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specified cases, for deliberation and for the transaction of business. The Bishops are to vote separately from the Representatives. The Representatives are to vote, Clerical and Lay together, unless, when a division is called, ten members of either Order require the voting to be taken by Orders.

"To this General Synod is entrusted supreme power to make regulations for the order, good government, and efficiency of the Church of Ireland; special provision being made for deliberate care and caution in altering the Articles, Doctrines, Rites, and Rubrics in the Formularies of the Church.

"If those among our Legislators and Statesmen, who are disposed to look with favour, or at least with indifference, upon proposals for Disestablishment because they think that they see obvious defects in the internal arrangements of the Church, or faults which estrange some of our people from its communion, would consider whether a cure for such faults and defects might not be found in the constitution of a General Synod for the Church of England, similar in its main features to the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, yet in due subordination to the control of the Crown and Parliament, they would deserve the best thanks of those who desire to make the Church of England more comprehensive and more efficient, and yet maintain unimpaired the connection between Church and State which they regard as fruitful in blessings to both bodies.

"If our Legislature would be content to commit to such a General Synod the absolute determination, within well-defined limits, of matters of detail, the settlement of which is of great importance to the well-being of the Church, but for which it cannot be contended that it is desirable to seek the action of Parliament, even if Parliament were willing to undertake the task; and if at the same time the duty were imposed upon it of preparing with due care measures, which lie beyond such limits, for discussion and final determination in Parliament, might we not hope that a way would be thereby opened for accomplishing such Reforms and such extension of the limits of communion with the Church as present and future circumstances may seem to call for?

"The constitution of the Church of Ireland presents to my mind in one respect a pattern worthy of imitation in that it provides fully and effectually for the voice of the lay members of the Church in all Church Councils. No principle is more worthy of adoption by the Church of England. No measure more vital for its maintenance as an Established Church than one which would ensure the united action of Clergy and Laity in all Church matters."



ART. IV.—DR. DÖLLINGER AND DR. REUSCH ON CARDINAL BELLARMINÉ.

SINCE he published his collection of documents as a contribution to the history of the Council of Trent, Dr. Döllinger has given to the world nothing more considerable than the six articles on Madame de Maintenon, a digest of which was laid before our readers in the March number of the CHURCHMAN. The Tridentine documents were published

eleven years ago—February, 1876—when the editor was already seventy-seven years of age. That in 1887 he should still be able to write and publish solid contributions to ecclesiastical history, is a matter for congratulation both to himself and to all who profit by his labours. As further proof of his mental and bodily vigour, it is worth noting that he has just been delivering the usual address before the Royal Academy of Sciences in Bavaria, of which body he is president. The address will be found in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for March 29th and 30th. His new volume—in producing which he has had the assistance of Dr. Reusch, of Bonn—is a profusely annotated edition of Cardinal Bellarmine's autobiography, a work which, though printed more than two hundred years ago, and of great historical interest, has never been published until the present year.¹ Moreover, owing to the endeavours of the Jesuits to suppress it, very few copies of it had remained in existence; and, excepting to a few scholars, it was practically unknown. The editors have laid all students of modern ecclesiastical history, and especially of the history of Ultramontanism, under a great obligation by the production of the present volume. In a brief preface they tell us that the arrangement of the work is Dr. Döllinger's, and that he has also either supplied or suggested the greater part of the material for the Introduction and Excursuses. Dr. Reusch has worked this material into shape, has supplemented it, and has added a German translation of the autobiography, which is in Latin. The Introduction contains a complete report, never published before, of the proceedings opened in 1627 with a view to the canonization of Bellarmine. These proceedings have several times been renewed, and have not yet been formally closed. It is by no means improbable that the publication of this volume will have considerable influence on the ultimate decision of the question.

Bellarmino, by friends and foes alike, is regarded as the father of the Ultramontane development which culminated in 1870 in the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It is no wonder, therefore, that Jesuits and Ultramontanes of various generations have striven to obtain for him the dignity of a canonized saint: not merely out of gratitude for his great services to the cause—gratitude is perhaps one of the least powerful motives—but because his canonization would give to everything that he has written, especially on matters ecclesiastical, enormously increased authority. To dispute his positions would become, for every dutiful Roman Catholic, in a very high degree perilous.

