

















PORTUGUESE  
DISCOVERIES DEPENDENCIES  
AND  
MISSIONS IN ASIA AND AFRICA





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AND  
MISSIONS IN ASIA AND AFRICA

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LONDON  
W H ALLEN & CO LIMITED  
13, WATERLOO PLACE, S.W.

1893.

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WYMAN AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND REDHILL.



## PREFACE.

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THERE are some subjects which, at first sight, seem to present little difficulty, and to demand but a very moderate amount of research. When, however, the student has commenced his investigations, he sees new fields opening up on every side ; and the difficulty is not to find materials for his work, but to select from the vast mass before him such elements as are solely, or chiefly, suitable for his enterprise. This has been our principal embarrassment in the preparation of the following Essay ; for it was soon discovered that the volumes bearing upon our subject would have furnished matter for a history, instead of contributing to the pages of a monograph.

In writing an account of " The Portuguese Missions in Southern India in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, with Special Reference to the Syrian Christians, and to Modern Missionary Efforts in that Quarter," the

Author must obviously depend more upon *industry in research, accuracy in quotation, and judgment in selection*, than on the more brilliant qualities of intellect and imagination. He must make up his mind not to trust to second-hand authorities, ordinary compilations and translations, often indifferently rendered, but to go at once to the fountain head, examine carefully for himself, compare conflicting statements, verify citations, reconcile discrepancies, and out of chaos, as far as possible, produce order. He will, of course, have to study many a ponderous folio in mediæval Latin, in singularly quaint and difficult Portuguese, in Spanish, Italian, French, and English, all more or less differing from those of the present day. He must be prepared to encounter various, and sometimes contradictory, versions of the same transaction, according to the national or political bias of the writers whom he consults. And above all, he will find himself perplexed by the strong party colouring given by antagonistic religious factions to events which are made to tell for or against a theory, in proportion to the light in which they are represented. To all which must be added the subjective difficulty, for, unless perpetually on his guard, he will

be prone to follow the example of those Procrustean writers who allow their own predilections to influence their manner of recording facts, and who sometimes so far forget what is due to truth as to diminish, magnify, or suppress, as may best suit the party they wish to serve.<sup>1</sup>

In the particular case before us the first duty was to divide the general theme into such portions as would enable the reader to form a clear idea of the whole question. The next object was to obtain from public libraries, from official reports, political and religious, and from private information, such authentic details as would fill in this outline, selecting such portions as are calculated by their shape, size, and colour, to combine for the production of a faithful and harmonious picture. The third part of our task, subordinate, but still important, was to indicate, by constant reference, the sources from which we derived our information, not only to steer clear of any suspicion of plagiarism, but to afford anyone interested in our subject the means of verifying our quotations, or of following up the stream to its fountain-head.

<sup>1</sup> For a striking illustration of dishonesty in quotation, see Marshall's "History of the Christian Missions."



The First Book treats of the Portuguese themselves, and gives a very brief sketch of the circumstances which led to their maritime discoveries in the XV<sup>th</sup> Century, as preliminary to their brilliant conquests in the East in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century. It affords also an outline of Portuguese India when their Eastern Empire was at its height, and concludes with a description of Southern India as the scene of the transactions recorded in this paper. This book is, of course, merely introductory, and may be omitted by such of our readers as are familiar with the subject.

The Second Book discusses the Portuguese Missions, their origin, progress, prosperous and adverse circumstances, first in reference to the heathen, and then with regard to the Church of Malabar. It includes a condensed narrative of the rise of the Jesuits, their settlement in Portugal, and their subjugation of the heathen in Southern India by Francis Xavier and his successors in the XVI<sup>th</sup> and early portion of the XVII<sup>th</sup> Century.

The Third Book is devoted to the influence of the Portuguese Missions on the Syrian Christians, and records the various attempts made by Franciscans, Jesuits, and others, during the last forty years of the

XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, concluding with the triumph of Rome at the Synod of Diamper.

In the Fourth Book an attempt is made to bridge over the interval between the subjugation of the Syrian Church under Menezes, and the modern missionary efforts in South India. Though this is not included in the title of the paper, the link seems absolutely necessary to render the concluding book intelligible. This Fourth Book, therefore, comprehends the missionary movements from the College of St. Paul at Goa, the famous Madura Mission, the conversion by Jesuits and Capuchins, from Pondicherry to Cape Comorin, and the struggles of the Syrian Church during the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

The Fifth Book relates to modern missionary efforts in South India, and exhibits, in an extremely condensed form, the history of the first Protestant Missions in the Deccan, the temporary union between the English and Syrian Churches, the disruption and its results, the present state of the Syrian Christians as a proof of the still existing operation of Portuguese influence, and the revival of the Romish Missions in Madura, and surrounding districts.

If anyone will carefully peruse this summary, he will have no difficulty, without our encroaching on his patience, or tacitly censuring his understanding, in drawing his own inferences, and making his own reflections. If "one fact is worth a thousand arguments," this historical sketch, full of facts, will afford the most ample proof of the extent to which Portuguese Romanism has damaged Syrian Christianity, and will probably suggest that it is the duty of the Church of England to do her utmost to remedy the evil.

Coatham, Redcar,

March, 1893.



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BOOK I.

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THE PORTUGUESE IN EUROPE  
AND ASIA.



# THE PORTUGUESE IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PORTUGAL AND THE PORTUGUESE.

“Il n’y avait pas quarante mille Portugais sous les armes, et ils faisaient trembler l’Empire de Marve, tous les barbares d’Afrique, les Mammelus, les Arabes, et tout l’Orient, depuis l’isle d’Ormuz jusqu’à la Chine. Ils n’étaient pas un contre cent ; et ils attaquaient des troupes, qui souvent avec des armes égales, disputaient leurs biens et leur vie jusqu’à l’extrémité. Quels hommes devaient donc être alors les Portugais, et quels ressorts extraordinaires en avaient fait un peuple de héros ?”—“Hist. des Indes.” Abbé Raynal. Tom. I., p. 119.

THE kingdom of Portugal, occupying the southwestern extremity of Europe, seemed but little entitled to play a leading part in the world’s drama. Yet no European nation can exhibit more brilliant pages than those to which the Portuguese proudly points in his country’s annals from the early part of the XIII<sup>th</sup> to the end of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century. A rapid survey of the chief features will form a fitting introduction to the main subject of this Essay.

For many centuries the Lusitanians were an obscure people of the Roman Empire, remarkable for their utter want of civilisation. During the Middle Ages they were held in subjection by the Moslem invaders, till, in 1107, Count Henry, after severe conflicts, laid the foundation of the Portuguese power. His heroic son Alfonso by the victory of Ourique in 1139,<sup>1</sup> secured his title of King on the battle-field; but the country was not completely freed from the Moors till the conquest of Algarve in 1252, by Alphonso III.<sup>2</sup> Under the fostering care of Sancho I.; and especially of Diniz the Just, peace and prosperity were restored. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture revived, and by his construction of the first Portuguese fleet at Lisbon in 1293, the King prepared the way for the glorious work of a later age. He founded the University of Lisbon, granted Municipal rights to newly-made towns, protected the merchants and trading classes against the tyranny of the nobles; and, while building cathedrals and monasteries, checked with a strong hand the arrogant pretensions of the clergy. Alphonso IV. reigned from 1325 till 1357, formed an alliance with Castile and Aragon against the Moors, caused the assassination of Inés de Castro, and was succeeded by his son Pedro I. During

<sup>1</sup> La bataille de campo d' Ourique fut livrée le 25 Juin, 1139, et c'est de cette grande époque qu'il faut faire dater la monarchie Portugaise.—  
"Hist. de Port.," p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro-Dissertações Chronologicas Criticas.



these reigns perpetual conflicts raged between the crown and the nobility, often in combination with the military orders and the clergy. Yet all the efforts of the Kings, though occasionally successful, failed to curb the turbulence of the feudatories till the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385, gained by John I. over the rebels, effectually crushed insubordination, and restored the dignity of the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Thus for many centuries the Portuguese had been trained to war. In the stern school of adversity the latent energies of the race had been gradually developed. Religion, or rather religious fanaticism was the inspiring principle, the very mainspring of every movement, of every heroic exploit. Their wars were rather crusades than patriotic struggles. They fought the Moor rather as an enemy to the faith, than as the invader of their country. As one of their own historians (De Barros) has said, "The kingdom was founded in the blood of martyrs and by martyrs was spread over the globe"; for, of course, he considered all who fell in battle against the infidel as perfectly entitled to the crimson crown.

Portugal, thus formed into a kingdom, was about 1450 divided into five provinces:—(1) Entre-Douro-e-Minho, with the ancient capital Guimarães, Oporto and Braga. (2) Tras-os-Montes, with Bragança, the

<sup>1</sup> "Dialogos de Varia Historia," 1648, p. 127. Faria e Souza "Europa Portugueza," "L'Univers Pittoresque Portugal," pp. 51-53.

cradle of the Royal House, Castello Rodrigo and Almeida. (3) Beira, containing Visen and Laniego, the latter famous for the Cortes in 1143 and 1181, Coimbra for its University founded in 1318. (4) Estremadura, the most important and populous province of the Portuguese realm. Lisboa had a Moslem population long after the time of Alphonso in 1147. Beautifully situated at the mouth of the Tagus, it afterwards became the centre of Portuguese manufactures and commerce, as well as the permanent residence of the King. Santarem, Torres Vedras, Almada, Restello (now Belem), Cintra Mafra, Leiria, Aljubarrote, Batalha, Alcobaça, are all famous in the history of the Spanish and Moorish wars. (5) Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana or Alem-Tejo, possessing Evora, Beja, Ourique and Albuquerque.

Besides these provinces, there was the kingdom of Algarve divided into D'Alem Mar, "on this side of the sea," and Aquem Mar, or "beyond the sea"; the former containing Lagos, Faro, and Loulé, the last strongholds of the Arabs in Portugal. On Cape St. Vincent stood Sagres, where Henry the Navigator erected the world-renowned "Villa do Infante."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In days long past there had stood upon the sister headland of St. Vincent, at about a league's distance, a circular Druidical temple, where, as Strabo tells us, the old Iberians believed that the gods assembled at night, and from the ancient name of Sacrum Promontorium, hence given to the entire promontory by the Romans, Cape Sagres received its modern appellation. As may be imagined, the motive for the Prince's choice could not have been an ordinary one.—Major's "Prince Henry the Navigator," p. 2.

Here the scientific and enterprising Prince, in full view of the broad Atlantic, planned the various expeditions for the exploration of the African coast, and the discovery of Madeira and the Western Islands.<sup>1</sup> Algarve (now a province) was one of the most beautiful and fertile portions of the realm, its ports crowded with ships, and its towns full of warlike adventurers thirsting for foreign conquests. The inhabitants, Christians, Jews, and Moors, lived happily together till the Inquisition, in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, kindled the fires of persecution, and converted that happy region into a desert. The other Algarve ("beyond the sea") stretched from Ceuta (Abyla) to Cape Espartel, and contained Almina, Alcazar, Tanjier, and Arzilla. The African conquests began in 1415 (the year of Agincourt) with the capture of Ceuta, and ended, after years of heroism and glory, with the terrible defeat at Alcazar-el-Kebir, in 1578, and the death of King Sebastian.

This brief summary of the early history and geographical position of Portugal will enable the reader to understand the circumstances in which that country stood at the commencement of its discoveries. The warlike character of the population, the long range of coast bordered by the unknown Atlantic, and the desire to avenge the thralldom under which their native land had groaned, inspired the Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica de Guiné*, por Gomez, Eamez, de Azurora, p. 385.



with a desire to carry the war into the enemy's country and to subdue the territory of the infidel to the Faith of the Cross.

In confirmation of these views we may partly extract, and partly condense, the opinion of a great writer on India a hundred years ago.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the conquests of Albuquerque and his followers in Malabar he says, "If we are astonished at the number of his victories and the rapidity of his conquests, how much more should the brave men whom he commanded excite our admiration? Have we ever seen a nation, apparently so powerless, do such great deeds? There were never more than 40,000 Portuguese under arms, and they struck terror into the empire of Morocco, the barbarians of Africa, the Mamelukes, the Araòs, and all the East, from Ormuz to China. They were not one against a hundred, and they attacked troops, which, as well armed as they were, fought for their lives and property to the last extremity." What wonderful men must the Portuguese of that period have been, and what remarkable training must have converted them into a nation of heroes. They had been for a century warring against the Moors, when Count Henry of Burgundy landed in Portugal with some French Knights,

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes.*—A. Paris 1778. Par M. Abbé Raynal.



with the intention of fighting in Castile under the Banner of the Cid, whose fame had attracted them to the theatre of war. The Portuguese invited these chivalrous adventurers to assist them against the infidels; the knights assented, and most of them settled in Portugal. The institution of chivalry, one which has so much elevated human nature, that love of glory instead of mere country, that spirit purified from the contamination of surrounding barbarism appeared upon the banks of the Tagus, with all the splendour which had characterised its origin in France and England. The Portuguese Monarchs strove to preserve it, and to extend its power by the establishment of various orders formed upon the old models, and whose spirit was the same, that is to say, a union of heroism, gallantry, and devotion.

The Kings of Portugal still further elevated the spirit of the nation by the equality with which they treated the nobility, and by the restrictions which they placed on their own authority. They often assembled the States-General, without which there is not properly a nation. It was from these States that Alphonso received the sceptre after the capture of Lisbon. It was in combination with these States that his successors, for centuries enacted laws, several of which seemed peculiarly calculated to inspire the love of glory. The Peerage was granted as a reward for distinguished services. For instance, to one who

had killed or taken a General of the enemy, or to one who, when prisoner amongst the Moors, had refused to purchase his liberty by the sacrifice of his faith. On the other hand, whoever insulted a woman, bore false witness, broke his word, or concealed the truth from the King, forfeited his nobility.

The wars which the Portuguese had carried on in defence of their country and their liberty, were, at the same time, religious wars. They were full of that fierce but brilliant fanaticism which the Popes had excited during the Crusades. The Portuguese then were Chevaliers, armed in defence of their fortunes, their wives, their children, and their kings, Chevaliers like themselves. They were, in fact, Crusaders, who, in defending Christianity, fought for their country too. Add to this, that they were a little nation, an extremely feeble power, and we have another illustration of a well-known fact that small States often in danger, display a patriotic enthusiasm, rarely felt by great nations, enjoying uninterrupted security.

The principles of activity, force, elevation, and grandeur, which characterised the nation at that period, continued after the expulsion of the Moors. The victorious Portuguese, not satisfied with driving out these enemies of their country and their creed, pursued them into Africa itself. Then followed certain conflicts, more or less important, with the Kings of Castile and Leon, serving to maintain the

spirit and the training required in war, if securing no other end. At last, during the period which immediately preceded the expeditions to India, the nobility, retiring from the court and the great towns, had but little to occupy them in their castles but the pictures and the virtues of their ancestors;<sup>1</sup> and they naturally longed for some enterprise worthy of their powers.

As soon as the question arose of attempting conquests in Africa and in Asia, a new passion was added to the motives of which we have just spoken, to give additional force to the genius of the Portuguese. This passion, which at first had the effect of stimulating all the others, but which soon annihilated their generous principles, was cupidity. They set off in crowds to make their fortunes to serve the State, and to convert the heathen. They appeared in India as superhuman beings down to the death of Albuquerque. After that event, the very riches which were the object and fruit of their conquests, corrupted them to the core. Noble passions gave way to luxury and self-indulgence, which never failed to destroy the strength of the body, and the virtues of the soul. The weakness of the successors of the great Immanuel, the men

<sup>1</sup> Enfin, pendant les tems qui précéderent les expéditions de l'Inde, la noblesse, cloignée des Villes et de la Cour, conservait dans ses châteaux les portraits et les vertus de ses pères.—Abbè Raynal. Vol. I., p. 122.



of mediocre talent, selected by him as Viceroys of India, gradually effected the utter ruin of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

These remarks will probably suffice to introduce the people who are to play so conspicuous a part in our narrative. The reader, who desires more information, is referred to the voluminous works of João de Barros, to the elegantly written "Historia de Portugal," by Ercolano (the Macaulay of his country), or to an exceedingly interesting compendium in the second and third chapters of Prince Henry the Navigator, by Mr. R. H. Major, of the British Museum.



## CHAPTER II.

### PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN THE XV<sup>th</sup> CENTURY.

“The mystery, which since Creation had hung over the Atlantic, and hidden from man’s knowledge one half of the surface of the globe, had reserved a field of noble enterprise for Prince Henry the Navigator.”—R. H. MAJOR.

JOHN I., who reigned from 1383 till 1433, made the first attempt at discovery on a very limited scale, and in connection with an expedition to the Coast of Barbary. In 1415, Portugal, assured of peace with Castile, had reached a high degree of prosperity, and the King availed himself of domestic tranquility to attack the northern coast of Africa, and thus lay the foundation of an empire beyond the seas. A fleet was soon after dispatched to survey the western shore of Morocco, and, if possible, to trace the whole outline of the African Continent. Unable to advance further than Cape Bojador, they returned without accomplishing their object; though this attempt excited them to further researches in the same direction. These efforts were now systematically

guided by one of the most remarkable men of his age, Prince Henry, a younger son of John I., by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. of England. In early life he had devoted himself to mathematics, and he continued to acquire all the information which geographical and nautical science at that time afforded. He fixed his residence, as we have already said, at Sagres; and his house became a sort of Naval College, wherein knowledge was communicated, and encouragement given, for the prosecution of maritime discovery. Immediately after his return from the victorious expedition to Ceuta he determined to realise his project, and at once dispatched two young officers of his household, Gonçalvez Zarco and Tristam Vaz, to cruise along the coast, and to penetrate those undiscovered regions, of which but vague reports had occasionally reached Europe. Driven out to sea by a storm, they lost the coast line, but discovered first Porto Santo and then Madeira. The chronicles of the period are filled with glowing descriptions of the beauty of "The Pearl of the Seas," which space forbids us to transcribe. We must not however omit one important fact, as showing the religious tendencies of the Portuguese, that no sooner had this interesting island been partially peopled, than Prince Henry, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, placed the whole under his powerful institution. Soon after the

Franciscans arrived, and founded at Funchal the extensive Convent of San Bernardino.

About fourteen years after the discovery of Madeira, the Azores were explored for the first time, by Gonzalo Cabral, who had sailed from Sagres, under the Prince's auspices. But these successes, interesting as they are, form but the prelude to the explorations of the Portuguese along the Coast of Africa. There is in the narrative of the early triumphs, under the influence of the Prince, one fact which outshines all the rest—it is that which shows us the Portuguese *on the way to India*—it is the exact history of those exploring expeditions, creeping along the African Coast, which, preparing the downfall of Venetian commerce, were thereby destined to raise Portugal to the pitch of power which she enjoyed in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century. Tempting, however, as this theme is, we are compelled to treat it superficially, as merely introductory to the main subject. A contemporary historian, Gomez Eannez de Azurara, gives five reasons for the Prince's desire to continue his researches, (1) his wish to know what land existed beyond the Canaries; (2) that he might find out whether there was any Christian Port with which he might maintain a profitable trade; (3) that he might ascertain precisely the extent of the Moorish dominions; (4) that he might discover any Christian Potentate who would aid him in his wars



against the infidels ; (5) *that he might extend the Holy religion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and bring to Him all the souls that wished to be saved.* Animated, then, by this desire, and guided by the reasons aforesaid, the Prince began to select his ships and his officers suitable to the nature of the case.<sup>1</sup> In 1433, Gil Eannez passed the famous Bojador, and thereby proved that the terror which this Cape inspired was simply imaginary. Baldaya, in 1436, commanded a second expedition, and about a hundred and twenty leagues south of the Cape saw, for the first time, the inhabitants of the land, the encounter being prophetically marked by bloodshed. These expeditions were renewed in 1441, under Gonçalvez and Nuno Tristam, who returned in triumph after having discovered Cape Blanco. "The Holy Prince," as he is called by Azurara, wished to possess the treasures of the Church, to distribute them amongst these bold Captains whom he intended to send into these desert countries. He therefore dispatched an embassy to Pope Martin V. to inform him of the marvellous discoveries just made ; and his successor, Eugene IV., *conceded to the Prince and his successors (1436) not only the countries which he had already explored, but all that he might discover beyond Cape Bojador, however extensive they might be.* Nicholas V., in 1450, granted a second bull

<sup>1</sup> Chronica de Guinée.



*confirming* the first. Between 1445 and 1450, explorations were continued along the coast, the river Senegal and Cape Verde being then discovered. At this time one object was unquestionably the capture of slaves—this infamous traffic having been begun about this time, the first victims being sold at Lagos, in Portugal. So strangely were right and wrong confounded by *these pioneers of so-called Christianity* that the fifth part of the *proceeds of the sale of human beings* was granted to the Grand Master of the Order of *Christ*; and the historian, though indignant, calms himself with the consideration that the end justified the means, inasmuch as the *Negroes would thereby be converted.*

In 1448, King Edward left the throne to his Son, Alphonso V., who, furnishing Prince Henry with all the means required for pursuing his glorious career, received as his reward, in 1460, the discovery of the Cape Verde and adjacent islands. The progress of discovery was somewhat checked by the death of Prince Henry in 1463, but it soon continued to advance, for we find that the King granted to Gomez a monopoly for five years, on condition that he discovered, during that time, five hundred leagues more of the shores of Africa. In 1471, this Navigator succeeded in exploring the Gold Coast; the Castle of Elmina was erected, and the King of Portugal assumed the title of Lord of Guinea.

John II. ascended the throne in 1481, and immediately sent ambassadors to Innocent VIII. to request from the new Pontiff the bull of the "*Holy Crusade*," by means of which he hoped to realise the projects of his Father against the Mussulman States of the Coast of Barbary. About 1484 Diego Cam, setting sail from the new Castle of Elmina, advanced towards the south, and found himself, though out at sea, in a current of fresh water. Inferring that this indicated the near neighbourhood of a large river, he steered towards land, and discovered the mouth of the Congo. We next hear of settlements made by Evora and Anez in 1485-8 at Turcaral, Tombul, Congo, and in the country of the Zaloffes. "*Christianity was preached with success*," according to one of the historians, but we learn from the same source that the Portuguese were distinguished by a "burning thirst" for gold, by corrupt morals, by constant wars with the natives, and by the establishment of the Slave Trade.<sup>1</sup>

Success prompted John II. to further efforts for completing his exploration of the African Coast and, in 1486, he appointed B. Diaz, Commander of an Expedition, under orders to commence his investigations at the mouth of the Congo, and if

<sup>1</sup> "L'histoire des colonies ne nous offrent que trop souvent un spectacle de cruautés, que inspire l'horreur, et qui fait la honte de l'espèce humaine."—"Lettres Edifiantes." Tom. IV., p. XVII.

possible, to pass the southern extremity of the continent. We cannot accompany Diaz in his long voyage, the details of which are given with extreme minuteness by João de Barros<sup>1</sup>; but we may mention that he gave names to numerous capes, bays, and islands, and erected in every conspicuous place a "Padão," that is a column of stone bearing the Cross and the Royal Arms, as a symbol of the subjugation of the country to *Christianity and Portugal*. A storm drove him beyond his destination, and when, after fourteen days' despair, they steered eastward, they found that they had overshot the mark, and unconsciously doubled the Cape. Forced by his mutinous crews to return home, he steered westward and discovered that mighty promontory which had lain concealed for so many centuries, and which formed, as it were, the boundary between two worlds. Diaz reached Portugal in December, 1487; and his "Cape of Storms" was changed by King John into the "Cape of Good Hope," a name ever since retained.

Desirous of affecting the discovery of the mysterious East, and of forming an alliance with "Prester John," the King sent Covilham and Payra overland in May, 1487. These bold travellers determined to go by way of the Red Sea. Payra died in Egypt, but his friend succeeded in reaching Sofala, Ormuz, and finally, Calicut and Goa; and Covilham was

<sup>1</sup> Primeira Decada. L. III., p. 42.



thus the first Portuguese that ever landed in India. About this time a Yolof prince from the banks of the Senegal arrived at the Court of John II. to ask for aid against a usurper of his throne. He availed himself of this favourable circumstance to receive instructions; and, surrounded by every element of regal magnificence and ecclesiastical pomp, *he was baptised by the name of John*. Soon afterwards, he did homage for his kingdom, returned to Africa, and, aided by the Portuguese, regained possession of his throne. But poor Bemohi little knew the price to be paid for the blessings of civilisation; for though he had proved himself a zealous proselyte, and had persuaded or *forced twenty-five thousand of his subjects to embrace Christianity*, he fell beneath the dagger of General Bisagudo, to whose care he had been entrusted by the Portuguese King.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1492 is famous for the discovery of America by Columbus, whose service, offered, in the first instance, to John II. as the great promoter of naval enterprise, had been unfortunately declined. On the 6th of March, 1493, Columbus, returning from his first voyage, put into the Port of Lisbon, laden with the trophies of the New World, and was received by the dying King at his palace near

<sup>1</sup> Lorsque Joam II. examina sérieusement cette affaire; il trouva tant de hauts personnages compromis dans ce meurtre abominable, qu'il crut devoir garder le silence, et ne put décider à sévir. Voy. Vasconcellos. "Histoire de Jean II."



Santarem. John II., deeply mortified, held several Councils with the object of advancing a claim to the glories of the illustrious Genoese; and such was the intense chagrin of the courtiers, that they offered to assassinate Columbus on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

Emmanuel, or Manoel the Great, reigned from 1495 to 1521, and displayed a zeal in the cause of maritime exploration far surpassing that of his predecessors. A year after his accession, he determined to realise the immense projects which his father had planned. Diaz was charged with the task of building three vessels, strong enough to resist the stormy seas of the south. The command was conferred upon Vasco da Gama who sailed from Rastello (now Belem) on 7th July, 1497, amidst religious processions and the prayers of the whole population of Lisbon who crowded to the beach. After four months navigation, the expedition entered St. Helena Bay, and three days afterwards came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope. On the 20th of November, with a calm sea and gentle breeze Gama *doubled the Cape* amid the sound of trumpets and the ringing cheers of the crews. Before him lay the expanse of the Indian Ocean, and the road was now open to that unknown land, the object of all their hopes and expeditions. After numerous adventures on the eastern coast of Africa, during which he discovered Mozambique and

<sup>1</sup> Barros, Dec. I., p. 56.

many other places, Gama sailed from the African Coast on the 26th of April, to steer three thousand miles through an unknown ocean. On the twenty-third day, they descried the peaks of the Ghauts, which their African pilot declared to be the coast of India, and, on the 20th of May he made the land at Capocate, two leagues from the town of Calicut; and thus was this great adventure crowned with triumphant success. This city was at that time one of the most powerful of the East; commerce flourished there to such an extent that the merchants of Arabia, Persia, and all India, resorted thither in crowds: and the King of Calicut was revered as the sovereign of all Malabar.

Da Gama waited upon the King (Rajah or Zamorin) to inform him officially of his arrival, of the object of his voyage, of the kingdom to which he belonged, of his position as ambassador, of his sovereign, and of the powers with which he was invested. Everything seemed to presage the greatest success; the Zamorin formed the highest opinion of those Europeans who had been bold enough to traverse a thousand leagues, and to brave all the perils of the deep, and gave the leader of the enterprise the most gracious reception, ordering that he should be entertained in his palace, and conceding to him and his people liberty to trade with all the ports of the empire.

This moment of good fortune was of short duration. The Mohammedans, monopolists of Indian commerce for many ages, foresaw their ruin if Gama remained in favour. They therefore bribed the ministers of the King to denounce the Portuguese Admiral as a piratical adventurer. After much negotiation and vacillation, mutual distrust broke into open war; and, at last, Vasco found himself compelled, though unprepared, to re-cross that formidable sea which lay between Malabar and Africa. After a passage of four months amidst storms and calms, the scurvy decimating his crew, he reached Magadoxo; but finding it in possession of the Moors, he anchored in the friendly harbour of Melinda. Supplied with provisions, he passed the Cape, and on the 29th of August, 1499, entered the Tagus with but one half of his hundred and eight men. Transports of admiration welcomed him home; Emmanuel ordered a universal thanksgiving, and honoured the discoverer with the new title of Grand Admiral of the East.

