth als Literaturkritiker* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1959). Schell was listed as one of *Hochland's* original contributing editors.

<sup>7</sup> F. Henrich links the Youth Movement to the liturgical renewal; see *Die Bünde katholischer Jugendbewegung: Ihre Bedeutung für die liturgische und eucharistische Erneuerung* (Munich: Kösel, 1968).

<sup>8</sup> Franz Hitze (1851–1921), a contemporary of Schell's, was ordained to the priesthood at Paderborn in 1878, became Professor for Christian Social Teaching at Münster in 1893, after having served as Secretary of the Arbeiterwohl Verband, which he founded together with Franz Brandts. F. H. Müller compares him to the American John A. Ryan ("Hitze," in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7.40–41). Between 1882–1893 and again from 1898–1912 he was a Centrist Party member of the Prussian Parliament. He was concerned with the plight of the laborers and was instrumental in promoting the establishment of Catholic labor unions, in part to offset the attractiveness of the Social Democratic Party. He wrote *Die Arbeiterfrage und die Bestrebungen zu ihrer Lösung* (Berlin: Gladbach, 1902). Cf. Johannes Horstmann, *Katholizismus und moderne Welt: Katholikentage, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft—1848 bis 1914*, *Abhandlungen zur Sozialethik*, ed. W. Weber and A. Rauscher, vol. 13 (Munich: Schöningh, 1976).

<sup>9</sup> Franz Brandts (1834–1914), German industrialist and social reformer, whose textile plants became models of social awareness and sensitivity to the problems of labor. With Franz Hitze, he founded in 1880 the Verband für Arbeiterwohl, in 1890 the Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland in Mönchengladbach, which became the driving force

tral Party, Ludwig Windthorst. Windthorst had been Bismarck's arch-foe and had worked energetically to oppose the Kulturkampf.<sup>10</sup>

Associated with each of these movements, and considered by many of those involved to be one of the major intellectual and spiritual driving forces, was the talented and controversial Würzburg dogmatic theologian, Herman Schell.<sup>11</sup>

Herman Schell is one of the most interesting Roman Catholic theologians of the 19th century. Josef Hasenfuß refers to him as the "fore-runner of the Second Vatican Council."<sup>12</sup> Friedrich Heiler calls Schell the most important Roman Catholic dogmatist of the last century.<sup>13</sup> And Vincent Berning goes so far as to consider Schell "up to now the most significant exponent of Catholic theology in the German lan-

of Catholic social activity in Germany; see Horstwalter Heitzer, *Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland im Kaiserreich 1890–1918* (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1979). With Krupp, Bodelschwingh, and Freiherr v. Stumm, Brandts is considered one of the four leading personalities in German industry of the period; see Wilfried Loth, *Katholiken im Kaiserreich: Der politische Katholizismus in der Krise des Wilhelminischen Deutschlands* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Josef Ferdinand Gustave Windthorst (1812–1891), the most significant Catholic German politician before 1914, became first Catholic Justice Minister in Hannover in 1851, led opposition to Bismarck, and was leader of the Catholic Center Party from 1890. See Margaret Lavinia Anderson, *Windthorst: A Political Biography*. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981); and Hans-Georg Aschoff, *Ludwig Windthorst: Ein christlicher Politiker in einer Zeit des Umbruchs*. (Hannover: Niedersächsischen Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1991); also Ronald J. Ross, "Critic of the Bismarckian Constitution: Ludwig Windthorst and the Relationship Between Church and State in Imperial Germany," *Journal of Church and State* 21 (1979) 483–506; and Douglas W. Hatfield, "Kulturkampf: The Relationship of Church and State and the Failure of German Political Reform," *Journal of Church and State* 23 (1981) 464–84.

<sup>11</sup> V. Berning, "Geistig-kulturelle Neubesinnung im deutschen Katholizismus vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Religiös-kulturelle Bewegungen im deutschen Katholizismus seit 1800* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1986) 47–98; V. Berning, ed., *Hermann Platz (1880–1945): Eine Gedenkschrift* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1980); Emil Ritter, *Die katholische-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert und der Volksverein* (Köln, 1954) 219–22, 341, 485; Herbert Dachs, "Albert Ehrhard—Vermittler oder Verräter?" in *Der Modernismus: Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*, ed. Erika Wienzierl (Graz: Styria, 1974) 213–34.

<sup>12</sup> Josef Hasenfuß, *Herman Schell als Wegbereiter zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Munich: Schöningh, 1978). For Hasenfuß, life-long investigator of Schell's works, Schell's "tragedy" was simply that he took the initiative for dialogue at a time which was still ruled by a spirit of defensiveness; see his "Einleitung: Leben und Wirken Herman Schells," in *Herman Schell, Katholische Dogmatik Kritische Ausgabe*, vol. 1: *Von der Quellen der christlichen Offenbarung von Gottes Dasein und Wesen*, ed. Josef Hasenfuß and Paul-Werner Scheele (Munich: Schöningh, 1968) xxi.

<sup>13</sup> Friedrich Heiler, "Herman Schell," in *RGG* 5 (2d ed. 1931) 145.

guage in the last two centuries!"<sup>14</sup> Thomas O'Meara's assessment, that Schell "was the most creative German Catholic theologian in the last third of the century," is perhaps more cautious.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, when Schell died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-six on the eve of Pentecost 1906, his theological enterprise almost immediately sank into oblivion. It has only been in the last several decades that serious attention has been paid to his work and to his influence on the reform of Catholicism at the turn of the century.<sup>16</sup>

Rome's indexing of some of the positions taken by Schell—especially his life's work on the Church—came at a time when such magisterial action assured that other theologians would hardly bother to differentiate between the allegedly objectionable and the clearly orthodox aspects of his writings.

<sup>14</sup> V. Berning, *Gott, Geist und Welt: Herman Schell als Philosoph und Theologe* (Munich: Schönningh, 1978) 13.

<sup>15</sup> T. O'Meara, *Church and Culture: German Catholic Theology, 1860–1914* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame, 1991) 101.

<sup>16</sup> J. Hasenfuß led the way with a monograph on the fiftieth anniversary of Schell's death, *Herman Schell als existentieller Denker und Theologe* (Würzburg: Todestay, 1956), and followed with *Herman Schell: Briefe an einen jungen Theologen* (Munich: Schönningh, 1974) and *Herman Schell als Wegbereiter zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Munich: Schönningh, 1978) plus many articles. Others include Paul-Werner Scheele, *Herman Schell: Gemeinschaft und Verherrlichung. Eine Auswahl aus dem Gesamtwerk* (Paderborn: Schönningh, 1957); P. Wacker, *Glaube und Wissen bei Herman Schell* (Paderborn: Schönningh, 1961); V. Berning, *Das Denken Herman Schells: Die philosophische Systematik seiner Theologie genetisch entfaltet* (Essen: Wingen, 1964); Theodor Schneider, *Teleologie als theologische Kategorie bei Herman Schell* (Essen: Ludgerus, 1966); H. Mynarek, *Der Mensch—Sinnziel der Weltentwicklung: Entwurf eines christlichen Menschenbildes auf dem Hintergrund eines dynamisch-evolutionären Kosmos unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ideen H. Schells und Teilhard de Chardins* (Paderborn: Schönningh, 1967); Karl Mühlek, *Dynamische Gemeinschaft: Zur Lehre Herman Schells von der Kirche* (Munich: Schönningh, 1973); P.-Heinz Schenk, "Die Interpretation des Trinitätsmysteriums bei Herman Schell" (diss. Würzburg, 1973); V. Berning, *Gott, Geist, und Welt: Herman Schell als Philosoph und Theologe* (Munich: Schönningh, 1978); Ben Janssens, *Metaphysisches Denken und heilsgeschichtliche Offenbarung: Ihre Korrespondenz im Systematischenversuch Herman Schells* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1980); V. Berning, *Systematisches Philosophieren: Zwischen Idealismus und Neuscholastik um die Jahrhundertwende. Studien zur christlichen Philosophie Herman Schells* (Munich: Schönningh, 1984); the present author's own *Ernst Troeltsch and Herman Schell: Christianity and the World Religions* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990); Thomas Franke, *Leben Aus Gottes Fülle: Zur trinitarischen Reich-Gottes-Theologie Herman Schells* (Würzburg: Echter, 1990); and Werner Sosna, *Die Selbstmitteilung Gottes in Jesus Christus: Grundlagen und domatischen Explikation der Christologie Herman Schells* (Paderborn: Schönningh, 1991). A Herman Schell Institute was opened at the University of Würzburg in June 1970.

