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more expedient, therefore, to include this with a variety of other qualities, under the general attribute of goodness. Their policy in this matter has been extenuated on the plea of our ignorance of the subject, seeing that all the attributes of God, as various as His energies, are beyond the grasp of the human intellect. Since, therefore, it is argued, He is naturally incomprehensible, every attempt to investigate His essence, or to determine His qualities, can, at best, be only an approximation to the truth.<sup>4</sup> This reasoning were excusable, if we had not the word of God to teach us better. But since, in the volume of inspiration, He has revealed to mankind all that they need to know of His nature and His will, in order to guide them, by the path of holiness, to the world of glory; no circumstances whatever can justify a Christian teacher in withholding or disguising any portion of the Divine Word. This is to imagine, that the Author of revealed truth cannot be left to vindicate or commend it. It is to forget that the world by wisdom, its own wisdom, never did, and never could, know God; and that it is by the very preaching which proud philosophers have always deemed foolishness, that He purposes to save those who believe.<sup>5</sup> These missionaries thought proper to take a different course, and it will be seen how completely the Almighty confounded their jesuitical policy. To omit the attribute of justice, is to deprive the Gospel of its strongest sinew. It is only by showing how God is just, that He can be faithfully exhibited as the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.<sup>6</sup>

Robert de Nobili composed another work,

<sup>4</sup> Ellis's Korell, Ch. i. s. 9.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. i. 18—21.

<sup>6</sup> Rom. iii. 26.

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entitled, *Mantra-mālei*, which contained the principal part of the Roman liturgy; but he introduced so many Sanscrit terms, that the service was as unintelligible to the native proselytes generally, as the brahminical Vedas are to the majority of Hindoos, or the Latin liturgy to the mass of the Roman Church in all parts of the world.

Romish writers have expressed themselves scandalized by such an attempt to further the cause of their church, and pronounced it an equivocation not to be justified. They have lamented in strong terms, that it should have been thought necessary by the Jesuits to assume a title that ranks above the first nobility of the land, and, much more, to maintain it with an ostentation and a conduct opposed to the rules of Christian humility and holiness.<sup>7</sup>

Others, however, have undertaken to vindicate de Nobili's perjury. M. Urban Cerri, secretary to the congregation de Propagandâ, writing to Pope Innocent on the subject,<sup>8</sup> affirmed, that that Jesuit was not guilty of falsehood in calling himself a brahmin. It is true, he and his brethren were priests, as well as the brahmins; but when it is argued that he used the term, *Brahmana*, in this restricted sense, and that, therefore, he spake the truth; it must be remembered, that this was not the sense in which he knew the brahmins would understand him, or in which he desired to be understood. For, in that acceptance of the word, it would not have imposed upon them, nor rendered the Jesuits more acceptable to them than the priests of every other religion, or of every caste of

<sup>7</sup> *Memoires du P. Norbert*, Tom. i. liv. 1. sec. 7, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Anno 1676. See his *Account*, &c. p. 104, &c. Also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xiv. art. 1.



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Hindoos. *Gooroo* is the proper term for their priests, and the lowest castes have their own gooroos, independent of the brahmins, to consult in their religious and domestic affairs. But a brahmin is considered to be a descendant from the god *Brahma*, and is revered as a demi-god; and it was for the express purpose of maintaining for himself and his brethren similar pretensions, that R. de Nobili assumed the title in question, and forged his deed. The jesuitical casuistry, then, of M. Cerri will not satisfy an honest mind, nor impose upon any that are competent and free to judge for themselves. It has been justly argued, that "It is the wilful deceit that makes the lie; and we wilfully deceive, when our expressions are not true in the sense in which we believe the hearer to apprehend them: besides, that it is absurd to contend for any sense of words, in opposition to usage, for all senses of all words are founded upon usage, and upon nothing else."<sup>9</sup> The common acceptance of the word *Brahma*, and the sense in which this jesuit missionary meant and expected his appropriation of it to be understood, are unquestionable. Tried, therefore, by this test, he is fairly convicted of deliberate falsehood, and that at the very outset of what is extolled as an apostolical career.

11. The Hindoos have four Vedas, or sacred books, which they believe to be *immortal*, and express revelations from heaven. Formerly, they say, there was an infinite number of Vedas, but from time immemorial they have all been superseded by the four which they now possess, or rather, these are a compilation of the rest. The first

The four  
Hindoo  
Vedas—R.  
de Nobili  
forges a  
fifth.

<sup>9</sup> Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy, Book iii. part i ch. 15.

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called the *Rig-veda*, consists of five sections : the second, the *Yajur-veda*, of eighty-six : the third, the *Sama-veda*, of a thousand : the fourth, the *Athava-veda*, of nine. The first three explain the relative duties of mankind : the fourth describes the system of the Hindoo's religious ordinances. Finding that these works were received as the fountain of all knowledge, human and divine, Robert de Nobili and his colleagues did not scruple actually to *forge* a *fifth Veda*, in which they interwove, with consummate skill, a sufficient portion of the Bible to give it a Scriptural character, without awakening suspicion. Their object was to refute the doctrines of the Puranas, and when the work should become established as an authentic Veda, they meant to show its accordance with the Gospel, and hence to deduce an irrefragable argument for the divine origin of Christianity. It was composed in a style so closely resembling that of the other Vedas, as effectually to impose upon some of the most learned brahmins ; but to what extent it succeeded in conciliating them, there are no means of ascertaining.

This *pseudo-Veda* was for many years known only to a few individuals belonging to the mission of Pondicherry, where it was kept, with other works of a similar description, from the knowledge of all persons who were thought likely to detect the imposture. At length a copy of it came into the possession of M. Voltaire, who, in 1761, sent it as a literary curiosity to the library of the King of France. He considered it as an authentic work, and actually, as stated to be, a commentary on the *Védam*, " By the Chief Brahmin of the Pagoda of Cherengham." In 1778, the work was published



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at Paris :<sup>1</sup> and after its publication, M. Sonnerat discovered and affirmed, that it was nothing more than a book of controversy written by a missionary at *Masulipatam*. He was mistaken, however, in the place where he imagined it to have been composed, as appears from internal evidence; but his opinion of the character of the work was correct.

It has since been carefully examined, and the question of its brahminical origin thoroughly investigated, by the late Mr. Ellis,<sup>2</sup> of Madras. Having obtained a sight of this and the other original MSS. at Pondicherry, he carefully compared them with the true Védas. In his elaborate dissertation on the subject, he has given copious extracts from those works; pointing out the inferiority of the Jesuits' compositions where they resembled them, and showing how materially they differ, both in language and style.<sup>3</sup> The conclusion to which he came was, that the *Ezour-Védam* was "a literary

<sup>1</sup> Its French name was, *L'Ezour-Védam, ou Ancien Commentaire du Védam*; contenant l'exposition des Opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indiens. Traduit du Samscritan par un Brame. 2 Tom. 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Francis W. Ellis, Esq., a gentleman deeply read in brahminical lore, and imbued with Hindoo predilections. In the knowledge of Oriental literature he was equalled by few. He was likewise a great admirer of the talents of some of the jesuit missionaries: but he was too upright a man not to denounce such an imposture as this. His disquisition on the subject, from which the above review is chiefly composed, may be seen in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xiv. Art. 1.

<sup>3</sup> These MSS. appear to be imitations of the other three Védas; they are written both in *Sanscrit*, with the *Roman* character, and in *French*, in opposite pages, to give them the appearance of originals with the translation annexed. Including the *Ezour Védam*, they are eight in number: and their titles, with a few extracts from them, are given in Appendix C, that the reader may form some idea of their character.

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forgery, or rather, as the object of the author or authors was not literary distinction, of religious imposition without parallel."

The author of this and the other writings in question cannot be accurately ascertained. The more respectable native Christians of Pondicherry are of opinion that they were written by Robert de Nobili. The authority for this opinion is not known; but it is not improbable, as he was in many respects qualified for the work; and other polemical writings that are unquestionably from his pen, greatly resemble, both in matter and language, the controversial parts of these *Pseudo-Védas*.

But whoever were their authors, if they really expected by such a stratagem to lead indirectly to the introduction of Christianity, little did they comprehend the nature of that religion, or respect the honour of its Divine Author. The whole scope of these writings shows, that the intention was to destroy the existing belief of the country, reckless of consequences, and without caring whether a blank were substituted for it or not. To the doctrine here taught, as preparatory to a system of Deism, little, perhaps, could be objected: but in their zeal against the idolatries of the country, as Christian teachers they actually proved too much. For instance, in opposing the fables of the Hindoo incarnations, they positively assert—"To him," that is, the Supreme God, "there is no incarnation, &c." After they had convinced a disciple of the truth of this doctrine, it is justly inquired, how were they "to instruct him in the Christian faith?"<sup>4</sup> Thus to place themselves in a position where they could not

<sup>4</sup> Asiatic Res. vol. xiv. p. 35.





afterwards maintain that fundamental article of the creed, "God was manifest in the flesh,"<sup>5</sup> proves how little they regarded the real interests of Christianity, in their impatience to attain their present object.

12. The style of R. de Nobili, however, was inferior to that of R. C. J. Beschi, whose epic poem, the *TEMBA-VANI*, will bear comparison even with brahminical writings of the same description. It treats on Scriptural subjects, and, like the Hindoo Puranas, contains some good ethical instruction. Of his Christian *fidelity* a judgment may be formed, from the manner in which he has interwoven Scripture narrative with his general subject.<sup>6</sup> In his description of the holy family crossing the desert, on their return from Egypt to Judea, he represents the Saviour as enumerating, in prophetic vision, the several devotees who in future times were there to devote themselves to austerities, and by their example introduce monastic discipline into the Church. The primitive ascetics, Paul, Antony, and Hilarion, are first mentioned; but of the numerous names that follow few can be recognised, as they are either translated into Tamul and Sanscrit, or so altered as to conform to the orthography of those languages. His description of the first female recluse on record in the Christian Church, St. Mary the Egyptian, is drawn with peculiar delicacy and beauty:<sup>7</sup> but when we consider that this and

Epic poem  
of R. C. J.  
Beschi.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> The 30th Canto.

<sup>7</sup> Several extracts from this poem are given in the Author's reply to the Abbé Dubois. The concluding passage may be quoted here also as a specimen of the style. Speaking of the Egyptian Mary, called *Ejesa Mariyal*, he says—"On the flying chariot of desire she arrived at the desert of sin; on the flying chariot of fear she repaired to the mountains of



other works of a similar character, were given to the heathen in lieu of the Word of God, who does not see, that for a Christian missionary to scatter only such flowers to a people who were perishing for lack of the bread of life, was to *delude*, where he ought to have instructed, and to betray the Saviour's cause? It has been well remarked, by a competent judge,<sup>8</sup> that the tissue of conceits exhibited here "may have been woven for the poet either by the Italian or the Tamul muse, as both, though they often cull from the rose-bush of fancy its fairest flowers, are prone, also, to collect the unsubstantial dew-drops glittering on its leaves."

The whole of these Jesuits' writings resemble the early Christians' imitation of the Sibylline oracles. The authors of those original impostures were women, who were supposed by the heathen to be inspired with the spirit of divination. In the second and third centuries of the Christian era, the reputation of these prophetesses began to decline in the pagan world: but the Christians of those times were so far degenerated from the principles of the Gospel, as to imitate the oracles which they had delivered. They began to adopt also the pernicious practice of "pious frauds," which was introduced by ancient philosophers, and it now proved extremely injurious, having become "a source of numberless evils to the Christian Church. The Platonists and Pythagoreans held it as a maxim, that it was not only lawful, but even praise-

penitence; on the flying chariot of resplendent wisdom she entered the grove of growing virtue; and on the flying chariot of my name" (the infant Saviour is the speaker) "she shall enter the kingdom of heaven." Beschi was a missionary of the next century.—Ellis' translation of the Korell, ch. iii. sect. 3. Notes.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.





worthy, to deceive, and even to use the expedient of a lie, in order to advance the cause of truth and piety. The Jews who lived in Egypt, had learned and received this maxim from them, before the coming of Christ, as appears incontestably from a multitude of ancient records; and the Christians were infected from both these sources with the same pernicious error, as appears from the number of books attributed falsely to great and venerable names, from the Sibylline verses, and several supposititious productions which were spread abroad in this and the following century.<sup>9</sup> Another writer remarks upon them—"Those Christians who had some acquaintance with Grecian poetry and style began to entertain the thought of representing passages of the sacred writings, Christian doctrines, precepts, and predictions, as oracles or prophecies of the Sibyls:—but it seems to be doubtful, whether their intention was to introduce their poems as genuine works of the older Sibyls, and by such means convert the heathen; or, whether, as is more probable, without any design of deception, they wished to clothe their communications in a form expressive and acceptable to the heathens."<sup>1</sup>

Let the writings of the Jesuit missionaries at Madura be compared with these Christian imitations of the Sibylline oracles, eight books of which are extant, and they will be found equally erroneous, mysterious, and pernicious. The motive of an author should always be touched upon with scrupulous care; but in the present instance it can hardly be mistaken. By attributing such predictions, as those quoted

<sup>9</sup> Mosheim. Cent. 2, part ii. chap. iii. sect. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Tschirners' Fall of Heathenism. See Quarterly Review, September 1836, pp. 36, 37.



above from the *Temba-vani*, to the infant Saviour, the writer would, doubtless, expect to prepare the Hindoo to regard the monkish austerities of the Roman Church as sanctioned, if not instituted, by the authority of our Lord. Were there any thing in the history of His infant years to warrant the ascription of *any* prophecies to Him at the early age of His return from Egypt; and if even these fanciful predictions, instead of being described in language which none but the most erudite could understand, had been delivered in such familiar terms as the Saviour always adopted; yet is it hard to imagine what other purpose they could answer but to give authenticity to Romish legends, and encourage the practice of superstitious mortifications similar to those which our Lord expressly prohibited.<sup>2</sup>

Jesuits  
adopt brah-  
minical cus-  
toms.