Taking advantage of this general enthusiasm Emmanuel hastened to equip thirteen ships, carrying twelve hundred men—a force sufficient to keep the sea against all the navies of India; and on the 8th of March, the King, having heard Mass, in the Convent of Belem, placed a consecrated banner in the hands of Cabral, who, *accompanied by eight Franciscan Mission-*



*aries, was instructed to destroy all infidels, refusing to listen to the Christianity which the Friars preached.*

A most remarkable event distinguished this second expedition to the East Indies. On the 25th of March, when the fleet had doubled Cape Verde, a tempest completely changed the course; and on the 24th of April, the Portuguese Admiral suddenly found himself in sight of a finely-wooded shore, which he rightly conjectured to be part of the Continent recently discovered by Columbus. The *Portuguese Missionaries then celebrated Mass* on the flowery turf of this unknown land, amid savage tribes who bent before the Cross; and thus the immense Empire of Brazil, the brightest jewel in the Portuguese Crown, "was won in a single day, Providence requiring merely to invoke the winds."<sup>1</sup> Cabral then steered straight for the Cape of Good Hope; and, after losing four of his ships (in one of which Diaz perished) rounded the promontory, touched at Mozambique, Melinda, and Quiloa, and arrived off Calicut on the 13th of September. His arrival was announced by several salvos of artillery, causing the greatest consternation amongst the inhabitants. Recovering from their fears, the natives went on board the Portuguese vessels, and Cabral was received at Court. Dissimulation, however, prevailed on both sides, and open war broke out. Cabral, everywhere

<sup>1</sup> "Chroniques Chevaleresques de l'Espagne et du Portugal" T. II.

victorious, forced the Zamorin to enter into alliance with Portugal. The Arab merchants, alarmed at the approaching ruin of their commerce, prevailed on the inhabitants to league with them against the intruders. The Admiral avenged himself by capturing the richly-laden vessels of the Moslems, who appealed to the King, declaring that the Portuguese had now shown themselves in their true colours as pirates. The King told the merchants they might seek redress as they pleased. They accordingly took the law into their own hands; and heading a tumult, stormed the Portuguese factory, and killed Correa and forty of his men. Cabral, witnessing this terrible scene, took summary vengeance. He attacked ten Moorish ships, seized their crews and cargoes, and burnt the vessels in full view of the citizens. He next drew up his fleet close to the shore, and bombarded the city, burying hundreds of the inhabitants under the ruins of their homes. After this rupture, Cabral abandoned Calicut, and went ninety miles south to Cochin, whose King was a reluctant vassal of the Zamorin. He therefore gave the strangers a hearty welcome, offered them full liberty of trading, entered into an alliance with Portugal, and appointed an ambassador to ratify the treaty at Lisbon. While Cabral was at Cochin, he heard that the enraged King of Calicut had fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, and the Admiral, judging "discretion the better part of valour," and avoiding

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the conflict, sailed for Lisbon, and left the Rajah of Cochin to his fate. He touched at Cananore, and *there met, for the first time, with two Christians of St. Thomas* who asked him to grant them a passage to Rome. The Portuguese fleet, reduced to half its original number, reached Lisbon on the 31st of July, 1501.

The voyage of Cabral completely changed European ideas of the East. The Christian monarch, known by the name of Prester John, invested with imaginary power and holiness, disappeared from the scene. People began to form a more *sober estimate of the Christians of St. Thomas*, by whom these rich countries were supposed to be peopled, reducing the number to about 20,000, being tolerated, rather than enjoying independence, behind the mountains of Cochin. Men began to admit the inflexibility of the Brahminical institutions; and the severe fasts endured by the hostages on board the Christian fleet, revealed a religious antagonism which the warlike Propagandists were, at first, far from suspecting. Caste, with its unalterable laws, its rigorous principles, and its numerous restraints, presented itself, for the first time, in its real essence to European eyes. Statesmen too, understood better than before the influence exercised by the Moslems over the timid people of the East; and, when the Rajah, forced by the demands of the Portuguese to state positively the



line he intended to take with regard to his old allies, declared that he could not banish five thousand Arab families from his empire, he gave the Europeans to understand the nature of the contest in which they would have to engage, in order to crush the Moham-  
medan power, and to establish their own ascendancy. The almost harmless arrows of the Hindoos, and the rude fire-arms of the Moors, were no match for the well-served artillery of the western invaders, and this superiority ultimately decided the question.

The expedition of Cabral closes the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, so far as India is concerned, several minor explorations in other regions not affecting the subject of this paper.

### CHAPTER III.

#### PORTUGUESE CONQUESTS OF INDIA IN THE XVI<sup>th</sup> CENTURY.

“ Vasco da Gama, o forte capitão  
Que a tammanhas empresas se offerce  
De suberboede altivo coração,  
A quem fortuna sempre favorece.

CAMOENS.

THE XVI<sup>th</sup> Century opens with the dispatch in March, 1501, of a squadron of four vessels under Nueva to reinforce the fleet in India. He was steering for Calicut, but found at St. Blas (an African port) a letter warning him of what had taken place, and advising him to go to Cochin. On his arrival, the Zamorin attacked him, but was utterly defeated.

Meantime, the greatest excitement prevailed in Lisbon. The first enthusiastic feeling was now chilled by the critical aspect which the affairs of India had assumed. While these voyages afforded adventures, extended knowledge, formed alliances, augmented the national wealth, exalted the honour of Portugal, and, above all, *enlarged the dominion of the Romish Faith,*

the popular voice warmly seconded the sovereign will in fitting out one expedition after another. But, now when hostilities had broken out, and when it was evident that a mighty war had to be carried on against a Monarch almost at the other side of the world, it was feared that the resources of a small state would certainly be exhausted in the unequal conflict. King Manoel, however, was inflexible. Animated by political ambition and *religious zeal*, he relied on the *Papal grant, which had placed all the Eastern nations beneath his sceptre*; and he believed it both his right and his duty to follow up the conquests which his admirals had begun. Even on ordinary policy he calculated that the coalition of Cochin and Cananore would, in union with his own forces, be more than a match for the Rajah of Calicut. In a word, his great aim was to found an Empire in the East; and we, therefore, find him taking the proud title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." To justify these titles, and to accomplish his designs, an Armada was equipped, much more powerful than any hitherto dispatched to the East. A fleet of fifteen sail was destined to defend the Portuguese factories on the Malabar coast; while another squadron of five vessels was to intercept the Moorish traders at the mouth of the Red Sea. Vasco da Gama, with the title of Admiral of India, was invested with the chief com-



mand, and started from Lisbon on the 10th of February, 1502.

Independently of other motives, to which we have already referred, da Gama appears to have been prompted by a desire to punish the Moslems for the death of his friend Correa, as well as for the insults offered to religion. Chance soon furnished him with an opportunity of gratifying his revenge; and this instance (unfortunately but a specimen of many such) serves to account for so much of the hatred which Portuguese cruelty excited in the East, that we may, for a moment digress, to give an outline of the details. Da Gama encountered, on the 3rd of October, a large vessel belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, and crowded with pilgrims returning from Mecca. The Arabs, seeing resistance hopeless, offered an enormous ransom, which the admiral accepted, and yet ordered the vessel to be fired. The poor wretches succeeded in extinguishing the flames, but the merciless da Gama ordered his men to rekindle them. An eye-witness<sup>1</sup> relates that the women held up their children towards da Gama, and that in this scene of horror "l'intérieur du bâtiment offrait une représentation visible de l'enfer," and that "ce cruel souvenir lui était resté toute sa vie." This terrible episode in the second voyage of Vasco da Gama shows the spirit with which he was animated in his voyage to Malabar. And yet *the*

<sup>1</sup> Navegações as Índias Orientaes por Thomé Lopes. Chap. XVIII.

*Jesuits treat this atrocity but lightly*—"un vaisseau d'Égypte refuse de se rendre, il le crible de coups de canon, saute à borde, n'épargne que les enfans, et livre aux flammes le vaisseau et tous les hommes qui composaient l'équipage ; ce ne fut la qu'un prelude de ses brillans succès.<sup>1</sup>

Da Gama then steered for India, and touched at Cananore, where he had an interview with the old Rajah, marked on both sides by great magnificence. As he sailed towards the hostile Calicut, he met a galley conveying noblemen from the Zamorin, as messengers of peace. They pleaded that his vengeance on the unfortunate ship ought to be accepted as full atonement of the murder of Correa. Gama haughtily replied that he would only treat with them on condition of the complete expulsion of the Moors. On anchoring before Calicut, the admiral received the Rajah's ultimatum, that, while he would give every advantage to the Christians, he positively refused to banish the Moorish residents. This answer was considered a declaration of war, and the Portuguese commander prepared to bombard the ill-fated city. Before making the attack, he wrote to the Zamorin by one of his prisoners, declaring that if he did not receive by mid-day a satisfactory response, he would burn the city. The time being past, he ordered all his captains to hang their Moorish prisoners at the

<sup>1</sup> "Lettres Edifiantes." Tom. IV., p., 25.



yard-arm ; and then commenced a bombardment which lasted all day. Towards evening he sent the heads, feet, and hands of the thirty-two victims on shore with a letter declaring that though these men were not the murderers of Correa, they were sufficiently related to justify the reprisal. He next threw the mutilated trunks into the sea, that they might float ashore, and strike terror into the people. For two days more he continued to cannonade the town, and then sailed for Cochin, which he reached on the 7th of November.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to multiply these frightful recitals ; but it was requisite to give some idea of the arrogance and cruelty of the Portuguese conquerors. Of course, every attempt is made by their fellow countrymen to justify or palliate such atrocities as we have described. But though the bad faith of the Hindoo Monarchs, and the perfidious insinuations of the Moors, may explain the conduct of the admiral, the spirit of his age can alone excuse it. The summary of this expedition, *given by the Jesuits*, is characteristic :—  
“ Vasco da Gama se trouve de nouveau aux côtes de Malabar ; il parle en maître, il veut venger la mort de Correa et de ses quarante compatriotes ; on lui offre des satisfactions, il les rejette avec dédain, s'empare d'un grand nombre de vaisseaux arabes, fait pendre

<sup>1</sup> This narrative is condensed from the History of João de Barros, Dec. I., B. VI., p. 130.



trente infidèles, détruit à coups de canon la plupart des maisons de Calicut, brûle les vaisseaux qui étaient à l'ancre, laisse Sodrè dans les Indes, et retourne en Portugal avec ses vaisseaux richement chargés.<sup>1</sup>

The eyes of the Malabar princes were at length opened. Up to this time they had seen in their visitors only men urged by the desire of wealth, and anxious to gratify it in trading with India. Experience tore away the veil, and exposed the secret machinery of Portuguese policy. The alternative was evident; the Rajahs must either conquer the invader, or must lay their crowns at the feet of King Manoel. The Zamorin made every effort to rouse the apathetic sovereigns to take part in the common cause. It was too late; the first operations made the allies only the more sensible of their political weakness. And, when the King of Cochin, withdrawing from the coalition from policy, or in disgust, appeared as the ally of the Europeans, he naturally drew on himself the vengeance of his brother Rajahs. Too weak to offer effectual resistance, he was compelled to abandon his capital, and retire to the fortified island of Vipeen, where he would have been crushed, but for the opportune arrival of succour from Europe.

The Portuguese monarch fully resolved to maintain the footing which he had thus secured at Cochin, dispatched, in 1503, three squadrons of three ships each,

<sup>1</sup> Lettres Edifiantes. Tom. IV., p. 25.

under the two Albuquerque, Antonio de Saldanha, and Duarte Pacheco, called by Camoens, "the Portuguese Achilles." The fleet arrived at Malabar just in time, as already stated, to save the Zamorin and restore him to his throne. The Albuquerque immediately invaded the dominions of the enemy, and after a series of sharp conflicts forced him to conclude a hollow peace. They then set sail for Lisbon, leaving the defence of Cochin to Pacheco, with a handful of nine hundred Portuguese. The Zamorin, seeing his enemy thus almost defenceless, raised an army of 50,000 men, supported by a fleet of 160 vessels. Pacheco, nevertheless, resolved to protect the city to the last, and, after prodigies of valour, he succeeded, at the end of six months, in driving back the enemy with a loss of 15,000 men. This event took place in 1505, and may be regarded, as having *laid the foundation of the Portuguese Empire, in India.* Henceforward the natives were convinced, that their undisciplined armies, however numerous, could not resist a handful of well-armed soldiers, thoroughly trained to war. Pacheco thus pointed out the road to victory to his successor Albuquerque, by the brilliancy of whose exploits the fame of all other Portuguese leaders has been eclipsed.

From the year 1504, King Emmanuel had seen the necessity of regulating the administration of the East, and of establishing a permanent governor in these



distant regions. He accordingly appointed Francisco d' Almeida, as first Viceroy of India, who set sail in 1505, and after certain petty conquests in Eastern Africa, sailed for Cochin, and soon found himself engaged in a desperate conflict with a Mohammedan fleet, dispatched by the Sultan of Cairo, to exterminate the European corsairs.

In the year 1506, fourteen vessels left Lisbon, under Tristram Dacunha, and Alphonso d' Albuquerque. Sailing first to Arabia, they reduced Muscat and other cities; making their king swear allegiance to Emmanuel. On Albuquerque's arrival at Cochin, Almeida was much disgusted at finding himself superseded by the new Governor-General of India; and persisted in retaining his authority till he had vanquished the Egyptian fleet, and avenged his son. After a dear bought victory, he disgraced his triumph by a general massacre of his prisoners. Almeida, having resigned, Albuquerque entered at once on those vast schemes of conquest which have made him one of the heroes of Portugal. His first object was the reduction of Calicut, the obnoxious centre of the Malabar alliance. In January, 1510, the town was taken and burnt; but the enemy, rallying at the palace, drove the Portuguese to their ships. Undeterred by this comparative failure, Albuquerque still resolved to secure some strong point which might become the Metropolis of



India, and the centre of conquest, colonisation and Christianity. An Indian pirate suggested Goa, a town on a small island separated by fordable salt marshes from the mainland; and the Viceroy, with his characteristic promptitude, cast anchor before this famous place in January, 1510. The outworks being taken, and a fleet close to the walls, the merchants, (Moslems, Hindoos, and Parsees), to whom commerce was more important than patriotism, offered to surrender on condition of full protection. Albuquerque accepted these terms, fulfilled them strictly, took possession of the palace, and assumed the rank of sovereign. Meantime, Adelschah, the native Prince, hearing that his capital was in the possession of the detested Europeans, raised an army of 40,000 men, and, on the 17th of May, forced the enemy to evacuate the city. The Rajah, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of his *coup de main*. Albuquerque appeared before Goa on Christmas Day, 1510, at the head of a force of 1,800 men to attack a capital defended by 9,000. After a terrible bombardment, he stormed the city, and by a hand-to-hand fight of six hours in the streets, he won it a second time, and reunited it definitely to the Crown of Portugal. Goa, being thus secured as the Portuguese Metropolis, the Viceroy took effectual measures to render the conquest permanent by extensive fortifications, by just administration, by matrimonial alliances, and *by the*

*propagation of the faith.* Then followed the expeditions to Malacca and Ormuz, and the discoveries, in 1511, of the Moluccas and other islands in the Indian seas, but as these do not bear upon our subject we may pass over the details.

Albuquerque died on 16th December, 1516, leaving the Portuguese empire at the height of its power "stretching twelve thousand miles from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China."<sup>1</sup>

While these events were taking place in the East, King Emmanuel sent an embassy (1514) to Leo. X. presenting him with an elephant from Goa, bearing the richest gifts. The Pontiff received the Ambassadors with extraordinary honours. Pacheco made a Latin speech and had a reply in the same language: "Portugal offers to Christian Rome all these newly-explored countries;" and *the Pope granted what the Portuguese required, formal possession, in the face of the world, of these Oriental conquests.*

John III. ascended the throne in 1521, and found himself in a very different position from that which had marked the beginning of the last reign. A small fleet had grown to three hundred vessels, the trade of Lisbon at home and abroad had been prodigiously developed, and the influence of this little kingdom felt throughout the world. The new Monarch, was "appetite growing with what it fed on," determined to

<sup>1</sup> Faria e Souza.



pursue his conquests in India. Were we writing a history, instead of an introduction, we might give a long list of the Viceroys and Governors who succeeded Albuquerque, and enter into full details of their achievements. The history of the struggles of the Portuguese with the natives, who were goaded by the cruel bigotry of their oppressors into the most determined resistance, is too monotonous to render a circumstantial narrative of sufficient interest. One or two contests are, however, worthy of notice.

The Governor-General, Da Cunha, received the sanction of the Rajah to erect a factory and fort near the important city of Diu, close to Cambay and Guzerat. Bahador, Sultan of Cambay, at first friendly, soon became jealous; and during a visit to the port, lost his life in a sudden quarrel. This led to a combination against the strangers in which the Governor of Cairo was ordered by the Turkish Sultan to co-operate. Then began (1538) the first siege of Diu, when six hundred Portuguese successfully resisted twenty-thousand troops, sixty-five ships, and a splendid train of artillery. Seven years afterwards, Zofar, the chief of Guzerat, again attacked the fortress of Diu which was gallantly defended by two hundred men. In October, 1545, the new Viceroy, the famous João de Castro arrived, broke through the enemy's lines and defeated them with terrible slaughter. Taking the neighbouring city of Diu, he gave it up to plunder and



massacre, and returned to Goa in triumph, crowned with laurel, the Royal Standard of Cambay trailing behind him. This able and distinguished Viceroy held office only three years, and was so disinterested that, though Governor of the richest provinces, he died in extreme poverty. The great stain on his character was the dreadful barbarity which he everywhere exercised over the conquered.

The Portuguese historians agree that at this period there was a revival of prosperity, similar to the almost fabulous success of the Albuquerque. This prosperity, the immediate consequence of a noble spirit and of severe integrity was but of short duration. Gradually, place-hunters and extortioners, gained the ascendancy, so, that sixty years afterwards, an author writing on statistics could say, "such is the number of lawyers who besiege the Government offices at Goa, that one might call it a city of pleaders, and not a city of warriors." This political decline did not, however, arrive all at once, and the times which immediately followed the epoch of João de Castro were still glorious under Garcia de Sa, during whose government the Dominicans arrived, and under Cabral, during whose sway the Portuguese gained signal victories by sea and land.

In 1570, during the government of Luis de Ataide, the Mogul formed an alliance with the Zamorin, for the purpose of expelling the Portuguese. An army of

100,000 men laid siege to Goa, defended by only 700 troops in addition to 1,300 monks and slaves. After a long and unsuccessful siege, a desperate assault was made on the 13th of April. This too, failed, and the enemy withdrew with the loss of 12,000 men. Similar attacks were made on Chaul, near Bombay, and Chale near Calicut ; but being defended with the usual vigour, the assailants were finally discouraged, and the coalition dissolved. By such achievements as these, the Portuguese maintained their supremacy, not only on the coasts, but on the seas of India, during nearly the whole of the sixteenth century. But the high degree of power and prosperity to which Portugal had attained, became the object of the envy, the ambition, and the cupidity of other nations. Dutch, French, Danes, and English poured into India, to conquer and to appropriate a share of its territory, its commerce, and its riches. In the autumn of 1596, Houtman arrived off Java. In 1599, a fleet of eight Dutch vessels returned from Sumatra and Java, laden with spices, and in 1600, several Dutch trading companies dispatched forty large vessels, and soon succeeded in depriving the Portuguese of nearly all their lucrative trade. During the next fifty years there was a long and bloody struggle between the Portuguese and Dutch, in which the latter were finally victorious ; while in the western provinces, the Portuguese were supplanted by their new rivals the English. The successors of

the Albuquerque and de Castros were stripped of their vast dominions almost as rapidly as they had gained them, and now Goa, Mozambique, Diu, Macao, and a few minor factories, all in a decayed condition, are the sole and sad remnants of that colossal power, which, in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, extended over so large a part of the Eastern Hemisphere.

This summary of the chief events which mark the Portuguese conquest of India will, we trust, *prepare the way for a clear understanding of the Portuguese Missions in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century.* The difficulty has been not to obtain sufficient information, but to condense, with discrimination, the enormous mass of materials afforded by the historians of that age, whose discursive and pompous style fills page after page of ponderous folios and quartos, rarely taken from the shelves of our public libraries. Should any reader care to have a more detailed account of this interesting period, he may consult, with advantage, the original authorities named in the appendix.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE IN THE XVI<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

“To understand a Mission thoroughly, we should know something of its locality ; the people among whom it is carried on ; their former condition and history ; their habits of life, the history of Missionary effort among them ; its discouragements and pleasing features ; its present character and fruits.”—“South India Missions,” p. 91.

THOUGH some idea may be gained of the Portuguese acquisitions from the narrative already given, it may be useful to present a summary of the geographical questions relating to this volume. We may notice in the first place the conquests of the Portuguese in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century with reference to their localities ; next the political divisions of India at that period ; and lastly, South India, especially Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, the abodes of the Syrian Christians.

I. Omitting the settlements on the West Coast of Africa, mentioned in our previous pages, we may adopt the condensed statement, appended to the Third Volume of “Asia Portuguesa,” which describes the Portuguese Empire of the East as it existed at the

close of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century. The learned author, Faria y Sousa, writing with the advantage which a cotemporary possesses, informs us that the Lusitanian Settlements actually extended 1,200 miles from the Cape of Good Hope to China, and that these vast dominions were thus divided:—(1) From the Cape of Good Hope to Guardafui, and Socotra at the mouth of the Red Sea, in other words the whole range of the East Coast of Africa—the kingdoms of Sofala, Mozambique, Zanzibar, Magadoxo, Ajan, and Somauli, with the splendid island of Madagascar, and numerous ports (Quiloa, Melinda, &c.) enriched with the commerce of Arabia, and adjacent countries. (2) The coast line from Mocha to Muscat, *i.e.*, from the mouth of the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, embracing Hadramant, Omaun and other regions of Arabia Felix. (3) The third division begins at Bosta or Bussora, where the Euphrates enters the gulf, passes Bussire, and other emporia, stretches along Beloochistan and Scinde, to the gulf of Cambay. This region was one of the first Portuguese possessions, and the names of Ormuz, Guadel, Scinde, Cambaya, Guzerat, with the fort of Bandel and Diu, so famous for its siege, occur perpetually in their early histories. (4) The fourth division ranges from Cambaya to Cape Comorin, and includes those districts to which our history specially refers, the coast of Bejapoor, Coukan, Canara, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. The forti-

fied factories of Damaun, Assarim, Danu, Bassaim, St. Gens, Agaçaim, Maini, Trapor, Cana, Savanja, Chaul and Moro. "The most noble city Goa," says Faria,<sup>1</sup> "large, strong and populous, is the Metropolis of our Eastern Dominions, and contains an Archbishopric, whose Prelate is the Primate of all the East. This is the residence of the Viceroys, and here are the courts of the Inquisition, Exchequer, Chancery, Custom House, Arsenals, and Magazines well provided. The city is seated on an island girt with strong walls, and defended by six mighty Castles" and much more to the same effect, which we need not quote, as we have elsewhere described the capital of India. (5) This lies between Cape Comorin and the mouth of the Ganges, including what was then called Madura (Tinnevelly, Dindigul, Tanjore, &c.) the Carnatic, Golconda, Narsinga, Orissa, and smaller states. Here the Portuguese possessed many factories, the chief being Negapatam, Meliapour, Masulipatam, and Vizagapatam, with smaller settlements, as far as the spot on which Calcutta now stands. (6) This division has little or no reference to our present subject; but, to complete the list we may state that it extends from Calcutta to Singapore, and includes part of Bengala, with Pegu, Tenasserim, and Malacca. (7) The last portion of this extraordinary maritime empire swept along from Singapore to

<sup>1</sup> "Asia Portuguesa," Vol. III.



Macao, thus completing one of the most singular phenomena in the history of the world; for, while other nations have aspired to the conquest of kingdoms or continents, it was the peculiar characteristic of Portuguese ambition to limit its colonial dominion to the mere sea-boards of the countries which it subdued.

II. The Political Divisions of India in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, are sufficiently intelligible for our purpose, without tracing their history to their source. Every classical student is perfectly aware, that at a very remote period, India was known to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and possibly, to the Hebrews also.<sup>1</sup> As far back as 1491 B.C., Sesostris, King of Egypt, marched through Asia to the banks of the Ganges, and even, it is said to the Eastern Ocean. And though this rapid conquest is alleged to have left no permanent impression, it is plausibly conjectured that several customs now prevailing in India were introduced at the time of the Egyptian invasion.<sup>2</sup> Passing over the expedition of Darius, in 510 B.C., which seems not to have gone beyond the Indus, we may observe the famous invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. which may certainly be considered

<sup>1</sup> Robertson doubts this, saying "The Jews then, we may conclude, have no title to be reckoned among the nations which carried on intercourse with India by sea." *Hist. of India*, p. 12. Bruce's *Travels* Book II., C. IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Diad. Sic. Lib. I.*, p. 64. *La Croze Hist.*, p. 434. *Rollin Vol. I.*, p. 78. *Robertson's India*, p. 7.

the first disclosure of a knowledge of India to the people of Europe. His successor, Seleucus, fruitlessly endeavoured to prosecute Alexander's schemes of Oriental Conquest; but, Ptolemy Soter,<sup>1</sup> more fortunate in his choice of means, was able to make Egypt the peaceful centre of a prosperous trade with India. The Persians, hearing of this success, soon followed the example set by the Egyptians, transporting the commodities of India by land, while they left to their rivals the monopoly of the sea. Very early in the 1st Century, B.C. we find the Romans eagerly pursuing commercial intercourse with the East, and opening a third channel through Mesopotamia.

Nothing further is heard as to change of route, till the Egyptian Hippalus (50 A.D.) boldly sailing from the mouth of the Red Sea, crossed with the monsoon in forty days to Musiris, somewhere near Mangalore, on the coast of Canara. The student is referred to "Ptolemy's Geography of India" for a description of the whole region as then known. "Strabo's Geography," "Arian's History of the Indies" and D'Anville's well-known work, "Antiquités de l'Inde" will throw further light on this part of our subject.

In the year 200, Pantœnus is said to have visited India as its first Missionary;<sup>2</sup> and, in 325 Johannes,

<sup>1</sup> His son Ptolemy Philadelphus anticipated Lesseps in the idea of the Suez canal. Strabo. Lib. XVII., p. 1,156. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VI., C. XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius. Lib. III. Cap. X.

Bishop of Persia, and India, signed his name at the Council of Nice.<sup>1</sup> About the year 527, in the reign of Justinian, one Cosmas, an Alexandrian merchant, called Indo-Pleustes (Indian voyager) published some valuable information about India and the Indian Church, especially in Malabar:—"There is in the island of Taprobrane, in the farthest India, in the Indian Sea, a Christian Church, with Clergymen and believers. In the Malabar country also, where pepper grows, there are Christians, and in Caliana, as they call it, there is a Bishop who comes from Persia where he was consecrated.<sup>2</sup> The VII<sup>th</sup> Century is marked by the rise of Mohammedanism, which soon spread over the East and which, to this hour, affects the condition—political, moral, and intellectual—of Hindostan. In the IX<sup>th</sup> Century, an interesting episode connects England with India; for, in 883, Alfred the Great sent Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne, on a mission to the shrine of St. Thomas, near Madras.<sup>3</sup> Omitting all accounts of visits to Malabar, by Persian Ecclesiastics in the X<sup>th</sup> Century, and other irrelevant matters, we may advert to the Crusades as powerfully influencing European intercourse with

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius. Lib. III. Cap VI. Hough's Christ, Vol. I., p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Asseman. Tom. XIII., p. 2. Robertson's India, p. 95. Lardner Vol. XI., C. 148. La Croze, pp. 37-8. Paulinus Ind. Orient. Christ, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Saxon Chron., p. 86. "William of Malmesbury De Gestis," Book II., Chap. IV., p. 44. Turner's, Hist. Ang. Sax., Vol. II., p. 145. Gibbon, Chap. XLVII.



India, and as preparing the way for the extensive trade which favoured the Venetians in the XIII<sup>th</sup> Century, the Genoese in the XIV<sup>th</sup> and the Florentines in the XV<sup>th</sup>. The study of this question would be incomplete without examining the travels of the famous Venetian Marco Polo, who, for more than a quarter of a century (1255-80) explored the whole of Asia as far as Peking, and who has left us the only trustworthy account of the East at the time of his travels.<sup>1</sup>

While Prince Henry and the captains, whom his genius and energy had called into action were exploring the coast of Africa, the Mongols and Hindoos were engaged in deadly conflict for the vast prize of Northern India. Timur, the Tartar, after desolating the country, destroyed Delhi and reduced the whole empire to the power of Mahomet. Baber, his lineal descendant, came to the throne in 1494; and, by the decisive battle of Panniput in 1526, succeeded in establishing the Mogul Dynasty in Delhi.