That is not to say that Schell had no supporters. He did, especially in some of his own students, such as Dr. Karl Hennemann,<sup>17</sup> Franz Xaver Kiefl, Würzburg professor of New Testament and Dogmatics,<sup>18</sup> and Sebastian Merkle, professor of Church History at Würzburg and perhaps one of the most significant church historians of modern times.<sup>19</sup> But the initial effect of the indexing was fatal. As Vincent Berning points out, Schell had not yet built up a "school" of his own when Rome took action against him; there were no hardcore Schell followers who would be able to continue the direction of his work.<sup>20</sup>

Vincent Berning suggests another reason for the neglect which Schell's works have suffered. With the end of the First World War there was a shift in theology away from speculative, systematic thinking.<sup>21</sup> The emphasis turned to kerygmatic, biblical, and patristic theology. Michael Sailer and Johannes Adam Möhler provided better sources in the 19th century for such a change in theological thinking. The Modernist controversy also contributed to Schell's isolation; although he would not fit *Pascendi's* description of Modernism, the an-

<sup>17</sup> Karl Hennemann (1864–1951), ordained priest 1889, Ph.D. with a dissertation titled "Die Heiligkeit Jesu als Beweis seiner Gottheit" prepared under Herman Schell. Hennemann is best known to Schell researchers as editor of some of Schell's writings, *Herman Schell: Kleinere Schriften* (Paderborn: 1908). But in defense of Schell he also published the correspondence between Schell and his one-time friend turned enemy, Ernst Commer (see the latter's *Ernst Commer's Briefe an H. Schell vom 1885–1899* [Würzburg: Schöningh, 1907]); and to counter the charge that Schell was forced to recant, Hennemann also published documents from Schell's files under the title *Widerrufe Herman Schells?* (Würzburg: Göbel, 1908) as well as a collection of the testimonies to Schell written on the occasion of his death, *Herman Schell im Lichte zeitgenössischer Urteile bei seinem Tode* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1903). Vincent Berning counts Hennemann among the closest members of the Schell school and states that his academic chances were harmed by contact with Schell (Berning, *Das Denken Herman Schells* [Essen: Wingen, 1964] 232–33).

<sup>18</sup> Franz Xaver Kiefl (1869–1928), ordained 1894, professor of New Testament Exegesis in Dillingen, then of Dogmatics and the History of Dogma in Würzburg, highly talented speculatively, and well versed in philosophy, politically conservative, defending monarchy to the very last as legitimate form of government. Kiefl's writings on Schell include *Die Stellung der Kirche zur Theologie von H. Schell* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1908), and "Herman Schell," *Hochland* 3 (1906) 548–74.

<sup>19</sup> Sebastian Merkle (1861–1945), ordained 1887, professor of Church History in Würzburg 1898–1933, one of the editors—together with F. Kampers and M. Spahn—of *Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern*, a series in which Schell's *Christus* book appeared; see Merkle's "Auf den Spuren des Völkerapostels" in *Gedächtnisrede bei der Trauerfeier für H. Schell* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1906).

<sup>20</sup> V. Berning, *Das Denken Herman Schells: Die philosophische Systematik seiner Theologie* (Essen: Wingen, 1964) 244.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 245.

timodernist campaign of the early two decades of this century did not help his cause.<sup>22</sup>

#### HERMAN SCHELL: LIFE AND WORK

Jacob Herman Schell was born on February 28, 1850 in the Black Forest town of Freiburg im Breisgau, in Southwestern Germany.<sup>23</sup> In 1868, at the age of eighteen, while preparations were underway for the First Vatican Council, Schell entered the seminary for the Diocese of Freiburg. Jacob Sengler was teaching philosophy there.<sup>24</sup> Teaching

<sup>22</sup> Which is not to say that he wasn't often described as a modernist. Anton Gisler, *Der Modernismus* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1912), clearly associated Schell with the modernist movement, and considers Modernism itself to have been imported from the Americanism movement in the United States! See, in addition, Josef L. Altholz, *The Churches in the Nineteenth Century* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967) 163; similarly, H. Daniel-Rops, *A Fight for God 1870-1939*, trans. John Warrington (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1965) 221; or Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Vol. 1: *The Nineteenth Century in Europe: Background and the Roman Catholic Phase* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1958) 387. More balanced appraisals of the relationship between Schell and the modernist movement are now commonplace. Cf. e.g., Günther Bleickert, "Herman Schell" in *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands in 19. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Munich: Kösel, 1975) 3.300-27; Thomas Michael Loomer, *Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism: A contribution to a New Orientation in Modernist Research* (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1979) 104-7. B. M. G. Reardon also places Schell's Reformkatholizismus closer to the liberal Catholic movements of the 19th century than to Modernism; see his "Roman Catholic Modernism," in *Nineteenth-Century Religious Thought in the West*, 3 vols., ed. Ninian Smart et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 1985) 2.145. See also Gabriel Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) and Lester R. Kurtz, *The Politics of Heresy: The Modernist Crisis in Roman Catholicism* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1986), who would accent the situation differently.

<sup>23</sup> For more detailed biographical sketches, see Paul-Werner Scheele, "Mysterium Missionis: Leben und Werk Herman Schells," in Scheele, ed., *Verherrlichung und Gemeinschaft: Eine Auswahl aus dem Gesamtwerk* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1957) 15-58; Josef Hasenfuß, "Einleitung," in *Briefe an einen jungen Theologen*, ed. J. Hasenfuß (Munich: Schöningh, 1974) x-xliii; and Günter Bleickert, "Herman Schell," in *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. ed. Heinrich Fries und Georg Schwaiger (Munich: Kösel, 1975) 3.300-27, with bibliography of secondary literature through 1973.

<sup>24</sup> Jacob Sengler (1799-1878) was a student of Schelling, Baader, und Görres, and an advocate of "speculative theism"; see L. Weiss, "Jacob Sengler: Eine Skizze seines Lebens," *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik* 75 (1879) 89. For Sengler's influence on Schell, see V. Berning, *Das Denken* 7-20 and *passim*. Thomas O'Meara also traces a link between Schell and Schelling through Sengler in his *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism: Schelling and the Theologians* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame, 1982). Compare J. Hasenfuß, *Herman Schell als existentieller Denker und Theologe* (Würzburg: Todestay, 1956) 48-71, where Hasenfuß tries to minimize the influ-

theology were Friedrich Johann Wörter<sup>25</sup> and Konstantin von Schüzler. In one letter Schell credits von Schüzler with having the greatest influence on his own "method of thought, exposition, and writing."<sup>26</sup>

After two years at his hometown university, Schell moved to Würzburg for a continuation of his formal theological education. Würzburg, which St. Boniface had made a diocesan seat in 742, would become the academic home of Schell's activity from 1884 until his death in 1906. Here, still a student, he encountered Heinrich Josef Denzinger,<sup>27</sup> the New Testament scholar Joseph Grim,<sup>28</sup> and the Old Testament professor Anton Scholz.<sup>29</sup> Schell was ordained to the priesthood on August 17, 1873.

During his years in Würzburg, Schell also pursued doctoral studies under Franz Brentano.<sup>30</sup> A long and lasting friendship developed be-

ence of Sengler and of late Idealism. On the influence of Romanticism on Catholic thought, see B. M. G. Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism: Studies in Early Nineteenth Century Thought* (New York: Cambridge Univ., 1985).

<sup>25</sup> Wörter (1819–1901) was a student of Staudenmaier and Professor for Dogmatics and Apologetics at Freiburg from 1858–1897. Earlier influenced by the Tübingen School, he later drew closer to Neo-Scholasticism. His specialty was the patristic doctrine of grace. During Schell's time in Freiburg, Wörter was publishing *Der Pelagianismus* (Freiburg: Wagner, 1866; <sup>2</sup>1874).

<sup>26</sup> Johann Lorenz Konstantin von Schüzler (1827–1880), converted to Catholicism 1850, ordained 1856, Jesuit 1851–1857 and again from 1878 until his death. Lectures 1862–1873 in Freiburg on the history of dogma, opponent of the Tübingen School, especially of J. E. von Kuhn (see Schell's letter to Professor Prelate Kihn from July 31, 1883, reproduced in *Herman Schell: Briefe* xvi). Hasenfuß considers this to be evidence that it was Schüzler, not Sengler, who most influenced Schell during his Freiburg studies.

<sup>27</sup> Denzinger (1819–1883) had become professor for New Testament Exegesis in 1848, of Dogmatics in 1854. Known for his famous handbook of dogmatic declarations, the *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum*, published first in Würzburg in 1854, in a century when handbooks seemed to be the quintessential learning tool. Along with J. Hergenröther, F. Hetlinger and Herman Schell, Denzinger was responsible for establishing the academic reputation of the theological faculty at the University of Würzburg.

<sup>28</sup> Grimm (1827–1896), professor of New Testament exegesis at Würzburg from 1874. Cf. H. Schell and A. Ehrhard, *Gedenkbücher* (Würzburg: Göbel, 1897).

<sup>29</sup> Anton Scholz (1829–1908) professed an allegorical-mystical exegesis which would probably not find many adherents today.