13. We have, probably, entered far enough into this subject to give an adequate view of these Jesuits' mode of instruction. But besides this, they had to imitate the brahmins in their outward appearance, and adopt their habits of life. In order to sustain their fictitious character, they found it necessary to assume the dress of Cavy, a yellow cloth worn by the Indian religious teachers and penitents: they must be frequent in their ablutions: they were never to appear in public without affixing to their foreheads the wafer, made of sandal wood powder, which is worn by brahmins and other Hindoos, to mark their respective castes and gods.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, by wearing this mark, they carried the stamp of idolatry on their very front. They scrupulously abstained from all

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vi.

<sup>3</sup> To the present day the Romish converts in India are suffered to retain this idolatrous token.





use of animal food and intoxicating liquors, and, in a word, fared in every respect like the brahmins, living on vegetables and milk.<sup>4</sup>

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Their contempt of the lower castes.

14. Having advanced thus far, they were compelled to go forward in a career as subversive of Christian charity, as dishonourable to God. To have trodden in the steps of Francis Xavier, and given due attention to natives in the humbler walks of life, would have proved fatal to their design upon the brahmins, who would immediately have regarded them as an inferior caste of men, and treated them as unworthy of their society. In order, therefore, to sustain their assumed character, they found themselves constrained to treat with apparent scorn those classes of Hindoos who lay no claim to a divine origin. Regardless of the Christian teacher's imperative duty to preach the Gospel to the poor, they paid exclusive attention to the rich, and to those who, though often poor in this world's goods, and living upon alms, esteem themselves the greatest of the sons of men, and receive the adorations of all other classes of Hindoos. Instead, therefore, of condescending "to men of low estate," R. de Nobili and his brethren exacted from them the same reverence which they were accustomed to pay the brahmins, and kept them at a distance with true brahminical arrogance.

15. By these means they rendered themselves acceptable to the Hindoo princes, who, pleased with the singularity of their appearance, bestowed their protection upon them as an extraordinary caste of men, and granted them full liberty to preach their religion and make proselytes.<sup>5</sup> Lest it should be thought incredible

They are more acceptable to the brahmins than the Franciscans, who retire from Madura.

<sup>4</sup> M. Cerri. Millar's History of Christianity, vol. ii. pp. 354—356. Abbé Dubois' Letters, pp. 4—7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.





that any class of natives, much more those of the highest castes, could be so easily imposed upon, it ought to be understood, that it was no novelty for them to be visited by brahmins from the northern provinces of India, who were always of a fairer complexion than themselves, and generally regarded as of a superior grade. Brahmins of this description are now residing in the southern provinces, whose skin is almost as fair as that of an Italian or Portuguese. This circumstance favoured the Jesuits' deception; and the fickle natives generally, charmed at the sight of these "new brahmins," soon began to neglect the unpretending Franciscans, who, as we have seen, had proceeded more quietly among them, and not without some success. But their more simple habits and appearance presented too little to flatter the vanity of the highest castes, or to favour the superstitions of all other Hindoos, to enable them to stand against the influence of the Jesuits. Very soon, therefore, they found that it was in vain to endeavour to compete with their more attractive and less scrupulous rivals, and retired from the field in despair.

It was not in the East only that the Jesuits were at this time superseding the Franciscans. Hitherto this order seem to have considered the conversion of the Indies as belonging chiefly to them; and they were loud in their complaints against the Jesuits, who, not content with supplanting them every where, accused them also of being such slothful labourers in the missionary vineyard, that for several years, as was alleged, they had not made any conversion worth naming. It concerns not us to inquire into the truth of these allegations; and when we consider the means they used to support



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their falling credit, we hardly know how to sympathize with them in their lamentations. Indeed, they did many things that awaken an opposite feeling. For instance, they published the following account of an event, said to have happened about the time of their retirement from Madura, which may be taken as a specimen of the expedients that they used to retrieve their missionary character.

In the life of Mary of Agreda, a famous Spanish nun at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is recorded, that she was subject to extraordinary raptures, which, in about three hours, transported her from Spain to New Mexico and back again. They came so rapidly upon her, that in little more than a year, she performed no less than five hundred of these missionary voyages. This is related as an extraordinary visitation from heaven, for she is said to have been fervent in prayer to God for the conversion of the inhabitants of that distant land; and in the course of her visits to them, it is reported that she converted the king of that extensive country, and all his subjects, who "were numberless." The Franciscan friars on the spot had an intimation from the converts themselves, that they were induced to embrace the Christian faith by some nun of their own order. This took place in 1622; and eight years after, their superior, Father Alonzo de Benavides, made a voyage to Europe to find out this missionary virgin. Having, after some time and considerable trouble, succeeded in discovering that it was the said Mary of Agreda, he questioned her, "whether she had made that remote conversion in her body, or only in her spirit. She answered, that *she was not certain in that matter, but that she was*





Jesuits incorporate the heathen customs with the ceremonies of the Roman Church.

*most inclined to think it was performed by her only in spirit.*" The commissary attributing that doubt of Mary's to her profound humility, he and his two confederates pronounced it to have been effected in her body, or person. Their reasons for this notable conclusion may be examined by those who think the story worthy of the smallest credit. The marvellous tale was not published to the world till 1668, when all the parties who took any part in fabricating it were dead. In that year, the commissary-general of the Franciscan order in Mexico, sent the story to their procurator in the court of Madrid, to be by him presented to the Royal Council of the Indies in Spain, as a testimony of what the Franciscan Order is continually doing in the New World, in the conversion of Infidels, in contradiction to a certain emulation (meaning that of the Jesuits) which pretends to obscure that glory."<sup>6</sup>

This tale was generally believed in Spain and Portugal, the Jesuits, of course, excepted; and certainly, an order that could perform such missionary achievements, deserved better of the Pope than to be left to have their glory eclipsed by their rivals.

16. The Jesuit missionaries at Madura now felt themselves at liberty to give full scope to their operations. The presence of the Franciscans had kept them within some bounds, and they were conscious that they had gone too far to feel easy under the eye of these jealous witnesses of their conduct. But they were no sooner relieved of this restraint, than they adopted without hesitation every measure that they deemed essential to their progress. What

<sup>6</sup> Life of Maria de Jesus of Agreda, p. 160, &c.



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had hitherto appeared to the heathen as an impassable barrier of separation between the Christian religion and their own, these new apostles, with unsparing hand, levelled with the ground. They went so far as actually to incorporate with the ceremonies of the Roman Church, those idolatrous rites against which the Franciscans had boldly inveighed.<sup>7</sup> We ought, perhaps, to indulge the hope, that it was the simple intention of the Franciscan fathers to promote the interests of Christianity, however we may object to that modification of it with which they were identified : but it was the avowed design of the Jesuits to advance the interests of their own order, and, as a means to that end, to maintain the papal supremacy. This difference of purpose will sufficiently account for the opposite courses which the two parties pursued ; and here we have another proof, that the unity of the Roman Church, so often and so confidently appealed to, is only an empty vaunt. Their divisions seem to have been as numerous, and their party contentions as frequent, as those among Christians who renounce the Pope's jurisdiction.

17. The Jesuits now advanced with rapid strides, and their successes must have exceeded their most sanguine expectations. Having induced twelve brahmins to join them, they proceeded, with their assistance, to address themselves to all ranks of society, conciliating the superior castes, and commanding the inferior to listen to their instructions. As they carefully abstained from every thing offensive to the feelings and prejudices of the natives, they met with none of the resistance encountered by the

Their success no proof of their judgment or fidelity.

<sup>7</sup> Memoires du P. Norbert, Tom. i. Liv. i. sec. 7, &c.





Franciscans, and were suffered quietly to engraft a scion of Christianity upon the stock of that idolatry, whose branches threw a sombre shade over the land. With such celerity did they move, that they are said in a few years to have converted many thousand persons to the Church of Rome.

Their success is triumphantly appealed to in proof, that the means they used for the conversion of the Hindoos to the Christian religion, were the best adapted to the purpose.<sup>8</sup> But this cannot be conceded by any who attentively consider the nature of Christianity, and the duty of its ministers. While we look only at the talents, diligence, and voluntary privations of the Jesuits, we cannot be surprised at the favourable opinion entertained of them by persons who enter no further into the subject. But if we reflect on the distinct object of the Gospel, which is, "to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God;" we shall be convinced that no such result followed the endeavours of these men. The credulous and the vicious remained as they were, in regard to their superstitions and character. Indeed, even a Jesuit missionary has confessed and deplored,<sup>9</sup> that they actually became more debased after changing their religion.<sup>9</sup> Finding that they were called to make so little sacrifice on embracing Christianity; that they were allowed to retain all their peculiar customs and ceremonies, and merely required to exchange

<sup>8</sup> Abbe Dubois' Letters, pp. 18, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. pp. 73, 131—136. Romish writers of other orders make similar statements respecting the immoral character of the converts, and the facility with which they would often resume their heathen superstitions. Vide Memoires du P. Norbert, vol. i.



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the idols of their own superstition for the images of Rome ; they felt little difficulty in complying with the simple conditions on which they were received at the baptismal font. Provided they would consent to substitute the crucifix, with the images of the Virgin, Peter, Thomas, Sebastian, and other saints of the Roman calendar, for the Lingum, Siva, Maha Deva, Ganesa, &c., &c. ; they were baptized with little or no knowledge of the nature of that ordinance, or of the creed they verbally adopted. Who then can be amazed that such converts should disappoint the expectations of persons capable of forming a just estimate of Christian character ? How could any reasonable man, and devout Christian, look for any other result ? The ceremonies and processions, the images and pictures, the music and theatrical exhibitions, with which the Romish missionaries endeavour to the present day to conciliate the Hindoo, may dazzle the eye, excite the natural feelings, and carry away the imagination from the sobriety of truth : but they can never awaken holy affections, or implant one Scriptural principle in the heart. The Bible, unadulterated and entire, contains the only instruction which can raise any people above the moral and mental degradation of our apostate nature. The Holy Spirit can alone enlighten the mind to comprehend the truth of the Gospel, and dispose the heart to receive it in sincerity and love. His hallowed inspiration is vouchsafed wherever the word of God is faithfully published. These Jesuits, however, took the opposite course. They adopted every expedient that could be devised to conceal the peculiarities of the Gospel, lest the natives should take offence at the cross. Seeing the immediate success that attended them, it was





natural for such men to glory in their policy : but it was most perfidious ; and many years did not elapse before it was arrested in its progress, when its authors and abettors were covered with disgrace, both in the eyes of the natives, and also of all Christians who had any regard for the Redeemer's glory, and for the salvation of mankind.

It was not to be expected that the other orders of the Roman Church should passively observe these infamous proceedings. The dissatisfaction which some expressed at the preference shown to the Jesuits by Archbishop Menezes, has already been noticed ; and their jealousy was now again roused by the missionaries of that company at Madura, whose shameful compromise of all that deserved the name of religion, furnished them with too just grounds for complaint. We have seen, and have yet to see, too much intolerance and cruelty in the conduct of the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and others, in their treatment of the poor Syrians, to give them credit on the present occasion for any better motive than personal feeling, or a mere regard for the credit of their respective companies. It must, however, be allowed, that if any of them had a sincere zeal for the honour of Christianity, apart from sectarian interests, there was sufficient cause to awaken their fears for its very existence in India. Such persons might well raise their voices against the proceedings at Madura, for they could not but see that religion itself was in jeopardy. How far these considerations entered into the motives of those who protested against the Jesuits' conduct, cannot now be determined. Suffice it to say, that they had truth on their side, when they charged them with "the most culpable indulgence, in





tolerating and winking at all kinds of idolatrous superstitions among their proselytes; and with having themselves rather become converts to the idolatrous worship of the Hindoos, by conforming to many of their practices and superstitions, than making Indian converts to the Christian religion."<sup>1</sup> These severe imputations were too soon confirmed.

18. When these tidings first reached Goa, where the Roman Church was then at the zenith of her prosperity, the city was thrown into commotion. The whole body of the missionaries and clergy of other orders, amazed at such unprecedented innovations, and alarmed for the consequences, loudly complained of them to the Roman pontiff. Paul V., who then wore the triple crown, immediately commanded the Archbishop of Goa to make diligent inquiry into the proceedings of the missionaries at Madura, and in the adjacent provinces. Upon the receipt of this order, that prelate assembled the best theologians and canonists he could procure, and their deliberations ended in the full confirmation of the complaints which the clergy had preferred. The Jesuits were convicted of all the charges brought against them. When this decision arrived at Rome, many persons, eminent for their station and learning, protested vehemently against such novelties. Cardinal Belarmin was one of the first to condemn them. "The Gospel of Jesus Christ," said he, "does not allow any one to have recourse to the least disguise, or false colouring, in order to recommend it. Much better would it be for the brahmins not to be converted to the faith, than

Protest of  
other orders  
against  
their pro-  
ceedings.

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<sup>1</sup> Abbe Dubois, pp. 7, 8.



that the preachers of the Gospel should fear to proclaim it with that freedom and ingenuousness which became their ministry. The preaching of Christ crucified was foolishness to the Greeks, and a stumbling-block to the Jews. But did St. Paul and the rest of the Apostles desist on that account from preaching Christ crucified? "I shall not enter," he continues, "into a discussion upon each charge brought against the Jesuit missionaries, but will merely say, that to imitate the brahmins, and to observe particular rites, seems to me to be diametrically opposed to the humility of Jesus Christ, and very dangerous to the faith. I cannot, therefore, pass over it in silence."<sup>2</sup>

The pope's  
endeavours  
to restrain  
them prove  
unavailing.

19. This was a just conclusion: but it made not the slightest impression upon Robert de Nobili and his colleagues, nor upon their successors, who paid no regard to the doctrine of this learned cardinal, nor to the accusations proved against them. Not content with maintaining the people in these obnoxious customs, they undertook to justify themselves in the course they had taken, and endeavoured to convince the holy see, that it was only by tolerating such practices that they could hope to establish Christianity in India. Though they did not venture to deny the allegations of their opponents, yet they drew up an account of the facts objected to, with such dexterity, as greatly to disguise their reprehensible character. This they had the assurance to accompany with an earnest request, that the Pope would grant them a special *constitution*, authorizing them to impose

<sup>2</sup> This cardinal, be it remembered, was uncle to Robert de Nobili. His candour, therefore, on this occasion is the more worthy of notice. *Memoires du P. Norbert.* Liv. i.





silence on all persons who should speak against their opinions and measures relating to the Indian customs.