At this time, when the Portuguese first came in contact with Indian Princes, the whole of what we now call India contained five great Mohammedan empires, besides many Hindoo kingdoms. The old Patan sovereignty of Delhi had included Hindostan and the Punjab, but was now divided into two main

<sup>1</sup> Herbelot Bib. Orient. arctic *Khathai*. Voyage of A. Jenkinson. Hakluyt, Vol. I., p. 333. Robertson's India, p. 154 and p. 395.

principalities. Guzerat, Malwa, and Bengal, had each its Sultan, possessed of formidable armies, and though brethren in the Moslem Faith, perpetually at war with each other. The Hindoo Princes were the Rajah of Beejanuggur in the Deccan, and the Rana Sanka of Mewar, with many others whose dominions were not affected by the Portuguese invasions. Of course the Zamorin and the Rajahs of Cochin, and other towns along the coast, have already been so frequently mentioned, that it is not necessary to refer to them again. An inspection of the map of the Deccan, about 1520, will give a better idea of the political divisions of India as they then were than any verbal description. Before leaving this part of our subject we may remark that the accession of Akbar, in 1554, produced an important effect on the political divisions of India. Internal dissensions had weakened the great Hindoo Monarchy of Beejanuggur, which was finally extinguished by a coalition of the surrounding states. Availing himself of this condition of the Deccan, Akbar invaded South India, and incorporated the greater part with the Mogul Empire in 1598. This monarch seemed disposed to cultivate friendly relations with the King of Portugal, encouraged Europeans to enter his service, and invited the Jesuits of Goa to resort to his Court.<sup>1</sup> At his death in 1605,

<sup>1</sup> Manonchi's "Life of Akbar," p. 136. Fraser's "History of the Mogul Emperors," p. 12. Hough's "Hist. of Christ," Vol. I., p. 261.



his extensive dominions were divided into fifteen Vice-royalties, each governed by a Subardar.<sup>1</sup> The reigns of Baber, Humayan, and Akbar covered the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, and synchronise very nearly with the period of the Portuguese conquests and early missions.

III. South India demands a description more extensive than our space will afford as, it is not only the scene of the earliest missionary efforts of the Portuguese amongst the heathen and the Syrian Christians, but it is by far the most interesting field of modern operations for the conversion of the natives. This division includes the whole of the Peninsula of India, south of what we now call the Nizam's dominions, but was very little known to the Portuguese settlers, with the exception of a strip of land ten miles broad along the coast. In the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, its boundaries differed from those which at present exist. It had Krishna on the north, and comprehended Bijnagar, Madura, the Empire of the Zamorin, subdivided into a number of petty states, such as Cannanore, Calicut, Canganor, Cochin, Coulon, Travancore, &c. South India extends from the sixteenth to the eighteenth parallel of latitude. The area is 200,000 square miles, and the population about 32,000,000. The physical aspect of the country is that of a large

<sup>1</sup> Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." "South of India," Col. Wilkes, Vol. I., p. 169.



plateau, or table-land, bounded by the Eastern and Western Ghauts, and rising into Alpine ridges such as the Neilgherry Hills; while the Godavery, the Khistna, the Cauvery, and many other streams, supply abundant water for irrigation without which India would be a desert. The climate is influenced by the mountains and the monsoons; and though in temperature, the Madras coast is undoubtedly the hottest part of the peninsula, a climate, almost English, may be reached by railway in a few hours.

One of the common errors in England is the idea that India is one vast country, instead of being like Europe, a union of many states, races, languages, and religions. In South India the population is extremely diversified in origin, stature, and complexion. Most of these races profess the Hindoo Faith, and Brahmins are more numerous than in any other part of the peninsula. Caste still holds sway, but there are decided symptoms of this formidable barrier being broken down, in spite of all the injudicious concessions made by the Romish missionaries. Christian effort, the march of civilisation, continued intercourse with Europeans, and that remarkable movement among the Hindoos themselves, called the Brahmo-Somaj, of which Chunder Sen is the leader, seem all combining to remove this obstacle to the progress of India. The English language is now more than supplanting the Portuguese; though the natives, of course, still use

Tamil, Malayalim, Canarese, and Telegu, besides Urdu, employed in the camp.

Malabar is a long narrow strip between the Ghauts and the sea, containing 6,000 square miles and a million and a half of people. The mountains rise rapidly to the height of 5,000 feet, and are covered with magnificent forests of teak and cedar. The ravines and passes present scenes of romantic beauty, while the low grounds are laid out in paddy-fields, and the flat, sandy shores, are fringed with groves of cocoa-nut palms, the graceful arecas surrounding the small groups of mud cottages scarcely worthy the name of villages. The soil is extremely fertile, and produces rice, cardamums, coffee, and pepper, in great abundance; the latter, as far back as the days of Cosmas, was the characteristic of the country, and it is now often called the money of Malabar. The population of this coast is singularly varied: Brahmins, Nairs, Tiars, Moplays, Christians, and Jews, besides numerous foreigners, Asiatic and European, who have settled here for purposes of trade.

Cochin the chief seat of the Syrian Christians, though often included under the name of Malabar, is really an independent state of 1,100 square miles, and 400,000 people. This irregularly shaped mountain tract has British Malabar on the north, the Rajah of Travancore's dominions on the south, Coimbatore and Madura on the east. The physical features

climate and productions, are almost the same as those of Malabar, but it is distinguished by a peculiarity in the distribution of its watercourses, of which we may quote from an eye-witness the following account:—  
“It is watered by numerous streams, which descend from the mountains towards the sea; but these little rivers, instead of pouring their waters separately into the ocean, spread out before they reach it into wide channels just within the coast line, and communicating with one another, form what is called “The Back-water”—a land locked lake of every varying depth and width, with an outlet here and there, through which the water finds its way into the ocean.”<sup>1</sup>  
The population consists of Naimhoories, or Aboriginal Brahmins, Nairs, Pollayers (a wretched race), and Christians of various nations and churches. The inhabitants are generally very poor, there being no middle-class between landowner and labourer. On the coast many find employment in ship-building, rope-making, fishing, and gathering cocoa-nuts, and are, therefore, somewhat better off. With rare exceptions the clothing of the upper class natives consists of nothing more than a few yards of calico or muslin, wrapt round the middle; while the poorer people are scarcely clad at all. This, of course, does not apply to the Christian converts, many of whom have been persuaded to assume more ample garments. The

<sup>1</sup> Howard's “Christians of S. Thomas,” p. 2.



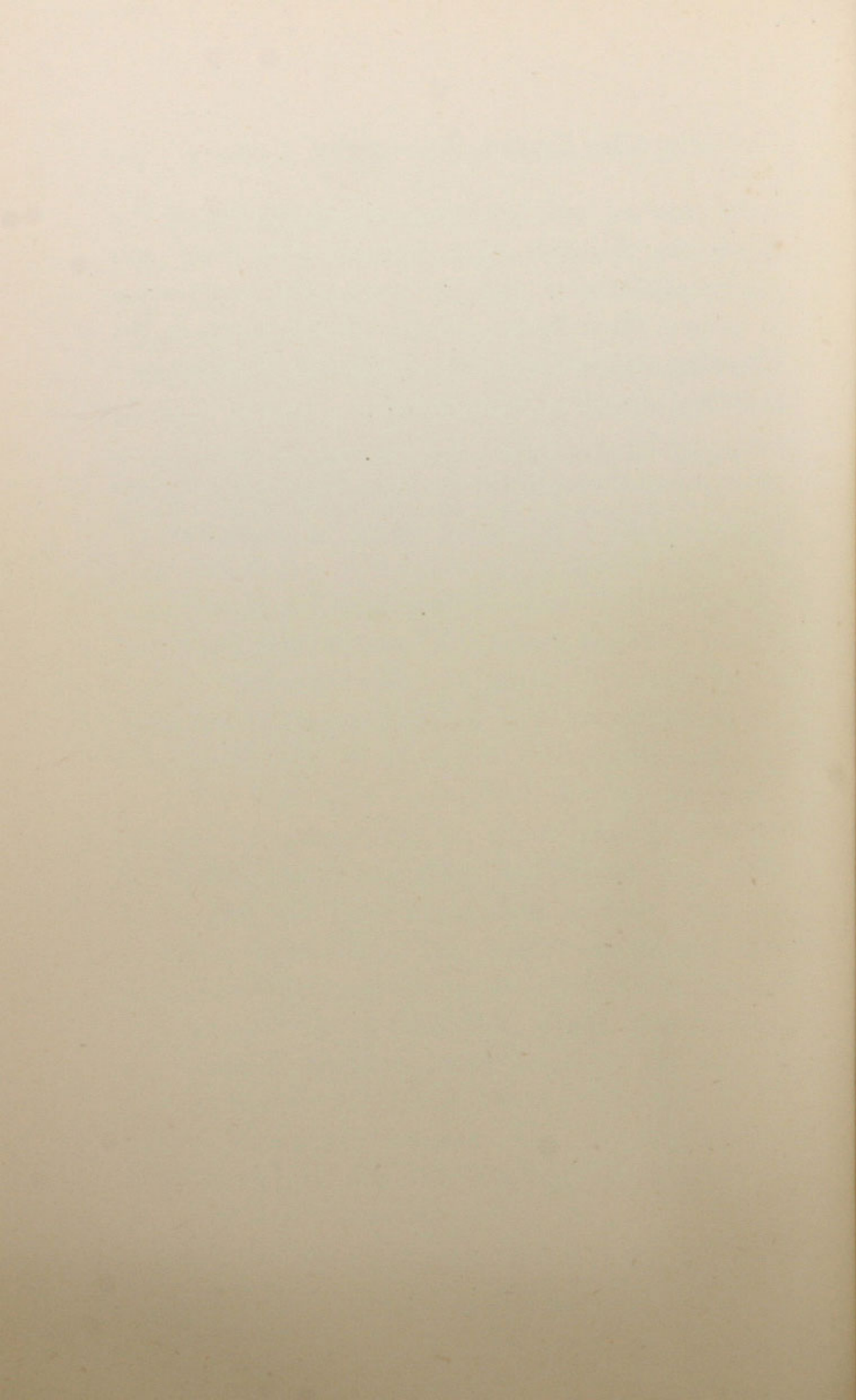
country is at present ruled by a Rajah under the British Government ; and many evidences of civilisation, such as churches, schools, and hospitals, are everywhere springing into existence.

Travancore is a very important government under its own sovereign, extending from Cochin to Cape Comorin, one hundred and fifty-five miles. The climate is extremely hot and moist, in the lowlands the thermometer rising to above 90°; and though the heat is much less in the mountains, the air is not so bracing as in the Neilgherries. Animal life is abundant, the forests teeming with tigers, leopards, snakes, and an immense variety of birds. The soil in the level districts is prolific in rice, sago, coffee, &c. Like Cochin and Malabar, Travancore possesses a remarkably diversified population in race and creed. Christianity is professed by about one-eighth of the population, and is spreading rapidly, not only under the English and other Protestant Societies, but also under the Romanists. The Rajah, one of the most enlightened Princes, has established police, schools and hospitals, formed excellent roads, granted perfect religious toleration, and removed all restrictions on commerce. His handsome palace, is at the modern capital, Trevandrum ; the old one, Travancore, being now deserted. Allepi and Quilon are also important harbours.

Madura, Tinnerelly, and other districts of South

India are so well known from the reports of the Missionary Societies, "Les Annales de la Foie" and similar publications, that it seems quite unnecessary to notice them here. Occasional references in the following chapters will be sufficient to illustrate geographical names as they occur.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Further information will be found in Thornton's "Gazetteer of India," George Duncan's "Geography of India," 1868; Professor Ansted's "Geography of India," 1870; the Rev. G. Rowe's "Colonial Empire—The East Indian Group." S.P.C.K., and similar works.

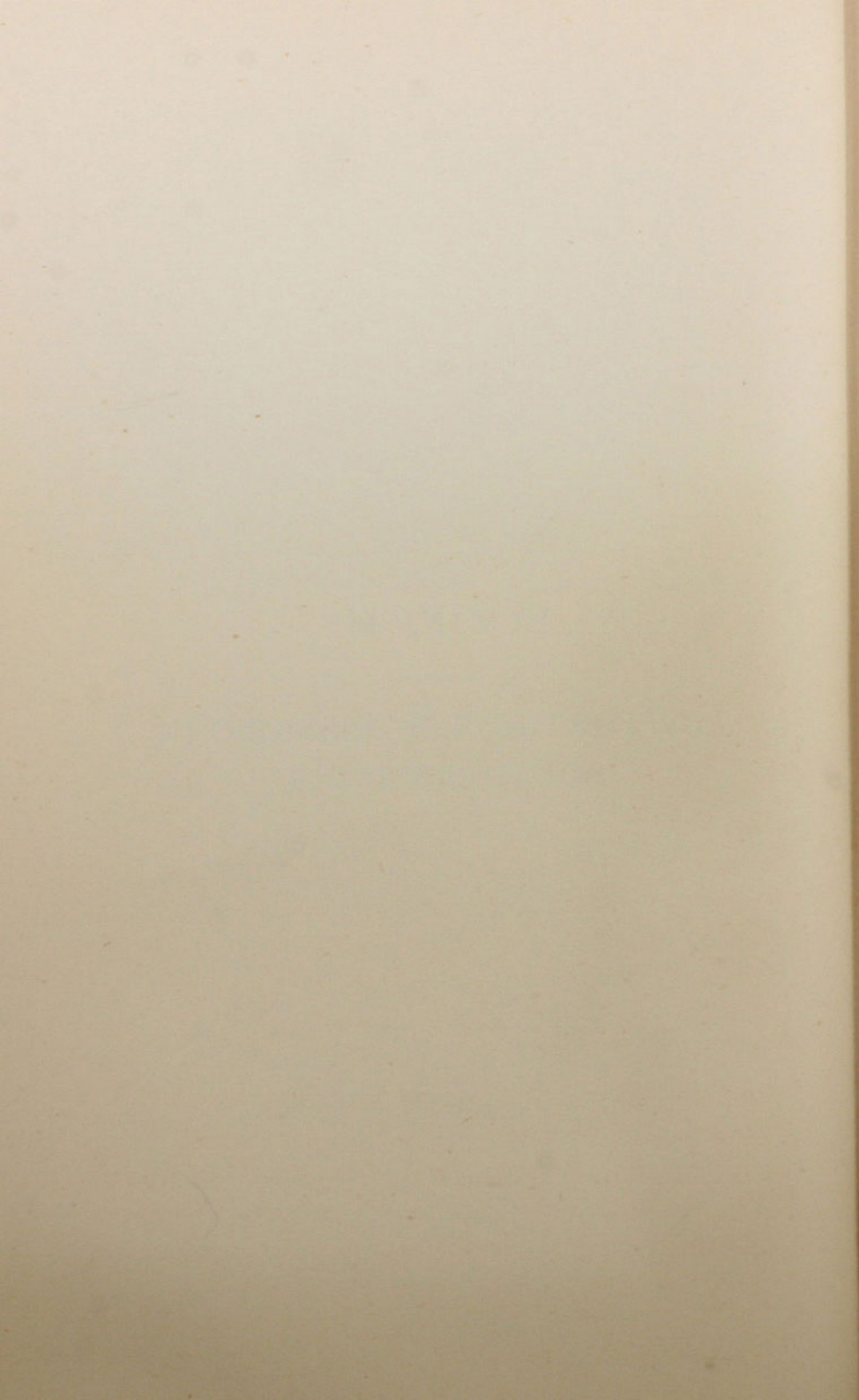




BOOK II.



THE PORTUGUESE MISSIONS IN  
SOUTHERN INDIA.



## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

“That St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Indies is attested by all Ecclesiastical Records, Greek, Latin and Syriac”—Asseman, “Dissert de Syris Nestorianis,” Tom. IV., p. 439.

“Choraram te, Thorné, o Gange, e o Indo ;  
Choron-te-toda a terra, que pizaste ;  
Mais te choram as almas, que vestindo  
Se iam da sancta fê, que lhe ensinaste.”

CAMOENS.

WE have hitherto spoken of the conquests of the sword, the only ones which, generally speaking, attract the attention of mankind, and furnish themes for the historian. There are, however, other victories which, beginning with the early part of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, have exercised an immense influence over Southern India. We allude, of course, to the missions established there soon after these regions were discovered and subdued.

When the Portuguese had obtained a firm footing upon the coasts of Malabar, and partially penetrated into the interior of the country, they found those vast



tracts peopled by three sorts of inhabitants. First, there were the Christians of St. Thomas, who, during at least eight centuries, had been cut off from the rest of Christendom, and had, according to some writers, corrupted the true faith by engrafting on it the errors of Nestorius and the superstitions of Paganism ; secondly, the Moors, or Arabs, fanatical followers of Mahomet, divided into many sects ; and thirdly, the Hindoo population, the learned men believing in various systems of philosophy, the middle and lower classes being plunged into the thick darkness of the grossest idolatry. Our business being briefly to sketch the early history of the Indian Church, as introductory to the Portuguese Missions, it seems unnecessary to describe, except incidentally, the errors of Mohammedanism, or the superstitions of the heathen.

The Church of India acknowledges St. Thomas as its first founder. This Holy Apostle had carried the gift of religion to the Parthians, the Hircanians, the Persians, and the Arabs. In the ardour of his zeal, he counted it as scarcely anything that he had announced his Divine Master in all the places which the Grecian hero had rendered illustrious by his conquests. Not satisfied with finishing his course where the ambition of Alexander the Great had ended his, he penetrated into the interior of India, preached the Gospel to nations whose very names

were hardly known, and founded, amidst tribes where idolatry had been hitherto triumphant, a Church of earnest worshippers of the true God.

There is, of course, much discussion on this point. While, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics and some reformers maintain the truth of what we have just stated, others declare that the Syrian Church was founded by another St. Thomas of the IV<sup>th</sup> Century. According to one view, the Apostolic origin of this Church is not one of those obscure traditions which dread the severe investigations of criticism, as it unites in its favour all the proofs which can attest its truth: the accumulated evidence of the first ages of the Church of St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, and amongst the historians nearest to this epoch, Eusebius, Nicetas, Sophronius, Abdias, and Nicephorous. To the authority of these testimonies may be joined that of usages and monuments still in existence, and which ascend to the period when the name of Christian began to be known in Hindostan. St. Chrysostom writes that from the earliest times of Christianity, the tomb of St. Thomas was, in the East, as much venerated as that of St. Peter at Rome. To this very day, and from time immemorial, the city of Meliapour, to which the Christians of India have given the name of St. Thomas, sees, every year, the two neighbouring hills covered by a multitude of



Christians, old and new, who flock thither from the coasts of Malabar, from Ceylon, from the most distant parts of India, and even from Arabia, to deposit their offerings and to pray at the shrine of the Holy Apostle. The Communion office, the liturgy, and all the services of this Indian Church were celebrated in Syriac, a language which, as all students know, was much used in the Holy Land amongst the Jews in the time of Our Lord. This may be considered an additional proof that the faith was introduced into India by St. Thomas, and in the words of the Jesuit historian, "on ne voit pas qu'il soit possible de trouver, dans l'histoire de cette Eglise, un autre fondateur que Saint Thomas lui-meme."<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese, on their first expedition into India, found there 200,000 Christians; the wreck of a wretched people, plunged into gross ignorance and bending under the yoke of slavery. Interrogated as to their faith, these Indians could give no other account of their religion than that they bore the name of Christians of St. Thomas, and the practice which they had, following the example of their ancestors, of going every year to offer their homage to their protecting saint, on the very spot where, according to the constant tradition of their Church, he had consummated his martyrdom. These Christians of St. Thomas related marvellous things of his

<sup>1</sup> "Lettres Edifiantes," Tom. IV., p. 3.



Apostolate, taken from their annals. They had composed from these materials canticles, or sacred songs, translated into the language of the country, and chanted by the inhabitants of Ceylon, and of the coasts of Malabar.

The traditions of an ignorant and barbarous people are always confused and often mixed with fable. Amidst the clouds which cover the traditions of the Christians of St. Thomas, the following account seems to possess the greatest amount of probability, and the nearest approach to truth. After having established Christianity in Arabia Felix, and in the island of Dioscorides (now called Socotora), the Holy Apostle landed at Cranganor, at that time the residence of the most powerful King on the Malabar Coast. We know, from the historians of the Christian people, from Josephus and from the Sacred Books themselves, in the account of the Miracle of Pentecost that before the birth of Jesus Christ, there went forth from Judea a great number of its inhabitants, and that they were scattered throughout Egypt, Greece, and several countries of Asia. St. Thomas learnt that one of these little colonies had settled in a country adjacent to Cranganor. Love for his nation inflamed his zeal; and faithful to the command of Jesus Christ who had enjoined his Apostles to proclaim the faith to the Jews, before turning to the Gentiles, he repaired to the country which his com-

patriots had chosen for their asylum ; he preached to them the Gospel, converted them, and changed their Synagogue into a Christian Church. *This was the cradle of Christianity in India.* Very soon this precious seed, cultivated by the Holy Apostle, bore fruit a hundredfold ; the faith was carried to Cranganor, to Coulan, a celebrated city of the same coast, and to several kingdoms of Southern India. The converted Gentiles were united to the Jews ; Churches were multiplied, and the Syriac language was adopted in Divine Service. St. Thomas, after having given a constitution to these infant Churches, proceeded to new conquests ; and, directing his steps towards the coast of Coromandel, reached Meliapour. The fame of his miracles and of his wonderful success had preceded him ; the Rajah's eyes were opened to the light of the faith, he received baptism ; and by his example, a part of his subjects embraced the Gospel. These numerous conversions excited the jealousy and hatred of the Brahmins, two of whom urged the populace to stone the Holy Apostle. One of these Priests observing some trace of life in the Saint, pierced him with his lance, and St. Thomas thus received the reward of his love and devotion as a missionary, the crown of martyrdom. The Church of Meliapour, thus founded in the Apostle's blood, flourished for centuries ; it had its Bishops, Priests, and faithful congregations ; but a time came when



the Gentile Kings took possession of the city and its dependent provinces, and the Christians suffered the most violent persecutions from the destroying Pagans. To escape from their cruelty, the greater part fled towards Cape Comorin; and passing thence they took refuge *in the mountains of Malabar, amongst the other Christians whom St. Thomas had taught.* They spread into Cranganor, Coulan and Travancore, *i.e.*, into the district called the empire of the Zamorin in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century.

From the end of the second Century of the Christian era, an evil, much more to be feared than persecutions, afflicted the Church of India; the divisions which arose within her bosom weakened the purity of the faith and the vigour of primitive discipline. At this period the school of Alexandria (founded by St. Mark) so famous throughout the Roman empire, by a succession of such men as the Clements and the Origenes, spread the brilliancy of its knowledge over the Christian world. The Christians of India, groaning under internal dissensions, sent deputies to Demetrius imploring him to commission some eminent man to arbitrate amongst them and to restore the authority of their Church. Pantæus, being chosen for this mission passed several years in India; but history is silent as to the success of his visitation. There is only one tradition which has been preserved to us by St. Jerome and Eusebius, that Pantæus



found in India the Gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew. This important fact, the designation of "Christians of St. Thomas," transmitted from age to age to the faithful of this Church, the custom of celebrating public worship in Syriac, the name of a bishop amongst the signatures at the first general Council of Nice, with the title of Bishop of Persia and of great India—all these united proofs strongly confirmed the general opinion that St. Thomas was the first Apostle of India.

In the fourth Century, St. Athanasius also came to the aid of this Church. St. Fromentius had been, for many years, reduced to slavery; but, having found means of effecting his escape, he succeeded in reaching Alexandria and there fixed his abode. St. Athanasius, whom Providence had placed over this great See, thoroughly recognised the merits, the virtues, and the zeal, of the illustrious fugitive whom he therefore raised to the episcopate. St. Fromentius then returned to his old companions in misfortune, preached Jesus Christ to them, and to the people of India; and received the reward of his zealous labours in the Crown of Martyrdom.

The Gospel made rapid progress, and new conquests in India; Churches were multiplied in all directions and the virtues of the Christians of St. Thomas secured for them extensive popularity, and even the favour of the monarchs of the country. Ceram Peromal,

founder of Calicut, became Emperor of all Malabar, divided the provinces of his realm amongst his relations and favourites, and thereby gave origin to that multitude of small states with which the coast of Malabar is filled. This Prince, though an infidel, granted the most important privileges to the Christians, and they were placed on a level with the superior Castes. They further enjoyed the prerogative of depending solely on the authority of their Bishop, even in things temporal. These privileges were renewed to them in the ninth century, and time has preserved to us the authentic title-deeds in a most durable form; for they were written upon plates of copper in characters of Malabar, Canarin, Bisnagare and Tamil, the languages most in use on these coasts.

This continued prosperity had the effect of rendering these Christians enterprising and ambitious. Powerful enough to shake off the yoke of the infidel princes, they elected a monarch of their own religion; and Baliartes was proclaimed King of the Christians of St. Thomas. This state of independence was but brief, for one of these Kings, having adopted the Prince of Diamper, was succeeded by this youth. A similar adoption placed them under the Rajah of Cochin, who, being a Pagan, persecuted his Christian subjects. The prosperity of the Church ended, and its subsequent history is but a chain of misfortunes. The heresies predicted by Our Lord and His Apostles were at that



time rending the Catholic Church; the faith persecuted by Christian Emperors was exposed to greater dangers than all that it had endured under the Pagan Sovereigns; in fact the powers of darkness were making the greatest efforts to destroy, by their own hand, that body which the persecutions of the Cæsars had but strengthened. Nestorianism, originating in the V<sup>th</sup> Century had extended its ranges throughout the East.<sup>1</sup> The Church of India had long groaned under the yoke of the infidel Princes, the successors of the Christian Kings. A calm indeed, had followed the storm, but it was the calm of spiritual death. Deprived of the Priesthood, the Indian branch was obliged to apply to the Churches of the North West. The Patriarch of Armenia, a Nestorian, was delighted to embrace the opportunity thus presented, and eagerly sent Priests fitted to extend his jurisdiction.<sup>2</sup> The Indians, who had suffered so long from the want of pastors welcomed these missionaries, paid them full obedience, and received, necessarily from such teachers all the evils of heresy and schism. "As a natural consequence, they cut themselves off from the centre of Catholic unity, abjured the *obedience which*

<sup>1</sup> Neander, Vol. IV., p. 123. Mosheim, Cent. V., Part II., Chap. V. Hough's "Hist. of Christ." Vol. I., p. 74. Bishop Browne, XXXIX. Art.

<sup>2</sup> "Nestorianism took deep root in many soils, and the Nestorians proved themselves zealous missionaries. Their opinions spread rapidly into Armenia, Chaldea, Syria, Arabia and India." — Bishop Browne, p. 63. Bishop Pearson, p. 178.



bound them to the Bishop of Rome (!) and acknowledged no other Superior than the Patriarch of Armenia.<sup>1</sup>

The misfortunes of the Church of India approached their crisis. Towards the VII<sup>th</sup> Century, the Mahommedans over-ran all India to the East of the Ganges. The ferocious Mahmoud proclaimed Islamism, and, on both sides of his march, levelled with the dust, or committed to the flames, the Churches of the Christians, and the Pagodas of the idolaters. The victims had to choose between the acceptance of the Koran, or the loss of liberty, property, nay life itself. The Disciples of St. Thomas on the Malabar Coast, as well as those near Meliapour, were happily at a safe distance from the Moslem invaders. They were thus able to maintain, in most cases, the religion of their Fathers, and to read, in their Churches, their Syriac Bibles. The worship of images was ignored, but they continued, in a certain sense, to "venerate" the Cross. They asserted the dogma of the real presence of the Eucharist, and the viaticum was administered to the sick. The fasts of Lent and Advent, and the eves of solemn Festivals were religiously observed. The celibacy of the Priesthood was not strictly enforced, but second marriages were interdicted. With regard to the remaining rites and

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader that this extraordinary sentence is translated from a Jesuit's writings in the "Lettres Edifiantes." Tom. IV., p 9.

ceremonies, these Indian Christians were sufficiently in conformity with the Roman Catholic Church.