<sup>30</sup> Franz von Brentano (1838–1917), doctorate in Tübingen 1862, ordained 1864, professor of Philosophy in Würzburg 1872, leaves the Church 1873, professor of Philosophy in Vienna 1874, then in 1915 to Zürich, where he died. For a documentation of the close academic and friendly contact between Schell and Brentano, see the exchange of letters between the two published by Hasenfuß: *Herman Schell als Wegbereiter zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1978). Brentano's work strongly influenced many moderns, including Max Scheler. For an analysis of Schell's dependence on Brentano, see V. Berning, *Systematisches Philosophieren: Zwischen Idealismus und Neuscholastik um die Jahrhundertwende. Studien zur christlichen Philosophie Herman Schells* (Munich: Schöningh, 1984).



tween the two, extending far beyond the period of Schell's studies in Würzburg. The initial academic undertaking on the part of Schell was a philosophical work titled *Die Einheit des Seelenlebens aus den Prinzipien der aristotelischen Philosophie entwickelt*.<sup>31</sup> Completed when Schell was just twenty-two years old, it indicates the central point around which Schell's life and work were to revolve: the living, self-actuating personal life of the soul, which Schell also designates as self-causality or self-actuation.<sup>32</sup> Even his last work, *Christus, das Evangelium und seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, the only one of his publications to appear in English translation, returns to this theme.<sup>33</sup>

Schell spent the next six years doing pastoral ministry, and then went on to Rome for studies in philosophy and theology as well as Christian archaeology and art history.<sup>34</sup> The 1879–1881 Roman interlude, we should note, introduced Schell to Joseph Kleutgen<sup>35</sup> and J. Hontheim,<sup>36</sup> both of whom Schell considered to display unabashed neo-

<sup>31</sup> Published at Freiburg in 1873. G. Bleickert notes the timeliness of the dissertation in the light of the controversy surrounding atheistic monism (Bleickert, *Herman Schell* 305).

<sup>32</sup> Berning names Sengler, not Brentano, as the doctoral director for Schell's dissertation (Berning, *Das Denken* 46) and repeats this in 1978 (*Gott, Geist und Welt* 121) where he now adds "unter Anleitung und Einfluß von Franz von Brentano." Berning also considers the doctorate to have been granted at Freiburg, not Würzburg. Hasenfuß says as much in his *Herman Schell als existentieller Denker* 27, but then continually asserts that Schell did his doctoral work under direction of Brentano (*Herman Schell als Wegbereiter*, 16; "Herman Schell," in *LThK* 10, 2nd ed. 384–85; *Katholische Dogmatik Kritische Ausgabe* ix–x; *Herman Schell: Briefe* xii–xiii). This is also the version upheld by Karl Mühlele in his *Dynamische Gemeinschaft: Zur Lehre Herman Schells von der Kirche* (Munich: Schöningh, 1973) 6. Berning, of course, argues that Schell was influenced by Schelling and manifests, therefore, traces of Late Idealism; Hasenfuß prefers to stress the influence of Brentano on Schell's development.

<sup>33</sup> *Christus, das Evangelium und seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1906); translated, with a title which substantially alters the concept of the work, as *The New Ideals in the Gospel: Authorized Translation* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1913).

<sup>34</sup> For a sketch of the academic influences Schell experienced in Rome, see Mühlele, *Dynamische Gemeinschaft* 8–9; or Berning, who attempts to trace the influence of Kuhn and Pascaglia in Schell's work (*Das Denken* 52–79).

<sup>35</sup> J. Kleutgen (1811–83), considered responsible for restoration of the scholastic method in German philosophical and theological circles, taught ethics at Freiburg 1837–43, opposed Hermes, Günther, and Froeschammer, as well as Kant, Hegel, and Schelling. He was a theological expert for the bishop of Paderborn at the First Vatican Council, and was appointed Prefect of Studies at the Gregorian by Leo XIII in 1878.

<sup>36</sup> Josephus Hontheim (1858–1929), and not Johannes Hontheim, who had lived a century and a half earlier, was Bishop of Trier and author of Febronianism. Josephus published *Institutiones theodicae sive theologiae naturalis* (Freiburg: Herder, 1893;

scholastic Molinism, Michael de Maria<sup>37</sup> who taught neo-scholastic philosophy, and Johannes Baptist Franzelin<sup>38</sup> with his neo-scholastic theology. Most significant from these years in Rome, however, was the influence of Carlo Passaglia,<sup>39</sup> whose sympathy for the Greek patristic tradition had already stamped Schell's Würzburg teachers, Denzinger, Hettinger,<sup>40</sup> and Hergenröther,<sup>41</sup> and would reinforce Schell's own "organic" mode of thought.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Passaglia's ecclesiology, which echoed that of Tübingen professor Johann Adam Möhler, understood the Church in terms of living in personal communion with the Trinity.

<sup>2</sup>1928). He was one of the authors of *Cursus philosophiae in usum scholarum* published by Herder.

<sup>37</sup> Born Feb. 8, 1836, ordained Aug. 15, 1880, died 1913. His *Opuscula philosophica et theologica ad usum studiosae juventutis selecta et juxta ordinem rerum quae in scholis tractantur nunc primum digesta et exacta accedunt Quaestiones Quodlibites*, 3 vols. (Tiberini: 1886) contained a glowing foreword from Leo XIII.

<sup>38</sup> Franzelin (1816–86) entered the Society of Jesus in 1834, completed his studies in Louvain, and from 1850 onward taught oriental languages, then dogmatic theology at the Gregorian University in Rome. For a recent and well-reviewed biography of Franzelin, cf. Peter Walter, *Johann Baptist Franzelin (1816–1886): Jesuit, Theologe, Kardinal* (Bozen: Athesia, 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Carlo Passaglia (1812–87) entered the Society of Jesus in 1827, became professor of Dogmatics at the Roman College in 1844 but left to join the faculty of the papal Sapienza University, left the Jesuit Order in 1859, and fled Rome in 1860 for Turin. Along with Giovanni Perrone, his teacher, Passaglia was greatly responsible for the restoration of theology at the Roman College. He was not a scholastic, but a positive theologian greatly influenced by the patristic tradition and the positive theology of Petavius and Thomassin. He had had a hand in the preparatory work of the 1854 proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, but his conception of mediate papal power of jurisdiction was rejected by Vatican I; see W. Kasper, *Die Lehre von der Tradition in der römischen Schule* (Freiburg: Rupert, 1862). Passaglia's most significant students included Denzinger, Hettinger, B. Jungmann, von Hurter, and M. Scheeben.

<sup>40</sup> Franz Seraph Hettinger (1819–90), after studies in Rome and a stint as rector of the seminary in Würzburg, became Ordinary Professor for Patristics at the University of Würzburg in 1856, then in 1871 took on the added dogmatic courses once taught by Denzinger and, after the latter's death in 1884, became Ordinary Professor for Dogmatics. Eugen Biser reports tensions between Hettinger on the one hand, and Franz Brentano and Herman Schell on the other, but not such as to make his influence on Schell insignificant ("Franz Seraph Hettinger," in *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert* [Munich: Kösel, 1975] 2.410–15).

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Gustav Adam Hergenröther (1824–90) studied at the Germanicum from 1844–48 and wrote his dissertation, under Passaglia's direction, on the trinitarian teaching of Gregory of Nazianzus. After doctoral studies and habilitation in Munich, he was called to the University of Würzburg in 1855 as professor of History. Public disagreement with Döllinger and energetic defense of the First Vatican Council may explain his promotion to the cardinalate in 1879.

<sup>42</sup> See J. Engert, *Studien zur theologischen Erkenntnislehre* (Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1926) 209.

This dynamic understanding of our relationship to God in grace would mark Schell's own theology.<sup>43</sup>

### *Schell's Theological Writings*

Schell's first theological work, *Das Wirken des dreieinigen Gottes*,<sup>44</sup> was the thesis which earned him the doctorate in Tübingen after it had become clear that Freiburg and Würzburg would have problems with the dissertation. Nevertheless, in November, 1884, he was called to Würzburg to take over the chair of Professor of Apologetics, the History of Christian Art, and Comparative Religions. There, where he would remain for the rest of his life, he began his four-volume work on Catholic Dogmatics,<sup>45</sup> hoping thereby to prepare himself for the Ordinary Chair of Dogmatics. Despite his intentions, however, he would remain Professor of Apologetics until his death. He also published the first two volumes of an intended five-volume work on the Apologetics of Christianity, *Die göttliche Wahrheit des Christentums*.<sup>46</sup> In 1896, after twelve years as professor and four years as one of its senators, Schell was elected Rector of the University of Würzburg, the first at the University's new location.

In the same period Schell published a number of provocative, smaller writings. In 1897 it was the progressive *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts*, an attempt to reestablish a public, cultural role for the Catholic Church in Germany. Schell had been moved to write his work after a series of embarrassing and humiliating revelations about the allegedly inferior role of Catholics in the intellectual life of the country, a situation that had been lamented at the 1892

<sup>43</sup> H. Schauf, *Die Einwohnung des Hl. Geistes: Die Lehre von der nichtappropriierten Einwohnung des Hl. Geistes als Beitrag zur Theologiegeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Theologen Carl Passaglia und Clemens Schrader* (Freiburg: Herder, 1941) 117–25.

<sup>44</sup> Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1885.

<sup>45</sup> *Katholische Dogmatik in 6 Büchern* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1889–93).