A. D.  
1621.

This was a bold request, it amounted indeed to a demand; and, had it encountered the haughty and violent spirit of Paul V., it might have led to a more immediate result. It arrived, however, when Gregory XV., filled the papal chair. He was raised to the pontificate in 1621, and he seems to have been of a milder disposition than his predecessor, though equally severe and unjust against those who had separated from the Church of Rome. This pontiff is supposed to have entertained a favourable disposition towards the Jesuits; but he did not give himself up to their counsels: and, though induced to grant them a special *constitution*, yet he refused to concede exactly what they desired. While couched in such moderate terms, that no decisive opinion was expressed on the question at issue; yet he gave the missionaries clearly to understand, that, if there were the least idolatry or superstition in the practices complained of, they were absolutely to abandon them, whatever consequences might ensue. When the Jesuits at Rome found that the *constitution* they had desired was to be qualified with restrictions which, they foresaw, would prove inconvenient to their cause in India, they grew much less urgent to have it completed and despatched—another proof that their primary object was to further the interests of their own order, rather than the cause of Christianity. They succeeded in causing some delay; but after a time the instrument was finished, and transmitted to India. The missionaries at Madura received it in the year 1623, and greatly were they disappointed and chagrined at its terms.

A. D.  
1621.

A. D.  
1623.

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III.

Instead of publishing it, as required, they contrived to conceal it from the Capuchins and others, who are said not to have known of its existence before the year 1680 : and all this time they persevered in their obnoxious course. The Pope, imperfectly informed upon the merits of the case, had granted them some license, of which they did not fail to take advantage ; and instead of confining themselves within the limits he had prescribed, they continued to pursue the course which had excited so much opposition, setting the whole of the authorities in India, and even the pontiff himself, at defiance.<sup>3</sup> From the natives they met with little opposition, and their success was almost uninterrupted, until the brahmins detected their imposture. For they did discover at last that these pretended brahmins were Europeans in disguise, and from that moment conversions ceased.<sup>4</sup> At what time this exposure took place is uncertain ; but as it appears to have been about the middle of the following century, it would be premature further to anticipate our narrative.

Concluding  
remarks.A. D.  
1656.

20. Robert de Nobili died in the year 1656,<sup>5</sup> after having laboured forty-five years in the manner that has been described. He was succeeded by others, who carried on the work in the same spirit ; but there is no satisfaction in following them. At every stage of their career, we cannot but feel that some apology is due for introducing into the present work, proceedings

<sup>3</sup> Memoires du P. Norbert. Liv. i.<sup>4</sup> Abbe Dubois, pp. 11, 12.<sup>5</sup> Hyacinthe de Magistris. *Relation de ce qui, &c.* chap. xxx. There is some discrepancy in these dates. We have seen, section 3, that R. de Nobili is said to have commenced his labours in 1606, which would make the year of his death 1651. Vide Memoires du P. Norbert, tom. i. p. 14.



A. D.  
1656.

that bear so little relation to Christianity; for hitherto their way has been marked by nothing that deserves the name. The duty of a Christian missionary to the Gentiles is defined in the instructions given to the Apostle Paul, by our Lord from heaven: "To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me."<sup>6</sup> When this object is not attained, Christianity is not propagated, whatever time or talent may be expended in the endeavour. Nevertheless, if the appointed means have been used with diligence and integrity, they are entitled to as honourable a record in the page of Christian History as the achievements of the most successful teacher. But in the operations of these Jesuits, nothing seems to have entered less into their design than the propagation of the Gospel. We have seen, that they everywhere sowed tares, instead of wheat; and, by their own showing, they reaped a corresponding harvest. They boast indeed of thousands of proselytes, but they give no explanation of any Scriptural teaching that was calculated to convert the soul to God, nor of any religious motives that actuated their disciples in embracing the Christian faith. It no where appears that these missionaries themselves understood the fundamental principles of the Gospel; how then could they enrich others with a treasure which they did not possess? The primary object of their machinations was, as is already too manifest, to promote the interests of their own order. They respected the papal supre-

<sup>6</sup> Acts xxvi. 18.



macy only so long as they could make it subservient to their primary design: for when it threatened to interfere with their jesuitical policy, it soon appeared how lightly they regarded it. It does not seem once to have entered into their contemplation to convert "the sinner from the error of his ways;"<sup>7</sup> for they give no account of their converts' humble penitence, of their renunciation of sin and idolatry, of their simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ for pardon, or of their laying hold of the hope set before them in the Gospel. On the contrary, it is confessed by one of their own brethren, as already shown in this chapter, that the character of their proselytes was deteriorated, instead of amended, upon their embracing Christianity. Consequently, the accommodating system of those men proved worse than useless in regard to the interests even of morality—for it actually proved injurious to the ordinary society of the country. It is for this reason justly questioned, whether their progress ought to form any part of a History of Christianity in any section of the world. Since, however, they have always boasted of their success, as far exceeding that of any other order of missionaries; and seeing that they have been regarded by others as among the most eminent of those who have undertaken to propagate the Gospel in the world; the omission of their exertions might be complained of by themselves as an injustice, and it would, probably, disappoint the expectation of those persons who have entertained a favourable opinion of their talents and exertions. It is important also that the Christian public should be enabled to form a more correct esti-

<sup>7</sup> James v. 20.





mate of the character of their measures and achievements : and surely few impartial readers can come to any other conclusion than this—that they compromised, rather than promoted, the interests of Christianity. May God, of His infinite mercy, deliver their successors from the infatuation with which they are persevering in a course, that can terminate only in their own discomfiture, and in the ruin of all whom they delude !

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A. D.  
1656.



## CHAPTER IV.

## MISSION TO THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

Jesuit mission to Akbar, the Great Mogul; who engages Europeans in his service.  
A. D.  
1552.

1. THE next mission to be described is that which the Jesuits established in the dominions and under the auspices of Akbar, the Great Mogul.<sup>1</sup> This monarch ascended the throne of the Mogul empire, in the year of our Lord 1552. Possessed of an energetic character, and entertaining liberal sentiments, he soared far above the circumstances of his birth and situation. Observing the superiority of Europeans over the natives of India, he resolved to avail himself of their services; and at one time<sup>2</sup> he ap-

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes spelled Moghol, (Fraser, History of Nadir Shah), and the Moghul, (Malcolm, History of Persia.) The account here given is taken principally from M. Manouchi's Life of Akbar, in his History of the Great Mogul. M. Manouchi was a native of Venice, and chief physician to the Emperor Orangzeb above forty years. As he had access to the records of the Mogul empire, and was allowed to translate whatever he chose into Portuguese, the authenticity of his means of information is unquestionable. In the Marsden MSS. at the British Museum, already referred to in this work (Book ii. chap. 3.), there is an extensive account of this mission in the original correspondence of Jerome Xavier, written from Agra and Lahore, and other missionaries. See Vol. 9854. The next Vol. 9855, contains a summary of the affairs of the Mogul empire as late as 1684. This also is in the original hand-writing of the missionaries.

<sup>2</sup> At what period this application was made is uncertain: but it could not have been so early as would appear from M. Manouchi's History (p. 136), as the English factory was not established at Surat before 1612.



A. D.  
1582.

plied to the English authorities at Surat, where they had a flourishing factory, to send him some of their gunners to work his artillery. He applied also to the Portuguese at Goa to send him some European surgeons, physicians, lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, and other artisans. With these men he was pleased to enter into familiar conversation, discoursing freely and with increasing interest about their religion, until he began to entertain thoughts of exchanging the Mahomedan for the Christian faith. These favourable impressions were deepened by his intercourse with the Portuguese ambassador, whom the Viceroy of Goa had sent to his court. It is uncertain what circumstance led to this appointment, but it was, probably, in consequence of a friendly letter which Akbar addressed in 1582 to the King of Portugal. As it well describes the Emperor's sentiments and feelings, which led to the adoption of a course of conduct so unusual in a Mahomedan prince, towards the teachers and professors of a different faith from his own, it will form no unsuitable introduction to the account now to be given of the Jesuit mission in his dominions. It ought, however, to be remarked, that the Moguls generally, whether from indifference, or liberal sentiments, were very tolerant of all religions.

A. D.  
1582.His letter  
to the King  
of Portugal.

2. <sup>2</sup> "Letter from the King of Kings to the Ruler of the *Franks*."<sup>3</sup>

"Glory inconceivable to God, the true king,

<sup>2</sup> Mr. J. Fraser translated this letter from the 1st Tome of Abul Fazl's Collection of Letters. It is given also in the History of Mohammedanism by W. C. Taylor, from which work it is here transcribed, pp. 319—323.

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of India used formerly to designate all natives of Europe by this appellation, which was subsequently



## HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

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IV.

whose dominions are safe from the disaster of decay, and his realms secure from the calamity of change. The wonderful extent of the heavens and earth is but a minute part of the world of his creation, and infinite space but a small corner of his production. A governor, who has regulated the order of the universe, and the management of the sons of Adam, by the understanding of kings who exercise justice. A legislator, who by the ties of love, and bonds of affection, has implanted in the various beings and several creatures the passion of inclination and union, and the affections of mutual tendency and society."

"And let praises unbounded be offered to the pure souls of the company of prophets<sup>4</sup> and apostles, who walked in the paths of truth, and gave directions, both general and particular, to lead us to the ways of righteousness."

"It is well known that, with those who have stored themselves with knowledge,<sup>5</sup> and studied nature, nothing in this lower world,

corrupted by the Mahomedans into *Fringy*, and applied to Europeans in contempt. But Akbar had a great respect for them; and as the Portuguese had made more conquests on the coasts of India than any other European nation, it is probable that he imagined their king to be the most powerful prince in Europe, and so called him (Firman revai Farang), the ruler of the Franks, or Europeans.—Fraser's History of the Moghol Emperors, p. 12—18.

<sup>4</sup> "It is customary with the Mahomedans to begin, not only their letters, but also most of their other writings, first with the praise of God, and then with the praise of the prophet." As Akbar makes no particular mention here of Mohammed, it shows him to be no sound Mussulman; (Fraser, pp. 12, 13); but it is perhaps too much to say, that he "had totally forsaken Mohammedanism when this letter was written." (Taylor's History of Mohammedanism in India, p. 319. Note.

<sup>5</sup> "The expressions here used by the emperor are precisely those condemned by the stricter doctors of Islam, who look with great suspicion on scientific pursuits."—Ibid. p. 320.





which is a mirror of the spiritual one, is preferable to love, or more sacred than friendship. Therefore they ascribe the economy and right disposition of the world to affection and harmony. For whatever heart the sun of love shines on, it clears the whole soul from the darkness of mortality ; and how much more is this requisite in princes, the good correspondence of whom is the cause of happiness to the world, and the people therein. For which reason it has been my earnest and entire endeavour to promote and confirm the ties of friendship and bonds of union amongst God's creatures, especially among the high rank of kings, whom God by his favour has particularly distinguished from the rest of mankind ; and more especially his royal majesty,<sup>6</sup> who is endowed with intellectual knowledge, is the reviver of the ordinances of Jesus, and stands in no need of praise or description. Our neighbourhood,<sup>7</sup> with that renowned prince, making an alliance and friendship more indispensably necessary ; and as a personal conference is impracticable, on account of several obstacles and many weighty reasons, the want thereof can only be supplied by embassies and a mutual correspondence. Since it is certain that these only can make up the loss of a personal conversation and interviews, we hope that they will be mutually carried on without interruption, that the affairs and desires of each may be manifested to the other."

"Your majesty knows that the learned and divines of all nations and times, in their opinions concerning the world of appearance and the

<sup>6</sup> Meaning the King of Portugal.

<sup>7</sup> The Portuguese conquests in India extending to the confines of the Mogul empire, made them neighbours.



intellectual,<sup>s</sup> agree in this, that the former ought to be of no consideration in respect to the latter; yet the wise men of the times, and the great ones of all nations, toil much in perfecting themselves, as to this perishable and showy state, and consume the best of their lives, and the choicest of their time, in procuring apparent delights, being swallowed up and dissolved in fleeting pleasures and transitory joys. The most High God, merely through his eternal favour and perpetual grace, notwithstanding so many obstacles, and such a world of business and employment, has disposed my heart so as always to seek him; and though he has subjected the dominions of so many powerful princes to me, which to the best of my judgment, I endeavour to manage and govern, so as that all my subjects are contented and happy; yet, praise be to God, his will and my duty to him is the end I propose in all my actions and

<sup>s</sup> From this expression it would seem that Akbar had adopted the tenets of the Sooffees, a Persian sect, who borrowed much of their belief and many of their usages from the Indians, without adopting, as a means of attaining beatitude, those austerities which are common among the visionary devotees of the Hindoos. They describe four stages by which *divine beatitude* is to be attained. 1st. *Humanity*, which supposes the disciple to be obedient to the holy law, and to observe all the rites, &c. of the established religion. 2nd. The road or *path*, in which he attains *power*, and enters the pale of Sooffeism. As he now exchanges "practical for spiritual worship," he may abandon all religious forms and ceremonies. 3rd. *Knowledge*, the disciple is now deemed to be inspired with supernatural knowledge, and is supposed to be equal to the angels. 4th. The last stage is that which denotes the disciple's arrival at *truth*, which implies his complete union with the Divinity. Strict Mahomedans decry this sect, though its members endeavour to prove that Mahomet himself was a Sooffee. Its tenets were more congenial to such a mind as Akbar's than those of the Koran. See Malcolm's *History of Persia*. Chap. 22.