It is quite impossible, with due regard to the main purpose of our work, to say more on this part of the subject, however interesting it might be to the student of Ecclesiastical History. We must therefore remark, in conclusion, that the Syrian Church continued for Centuries, in what the Jesuit Fathers called, "the depths of schism and heresy." Renaudot, in his "History of Liturgies," speaks of Nestorian Patriarchs coming from Persia, whose See was first established at Modain—the *Seleucia* of the Parthians, and, he adds that after the destruction of that city by the Caliphs, they retired to Bagdad, and thence to Mosul. From this source the Christians of St. Thomas received their Bishops, and continued to yield obedience to this distant Patriarchate till 1599, when, under circumstances, to be narrated in a future book, the Syrian Church was forcibly united to that of Rome. Previously to this, many of the outlying Churches had fallen, step by step into a lifeless indifference, if not apostacy, in the hope of averting persecution from Moslem and Pagan. "Thus in consequence of the gross ignorance to which they became more and more enslaved, they had formed an extraordinary compound of various faiths, the religion of their ancestors, blending itself with the absurdities of idolatry, and the superstitions of Islamism, so that nothing remained but the faintest



trace of true Christianity. It was in this deplorable condition that our Missionaries found them on arriving in Hindostan.”<sup>1</sup>

In compiling this chapter we have done our best to let the Romanists state their views of the early history of the Syrian Church, as they came first in contact with its members. Even their own writers, however, (Tillemont, Renaudot, Trigant, and others) consider much of the account apocryphal, and express grave doubts of the legend of St. Thomas. Several members of our own Church, on the other hand, such as Bishop Heber, Archdeacon Robinson, and Dr. Claudius Buchanan, see no improbability in the tradition, and “favour the claim of the Syro-Malabaric Church to this Apostolic origin.”<sup>2</sup> La Croze, Hough, and others, treat the whole as a myth, and the latter certainly adduces most powerful arguments and quotations in proof of his opinion.

The chief Roman Catholic authorities are Emmanuel Anger, 1571; Martino Martinez, 1615; Gothard Artus, 1660; Gouzales d'Avila, 1649; Urbano Cerri, 1716; and, of course, the “Lettres Edifiantes.”

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is of course the opinion of a Jesuit writer, and many such may be found in the “Lettres Edifiantes.”

<sup>2</sup> “Dean Pearson’s Life of Schwartz,” Vol. I., p. 2. “Heber’s Journal,” Vol. II., p. 278. “Dr. Claudius Buchanan’s Christian Researches,” “I am satisfied that we have as good authority for believing that the Apostle Thomas died in India as that the Apostle Peter died at Rome,” p. 113. Hough, Vol. I., p. 32.



## CHAPTER II.

### FIRST MEETING OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE SYRIANS.

“The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the Crucifix in the other ; finding much gold, they laid aside the Crucifix to fill their pockets.”—João de Castro (Viceroy of India, 1548).

THE love of conquest, the thirst for gold, the flattering hope of personal or political aggrandizement, influenced the early Portuguese adventurers to such an extent that all restraint on their passions and conduct was abandoned. Their leaders were ordered to invade the dominions of all those Princes who refused to become vassals of the King of Portugal ; and the pompous titles which Emmanuel, intoxicated by success, had added to his Crown, showed the area which he proposed to cover with his Empire. The Portuguese effectually disguised their schemes and objects. They represented themselves as a friendly nation, coming to offer a commerce reciprocally advantageous, and whose chief aim was to propagate the only religion acknowledged by Heaven as the means of man's salvation.

The Christians of St. Thomas were the first to be ensnared by these specious appearances. These people, ignorant and credulous, persuaded themselves that Christians who had travelled 1,200 leagues, braving the perils of a painful navigation, to extend the empire of their religion, could not but be just and benevolent men. These poor Syrians were, with few exceptions, miserable wretches, reduced to the lowest servitude by Pagan and by Moslem. Naturally enough, then, they saw in the Portuguese, envoys from Heaven, liberators who were come to break their chains, and restore them to the privileges which their ancestors had enjoyed. The first meeting took place at Cranganor in 1501, when Pedro Cabral succeeded in inducing two brothers, Matthias and Joseph, to accompany him to Lisbon; and thus communicated to Europe the interesting fact of the existence of a native Christian Church amongst the heathens of South India.<sup>1</sup> After the first victories of da Gama, 30,000 of these Syrian Christians sent deputies to Cochin to render homage to the conqueror. According to Gouvea's account, they presented to Vasco da Gama a sceptre or bâton of vermilion wood, the ends of which were tipped with silver, and surmounted by three little bells. This

<sup>1</sup> "Joseph went first to Rome and from thence to Venice where, upon his information, a tract was published in Latin of the State of the Church of Malabar, and is printed at the end of 'Fasciculus Temporum.'" Gouvea, translated by Geddes, p. 2. La Croze, p. 49.

was the sceptre of their Kings, the last of whom had died shortly before the arrival of the Europeans. They told the admiral that they had received the gift of the faith, and that they were the spiritual subjects of the Assyrian Patriarch from whom their Bishops received consecration. They declared in the name of their constituents, that they believed King Emmanuel to be the most zealous of all Princes in the propagation of the Gospel; and, therefore, desiring to have him as their sovereign, they begged the admiral to effect their adoption, and to take them under his own special protection.<sup>1</sup> The number of the Christians of St. Thomas was supposed to reach 200,000; and Gama was astute enough to perceive the vast gain to Portuguese ascendancy that would result from the devoted alliance of these brave, but oppressed Christians. He replied that he thanked Heaven for directing his steps to find, amongst the infidels, so many servants of Jesus Christ; and he assured them both by his flattering promises, and by his distinguished reception, that his Royal Master, who only made war to promote Christianity and destroy infidelity, would declare himself their zealous protector, and would defend them against all their enemies. This news, spreading through the mountain

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea's "Jornada," p. 72. João de Barros, Dec. I., Liv. III. Osorio, Vol. I., p. 134. La Croze, p. 52. Geddes, p. 3. Hough's History, Vol. I., p. 154.



Churches of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore, everywhere excited the liveliest joy. Too soon, however, the bitterest disappointment succeeded, as the Portuguese Ecclesiastics gradually discovered the Nestorian tenets<sup>1</sup> of their new friend; and the native Christians began to experience those vexatious persecutions which culminated at the close of the century, in the Synod of Diamper.

In proportion as the affairs of Portugal prospered in India, King Emmanuel dispatched new fleets, and augmented the number of their crews. The European forces then became truly formidable, and everything on the coast of the Deccan was compelled to yield to their valour. But what was the composition of this army of adventurers. They were men too much resembling the fillibusters or buccaneers, who, at the same period, made the West Indies tremble, and whose chief merit was reckless courage.<sup>2</sup> All the historians of the period agree in painting these marauders in the blackest colours. At the time of embarkation in Lisbon, selection was impossible; everyone was enrolled who wished to go, vagrants, jail-birds, debtors, criminals of every description, wretches, incapable by immorality and loss of

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Osorio gives an interesting account of the Syrian Church as to its creed, ceremonies, &c., in Vol. I., p. 212 of his "History of the Reign of Emmanuel." He mentions the Christians also at p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Towards the close of this century Drake, Raleigh, and many other of our own countrymen bore too close a resemblance to these adventurers.

character of obtaining employment at home, whom Portugal was glad to banish to save the honour of their families. It must not be supposed that the Portuguese were peculiar in this respect; for such seems to have been the characteristic of most of the emigrants of every nation. The English were not a whit better, if we may believe the description of one who has thoroughly examined the condition of the early settlers in British India. "From the moment of their landing on the shores of India the first settlers cast off all those bonds which had restrained them in their native villages; they regarded themselves as privileged beings—privileged to violate all the obligations of religion and morality, and to outrage all the decencies of life. They who went thither were often desperate adventurers who sought those golden sands of the East to repair their broken fortunes; to bury in oblivion a sullied name; or to wring, with lawless hand, from the weak and unsuspecting, that wealth which they had not the character or capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated, they gambled, they drank; they revelled in all kinds of debauchery."<sup>1</sup> Without doubt every Portuguese was not depraved; the annals of the country exhibit many noble specimens of the highest virtue; but still the description is, in the main, correct, and such was the miserable aspect under

<sup>1</sup> Kaye's "Christ in India," p. 46.



which European Christianity was first exhibited to the natives of India. In spite of vigorous laws, and of the wisest regulations published by the Court of Lisbon, the Portuguese were seen on all sides with the voracity of vultures, devouring the property of the unhappy natives, whose countries they had subdued. The Christians of St. Thomas fared no better than their compatriots, for the invaders, giving full swing to their rapacity were not likely to be discriminating in their choice of victims, or to recognise, as friends and brethren, those who professed a religion so nearly allied to their own. A natural re-action took place, for the Bishops and Clergy of the Syrians, aggrieved by attempts, even thus early made, to interfere with their Church, eagerly took advantage of the misconduct of the Portuguese settlers to hold up the Roman Church as an object of hatred, and thus to hinder the union which the European missionaries so ardently desired to accomplish. While this was the condition of things on the Malabar Coast, King Emmanuel was making every effort at Lisbon to give effect to his zeal in the propagation of the faith, for he felt that it was no less a policy than a duty, subjects being always better disposed to obey a Sovereign who cultivates and protects their religion. How the pioneers of the Portuguese missions in India carried into execution the benevolent schemes of their monarch will be seen in our next chapter.



## CHAPTER III.

### PIONEERS OF THE PORTUGUESE MISSIONS.

“Only when the Church is rich internally in the gifts of the spirit will the Divine fulness flow over outwardly, and the water of life, while it fructifies the heathen world, will flow back with a blessing to the districts from which it issued ; but where the Spiritual life is wanting, no salutary influence can go forth on those who are without the pale of the Church.”—NEANDER.

WHEN Cabral returned to Europe in 1501, he brought an account, as we have already stated, of the existence of numerous Christian congregations scattered amongst the mountains of Malabar. The natives, who accompanied him, confirmed his statement, and excited the liveliest interest amongst the Propagandists of Lisbon, who not only desired to cultivate friendly relations with their Indian fellow-Christians, thus romantically discovered, but to make use of the Syrian Church as a centre of missionary operations amongst the surrounding heathen.

The first pioneers of the Portuguese Missions to India belonged to the Order of the Capuchins. “His Majesty,” says Bishop Osorio, “sent likewise, in

the fleet, five Franciscan Friars, men of known piety and zeal for religion. These men were to remain at Calicut, if amicable terms could be agreed upon with the Zamorin, to perform divine service to the Portuguese who should settle there on account of trade, and to instruct in the mysteries of our Holy Religion any people of the country who might be willing to embrace the truth of Christianity. The chief of these religious persons was Henry, afterwards Bishop of Ceuta, a man of the most exemplary piety and sanctity of manners."<sup>1</sup> Another account by Cordozo in the *Agwlogio Lusitano*, speaks of seven monks having embarked in 1501, and states that three of them died at Calicut a month after their arrival, the other four sharing the same fate in the following spring. Pedro Covillam is said to have been the first to administer baptism in India.<sup>2</sup>

A long interval exists between these early efforts and subsequent attempts at Evangelisation. It is quite possible, however, that the work was going on, though no record has come down to us of the number and names of the missionaries, the fields of their operations, and their successes or reverses. Were our work designed to give a full account of these early Crusaders,

<sup>1</sup> Osorio's "History of the reign of Emmanuel," book ii., p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> He had travelled to India by land before the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled; and he has published his adventures under the title of "*Relazao do Viage de Pedro Covillam de Lisboa a India, per Terra, e volta do Cairo.*"



or proselytisers in arms, we might find abundant materials in the ponderous volumes of the Romanist Historians to fill many pages of our book, even though the annals of the first thirty years are a blank. As our purpose, however, is to condense to the greatest extent consistent with an intelligible narrative, we must rest satisfied with stating one or two leading facts.

In 1530 Miguel Vaz was appointed Vicar-General of Goa, and seems to have produced an extraordinary effect on his victorious countrymen by the ardour of his zeal. He led into the fields of Paganism a numerous and devoted body of missionaries, whose names Cardosa, that indefatigable Biographer of Saints, has not thought worthy of enrolment in his list. It is, however, recorded of this first Vicar-General that he not only overthrew the pagodas of the Brahmins, but laid the foundations of the famous Missionary College of Goa in 1546. In that year John III. sent to this Miguel Vaz a letter dated the 8th of March, addressed to the Viceroy of Goa, in which he commanded him to care for the interests of Christianity, and to protect the Paravas (fishermen) and other Christians, meeting the expense out of his revenue.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Bishop Vaz in 1548, we find Diego da Barba, Simao Vaz, Francisco Alvarez, and others, carrying on the

<sup>1</sup> In 1537 Pope Paul III. had made Goa the seat of a Bishop, of which Vaz was the first.



work of the mission, as yet chiefly limited to the Pagans. Besides these, Gaspar Coelho, ranking with the earliest Apostles of India, took up his abode at Meliapour (near the modern Madras), and it was there that he was found by St. Francis Xavier in 1548. Geddes, the translator, or rather paraphraser, of Gouvea's "Jornada," says, "We hear no more of these Christians till about the year 1545, the Portugueses being all that while too busie in making new conquests, and the Friars, who were sent thither, too much employed in building and providing commodious seats for their convents to attend to any foreign business, of what nature soever. This forty years' neglect of a Christianity which was just under their noses puts me in mind of what a Minister of State said of the Portuguese zeal in the Indies. 'It is a vain conceit, if it please your Majesty (speaking to Philip IV.) that the world has entertained of the zeal of the Portuguese upon account of the conversions that have been made by them in the Indies, for it was covetousness, and not zeal, that engaged them to make all those conquests. The conversions that have been made there were performed by the Divine Power, and the charity of a few particular Friars, the Government and Crown, having no other aim therein but the robbing of kingdoms and cities ; and there were still the greatest Conversions where there was most to gratify their covetousness. But where there was

nothing to be had, there the people were obdurate, and not to be wrought upon. And so we see their zeal expired quickly in all places, where it was not animated by covetousness, and how they who had nothing else to say but Lord open unto us, were not thought fit to enter into Heaven."<sup>1</sup>

This opinion of the neglect of Christianity, even by the early missionaries themselves, is confirmed by the testimony of Manoel de Faria, who says, "It is a shameful thing that this Church should continue an hundred years in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese without being reduced to the Roman Faith, and which makes it still the worse, under the eye of the Bishops of Goa; but the truth is, those merchants whom Christ whipped out of the Temple, were such as these."<sup>2</sup>

It will thus be seen that the Portuguese missionaries who first broke ground in Southern India had to encounter, as we have already said, three distinct classes of opponents, the Christians of St. Thomas, the Mohammedans, and the Pagans. We learn that King Emmanuel sent the most positive orders to the missionaries to declare to the Indian Christians, unless they abjured the heresy of Nestorianism, renounced all communication with the schismatic Patriarch, and

<sup>1</sup> Geddes, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Manoel de Faria "Asia Portuguesa." Vol. III., *passim*. Geddes's "Translation of Gouvea," p. 6.

acknowledged the Holy See of Rome, as the centre of Catholic Unity, he would neither own them as his faithful subjects, nor interfere to protect them against their enemies. This menace was a part of that systematic course of persecution which the native Church has had to endure from her Roman Sister for more than three centuries. As, however, we shall give an account of this in its proper place, we may refer at present to pioneer work amongst the heathen, for it is especially in the conversion of the Indian idolaters that the triumph of Apostolic virtue shines most conspicuously in the really good members of the Portuguese missions. Every organisation has some obstacle to overcome, but the Indian missions seemed called upon at this period to encounter not single difficulties, but an assemblage of every special embarrassment, the Asiatic races clinging with greater pertinacity to their customs, to their social distinctions, and to the peculiarity of Caste,<sup>1</sup> than to fortune and liberty itself. The Portuguese saw at first in the Hindoos merely a nation of slaves, whom they could easily master by frightening them into subjection ; they sought out the Pariahs in

<sup>1</sup> The Hindoos are divided into four classes, the Brahmins, sacerdotal ; the Cshatrya, or military ; the Vaisya, or industrial ; and the Sudras, or servile. See "Translation of the Laws of Manu," by Sir William Jones. Elphinstone's "History of India." Trevor's "India," p. 38. Irving's "Theory and Practice of Caste," p. 7 ; and, in confirmation of our view, p. 122.



preference to the higher class associated with them, and took a great number of them into their service. Ignorant of the extraordinary strength of Hindoo prejudice with regard to Caste, the missionaries committed an error by this step, which affects, to this day, the opinion of the less educated natives, not only with regard to European religions, or the original Propagandists, but also with reference to all settlers, no matter of what race or creed. For when the high Caste Hindoo saw the Portuguese in familiar intercourse with Pariahs, his contempt was transferred from the outcast to the Portuguese themselves, and from the Portuguese to all Europeans, whom they confound to this day with them, under the general name of Prangius—the Hindoo mode of pronouncing Franks. To this well-meant but injudicious movement on the part of the missionaries must be added an obstacle for which there is no excuse. The confession is a sad one, but the security of historical truth forces from us the admission that the conduct of most Europeans, whether civil, military, or commercial, in India, the violence and vexations to which they were prompted by the desire of making rapid fortunes, their insulting pride, their scandalous immorality, have but too powerfully contributed to render natural to the Hindoos that burning hatred which three centuries of intercourse have not been able to extinguish, and which periodically bursts out

in such terrible forms as at Vellore, Meerut, and Cawnpore. That this conduct was not limited to the Portuguese we have already shown, and but too much testimony to the same effect may be gleaned from works on India in the XVI<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it happened during the early days of the Portuguese missions in South India, that, with some remarkable exceptions, only four sorts of natives embraced Christianity, (1) the inhabitants of Salsette, and the neighbourhood of Goa, with those of the Pescaria, who were forced to take the European yoke as a protection from Moorish tyranny, (2) Pariahs or outcasts, objects of contempt to all the Indian population, (3) a certain number of the Malabars who were constrained to embrace the religion of their oppressors to renounce their Castes, and to adopt European customs, and lastly, the scum of the people—purchased slaves, and degraded Indians.

Everything, therefore, conspired against the spread of the Gospel, everything up to the moment of its first success. The missionaries sent at this time into the heathen lands of Southern India felt this keenly.

<sup>1</sup> "There had been two Christian nations in India before us. We found the name of Christian little better than a synonym for devil, and for some time we did nothing to disturb the popular belief in the Satanic origin of our saving faith, and so not only was nothing done for our Christianity during the first century of our connection with India, but very much against it. We made for ourselves impediments to the diffusion of Gospel light."—Kaye's "Christianity in India," p. 43.

Strong in their virtue, and in their ardour for the faith, they saw clearly that the only hope left for its extension was to adopt a policy in every respect opposed to that which had hitherto been employed by the Portuguese. To name the Great Apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, is, to tell in one word, the whole history of the early missions. For his glorious example was the sacred model on which nearly all future action was based. In the vast field of missionary enterprise, the most successful labourers were but imitators of this great leader, as he himself was of the first founders of Christianity. "What marvellous men were the Barsees, the companions of Xavier, Lopez, Bishop of St. Thomé—Robert de Nobilibus, nephew of the celebrated Cardinal de Bellarmin<sup>1</sup>; Father Borgèse, whose illustrious birth was the least of the favours which this new Apostle had received from heaven! But we must not rise to the style of the panegyrist, but content ourselves with following a simple narrative of facts."

As the price of their conquests, the first Europeans had to endure the universal hatred of the races whom they had subdued. The missionaries, on the contrary, aimed only at winning the affections of the natives. Strict observers of the laws and customs of the countries into which they carried the light of the

<sup>1</sup> Robert is, of course, an admirable missionary, according to the *Jesuit* view.



Gospel, they became "all things to all men," in order to secure the great end which their constant preaching had in view. "They, therefore, respected the prejudices and the usages of the tribes amongst whom they laboured, however ridiculous or repulsive they might appear to European sense or taste."

The Indian idolaters naturally refused to believe a religion introduced by men who abused their power, to violate the sacred laws of hospitality, to press them under the sceptre of tyranny, to deprive them of their legitimate sovereigns, to plunder them of their precious metals, and to dishonour, by the scandalous immorality of their lives, the sanctity of the doctrine which they proclaimed. On the other hand, these bewildered natives, turning to the missionaries, beheld in them all those noble and estimable qualities which could attract their love and secure their confidence; they saw, in the heroes of the Cross, all the characteristics of a religion fresh from Heaven. "No," said they, astonished by the moral beauty of this spectacle, "it is only God, the supreme God, which could fill the hearts of these missionaries with zeal and charity, who could induce them to tear themselves from their native land, from the flattering hopes assured to them by their birth, their talents, their virtues, in order to come to us, crossing the boundless ocean, and braving every peril, that they might announce to us the oracles of God, and make us partakers of the happiness of

Heaven. What purity in their manners, what austerity in their lives! What ardour in teaching us, what sweetness in their pathetic exhortations, what patience in listening to our stories, what love speaking in the eloquence of the heart in bending our stubborn wills! What a life of disinterestedness, of privation, of devotion and self-sacrifice! All that they could command is dedicated to us; their talents, their labours, their life itself, they give us all. They share our miseries that they may be the better able to relieve them. They refuse all the gifts which gratitude would be tempted to offer them, and they desire nothing from us in return for such benefits, but the satisfaction of seeing us enjoy the truth which they preach at the peril of their lives." Profoundly modest, the missionary Priests, thinking nothing even of their best works, were only raised above their disciples by their greater fidelity to the sacred dictates of religion; and if the Bishops were at all distinguished from the ordinary Priests, it was by greater simplicity in dress, greater love of poverty, and greater desire for martyrdom.

Such are the outlines presented to us by the early history<sup>1</sup> of the Portuguese Missions to Southern India in the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century. Their first Apostles have

<sup>1</sup> The reader must bear in mind that these praises of the missionaries are put into the mouths of the converts by the missionaries themselves, for the greater part of this chapter is condensed (often literally translated) from the original letters of the Jesuit Fathers.

shared the fate of men superior to common souls, for they have suffered from the malice of foes and the falsehood of detractors. But not one of these slanderers has presented himself before the severe tribunal of criticism to substantiate his charge, and to invalidate the facts transmitted to Europe, as it appears in the letters of Xavier and in the valuable correspondence of the French and Portuguese missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Every lover of truth should read therein the wonderful history of the foundation of Churches, the progress of the Gospel, the change in the manners and habits of Indians newly Christianised—and he will admit that the virtues of these reformed tribes are not less worthy of exciting the curiosity, and attracting the attention of the true philosopher, than is the admirable life of their Apostles and Fathers in the Christian faith.

The ambition of the first conquerors of India had roused against them and their religion the feelings of all the princes who had not yet submitted to their yoke. Every Christian was to them an object of suspicion, and if we find them frequently wielding the sword of persecution, their action may be regarded as the result less of religious sentiment than of state

<sup>1</sup> This is utterly untrue, for at least a hundred volumes have been published against the Jesuits and their missions. We may refer the reader to the letters of Abbé Dubois, whose work on the state of Christianity in India tells many an unpleasant tale; also to the admirable account founded on the Jesuits' own statements by the Rev. W. S. Mackay, in the "Calcutta Review," Vol. II.



policy. Every Hindoo who embraced the new religion seemed to the Rajah an enemy of his throne, a traitor ready to yield on the first occasion to the European power, which would put a price on his rebellion against his lawful sovereign. They little knew the spirit of true Christianity. Experience, in due time, undeceived those princes, who, by an ambitious policy on the part of the invaders, had been forced into misconceptions which, in the early ages of missionary efforts, had given so many martyrs to the Church of India. This change of feeling was the fruit of the life and lessons of the missionaries. The princes not only ceased to be enemies, but actually became protectors of the Gospel Teachers against the jealousy of the Brahmins and the Bonzes, whose prejudices and self-interest made them naturally the persecutors of Christianity; several of them indeed became fervent neophytes. These Rajahs, certain of the fidelity of the Christians, offered them every inducement to serve in their armies, and many granted them the same prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the Christians of St. Thomas.<sup>1</sup> Another remarkable fact may be noticed as a proof of the influence thus acquired. The missionaries, authorised by the Sovereigns of the country, administered justice to the members of their flock. The princes thought that their Christian subjects would be better governed, even in temporal

<sup>1</sup> M. Perrin, Tom. II., p. 197.

matters, by their Pastors than by judges, strangers to their faith. The Jesuits, writing in 1760, say "This custom has existed for more than two centuries, and far from regretting the surrender which they have made of a part of their sovereign authority, the Nabobs offer daily increased proofs of their confidence in the missionaries of their states. It was doubtless under the same impression that the first Christian Emperors invested the bishops with a similar power of jurisdiction."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Choix des "Lettres Edifiantes," Tom. IV., p. 45. This is, of course, the Jesuit view of the case, but it is not borne out by their own sad experience in China, Japan, &c.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RISE OF THE JESUITS.

“While Albuquerque and his successors were prosecuting their conquests in the East, and the Portuguese power was extending itself from the Arabian Gulf to the very confines of China, a greater than Albuquerque was achieving that greater conquest of self, and a mightier power than that of the arms of Portugal in the East was rising among the peaceful Colleges of the West.”—Kaye’s “Christianity.”

It is impossible to obtain a clear insight into the progress of the Portuguese Missions in Southern India, without thoroughly understanding the nature of that singular organisation by whose agency they were mainly conducted. The Society of Jesus, the Order of Jesuits, or the “Company,” as it is often called, was founded, or at least received the Papal sanction, in 1540, and, as no institution has, in modern times, exercised so powerful an influence as this throughout the world, we may here give a brief outline of its origin, constitution, history, and effects.

Ignatius Loyola,<sup>1</sup> a Spaniard, was descended from

<sup>1</sup> Helyot. “Histoire des Ordres Monastiques.” Vol. VII. p. 452  
“History of the Jesuits,” by G. B. Nicolini. Edin. 1853, p. 10.  
Maffei Vita Ignatii.



an illustrious house long established at Loyola in Biscay. Born about 1491, he received an imperfect education and entered life as page to Ferdinand V., a career common at that age to scions of noble houses. Entering the army when still young, he distinguished himself by the most dauntless courage, and, after several years of a soldier's life, he was severely wounded at the seige of Pampeluna, in 1521.<sup>1</sup> His French captors, instead of sending him prisoner to France, carried him to his father's neighbouring castle of Loyola, where he was, of course, watched and nursed by the members of his own family. While slowly recovering from the effects of the shot which had wounded both legs, Ignatius beguiled his weary hours with the "Life of the Saints," and his ardent mind was stirred to its very depths with admiration of their deeds and with an enthusiastic resolution to follow their example.<sup>2</sup> Abandoning all hope of ever serving again under the standard of Spain, he resolved, with God's help, to become, not only a soldier, but a leader in the

<sup>1</sup> "It was in defending the ancient citadel on the Plaza del Castillo, (1521) that Ignacio Loyola was wounded; and just before you reach the Puerta de San Nicolas, is a chapel, founded in 1691, on the very site which some paintings illustrate."—Ford's "Spain," p. 954.

<sup>2</sup> The tradition runs that he was cured by St. Peter, who came down from heaven on purpose; and having done penance for a year in a cave within view of the "jagged Moulserat," he dedicated himself to the Virgin, collected a few disciples and proceeded to Rome.—See "Ribad," II., 407.

army of Christ. His first act under this impression was one of religious chivalry. He prayed to the Virgin Mary<sup>1</sup> for her intercession on behalf of himself and his nascent scheme, and he dedicated himself to her and her service as her true knight. The practice of good works immediately followed this self dedication, for, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, we find him, so recently a sufferer himself, becoming the kind and faithful nurse of the poor and sick in the Hospital at Marenza, this early reduction of theory to practice giving an indication of what was afterwards to be one of the salient features of the Order. Then the Spanish soldier, whose experience of men and things had been limited to his native land, determined to visit other countries, and selected, as the first object of his travels, the early scenes of that Christianity which his successors were to spread so widely over those regions of east and west then just made known to Europe. Returning from the Holy Land, he resolved to repair the defects of his early education by studying at the Universities of Spain, and subsequently at Paris, where, it is believed, he laid the first stones of the great edifice of which he was the chief founder. We say chief founder, because there is no doubt that Loyola himself was almost a tool in the hands of Laynez, Salmeron, and Acqua Viva especially.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolini's Hist., p. 14.