¹ "Die Selbstbiographie des Cardinals Bellarmin," etc., etc., herausgegeben von J. J. I. von Döllinger und F. H. Reusch. Bonn, 1887.

Janus, the author of "Der Papst und das Concil," pointed out in 1869 how the teaching of Bellarmine involved the Infallibility dogma: and since the proclamation of the dogma Professor Friedrich, in his "History of the Vatican Council," has shown how Bellarmine was one of its chief forerunners. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to go beyond the statements of Bellarmine. The Jesuits in the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius" have taught that, if the Church decides that something which to our eyes appears to be white, is black, then we also must say that it is black. But Bellarmine goes far beyond this. This is placing the authority of the Church above the evidence of an *individual's senses*. But Bellarmine places the authority of the *Pope* above the dictates of *universal morality*. He says that if a Pope were to go wrong in enjoining vices or prohibiting virtues, then the Church would be bound to believe that the vices were good and the virtues evil, unless it wished to sin against conscience.¹ Papal Infallibility in faith and morals can scarcely be stated in more uncompromising terms.

Hitherto the chief sources for the life of Bellarmine have been the biographies by the Jesuits Fuligatti (published in Italian in 1624, in French 1628, and in Latin 1629), Bartoli (1677) and Frizon (1708). Fuligatti knew of the existence of the autobiography and made use of it; the others did not. But all these biographies are discredited by the fact that they were written for the purpose of bringing about the canonization of Bellarmine. They are not histories but eulogies. The publication, therefore, of what is our main source of information is a historical gain of no small importance. For the autobiography was never intended for publication, and its value is enormously increased by the fact. It is a confidential sketch of his life, which Bellarmine wrote at the age of seventy-one, at the request of a brother Jesuit, Endæmon Johannes. For a long time it was kept concealed in the Archives of the Order at Rome.² At last it occurred to some members of the Order that it might further the object which they had so much at heart (the canonization, or at least the beatification, of the great controversialist), if they had the manuscript printed and distributed in influential quarters. Seldom, perhaps, during their chequered history have the Jesuits made a greater tactical mistake. The *naïve* confessions of Bellarmine produced an effect which was the very reverse of what was desired. Those

¹ "Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes mala, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare."—"De Rom. Pontif." 4, 5, ed. Paris, 1643, p. 456: Janus, p. 414.

² "Herzog und Plitt," ii., p. 240.

who studied Bellarmine's own account of himself, instead of saying, "This great servant of the Church is worthy of canonization," said rather, "The man who can write thus about his own good deeds, and speak so slightingly of others, is nearer to a Pharisee than a saint. With the ecclesiastics of his own age he compares favourably enough. He was free from luxury and avarice, and he discharged the duties of a Cardinal and of an Archbishop conscientiously. But of special saintliness there is no trace." When the Jesuits found that the autobiography told against their project, and that not even beatification was to be hoped for while it remained part of the evidence, they endeavoured to withdraw it from sight, and with so much success that, until recently (it is said), not a copy was to be found in all Germany. Their failure was all the more mortifying, because it was Bellarmine who had been mainly instrumental in procuring the canonization of Ignatius Loyola, and therefore there would be a graceful fitness in Loyola's disciples procuring the canonization of Bellarmine. But the most mortifying part of the failure is doubtless this, that the writings of the chief founder of modern Ultramontanism still lack the authority which attaches to the writings of a saint.