A. D.  
1582.

desires. And as most people, being enchained by the bonds of constraint and fashion, and regarding the customs of their ancestors, relations and acquaintances, without examining the arguments or reasons for it, give an implicit faith to that religion in which they have been brought up, and remain deprived of the excellency of the truth, the finding of which is the proper end of reason; therefore at times I converse with the learned of all religions, and profit by the discourses of each. As the veil of a language interposes betwixt us, it would be expedient, you would oblige me with such a person as could distinctly relate and explain the above affair. It has also reached my fortunate ears, that the Heavenly Books,<sup>9</sup> such as the Pentateuch, Psalms and Gospels, are put into Arabic and Persic; should there be a possibility of procuring, in your country, a translation of these or of any other books that might be of general benefit, let them be sent. For a further confirmation of our friendship, and securing the foundation of affection and unity, I have sent my trusty friend, the learned and honourable Seid Mazuffer, whom I have particularly favoured and distinguished; he will communicate several things to you personally, in which confide. Always keep open the doors of correspondence and embassy; and peace to him who follows the guide! Written in the month Ribbi-al-aval, 990, (April 1582.)"

3. The sentiments contained in this letter deserve admiration. But they produced a very

Proofs of  
his libe-  
rality.

<sup>9</sup> The Mahomedans call the Scriptures, *Coteb Sumavi*, or the Heavenly Books, and reckon their Koran one of them. They have a great regard for them all; but say, that we have quite altered and corrupted those in our possession, especially the Gospels. Fraser; p. 19.



different feeling in the minds of the Mahomedan princes and Moulahs. It was not merely to the King of Portugal that he made such a declaration of his views; they influenced his conduct also towards all his subjects, inducing him to afford equal toleration to the members of every sect, and the professors of every creed. This excited great alarm in the minds of those who were bigoted disciples of Mahomet, several of whom ventured to remonstrate with the emperor upon the laxity of his profession.<sup>1</sup> But nothing could turn him from his purpose; and his reply to the remonstrance of his son, Jahanguir, who had written to him strongly on the same subject, will show, that his letter to the King of Portugal was not written merely for the purpose of conciliating that monarch. He seems to have been expressing his deliberate judgment.

“My dear child,” said he, “I find myself a puissant monarch, the shadow of God upon earth. I have seen that he bestows the blessings of his gracious providence upon all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I discharge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion and indulgence from any of those intrusted to my charge. With all of the human race, with all of God’s creatures, I am at peace. Why then should I permit myself, under any consideration, to be the cause of molestation or aggression to any one? Besides, are not five parts in six of

<sup>1</sup> One of the most distinguished of these zealots was Abdallah Khan, Prince of Tartary, who, in his letters to Akbar, of which Mr. Fraser had some copies in his possession, called him to a severe account for being so fond of the brahmins, or Indian priests, and so indifferent as to the Mahomedan religion. Fraser, p. 16.



A.D.  
1592.

mankind, either Hindoos or aliens to the faith? and were I to be governed by the motives you suggest, what alternative can I have but to put them all to death? I have thought it therefore my wisest plan to let these men alone. Neither is it to be forgotten, that the class of which we are speaking, in common with the other inhabitants of Agra, are usefully employed, either in the pursuits of science or the arts, or of improvements for the benefit of mankind, and have in numerous instances arrived at the highest distinctions in the state, there being indeed to be found in this city, men of every description, and of every religion on the face of the earth." These thoughts were worthy of a great king: but being the mere dictates of human reason, instead of the teaching of God's word and spirit, they did not ripen into that permanent principle which alone could produce corresponding fruits. The wisdom of Solomon, without the abiding influence of Divine grace, could not preserve him from idolatry and ungodliness; neither did the sentiments of Akbar, righteous and generous as they were, keep him from similar aberrations.<sup>2</sup>

4. It is uncertain whether the Mogul's ambassador and letter to the King of Portugal were forwarded from India to their destination;<sup>3</sup> but there can be little doubt that this friendly overture led to the appointment of a Portuguese ambassador from Goa to his court. The ambassador's name was *Antonio Criminal*, who is described as a person well qualified to promote the interests both of his church and nation; for, besides the possession of competent abilities, he is said to have done honour to his Christian

Portuguese  
ambassador  
at his court,  
at whose  
suggestion  
he sends for  
Jesuits.

<sup>2</sup> Jahan-guir's Autobiography, published by the Oriental translation committee.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser, p. 17.

profession by his blameless conduct. Akbar, judging, probably, of all other Christians by this individual's character, concluded that so much virtue could proceed only from the true religion, and requested him fully to explain its doctrines and precepts. The ambassador gave him a general account of the Gospels, but referred him for more particular information to two Jesuit missionaries, who were at that time in Bengal. Accordingly, the emperor wrote for one of them, who came to him without delay. That he might discourse the more freely with his religious preceptor, he commenced the study of Portuguese, and is said to have acquired a sufficient knowledge of that language for his purpose with remarkable facility. The missionary seems very soon to have convinced him of the fallacy of the Koran, and to have made an impression on his mind favourable to the truth of Christianity. Encouraged by this apparent success, he recommended his distinguished disciple to write to Goa for as many Jesuits as they could spare to reside at his court. Approving of this advice, he wrote the following letter.—

*“Akbar, great Emperor of the world, to the venerable Fathers of St. Paul.”*<sup>3</sup>

“I have addressed to you in my behalf, Ebadola, with an interpreter, to testify to you the affection I have for you. He will desire you in my name to send to my court some of your Fathers, learned in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and capable of explaining to me the profound mysteries of your religion. I have

<sup>3</sup> It will be remembered, that the Jesuits of India took this title from the College at Goa dedicated to St. Paul, (book ii. ch. iii. sec. 11). Father, or *Padrê*, is a title given in India to the teachers of every religion. This letter is without date.





equally a desire to understand it thoroughly, and to become a member of it. You may from hence judge, that your Fathers will be received here with satisfaction and honour. Let them come then, and be assured, that I will permit them freely to return to Goa, as soon as they have reason to complain of my docility; as for the rest, they may depend on my protection."

A. D.  
1582.

5. The Jesuits of Goa were very naturally rejoiced at the opening thus presented to them, and immediately sent three of their order to the Mogul: *P. P. Rodolphus Aqua-viva*, *Anthony Manserrat*, and *Francis Heneric*. Akbar received them with unusual marks of favour, and ordered a considerable sum of money to be presented to them. This, however, they declined, on the plea of their vows of poverty. They then presented him with the Bible in four languages, and two pictures, one of Jesus Christ, the other of the Virgin Mary. The Emperor took the Bible and placed it on his head, as the greatest token of respect that he could pay to the sacred volume. The pictures he kissed, and afterwards desired his children to do the same.

Several  
arrive at his  
court, and  
are favour-  
ably re-  
ceived.

6. His subsequent interviews with the missionaries did not end in mere compliments. He listened attentively to their instructions, and avowed his conviction of the fallacy of the Koran; especially when he contrasted the encouragement to pride and sensuality that pervaded it, with the injunctions to humility and mortification of the flesh so conspicuous in the Gospel. He used to say, "It is by shedding their own blood that the Christians have propagated their truths all over the world; and it is by shedding the blood of others that Mahomedanism has prevailed in the East."

Declares his  
preference  
for Christi-  
anity.

CHAP.  
IV.

Declines  
publicly to  
embrace it.

7. But such general avowals of his convictions not satisfying the missionaries, they ventured to request him to appoint a time when he would be pleased openly to declare either for Mahomet or Jesus Christ. In this they were premature; for it does not appear that they had yet taught him the fundamental doctrines of the atonement, and justification by faith in Jesus Christ.<sup>4</sup> Without a right understanding and heartfelt reception of these doctrines, no man, however he may admire the morality of the Gospel, can be prepared cordially to embrace it.

The emperor manifested no displeasure at the missionaries' freedom, but returned them this prudent answer,—“So serious a change as that is in the hands of God. For my part, I shall never cease to implore his light and assistance.”

Increases  
his atten-  
tion to the  
Mission-  
aries; their  
success in  
his palace.

8. This reply disappointed them; and instead of hoping, as perhaps they might have done, that it proceeded from a conscientious scruple to avow more than he really felt or understood, they attributed it to the duplicity so natural to the Indian character. He continued, notwithstanding, to show them every mark of favour, and for their better accommodation, now ordered apartments to be prepared for them within the range of his palace. There they were allowed to erect an altar to the Saviour, and to set up the cross in the very midst of a Mahomedan court, where their labours were not without success: for they gained some converts even in the royal family.

One ap-  
pointed  
tutor to  
Akbar's  
son.

9. Akbar committed the education of his favourite son, *Pahari*, to Father *Manserrat*, to be instructed in the sciences and religion of

<sup>4</sup> Rom. v. 1.



A. D.  
1582.

Europe. One day the young prince began his lesson in the emperor's presence with these words, "In the Name of Almighty God."—"Add, my son," said Akbar, "and of Jesus Christ, the true prophet."

10. After this, he entered the missionaries' chapel, where, prostrating his body before the crucifix, he paid his adorations. When he arose from the ground, he sat down, and opened his mind to the fathers more freely than he had ever done before. Having avowed his general belief in the facts of the Gospel, he said, "But when you raise my thoughts beyond what is sensible in the person of the Messiah, I lose myself in the sublimity of your mysteries. Demonstrate to me the eternal generation of the Word in the bosom of the Father, and His miraculous incarnation in the fulness of time; and I will subscribe without reserve to all the articles which you propose for my belief."

Akbar's  
candour.

The missionaries, availing themselves of the concessions he had made, drew from them consequences favourable to Christianity. The miracles, simplicity, and sufferings of Christ, and the morality of His Gospel, had already convinced the emperor that He was a prophet sent from God. They insisted, therefore, that since He was on every account so worthy to be believed, we are bound to credit His own words when he assures us, *Before Abraham was, I am.*<sup>5</sup>

11. The emperor is said to have been so struck with the force of this argument, that he broke off the conversation with tears in his eyes, repeating several times—"What! become a Christian! Change the religion of my Fathers!

His understanding  
convinced,  
but his  
heart not  
converted.<sup>5</sup> John viii. 58.

CHAP.  
IV.

Argues with  
Mahomedans in  
favour of  
the Gospel.

How dangerous for an emperor! How difficult for a man bred up in the ease and liberty of the Alcoran!

12. Notwithstanding his reluctance openly to avow his belief in Christ, Akbar was so thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of the Mahomedan books, that he took delight in confounding the Moulahs.<sup>6</sup> The following specimen of his reasoning will show that his mind was of no ordinary cast. He would say to them—"If the books of Moses and that of the Psalms are inspired, as Mahomet himself allows, why does he forbid us to read them? It is said in the Alcoran, that the Gospels of Jesus Christ are faithful Scriptures. And yet, what a difference do we find in the main points of religion, between one and the other. Does the Almighty differ from Himself, when He speaks by the organs and by the voice of Jesus? To deliver myself from a perplexity, into which I am thrown by the contradictions I perceive between the two books, which I am equally obliged to look on as divine—if I take Mahomet's word, should I not argue thus? It is allowed on both sides that the Gospel is divine; the Christians do not allow that the Alcoran is so; therefore, in prudence, I ought to go over to the surest side, and renounce the Alcoran, which the Christians reprove, for the Gospel, which the Mahomedans revere."

But with all this conviction of the truth of Christianity, nothing could induce him to embrace it. It is affirmed, that "the seed of truth had fallen on this prince's heart; but that incontinency had rendered it as hard as a stone."

<sup>6</sup> Teachers of Mahomedan law.



A. D.  
1582.

13. The missionaries found an auxiliary in their efforts to convert the emperor where they, probably, least expected one. An ambitious Moulah, named *Abdul-Fazel*, wishing to pay court to Akbar, and suspecting his predilection for Christianity, urged him to embrace it, and also to establish it as the religion of the empire. As for himself, he made an open profession of regard for the missionaries, and thereby so ingratiated himself with his master as to excite the jealousy of his competitors. The arguments of this courtier, addressed chiefly to the emperor's vanity, are not worth repeating; and if Akbar ever seriously thought of attending to them, he was soon diverted from his purpose by the critical state of his affairs. The *Patans*, a restless nation in the North, had revolted: while the emperor's own brother had taken up arms in their favour, and stirred up the whole country of Cabulestan against him.

Abdul Fazel urges him to embrace Christianity — his mind diverted from it by the revolt of the Patans.

14. The moulahs, in their turn, took advantage of this conjuncture to endeavour to reclaim the emperor. They tried to work upon his fears, by representing the perils that now threatened his kingdom, as the judgments of heaven upon him for renouncing the Mahomedan law. Whether he was actually moved by such representations, is uncertain. It is more probable, that he saw the policy, under present circumstances, of conciliating this body of men, who exercised a commanding influence over the public mind. But from whatever cause, his behaviour towards the missionaries was immediately altered. He still permitted them to employ their zeal as they chose for the propagation of Christianity, but discontinued his personal conferences with them on the subject. They knew too well, however, the difficulty of

Mahomedan Moulahs try to reclaim him; the missionaries wish to leave him in consequence of his altered behaviour towards them.



converting the proud and sensual Mahomedans even with the advantage of Akbar's countenance, to look for any success among them, now that his favour was withdrawn. Indeed, their ministrations were henceforth confined to the small number of Europeans in the emperor's service, and accordingly they became anxious to return to Goa. But when about to depart, Abdul-Fazel interposed, and, assuring them that the emperor's esteem for the Gospel continued undiminished, induced them to remain for the present.

One induced  
to remain  
by his re-  
newed ex-  
pressions of  
regard.

15. It is probable that this courtier informed Akbar of the missionaries' intention to leave his court, as he soon renewed his visits to them, and thought proper to apologize for not openly embracing their religion. He represented his chief difficulty as arising from the opposition of his family. "The *moulahs* of the palace," said he, "and the *sultanness*, my mother, never cease inveighing against the new religion which I protect. I have yet greater contests with the women of my seraglio. In the dread of being cast off, as soon as Christianity shall have reduced me to one wife, there are no kind of caresses which they do not employ to tear Jesus Christ from my heart. In a word, the Gospel is too holy, and my manners are too corrupt."