This committee were the real authors of the *Secreta Monita*, the *Disciplina Arcana*, containing some rules for the conduct of the members which have been justly stigmatised as diabolical.<sup>1</sup> Ignatius prepared two sets of rules for his followers, one for their personal government called "Spiritual Exercises," the other consisted of the "Constitutions of the Order," containing principles opposed not only to other societies, but hostile to the liberty and welfare of the human race. Loyola, having presented his institutes to Paul III., the Pontiff consulted the Cardinals, and was advised by them to withhold his sanction. But Loyola proposing that, in addition to the three ordinary vows, the members of his new order should take a fourth, pledging themselves to implicit obedience to His Holiness, and devoting themselves to him absolutely without remuneration, offered a bait which the Pontiff could not resist. Paul III., feeling that Luther's movements were shaking the Church to its foundation, accepted with joy the services of enthusiasts who came to the rescue, animated by burning zeal and organised with consummate skill. The shrewd old man confirmed the institutions of the Order by the Bull of September 27th, 1540;<sup>2</sup> conferred the most exten-

<sup>1</sup> Nicolini's Hist., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> This was the famous bull "*Regimini militantis Ecclesie.*"—Nicolini, p. 28.



sive privileges on the new society, and appointed the Biscayan soldier to be the first general of the new religious army.<sup>1</sup> The event justified the Pope's decision, for, from that moment, the tide of battle turned. The Reformation, which for twenty years had been carrying all before it, was checked in its career. Within half a century the Jesuits had planted the Cross in every part of the world, besides securing permanent establishments in all European countries that acknowledged the Roman obedience. Within a hundred years the Order had filled the earth from India to America, with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. "No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished: none had extended its operations over so vast a space: yet in none had there ever been such perfect unity of feeling and action. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or of active life in which Jesuits were not to be found."<sup>2</sup>

The condition, constitution, and genius of this energetic and self-devoted society merit particular attention, not only from the student of general history, but from every one interested in Christian Missions. The Laws of the Order, if not originally

<sup>1</sup> On Easter Day, 1541, he became General of the Jesuits, and on the following Friday renewed his vows in the magnificent Basilica of St. Paul's at Rome.—Maffei "Vita Ignatii," p. 90. Nicolini. p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay's "Hist. of Eng." Vol. I., p. 208.

formed by Laynez and Acqua Viva, were certainly brought to perfection by them, and reduced to that system of marvellous policy which is the essential characteristic of this powerful organisation.<sup>1</sup> Based on the old Castilian military and monastic obedience, "they enlisted soldiers into the camp of Mary," for the purpose of fighting against civil and religious liberty, upholding Popery, not Christianity, governing the human race by means of superstition, reviving the spirit and in many respects the action of the old Crusades, and compensating the Papal tiara for losses in the old world by enormous acquisitions in the new.

There is a marked contrast between the Order of the Jesuits and other monastic institutions, which has a distinct bearing on the influence which this Society at once exerted, and still continues to exert in the propagation of Christianity. The monk in the silence of his cloister, devoted to self-mortification, is shut out from the world, and possesses no influence, except possibly by the example of his piety and prayers.

<sup>1</sup> "These famous Constitutions were composed by Loyola in the Spanish language. They were not at first the perfect system we now find them, and it was not till about the year 1552, that, after many alterations and improvements, adapting them to the necessities of the times, they assumed their ultimate form. They were translated into Latin by the Jesuit Father, John Polarcus, and printed in the College of the Society at Rome in 1558. They were jealously kept secret, the greater part of the Jesuits themselves knowing only extracts from them. They were never produced to the light until 1701, when they were published by order of the French Parliament, in the famous process of Messieurs Leongi and Father Laralette."—Nicolini, p. 30.



The Jesuit, on the other hand, is from his earliest years trained as the Soldier of the Cross, sworn to contend zealously for the service of God and of the Pope, God's Vicar upon earth. "Whatever might be their residence, whatever might be their employment, their spirit was the same, entire devotion to the common cause, unreasoning obedience to the central authority."<sup>1</sup> The instruction of the ignorant, the reclaiming of the wanderer, the *conversion of the heathen*, the persecution of the heretic, formed their chief objects. For these purposes, they claimed exemption from all the ordinary duties of monasticism. They wasted no time in pompous processions, or in tedious repetitions of religious offices.<sup>2</sup> But they made it their leading duty to enter thoroughly into the business of life, to study every transaction that might *influence the propagation of the faith*. They were ordered to insinuate themselves into the society of men of rank and influence, and to penetrate the secrets of every Government and every family. Deeply impressed with the importance of education, they almost entirely monopolised the training of the young, and displayed in the manage-

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's "History of England," Vol. II., p. 309. Robertson's "History of Charles V.," Vol. II., p. 430. Macaulay is indebted to Robertson for many of the ideas, and even the language in his description of the Jesuits.

<sup>2</sup> "Compte rendu par M. de Monibar," Part XIII., p. 290. "Sur la Destruction des Jesuites, Par Mons. d'Alembert," p. 42.



ment of their schools and colleges an amount of tact and ability worthy of a better cause. Their bitterest enemies were forced to admit that as teachers they had no rivals; but "they appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without intellectual emancipation."<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth Century the pulpit held its own against the rising power of the press; and the Jesuits, without neglecting the latter, estimated at its full value the influence of the former, and prepared their young members by a long course of practical instruction for the successful exertion of sacred eloquence. Every other instrumentality which could reduce mankind to mental and moral slavery was pressed into the service of this despotic order. The ministry of the Confessional was wielded with the greatest craft, assiduity, and success. There they became "all things to all men." Casuistry itself was exhausted to supply the means of dealing pleasantly with men's consciences. Sins of the most trivial character were magnified, if it suited the Confessor's purpose to terrify the penitent, while crimes of the deepest dye were explained away if the interests of "the Society" required the transgressor to be secured as a victim or a tool. In short, the religion which they inculcated was so far from being the basis of morals, that it might justly be regarded as a system

Macaulay's History, Vol. II., p. 310.

of iniquity, having, for its chief end, the promotion of the Order, utterly regardless of the destruction of truth, honour, virtue, law, or whatever else the Jesuits might consider an obstruction.

Such being the objects of this famous "Company," the form of its Government<sup>1</sup> was no less remarkable. Voluntaryism is, in a certain sense, the guiding principle of the other monastic orders, that is, the members enter of their own free will, and, though yielding obedience to an executive head, retain a share of power in the general congregation of the community. But the stern spirit of Loyola, trained in the military school of implicit obedience, resolved that the government of his new order should be a despotism, pure and simple. The very name "General," by which this religious monarch was designated, represented the idea of absolutism. The chief, elected by representatives from different provinces, wielded supreme and independent power over every individual, and in every cause. His undisputed authority appointed and removed every officer in the society. No Eastern Potentate ever ruled his slaves more absolutely than the General governed his

<sup>1</sup> The Government is purely Monarchical, and the General is its absolute and uncontrollable King. The members of the Society are divided into four Classes, the Professed, Coadjutors, Scholars, and Novices.

For a well-written account of the Hierarchy, consult Nicolini's History, chap. III. ; also, Examen IV., p. 10-15, and Const., part V., cap. IV.



passive instruments. The members of the Order were to be so completely at his disposal, that they were to give up their own wills, and even their understandings into his keeping, and to hold themselves in readiness to listen to his commands and to execute his orders as if uttered by Christ himself. "If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next Caravan."<sup>1</sup> "In short, they were to be like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcasses, incapable of resistance."<sup>2</sup> Such centralisation necessarily impressed a unity of purpose and a decision in action on all the members of this singular organisation, and contributed to crown its operations with success. History furnishes no other example of so absolute a despotism not ruling slaves in a court, soldiers in a regiment, or monks in their cells, but stretching its mysterious sway over its subjects apparently free in the most distant parts of the world, and binding them all with invisible chains to the central throne.

Thus invested with absolute and irresponsible power, the General of the Jesuits possessed, by the laws of the Order, the most ample means of studying

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's *History*, Vol. II., p. 309. Nicolini's "*History of the Jesuits*," Int. II.

<sup>2</sup> *Compte rendu au Parlem. de Bretagne* par M. de Chalotais, p. 41. Robertson's "*Charles V.*," Book VI., p. 430.



the characters of his subjects. Every novice had to "manifest his conscience," that is, to confess his sins, defects, inclinations and passions—a declaration to be renewed every six months.<sup>1</sup> During the novitiate, a universal system of espionage is established; and when, at the age of thirty-three, they take the full vows and become "professed," the superiors are thoroughly acquainted with the disposition and talent of every pupil. The results of these long-continued scrutinies are digested in the form of regular reports, transmitted by the Provincials, and entered in registers, so that the General may, at a glance, see the whole state of the society in every region of the globe, observe the abilities, temper, attainments and experience of every member, and thus select the most suitable instruments for employment in any duty which the interests of the Order may require. A calculation has been made of this wonderful system of reports which the General annually receives; from which it appears that there are thirty-seven provinces in the Order, that the average number of reports from each is a hundred-and-seventy-seven, thus making the total amount six thousand five hundred and eighty-four. The reader must not suppose that these reports were mere dry tables of figures such as modern statistics frequently exhibit; they were rather general accounts, first, of the Society itself in all its departments, and

<sup>1</sup> *Compte rendu*, par Mons. de Monclar, p. 121.

secondly, of the affairs of the country, so far as a knowledge of these could contribute to the interests of what was called religion. The writers entered into the most minute particulars, and, when secrecy was important, ciphers were employed, each Provincial, or Rector being furnished with a cipher for his own special use.<sup>1</sup>

The progress of the new Order was distinguished as much by its rapidity, as by its universality and absolute power. When Loyola, early in 1540, humbly petitioned the Pope to recognise his new Order, he could only boast of ten disciples. But, during the period to which our Essay refers, that feeble band had increased to 10,581. In the year 1710, there were twenty-four professed houses, fifty-nine houses of probationers, three hundred and forty residences, six hundred and twelve colleges, two hundred missions, one hundred and fifty seminaries and boarding-schools, and the total number of the Jesuits was twenty thousand.<sup>2</sup> The ostensible profession of this great order was to *secure the salvation of mankind*, not by prayer and contemplation solely, but by the most decided and vigorous action. We have already seen their employment of education, the pulpit, the press, the confessional, *missions to the*

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. des Jesuites," Amsterdam, 1761, Tom. IV., p. 56. Comptes par Mons. de Mond, p. 431. Comptes de M. Chalstais, p. 52. "Lettres Edifiantes," *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. des Jesuites," Tom. I., p. 20.



*heathen*, and other instrumentalities; and to these they added matchless skill and tact in originating and conducting every variety of intrigue, which rendered them masters of the situation in all Courts of Europe and Asia. And not only did the power of the Order increase, but its wealth grew in proportion. One calculation shows that the property of the Jesuits in Spain alone, under Charles III. exceeded three millions sterling.<sup>1</sup> Plausible subterfuges were invented to reconcile these enormous possessions with the monastic vow of poverty. Their vast estates, accumulated treasures of coin, plate, and jewels, and the architectural grandeur of their public buildings, while belying their professions, added immensely to their influence. One source of wealth was peculiar to this Order—a monopoly obtained from Rome of trading with the *nations which they desired to convert*—their plea being that they could thereby *render their mission self-supporting*. These priestly merchants planted the warehouse beside the Church; and, so far from considering this as a temporary expedient, they almost invariably aimed at the permanent establishment of “factories,” or commercial settlements, like those of trading companies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ford's “Spain,” p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Ces vastes et fertiles contrées sortiraient bientôt de l'obscurité où elles sont plongées, si l'Espagne savait profiter de l'ambition active des Jésuites. On sait que ces hommes admirables comme société, dangereux comme citoyens, détestables comme religieux, étaient parvenus à tirer du fond des forêts un nombre considérable de sauvages; à les fixer sur



We find this the characteristic of many of their operations in India and China, while in South America, they secured a firm footing in the fertile province of Paraguay, and reigned as sovereigns over a hundred thousand converts.<sup>1</sup>

While rendering justice to the distinguished energy, disinterestedness, and self-sacrifice, which characterised the "Society of Jesus," we must admit, unhappily for mankind, that great vices were mingled with great virtues. The enormous influence which the Order had acquired before the close of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century was quite as often employed for the worst purposes, as for the best. Every Jesuit was trained to consider the interests of the "Company" to be the sole object of his existence to which all considerations—ease, liberty, health, life itself, must be unhesitatingly sacrificed. Though the beautiful expression "ad majorem Dei gloriam" was his motto, "the end justifies the means" was practically his watchword. Attachment to his Order was the key to his public policy, as well as to individual peculiarities in character and conduct. To promote the honour and interests of the fraternity, it was, of course, important

les bords de l'Orenoque, et des rivières la plupart navigables, qui s'y jettent, à leur donner quelques principes de sociabilité un peu de goût pour les arts les plus nécessaires, et surtout pour l'agriculture.—Abbé Raynal "Hist. des deux Indes," Vol. IV., p. 278.

<sup>1</sup> Abbé Raynal, Vol. III., p. 326. Robertson's "Charles V.," Vol. II., p. 434. Macaulay, Vol. II., p. 309, and "Hist. des Jesuites," Vol. IV., p. 168.

that every brother should secure an ascendancy over the Civil Power, Christian or Pagan ; and, to this end, the most unscrupulous use of means was made to play upon the passions of men, to apologise for vice, to tolerate imperfections, and to authorise violations of every law, human and Divine.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, the Jesuits' code seems to have been composed, less with the view of elevating human nature to the level of Divine morality, than with the object of lowering the standard till it was beneath the average of ordinary humanity. Another point must not be omitted. The Jesuits were the stoutest champions of the Papacy, we might almost call them the Pontiff's body-guards, or the Papal Zouaves of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. The tendency of all their teaching was to assert and to strengthen the doctrine of unlimited obedience to the Pope. Their aim was to erect an enduring edifice of ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government and religious freedom. They therefore claimed for Rome absolute jurisdiction, asserted the independence of the clergy, and maintained, that Sovereigns who opposed the Catholic faith, might lawfully be dethroned.<sup>2</sup> As a natural

<sup>1</sup> "Compte par M. de Monce.," p. 285. Robertson's "Hist. Charles V.," p. 415. Macaulay's "Hist. of Eng.," Vol. II., p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson's "Hist. Charles V.," p. 435. Macaulay's "Hist. of Eng.," Vol. II., p. 13. Cretineau, Vol. II., p. 269. Bartoli dell' Ing., F. 101, 102, 104. Ranke's "History of the Popes," Vol. I., p. 512. Nicolini's "History of the Jesuits," p. 154.



consequence of these opinions, the Jesuits considered themselves the especial champions of the Church of Rome, against the Protestants. Every act of intrigue, every weapon of violence, every measure that the most bitter hatred could dictate, was employed without scruple to check the progress of the Reformation. The historian of the centuries which have elapsed since Paul III., armed Loyola and his ten disciples with his fatal sanction, cannot hesitate to acknowledge that this remarkable Brotherhood is answerable for many a dark deed, the result of that union of ingenious casuistry, extravagant despotism, and intolerant persecution which characterised their system.

But, while every impartial student admits the truth of our description, he must also own that the picture has its bright side, and that in this case as in many others "none are all evil." We have already said that the Jesuits had wisely secured the almost exclusive management of education, not so much in its elementary as in its superior aspect. The Universities were naturally alarmed at the threatened loss of their ancient supremacy; and the Jesuits were therefore bound to prove their claim by the exhibition of a higher grade of learning. Hence they devoted themselves with the most wonderful ardour, to the cultivation of literature, science, and art; to the revival of ancient learning, as well as to the acquisition of



foreign languages, to the preparation of valuable text-books, and to the invention of improved methods of communicating knowledge. Nor were their attainments limited to those branches which are generally considered to constitute a liberal education. They were equally at home in the pursuit of the ordinary and humbler duties of life. As one historian has said "the Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilise these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houses, they brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taste the sweets of society; and accustomed them to the blessings of security and order."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robertson's "History of Charles V." Book VI., p. 438. "Hist. du Paraguay," par Pere de Charleovix. Tom II., p. 42.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE JESUITS IN PORTUGAL.

“So strangely were good and evil intermixed in the character of these celebrated brethren; and the intermixture was the secret of their gigantic power.”—MACAULAY.

JOHN III. came to the Portuguese throne at the age of nineteen, and reigned from 1521 till 1557. His contemporaries were chiefly Charles V. of Germany, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, and the great events of European History which synchronise with his reign, were the civil and religious wars which sprang from the Reformation. The little kingdom which John governed was, however, so far removed from the centre of Europe, as to be but slightly disturbed by these movements, and the annals of his reign are chiefly filled by internal reforms in the Cortès, by wars with the Moors, negotiations with Spain, and, above all, with the extension of his power in the East.

The cares of diplomacy, the pursuit of commerce,

the glories of war, did not, however, prevent this pious King from thinking of the honour of God, or, from taking what he believed to be the most effectual measures for promoting the Kingdom of Christ. He had heard a rumour that a new institution, entitled the "Company of Jesus," had been founded at Rome, or, at least sanctioned there, by Paul III., and that its author was the great St. Ignacio de Loyola, the Soldier Saint of Guipuscoa. The King, therefore, wrote to Mascarenhas, his Ambassador at Rome, for further information, and was assured, in reply, of the great good that the Saint and his companions were doing to the souls of men, and of the high opinion which the Pontiff entertained of their labours. He saw, at a glance, that such an institution was the very thing which he most ardently desired as the foundation of a mission to those parts of the East which Portuguese Navigators had discovered, and Portuguese warriors had subdued. He believed that he should now be able to have his vast dominions illuminated by the light of the true faith, and subject to the sweet yoke of Christ our Redeemer, and of His Holy Church.<sup>1</sup> It appeared to him that to create, as it were, a new religion, at a time when all the heathen nations of India were eagerly seeking for Baptism, would be

<sup>1</sup> "Allumiadas com a luz da verdadeyra fe, e sveitas av jugo suavissimo de Christo nosso Redentor e de su Igreja sagrada."—*Annaes de Elrei Dei João Terceiro*, p. 321.



an acceptable offering to the Supreme. He reflected that as the wine was new, it should therefore have new cultivators. He considered this fresh field of enterprise so vast that it would exhaust the energies of the religious Orders already established in Portugal—an additional reason for his seeking the co-operation of the recently organised missionary power. Impressed with these sentiments he wrote again to Mascarenhas, requesting him to communicate with Ignatius, and to submit an account of the extensive field which God offered to him in India for the exercise of the great mission begun by himself and his companions, adding that, though he was aware that the new Order numbered as yet but few adherents in proportion to the vast work that had to be accomplished, he trusted that Ignatius would send him at least six of the brethren, the most zealous that he could select, and, with the utmost possible dispatch. The Ambassador entered warmly into the views of his master; a lively correspondence ensued, and, at last, the business was submitted to His Holiness. Finally, of the six which King John demanded, St. Ignatius could only spare four, who arrived at Lisbon, accompanied by the Ambassador, at the very moment when the new Governor-General of India was on the point of embarking. This was on the 30th of May, 1540, in point of fact, nearly four months before the granting of the Bull which confirmed the foundatio

of the Order. In the words of the old Chronicler "the King received the new guests with the same love which had sought them and brought them."<sup>1</sup> He rejoiced greatly when he became more intimately acquainted with the missionaries, for he found much more in them than he had been led to expect. On their arrival they were lodged at All Saints' Hospital, close to the Palace at that time known by the name of Estaos; and it was from this lowly residence, significantly near the throne however, that the Jesuits issued forth to subjugate the Oriental world and to civilise, a century later, the solitudes of America. Although all the brethren that came from Rome had devoted themselves to the Missions in the East, the King accepted only three for that object, and retained one in Portugal. The three that embarked were S. Francis Xavier, Padre Paulo, and the Brother Francisco de Mausilhas, liberally provided by the King's munificence with every necessary for the voyage. The Jesuit that remained was a Portuguese named Rodriguez de Azevedo, who became the head and founder of all those Houses and Colleges which the Company possessed in Portugal, and in all the lands subject to the Portuguese Crown throughout the world. To carry into effect the scheme which the King had formed, he determined to transfer the College

<sup>1</sup> Recebeo El Rey os novos hospedes com o mesmo amor e voutade que os buscara e pedira.—"Luiz de Sousa, *Annaes de João*," III., p. 322.



which his Father Emmanuel had founded in Lisbon to Coimbra, with the same statutes and laws, and with the King as its President. He appropriated to this University the revenues of the commandery of Carquere. These endowments entitled Portugal to be considered the first country in Europe in which the Jesuits possessed their own property — substantial riches, destined to increase to a fabulous amount. The Father P. S. Rodriguez, whose name is but little known in history, had been resident in Lisbon for two years subsequent to his arrival from Rome, and there filled the post of Rector of the College of St. Anthony. His intimate friend was Father Medeiros, and it is to these two Ecclesiastics that one must attribute the influence which the Order soon began to exercise over the mind of John III. The Portuguese historian, Alvaro de Liamo, who seems to have been ignorant of these facts, but who follows, step by step, the progress of the Order in Portugal, expresses himself with his accustomed energy as to the results of this skilful seduction which changed the whole political aspect, and which, addressing itself at first to the King, in a short time subdued the country. After referring to the arrival of these two Founders at Lisbon, he says "The first was always a stranger to the Court and avoided the honours with which he was loaded; he had no rest till he quitted Lisbon to embark for India. Simon Rodriguez devoted himself



to establish in Portugal the empire of the ambitious Society of Loyola. This fanatic, aided by ten companions as indefatigable as himself succeeded in usurping the rights of the Episcopate, seized all the sources of public opinion, of the Government in Church and State, and of the education of the young. Even the King himself (John III.) took the vows, and the Portuguese nobility saw themselves thenceforward surrounded, if not oppressed, by the corrupters of Christian morality."<sup>1</sup>

It does not enter into our plan to follow, in minute detail, the encroachments of the Jesuits in the various Courts and countries of Europe. We have noticed their settlement in Portugal, because that event forms an important link in the chain which we are attempting to construct. Further information will be found in Herculano's "History of Portugal," Nicolini's "History of the Jesuits," Ranke's "History of the Popes," Maffei's "Vita Ignatii," the "Litteræ Annuæ Societatis Jesu," Pasquier's "Catéchisme des Jesuites," Michelsen's "Modern Jesuitism," and similar works.

We may conclude this chapter by reminding the reader that two centuries after the foundation of the Order, when Pombal undertook to crush the power of the successors of Rodriguez, they counted twenty-four great Colleges, being then considered the richest corporation in the kingdom, and that then was verified

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in "Portugal," par M. F. Denis, p. 412.

the celebrated prophecy of St. Borja, who saw in their apparent prosperity, the very causes of their destruction—"Veniet tempus cum se societas multis quidem hominibus abundantem, sed spiritu et virtute destitutam, mœrens intuebitur."

## CHAPTER VI.

### ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S MISSION IN INDIA.

"In the History of the Jesuits Missions in India, Francis Xavier stands out in solitary grandeur, as the one Apostolic man."—KAYE.

ABOUT twenty miles from Pampeluna<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the Pyrennees, and in the midst of the most romantic scenery of Navarre, stands the baronial castle of the noble family of Xavier. Here lived Don Juan de Jasso, and his wife Mary Xavier, and here their youngest son, Francis, was born, 7th April, 1506. Thus by a singular coincidence the great Apostle of the Indies, and the first great missionary of the new Order was, like Loyola, not only a Spaniard, but a Navarese. The early years of Xavier were spent in solitary wanderings at every spare moment amidst the romantic scenery of his mountain home. For him the rough sports of the field had no charms. Under several private tutors, whom the wealth of his parents

<sup>1</sup> "Pampeluna, or Pamplona, the ancient Pompeiopolis ("Strabo," III., 245) was founded by the sons of Pompey, 68. B.C. and the Latin name was corrupted by the Moors into Bambilolah."—Ford's "Spain," p. 952.



secured, he became eminent as a classic and metaphysician. In 1524, he was enrolled as a student of the College of St. Barba, at Paris, and while still a mere youth he was selected to fill the Chair of Lecturer on the philosophy of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> Here he might have passed his life in academic obscurity, or with merely local fame, but for the arrival of his enthusiastic countryman Loyola. The Founder of a new Order was then preparing himself for his great work. The schemes first dawning on his mind when suffering from his wounds at Pampeluna were now gradually gaining strength. Feeling his own deficiencies, he too became a student at Paris, and there heard of Xavier's reputation. The old soldier at once sought the acquaintance of the young noble, read with a wonderful penetration the mind of his future disciple, and employed every argument to convert this splendid intellect and powerful will into instruments for the promotion of his great plan. Philosophy, casuistry, metaphysics, were to give way to action, and that action was to be the Propagation of the Faith. For a long time Ignatius importuned in vain. The quiet student clung to his books and resisted all entreaties. But one day, when every appeal had failed, Ignatius,

<sup>1</sup> "He was about the middle size, had a lofty forehead, large, blue, soft eyes, with an exquisitely fine complexion, and with the manners and demeanour of a prince." Nicolini, p. 88. See Lucena's "Life of Xavier," "Life of S. Francis Xavier" by Bartoli and Maffei, translated by Faber, "Venu's Life of Xavier," and Nicolini's "Jesuits," pp.

fixing his eyes on the still hesitating scholar, said, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Then, with a few rapid strokes, he drew a picture of worldliness as contrasted with spiritual blessings. He pointed out the hollowness of all earthly happiness, the privations and self-sacrifice which must fall to the lot of the disciples of the Cross, and, with burning eloquence, exhibited the glories of the Martyr's Crown. Xavier listened, wavered, and was won.

Montmartre, a short walk from the College of St. Barbe, was, soon after this interview, the scene of a remarkable act. There, in the Church of St. Denis, on Assumption Day, 15th August, 1534,<sup>1</sup> Ignatius Xavier, and five other proselytes,<sup>2</sup> met one morning, and, in circumstances of peculiar solemnity, after Mass, dedicated themselves to the Holy Father, and to the Church of which he was the head. How much of the world's history depended on this meeting!

Six years passed. Xavier, true to his vows, had renounced the world, and was spending his life in toilsome journeys, suffering every hardship, from poverty, exposure, and fatigue, when he was summoned by Ignatius to Rome. The scheme was now approaching its completion. Nearly nineteen years

<sup>1</sup> "This day was ever after regarded as the Birthday of the Society."  
—Bartoli translated by Faber, p. II.

<sup>2</sup> These were Lainez, Salmeron, Rodriguez, Bobadilla, and Lefevre.



had elapsed since the cannon shot of Pampeluna had prepared the way for the foundation of the Society of Jesus. The little Company numbered but seven when they mustered to be presented by Ignatius to Paul III. Two circumstances seemed to combine to train the future Apostle for his Eastern Mission—his appointment to the Pulpit of St. Lawrence, where he had ample training in extemporaneous preaching, and the occurrence of a terrible famine in which he displayed that unselfish devotion to the sufferers, which shone forth still more splendidly in the regions of the East.

While these things were passing at Rome, an old college companion of Loyola and Xavier happened to be sent by John III. as Ambassador to the Pope. Renewing his friendship with his fellow-students, he was deeply impressed by the extraordinary zeal and energy which they displayed. He saw in them the very *Missionaries whom the Portuguese monarch was engaged in seeking to plant the Church in Southern India.* In our last chapter we gave a brief account of this negotiation. Ignatius could not accept the invitation, as he was head of the Order and was, of course, obliged to remain at Rome, the centre of operations. Rodriguez headed the mission that set out from Rome, though he was destined not to visit the East. The stern Loyola, delighted as he was with this first indication of the future greatness of



his Order, could not part with his favourite disciple without emotion. Claspings his hands, he exclaimed in a voice, broken by sobs, "Go, my brother, rejoice that you have not here a narrow Palestine, or a single province of Asia in prospect, but a vast extent of ground—the *Indies, a whole world of people and nations*. This is reserved for your endeavours; and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and your zeal. The voice of God calls you, kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you." Xavier's words were, "It is impossible for me to forget you, Ignatius; or not to recall to my memory that sincere and holy friendship which you have shown me. Father of my soul, when I am afar, I will think that you are still present, and that I behold you with my eyes; write to me often. The smallness of my talent is known to you; share with me those abundant treasures which Heaven has heaped upon you."

They parted for ever, Ignatius remaining in the capital of the Christian world, Xavier setting forth to preach the Gospel to unknown nations in the East. On his way to Lisbon, the Apostle of India started from Rome, on 16th March, 1540, travelled by Loretto, Bologna, &c., crossed the Alps and the Pyrennees, and, it is said, passed within sight of his Castle Towers, but refused to stop, or even to make himself known, lest an interview with his mother (then

dying) and family might shake his purpose.<sup>1</sup> On arriving at the Portuguese Court in June he found the next fleet for India was not to weigh anchor till the following spring, and he spent the intervening nine months in visiting the sick and dying in the hospitals, and the prisoners in the cells of the Inquisition.