The form of the autobiography may have helped to mislead those who first brought it to light, as to its probable effect. It is written in the third person, and Bellarmine appears throughout simply as "N." In this way one is almost led to forget that it is an autobiography; in the absence of the first person the egotistical tone is apt to escape notice. To read that *he* made certain excellent resolutions when he was made Cardinal, and that he kept them all, produces a much less offensive impression on the reader than if it were written, "I made the following resolutions All these I kept." And there is plenty more of the same kind respecting his own virtues, abilities, and sagacity, and respecting the admiration which he inspired in other people. When "N" was two or three and twenty, the General of the Order "*almost unexpectedly*" commanded him to address the brethren. "He did so unwillingly and under compulsion; but those venerable old men listened most attentively, and afterwards wished to kiss N.'s hands, young as he was; but he did not allow that to be done to him." On another occasion his superior wrote to Rome of his sermon, "Never man spake as this man." Imagine a saint repeating such outrageous commendation! It is characteristic of the morality of the age that Bellarmine's sending to warn his opponent Sarpi of a plot to assassinate him was considered as a proof of quite exceptional virtue.

But the vanity of Bellarmine is not the only obstacle to his

being regarded as a saintly person. There is his scandalous untruthfulness respecting the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, which still remains, to the grievous discredit of himself and of the Roman Church, in the title-pages and prefaces of the authorized copies of the Clementine Bible. Nor does this stand alone. There is also his defence of the False Decretals—not because he believed them to be true, but because they were necessary to his system. And there is his attempt to bolster up the modern theory of indulgences by means of evidence which was either forged or which applied to indulgences in quite a different sense. Let us follow Dr. Döllinger in his criticisms on the first of these points. And first as to the main facts.

The Council of Trent in its fourth session—April, 1546—decreed that, whereas it would be of no small advantage to the Church to determine which of the various Latin editions was to be regarded as authentic, (1) the old and Vulgate edition, which had been in use for so many centuries, should in public readings, disputations, sermons, and expositions be regarded as authentic, and that no one should on any pretext whatever venture to reject it; and (2), in order to put some check upon the printers, that Holy Scripture, but especially this old and Vulgate edition, should be printed as correctly as possible. During the Pontificates of Pius IV. and V. attempts were made at Rome, Louvain, and Antwerp to carry out this second decree of the Council. In 1587, under Sixtus V., an edition of the Septuagint was published in Rome; and as soon as this was accomplished Sixtus applied himself, with characteristic determination, to execute the still unaccomplished decree of the Council of Trent respecting a correct edition of the Vulgate. Sixtus made himself chief reviser, and accepted or rejected the emendations of the committee in a very arbitrary manner, guiding himself largely by the Louvain edition, the value of which he overestimated. When the work was finally printed he read the proofs with the greatest care, and corrected them with his own hand. In 1590 the edition was ready; of some eighty misprints which it contained about thirty were corrected with the pen or otherwise, and the rest remained uncorrected. It was published with the famous bull, *Aeternus ille*, prefixed to it, in which (March 1st, 1589) Sixtus in the most solemn and decisive manner declares the absolute authority of this edition for all uses, *private* as well as public, *for ever*. After proclaiming himself as the successor of St. Peter, and the inheritor of his powers as Prince of the Apostles, he goes on to recount his labour and care in producing this edition of the Vulgate, and then continues: "We

order and declare by this our constitution, which shall be binding for ever . . . and by the fulness of our Apostolic power, that the edition now published by us is without all doubt and dispute to be regarded as the Vulgate which the Council of Trent has received as authentic, decreeing that the same . . . approved by the authority delivered to us by the Lord, is to be received and held as true, lawful, authentic, and unquestioned, in all public and private disputations, readings, sermons, and explanations." He moreover forbade the publication of various readings in copies of the Vulgate, and declared that all those which differed from the authorized text "are to have no credit or authority in the future."