There can be little doubt that this was spoken in sincerity, and it convinced the missionaries that they had nothing to expect from him or his subjects under present circumstances. Father Aquaviva, therefore, ventured to ask permission to return to Goa; but the emperor protested against it, alleging the necessity of his presence. "The stronger my chains are," said he, "the more need have I of an able hand to





break them." This appeal induced the missionary to remain; but he sent away his colleagues, F. Heneric returning to Goa, and A. Manserrat proceeding to Agra, with the prince, his pupil.

16. Immediately after, the emperor took the field; and, having vanquished his enemies, soon returned home again. He is said now to have carried himself very strangely towards the missionary, which was attributed to the pride of conquest and the distractions of war. Indeed, it was at length suspected, that he had no other design in sending for the Jesuits but to promote a commercial intercourse with the Portuguese, and to gratify his thirst for the European sciences.<sup>7</sup> In fact, he was professedly

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He returns triumphant from the field—again appears less friendly to the missionary.

<sup>7</sup> M. Manouchi relates a whimsical experiment of Akbar's, "to show that the love of knowledge was his predominating passion. Having heard that Hebrew was the natural language of all that had never been taught any other tongue, he determined to put it to the proof. For this purpose he caused a dozen children at the breast to be shut up in a castle about six leagues from Agra. Each child was reared by a nurse who was dumb: the porter was also a mute, and he was forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to open the gates of the castle. When the children had attained the age of twelve years, Akbar ordered them to be brought before him. He assembled in his palace persons learned in all languages. A Jew, who then happened to be at Agra, was to tell whether the children spoke Hebrew or not. It was no difficult matter to find Arabians and Chaldeans at this capital. On the other hand, the Indian philosophers pretended that the children would speak the Sanscrit, which is the classical language of the Hindoos, and is understood only by their learned men. They study it for the purpose of reading the Shasters, which are their ancient books of philosophy and Indian theology. When these children appeared before the emperor, the company was surprised to find that they could speak no language at all. They had learned from their nurses to make a shift without words, and only expressed themselves by gestures. In fine, they were so shy and bashful, that it was a very hard matter to induce them to loose their tongues,



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His design  
to establish  
a new re-  
ligion—  
causes him-  
self to be  
worshipped.

fixed to no religion himself, and was a persecutor of none,<sup>8</sup> until he formed the infamous project of compounding all the creeds professed in his empire into one new religion, in imitation of Mahomet, and caused himself to be worshipped as its author. This impious intention he announced in the following terms.—

17. "Mahomet was but a man as I am, and not near so powerful. He has invented a religion after his own fancy, composed of Judaism, Christianity, and the productions of his own brain. By it the pretended prophet has immortalized his name, and great emperors call themselves his disciples. It is both for my interest and glory, to become the head and inventor of a new religion. My people are a strange medley of Mahomedans, Idolaters and Christians. I am resolved to bring them all to one opinion. I will join the baptism of the one, and the circumcision of the other, to the worship of Bramah. I will retain the Metempsychosis, plurality of wives, and the worship of Jesus Christ. Thus compounding my religion of those points which are most agreeable to the professors of the respective sects, I shall be able to form them into one entire flock, of which I myself shall be leader and head."

Upon the promulgation of his new religion he changed his name to *Cha-Geladin*, the Potent King of the Sovereign Law, and chose the imperial city of Lahore, where the Moguls had a palace, as a suitable scene for the commencement of operations. At first he met with the

which they had made but little use of in all their lives."—M. Manouchi, pp. 151, 152. A similar story is related of Psammetichus, King of Egypt. Rollin's Ancient History, book i. part iii. p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> James Fraser's History of the Mogul Emperors, p. 11.





success that was to be expected by so absolute a sovereign over an ignorant people. Both in the army and as far as his authority extended, his "new law" was received without opposition, and appeared for a time to supersede the Koran. Indeed, though he had before tolerated all religions, yet now he would tolerate none but his own. Here we behold a faithful representation of those patriots, in every age and every land, whose principles are not derived from the Bible. What could be more generous than the sentiments which Akbar expressed in his letter to his son? Most men can appear disinterested when they have no personal interest to serve. But when an idol of their own is set up, all must fall down and worship it at the sound of their cornet and dulcimer.<sup>9</sup> Patriotism thus developed, has often proved selfishness or tyranny in disguise; freedom of action, and even of expression, being tolerated only when in accordance with the will of such dictators.

18. But this wicked device soon came to nothing. When Akbar calculated upon greater success than Mahomet, in consequence of his own superior power, he did not understand that the Omnipotent Jehovah, to subserve His own purpose, permitted that impostor to prevail. It was the Almighty that raised him up to chastise a rebellious world, in fulfilment of His own predictions.<sup>1</sup> Like the proud monarchs of Assyria, he was only the sword that the arm of the Lord wielded to execute His purposes upon the nations of the earth. *Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the*

Reflections  
on his  
impiety.

<sup>9</sup> Dan. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Dan. viii. 9—12.

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*house-tops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up.*<sup>2</sup> Sennacherib, Mahomet, and all other tyrants or impostors that have deceived and afflicted mankind, have, like those who combined to crucify the Redeemer of the world, been under the Lord's control. They have, therefore, succeeded no farther, than to do whatsoever his hand and his council determined before to be done.<sup>3</sup> But where the Sovereign Lord of all has no purpose to serve from the pride and the passions of men, He blasts their impious or cruel intentions. However skilfully projected, or with whatever power it is attempted to execute them, *He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath: and vex them in his sore displeasure. He will break them with a rod of iron; He will dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*<sup>4</sup> For the Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect. *The counsel of the Lord standeth for ever.*<sup>5</sup>

The missionary leaves him.

19. The missionary, Aquaviva, had now no alternative but either to leave the Mogul's court, or to appear, by his presence, to sanction his daring impiety. Accordingly, he waited upon him at Lahoré, and, after a fearless remonstrance, solicited permission to return to Goa. Akbar was still unwilling to part with him, but at length complied with his request, and permitted him to take away two Christian slaves, who were married, and in the service of the sultaness, Akbar's mother. This Jesuit died a few months after his departure, in the year 1583.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xix. 20—37.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm ii. 4, 5, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Acts iv. 27, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Psalm xxxiii. 10, 11.





20. How mysterious are the dispensations of Providence ! Judging after the manner of men, we should have expected the Mogul's profane conduct to be punished with a reverse in his affairs ; yet he was never more successful than at the time of his evident deviation from truth : and it will be seen, that his case presents another confirmation of the remark, that temporal blessings are sometimes tokens of the Divine displeasure. After receiving the adoration of his troops as their god, he marched them into Cashmere, where he entered as the conqueror of that kingdom almost without opposition.

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1582.

Prosperity  
of his affairs.

21. But his success, which restored peace to his empire, did not bring him peace of mind. He knew too much of truth to be at ease in his proudest triumphs. The adorations of his people, so far from yielding him any satisfaction, were succeeded by the most painful remorse of conscience ; and he could find no relief without writing again to the Jesuits, beseeching them to send some more missionaries to his court. The bearer of his letter was an Armenian deacon, named *Grimon*, by whom Akbar sent also a considerable sum of money to be distributed among the poor at Goa, assigning this reason for his bounty, that " he had learned from the missionaries, that he ought to make atonement for his sins, and draw upon him the favour of God, by works of charity." <sup>6</sup> If this was the kind of instruction they gave him, no wonder that his progress in the Gospel was so tardy, and his inclination to Christianity so fluctuating.

Akbar, in  
remorse of  
conscience,  
sends to  
Goa for  
mission-  
aries.

22. This application for Christian teachers was followed by several outward demonstrations of sincerity. He dismissed all the women

Gives out-  
ward tokens  
of sincerity.

<sup>6</sup> M. Manouchi, p. 159.



Two missionaries arrive; they soon leave him again; their precipitation censured at Rome. A. D. 1589.

of his seraglio, distributing them in marriage among the nobility of his court, and reserving only one wife for himself. He publicly adored the image of the Virgin, commanding his children and encouraging his courtiers to follow his example. "Such was the effect," says M. Manouchi, "of that remorse, which stung Akbar incessantly. Perhaps, too, the blood of Father Aquaviva cried in favour of the prince, and obtained for him of Heaven such earnest desires of conversion." We read in Scripture of the martyrs' blood crying for vengeance against their murderers,<sup>7</sup> but no where of the blood of the dead pleading in behalf of the living. The blood of Jesus can alone avail the sinner before the bar of Heaven. This is *the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel.*<sup>8</sup> For it cleanseth from all sin, and pleads for mercy on guilty man.<sup>9</sup>

23. The Jesuits were induced again to comply with Akbar's request, and, in the year 1589, sent him two missionaries, Edward Leighton and Christopher Vega, whom he received at Lahore with many tokens of regard. But they were soon dissatisfied with the inconsistency of his conduct. Perhaps they were too sanguine in their hopes of his conversion, and accordingly began too early to despair. This, indeed, is admitted by their own people,<sup>1</sup> who do not hesitate to censure their conduct. Impatience usually accompanies a too fervid zeal. It is not surprising, therefore, that these men concluded from first appearances, that no good was likely to result from their ministry; nor that, under this impression, they should soon return to Goa. Their precipitation, however, was not approved

<sup>7</sup> Gen. iv. 10, Rev. vi. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Heb. xii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> 1 John i. 7.

<sup>1</sup> M. Manouchi, pp. 160, 161.



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1589.

at Rome; and the general of the Jesuits gave orders that two other missionaries should be sent to the Mogul, men "capable, according to the advice of St. Paul, of advancing the work of God, *by doctrine and by patience.*"

24. In obedience to this command, Jerome Xavier, nephew to the celebrated Francis Xavier, and Emanuel Pinnero, were sent to the court of Labore. From the manner in which Akbar received them, they entertained no doubt that he was a Christian in judgment and conviction. But he had not yet taken the concluding step of submitting to be baptized, and they soon found that he still adhered to his own heterogeneous superstition. On one occasion his daring impiety is said to have met with a signal chastisement immediately from Heaven.

J. Xavier and E. Pinnero sent to Akbar, who perseveres in his own "new law."

25. Upon Easter Sunday, in the year 1597, Akbar, with all his children about him, was celebrating a feast in honour of the sun, in the midst of a field, where he had ordered the richest tents to be pitched. The show was magnificent. Upon an altar raised in the form of a throne, was exhibited an image of this glorious luminary, composed of precious stones that were so disposed as to reflect a light of insupportable brilliancy. The sky was serene, and all things seemed to contribute to the grandeur of the festival, when, on a sudden, thunder burst from Heaven upon the congregation. The altar was overturned, the emperor's tent took fire, and the flame spread in an instant all over the camp. The damage done only to the throne amounted to more than a hundred thousand ducats. The conflagration reached the town, and seized the imperial palace, which was almost entirely consumed. The immense treasures, which the Mogul had heaped together, became a prey to

His impiety rebuked by an awful visitation.  
A.D.  
1597.



He flees in  
alarm to  
Cashmere.

the fire. Vast quantities of melted gold and silver ran down the streets of Lahore."<sup>2</sup>

26. It is hard to refrain from suspecting that this account of the awful event is greatly exaggerated; and the suspicion is confirmed by the historian's silence as to whether any lives were lost. Had the conflagration been such as is here described, it is incredible that no persons should have perished in the flames. But whatever foundation the story may have had in fact, the tremendous visitation is assigned as the emperor's reason for retreating from Lahore, where every object he saw is said to have reproached him with his impiety. He now retired to Cashmere, whither Jerome Xavier accompanied him: but Father Pinnero remained behind at Lahore, where he is described as meeting with great success, and gathering with joy the fruits of those evangelic seeds which his predecessors had sown in tears. We have no account of the instructions he gave to his disciples, and cannot, therefore, participate in the feeling of satisfaction expressed at his success.

J. Xavier's  
fictitious  
Gospel dis-  
gusts Ak-  
bar; who  
dies, leaving  
no satisfac-  
tory evi-  
dence of his  
conversion.

A. D.  
1602.

27. Some notion may be formed of the mode in which Christianity was presented to this people, from the device of Jerome Xavier to commend it to the emperor himself. Having studied Persian for the purpose, he composed two works in that language; the first entitled, *The history of our Lord Jesus Christ*: The second, *The Life of the Apostle St. Peter*.<sup>3</sup> These works were

<sup>2</sup> M. Manouchi, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> These two works, in manuscript, fell into the hands of Louis de Dieu, a celebrated professor of Oriental languages in the University of Leyden, who published them, with a Latin version, and some notes "which, says the Jesuit, Alegambe, were worthy of the fire." This, however, he, with all his fra-



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1602.

interwoven with Persian legends, which he imagined would render them more acceptable to his imperial disciple; but in this expectation he was greatly deceived. Akbar had long been convinced of the fallacy of those fabulous tales, and was disgusted, instead of pleased, to see them mixed up with works that purported to give an account of the Author of Christianity, and one of its first teachers. There is every reason to believe that he cordially admired the Gospel, though he never embraced it: and whatever hopes were at this time entertained of his conversion, this device appears to have subverted them.<sup>4</sup> It is not stated when this happened, but it was, probably, not long before Akbar's death, which event took place at Agra, on 13th October, 1605. J. Xavier was with him at the time; but he has given us no reason to conclude that the emperor's heart was more

A. D.  
1605.

ternity, would say of the Word of God, which they have so frequently committed to the flames. The purport of Louis de Dieu's notes was, to defend the Sacred Scriptures against the imputation of sanctioning such gross falsehoods as Jerome Xavier had mixed up with them. No wonder, therefore, that they provoked the ire of the Jesuit, Alegambe, or that the Roman censors condemned them. Besides his works on the Gospel, J. Xavier composed a similar version of the Koran in Portuguese, which is quite as profane and superstitious. What reception it met with from the Mahomedans is not mentioned. La Croze, pp. 332, 333.

While this work is passing through the press, the author has received the first volume of a History in French, now in course of publication, intitled, *Histoire Générale de L'Etablissement du Christianisme*, &c. *D'après l'allemande de C. G. Blumhardt*. Par A. Bost. Genève. 1838. The account of J. Xavier's attempt to impose upon the Mogul given in this work, entirely corresponds with that in the text. p. 324, &c.