In April, 1541, a Portuguese troop-ship lay ready for sea in the Tagus opposite Belem. Her destination was Goa, and she was to carry out a new Viceroy, and a reinforcement of a thousand men. But one was to sail in her who was to effect a revolution in the Eastern world, as well as to immortalise his name amongst the great-hearted workers in the cause of truth. Xavier, commissioned as Pope's Nuncio in the East, and bearing letters of recommendation to all the princes whom he might encounter, went silently on board the Flag Ship St. James, and bade adieu for ever to his home, his friends, and the first brethren of that Order in which he felt so deep an interest.<sup>2</sup> John III. had, with his characteristic kindness, ordered a cabin to be fitted up for this *leader of the Portuguese Missions*; but he, faithful to his vow, rejected everything in the shape of indulgence. He retained merely a few books, a warm rug

<sup>1</sup> Lucena, Liv. I., p. 62. Bartoli by Faber, p. 36. "The conduct attributed to Xavier is, however, scarcely consistent with his generous character."—Venn's Life, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "He sailed on 7th April with the Viceroy (Martin de Souza), on his 36th birthday."—Lucena.



to cover him during chilly nights, he made his pillow a coil of ropes, and shared the coarsest food of the common sailors. He conversed in the most friendly way with all around him, tended the sick, instructed the ignorant, and won all hearts. The rudest soldier was at no loss to recognise the gentleman and the scholar, even under the disguise of the poor raiment which Xavier felt it his duty to wear, and when, at the end of a tedious thirteen months' voyage (6th May, 1542) the battered vessel cast anchor, in the roadstead of Goa, he felt that he had had another course of probation for his great work in the golden land which now met his gaze. His parting words to Rodriguez, who escorted him on board at Belem, were (speaking of a vision of various forms of death which had appeared to him at Rome), "I then beheld all I was to suffer for the glory of Jesus Christ; I exclaimed in my dream 'Yet more oh my God! yet more!'—and I hope, that God will grant me that in India which he has foreshown to me in Italy." On landing he presented his letters to the Bishop of Goa by whom he was warmly welcomed, and assured of support in his mission. Declining the well-meant offers of Bishop Vaz, though at the same time acknowledging his authority, and delicately proposing to keep in abeyance his office of Nuncio, the Apostle resolved to seek in prayer encouragement from a Higher Power. It is recorded that he retired to a Church and spent



the whole of his first night in India in earnest supplication—"an example worthy the imitation of missionaries of a purer creed."<sup>1</sup>

The social condition of his countrymen was the first thing that attracted his notice. Merchants, soldiers, sailors, emigrants, adventurers of all kinds, had crowded into Goa, as men rush, in our own day, to newly discovered diggings, petroleum-wells, or any other source of tempting wealth. The love of gold and the gratification of passion had rendered law and order almost unmeaning names, and though, it is true that the Portuguese Church had, at a very early period, sent out a Bishop with a full staff of Clergy,<sup>2</sup> yet the voice of religion received but little heed amidst the distractions of commerce, the clash of arms, and the temptations to self-indulgence. This state of things, Xavier saw, would entirely neutralise the success of his mission to the heathen ; and he, therefore, devoted himself with a wonderful mixture of tact and courage to reform the Christians before attempting to convert the Pagans. His biographer<sup>3</sup> narrates the means employed (somewhat childish in our eyes) and recently to a certain extent, imitated in the East London Mission, but attended with remarkable success, inasmuch as a great reformation of manners took place,

<sup>1</sup> Hough's "Christianity," Vol. I., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> "Fernando was first Bishop."—Lucena p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Lucena, *passim*.

and the heathen could no longer point to the Christians as the very worst specimens of the religion which they professed.

This accomplished, he felt himself in a better position to devote all his energies to *the primary object of his mission—the conversion of the heathen*. He, therefore, declined the Bishop's offer of the Rectorship of the new College at Goa, established for the purpose of educating heathen students. Yet he saw the importance of this academy as an instrument for the promotion of his great plan, and he introduced into its constitution several salutary reforms, made it a missionary college, and transferred it to the "Society of Jesus," under the title of "the College of St. Paul."<sup>1</sup> Another object attracted the attention of Xavier. He found that Christianity made very slow progress because the Hindoo converts, suffering loss and persecution on account of their change of faith, were neglected by the very Monks who had won them over. On his solicitation, the wealthy merchants of the Portuguese "factory" subscribed a large sum which enabled him to support destitute proselytes, and to found an orphanage for the children of deceased converts.

During all this time he missed no opportunity of still further preparation for his mission to the heathen.

<sup>1</sup> "The Jesuit Missionaries in India are therefore frequently called the Fathers of St. Paul."—Hough, Vol. I., p. 175.



India was then but little known, except those portions in the immediate vicinity of the European settlements, scattered, at wide intervals, along the coast. Xavier therefore, without guide-books, maps, dictionaries, or any knowledge of the native dialects<sup>1</sup> had to obtain as best he could (and one wonders how he did it), all the information as to manners and customs, laws, religion, and language, which the natives, visiting Goa, could supply. He then resolved to start on his mission, and we must try to picture to ourselves the Spanish Noble, the Parisian Professor, the Papal Nuncio, forsaking all dignities and honours going forth in lowly garb<sup>2</sup> his little silver bell in hand, summoning the apathetic Indians around him, and teaching them, in broken language, and with foreign accent, the elements of a strange creed. He first visited the Paravars, a low Caste, chiefly fishermen on the southern coast, who had been defended by the Portuguese against the Moslems. and who, *in gratitude, had adopted the religion of their champions.*

<sup>1</sup> "I find it a most inconvenient position to be in the midst of a people of unknown tongue without the assistance of an interpreter," says Xavier in his letter of 21st August, 1544; yet one of his panegyrists, John Vaz, determined to magnify his powers, declares that 'he spoke the language of the people fluently, though he had never learnt it.' Faber, of course, believes the miracle ("Life of Xavier," p. 98), and Marshall 'has no doubt that he could converse at the same moment with men of various nations and dialects, so that each thought he heard him speak his own tongue.'"—"Christian Missions," Vol. I., p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> "Father Xavier always went barefoot, wearing an old, faded, patched habit, with an old black cloth hat."—João Vaz.



Believing this to be a favourable opening he sailed from Goa for Cape Comorin in October, 1542. Two Priests, who fancied they knew the language (Tamil) accompanied him, but their attainments were not equal to the task. Still, he managed to make a translation, imperfect, no doubt, of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other portions of the Christian faith. One almost smiles, when reading the narrative of his biographer, at learning that he committed to memory this extraordinary compound of truth and error in religion, of right and wrong in language; and that, thus armed, he positively undertook to preach to the people in their native tongue.<sup>1</sup> Let us hear, in his own words, his extraordinary method of converting the heathen:—"I went about with my bell in my hand, and gathering together all I met, both men and children, I instructed them in the Christian doctrine. The children learnt it easily by heart, in the compass of a month; and when they understood it, I charged them to teach it to their fathers and mothers, then to all of their own family, and even to their neighbours. On Sundays, I assembled the men and women, little boys and girls, in the Chapel; all come to my appointment with an incredible joy, and most ardent desire to hear the Word of God. I began with the confessing God to be one in nature, and triune in person. I afterwards

<sup>1</sup> See Lucena. Dr. Faber's Translation. "Venn's Life."

repeated distinctly, and with an audible voice, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, and the Apostles' Creed. All of them together repeated after me; and it is hardly to be imagined what pleasure they took in it. This being done, I repeated the Creed distinctly, and, insisting on every particular Article, asked if they really believed it? They all protested to me, with loud cries, and their hands across their breasts, that they firmly believed it. My practice is, to make them repeat the Creed oftener than the other prayers; and I declare to them, at the same time, that they who believe the contents of it are true Christians.

“From the Creed, I pass to the Ten Commandments, and give them to understand, that the Christian Law is comprised in these precepts; that he who keeps them all according to his duty, is a good Christian; and that eternal life is decreed to him: that, on the contrary, whoever violates one of these Commandments is a bad Christian, and that he shall be damned eternally, in case he repent not of his sin. Both the new Christians, and the Pagans, admire our law, as holy and reasonable, and consistent with itself.

“Having done as I told you, my custom is to repeat with them, the Lord's Prayer, and the Angels' Salutation. Once again we recite the Creed, and, at every Article, besides the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria, we intermingle some short prayer: for having



pronounced aloud the first Article, I begin thus, and they say after me : ' Jesus thou son of the living God, give me grace to believe firmly this first Article of thy Faith, and with this intention, we offer unto thee that prayer, of which thou thyself art the Author.' Then we add, Holy Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us, from thy Son, that we may have the grace to keep this first Commandment. After which we say the Ave Maria. We observe the same method through the other nine Commandments, with such little variations as the matter may require."<sup>1</sup>

It will thus be evident that Xavier's *hopes of success rested on bare rites and ceremonies, baptisms not understood or desired, but simply performed by the one party and endured by the other, dry formularies repeated as if the mere words would act as charms or spells in the work of conversion.* With all this, however, there was combined the influence which arose from untiring zeal, marvellous activity, and unwearied patience in enduring fasting, fatigue, poverty, sickness, and every kind of misery. To this we must add one characteristic feature of his mission, *his invariable kindness in ministering to the wants of the sick and the poor.*

The year 1543 was chiefly spent amongst the thirty villages of the fishery coast. His headquarters appear to have been the little town of Tuticorin, to the

<sup>1</sup> Hough's "India," Vol. I., pp. 178-9. This is an extract from Xavier's Letters to the Jesuit's Society at Rome.



East of Tinnevelly, but his biographers represent him as being constantly on the move, and devoting from one to three weeks to each village according to its population. During this time he sent a priest to Manaar, a little island near Ceylon, and succeeded in converting many of the natives, six hundred of whom were shortly afterwards massacred by the King of Jaffnapatam.<sup>1</sup> On leaving each village he appointed the cleverest proselyte to drill the converts regularly in the repetition of the formularies; and that they might not trust to religious zeal alone, they were *handsomely paid* by certain "gold fanams" from the Portuguese treasury at Goa. When he left these simple people, he took with him a few of the most promising lads to be trained for missionary work in the College of St. Paul. We have no space to notice his unsuccessful attempts to convert the sharp-witted Brahmins, but the reader will find a full account in Lucena, Bartoli and Maffei, and in the Lives by Faber and Venn.

Early in 1544 he returned to Goa, secured the services of three missionaries, and went back to South India, dividing the coast into three districts, and assigning a priest to each. He advanced alone into the interior, pursuing the same course which we have already described. The Rajah of Travancore received him kindly, thousands of idolaters were baptised,

<sup>1</sup> Lucena, Liv. II., p. 238.

idols and their temples were destroyed by the proselytes, and forty-five churches erected for the new Christians. His own words are: "In the kingdom of Travancore, in the space of one month, I have made ten thousand Christians."<sup>1</sup> This work of conversion was promoted by a romantic episode, in which the chivalrous courage of the Spanish noble shone forth from the squalid garment of the Jesuit. A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah's forces, inferior in number, went out to meet the invaders, but Xavier resolved, if possible, to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe, and exclaimed in a voice of thunder, "I forbid you, in the name of the living God, to pass further. Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace." Astounded by this apparition, the superstitious multitude broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable, it is not impossible; and there must be some foundation for it, as the Rajah, grateful for this heroic deed, did all in his power to further the interests of Xavier and his mission. Convinced that the way was now open, we

<sup>1</sup> Xavier's Letters, 45. This exaggeration is supposed to be the work of a copyist, for Xavier writes only "*plurimos* Christianos." Venn, p. 65. But the Roman Catholic writers do not doubt the ten thousand. See Faber, p. 74; and "Marshall's Missions," Vol. I., p. 215



find him writing the most urgent letters to Europe, imploring the Jesuits in Italy, France, and Portugal to come over and help him. "I take God to witness," he exclaims, "that, not being able to return into Europe, I have resolved to write to the University of Paris, that millions of idolaters might be easily converted, if there were more preachers who would sincerely mind the interests of Jesus Christ, and not their own concerns." His appeal was admired and applauded, but no action followed. Then, as now, approbation was easier than imitation.

The early part of 1545 was spent at Cochin and Nagapatam in missionary labours of the same kind, and with the same results. We find him writing to the Portuguese king (John III.) a very strong letter against the administration of the Viceroy, conveyed to Europe by the hands of Michael Vaz.<sup>1</sup> The effects of this appeal were the recall of the obnoxious Viceroy, and the appointment of the famous João de Castro. A letter from the King to the new Viceroy, dated Almelrem, 8th March, 1546, is printed *in extenso*, and shows how deeply interested the King was, not merely for the promotion of his dominions, but for the co-extensive propagation of the faith.<sup>2</sup> He commands that the idols should be broken to pieces, the

<sup>1</sup> Lucena, Liv. II., p. 263. Faber, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Vida de João de Castro. Por Andrade, 1651. Edit. por Bispo Francisco Leuz, Lisboa, 1835, p. 51. "Carta d'el Rey a Don João de Castro."



temples destroyed, and every effort made to suppress idolatry.<sup>1</sup> The whole document, filling seven pages, is far too long to quote here, but we may cite one passage. "Above all, we charge you that in whatever occurs, you consult Father Francisco Xavier, and principally with reference to the growth of Christianity on the Fishery Coast." And we may further notice the benevolent provision made for succouring the newly-converted Indians, who had to endure great persecution on account of their change of faith. The historian quoted goes on to say that, "King John effected by this letter what his arms could not achieve," and that "Heaven blessed his exertions with distinguished success" in the Molucca islands.

Xavier, disgusted by the failure of his efforts to chastise with the sword the king who had massacred the converts of Manaar, or perhaps, seeing the hollowness of his so-called conversions, resolved to leave India. He went, however, for a short time to Meliapour or St. Thomé, near Madras, and there, according to the Roman Catholic writers, he underwent a series of most marvellous persecutions, being waylaid by devils on his way to church at night, and severely

<sup>1</sup> "Vos mandamos, que descol rindo todos os Idolos por ministros diligentes os extinguais, et façais em pedços em qualquer lugar onde forem achados, publicando rigorosas penas contra quæsquæ pessvas que atreverem a lavar, fundir, esculpir, debuxar, pintar, on tirar a'leoz qualquer figura de Idolo em metal, bronze, madeira, barro, on outra qualquer materia, &c., &c."—Vida de João de Castro, pp. 51-2.

beaten. We must refer the curious on this point to the writer already cited, who evidently believes the whole story.<sup>1</sup> He arrived at Malacca on the 25th of September, and there he found the Portuguese as depraved as their countrymen at Goa, though some efforts had been made by Antonia Galvao, a noble governor and zealous apostle to introduce Christianity amongst the Pagans. The Europeans, who, for more than thirty years had been successfully pursuing the spice trade, seemed to imagine that *the Christian faith was already theirs, and that missionary efforts were only required by surrounding heathenism.* Xavier, after many efforts, not always with good results, proceeded to Amboyna, and thence to the island of Ternate, the Isle del Moro, Java, and other places. On the return voyage, he arrived at Malacca in July, 1547, where he met with three priests, Beyra, Nunez, and Ribeira, who had come out as members of the Portuguese Missions, to test their qualifications, to point out defects in their plans, and to suggest greater attention being bestowed on the study of the native language. Space forbids our copying his address, but one cannot help admiring the wisdom and Christian love which seem to guide him in discoursing to these Jesuit missionaries. *Had such counsels been the ruling principles of the Portuguese missions in Southern India, the labourers of the sixteenth century would have been a*

<sup>1</sup> Faber's Translation, p. 121.



*help, and not a hindrance to their followers in the nineteenth.*

This great duty performed, he visited the Rajah of Jaffnapatam, whom his eloquence persuaded to treat the converts with humanity. Thence he went to Ramisarim and Ceylon, reaching Goa in March, 1548. He found his college prosperous, and the Japanese students not only diligent in their ordinary work, but so fully instructed in the Christian faith, that the bishop baptised him as Paulo da Santa Fè. Five more Jesuits had arrived from Portugal; native students had received the priesthood, and even a few of the pearl fishers were admitted as catechists. So that *the Portuguese missions, feebly started at the beginning of the century, and vigorously revived after forty years' torpor, were now beginning to put forth their energies.* Having sent Barzaeus as missionary to Ormuz, appointed Paulo de Camerina vicar-general, and Gomez warden of his new college, he set sail for Japan in 1549. His marvellous labours in that island, crowned with far greater success than his efforts in Southern India, would cause a digression from our theme. After two years' toil, he visited Goa for the last time in 1551. He then sailed for China; and when off the island of Sancian, feeling ill, he asked to be landed. Here he was left in a wretched shed, and died on the 2nd of December, 1552. The body was carried to Goa, and, being enclosed in a coffin enriched with



silver and gems, was placed in a shrine of exquisite beauty, the resort and object of worship of numberless pilgrims.

Thus ended the life of Xavier. But the *effects* of his ten years in the East Indies are *felt for good and for evil to the present hour*. It is scarcely possible for the impartial student of history who toils through a mass of conflicting evidence in Latin, Spanish, French, and Portuguese, to arrive at a perfectly satisfactory conclusion on this subject. If he leans towards the supernatural, he will find abundance of support in the writings of nearly all the Jesuit Fathers, in the "processes," that is, the documents, authorising the canonization of Xavier, and in the recent works of Dryden, Faber, John Mason Neale, Strickland, Marshall, and others of the same school. If, on the contrary, he looks upon the narrative as a spiritual romance, or a tale of religious knight-errantry, he will find himself supported by sceptics from Gibbon to Buckle, by disappointed Romanists, like the Abbé Dubois, and by narrow-minded Protestants such as some of our modern missionaries to the east. Truth, in this instance, as in many others, lies between, and we cannot conclude this chapter better than by quoting the eloquent words of the author of "Christianity in India":—"Protestant zeal is only contemptible when it denies that Francis Xavier was a great man. Delusions he may have had, strong as ever yet

wrought upon the human soul ; but the true nobility of his nature is not to be gainsaid. It would be the vilest injustice to fix upon the first Jesuit missionary, the charge of dishonesty and insincerity, because, among his followers have been liars and hypocrites of the worst class. He met the last summons with rapture, and beneath a miserable shed, he closed a life of agony and bliss, of humiliation and of triumph, with scarcely a parallel in the history of the world."

## CHAPTER VII.

### SUBSEQUENT MISSIONS IN THE XVI<sup>th</sup>. CENTURY.

“The history of modern Roman Catholic Missions to heathen countries forms an important subject of enquiry with all who take an interest in the progress of Christianity. One of the most remarkable periods is that which extends from the middle of the XVI<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century.”—Venn’s “Life of Xavier.”

XAVIER fills so important a place in the Portuguese Missions of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, that one is apt to forget the efforts of others before and after his career. We have already noticed the very early movements connected with the voyages of Cabral and Da Gama, remarking that during the long period of forty years, the Portuguese had been too much occupied in conquest and commerce to pay attention even to their own Christianity, and, of course, they took no pains to secure its propagation amongst the surrounding heathen. We may now summarise the chief incidents of the Portuguese Missions, so far as the Pagans are concerned. In other chapters we shall speak of the influence exerted by the Jesuits on the Syrian Christians.



To go back a few years. In 1540, a preaching friar, Bernard de la Croix, of episcopal rank was sent by the Dominicans from Europe to Meliapour. This mission, with others of minor importance, affords proof of the zeal and perseverance of that Order in the cause of Indian Missions.<sup>1</sup> But a still more decided step was taken in 1545, when the Dominicans established "The Congregation of the Indies"—a missionary college for the training of young men, as apostolic labourers bound by solemn vows to dedicate themselves to the conversion of the heathen, and to shrink from no danger, privation, or toil, resisting even unto blood. The first fruits of this new "congregation" appeared in 1548, when twelve Portuguese Dominicans, under Father Bermudez, arrived in India. These new preachers were charged with the conversion of fifteen villages in the islands of Goa, wherein, it is said, they succeeded in erecting four churches. If we may credit the accounts given by Fontana, these missionaries saw their labours crowned with marvellous success within a year of their arrival. He speaks in the "Monumenta Domenicana" of eighteen churches and convents in Solor, Flores, Lamatta, and Malacca; and he computes their neophytes at 60,000. In the famous work from which we quote (a sort of Annual Report of the Order) minute particulars are given of the energy and eloquence of their preachers,

<sup>1</sup> Fontana, "Monumenta Domenicana," Ann. 1540.

especially of two, named Ignatius and Macedo, contemporaries of Xavier—and of the various expedients for securing and retaining the Indian converts. The zeal of the Dominicans was, however, by no means limited to Southern India; for we find that in 1555, Gaspard de la Croix, a native of Evora, one of the original twelve Portuguese who had landed in 1548, determined to set out for China; but his adventures there do not affect our present question. It is more to our purpose to notice that in the year 1557, three of the Missionaries of these Dominicans, or preaching friars, were promoted to the sees of Goa, Cochin, and Malacca. Attention is called to this circumstance, as it is a prevalent opinion that the Jesuits were almost the only missionaries in the East. So far, indeed, was this from being the case, that, towards the close of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, the mission field of Portuguese India, was divided into three parts in order that there might be no interference of operations. To the Dominicans was assigned Ormuz, with its dependencies; to the Franciscans, Ceylon; while the Jesuits had, after a while, the chief superintendence of Goa and its environs.

Father Du Jarric, S.J., is our chief authority for this period of Missionary history, but his style is so prolix, his descriptions so minute, and his bias towards the Jesuits so decided, that it is impossible to do more than to give one brief specimen, not a translation, but



a précis of his narrative. He says that the means employed to convert the Pagans were not solely or chiefly, as has been alleged, certain temporal advantages with promises of future happiness. All that the splendid ceremonial of the Roman Church could produce was employed to captivate the Gentiles. When the Jesuits had reason to believe that their missionary fields in the neighbouring villages were ripe for the sickle, they proceeded from Goa, not merely in Ecclesiastical pomp, but also escorted by a powerful military force, for the double purpose of ostentation and protection. Next day they were in the habit of forming a procession of neophytes in two columns; the first of men and boys, the second of women and girls. On their arrival at the Viceregal Metropolis, they were lodged in the House of the Catechumens, and carefully taught twice a day.<sup>1</sup> When duly prepared they were taken to Church on

<sup>1</sup> Hough and others deny that instruction as a rule preceded baptism. See "Christianity in India," Vol. I., p. 208. But the Roman Catholic writers positively assert that every care was taken, and it is but fair to hear their own words on this much disputed point:—"Une des choses qui contribue le plus à rendre la chrétienté de la côte de la Pecherie si distinguée entre toutes les autres, c'est le soin qu'on prend d'enseigner de très bonne heure la doctrine chrétienne aux plus petits enfans. Cette sainte coutume s'est conservée inviolablement en ce pays ja depuis le temps de S. François Xavier, il etait persuadé que la foi ne pouvait manquer de jeter de profondes racines dans le cœur des habitans, si dès la première enfance on les instruisait bien des mystères et des préceptes de notre religion."—*Choix des "Lettres Edifiantes,"* Vol. IV., p. 554.



some great festival, flags, tapestry, flowers, and evergreens decorated the cathedral. The streets had banners and carpets hung from all the windows, and triumphal arches were erected along the line of procession. The Catechumens received new clothes, generally the gifts of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and the leading officials. One interesting band, the Children of St. Xavier, robed in white, red crosses on their breasts, and green branches in their hands followed the Candidates. Next came the students of the College of St. Paul, of various races and complexions, the future labourers in the mission field. Lastly, the Brethren of the Society of Jesus marched two and two under the standard of the crucifix. On reaching the church the procession divided with that perfect regularity which is characteristic of Roman ceremonial, each falling into his proper place. The Viceroy, surrounded by a brilliant staff, in naval and military uniforms, the Archbishop and his clergy in all the splendour of gold jewels, and silk, with everything to enhance the spectacle which the wealth of luxurious Goa could produce, welcomed the poor bewildered Pagans to their new faith. Music, vocal and instrumental, prayers, ceremonies, statues, pictures, flowers, incense, all combined to render the baptism of the converts a sight never to be forgotten. After the administration, they proceeded in order to the "altar on which was exposed the Holy Sacrament,"

to render thanks to Christ that he had made them his children. The men and boys then went to the house of the Jesuits to dinner, the brethren acting as servants to their guests. The women and girls were kindly received and similarly entertained at the houses of pious ladies of high rank, who vied with each other in their attentions to the new Christians. Next day they returned to the same church, and received their first communion, going back to their native villages with joy. The good fathers took special care to visit them in their homes from time to time, in order to maintain their faith. This system of conversion, differing in many respects from others, appears to have worked well during the latter half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century; for, without speaking of the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Jesuits in Goa alone baptised at first a thousand, then nineteen hundred, then above three thousand, and lastly the astonishing number of twelve thousand every year.<sup>1</sup>

It must not however be supposed that the operations of the Propagandists were limited to the lowest of the people, or to those who might be fairly classed as idolaters. True to their principles, these missionaries considered all beyond the pale of their Church, aliens to the faith, and, of course, needing conversion. Hence we find them, at one time working against

<sup>1</sup> Du Jarric "Hist. des Choises" plus mémorables, &c., Tom I., p. 315.



Hindoo idolatry, at another attacking Mahommedan deism, and at a third interfering with Syrian Christianity. Amongst the Moslems their success was not great, though, in 1557, they achieved a triumph in the baptism of the daughter of Sultan Meale of the Deccan.

From Goa, as a centre, missionary influence continued to radiate, and expeditions were undertaken for the destruction of idolatry, sometimes by moral force, often by physical. For example, the islands of Choran and Divar to the north of Goa were famed for a multitude of idols. In the second, there stood the temple of Genesa, a popular divinity, attracting pilgrims from all parts of India. The Jesuits considered this sacred spot a noble field, and advanced to the conflict with all the ardour, though happily without the cruelty of the old Teutonic knights, and success crowned their efforts.<sup>1</sup> Another instance may be found when Dom Constantino (twentieth Viceroy) besieged Daman, in Guzerat, in 1599. Convinced by a trifling incident of the superior sanctity of the Jesuits (at least so says du Jarric) he handed over the mosque of the captured city to the fathers to be purified and converted into a church; and strange to tell, the wife of the Mohammedan Governor was suddenly seized with so strong a desire for baptism, that the rite was almost immediately administered.

<sup>1</sup> For a full account see Du Jarric, Tom I., p. 448, and Baron Herion's "Histoire des Missions."



We are further informed that the new Viceroy had the propagation of the faith so warmly at heart that he never ceased to exert himself in the Holy cause. Close to Goa lies the peninsula of Salsette, then containing 80,000 heathen in 66 villages, sunk in the grossest ignorance, and a prey to the cupidity of the crafty Brahmins. To this stronghold the Viceroy Constantine obtained an entrance by skilful diplomacy for the Jesuit missionaries, and in a short time they could boast of two thousand converts as their first fruits. The Brahmins, frantic at the double loss of influence and trade, stirred up the heathen to persecute the neophytes ; and the Jesuits, in self-defence, built a hospital for the protection of their disciples. This measure, though absolutely necessary, still further irritated the Indian Priests and their followers to such an extent that they attacked the Jesuits, and beat them and their converts most cruelly. Whereupon the Viceroy, by landing a body of troops and destroying all the temples, proved to the natives that such interference with the propagation of Christianity would be severely chastised.

The reader may remember the cruelty of the Rajah of Jaffnapatam, and the disgust of Xavier at his escaping with impunity. The chastisement, however, was only deferred, for in 1560 the Viceroy Constantine attacked the Rajah. The results were the session of Manaar, the capture of the heir-apparent, the sack

of the capital, and the seizure of the Royal treasury, the most valuable gem being the tooth of a white monkey named Anomna.<sup>1</sup> So highly was this ridiculous object venerated that the King of Pegu offered 300,000 crowns as a ransom! When this request reached Goa a council was held, and a long and serious debate took place as to whether or not the tooth should be restored and the money accepted. The result was a negative, and the Governor ordered the tooth to be pounded in a mortar and burnt in his presence.

Goa continued to be the focus of missionary enterprise, and the scene of numerous conversions, the harvest demanding more labourers, Alberto Laertio, an Italian Jesuit, set out from Goa for Rome, and brought back with him sixty-two missionaries of the "Company," who were soon afterwards followed by fifteen more.

But Goa was not the only centre. The Jesuits' College at Cochin had three dependent residences; that of St. James, a league from the town, where two Brethren had charge of three Churches—that of Murterhe, five leagues from Cochin, where there was no Church till 1581; that of Vaipacota, a league from Cranganor in the midst of the Christians of St. Thomas.

Towards the close of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, the Jesuit

<sup>1</sup> Abbé Dubois, *Moeurs, &c.*, Tom. II., p. 430.



Francisco Ros, a man well skilled in Syriac and Tamil, carried on a successful mission in the kingdom of Calicut. The story is too long to tell here, but the outline is this. The Zamorin, fearing the power of Portugal on the one hand, and the extortions of a Moslem Corsair on the other, implored the good offices of the Jesuit Acosta, then a captive at Calicut, to negotiate a peace for him with Matias d'Albuquerque. The Viceroy sent Acosta back to the Zamorin with the Jesuit Ros, at that time engaged in converting the Syrian Christians in the Serra. The Indian Prince not only gave the missionaries a hearty welcome, but granted them every facility for preaching the Gospel. He, moreover, sent Ambassadors to Goa to request from the Provincial that a colony of Jesuits should be established at Calicut. The request was agreed to; the site of a Church was chosen close to the town; a Cross was erected to mark the sacred spot; and the Zamorin himself was the first to bend before the sign of our Redemption.