<sup>46</sup> *Die göttliche Wahrheit des Christentums in vier Büchern. Erstes Buch: Gott und Geist. Erster Teil: Grundfragen* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1895); *Zweiter Teil: Beweisführung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1896). "This work, as has been recognized by its critics, is the first comprehensive answer, written from the Christian perspective, to the challenges of modern philosophy since Kant against the Christian concept of God and of the Spirit. Whereas materialistic monism, as discussed here, denies the life of the personal spirit, and idealistic monism sacrifices it on behalf of unconscious drives, Christian theism teaches that full, personal, spiritual existence is wholly commensurate with a true life of value, and that upon it alone can an acceptable view of life allow itself to be grounded" (Hasenfuß, *Katholische Dogmatik Kritische Ausgabe* 1.xii).

Katholikentag at Mainz, then again in 1894 at Cologne.<sup>47</sup> At issue for Schell was "the honor of the Catholic name and the power of the Catholic Spirit."<sup>48</sup> The work, calling for openness and intellectual honesty on the part of Catholics and for training of a mature and responsible laity, argues that there is no reason to fear the truth because the Spirit itself is the source of all truth and Christianity is "the religion of the Spirit and the word."<sup>49</sup> Christianity's status calls for independence and maturity as well as freedom. Considering Pius XI's "Syllabus of Errors" just decades earlier, it is not surprising that Schell's title and thesis were to meet with resistance.

However, written with the pain of the Kulturkampf still troubling German Catholicism, Schell's essay was a challenge both to the Church and to his fellow German Catholics to engage themselves energetically in the social and political fabric of their country; and an apologetic and theological rationale for that engagement. The public debate about the relationship between religion and culture, which the Enlightenment and political revolutionary movements had set loose and which had become so central to the Kulturkampf rhetoric, had not been settled—nor has it even in our own day.

*Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts* was more than a piece responding to the cultural peculiarities of the period. The work expressed, sometimes in provocative manner, Schell's conviction that God's action in the life of the individual only found fulfillment when the individual, intentionally present in the community, worked for the transformation of society at large. Schell understood this societal transformation as the realization of the reign of God which had been revealed as bringing the goodness of creation to its final and eschatological goal.

A second title, *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube*, appeared one year later, in 1898, and continued the main lines of thought sketched out in

<sup>47</sup> *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts, zweite Auflage mit einem Nachwort* (Würzburg: Gobel, 1897). Cf. H. Dachs, "Albert Ehrhard" 214. The year before, Georg Graf von Hertling had raised the issue of the inferior education of Catholics at the Annual Assembly of the Görres-Gesellschaft in Constance, an address to which Schell alludes in his Introduction.

<sup>48</sup> *Der Katholicismus* 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 45. Provocative, too, must have been the reflections about the excessive Romanizing of the Church in Germany: "The Catholic principle does not demand that everything in religion become Roman or Medieval; it demands rather that each nation become Christian, and precisely with its own unique cultural character and not through a denial of the same, just as masculinity and femininity, as well as the peculiar duties of one's station in life, should find in the supernatural order not their diminishment but their full manifestation" (*ibid.* 59).

the earlier work.<sup>50</sup> The fundamental direction of the modern age is understood by Schell to be "a powerful thrust toward freedom and progress, toward scholarship and justice," and is interpreted sympathetically as being substantially compatible with Christianity and Catholicism.<sup>51</sup> Some saw in his call for the education of a more independent laity and for greater theological and scholarly freedom clear enthusiasm for Protestant subjectivism and antiauthoritarianism.<sup>52</sup> But Reform Catholics in Germany understood these publications as confirming their movement. They began using Schell's writings to support their cause, which was often exceptionally critical of the Church.<sup>53</sup> The appropriation of Schell's writings by Reform Catholics led to heated exchanges in the press about Schell and his theology.<sup>54</sup>

### *Schell Placed on the Index*

In a decree dated December 15, 1898, the Vatican placed several of Schell's works on the Index: *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts* and *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube*, as well as his *Katholische Dogmatik* and the two volumes of *Gott und Geist*. Schell was provided with the reasons for the indexing only on May 12, 1899, almost three months after the publication of the decree.<sup>55</sup>

The Decree listed several issues as the basis for its indexing: (1) Schell's concept of God as *causa sui* or self-actuating and the consequent speculative method by which Schell grounded the Trinity; (2) the exaggeration of resistance to the Holy Spirit as the necessary evil

<sup>50</sup> *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube: Eine culturgeschichtliche Studie*, 2d ed. (Würzburg: Göbel, 1898).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 128.

<sup>53</sup> For a sketch of the relation of German Reform Catholicism to the general movement of renewal in the Church at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, see, e.g., Oskar Schröder, *Aufbruch und Mißverständnis: Zur Geschichte der reformkatholischen Bewegung* (Graz: Styria, 1969).

<sup>54</sup> Especially from the Würzburg Cathedral Pastor, Karl Guido Robert Braun (1841–1909), Domkapitular Matthias Höhler (b. 1847), and Wahrendorp. Braun wrote *Distinguo: Mängel und Uebelstände im heutigen Katholizismus nach Professor Dr. Schell in Würzburg und dessen Vorschläge zu ihrer Heiligung. Ein Wort zur Verständigung* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1897); later also *Iterum Distinguo: Nachtrag zu den drei ersten Auflagen und Auszug aus der 4. Auflage des Distinguo* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1897). According to Hasenfuß, Braun was supported by many Jesuits who were critical of Schell (*Schell Briefe* 21 n. 55).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Karl Hennemann, *Widerrufe Herman Schells?* (Würzburg: Göbel, 1908). For a summary of the discussion of the situation leading up to the indexing and some of the consequences, see Berning, *Das Denken Herman Schells* 215–22; also Hasenfuß, *Herman Schell als existentieller Denker und Theologe* 37–40.

lying at the heart of mortal sin; (3) the danger, allegedly in his works, of the eschatological rehabilitation of the universe and the consequent dissolution of hell;<sup>56</sup> (4) the emphasis on love of neighbor as the criterion of the last judgment; and (5) overemphasis of the quasi-sacramental character of death and suffering with the resultant danger of relativizing the necessity of baptism and the anointing of the sick.

Contemporary interest in trinitarian theology has won for Schell's contribution the attention and respect which it failed to receive almost a century ago.<sup>57</sup> Walter Kasper suggests that Schell, building on the earlier contributions of his Tübingen doctoral mentor, Johann Evangelist Kuhn, was correct in grounding trinitarian speculation in a fundamental appreciation of self-actuating freedom. In fact, argues Kasper,

Schell came far closer not only to the modern intellectual starting point [of conceiving of God as being-in-action, as freedom and life] but also to the biblical understanding of God than did his scholastic adversaries, who managed to have his work put on the Index . . . To the detriment of the Christian faith they thus prevented his approach to the problem from bearing fruit in a new synthesis of faith and knowledge that would respond to the intellectual situations of the modern age.<sup>58</sup>

Schell's eschatological reflections, especially on the plight of the damned and on the victorious will of God for salvation, have been reviewed in an almost book-length section of Elmar Fastenrath's recent study of Christian eschatology in the first half of this century.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The Jesuits and Schell were at odds most of Schell's life. It would seem that the first public accusation directed at Schell about his alleged proposal of *apocatastasis* came from Innsbruck Jesuit Johann-Baptist Stufler (1865–1952) with his *Die Heiligkeit Gottes und der ewige Tod: Eschatologische Untersuchungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lehre Prof. H. Schells* (Innsbruck, 1903); see Elmar Fastenrath's Habilitationsschrift, "In Vitam Aeternam": *Grundzüge christlicher Eschatologie in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Theologische Studien, II. Systematische Abteilung, Band 43 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1982) 250 n. 480. Jesuit Stufler seems to have made Schell the special target of his dogmatic watchfulness; see his "Die Erlösungstat Christi in ihrer Beziehung zu Gott," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 30 (1906) 385–407, 625–49, an energetic rejection of Schell's theology, which was printed in the same issue in which the Innsbruck Theology Faculty's journal reported the death of Herman Schell.

<sup>57</sup> See Schenk, *Die Interpretation* (n. 16 above).

<sup>58</sup> Walter Kasper, *The God of Jesus Christ* (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 152.

<sup>59</sup> Fastenrath, "In Vitam Aeternam" 126–275. In a recent review of eschatology, John R. Sachs alluded to Herman Schell as one of the few Roman Catholic theologians of the 19th century to have addressed the issue of *apocatastasis* ("Current Eschatology: Universal Salvation and the Problem of Hell," *TS* 52 [1991] 227–54, at 231). Almost a

Considering the attention given apocatastasis by contemporary figures such as von Balthasar and Rahner, it is hard to imagine that Schell's position would merit the condemnation today which it received at the turn of the century.