<sup>4</sup> James Fraser, *History of the Moguls*, pp. 11, 12. The fact is related also by W. C. Taylor, in his *History of Moham-medanism*, p. 318, 319.



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under the influence of Divine grace at his death, than it had been in his life. Nor is it probable that he should pay much more attention to the instructions of the man who had attempted to impose upon him with so manifest and disgraceful a fraud. Some have concluded that he died a Christian, from the circumstance of the images of the Virgin Mary and Ignatius being found in his mausoleum : but the more probable conjecture is, that they were placed there, as European curiosities, to decorate his tomb, without regard to the persons represented, or as any intimation of what religion he died.<sup>5</sup>

Jahan-Gueir ; baptism of his nephews.

28. Jahan-Gueir succeeded to the throne of his father. This prince countenanced the Christians,<sup>6</sup> but was too voluptuous to pay any regard to their admonitions. He was also even more ambitious than his father, and boasted that he was a greater prophet than Mahomet himself, of the truth of whose religion he did not hesitate to avow his doubts. Indeed, he paid little regard to any religion ; but it was his policy to take notice of the Jesuits, with whom he is said to have held frequent discussions, and to have added to the immunities that Akbar had granted to them. His object in all this appears to have been, to defeat a prediction of his sages, that the children of his brethren were to succeed to the empire instead of his own. As none but a Mahomedan could sit upon the throne, he resolved to obtain the baptism of his nephews, and for this purpose he committed them to the Jesuits' care, to be educated in the Christian religion, and then baptized.

<sup>5</sup> This is the conjecture of a Romanist, M. Manouchi, p. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Others affirm that he became "a bitter persecutor." W. C. Taylor, p. 323.



A. D.  
1605.

The Jesuits were glad to have charge of these royal pupils, whom they baptized with great display in their church at Agra. Whether they understood Jahan-Gueir's motive is uncertain; but it was soon known to his Mahomedan subjects, and produced so general a feeling of disgust, both against the emperor himself and the fathers, that from that time the Christian religion made no further progress in his dominions.

29. It does not appear whether Jerome Xavier remained with the Mogul after Akbar's death, and we hear little more of him until his elevation to the see of Cranganore, in the year 1617, which he did not live to join. This account is given by the Jesuit, Alegambe, who says, that he died at Goa, while preparing to take possession of his Archbishopric.

J. Xavier  
dies while  
preparing  
for the bishopric  
of Cranganore:  
review of  
his works.  
A. D.  
1617.

Of his works which have been mentioned, Alegambe speaks in flattering terms, especially of the Persian in which his *pseudo* Gospel was written. In this respect, however, Xavier is more honest than his encomiast; for he acknowledges that the writer was a Mahomedan of Lahore, named Abdel Senarin Kasem,<sup>7</sup> whom he employed in the work.

30. We shall not be surprised at the extravagant commendations bestowed by Alegambe and several other Jesuits upon the works of J. Xavier, if we remember the writings of the Jesuits at Madura, and consider that it has been the uniform practice of their missionaries in India and China,<sup>8</sup> to substitute such base

The general  
character of  
the Jesuits'  
works of instruction:  
the failure  
of their  
missions  
attributed  
to them.

<sup>7</sup> Vide p. 586 of his first work, at the end. La Croze, p. 333.

<sup>8</sup> In many countries of *Europe* also the same deception has been practised. Witness the *Cité Mystique* of Mary of Ag-

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compositions for the pure word of God. They are too numerous to be described here, or even named. Beschis' *Temba-vani*, and the forged Veda of R. de Nobili, have been noticed above; and we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention several works of a similar description, published not long after this period by other Jesuit missionaries in India. All these tend to show the uniformity of their proceedings in their endeavour to extend the creed and jurisdiction of Rome. While the Gospel, of which God Himself is the Author, is prohibited; these compositions, which are correctly described as "a monstrous mass of fictions and gross fables," have been substituted for it. The major part of them are invented for the purpose of exalting the see of Rome, and of associating the worship of creatures with that of the Creator. Will not this account for the signal failure of the Jesuit missions in China, Japan, India, Abyssinia, and several other countries, as well as those at Madura and in the empire of the great Mogul? Without the Divine blessing, no mission can prosper. That blessing is to be expected only upon missions formed for the glory of His Name

reda. This infamous work was put forth as a New Gospel, under pretence of its having been dictated by the very mouth of the holy Virgin. This and several other fabulous traditions were received in Spain, where the whole nation were stirred up to maintain their authenticity. In the seventeenth century, however, Pope Innocent XI. an enemy to fraud and monastic superstitions, had them carefully examined; when it was discovered, that their authors were at heart Mahomedans, and enemies to Christianity; and the sole tendency of the works was proved to be, to turn religion into ridicule, and sap its foundations. One of the examiners was F. Louis Maracci, who makes this statement in the Preface to his *Refutation of the Alcoran*, p. 2. La Croze, pp. 335, 336. Geddes' *Tracts*, Vol. iii. *Life of Mary of Agreda*.



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1617.

and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. Nor will it be vouchsafed to any instruments employed for a people's conversion, that are substituted for the unadulterated Bible. The general, and, in some instances, rapid decline of the Jesuits' missions, ought to be interpreted with reference to the malediction that closes the Word of God.

*I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.*

After this declaration of the Almighty's jealousy for the honour of His Word, can we be amazed that He has confounded and brought to nought the works of men, who presumed to endeavour to supersede it by their own fictions?

31. In the work from which this Chapter is principally composed, the author has made an observation upon the appearance and circumstances of some of the inhabitants of Cashmere, which will be specially interesting to persons who, at different periods, have evinced an anxiety to discover the long lost ten tribes of Israel. We have seen that he makes mention of a Jew at the court of Akbar; and he further says,—“There is an old tradition, that the Jews who were led captive by Shalmaneser settled at Cashmere, and that the people of that country are the descendants of those Jews. It is certain, though we find no traces in that country of the Jewish religion, the people there being

Vestiges  
of the lost  
ten tribes  
of Israel in  
Cashmere  
and other  
countries.



either Gentiles or Mahomedans, that there are several vestiges of a race descended from the Israelites. The air of the face, and the looks of the present inhabitants, have something of what is peculiar to the Jews, which distinguishes them from all other people. *Moses* is a very common name there; and some ancient monuments, still to be seen, discover them to be a people come out of Israel. For instance, the ruins of an edifice built upon a high mountain, is called at this day, the throne of Solomon."<sup>9</sup>

From these and similar coincidences, some persons have drawn the conclusion at which Christians in general would be glad fairly to arrive:<sup>1</sup> it may, however, be questioned, whether they furnish grounds enough to support such a conclusion. It has been judiciously remarked, that such data are not sufficiently defined, and the circumstances are involved in too much obscurity, to warrant more than a conjecture.<sup>2</sup> The following remarks by a more modern author than M. Manouchi, will throw additional light upon this obscure subject.

"The tribes of Israel are no longer to be inquired after by name. The purpose for which they were once divided into tribes, was accomplished when the genealogy of the Messiah was traced to the stem of David. Neither do the Israelites themselves know certainly from what families they are descended. And this is a chief argument against the Jews, to which the

<sup>9</sup> M. Manouchi's History, pp. 195, 196.

<sup>1</sup> The late Sir William Jones adopted this opinion respecting the Afghans, and maintained it with his usual candour and intelligence.—Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. art. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, B. ii. ch. 1.



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1617.

author never heard that a Jew could make a sensible reply. The tribe of Judah was selected as that from which the Messiah should come; and behold the Jews do not know which of them are of the tribe of Judah."

"While the author was amongst the Jews of Malabar, he made frequent inquiries concerning the ten tribes. When he mentioned that it was the opinion of some, that they had migrated from the Chaldean provinces, he was asked to what country we supposed they had gone, and whether we had ever heard of their moving in a great army on such an expedition."

"It will be easy, perhaps, to shew, that the great body of the ten tribes remain to this day in the countries to which they were first carried captive. For if we can discover where they were in the first century of the Christian era, which was seven hundred years after the carrying away to Babylon, and again where they were in the fifth century, we certainly may be able to trace them up to this time."

"Josephus, who wrote in the reign of Vespasian, recites a speech made by King Agrippa to the Jews, wherein he exhorts them to submit to the Romans, and expostulates with them in these words:—"What, do you stretch your hopes beyond the river Euphrates? Do any of you think that your fellow-tribes will come to your aid out of Adiabene? Besides, if they would come, the Parthian will not permit it." (Jos. de Bell, lib. ii. c. 28.) We learn from this oration, delivered to the Jews themselves, and by a King of the Jews, that the ten tribes were then captive in Media, under the Persian princes."

"In the fifth century, Jerome, author of the

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Vulgate, treating of the dispersed Jews in his Notes upon Hosea, has these words:—"Unto this day, the ten tribes are subject to the Kings of the Persians, nor has their captivity ever been loosed." (Tom. vi. p. 7.) And again, he says, "The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes." (Tom. vi. p. 80.)

"There is no room left for doubt on this subject. Have we heard of any expedition of the Jews "going forth from that country, like the Goths and Huns, to conquer nations?" Have we ever heard of their rising in insurrection to burst the bonds of their captivity? To this day, both Jews and Christians are generally in a state of captivity in these despotic countries. No family dares to leave the kingdom without permission of the king."<sup>3</sup>

"Mahomedanism reduced the number of the Jews exceedingly: it was presented to them at the point of the sword. We know that multitudes of Christians received it; for example, the chief part of "the seven churches of Asia;" and we may believe, that an equal proportion of Jews were proselyted by the same means. In the provinces of Cashmire and Affghanistan, some of the Jews submitted to great sacrifices rather than change their religion, and they remain Jews to this day: but the greater number yielded, in the course of ages, to the power of the reigning religion. Their countenance, their language, their names, their rites and observances, and their history, all conspire to es-

<sup>3</sup> "Joseph Emin, a Christian well known in Calcutta, wished to bring his family from Ispahan; but he could not effect it, though our government interested itself in his behalf."



A. D.  
1617.

tablish the fact.\* We may judge in some degree of the number of those who would yield to the sword of Mahomed, and conform, in appearance at least, to what was called a sister religion, from the number of those who conformed to the Christian religion, under the influence of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. Orobio, who was himself a Jew, states in his History, that there were upwards of twenty thousand Jews in Spain alone, who, from fear of the Inquisition, professed Christianity, some of whom were priests and bishops. The tribes of the Affghan race are very numerous, and of different casts; and it is probable, that the proportion which is of Jewish descent is not great. The Affghan nations extend on both sides of the Indus, and inhabit the mountainous region, commencing in Western Persia. They differ in language, customs, religion, and countenance, and have little knowledge of each other. Some tribes have the countenance of the Persian, and some of the Hindoo; and some tribes are evidently of Jewish extraction."

" Calculating then the number of Jews, who now inhabit the provinces of ancient Chaldea, or the contiguous countries, and who still profess Judaism; and the number of those who embraced Mahomedanism, or some form of it, in the same regions; we may be satisfied, " That the greater part of the " ten tribes, which *now exist*, are to be

\* Mr. Forster was so much struck with the general appearance, garb, and manners of the Cashmirians, as to think, without any previous knowledge of the fact, that he had been suddenly transported among a nation of Jews. — See Forster's Travels.



“found in the countries of their first captivity.”<sup>5</sup>

This extract seems to contain all that has been, or that can be, satisfactorily said upon this intricate question. We have the journal of a converted Jew,<sup>6</sup> who has travelled through Asia, as far as British India, and in other countries, in quest of the lost ten tribes, but has returned without discovering them. Some Jews at Bokhara told him, “that the ten tribes are beyond China.”<sup>7</sup> We know, from the correspondence and journals of the Romish missionaries, that the Jews are numerous in some parts of that country; but there is no more reason to suppose that they are of the lost ten tribes, than their brethren of Cashmere, Affghanistan, and other regions. It were foreign from the subject of this History to pursue the question further: but the digression thus far, suggested by the notice of M. Manouchi, can hardly fail to interest the Christian reader.

<sup>5</sup> Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, pp. 239—244.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph (now the Rev. Dr.) Wolff.—*Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, &c.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 199.





## BOOK VI.

## CHAPTER I.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH  
OF MALABAR.

1. THE transactions of the Jesuits in Malabar at this period are involved in much obscurity. There can be little doubt that their silence is correctly attributed to their anxiety to bury in oblivion the misconduct of their prelates, which led to the irreparable loss they soon sustained in those parts. They have not even named, in any authenticated record, the Latin Bishops who followed Francis Roz; and it would have been difficult to ascertain to what order they belonged, but for the incidental mention of them by the Portuguese Jesuit, Francis Barreto, and others,<sup>1</sup> from whom it appears that they were of their own order.

A. D.  
1617.

Obscurity  
of events at  
this period  
—attributed  
to the Je-  
suits' con-  
cealment of  
facts.

<sup>1</sup> Barreto's *Relat. Status, Christian Malabaren*, anno 1645, edita Romæ. Raulin. *Hist. Ecc. Mal.* pp. 439, &c. Urban Cerri's, 'Present state of Religion,' p. 131. It will be remembered that this writer was secretary to the Propaganda Society at Rome. *La Croze*, pp. 337, &c. Appendix, pp. 35, &c.



## HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAP.  
I.

Stephen de  
Britto and  
Francis  
Garzia suc-  
cessively  
prelates of  
Malabar.