Before many copies had gone out, Sixtus V. died, August 27th, 1590. Urban VII. died September 26th. Early in 1591 some members of the Revision Committee complained to Gregory XIV. of the high-handed way in which Sixtus V. had treated their emendations, and recommended that the edition should be suppressed. By Bellarmine's advice a new committee was formed, of which he became a member. He gives an inaccurate account of its functions, but Gregory died before its proposals could be adopted, and Innocent IX. lived only a few months. He died December 30th, 1591—the fourth Pope within seventeen months. Clement VIII. brought the matter to a conclusion in 1592. The Clementine edition owes its title-page and preface to Bellarmine; and the four falsehoods which they contain still disgrace the authorized copies of the Roman Vulgate. The Paris edition of 1865, formally approved by Archbishop Sibour, lies before us, and there the four falsehoods still remain. They are these. (1) The title-page states that the text is the revised text of Sixtus V.: "Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita;" whereas it is precisely the rash emendations made by Sixtus that the text does *not* contain. The preface states, further, (2) that Sixtus was *on the point of publishing* his edition when he discovered (3) that not a few *misprints* had crept into it, and (4) that *he* ordered that the whole should be reprinted. Whereas Sixtus *did* publish his edition; the mistakes which led to the suppression of the edition were not *misprints* noticed afterwards by Sixtus, but glaring errors *deliberately introduced by himself*; and it was not Sixtus, but *his successors*, who caused the edition to be recalled, corrected, and reprinted. From the autobiography it would appear as if Bellarmine originally proposed saying that, "owing to haste, there had crept in certain errors either of the printers *or of others*," which would have made the third falsehood a little less audacious; but even so it is bad enough. The misprints had nothing to do

with the substitution of a new edition (which, moreover, contained far more misprints than the old one); and it was not haste, but the self-willed ignorance of Sixtus V., that produced the errors which made a new edition necessary. This falsehood was a strong obstacle to the beatification of Bellarmine when the proposal was renewed under Benedict XIV. It was pleaded that in making it Bellarmine had the support of pope and cardinals, and perhaps acted under orders. To which Cardinal Passionei made the apt reply that they were not discussing the beatification of the pope and cardinals, but of Bellarmine; and, if he had told a lie, it did not make him not guilty to say that other people were guilty also. Cardinal Azzolini looks at it from another point of view: it was such a monstrous indiscretion. In order to glorify himself, Bellarmine had disclosed in his autobiography things very compromising to the Papacy. "When its enemies say that the Pope can err in interpreting Scripture for the Church, they can appeal to the evidence of Bellarmine that a Pope has erred, not merely in interpreting Scripture, but in making numerous perverse alterations in it." But the alterations made by Sixtus would not affect the interpretation of Scripture on any dogmatic question. Most of them are such things as the interchange of *autem* and *vero*, *ergo* and *igitur*, the order of words in a sentence, and the like.¹

But to Ultramontanes the subject is an awkward one, and Hergenröther ("Anti-Janus," p. 60) courageously declares that Sixtus V. issued no sort of decree and promulgated no Bull. No doubt his Bull is not in the Bullarium, because it was cancelled, along with his edition of the Bible, by his successors. But it was composed and signed by Sixtus and printed by his order. Hergenröther knows that very well. He does not venture to say that the Bull does not exist, although ordinary readers would think that he means this: he says merely that it was not promulgated. Nor does the Jesuit Cornely help matters much when he raises a doubt whether the proper formalities were carried out respecting this Bull. It was delivered *ex cathedra*, printed by the Pope's order, and sent with the Vulgate to the Catholic sovereigns in Europe. Can such a document be regarded as a piece of waste paper?

Bellarmino's defence of the False Decretals was treated of by Janus in 1869,² and need not be discussed here. Let us look at Dr. Döllinger's note on him respecting his treatment of the question of indulgences.

¹ See the article on the Vulgate in the "Dictionary of the Bible," iii.

² "Der Papst und das Concil," pp. 416, 417.

Chemnitz, the pupil of Melancthon and great opponent of the Jesuits, had stated that there was no evidence for indulgences, in the modern sense of the word, earlier than A.D. 1200. To this Bellarmine gave the characteristic answer: "It is not to be wondered at that there are not many ancient writers who mention these things; for there is a great deal in the Church which is maintained by mere custom, without documentary record. Nevertheless, in Rome, in the oldest churches, there are monuments telling of indulgences which have been granted by many Popes, as far back as St. Silvester, who lived before 1200." In another place he says that Chemnitz had divided the history of indulgences into three periods. In the first, which comes down to A.D. 900, the indulgence was a remission of ecclesiastical penalties (*e.g.*, shortening the time of penance). In the second—900 to 1200—indulgences were granted as a remission of the temporal punishments for sin, but only in certain cases (*e.g.*, crusaders). Not until after 1200 were there indulgences which anyone could obtain by performing certain acts. Bellarmine endeavours to show that the distinction between indulgences of the older and of the later kind is not an essential one.