Schell bowed to the indexing, but continued his work without significant alterations. The indexed parts of his planned multi-volumed *Die göttliche Wahrheit des Christentums* remained unaltered, but the new volumes now carried the title *Apologie des Christentums*. Unfortunately he was able to finish only two more volumes, *Religion und Offenbarung* (1901) and *Jahwe und Christus* (1905).<sup>60</sup>

In between the last two works mentioned, Schell published his very popular and personally revealing *Christus, das Evangelium und seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung*.<sup>61</sup> This work was read widely, especially by the young. Perhaps it was the book's popularity which brought another wave of reactionary criticism. Schell's detractors argued that even *Christus* was infected with an underlying pantheism!<sup>62</sup> Schell's goal was to portray Christ as a moral-religious ideal of personality. He interpreted the gospel of the kingdom of God as an advanced school for spiritual and community living. In this he was contrasting a personalist interpretation of the kingdom and the Incarnation with variations of Monism and Essentialism, whose fundamental directions are opposed to personality and for whom the God-Man is merely an idea. In so far as the gospel demands and encourages interiority, the power of activity and the community of love, it promotes the cultivation of personality.<sup>63</sup> This becomes one of the central elements in Schell's apologetic.

#### AWARENESS OF A "NEW AGE"

Herman Schell was conscious of living in an intellectually stimulating "new age." His programmatic work, *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube: Eine culturgeschichtliche Studie*, bore a title which made clear Schell's perception that Christianity in general, and the Catholic

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century earlier another Sachs had written on the question of apocatastasis, but attacking Schell's position: Regensburger professor Josef Sachs, *Die ewige Dauer der Höllenstrafen neueren Aufstellungen gegenüber prinzipiell erörtert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1900); the book was enthusiastically reviewed in the Jesuit *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 25 (1901) 555-57.

<sup>60</sup> *Apologie des Christentums. Erster Band: Religion und Offenbarung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1901); *Zweiter Band: Jahwe und Christus* (Paderborn: 1905).

<sup>61</sup> *Christus, das Evangelium und seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1906).

<sup>62</sup> Berning, *Das Denken* 222.

<sup>63</sup> *Christus* 9.

Church in particular, now found themselves in a cultural and intellectual context which could only be described as new.<sup>64</sup>

The entire 19th century of course had ushered in an enormous transformation in culture, politics, philosophy, and accordingly theology. Bernard Welte considers the span of years between the French Revolution and the First World War as one continuous cultural eruption.<sup>65</sup> But something took place within the 19th century which divided it into two discernible, even if in some respects overlapping, periods:

This turn within the nineteenth century is the greatest and most remarkable mystery at the center of this great period of upheaval. Here we detect a shift in the foundations of history, a great movement, where one can identify in many individual instances causal moments, but whose own roots and causes, as with all historical foundational movements, no one knows.<sup>66</sup>

The theology of the first half of the century can be characterized as "idealistic and romantic," as the attempt to open out to the world and especially to its academic and philosophical mainstreams.<sup>67</sup> Concepts of "life" and "unity" strongly influenced the structure of Catholic theology. Notions of "history" and "historical development" replace categories which are static and eternal. Christianity is depicted above all as a historical life process, an organic reality. Sailer and Baader, Drey and Möhler strive to portray the Church as that living principle of

<sup>64</sup> *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube* appeared in 1898, close on the heels of his very provocative essay *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts*, 2d ed. (Würzburg: Andreas Göbel, 1897). In *Die neue Zeit* Schell feels obliged to explore more fully the basic intentions of the notion that Catholicism should be a true principle of progress.

<sup>65</sup> B. Welte, "Zum Strukturwandel der katholischen Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert," in his *Auf der Spur des Ewigen: Philosophische Abhandlungen über verschiedene Gegenstände der Religion und der Theologie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1965) 380; similarly, T. O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism* 1.

<sup>66</sup> Welte 381. The history of the 19th century from the perspective of changes brought about in Catholic theology is also elaborated in M. Schoof, *Der Durchbruch der neuen katholischen Theologie* (Vienna: Herder, 1969); also L. Scheffczyk, "Der Weg der deutschen katholischen Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 145 (1965) 273–306. There is also special literature on the growth and development of the Tübingen School of the 19th century; see, e.g., W. Kasper, "Verständnis der Theologie damals und heute," in his *Glaube und Geschichte* (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald, 1970) 9–32; K. Buchheim, *Ultramontanismus und Demokratie: Der Weg der Deutschen Katholiken* (Munich: Kösel, 1963); Karl J. Rivinius, "Der Weg des deutschen Katholizismus in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Theologie und Glaube* 72 (1982) 216–25; F. Buuk, "Zur Geschichte der Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Scholastik* 18 (1945) 54–56; L. Scheffczyk, *Theologie im Aufbruch und Widerstreit* (Bremen: C. Schanemann, 1965); Georg Schwaiger, ed., *Kirche und Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975).

<sup>67</sup> Welte 385. See also B. M. G. Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism*; T. O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism: Schelling and the Theologians*.



unity, Christianity as a God-enkindled life force, unfolding and developing down through the ages.<sup>68</sup>

But if by the middle of the century the general cultural climate changes, so too does the atmosphere in the halls of the theological faculties.<sup>69</sup> This transformation can be characterized as the gradual rise to prominence of the "fact," of a certain positivism.<sup>70</sup> The individual object of inquiry becomes an end in itself, satisfying the observer with the very fact that it exists. In theology, the possibility of that organic and romantic unity with all of reality is lost. Theology feels itself more and more obliged to assert its difference from the new world of thought, to assume the tone of polemical orthodoxy.<sup>71</sup>

The operative mentality becomes defensive, aggressive, almost ghetto-like. Names linked to the University of Tübingen and progressive movements from the first half of the century—Johann Hirscher<sup>72</sup> and Franz Anton Staudenmaier,<sup>73</sup> Johann Evangelist Kuhn<sup>74</sup> and Martin Deutinger<sup>75</sup>—don't disappear, but are pushed aside to make way for Konstantin von Schätzler, Denziger, and the Neo-Scholastics

<sup>68</sup> Welte 387–95.

<sup>69</sup> Welte 395. For an elaborated description of the cultural and theological shifts at the turn of the century, see O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism* 180–99; and more recently his *Church and Culture: German Catholic Theology, 1860–1914* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame, 1991) 1–50.

<sup>70</sup> Welte 396.

<sup>71</sup> Welte 397.

<sup>72</sup> J. Hirscher (1788–1865) was ordained in 1810, took over the Tübingen chair of Moral and Pastoral Theology in 1817, and moved in 1837 to Freiburg as Professor of Moral Theology and Catechetics. He urged reform of the liturgy, raised questions about clerical celibacy, promoted a more inculturated, some would say almost national Church. Some of his works found their way onto the Index.

<sup>73</sup> Born in 1800, Staudenmaier studied at Tübingen, taught at Gießen from 1830 until 1837, then at Freiburg until his death in 1856, spending much of his energy wrestling with the theological question of history and historicity.

<sup>74</sup> Johann Evangelist von Kuhn, born in Swabia in 1806, studied in Tübingen 1825–1830 under J. S. Drey and Möhler, heard Schelling in Munich, taught New Testament in Gießen, then replaced Drey in the Chair of Dogmatics at Tübingen in 1839 at the age of 33, where he becomes the most brilliant speculative theologian of the 19th-century Tübingen School. It was Johann Evangelist von Kuhn who accepted Schell's thesis and stood as his mentor and Doktorvater.

<sup>75</sup> Born near Munich in 1815, Deutinger began his studies at the one-time Jesuit University at Dillingen, then in Munich, where he heard Schelling, Görres, and Franz von Baader; he was ordained in 1837 and completed his doctorate in Würzburg. Best known as a philosopher of art, he is nevertheless considered one of the fifty major Roman Catholic theologians of 19th-century Germany (see Franz Wiedmann, "Martin Deutinger," in *Katholische Theologen Deutschlands im 19. Jahrhundert, Band II* [Munich: Kösel, 1975]). Karl Muth's "Wiedergeburt der Dichtung aus dem religiösen Erlebnis" (1909) was written to continue what Deutinger had begun in his "Über das Verhältnis der Poesie zur Religion" (1861). Deutinger died in 1864.

Franz Jacob Clemens<sup>76</sup> and Albert Stöckl.<sup>77</sup> This forces critical opposition to surface, most notably in figures such as Herman Schell, Albert Ehrhard, and Karl Muth.<sup>78</sup>

There was clearly a pastoral problem facing the Church, but a problem which was rooted in a vast intellectual perception of the world, a *Weltanschauung* which enveloped a wide range of human and cultural activity.

### *Intellectual Currents Abroad*

The fact that Christianity was facing a brand new world was not lost on Roman Catholic thinkers in Germany, although it was France that saw the first moves to take this transformed cultural context seriously. One thinks of personalities such as Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854), the “Father of Christian Democracy,”<sup>79</sup> and Alfred Loisy (1857–1940), whom Friedrich Heiler christened the “Father of Modernism.”

Currents of intellectual discussion, prompted by the challenges of the New Age, were circulating not only on the continent but in England and the United States as well.<sup>80</sup> English Cardinals John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning, and especially the Americans, Cardinal James Gibbons, Archbishops John Ireland<sup>81</sup> and John Keane, and the founder of the Paulist Order, Father Isaac Hecker,<sup>82</sup> are all

<sup>76</sup> Born in 1815, Clemens taught at Münster, wrote extensively on the relationship of philosophy to theology, especially targetting Anton Günther; he died in 1862.