A. D.  
1634.

2. The prelate that succeeded to the bishopric after the death of J. Xavier, was Stephen de Britto, who is said, by F. Barreto, to have filled the see seventeen years. It seems to be uncertain what year he was elevated to the see, or when he died: but the more prevalent opinion is, that he succeeded to it in 1618, and died in 1634. He was followed by Francis Garzia, another Jesuit, whose pride and intolerance, as will soon appear, made the Syrians weary of the Roman yoke, to which many of them had from the first submitted with reluctance; and they were now provoked to shake it off. The first threatening appearance of the disturbances that led to this issue was observed by a Carmelite monk, Philip de la Trinité, who was in India during the years 1636 and 1637. The storm may have been gathering, however, before the elevation of F. Garzia, who is said to have succeeded to the bishopric about the year 1636.<sup>2</sup>

A. D.  
1636.

Of all the Jesuit missions in India, that of Malabar was at one time the most promising. But, according to Philip, the Carmelite just mentioned,<sup>3</sup> and other writers already named, their foolish attempts to supersede the Syriac language in the church service; together with their pride, avarice and intolerance, towards all who did not conform in every respect to the Latin ritual; roused a spirit of opposition that, in the nineteenth year of Francis Garzia's epis-

<sup>2</sup> Raulin, p. 439. Others give 1744 as the date of Garzia's elevation. The general account here given of the succession of Jesuit Bishops in Malabar is confirmed by Father John Maracci, Proctor of Goa, in an account of the East India Missions which he presented to the Propaganda at Rome in 1649. *Ia Croze*, App. pp. 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Lib. i. cap. xiii. p. 119.* Vincent de S. Maria, p. 150. *Ia Croze*, p. 338, &c.



A. D.  
1945.

copate, and about fifty years after the departure of Menezes, brought the boasted achievements of the latter prelate to ruin. Philip the Carmelite complains, that the Jesuits exerted their power to prevent the publication of all that he knew respecting the circumstances that led to this result;<sup>4</sup> nor was he the only writer that suffered from the same influence. Among others may be named an Italian, who had made a voyage to India, and after his return prepared an account of his travels, with the intention of publishing it at Venice. But the Jesuits, finding that he had given a full detail of their proceedings in Malabar, contrived, through intrigues, to procure the suppression of the work before its publication.<sup>5</sup>

3. The oppression of the Jesuits is the only cause to be assigned for the Syrians' separation from the Church of Rome; and the following are some of the arbitrary acts which impelled them to take this decisive step. The Jesuits had effectually prohibited the marriage of their priests; seized upon all their churches, and suspended images in them; bribed as many priests as they could to connive at their proceedings, and treated the people generally as slaves.<sup>6</sup> The Christians sent repeated complaints of their treatment to Rome, but without obtaining the least satisfaction, that court being too much interested in the general services of

The Christians' dissatisfaction at the Jesuits' oppressions—obtaining no redress from Rome, they revolt, and choose the Arch-deacon for their ruler.

A. D.  
1655.

<sup>4</sup> M. Renaudot, pp. 184, 188. La Croze, pp. 338—357. The writers chiefly followed in the sequel are Raulin and Vincent Maria, of the fraternity of St. Caterina de Sienna. The latter was a Romish missionary in India; and he wrote his account of the proceedings in the Serra with great caution, wishing, if possible, to avoid offending the Jesuits. He is constrained, however, to declare, that they treated the poor Syrians as slaves.

<sup>5</sup> La Croze, p. 339.

<sup>6</sup> Id. p. 348.



CHAP.  
I.

## HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

CSL

the Jesuits, to interfere with their proceedings. At length, impatient at the Pope's delay to redress their grievances, or even to notice their remonstrances, they determined to submit no longer, and came to the resolution of renouncing the domination of the Roman prelate, and choosing an ecclesiastical ruler of their own. The person selected was their Archdeacon, Thomas, a near kinsman of the late Archdeacon, and his immediate successor. Him they now resolved to obey as their only superior, until they should obtain a Bishop of their Church. La Croze mentions here the consecration of this Archdeacon by twelve cattanars; but it did not take place till some time afterwards, when they had received much further provocation from their oppressors. Its consideration is, therefore, postponed.

Four Carmelites sent from Rome to reclaim them.

4. This defection threw the Jesuits and Portuguese into great consternation. The news was immediately despatched to Rome, where it arrived about the commencement of the pontificate of Alexander VII. The Pope, alarmed at an event of which it was easy to foresee the consequences if suffered to proceed, determined to act with promptitude in his measures to heal the breach. It was well known at Rome, that the pride, indiscretion, and violence of the Jesuits had driven the Syrians to desperation: the Pope, therefore, deemed it expedient for the present to supersede them. For this purpose he determined to send to India some of his barefooted Carmelites, who had for several years signalised themselves in the eastern missions. Accordingly, four of this order were nominated for the enterprize—Hyacinthe de St. Vincent, Marcel de St. Yves, Joseph de St. Maria, and Vincent Maria de St. Caterina de





Sienna.<sup>7</sup> They soon set out for the scene of their mission, the two former proceeding by sea from Portugal; the latter going over land by way of Aleppo, Bagdad and Bassora. These arrived first at Surat, towards the close of the year 1656.<sup>8</sup>

5. While the Syrians were preparing to assert their freedom, Divine Providence was gradually weakening the power of their enemies. The

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1655.

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1656.

The Dutch take Colombo—the Christians seek a prelate from Syria.

\* These were the names they received, according to the custom of the Carmelites, on assuming the habit of their order, on which occasion they were rebaptized.

<sup>8</sup> Vincent Maria published an account of his journey, entitled—*Il Viaggio all'Indie Orientali*, fol. Roma, 1673, from which some idea may be formed of his capabilities for this mission. He was a native of Germany; resolute and zealous in his work, but very ignorant and credulous. Of this abundant proofs are to be found in his narrative. For instance—in his description of Tortosa, he says, that 'it is celebrated by the appearance of the Angel there to Godfrey de Bouillon.' This vision he mentions as a fact, instead of a poetic fiction that is to be found only in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, book i. In speaking of the composition of the Koran, he states as facts several fables which are both false and ridiculous in the extreme: so notoriously so, that Father Louis Maracci, in his treatise on the Koran, thought it necessary to refute them, which he has done with much care and discretion. Again, in his enumeration of the Christians who inhabit Mesopotamia, Vincent says, that 'the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Armenians, derive their errors from the same source.' Whereas, the Jacobites are directly opposed in sentiment to the Nestorians, and the doctrines of the Armenians bear no resemblance to the peculiar tenets of either. Again, in his account of the Malabar Christians he repeatedly asserts, that they honour the memory of Nestorius and Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, two men as violently opposed to each other as any polemics that ever engaged in the field of disputation. In this manner does the Carmelite missionary perpetually state error for truth, and confound things and persons essentially different from each other. Yet such was the man that the Church of Rome selected for an enterprise of this delicacy and importance. La Croze, pp. 352, 353.



Dutch were now established in considerable force in the eastern isles, and were looking towards India as the next object of their ambition. Hitherto their progress had been rapid. Towards the close of the sixteenth century they threw off the Spanish yoke in the Netherlands; and, their trade with the ports of Spain being immediately stopped, they turned their attention to the commerce of the East, and soon became formidable rivals to the Portuguese in that quarter of the globe. Their first attempt was upon Java, which they reached in the year 1595; and, after several contests, they succeeded in obtaining possession of that island, where they founded the city of Batavia, the capital of their possessions in the eastern Archipelago. This success was followed in a few years by the capture of Formosa, Amboyna, Sumatra, and several smaller islands. In the year 1603, they commenced trading with the island of Ceylon, and soon carried on an extensive commerce in its productions. For some years they seem to have limited themselves to these peaceful occupations, but in 1632 their ambition stretched beyond the bounds which had hitherto confined them. Their designs of conquest becoming known to the king of Candy, in the year 1636 he invited them to come to Ceylon, with force enough to help to deliver him from the arrogance and tyranny of the Portuguese.<sup>9</sup> Finding that the natives generally, and the king of Candy in particular, had just cause to be disaffected towards the Portuguese government, they were induced to listen to the invitation; and they lost no time in sending a strong armament to the king's assistance, with

<sup>9</sup> The King's letter is preserved in Churchill's Travels, &c. vol. iii. pp. 630, 631.



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1656.

orders to act in concert with his troops against the oppressors. After a long and sanguinary struggle,<sup>1</sup> with varied success, they finally took possession of Columbo, which had sustained a siege of seven months. This conquest was effected in 1656, the year in which two of the Carmelite missionaries arrived from Rome to reclaim the Syrians of Malabar. The power of the Portuguese in Ceylon was now destroyed, and they were expelled from the island. The Dutch soon became formidable to them in other places, and were not long before they began to threaten their possessions on the Malabar coast.<sup>2</sup>

Little were the poor Syrians then dreaming of deliverance from such a quarter. They followed up the bold step they had taken in seceding from the Church of Rome, with an application to their ancient Patriarch at Mosul, to send them a Bishop without delay. To guard against disappointment, they wrote also to the Patriarchs of the Copts, in Egypt, and of the Jacobites, in Syria, for the same purpose. It cannot be ascertained what time elapsed between these applications. If, as appears from subsequent dates to have been the case, they were made simultaneously, the Syrians' impatience to obtain a prelate of any church, the validity of whose consecration was as unquestionable as that of Rome, must have caused them to overlook the probable inconvenience

<sup>1</sup> A particular account of this war to its termination is given by Philip Baldæus, in his description of Malabar, &c., chapters xxiii—xxxix. Churchill's *Voyages*, &c. vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> In all their conquests, the Dutch government, wherever their power was established, took pains to propagate Christianity, according to the Helvetic confession of Faith. An account of their Indian missions is reserved for the next volume.

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I.

that might have ensued, from the arrival of two Bishops holding sentiments diametrically opposed to each other. We say, *two*, for the Copts were a sect of Jacobites. It is very probable, however, that the Christians were too little acquainted with the respective tenets of those churches to attach much importance to such a consequence, even if they had contemplated its probability. Although the Nestorians and Jacobites held contrary tenets, yet both retained the ancient Episcopal mode of government; and the Syrians evidently attended more to the expediency of securing the primitive order of their church, than to points of doctrine. At that time all eastern churches were sufficiently uniform in their polity, and equally independent of Rome, to answer their purpose: and this seems to have been the only question that entered into their deliberations.<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Attalla appointed from Mosul—Romanist attempts to depreciate his character.

6. At that time the Patriarch of the Copts resided at Grand Cairo. When he received the letter of the Syrian Christians, he is said to have had with him a Bishop of their church, named Attalla, the Arabic for the greek name Theodore.<sup>4</sup> The Roman missionary<sup>5</sup> asserts, that he was originally a Jacobite, and Bishop of that communion in Damascus; that he was deposed by his Patriarch in Syria, for his misconduct, when he fled to the Patriarch of Alexandria for protection; that the letter arriving from India about this time, the Coptic Patriarch thought him a suitable person for the mission, because of his knowledge of the Syriac lan-

<sup>3</sup> It appears, from M. Renaudot and others, that such an application from one church to another was not without precedent.

<sup>4</sup> Raulin. Diss. 5. de Ind. Orient. Dioecesi. p. 441, 442.

<sup>5</sup> Vincent Maria.



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guage; that Attalla was delighted at the proposal, as he sought only to remove as far as possible from Syria, where his name was held in abhorrence; that he set out immediately for Mosul, in order to obtain from the Nestorian Patriarch the confirmation of his appointment; and that, having received the desired letters, he sailed direct to India.

The whole of this account looks, as La Croze justly observes, very suspicious.<sup>6</sup> It is most unlikely that the Patriarch of the Copts should protect a Bishop who had been deposed by the Jacobite Patriarch of Syria, with whom he maintained an intimate friendship. It is still more improbable that he should commit so important an undertaking to a person in such disgrace; or that, having appointed him, he should send him to the Nestorian Patriarch to confirm his appointment, the application he had himself received from India rendering such confirmation unnecessary. Or, even if he had thought proper to take this precaution, it was most improbable that the Nestorian Patriarch should have sanctioned the nomination of one whom he would regard as a notorious heretic.

It has been thought that this prelate was a Nestorian, and that he was sent to India by the Patriarch of Mosul.<sup>7</sup> Vincent Maria, however, describes him as a Jacobite, and says that he came to Malabar in the year 1653.<sup>8</sup> The present Syrians of India have a tradition, that a Jacobite prelate, named Mar Ignatius, came from Antioch to Malabar in the same

<sup>6</sup> La Croze, pp. 358, 359.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 359. M. Asseman, *Bib. Ori.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 462.

<sup>8</sup> L. ii. cap. viii. p. 163. Raulin says, about 1654.

CHAP.  
I.

He arrives  
at Surat—is  
apprehend-  
ed by order  
of the Inqui-  
sition—in-  
forms the  
Archdeacon  
of his  
situation.

year.<sup>9</sup> There can be no doubt that this was Attalla, Ignatius being the name assumed by all the Jacobite Patriarchs of Antioch, and by many of their Bishops. It is true, indeed, as M. Asseman has shown, that this name, Attalla, does not occur in the catalogue of Jacobite Bishops;<sup>1</sup> but this is no proof that he did not belong to that sect, as the catalogue omits many names of those who undoubtedly were prelates. M. Asseman's assertion that he was an impostor, and assumed the title of Patriarch,<sup>2</sup> is without the shadow of foundation. But it is too evident, that all which he and Vincent Maria have said to his prejudice, was intended to throw discredit upon his character, and thereby to give some pretext for the barbarous proceedings of the Inquisition against him.

7. When Attalla arrived at Surat, he found there some Capuchin friars, to whom he disclosed the object of his mission. Little aware of the policy of the Romanists to exclude the prelates of any Church but their own from India, he probably expected these missionaries to assist him in the prosecution of his journey. They, on the contrary, lost no time in giving notice of his arrival to the officers of the Inquisition at Goa, who immediately issued orders through the country for his apprehension. This it would not be difficult to effect. As Surat was upwards of five hundred miles North of Malabar, and the Syrian Bishop would have to

<sup>9</sup> Letter of Mar Dionysius, Metran of the Syrian-Jacobites of Malabar, to the late Lord Gambier, President of the Church Missionary Society. Dated, in the year of our Lord, 1821. See the Missionary Register for 1822, pp. 431, 432.

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Orient. tom. ii. pp. 482, &c.; tom. iii. part ii. p. 461, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 462.