The statement that Silvester I. (314-335) and other Popes previous to 1200 had granted indulgences is maintained by Bellarmine solely upon the evidence of inscriptions in Roman Churches and of the "Life of St. Swibert." But the Jesuit Daniel Papenbroek (1685) has shown in detail that all the inscriptions quoted and also the "Life of St. Swibert" are forgeries of a later date. "The custom in question," he remarks, "cannot be shown to have existed earlier than the eleventh century. But that it has been handed on through so many centuries "without documentary record" is assumed without reason and denied without detriment to piety. But it is not denied without reason, as it is maintained without reason." Papenbroek was violently assailed for these remarks, and reminded that he was disputing what three other Jesuit Cardinals besides Bellarmine, *viz.*, Toletus, Lugo, and Pallavicini, had held to be correct. He replied that he could appeal to the work of Johannes Morinus, "Commentarius historicus de Disciplinâ in Administratione Pœnitentiæ," published 1651 and 1685, which without naming Bellarmine had refuted him, and which no one had refuted since. If the four Cardinals had read this book, they would have written differently.

Bellarmino defends the granting of indulgences for 15,000 and 20,000 years. He says that some persons have denied that such things have ever been granted by Popes, and say that they are an invention of the indulgence-hawkers, while genuine indulgences are, at the outside, for a lifetime. But to this

Bellarmino replies that a person who had committed many mortal sins, for each of which a penance of three or even seven years would be incurred, might thereby incur a penance of several thousand years: and it was cases of this kind which Popes had in their minds when they really granted indulgences for 10,000 or 20,000 years. But the private letters of Bellarmine, like those of Baronius, show that he had more correct and less slavish ideas about indulgences than anyone would suppose from his published works. The letters show also that Clement VIII., Paul V., and Sixtus V. had really some thought of seriously carrying out the decree of the Council of Trent, that moderation must be observed in the granting of indulgences.

The question of indulgences has not improved since Bellarmine's time. Plenary indulgences abound, and can be obtained by anyone by the performance of trifling acts; and nearly all of them can be applied to benefit the dead. Not many years ago a Jesuit named Schneider defended at considerable length, in a book which had a wide circulation, the existence of indulgences for thousands of years: he knew one of 60,000 years. Pius IX. established one for gaining 100 years daily. In nearly all churches there is at least one altar so privileged that a plenary indulgence for a dead person is obtainable at every mass. Some priests have the privilege that on certain days their masses, wherever they may say them, are privileged: and on All Souls' Day this is the case with every priest. To the members of certain brotherhoods the favour has been granted, that all masses said for them after their death are privileged. In the "Mainzer Katholik" for 1860 there is a long essay defending the practice of privileged altars, and the author of it appeals to the authority of Paschal I.!

After the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605, James I. imposed a severe oath on all Roman Catholics. The Archpriest Blackwell took it, and advised others to do the same. Thereupon Bellarmine, who was an old friend of Blackwell's, wrote to him and compared his conduct to that of Peter in denying his Master; which so provoked James I. that he wrote himself against Bellarmine in a tract entitled "Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus." Bellarmine answered it and made fine fun of the royal Latin. In his letter to Blackwell, Bellarmine had declared that no Pope had ever ordered the murder of a Sovereign even if he were a heretic and a persecutor of the Church, or had approved such a deed, if done without his orders. James I. reminded him of the Allocution of Sixtus V. and of the numerous plots which had been made against the life of Queen Elizabeth, and by assassins who had been set to the work by their confessors at the suggestion of the Pope himself (*ipso Papa auctore*). It is very remarkable that Bellarmine in his