The Portuguese Missions during a hundred years had made little or no progress in the kingdom of Cochin, though the Sovereign had been one of the first allies of the Portuguese crown. Nevertheless, Christianity had crept in, as is proved by the violent persecution that raged during the last two years of

<sup>1</sup>Du Jarric, Tom I., p. 463.



the century. In Travancore the Jesuits De Veiga and Bucerio displayed great zeal, and in a short time succeeded in securing thousands of nominal converts. A violent persecution of the Christians soon followed, and it is asserted that twenty thousand were driven from their homes. After the Mission had been in abeyance for four years, it was restored by the energy of Father Spinola in 1607, and continued to flourish.

Turning to the fishery coast, the scene of Xavier's first success, we find the faithful Paravas bearing witness to the zeal of the missionaries who followed the Holy pioneer. Tutucurim, the chief town, was provided with an excellent hospital, Church and school. Eighteen Jesuits had charge of six stations, the entire population professed Christianity, and the capital itself was "si adonnée à la dévotion qu'on eut dit que c'était plutôt une maison religieuse qu'une communauté politique."<sup>1</sup> The marvellous conversions begun by Xavier had been continued for fifty-three years by Father Henriquez, who died in 1600, leaving more than 135,000 converts as the results of his self-denying labours.<sup>2</sup>

The first step in the famous Madura Mission was taken in 1595 by Gonzala Fernandez, who founded a hospital and a school; but nothing effectual was

<sup>1</sup> Du Jarric, Tom III., p. 726.

<sup>2</sup> Du Jarric, Tom III., p. 744.

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done till 1606, when Robert de Nobili joined the mission, and gave it new life. The reader who desires more information than this outline affords will find ample details in the ponderous volumes cited below.

BOOK III.



THE SUBJUGATION OF THE SYRIAN  
CHURCH.





## CHAPTER I.

### ROMAN CLAIM OF SUPREMACY.

“ We are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be ; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians.” Reply of the Syrians to the Portuguese.—“ Buchanan’s Researches.”

SUCH of our readers as are thoroughly acquainted with the history of the pretensions of the Romish Church may safely pass over this chapter. But assuming that some may glance at our pages who are not familiar with the rise and progress of her claims to universal dominion, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch, introductory to the exertion of Romish tyranny over the Malabar Christians.

Prior to the sixth Century the Pope’s jurisdiction was extremely limited. He asserted no secular authority ; and his efforts were bent on promoting the extension of spiritual influence.<sup>1</sup> We read that in the fourth century, the Catholic Church contained fourteen Patriarchates,<sup>2</sup> whose rulers (Patriarchs or Archbishops) were equal and independent ; and so far from “ Pope ” being a word indicating pre-eminence,

<sup>1</sup> Abbé Fleury “ Ecc. Hist., Lib. XXII.” N. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham II. XVII. 20. “ Theophilus Anglicanus,” p. 112.

it was then the common designation of a Bishop, as "Mar" is in the Syrian Church. It is true that three of the Patriarchs, viz. : those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, though not higher in order, had precedence of the others in place, but this precedence was liable to change, if a city rose or declined in civil power and importance.<sup>1</sup> None of these Bishops ever dreamed of claiming for himself, or admitting in his Brother Prelates any permanent supremacy ; and Pope Gregory I. denounced the title of Universal Bishop as arrogant, wicked, schismatical, blasphemous, and anti-christian. "Quousquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, Anti-Christum præcurrit."<sup>2</sup> "On account of the *civil* eminence of Rome, the Bishop of Rome anciently enjoyed precedence among Bishops by the Canons of the Catholic Church ; but his jurisdiction as Bishop, Metropolitan, and Patriarch, was and is limited to his own diocese, province and patriarchate, in the same manner as that of every other Bishop, Metropolitan, and Patriarch."<sup>3</sup> It is therefore perfectly evident that the national churches were at this period independent of each other, and that there was no such thing as an admission of the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

In the year 533, the Emperor Justinian unfortu-

<sup>1</sup> "Theophilus Anglicanus," p. 116. Bingham IX., 17.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. VII., Epist., XXXIII., "Theoph., Anglicanus," p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Crankanthorpe "Def. Eccl. Angl." p. 176. "Theoph. Angl." pp. 255-6.



nately admitted the claim of the Pontiff to be the head of all Christendom, and though after Justinian's death, the Patriarch of Constantinople threw off the yoke, and asserted his own right to the title of Universal Bishop, the usurpation of the Roman Bishop was confirmed in 1606. This first fatal step led to an immense increase of priestly influence during the middle ages. The little learning that existed was entirely in the hands of the clergy, who thus acquired not only religious, but social and political power. In course of time Papal arrogance had reached such a pitch that Gregory VII. asserted his supremacy, not merely over Bishops and Priests, but also above Emperors and Kings. He boldly declared that crowns were held of the Pope, and that therefore all Christian sovereigns were his vassals, bound to pay him tribute, and yield him entire obedience. We need not pause here to tell the well-known story of "the Decretals of Isidor," falsely asserted to be ancient documents (conventions, acts of councils, &c.), proving that from the first periods of the Church the Popes were invested with the same supremacy which they have since asserted. These "decretals," being in reality forgeries of the seventh, eighth or ninth century, have been long ago shown to be utterly worthless as evidence on the point in question.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mosheim's "Ecc. Hist." Cent. IX., CII. Sec. 8. Geddes on the "Supremacy," p. 46. Hough's "Christianity," Vol. I., p. 141.

The structure thus founded in error was strengthened by additional frauds as time rolled on. The VIII<sup>th</sup> Century introduced image worship under Papal sanction. The IX<sup>th</sup> furnished long lives of Saints full of the wildest inventions, all tending to the assertion of the unlimited sway of the Pope. Closely connected with this was that wonderful device, the Canonisation of Saints, to which we have alluded in the chapter on Xavier. The X<sup>th</sup> Century could boast of important additions, the institution of the rosary, the baptism of bells, and many superstitions of the same character; but the XI<sup>th</sup> eclipsed its predecessors and seemed to soar to the climax of assumption for we find that the Pope, not satisfied with the lofty title of Pontifex Maximus, blasphemously assumed the designation of divinity, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," laying claim to absolute infallibility, and declaring that the Church of Rome never had erred, and was incapable of erring.

The Roman Pontiff's assumption of temporal power and jurisdiction in the various kingdoms of Europe, naturally provoked resistance from those who felt their authority invaded and undermined. While the Sovereigns of Germany, France, and England opposed the Pope chiefly on political grounds, the national churches, if not in a corporate capacity, at least through their individual members struggled hard, and often successfully, for religious freedom. To crush



these attempts the Roman Church established the Inquisition, which has been justly characterised as the "depth of Satan, for Satanical it is by the conjunction of three qualities, indefatigable diligence, profound subtlety, and inhuman cruelty."<sup>1</sup> The XII<sup>th</sup> and XIII<sup>th</sup> Centuries had introduced or sanctioned many superstitions in relation to the Holy Communion such as Transubstantiation, and the adoration of the Host. The Confessional too, began to exert its baneful influence, and, at a later period, became a powerful instrument in the hands of the Jesuits.

Historians generally consider the XIV<sup>th</sup> century as the acmé of Papal greatness. The remarkable events were the open war between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII<sup>th</sup>, the existence of rival Popes at Rome and Avignon, the preaching of John Wickliffe in England, and, above all, the translation of the Bible. But in the next century the spirit of religious freedom fought more vigorously than ever against the encroachments of Rome; and, though Huss and Jerome perished at the stake, though the laity were deprived of the cup in the Communion, though the Council of Constance declared that no faith was to be kept with heretics, though, in short, the Papacy made the most desperate efforts to extinguish the light of the Reformation, all its opposition signally failed.

Superficial as this summary is, it will at least serve

<sup>1</sup> Trappe's "Popery Stated," p. 2. Sect. XII.



to refresh the reader's memory, and to afford him a key to the principles of that formidable Ecclesiastical Power, which, by means of the *Portuguese Missions* was to influence Southern India in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. Luther was a lad at college while the Portuguese vessels were doubling the Cape of Good Hope ; and, twenty years later, when he inaugurated the Reformation, and deprived Rome of many of her subjects, the Pontiffs found consolation in the foreign dominions which maritime discovery had brought under the sway of the Church. It was an age of struggles, and a comparison of dates would exhibit some striking coincidences. Thus, for example, in 1521, while the German champion at the Diet of Worms was boldly acknowledging all his public opinions, and firmly establishing the Reformation, the Spanish soldier was lying wounded at the Pampeluna, and devoting himself to that long course of dreaming and planning which led to the establishment of the most powerful counteraction to Protestantism—the Order of the Jesuits.

It is thus abundantly evident from the whole history of the rise and progress of the Papacy, that Rome asserted an unqualified supremacy over other Churches throughout the world. How this *theory influenced her treatment of the Syrian Christians in Malabar will appear in the following pages.* ●

## CHAPTER II.

### FIRST ATTEMPT BY THE FRANCISCANS.

“ ‘These Churches,’ said the Portuguese, ‘belong to the Pope.’  
‘Who is the Pope?’ said the Syrians, ‘we never heard of him.’”—  
Buchanan’s “Christian Researches,” p. 89.

AS a natural sequence to the claims of the Romish Church, narrated in our last chapter, the Portuguese missionaries proclaimed their undoubted right to subdue the Christians of St. Thomas. A glance at the history of the early Church in Malabar, whether founded by the Apostle himself or by another of the same name at a later period, will clearly prove to the impartial student that there never had been the slightest connection between the Italian and the Indian branches. Of course, on the theory of Papal supremacy just described, the attempts made by the Portuguese “Missioners” were not only allowable, but highly praiseworthy; for, on that theory due subordination to the Roman centre must not only be asserted, but vigorously enforced at whatever cost. The proof of this dogma failing, as all history shows that it does, there is no more evidence for the early



subordination of the Christians of Malabar to the See of Rome, than for the subjection of the Church of England at the dawn of her existence, or at the present day.

In our former pages it has been made evident that the true ecclesiastical head of the Christians of St. Thomas was the Patriarch of Mosul, resident at Seleucia, on the distant banks of the Tigris. An examination of the testimony so laboriously collected by Gouvea, Asseman, Renaudot, La Croze, and others, clearly proves that these Christians had, from the earliest ages, acknowledged the Bishops of the Church in Persia as their Primates. And, though two of the writers just named are, as Romanists, most anxious to show a different origin for the Church of Malabar, they have utterly failed in establishing the desired resemblance in doctrine, discipline, and ceremony to the *distinctive* peculiarities of the Romish Church. For instance, the Roman service has always been in the Latin language, whereas the Malabar prayers were constantly recited in the Syriac tongue. Of the Pope they had never heard; and all their traditions pointed to the Tigris, not to the Tiber, as the source of their ecclesiastical system. Driven from their first position, some unscrupulous advocates have attempted to show that the parent Church of Babylon itself owed allegiance to the Roman Pontiff, and that, therefore, the daughter Church of Malabar was neces-



sarily bound to yield obedience to the central power. This strange assumption is founded on the following legend. In the year 1552, one Tum Sind, or Simon Salacan, a monk of the Order of St. Pachomius, who pretended to be the Patriarch of Mosul (or Seleucia, or Babylon), came to Rome and submitted himself to the Pope. His Holiness received him graciously, and made him a Bishop; though, according to others, his former consecration was reputed valid, and the Pallium was conferred. The said Simon delivered letters and a confession of faith, which he pretended all the Eastern Bishops had commissioned him to present to the Pontiff. In these letters the very point in dispute—the Papal supremacy—was as plainly set forth as if they had been written by the most bigoted Canonist. This Pseudo-missionary also asserted that he had been attended by a cortège of seventy distinguished persons as far as Jerusalem, but that only three had resumed the journey, of whom one had died, another had stayed behind ill, and the third alone was with him. This very questionable Patriarch, on leaving the Vatican, instead of returning to Babylon, retired to Charamet, where he was slain by the Moslems—the Christians rather rejoicing than grieving, for they evidently considered him an impostor, like the Bishop of Iona, and others of the same stamp in our own day. The fate of Simon did not deter Abed Jesu from making a similar attempt.

This monk, author of several defences of Nestorianism, on arriving at Rome in 1562, was eagerly seized upon, and sent with great solemnity to the Council of Trent, as the duly accredited representative of the Chaldean Church. Of course, the great object was to make use of this adventurer as a living proof that *this branch of the Eastern Church had, in its corporate capacity, yielded entire obedience to the Pope.* A third actor appears in this strange performance, one Elias, a mock Patriarch of Babylon. We read that he sent several special Nuncios to the Pope with more letters of submission ; but these emissaries rather overacted their part ; for, in order to prove the identity of the two Churches, they tore several pages out of their office book. The transparent fraud being at once discovered, they were dismissed with disgrace ; but, nothing daunted, Elias sent an Archdeacon in 1570 to deliver personally to Paul V. a treatise on the "Reconciliation of Chaldea" with Rome. We may quote one passage from his letter :—"Let heretics do what they will, I, for my part, am resolved never to go against the holy precepts of the Apostles and Orthodox Fathers, who have all affirmed the See of Rome to be the head of all other Sees, but would always confess that the Roman Church was the mother of all the other Churches in the world, and that all that did not own her to be so are accursed.<sup>1</sup> Elias went rather further, for he

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's "Church of Malabar," p. 15.



assured the Pontiff that all the Chaldean Clergy derived their orders in former times immediately from Rome ; but that as many candidates perished on their way to the Holy See, the Pope graciously consecrated a Patriarch, that thenceforward these perils might be avoided, and the clergy ordained at home. "And thus," reasoned Elias, "we received all our authority from the Roman source." On no better foundation than such childish fictions do the defenders of Papal supremacy try to prove that the Chaldean prelates have unreservedly admitted the derivation of their orders from St. Peter's, and that, therefore, all canonical obedience is due to the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

A full refutation of these idle tales is foreign to our purpose. Suffice it to say that all authorities, worthy of credit, clearly prove that the Church of Seleucia, the mother of the Malabar church, was formerly subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. One of many testimonies may be found in the thirty-third canon of the Council of Nice :—"Let the See of Seleucia which is one of the eastern cities, be honoured likewise, and have the title of Catholicon ; and let the Prelate thereof ordain Archbishops as the other Patriarchs do, that so the eastern Christians who live under heathens, may not be wronged by waiting the Patriarch of Antioch's leisure, or by going to him, but may have a way opened to them to supply their



own necessities ; neither will any injury be done to the Patriarch of Antioch thereby, seeing he has consented to its being thus, upon the Synod's having desired it of him." <sup>1</sup>

Having attempted to show the importance attached by the Romish Church to the question of universal dominion and the expedients adopted to make out a case in reference to the Church of India, we may proceed to sketch the first attempt to convert theory into practice.

The reader will recollect the surprise and gratification of Vasco da Gama and his officers when they were visited in 1502, at Cochin, by the representatives of the Christians of St. Thomas. The religion professed by these visitors won for them the cordial support of the Europeans, and the Portuguese missionaries who, years afterwards, formed a more intimate acquaintance with this interesting people, would have received them into Christian fellowship, but for the discovery of two unpardonable offences—the heresy of Nestorius, and the sin of schism, in not acknowledging the Roman Pontiff. They immediately made the greatest efforts to induce the Malabar Christians to turn from Nestorianism to what they believed to be the Catholic faith, and to swear allegiance to the wearer of the triple crown. To accomplish these objects they adopted various lines of policy. Follow-

<sup>1</sup> This version is from the *Arabic Canons of the Council.*

ing the example of Xavier, they preached to the Christians, as he had done to the heathens, they established mission stations, and held discussions with the Syrian clergy, publicly and privately, and founded missionary colleges as the means of training a native ministry, to supplant the Syrian priests. Moral means failing to produce the desired effect, they employed alternately fraud and force during a long series of years, ending with the Synod of Diamper, which extinguished for a time the independence of the church of St. Thomas. A still more decided form of compulsion was the Inquisition established at Goa, in the year 1560, which soon made itself felt by its terrible and mysterious punishments, as the most effectual instrument in the conversion of "Jews, Turks, and Infidels," and in the subjugation of Christian brethren.

The first decided attempt in which persuasion only was employed, was made by the Franciscans in the year 1545, under the second Bishop, but first Archbishop of Goa, Dom João de Albuquerque. He had heard of this singular body of Christians dwelling in and near the mountains far to the south of Goa, and he felt it to be a reproach alike to Portuguese power and Romish authority, that these stray sheep had not long before been restored to the true fold. He accordingly selected Father Vincent, a brother Franciscan, and sent him to Cranganor to inquire into



the condition of the Syrian Church, and to use his utmost eloquence in trying to reduce it to obedience. In reading the history of his labours, as given by Gouvea, one is at a loss to distinguish between historical truth and "pious fraud." It seems scarcely possible that one man could accomplish the enormous amount of work attributed to him by his biographer. From morning till night, publicly and privately, on the roadside, in bazaars, under trees, in churches, he talked, exhorted, argued, preached "without ceasing"—at least so we are told. But a question arises as to the possibility of this wonderful command of a foreign tongue. The worthy Franciscan had been but a year in India, during the greater part of which he had been at Goa, with little or no opportunity of studying Tamil; and yet we find him all at once, without any miraculous gift, in full possession of this marvellous fluency. It seems impossible to admit the truth of a narrative which contains within it so damaging an element as this apocryphal story. Yet we glean that, after all, the good Friar was no Mezzofanti; for his imperfect attempts were almost, if not quite, unintelligible. He candidly admitted that no success had attended his preaching, that the Cattanars (*i.e.*, priests) were obdurate, and that, without their hearty co-operation, there was no hope of influencing the laity. He therefore wrote to the Viceroy and to the Archbishop of Goa for their sanction to the erection at Cranganor



of a college.<sup>1</sup> Both officials gave their consent and supplied funds, and the new Seminary was ready within the year (1546) for the instruction of Syrian boys in the Roman tongue and ritual. Thus far the scheme had been prosperous. But when the young Syrians were ordained by the Romish priests, the Cattanars positively refused to allow them to officiate in their churches. They considered these youths as the dupes and tools of Rome, as renegades from the faith, and as revolutionists eager to destroy the Church of their fathers. The Syrian Christians had, up to this time, given the Romish emissaries the most friendly reception. But now, thoroughly roused, and clearly perceiving the real object of the Portuguese missionaries, they broke off all friendly intercourse, and shut the doors of their churches, not only against the European priests, but also against their own apostate sons.

Thus the Franciscan attempt utterly failed, and here the first act of this singular drama closes.

<sup>1</sup> Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Malab." La Croze, p 55. Du Jarric, III., p. 552.

## CHAPTER III.

### SECOND ATTEMPT BY THE JESUITS.

“A strange and melancholy chapter in the annals of the world are these same missions in India, and not tending, it must be confessed, to lessen the feeling of distrust so universally inspired by the Society of Jesus, in spite of the zeal, learning, and splendid abilities of many of its members.”—W. S. MACKAY in “Calcutta Review,” Vol. II.

NEARLY twenty years elapsed between the failure of the Franciscans and the aggression of the Jesuits, during which the Syrian pastors were allowed to feed their flocks in peace. No doubt, during this lull, there were many minor efforts which history has not thought it worth while to record; and, unquestionably, much soreness existed between the oppressor and the oppressed. The crusade, however, was suspended, not abandoned; for the Jesuits were not the men to be driven from their purpose by disaster or failure. Reflecting upon the causes of Father Vincent's defeat, the Provincial believed that he had discovered it in the contempt with which the Franciscan College at Cranganor had treated the Syriac language. This tongue the Malabar Christians held sacred as that in

which our blessed Lord preached the glad tidings of salvation, as that which He probably used in ordinary converse, and certainly employed on several remarkable occasions.<sup>1</sup> They therefore made it the vehicle of all the offices of their Church, though by many of the Cattanars it was imperfectly understood; and they naturally resented every attempt on the part of the Portuguese missionaries to ignore its existence or to expel it from the services of the Church. The Jesuits, admitting the force of these sentiments, varied their mode of attack. They resolved to erect a new college; and, in order to destroy unpleasant associations, three miles from Cranganor, the scene of the former conflict.<sup>2</sup> They applied to Philip II. of Spain (who had usurped the Crown of Portugal) and received a large contribution, though he was then preparing his famous Armada for the invasion of England. The Rajah of Cochin, too, gave his sanction, though not a convert. In 1587, the buildings were erected and the work of education commenced under Antonio Morales—as Principal. In the other school at Cranganor, the students had been taunted by their countrymen for adopting the language and dress of the Portuguese, and thus casting contempt

<sup>1</sup> "It appears that He spoke Syriac when He walked by the way (Ephphatha) and when He sat in the house (Talitha Cumi) and when He was upon the Cross (Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani)."—Buchanan, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Malab." p. 11. La Croze, *Hist.*, p. 56. Du Jarric, *Tom. III.*, p. 552. Gouvea, "Jornada," p. 7.



upon their own. The policy of the Propagandists easily overcame these objections. They not only permitted the use of the Syriac or Chaldee, but made it a compulsory part of the curriculum, teaching it more accurately than the Syrians themselves. They conceded also the question of costume; and hence the new college began its career with the fairest prospect of uniting adverse elements on its neutral ground. But under this specious appearance of impartiality the Jesuits concealed their deep-laid scheme. *They never lost sight of the necessity of training the students in the Latin language, of shaking their faith in their native Church, and of indoctrinating them, slowly but surely, in the principles of Rome.* But again the aggressors were doomed to disappointment. The pupils, who had been sedulously prepared for years, whose allegiance had been, to all appearance, firmly secured, were no sooner ordained than they asserted their independence. Nothing that the Jesuits could do, by threats or promises, could induce these young men to forsake the faith of their fathers, to preach against the Syrian Bishop, to alter their Prayer Books, or to omit the name of the Patriarch of Seleucia.

The missionaries of Vaipacotta, thus once more baffled, met to determine the next line of action. They no doubt consulted the Provincial at Goa, who in turn submitted the question to the General in one

of those reports already noticed. The result was the adoption of a much more decided policy. Education failing, they desperately resolved to resort to an unscrupulous combination of craft and violence which outraged every principle of justice. The object of the Society being to check new heresies in Europe and to crush old ones in Asia, they acted on the conviction that the end would justify the means, and they therefore resolved to remove the only obstacle which impeded their onward march.

The Bishop who at that time filled the See of St. Thomas, if it may be so called, was named Joseph, or, according to their custom, Mar<sup>1</sup>-Joseph. There are conflicting accounts of his consecration; one speaking of him as having been sent to Malabar by Andixa, another giving the Patriarch's name as Abdichio, and a third calling him Abba, or Hebed-Jesus.<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese historian, Gouvea, to whom we owe the account of these transactions, speaks in high terms of the Syrian Bishop. He commends him for his personal piety, his enlightened understanding, and his reforming zeal in certain doctrines of his Church. But we must read this commendation in the light of our knowledge of the antecedents of the Patriarch Hebed-Jesus, and his disciple Mar-Joseph. Of the

<sup>1</sup> Mar is the Syriac for Lord, or Lord Bishop.

<sup>2</sup> Gouvea's "Jornada," p. 7. Asseman, Tom. I., pp. 536-542. Geddes's "Church of Malabar," p. 11. Hough's "Christianity," Vol. I., p. 351.



former we have already heard, as making certain important concessions at the Council of Trent. Supposing this statement correct, we can easily account for Gouvea's applause; for, if Joseph was influenced by his Patriarch's subserviency, he was already more than half way to Rome. Nevertheless, his temporising conduct did not save him. He was still a Nestorian at heart, though he wished to be thought favourable to Romanism. To promote this idea he entered freely into Portuguese society; yet he failed to impress his new friends with an opinion of his honesty. Determined to bring the matter to a crisis, the crafty Jesuits set a trap for the poor Bishop. One day when teaching some Portuguese boys (probably spies) he cautioned them against praying to the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God. This was instantly reported to the Bishop of Cochin, who, delighted to catch his brother in so dreadful a heresy, immediately wrote to the Archbishop. An order came from headquarters for the arrest of Mar-Joseph, who was put on board a ship and dispatched to Goa. The Viceroy, perplexed and unwilling to adopt extreme measures, sent the Bishop to Europe; and thus, the shepherd being removed, the Jesuits at Cochin hoped to make short work with the flock. That the whole affair was a deeply-laid plot is frankly admitted, the old watchword stifling all scruples of conscience.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea's "Jornada," Cap. III. La Croze, Hist., Liv. I., p. 58.



On his arrival at Lisbon, he seems to have assumed an appearance of extraordinary sanctity. He thereby won the favour of the Queen Regent, Catarina, by whom he was sent back to Goa with royal letters to the Viceroy to see that he was instantly restored to his Bishopric. The reason of this sudden change in his favour is at once apparent, when we learn that he had given a solemn promise to the Cardinal Dom Henrique, then inquisitor-general, to do all in his power on his return to purify his Church from Nestorian heresy and to secure its full submission to the Roman See.

To return to the deserted Church. As soon as the Syrian Christians saw their Bishop thus suddenly seized and shipped off without trial, they sent a secret message to the Patriarch of Babylon, imploring him to consecrate, without loss of time, a new prelate to guard them against the assaults of the Portuguese missionaries. These had managed to penetrate the secret, and took every precaution by searching the ships and guarding the passes to prevent the new shepherd from reaching his mountain diocese.<sup>1</sup> But Mar-Abraham, in his turn, was duly informed of the snares, and, travelling in disguise, arrived at the Serra in safety, where he was received with frantic joy. He had hardly made the acquaintance of his flock, when

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, "Jornada." Geddes's Hist., p. 18. La Croze. Hough, Vol. I.

news came to him of the return of the Bishop Joseph to Goa, where his presence was as embarrassing to the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, as it would prove to be in Malabar. Both Viceroy and Archbishop were bound to obey the royal letters, but they craftily requested Bishop Joseph to take back with him to Cochin several missionaries to instruct his flock in the Roman doctrine, language, and ritual. The vacillating Syrian craved time to consider the question; and next morning gravely informed the Archbishop that a vision had appeared to him in the night, forbidding his compliance. The Roman prelate, quickly detecting the imposture, exclaimed, "And I, too, have had a revelation far better than yours. Mine is in the Bible, in the words, 'Ye shall know them by their fruits.' You are a wolf in sheep's clothing, and I shall take good care to expose you to the royal family at Lisbon, on whose kindness you have imposed."<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop, however, offered no impediment to Bishop Joseph's return to his diocese, for he sagaciously perceived the great advantage to the Roman cause afforded by the presence of rival prelates. The creation of a schism would, he foresaw, be a golden opportunity for Papal aggression. The event proved the correctness of his judgment, for no sooner did Mar-Joseph appear on the scene, than the mountaineers were divided into two contending factions. Of

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's "Ch. of Malabar," p. 19.



course the old friends of the first Bishop naturally supported their early pastor; but he had evidently lost caste with the influential portion of the Church, who looked on him as at least tainted by Romish sympathies. Finding himself thus deserted by the majority of his co-religionists, he was compelled to seek for support from the very Church whose dearest aspirations were for the subjugation of his own. He wrote a violent letter to the Archbishop of Goa, denouncing his popular rival, not merely as a usurper, but as an implacable enemy to the Roman Church. The Viceroy, influenced by the prelate, was only too glad to avail himself of an opportunity so long desired. A dispatch was immediately sent to the Portuguese governor, ordering the arrest of Bishop Abraham. As the troops of the Rajah were combined with those of the Governor, no effectual resistance could be offered by the Christians of the Serra. Bishop Abraham was therefore torn from his flock, sent first to Goa, and then to Lisbon, whence he was to proceed to Rome, to be tried by the Pope himself. A gale of wind, however, changed all this. The ship was driven into Mozambique, and Bishop Abraham effected his escape, reaching Mosul in safety. The Patriarch of Babylon conferred on him new briefs to strengthen his claim, and urged him to return to his diocese. Mar-Abraham considered "discretion the better part of valour," and foresaw that "without the



Pope's order, the Portuguezes would quickly make the Serra too hot for him."<sup>1</sup> Instead of returning to Malabar, he set out for Italy, and on reaching the capital, he abjured Nestorianism, professed obedience to Rome, and promised to bring his Indian flock to the true faith. Pope Pius IV. then gave him all the necessary credentials, with the title of Archbishop. Another version of this story exists. The original ordination of Mar-Abraham being invalid, the Pope determined that he should receive all the orders from the tonsure to the priesthood. This done, he was sent to the Patriarch of Venice, and consecrated by the Archbishop to the see of Malabar. The object of his visit to Rome being thus gained, he landed in India under the imposing title of Archbishop of Angamale.<sup>2</sup>

While these things were going on in Italy, the other bishop, Mar-Joseph, resumed his public functions, and preached the very doctrines which he had abjured at Lisbon. The report soon flew to the Archbishop of Goa, who wrote to the Regent, Dom Henrique, who in his turn, appealed to the Pope. Pius V. immediately issued an order, dated 15th January, 1567, for the apprehension of the Bishop. He was arrested at Cochin, and sent off to Portugal, without any examination. He ended his life at Rome,<sup>3</sup> but when, or

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's Hist., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gouvea, "Hist. Orient." Chap. III.