<sup>77</sup> Stöckl (1825–95) wrote the first German textbook of scholastic philosophy, the three-volume *Lehrbuch der Philosophie* (Mainz: Franz Kirchheim, 1868).

<sup>78</sup> *Welte* 399–401.

<sup>79</sup> French religious and political author influenced by J. J. Rousseau, known especially for his *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*. He first proposed a theocracy with the Pope as supreme leader, which met Leo XII's approval, but reversed himself in *Paroles d'un croyant* (1834), denying the authority of the Church in the sphere of politics, a stand which merited the condemnation of *Singulari nos* on 25 June 1834. He became a member of Parliament in the Revolution of 1848, was disillusioned by the political reaction of 1852, died unreconciled to the Church in 1854. De Lamennais's works influenced American Orestes Brownson, a close friend of Isaac Hecker, who in turn was an inspiration for Schell.

<sup>80</sup> For an overview of the period, see Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985) esp. 294–320.

<sup>81</sup> Archbishop John Ireland (1838–1918) emigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1852. After theological studies and service as a military chaplain during the Civil War, he was named in 1875 Coadjutor Bishop, then in 1884 Bishop, finally in 1888 Archbishop of St. Paul.

<sup>82</sup> Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819–88), American born of Protestant parents, Hecker became Catholic in 1844 and entered the Redemptorist Order a year later. After studies

cited by Schell with reverence and respect for their commitment to bringing the Church into dialogue with the modern world. The Americans win Schell's special admiration for their reform efforts. Schell saw in this movement a sign of the vitality and power of the Spirit opening the Church to different and ever changing cultural-political contexts.<sup>83</sup>

These needs, however, were not peculiar to the cultural situation in North America. Indeed, Schell believed that the struggle of the American Church crystalized and clarified the intellectual and cultural milieu in Europe. North America is

the mirror image of the Old World and the future picture of intellectual currents which have Europe as their home but also as their most violent battle field. Understandably the specific relationships in the Old World are far more intertwined and multi-faceted than across the Ocean: for that reason causes and effects come more characteristically and sharply to expression over there. Here the Middle Ages continue to exercise their influence intellectually and economically; there it is championed by only one of the parties in the discussion.<sup>84</sup>

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in Holland and England, ordained priest in 1849. Left the Redemptorists in 1857 after an unauthorized trip to the General in Rome, later founded the Mission Society of St. Paul, known as the Paulist Order. He was considered founder of the movement, known as Americanism, which was condemned by the Vatican in 1899. Historians agree today that "Americanism" was something of a phantom concept; see, e.g., Felix Klein, in *Une hérésie fantôme, l'Américanisme: Souvenirs IV* (Paris: 1949); Eng. trans.: *Souvenirs 4: Americanism: A Phantom Heresy* (Cranford, N.H.: Aquin Book Shop, 1951). It was a misunderstood attempt by the Catholics in the U.S. to adapt and adopt a form of Catholicism which would be the cultural expression of Catholic Christianity in the peculiar culture and political context of the U.S. This movement was supported not only by people like Hecker and Ireland, but also by James Cardinal Gibbons (1834–1921), the most influential American prelate of the period, known for his many apologetic writings and for his founding of what was to become the National Catholic Welfare Council, and by Archbishop John Keane (1839–1918), first Rector of the Catholic University of America. On Hecker, see John Farina, *An American Experience of God: The Spirituality of Isaac Hecker* (New York: Paulist, 1981); and David J. O'Brien, *Isaac Hecker: An American Catholic* (New York: Paulist, 1992).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. David F. Sweeney, "Herman Schell, 1850–1906: A German Dimension to the Americanist Controversy," *Catholic Historical Review* 76 (1990) 44–70.

<sup>84</sup> Schell, *Die neue Zeit* 10. Schell's perception of the Church in North America and his appreciation for the work and intentions of church people like Isaac Hecker und Archbishop Ireland seem to have been especially influenced by the positive interpretation given to the movement by the French professor at the Institut Catholique, Abbé Felix Klein. Klein had written an Introduction to the French translation of the life of Father Hecker (translated by Louise de Guerines in 1897) and was responsible for translating and making available for European readers the works of Archbishop John Ireland. Schell had read the Hecker biography and cites both from it and from the Introduction prepared by Klein (see *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube* 7 and *passim*). For a discussion

*Reform Catholicism*

Although many in Germany espoused similar concerns about the Church in the 19th century, the reform movement there bore the name Reformkatholizismus, or Reform Catholicism, a designation stemming from Josef Müller in 1899,<sup>85</sup> and finding expression in periodicals such as *Renaissance*, published by Müller from 1900–1907. Müller had formed the Katholische Reformverein München in March, 1902.

Another organ for the reform movement was the journal, *Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert*, the publication of the Kraus Gesellschaft, edited by Franz Klasen and Johannes Bumüller. The Kraus Gesellschaft had been founded in Munich in 1904 as a daughter organization of the Katholische Reformverein München. Herman Schell had spoken to adherents of the movement Reformversammlung gebildeter Katholiken on October 20, 1902.<sup>86</sup>

Another notable spokesperson for Reformkatholizismus was Albert Ehrhard, historian of church and culture, expert in the field of patristics, professor in Straßburg, Würzburg, Freiburg, and Vienna. In 1902 he had published a provocative work, *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert im Lichte der kirchlichen Entwicklung der Neuzeit*,<sup>87</sup> exploring the reasons that had brought on the “new world.” On many points Ehrhard parallels Ernst Troeltsch.<sup>88</sup>

Ehrhard sketches a cluster of causes for the “new epoch”: first, the gradual dissolution of papal temporal power dating from the death of Boniface VIII; second, Nominalism, which led to a rupture between faith and reason, and the mystics, who introduced the Church to an interiorization of religion; third, the rise of a new orientation in the intellectual world: natural science and historical consciousness, both operating on an empirical, inductive method, both standing in sharp contrast to the substantially metaphysical, deductive methods of previous Christian scholarship; fourth, a newly won nationalism which achieved a victory over the universalism of the Middle Ages; fifth and most powerful, a transformation of the psychological dimension of life with resulting individualism, subjectivism, and recognition of the individual personality. Most importantly, Ehrhard underlined the profound compatibility between Catholicism and the modern era.

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of Modernism in North America, cf. R. Scott Appleby, “American Catholic Modernism at the Turn of the Century” (diss., Divinity School of the Univ. of Chicago, 1985).

<sup>85</sup> *Der Reformkatholizismus, die Religion der Zukunft* (Würzburg: Göbel, 1899).

<sup>86</sup> A. Gisler, *Der Modernismus* 147. <sup>87</sup> Stuttgart: Roth, 1902.

<sup>88</sup> See Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress: The Significance of Protestantism for the Rise of the Modern World* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1912, 1986).

*Intellectual Challenge of the Age*

Like his Würzburg colleague Ehrhard,<sup>89</sup> Schell cautioned against viewing the New Age merely as a threat to the faith or a new scholarly burden, or as the occasion for finding yet another manner of expressing the same old content, already known and understood. It was not merely a question of meeting this or that objection, of answering this or that opponent, but of coming to grips with a new cultural context which had specific and definable characteristics, of a growing awareness that theology's task includes adjusting to new notions of academic criteria, new aspirations of the human spirit, indeed new insights into humankind and its world. Culture had undergone a transformation which in itself could also be a constructive challenge to theology and Christianity. "Every intellectual movement serves the purpose of bringing the truth from a different perspective to experience and understanding . . ." This eternal optimism, this confidence that Herman Schell had of almost always being able to find a kernel of truth in every movement, every critic, was not always appreciated on the Catholic side of the reviewing stand. H. Petri grounds Schell's optimism in his theological notion of God and in his understanding of the existential relation of the human spirit toward the truth.<sup>90</sup>

The stance of the theologian, the Christian, is thus not merely one of defense and rejection; the task is to be open to truth from whatever

<sup>89</sup> Ehrhard could thank Schell for bringing him to Würzburg, but was somewhat perplexed at the sharpness of Schell's criticism of the Church in his two reform writings. Ehrhard's biographer, Alois Dempf, considers the resulting tension between Schell and Ehrhard a partial reason for Ehrhard's move to Vienna in 1898 (*Albert Ehrhard—Der Mann und sein Werk in der Geistesgeschichte um die Jahrhundertwende* (Kolmar: Alsatia, 1947) 41. We refer to Ehrhard's equally provocative work, *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert* (n. 87 above). For a comparison of Schell and Ehrhard on the question of the nature of the modern age, see Eilert Herms, "Theologischer 'Modernismus' und lehramtlicher 'Anti-Modernismus' in der römischen Kirche am Anfang des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts," in *Troeltsch-Studien*, vol. 4, ed. H. Renz und W. F. Graf (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1987) 13–55. Thomas Michael Looome's work, *Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism* (see n. 22 above), provides references to much of the documentation required for an accurate assessment of the relationship between Modernism and Reform Catholicism.