reply treats in great detail of the speech of Sixtus V., but of the attempts to assassinate Queen Elizabeth says not a word. Evidently he was aware that in this matter Pius V.'s hands were not clean. Roberto Ridolfi was the "head centre" for this business. In a letter to the Duke of Alva, Philip II. of Spain gives the details of a plot for seizing the Queen's person and killing her. The Holy Father, whom Ridolfi had informed of everything, had written to him and told him through his Nuncio, the Archbishop of Rossano, that he considered the matter very important for the service of God and the well-being of His Church, and had exhorted him to support it. The Pope wished Philip to undertake it as a carrying-out of the sentence which he had pronounced against the Queen of England. But Philip had no desire to support papal claims to the crowns of England and Ireland, and rejected the proposal. This evidence by no means stands alone. Bellarmine's defender, Becanus, in his "*Controversia Anglicana*," points out that the high-priest Jehoiada, in virtue of his official powers, first deposed Queen Athalia, and then caused her to be put to death as a private individual; and adds that the powers possessed by the high-priest in the Old Testament are possessed by the Pope in the New.¹ He received an intimation from the Index Congregation that in the next edition this remark must be modified; but that was only because of the attacks made on the book in Paris.

It is remarkable that Bellarmine's own great work, "*De Controversiis Christianæ Fidei*," was placed on the "Index" "*donec corrigatur*" by Sixtus V., to whom he had dedicated it; not, however, because its extreme statements respecting the Papacy might give inconvenient offence, but because in some respects they were not extreme enough. He put limits to the *temporal* power of the Pope. The spiritual power of the Pope, he said, was direct, absolute, and limitless; the temporal power, though of the highest, was only indirect. If a temporal Government and the Pope came into collision, the former ought to give way; but the Pope could not depose a King in the direct way in which he could depose a Bishop. This did not at all suit Sixtus V. When he died, a new edition of the "Index" was just ready for publication. It was kept back that the new Pope might reconsider the cases of Bellarmine and Vittoria, a Spanish theologian whom Bellarmine had quoted. It was not issued until 1596 (Clement VIII.), and of course without Bellarmine's name on the list of forbidden authors. When Bellarmine contrived the lying preface to the *Vulgate*, in which the blame of the errors introduced by

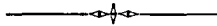
¹ Reusch, "*Index*," ii., 345.

Sixtus V. was thrown on the printers, and excused by hasty oversight, he says in his autobiography that he was "returning good for evil." Sixtus had damaged his reputation by putting his controversies on the "Index;" but he had saved the Pope's reputation by covering his blunders.

These specimens will suffice to show our readers the importance and interest of this remarkable volume. Other subjects treated at length in it are: Bellarmine's pseudonymous Tract against Henry IV., his Mission to France, his Memorandum on Abuses, the Pensions of Cardinals, the Conclaves of 1605, Nepotism, Paul V.'s Conflict with Venice, the Number of General Councils, the Execution of Heretics in Rome, Canonization, etc. The learned editors have added greatly to the materials for a critical biography of Bellarmine; and such a biography is a real want in modern ecclesiastical history. Perhaps the present volume is only a prelude to such a work, to be carried out by the editors themselves. Students of history can wish for nothing better.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

DURHAM, *April*, 1887.



ART. V.—THE TITHE RENT-CHARGE BILL.

THE promised Bill for facilitating the recovery and redemption of tithe rent-charge has been introduced into the House of Lords, and may be described as a modest and sensible measure. Its main features are probably already familiar to the readers of this magazine, and may be summed up in a few sentences. The landowner is required to pay the charge, and may add it to the rent where land has been let on lease under the covenant that the tenant is to pay the tithe. If the owner pays the full amount within three months of the time it becomes due, he is to be allowed a discount of 5 per cent. Distraint is abolished, and the rent-charge can be recovered from the owner as a simple debt. When the rack-rent for any year, including the rent of any dwelling-houses standing on the land subject to tithe, is less than the rent-charge, only the amount of actual profit can be collected for that year.

Redemption can be effected by the payment of twenty times the amount of rent-charge fixed by confirmed apportionment, or par value as it is commonly called. The money arising from redemption is to be invested in the names of the bishop, patron and incumbent in certain permitted securities, one of which is