<sup>3</sup> Gouvea, p. 8. La Croze, p. 62. Raulin, p. 14. Du Jarric, p. 558.

how, we know not. Gouvea, our chief authority, is ominously silent ; and La Croze says, " We can have little doubt that this unhappy prelate became, at Rome, the victim of the Portuguese superstition, and of the Pope's inhumanity." <sup>1</sup>

The leading incidents in the thirty years' struggle will be sketched in the next chapter.

<sup>1</sup> La Croze, Lib. I., pp. 62-3.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ROME.

“Soon the overbearing policy of Rome began openly to assert itself, and the Christians of St. Thomas saw their independence threatened by men whom they regarded as little better than idolators in religion, and buccaneers in after life.”—Kaye’s “Christianity,” p. 23.

“THESE repeated tyrannies of the Portuguezes in the Indies of dragging ancient Bishops thus out of their own country and diocese, and tumbling them so about the world, I cannot but reckon among those violent injustices for which God has punished them so visibly.”<sup>1</sup> These are the quaint words in which the translator, or rather paraphraser, of Gouvea’s “Jornada” expresses his opinion of the conduct of the Portuguese to their Christian brethren; and the reader will find this judgment corroborated by another well-known historian.<sup>2</sup> Similar violence was exercised in their method of converting the heathen. Insatiable in their thirst for gold, and not satisfied with the numerous concessions they had obtained from the

<sup>1</sup> Geddes’s History, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Manoel De Faria, “Asia Portuguesa,” Vol. III., last chapter.



native princes, they were perpetually encroaching on the surrounding states, their arrogance and rapacity augmenting with their prosperity. The result was a deeply-rooted and widely-spread feeling of resentment against men who, professing to be the possessors and propagators of a pure faith, were everywhere conspicuous for avarice and tyranny, robbery and insolence. Portuguese and native testimony concur to place this beyond dispute. In the Asiatic researches there is an interesting article showing the Mohammedan view of these compulsory conversions, in which the following passage occurs :—"They did also put Hajes and other Mussulmans to a variety of cruel deaths, and they reviled and abused with unworthy epithets the Prophet of Goa; and confined the Mohammedans, and loaded them with heavy irons, carrying them about for sale from shop to shop as slaves; enhancing their ill-usage on these occasions in order to extort the larger sum for their release. They confined them also in dark, noisome, and hideous dungeons, torturing them also with fire,"<sup>1</sup> and much more to the same effect. Further proof of the impression produced by the Portuguese may be found in the letters and speeches of a Mohammedan prince named Hidalcon, who besieged Goa in 1570. In one of his letters to the Viceroy he says :—"I am con-

<sup>1</sup> "Asiatic Researches," Vol. V., p. 20. Hough's History, Vol. I. p. 264.

fidest the King of Portugal will not thank any that shall be instrumental in making a breach between me and him by compelling my subjects against their wills to turn Christians, a practice that is abominable in the sight of all the world ; nay, I am confident that Jesus Christ himself, the God whom you adore, cannot be well pleased with such service as this ; force and compulsion in all such cases being what God, Kings, and all the people of the world do abominate." In another letter the Prince thanks the Portuguese Governor for having issued an order to repress these violent measures, but complains that it was ineffectual, adding, "as I know that neither God nor wise Kings take any delight in discord, so I am certain that there is no religion in the world that justifies the forcing of people from one religion to another." Commenting on these remarkable transactions, Chancellor Geddes says: "In this affair the Christian and Mahometan, of which sect this Hidalcon was, seemed to have changed parts, the Mahometan writing therein like a Christian, and the Christians behaving themselves like Mahometans." <sup>1</sup> The reader must not suppose that these atrocities were restricted to the civil and military powers, or the pirates who, under the name of merchants, robbed as often as they traded. The chronicles of the time afford abundant proof that Ecclesiastics were no longer the imitators of the

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's "Hist. Mal.," p. 27.



gentle Xavier. A few years of conquest had sufficed to convince them that the arm of the civil power was a far more effectual instrument of conversion than the tongue or bell of the missionary. The Dominicans, for example, pretending to erect a convent, built a fortress on the island of Solor, which was soon garrisoned by a strong body of Portuguese. The unsuspecting natives were enraged at this deception; constant skirmishes took place between the intruders and themselves, and not a few of the monks fell, sword in hand, obtaining what they were pleased to call the crown of martyrdom in this singular method of converting the heathen. Another instance may be quoted. One of the missionaries, appropriately named Vinagre, actually commanded a fleet, sent by Portugal to aid its ally, the Rajah of Tidore, in the Moluccas. He is said to have been quite as successful in the art of war as in the propagation of the Gospel, at one time in full armour, at another in full canonicals. And, if the historian does not over-colour the narrative, the soldier-monk was in such haste to baptise his converts that he put the surplice over the breast-plate. Antonio Galvão, an eminent Portuguese navigator, is said to have assisted Vinagre in this work; but they appear to have professionally changed places; for Galvão, though he introduced Christianity as a means of civilisation, made himself so beloved by the conquered people at Tidore and Ternate, that popular



songs were composed in his honour. No doubt there were many pious Christians amongst the Portuguese, and to such we would render all praise, but after a careful examination of evidence on both sides, we are forced to the conclusion, fully justified by the History of the Inquisition at Goa,<sup>1</sup> that Christian persuasion was quite the exception in the Portuguese system of conversion, and persecution the almost universal rule.

This digression from our main subject is more apparent than real, our object being to show the spirit of the age, and especially that of the Portuguese nation. The people of India live upon traditions. An impression once made is rarely effaced. The terrible tales of Portuguese atrocities have been handed down from father to son in the mountains and valleys of India for the last three centuries. Conquest and Christianity, cruelty and conversion, are linked together indissolubly in the Hindoo mind. And if these traditions inspire the native heart with abhorrence and disgust, the lamentable exposur e of the frauds connected with the Madura mission in the XVII<sup>th</sup> Century produced unmitigated contempt. The considerations cannot be omitted in estimating the influence which the Portuguese missions exerted in Southern India, not only on the Syrian Christians,

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's "View of the Inquisition in Portugal;" Dellon's "Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa." Buchanan's "Christian Researches," p. 166. Canon Trevor's "India," p. 151. Hough's "Christ," Vol. I., p. 212.

but on all classes of the native population and on modern missionary efforts throughout our Eastern Empire.

We need not therefore feel surprised that the universal indignation found vent in prophecies of the downfall of Portuguese power. "Let them alone, said a Hindoo, for they will quickly come to lose that, as covetous merchants, which they have gained as admirable soldiers; they now conquer Asia, but it will not be long before Asia conquers them."<sup>1</sup> Nor was it long ere these predictions began to be fulfilled, as the natives of Ito succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from their island, the first check to their hitherto victorious career, and the first step in the downward path to the present melancholy condition of their dominions in the East.

We must now return to Mar-Abraham, whom we left just after his re-consecration as Bishop, or Archbishop, of Augamale. On arriving at Goa, he was happy to find his rival Mar-Joseph "shipped off for Portugal"; and he therefore flattered himself that he would be able to pass the remainder of his life in the quiet possession of his see. This, however, was no such easy matter. The Portuguese no longer had any use for him as an instrument in maintaining a schism. So, in spite of his credentials, they detained him at Goa, on pretence of examining the Papal

<sup>1</sup> Geddes, p. 28.



briefs. The crafty canonists, though unable to deny the validity of the documents, were at no loss to detect certain flaws, and the Archbishop decided that his appointment was null and void. Mar-Abraham, instead of being welcomed by his Cattanars and his flocks amid the green hills of Malayalim was put under arrest in the Dominican convent, there to await the Pope's reply to the Archbishop's report of the case. Fully aware that this was only another form of imprisonment for life, he took the law into his own hands; and one night while the Dominicans were in chapel, he escaped and reached his diocese in safety.<sup>1</sup> Consternation prevailed at Goa. All the authorities on the coast were informed of the flight and ordered to secure the Bishop, dead or alive. But he took good care never to venture near any of the Portuguese settlements. His conduct as a Bishop seems to have been as undecided as that of his predecessor. On the one hand he professed himself a Romanist, and re-ordained all the Syrian priests. On the other hand he not only preached the Nestorian doctrines, but publicly prayed for the Bishop of Babylon as the Head of his Church. Intelligence of this state of affairs soon reached Gregory XIII.,<sup>2</sup> who, in 1578, commanded the Syrian Bishop to attend the next Provincial Council at Goa, and to be governed by its

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, p. 8. La Croze, p. 63. Raulin, p. 15. Du Jarric, p. 558.

<sup>2</sup> Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Malab.," p. 15.



decrees. Whereupon, the fifth Archbishop of Goa, Vincente de Fouseca, called a council, and commanded the attendance of Mar-Abraham under letters of safe conduct.<sup>1</sup> The poor Bishop felt that he had no alternative; for, if he resisted, Portuguese troops would lay waste his diocese. He therefore attended the council, abjured his faith, swore to Romanism and to the punctual execution of the decrees of the Synod. He further promised to alter or burn all the heretical books, and to re-ordain all his clergy, thus making the fatal admission that the Orders of the Syrian Church were invalid.<sup>2</sup> This done, his next perplexity was how to justify himself before his own Patriarch. He wrote a sad letter, exhibiting the straits to which he was reduced, "the Portuguese hanging over his head as a hammer over an anvil."<sup>3</sup> He alleged that the Profession of Faith which he had made was not understood (from the difference of language) by the council at Goa, and that he was as firm as ever in his fidelity to the Syrian Church. He added that "being grown ancient, and very much broke by the long and unintermitting persecutions of the Portuguezes," he desired the assistance of a coadjutor.

<sup>1</sup> La Croze, p. 65. Geddes, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons given by the Romanists for forcing Bishop Abraham to take this step are stated at length from p. 33 to p. 37 of Geddes's "Church of Malabar."

<sup>3</sup> "Os Portuguezes estavam sobre sua cabeça como malhos sobre bigorna."—Gouvea, p. 9. Raulin, p. 16.

The Suffragan, Mar-Simeon, soon became so popular with the Syrian Christians, on account of his freedom from Romish contamination, that he felt himself strong enough to declare his independence of his superior, and to set up a rival See at Carturte.<sup>1</sup> Again a schism arose. Anathemas were reciprocated. The whole diocese was in a ferment; and Abraham, losing ground, complained of Simeon as a usurper and a heretic.<sup>2</sup> The Viceroy, though by no means a friend of Mar-Abraham's, was forced to acknowledge him as Bishop of Augamale in virtue of the Papal appointment; and therefore determined to take his part against Mar-Simeon. Feeling, however, that it would be difficult, if not dangerous, to employ force, he induced some Franciscans to excite in Mar-Simeon's mind a doubt of his Ecclesiastical position, so as to render a journey to Rome necessary for security and peace. He went with the Friars to Cochin; and thence to Goa, Lisbon, and Rome, where, to his intense astonishment, Sixtus V. declared him not to be in Holy Orders at all! Thus sentenced, or deprived, he was forwarded to Philip II., at that time King of Spain and Portugal, who committed him to Alexis de Menezes, then starting for Goa as Archbishop. The Syrian Prelate, however, instead of

<sup>1</sup> Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Mal.," p. 16. Du Jarric, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> "Excommunicationes inde ac anathœmeta (res ridicula quasi missilia, alter in alterum mutuo intorquet)."—Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Mal.," p. 11.



accompanying the Portuguese Metropolitan, was thrown into the Franciscan convent in Lisbon. From his prison he wrote to his Vicar-General, Jacob, by every fleet that went to India, professing fidelity to the faith of his fathers and claiming his Episcopal rank. Years afterwards these letters fell into the hands of Archbishop Menezes, by whom they were sent to the Inquisitor-General of Portugal. The result is not recorded. But the unfortunate Syrian's fate was, no doubt, hastened by the arrival of these letters, the dungeons of the Inquisition finishing what the Franciscan convents had begun.

Following this complicated history we must return to Goa, where, in 1590, another Provincial Council was convened, and Bishop Abraham summoned to attend. But the aged Prelate, taught by experience, refused to trust the Portuguese. He was possibly influenced in his determination by some feeling of remorse for his former conduct, and for the ruin that he had brought on Joseph and Simeon. Be the cause what it may, he stood firm, maintained the Chaldean faith and defied the Roman power. Clement VIII., duly informed of this contumacy, commanded the Archbishop, in 1595, to enquire into the crimes of the rebellious Prelate, and, if guilty, to commit him to prison.<sup>1</sup> The Papal brief further ordered that a

<sup>1</sup> This mandate of Clement VIII., dated 27th January, 1595, is quoted at length in Gouvea's "*Jornada*," p. 10.



Vicar-Apostolic should be placed over the diocese, and that no Chaldean bishop should be suffered to enter Malabar. Archbishop Menezes obeyed, found Mar-Abraham guilty, without going through the useless form of summoning the bed-ridden victim to appear at Goa ; and having learnt that application had been made to Babylon for a Suffragan and successor, he ordered all the passes to be guarded, so that no Chaldean priest should enter. Every expedient was adopted to elude his vigilance. Disguised as Indians they came by land, as sailors they entered the Port of Cochin, but were always stopped, sent home or imprisoned, and thus the diocese remained without a head.

The Archbishop, delighted by this success, pursued his enterprise with zeal. He first addressed himself to Mar-Simeon's Vicar-General, imploring him to submit and promising him the most ample rewards. But Jacob was deaf to all his entreaties, refused to throw away his commission, and inflamed still more his excited flock against their relentless tormentors. Menezes was equally urgent with the other side, entreating the aged Mar-Abraham and his energetic representative, the Archdeacon, to reduce the diocese to the Roman obedience, but with no better success than in the other case.

Two deaths now cleared the way for the Archbishop's triumph. The first was that of Jacob,

Simeon's Vicar-General, whose sudden decease, under singular circumstances, was interpreted as a judgment on him for resistance to the true faith.<sup>1</sup> The second was that of the Syrian Bishop Abraham, in February, 1597. Worn out by controversy, but still firm in his religion, he refused the rites of the Romish Church, forced upon him in his dying moments by two Jesuits from Vaipacotta, and to remove all doubts of his position, he left express orders that he should be buried in the modest cathedral which he had built amongst the woods at Augamale.

Thus ended the first part of the struggle.

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, "Hist. Jornada."



## CHAPTER V.

### THE ARCHBISHOP OF GOA.

“Dom Alexis de Menezes was appointed Archbishop of Goa. It was his mission less to make new converts than to reduce old ones to subjection ; and he flung himself into the work of persecution with an amount of zeal and heroism that must have greatly endeared him to Rome.”—KAYE.

DOM ALEXIS DE MENEZES, whose actions form the principal subject of this chapter, was an Austin Friar, and was the seventh Archbishop of Goa, a see founded by Paul III. in 1537. He was Governor-General of India for three years, was afterwards translated to the Primacy of Braga, was Governor of Portugal for two years, and after that was President of the Council of State of Portugal at Madrid, where he died. It would be foreign to our purpose to give his biography here ; and his character, no ordinary one, will be gleaned by the intelligent reader from our brief sketch of his trenchant decision, consummate craft, and dauntless courage in overthrowing the Church of St. Thomas, and raising that of St. Peter on its ruins.

On the very day that Archbishop Menezes received



at Damaon the news of Mar-Abraham's death, he appointed the Jesuit, Francisco Ros, Governor and Vicar-Apostolical of the vacant see. Three months afterwards, the Archbishop held a meeting at Goa concerning the Syrian Church, and the result was that, in spite of the Pope's orders that none but a Roman Catholic should be appointed, it was deemed expedient to nominate the Archdeacon.<sup>1</sup> To please all parties, the office was put in commission, the three officials being the Archdeacon, the Jesuit Ros, and the Rector of Vaipacotta. But when the Archdeacon was required to subscribe to the creed of Pius IV., he declined, alleging that he objected to the other commissioners. And Menezes, though detecting the pretext, dissembled for the present, and made him sole governor. The Archdeacon, pursuing a temporary policy, accepted his patent, though under protest that it gave him no more authority than what he previously possessed, and still declined subscription, hoping for a Bishop from the Patriarch. Pressed still further by the Romanists, he declared positively that he would

<sup>1</sup> The Archdeacon who plays so conspicuous a part in the following chapters was named George, and is thus spoken of by Raulin:—"Georgius homo dolis instructus, et vulpern in pectore servans."—Raulin, "*Hist. Ecc. Mal.*," p. 20. There was but one of this title amongst the Malabar Christians, and he seems to have exercised the office of a sort of deputy during the life of the Bishop, and that of substitute or representative when the see was vacant. Archdeacon George was a man of the highest family, and had exercised quasi-episcopal functions during the declining years of Mar-Abraham, who, when dying, committed the Church of the Syrian Christians to his care.

not submit to the Pontiff, for that the Church of St. Thomas always had been, and always should be, independent of Rome. To strengthen his resistance, he convened a Synod at Augamale. There Cattanars and laymen alike swore to defend the faith of their fathers, to accept none but a Bishop of their own Church, and to maintain this solemn league and covenant to the death.

Popular excitement was now at its height. The poor mountaineers, who had at first welcomed their Roman fellow-Christians so warmly, were thoroughly excited against their oppressors. They looked upon the Portuguese as the relentless enemies of their ancient faith, and as the barbarous persecutors of their beloved bishops and priests. They therefore rose in arms, expelled the Jesuits from their country, and in two instances were barely restrained from putting them to death. The news of this terrible outbreak, though it frightened the ordinary "Soldiers of the Pope," served but to stimulate the resolute Archbishop, who determined to crush this rebellion by his personal presence. In vain did the Archbishop and the whole clergy of Goa implore him to refrain from so perilous an enterprise. He resolved, as soon as the war between Mangate and Paru (two small Malabar states) had ceased, to subdue the storm which he had raised, contenting himself meantime with an appeal to the Archdeacon. That dig-



nitary, alarmed at the Archbishop's announcement, pretended that he had refused subscription because the Rector of Vaipacotta was commanded to receive it, but that he would sign before any other priest (not a Jesuit) duly commissioned. But Menezes, considering this an attempt to render the Jesuits unpopular, because they were the most active proselytisers, refused to comply. This refusal gave great and just offence, not only to the Syrians, but also to the Romanists; for the other orders loudly declared that the Archbishop was so infatuated with the Jesuits that he would rather lose the Syrian Church than offend the Order. The brethren, it seems, did not reciprocate the Archbishop's affection, at least they had done their best (in a work which we often quote in this history) to deprive him of what he believed his chief honour, the conversion of the Syrian Christians, or rather, the reduction of their Church to the Roman obedience.<sup>1</sup> In this historical romance we have an entirely new version of the story (a Jesuit's, be it remembered) to the effect that Mar-Abraham loved the Jesuits, was governed by them in all things, invited the Rector to his death-bed, committed his flock to the care of the Pope, commanded all his clergy to obey the Brethren of the Society, and to accept as truth all that they taught. Furthermore, this veracious

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Jesuits in India." By Pierre du Jarric, Bordeaux, 1608.



narrative asserts that the Syrian Church was so completely reconciled, that in 1596 they celebrated with joy the Jubilee of Clement VIII., crowding the churches till midnight. The Archbishop of Goa had therefore no conflict, but simply enjoyed a triumph where the Jesuits had won the battle.<sup>1</sup>

Trifles often lead to great events ; and an incident occurred at this time which plainly proved that the Syrian clergy were not yet the slaves of the Pope. One of the boys of the Jesuits' College had been taught to pray for the Pope before the Patriarch. The Cattanars, overhearing this one day in church, beat him and turned him out. They spoke also to his father to repeat the chastisement. The Archbishop, hearing of this, wrote to Archdeacon George, ordering him to punish those impudent heretics, but, so far from obeying the Roman Prelate, he commended the zeal of his own priests. A Franciscan Friar was therefore sent from Goa to request once more the Archdeacon's subscription, and to insist on his punishing the Cattanars. The Syrian, anxious, at any price, to keep the Archbishop out of the Serra, at last subscribed a confession, though not that of Pius IV., professing himself a Catholic, but avoiding the word Roman. It is, however, affirmed that he afterwards gave his assent publicly to the creed of Pius IV., read to him in Portuguese, of which he

<sup>1</sup> Geddes's "Hist. Ch. Mal.," p. 49.

knew nothing. Be that as it may, he everywhere taught that though the Pope was Head of the Roman Church, he had nothing whatever to do with the Syrian. Irritated by these vexatious delays, the indomitable Prelate fixed a day for his personal visit to the headquarters of these rebellious Christians. The Viceroy's remonstrance was answered thus:— "My life is but too secure, as I have never done enough to win the martyr's crown."<sup>1</sup> Still he did not rely too much on his want of merit, and therefore travelled with an armed escort. His journey, too, was partly political, as the Viceroy wished to secure the co-operation of the Zamorin in destroying a nest of pirates at Cunhale. On the 27th September, 1598, the Archbishop embarked in a war galley, and on Epiphany was saluted at Cunhale by the guns and music of the Portuguese Fleet. Here he held a Council of War, sent dispatches to Goa, inspected the siege works, and, after these Apostolical proceedings, set sail for Cananore, and thence to Cochin. The grandest preparations had been made for his reception, richly carpeted stairs had been expressly constructed; the Governor and a brilliant staff were at the landing place, and the Prince of the Church disembarked amid the waving of flags, the clang of martial music, the shouts of the people, and the thunder of artillery.

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, "Jornada," Cap. IX., p. 26. Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Mal.," p. 22. La Croze, p. 101. Du Jarric, p. 574.



Gouvea, with his characteristic prolixity, enters into the most minute details of councils, negotiations, intrigues, in which the Archbishop, the King of Cochin, and the Zamorin are the principal actors. But they are totally uninteresting to the general reader, and have little or no relation to our subject.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman Prelate, having discharged his political and military duties, thought himself bound to devote some attention to the ostensible object of his mission. He therefore sent for Archdeacon George ; and, as no notice was taken, he wrote again, enclosing a letter of safe conduct. The perplexed Syrian assembled his Presbyters. After a long discussion, they were forced to admit that they were at last reduced to a most painful position. They saw clearly that the wily Archbishop had laid his measures well, and that the game was now in his own hands ; for, as the Rajahs, in whose dominions the Syrian Churches were, had formed an alliance with the Portuguese, there could be no difficulty in inducing the native Princes to destroy their Christian subjects if they attempted to resist their oppressors. They therefore resolved to send their President with instructions to consent to the Archbishop's saying Mass, and preaching in their churches, but to resist all his claims to exercise

<sup>1</sup> The curious student will find full particulars in Gouvea, and in La Croze ; in Geddes, an abridgment, pp. 54-5-6 ; and in Hughes's "Christ.," Vol. I., p. 336.



Episcopal functions. They further determined that if he insisted on such acts, they should temporise until they exhausted his patience, and forced him back to Goa. They then sent messengers through the mountains, and soon mustered a force of three thousand skilled marksmen for the defence of their Archdeacon and their faith. The Archbishop, too, appealed to force, for he requested the presence of the Paniquais,<sup>1</sup> chiefs who could bring four thousand men into the field, but they, instead of going to Cochin, took the oath of Amonços,<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, they solemnly swore to defend their Archdeacon, if they died in his cause. Guarded right and left by two of these champions, and at the head of an imposing force of well-armed mountaineers, the Archdeacon appeared before Cochin. The Portuguese Governor, with a splendid retinue, courteously received the Syrians outside the gates, and conducted them with great ceremony to the Episcopal Palace. The scene must

<sup>1</sup> Hough explains the name to signify "Captains not unlike feudal lords, or independent chieftains," Vol. I., p. 341. But the original authorities give a different account. Gouvea ("Jornada," Chap. X., p. 29) gives a long description of this singular institution, the substance of which is that these Paniquais were a caste of fencing masters, whose pupils became their vassals or retainers, and whom they could command by thousands. "Les Malabars appellent Paniquais, les maîtres d'escrime auxquels ils portent un si grand respect que tous ceux qui ont esté leurs élèves, leur obéissent durant toute leur vie."—Du Jarric, p. 575.

<sup>2</sup> "Amonços entre les Malabars sont des gens desesperés qui jurét de mourir en ce qu'ils enteprenné."—Du Jarric.

have been very striking. The Primate of India, seated on his throne, rose to receive the Archdeacon, who knelt and kissed his hand. The long train of Syrian priests followed his example. The principal laity, including the two Paniquais guards, were in turn also presented. Faithful to their oath, these officers stood with naked broadswords, close to their Archdeacon, on the watch for the slightest indication of treachery. An accident had nearly led to fatal consequences, for, the door of the audience-chamber closing, the three thousand Syrians who crowded round the building shouted "To arms! to arms!" thinking that their Archdeacon was taken prisoner. Swords were drawn, arquebuses loaded, matches lighted, and the doors assailed with cries of "Let us die for the Archdeacon and the Church of St. Thomas," when a stentorian voice of a Latin priest, who understood Tamil, succeeded in convincing them that the Archdeacon was safe and incurred no danger whatever. This stormy episode ended, the conference went on by means of interpreters, much as in a modern durbar; and it was finally agreed that the Metropolitan should begin his visitation at Vaipacotta, and that the Assyrian ecclesiastics should meet him there. On the day appointed, a procession of Jesuit professors and students conducted the Archbishop, mitre on head and crozier in hand, to the church, where he preached from John



x., 1. : "He that entereth not by the door," &c.<sup>1</sup> His object, of course, was to prove that the Roman Church was the only true one, and that, therefore, the bishops and priests of the Syrian Faith were thieves and robbers, that the whole Church was in deadly schism, and doomed to perdition if they did not accept the salvation now offered. Archdeacon George, for obvious reasons, did not appear till two days after these proceedings, yet he was most courteously received by the dissembling Prelate. During the Archbishop's stay at the College of the Jesuit missionaries, he of course attended Matins and Vespers, but these being sung in Chaldee were unintelligible to him. Learning, however, that the Patriarch of Babylon was mentioned in the prayers by the title of Universal Pastor of the Church,—a stroke of conciliatory policy on the part of the Jesuits—he was perfectly horrified, and summoned the professors and students, the Archdeacon and Cattanars, into his presence. Addressing them with great vehemence, he declared that the Pope alone was supreme, and the Patriarch of Babylon a heretic and schismatic. Then, producing a formal excommunication, he commanded his secretary to read it aloud, and his interpreter to translate it, enjoining

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, "Jornada," Cap. X., p. 29. Raulin, "Hist. Ecc. Mal.," p. 23. La Croze, "Hist. Du Christ.," p. 103. Du Jarric, Hist., p. 578.



that no person do henceforward presume to pray for the Patriarch of Babylon. He then turned sharply round to the Archdeacon with the brief command, "Sign it." The terrified Syrian stood aghast and wavered. Seizing the moment of hesitation, the resolute Primate pressed his advantage—"Sign it, Father, for it is full time the axe were laid to the root of the tree." The Archdeacon was speechless. He quailed beneath the stern eye and sharp voice of the Roman Primate. Slowly and silently he took the pen, signed the deed, and with it the doom of his Church.<sup>1</sup>

The report of this cowardly concession spread like wild-fire through the village. At first the rumour was utterly disbelieved, but when the excited crowd saw the fatal document fixed on the gates of the church, there was no longer room for doubt. They rushed frantically to the Archdeacon's house, when they cried out that the Archbishop of Goa and his Portuguese had come to destroy their religion and to insult their Patriarch. Railing against the Archdeacon as a traitor, they implored their Cattanars to let them fight for their faith and take vengeance on its enemies. But, on his raising his hand, they were instantly silent. "There was a time for all things," he said, "but this was the time for dissimulation, not revenge; that he

<sup>1</sup> Gouvea, "Jernada, Cap. X., p. 30. La Croze, "Hist. Du Christ.," p. 106. Du Jarric, *I Hist.*, p. 580. Raulin, "Hist., Ecc. Mal.," p. 24.