<sup>90</sup> Schell, *Die neue Zeit* 57; H. Petri, "Der Gedanke des Fortschritts in der Theologie Herman Schells," *Catholica* 23 (1969) 119–35, at 126. Thomas Michael Looome notes that there were several characteristics which were shared by many liberal Catholics at the turn of the century: "an almost unbounded optimism in the wonders of 'progress,' a fascination with the magic invoked by such words as 'development,' 'evolution,' a credulity in regard to what Tyrell liked to call 'the assured results of criticism'" (*Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism* 35).

direction it may come. After all, "the truth is one."<sup>91</sup> Schell recognized that there are not just new thinkers, but a new way of thinking; not merely new objections, but an entirely new understanding of the world and of men and women's role in that world to be digested and integrated. This transformation touches every aspect of the theological enterprise. Not just apologetics, but dogmatics as well must be attuned to the culture and age in which it is written.

This dogmatics is written from the apologetic standpoint, because it is written for our time. The modern spirit demands a more fundamental and multifaceted accountability for our faith than any age has ever done before. Pious shock and holy rage are no longer enough for those who, even in the face of the highest mysteries, ask about the right of the truth and about the moral value and life-giving energy of their confession.<sup>92</sup>

The period required above all an appreciation of the intellectual capabilities of the inquiring subject; an authoritative condemnation would hardly suffice. What was necessary was to demonstrate that the purely secular *Weltanschauung* was ultimately inadequate to provide a satisfactory interpretation of the constitution of the human subject, inadequate to provide an explanation for human achievements in culture, even in the disciplines of natural science. The intellectual effort to demonstrate the inadequacy of those competing but essentially superficial views of the world might be enormous. But this was no time, argued Schell, to persist in the defensive stance of the Reformation. The Church had to take the offensive.<sup>93</sup> Convinced of the persuasive power of the truth to win minds and hearts,<sup>94</sup> Schell perceived that it was his apologetic task "to portray Catholicism in such a way that it would exercise its own spiritually attractive power and would appear as noble and as encompassing as possible, in order to accord to all

<sup>91</sup> *Katholische Dogmatik Kritische Ausgabe* 1.6.

<sup>92</sup> *Katholische Dogmatik* 3.1.ix.

<sup>93</sup> "That which might have been temporarily good or useful when in a defensive posture is not on that account appropriate for the period of a spiritual offensive! Isn't that the reason that the truth is present and confided to the Church: to reveal it openly and for the whole world in its spiritual magnitude and its power of life, not only through commandments and moral obligations, but even more by exposing its divine fulness and persuasive power?" (*Die neue Zeit* 14).

<sup>94</sup> "The Word of Truth became human for the sake of the world, to become its treasure and good; the Spirit of Truth has been poured out for the world, so that through spiritual persuasion it can demonstrate to the world that reason and freedom, by reason of their nature and source, only find their fulfillment in God; and that, on the contrary, selfishness and denial are foreign and inimical to the Spirit. In the last analysis, only Truth could have the courage to rely unabashedly on the power and the medium of its own persuasive force" (*ibid.*).

justified points of view and moments of truth citizenship or a home in the overall Church."<sup>95</sup>

#### SCHELL'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE NEW AGE

Amid the myriad cultural and social currents shaping the period, how does Herman Schell himself approach this New Age? First, he finds deep yearnings for freedom and for progress, for scholarship and justice.<sup>96</sup> Truth and freedom mark the goals and aspirations of the age and find their expression in the move toward progress in the areas of academic research, in the betterment of social relations, and in the development of international law and nations. This dynamic of progress, this manifold development of the modern Spirit is a flowering of the creative Spirit revealed in revelation.<sup>97</sup>

The desire for freedom may have found violent expression in movements such as the American and French revolutions, but the ideals embodied there, Schell argues, are closer to the messianic kingdom of God than the ideals imposed by the dominant monarchical political structures before the revolutions. Only a misreading of the gospel could justify the suspicion and mistrust that many Catholics had in regard to liberalism and democracy.<sup>98</sup> By opposing revolutionary developments the Church fails to accept and recognize the significance of genuine growth of the individual's self-awareness, the worth of "personal independence and initiative."<sup>99</sup>

A corollary of accepting this longing for freedom and independence finds expression in Schell's resistance to an over-Romanization of the local church. He demands instead a respect for the integrity of the local culture in which the local church finds itself: in a word, he promotes a legitimate inculturation of the gospel. Christianity in general, and Catholicism in particular, understood as "principle of development," should be allowed to invigorate, stimulate, and promote the integral and coherent evolution of a culture from within. This occurs, not through imposition of a predefined (read: Roman) paradigm on the culture from without, but by allowing the gospel to interact with the values and goods of the culture on its own soil. For Schell, this occurs through the activity of grace in the individuals who together in community are the Church.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Gott und Geist* 1.xxiv; similarly 1.xv.

<sup>96</sup> Schell, *Die neue Zeit* 1.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 30.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Karl Mühle, *Dynamische Gemeinschaft: Zur Lehre Herman Schells von der Kirche* (Munich: Schönningh, 1973).

A second dimension shapes the intellectual and scholarly context of the age: the demand of criticism.<sup>101</sup> One doesn't simply accept data unquestioningly, but asks about the quality of the data; one doesn't simply accept the sources, one questions their credibility and reliability, the historical context and circumstances affecting the interpretation of those sources.

Third, Schell sees another factor affecting scholarship: the ordered unity of the universe from the inner structure of the smallest, individual entity, up through the large-scale mutual interactions among the heavenly bodies that make up the cosmos.<sup>102</sup> This unity finds its foundation in the existing world itself.<sup>103</sup> The world is neither a chaos of individual atoms, an interpretation proposed by materialism; nor is it a single, undifferentiated substance, as Monism would have us believe.<sup>104</sup> The universe is a dynamic network of objects that exist, not for themselves alone, but for one another and for the whole. The mutual polarity and interaction between the individual and the whole is for Schell a reflection of the inner life of the Trinity.<sup>105</sup>

The fourth, even more pervasive notion in the thought patterns of the modern age is the "great idea of development."<sup>106</sup> Schell exhibits great sympathy and affinity for development or evolution: it parallels in many ways his own concept of teleology. He had incorporated a notion of teleology, borrowed from Aristotle, as early as his philosophical dissertation, "The Unity of the Life of the Soul Developed out of the Principles of Aristotelian Philosophy."<sup>107</sup> For Schell, teleology rep-

<sup>101</sup> Schell, *Religion und Offenbarung* xiii.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* xiv; *Gott und Geist* 2.185.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* 185-86.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 188.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 189. Schell treats the topic of "Gesetzmäßigkeit" in relation to the nomological proof of God's existence (*ibid.* 184-304).

<sup>106</sup> In a separate article for the "Türmer" (published 1898; reprinted in *Kleinere Schriften* 239-54) Schell discusses the issue of development more fully. Here he asserts that the idea of development is the "fundamental concept of a scientific explanation of the cosmos" (*ibid.* 239). It runs at once the risk of being understood merely mechanically, and thus in a manner which would make development incompatible with any sort of creation theology; but one can see in this "concept of development a profound estimation of causality. True being is effectiveness, development of energy, creative causality. . . . But one must recognize the obvious superiority of an interpretation in which the teaching of evolution accepts the principle of causality, and this overcomes the deficiency which the mechanistic worldview has been indebted to and remains indebted, in that it wants to see the factors of the teaching on evolution as a mechanical necessity" (*ibid.* 243).

<sup>107</sup> See n. 31 above.



resents an inner ordered dynamic, rooted in the very origins of a being, orienting it toward the final realization of itself.<sup>108</sup>

Max Seckler has traced elements of the scholastic concept of teleology back to the tradition of Neoplatonism and proposed that Thomas and other scholastics broaden the notion of teleology so that it becomes almost a cosmic law, drawing all creation back to God.<sup>109</sup> Such a teleological position is, of course, altogether different from a mechanistic-Darwinian notion of evolution, where the unfolding dynamic comes wholly from within: a self-enclosed, self-caused development. Nor does the position seem to imply, as V. Berning suggests, that Schell betrays his connection with late Idealism, or with right-wing Hegelian thought.<sup>110</sup> Grounded in the scholastic tradition, Schell builds bridges to an evolutionary way of thinking. Nevertheless, he will oppose every mechanistic, antifinalistic Darwinian interpretation.<sup>111</sup>

More startling is Schell's anthropological-teleological interpretation of evolution: the long evolutionary development of the world was meant to pave the way for the appearance of reason in humankind.<sup>112</sup> The human race remains the measure of created reality, and reflects the spiritual nature of creation's source.<sup>113</sup> Schell notes that the "great idea of development" is more than a biological theory; it is also a way of thinking, we might say "a paradigm," which affects models of scientific thought but extends even into the area of religious studies.<sup>114</sup>

The fifth major characteristic of the "modern age" is the turn to interiority, the interest in the world of inner experience, the discovery of the subject. For Schell this achievement is a welcome expansion and extension of the old Aristotelian-scholastic principle that all knowledge has its origins in the senses.<sup>115</sup> Not only the outer world of experience but the inner world as well is now recognized as providing data for knowledge. Never completely ignored in the tradition, subjective experience rises to prominence as the privileged source of knowledge.

<sup>108</sup> "Teleologie ist die vom Ursprung verursachte Gesetzmäßigkeit des Hinzielens auf sich selber" (Theodor Schneider, *Teleologie als theologische Kategorie bei Herman Schell* [Essen: Ludgerus, 1966] 39).

<sup>109</sup> See M. Seckler, *Das Heil in der Geschichte* 19–79.

<sup>110</sup> See V. Berning, *Das Denken Herman Schells*.

<sup>111</sup> *Gott und Geist* 2.232; cf. *Katholische Dogmatik Kritische Ausgabe* 293. In this regard, see Hubertus Mynarek, who demonstrates that Schell's position on Darwinism is corroborated by contemporary biologists (*Der Mensch—Sinnziel der Weltentwicklung* 68–225); see also Schneider, *Teleologie als theologische Kategorie bei Herman Schell*.

<sup>112</sup> This interpretation will also be operative in Karl Rahner's theology a half-century later.

<sup>113</sup> Schell, *Kleinere Schriften* 254.

<sup>114</sup> *Religion und Offenbarung* xiv.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* xiv.

This shift from the outer and cosmological to the inner and psychological brings with it a shift in the way we view the world.<sup>116</sup> Unity is no longer imposed from without by the boundaries established by the physical world; the new worldview must find its unity from within.<sup>117</sup> Various philosophical positions provide interpretations to fill the need. One that was especially vexing to Schell, and which provoked hundreds of pages of his corpus, was Monism.

Monism suggested a philosophical method for finding unity from within the cosmos. Multifaceted in its forms, it provided an interpretation of the world which claimed to be an alternative to Christianity.<sup>118</sup> Insofar as Monism insists on the substantial unity of the foundation of the cosmos, it marks an advance over Materialism. But the primary and essential problem it presents—and this is the heart of Schell's vigorous rejection of it—is that it denies the personality of that "Weltgrund."<sup>119</sup> Monism erased the distinction between the divine and the created orders, between natural and supernatural.<sup>120</sup>

Monism has a natural affinity for a theory of development, such as Darwin's evolutionary theory.<sup>121</sup> In the philosophy of Eduard von Hartmann, Monism takes on a spiritual character and portrays the Weltgrund "as subject (in actu secundo), as active, spiritual, or causal source, but always as unconscious spirit."<sup>122</sup> Because of its apparent compatibility with the evolutionary theory of Darwin, Monism provided an attractive substitute "religion" for many European Christians.<sup>123</sup> Ernst Heinrich Haeckel (1834–1919), the first noted German biologist to grant enthusiastic acceptance to organic evolution, radicalized Darwin's theory of descent with his own theory of an evolution of mechanical causality, seeing the world as an eternal evolution of substance and humanity as part of that evolution. In *The Riddle of the Universe: Popular Studies on Monistic Philosophy*, he spoke openly of

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. xiv.

<sup>118</sup> *Gott und Geist* 2.268.

<sup>120</sup> *Gott und Geist* 1.6.

<sup>122</sup> *Gott und Geist* 1.6. Schell considered Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) "the most outstanding and at the same time a religious-philosophical proponent of concrete Monism" (*Religion und Offenbarung* 407). For Schell, the principal threat which the Hartmann position presented to Christianity was the denial of the personality of God (*Gott und Geist* 1.xviii).

<sup>123</sup> "Haeckel's *Welträtsel* and its success during its first year have demonstrated that materialistic Monism is in no way dead but very much alive, and that it considers itself victor and heir to the future" (Schell, *Kleinere Schriften* 322). Niles R. Holt traces four stages of development of Haeckel's monistic religion in his "Ernst Haeckel's Monistic Religion," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 (1971) 265–80; see also Holt "The Church Withdrawal Movement in Germany," *Journal of Church and State* 32 (1990) 37–48.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> *Gott und Geist* 1.6, 227–42; 2.268–304.

<sup>121</sup> *Gott und Geist* 2.269.

Monism as a religion.<sup>124</sup> Both in the original German and in English translation, the book became a bestseller and allowed Monism to become a "scientific" ersatz religion for many of the lesser educated.

Schell welcomed the turn to the subject and the reappropriation of interiority. He considered the ideal of personality to be the heirloom of early Christianity, even if he attributed the rediscovery to the Renaissance and Protestant Christians.<sup>125</sup> Materialistic or pantheistic monism was an entirely different story; it undermined the conception of God as personal and leading inexorably to an impoverishment of our self-awareness as persons. Moreover it was not adequate to explain our experience of the world.<sup>126</sup> Partly in response to such depersonalizing Monism, Schell developed a dynamic concept of personality as self-actuating freedom. Schell's quite modern vision of personality found its absolute paradigm, of course, in the life of the Trinity, but it was also applicable to the human person who, through grace and the power of the Spirit, exists in creative relationship with the triune God.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF APOLOGETICS FOR CATHOLIC RENEWAL

Schell underscored the personalistic nature of God and saw this as a powerful incentive and dynamic: God in Logos and Pneuma, in wisdom and power, enkindles in us creativity and strength sufficient to realize the unfolding of the kingdom in the world of matter and time. Humankind is the pinnacle of an evolutionary creation, the cosmos reaches its fulfillment in humankind and through its communication with God, the human race is energized, ordered, radically enlivened.

Schell saw in Christianity, especially in Catholicism, a creative and transformative force, a "principle of progress and development." He used the biblical image of the "kingdom of God" to articulate Christianity's function in promoting and protecting, even creating values that support and nurture culture.<sup>127</sup> In this sense the extension of the kingdom, although ultimately an eschatological reality, can be considered as the generation of culture, an ongoing prolongation of creation's perfection. The cosmos blossoms to fulfillment in human society. Human society, in turn, is promoted through the activity of the human spiritual faculties of reason and will, culminating in activity which

<sup>124</sup> *Die Welträtsel: Gemeinverständliche Studien über monistische Philosophie* (Bonn: Strauss, 1899). Chapter 18 is titled "Our Monistic Religion."

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Schell's "Individualismus und Auktorität," in *Kleinere Schriften* 354.

<sup>126</sup> *Religion und Offenbarung* 452; cf. *Gott und Geist* 2.184-441. Schell leveled the same criticism against Eduard von Hartmann, Arthur Drew, and Friedrich Paulsen.

<sup>127</sup> See Thomas Franke, *Leben aus Gottes Fülle: Zur trinitarischen Reich-Gottes-Theologie Herman Schells* (Würzburg: Echter, 1990).

reflects and realizes the divine vision for the universe. The creation of culture and cultural activity are an unfolding of the ongoing creation in which human beings function as spiritual agents, linked in grace with the self-actuating life of the triune God. As the universe is ordered and shaped, takes form and direction through the spiritual activity of human beings, culture is promoted and the "kingdom of God" is furthered. Religion functions as a power source at the heart of a civilization, a cultural pacemaker energizing individuals and institutions, promoting personal integrity and creativity. The objective truth value and quality of a religion can be measured by its fruits: the well being of the culture which that religion fosters and inspires.<sup>128</sup>

Herman Schell greeted the modern world enthusiastically. The turn to the subject and the rediscovery of the value and integrity of the human person were met with his wholehearted appreciation. His intellectual integrity embraced a critical scholarship which preferred the intrinsic persuasive power of truth over the extrinsic category of authority as ultimately decisive for the inquirer's assent. Not about to allow pantheistic philosophers to coopt Charles Darwin and his theories in an attempt to counterfeit a hollow religion for the masses, Schell forged a bold, imaginative apologetics, rooting the dynamic force of evolution deep in the creative energy of God's own eternally life-giving Spirit. He was incredulous and disappointed that church spokespersons showed fearful hesitancy in engaging a world which showed such energy and creativity in its self-expression. He recognized in this new world not a threat, but a marvelous opportunity for the Christian faith to expose its richness and interpretative power. Faint-hearted peers evoked his critical and vociferous displeasure.

Schell revealed great personal integrity, enthusiasm for life and truth, and profound spiritual confidence in the power of the Spirit. He was a personable, charismatic, energetic human being who welcomed others into his friendship, permitting them to share his vision and his pain. His theological essays of course, but even more his very person, help to explain his influence on many who were instrumental in the renewal of German Catholicism at the turn of the century.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>128</sup> "Religion preserves precisely in its most noble goal the most effective reasons for activity and most fruitful forms, to encompass and encourage the most well-rounded and humanly satisfying and interior promotion of culture in the world" (*Religion und Offenbarung* 17).

<sup>129</sup> H. Platz, "Wie wir zur Liturgie gekommen sind: Beitrag zur Entwicklung unserer Erkenntnis-Gemeinschaft," *Das Wort in der Zeit* 2 (1934/1935) 331-37.