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1656.

pass through a country where the Portuguese establishments were numerous, it was hardly possible for him to make his way to the place of his destination. He proceeded, however, as far as Meliapore, where he was arrested, and placed in the hands of the Jesuits, who thought at first of delivering him up to the Inquisition. His arrival soon became known to some Syrian ecclesiastics of the place; and, notwithstanding all the pains taken to prevent it, they contrived to gain access to him. He put a letter secretly into their hands, desiring them to forward it to the Archdeacon. Vincent Maria pretends that the following was the tenor of this letter—

8. “Attalla, Patriarch. I have been sent by  
“Pope Innocent X. to the Malabar Christians  
“of St. Thomas for their consolation. At  
“Calamine I have been taken prisoner by  
“those whose profession it is to persecute.  
“They will soon send me to Cochin, and thence  
“to Goa. Arm some of your men to deliver me.”

A letter im-  
puted to  
him.

There is so little reason to believe that this Bishop would assume the title of Patriarch, or that he should say that he was sent by the Pope, that it is surprising how the Carmelite missionary could venture to assert it. The Archdeacon and his clergy had addressed only the Patriarchs of Mosul, Egypt and Syria: it is, therefore, very improbable that Attalla should render his pretensions suspicious by attributing his mission to the Pope. No impartial reader can look upon this as any thing but a romish device, to revive the Pope's declining authority in India. It shows also the confidence of these Italian and Portuguese missionaries in their assumed right to assert whatever they chose, seeing that they took so little trouble to invest their statements with an air of plausibility.



Christians  
attempt to  
rescue him,  
but without  
effect.

9. Attalla's letter was conveyed to Malabar, and, whatever its contents, it did not fail to increase the Christians' detestation of the Jesuits, and alarm at their tyrannical proceedings. The leading men assembled at Diamper, to deliberate what was to be done for the rescue of their prelate from the cruel injustice of the Inquisition. Some proposed a reconciliation with Garzia, the Roman Archbishop, and that he should be invited to come to their assembly for the purpose. But they did not yet know enough of the Jesuits, if they really expected to catch one brought up in that crafty order with so obvious a snare. He suspected at once, that their design was to seize upon his person, and retain him as an hostage, until Attalla should be delivered up to them. Accordingly, he paid no attention to their invitation.

Their first project having failed, they next resolved to take up arms, and rescue their prelate out of the Jesuits' hands. Hearing of his arrival on the coast, they assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand<sup>3</sup> men, all well armed, and advanced, preceded by the Archdeacon and the majority of the clergy, as far as Matanger, about a quarter of a league from Cochin. The Portuguese immediately shut the gates of the city, and mounted their artillery upon the walls, resolved to defend themselves against this army of Christians to the last extremity, rather than permit them even to see their Bishop. The Rannee of Cochin remonstrated against their violence, and united her entreaties with those of her Christian subjects, to obtain the liberation of Attalla; but all was of no avail. Despairing of attaining their object

<sup>3</sup> Vingt-cinq mille. La Croze, p. 361. Professor Lee says, "about five thousand."





either by persuasion or force, the Christians retraced their steps, breathing out increased hostility against the Portuguese and the Jesuits.

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1656.

They resolve to expel the Jesuits.

10. They immediately convened a public assembly, at which it was unanimously resolved to drive every Jesuit out of the country, not excepting the prelate of that order who then filled the see of Cranganore, and never more to allow them to return. All the Christians present then renewed their solemn oath upon the Gospel, to submit in all things and every where to no ecclesiastical authority but that of their own Archdeacon.

The Archdeacon consecrated by twelve cattanars.

11. This assembly was soon followed by two others, one at Rapolino, and the other at Mangate. It was at the latter town that the consecration of the Archdeacon took place to which allusion has already been made. Seeing the jealousy, vigilance, and power of the enemies that environed them, they now relinquished all hope of obtaining a prelate from their Patriarch, and determined upon having the Archdeacon consecrated by twelve cattanars selected for the purpose. Four ecclesiastics were then appointed to form his council, and assist him in the management of the diocese. He appears to have exercised episcopal functions immediately, as he is said to have ordained a Portuguese, named Diez, who had joined the Syrian Church. This man was very useful to the Archdeacon, who placed great confidence in him, and employed him as his secretary and interpreter: to which were subsequently added the important offices of counsellor and confessor.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The practice of Auricular Confession the Syrians had received from the Roman Church, though, as we have seen, with great reluctance at first. The Nestorians knew nothing of it. Barthelemy of Boulogne. La Croze, App. 30.



It is said that the Archdeacon endeavoured to justify his consecration with the pretence, that he acted under the authority of Attalla, by virtue of a letter received from that prelate to sanction it. This, however, is very improbable; nor is any credible proof advanced in support of the allegation. Others, in vindication of the act, have maintained, that an ancient canon of the Syrian Church sanctioned such a course in case of necessity, and that it was not without precedent in other churches, an instance of such a consecration having, it is said, occurred in the Church of Alexandria in the 10th century. Were this assertion of any importance, it might easily be shown how little credit is due to the authorities on which it is established. But, without stopping to discuss the question, it will suffice for our present purpose to remark, that the Syrians appealed to no such precedent. The probability, therefore, is, that they had never heard of it; and, if we concede the possibility of its having taken place, the very fact that so slight a foundation could be discovered in the whole range of ecclesiastical history in support of this proceeding, is quite enough, to say the least, to prove its irregularity. Had the Archdeacon and his council been constituted a commission to ordain priests and deacons during their present emergency,<sup>5</sup> no rea-

<sup>5</sup> On this principle, the wise and pious Bishop Davenant vindicated the ordinations of the reformed pastors on the continent. He says—"But here, in passing, we have to solve a doubt which was not omitted by the schoolmen themselves; (Vide Durand. lib. iv. disp. 7. quæst. 3.) for it is often questioned, Whether, besides a Bishop, who, by his office, dispenses sacred orders, can one inferior to a Bishop confer the same in case of necessity? To which I answer, Seeing that to confer holy orders is, by Apostolical institution, an act of the Episcopal office, if Presbyters in a



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1656.

sonable objection, we imagine, could have been made to it. Indeed, in some eastern churches presbyters may ordain deacons, if there be no Bishop present to perform the service. But it was out of all rule for the superior order of Bishop to be conferred by presbyters. To assert the validity of such a consecration is to compromise the essential character of Episcopacy; and it soon appeared that the Archdeacon and his cattanars understood this too well to be satisfied with what they had done. There can, therefore, be no doubt, that nothing but necessity induced them to deviate so far from

well-constituted Church do that, their act is not only unlawful, but is null and void. For here obtains the axiom of Hugo, *What is performed contrary to the institution is accounted null*. But in a disturbed Church, where all the Bishops have fallen into heresy or idolatry, where they refuse to ordain orthodox ministers, or where they account those alone to be worthy of holy orders who participate in their error and faction, if orthodox Presbyters be compelled to ordain other Presbyters, that the Church may not perish, I could not venture to pronounce ordinations of this kind vain and invalid. For if the danger that threatens a single infant be sufficient to transfer the office of baptizing to any layman, which, by institution, belongs to ministers alone, why is not danger impending over a particular church, sufficient to transfer the office of ordaining to simple priests, which, by institution, belongs to Bishops alone? Necessity has been aptly called *temporary law*; and in such case it defends that to which it compels. It is the opinion of Armachanus, (Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh,) that if all Bishops were dead, inferior priests could ordain. Certainly the consideration is much alike, when all have become sworn enemies to the truth. For as a commonwealth, so a particular church, has a certain extraordinary power for the necessary preservation of itself. If, then, certain Protestant Churches, which could not look for ordination from Popish Bishops have, under this necessity, ordained Presbyters, with the consent of their own Presbyters, they are not to be judged as having injured the episcopal dignity, but to have yielded to the necessity of the Church."—Bp. Davenant's *Diversity of Degrees*, &c. Vide, his life prefixed to Mr. Allport's translation of his Exposition of Colossians, pp. 58, 59.





Consternation of the Jesuits and Inquisition.

Martyrdom of Attalla at Goa—turpitude of this act.

the ancient constitution of their Church. They were, in fact, resolved, like Luther and the German reformers, to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of the Jesuits, at whatever sacrifice of personal feeling and ecclesiastical order. May those who may be inclined to censure them, never be placed in a similar dilemma!

12. This decisive step very naturally occasioned astonishment and alarm at Goa; and the inquisitors wrote repeatedly to the Archdeacon to deter him from proceeding in the course he had begun. They represented his consecration as the most heinous sacrilege: but he had taken his ground, and was resolved not to abandon it. He and his church were heartily tired of the oppression of the Jesuits, and they were not likely so soon to be dissatisfied with the air of liberty which they had again begun to breathe.

13. But the apprehension of losing their jurisdiction in Malabar which this bold procedure had awakened, did not deter the Jesuits from their design against the unfortunate Attalla. The vessel that brought him from Meliapore to Cochin transported him, about this time, to Goa, where he was condemned by the Inquisition as a heretic, and put to a cruel death. The Jesuits have laboured hard to transfer the odium of his murder to the Portuguese: and for this purpose a letter was written some years ago from Cochin, in which it is asserted, that this unhappy prelate was drowned by the Portuguese in the Cochin roads, at the time when the Syrians appeared in force before that city to rescue him out of their hands.<sup>6</sup> But we have the testimony of the

<sup>6</sup> Quatorzième Continuation des Lettres des Missionnaires de Tranquebar, p. 71. La Croze, 362.



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Carmelite Vincent and others to the fact of his martyrdom at Goa.<sup>7</sup>

Were the Inquisition less known than it now is, one would stand amazed at its immolation of so inoffensive a victim. Attalla came to India upon the express invitation of the Christians of the country, deputed by the ancient Patriarch of their Church. He had never been subject to the Pope, neither had he ever given him just cause of offence. What shadow of justice, then, could the inquisitors discover for putting him to death? Those who are unacquainted with the character of the Roman hierarchy, must really find it hard to believe that they could perpetrate so horrid and iniquitous a crime. It will be seen, however, in the sequel, that the Jesuits, who are intimately acquainted with all the mysteries of their church, have ever proceeded on the assumption, that all men on the face of the earth, and especially those who have been baptized, no matter by *whom*, are amenable to the Pope; that for the conversion of pagans the ecclesiastics of the Roman Church have a right to employ fire and sword; and that Christian toleration, so far from being a virtue, is "an abominable motive of action, which nothing but the most inflexible necessity can justify." All this, be it remembered, is their own avowal, not the accusation of an enemy. The Jesuit du Soucier, in one of his critical dissertations on the Talmud,<sup>8</sup> actually deems it necessary to apologize for the toleration that it was found expedient in certain cases to afford. Although the notion has been maintained, and, we regret to say, propagated with too much success in Europe, that the religion

<sup>7</sup> Pages 171 & 216. Raulin, 442. La Croze, 363.

<sup>8</sup> Page 609. La Croze, pp. 364, 365.

of Rome has grown more tolerant, and is therefore as innoxious as any other Christian sect; yet the authorities of that Church, while making their advantage of such a persuasion in the public mind, are most careful to prevent its prevalence in their own community. Following the example of du Souciet, they also account for their apparent toleration of all sects opposed to their Church, by appealing to the rule of expediency. It is declared, that they are restrained only by the necessity of the times; and they insist on the duty of enforcing obedience to Rome, or extirpating the rebellious, as soon as a favourable opportunity shall arrive for the execution of this merciless design.<sup>9</sup> The Jesuits have never abandoned the maxim, *Sub-*

<sup>9</sup> This statement is confirmed by the Romish Comment on the Bible quoted above (b. v. ch. i). In the Parable of the tares, to the servants who inquired, whether they should go and gather them up, their Lord answered, "Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn." (Matt. xiii. 28—30). Representing the wheat as *Catholics*, and the tares as *Protestants*, the Comment interprets the passage thus—"The good must tolerate the evil when it is so strong that it cannot be repressed without danger or the disturbance of the whole Church: otherwise, where ill men, be they heretics or malefactors, may be punished or suppressed, without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or executed."

2 Tim. iii. 8, 9.—"Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further; for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as their's also was." Upon this passage the Romanist is furnished with the following significant comment—"All Heretics, though in the beginning they may appear to have some show of truth, yet, in due time, their deceits and falsehoods shall be known by all wise men, though for troubling





*mission or excision* : and in enforcing it, they have not only usurped the supremacy over earthly potentates, but have also invaded the prerogative of the Almighty. Jesus Christ hath said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind."<sup>1</sup> Multitudes, because actuated by this principle, have suffered the tortures of the Inquisition, their sole offence being, that the love of God, instead of the authority of the Church, has been their ruling motive of action. What is this but usurping the throne of God in the consciences of His reasonable creatures? What other consequence can ensue from the dogma, that there is no salvation out of the Roman Church, accompanied by the right she assumes, and the duty she inculcates, of constraining all to submit unconditionally to whatever she may decree? That many Romanists would hesitate to subscribe to this doctrine, is readily conceded. But if any conscientiously doubt

the state of such Commonwealths, where, unluckily, they have been received, they cannot be so suddenly extirpated."

In the Notes to the Synod of Diamper, proofs have been adduced, that amidst the *light* and *intelligence* of the 19th century, the ignorance and superstition of the Church of Rome remain unaltered. *Here* it is seen, that the *freedom* of the 19th century has tended as little to meliorate the intolerant character of that Church. It should be remembered, that this *Comment* was republished in Dublin in 1816, under the sanction of the Romish Archbishop of that city and his brethren. It is, therefore, to be taken as promulgating the sentiments of the Roman Church at the present period. She has not relinquished one iota of her claim to supremacy in Christendom, and is every where showing that she wants nothing but power again to wield her iron crosier over the world. But in the editions of the Romish Bible published for circulation in *England*, they have suppressed these and similar passages calculated to awaken the slumbering apprehensions of this nation.

<sup>1</sup> Luke x. 27.

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whether their church maintains it, they do not comprehend their own system. Educated, perhaps, in a country where it is found expedient to disguise her offensive character; and taught from childhood to discredit all accounts of papal persecutions in former days; they are accustomed to regard such statements as slanders upon their Church. They do not know the infamous sentiments and proceedings of the Jesuits, in all countries where they have had freedom to carry on their crusade against the liberties and religion of the Christian world: or, if informed of them, they have viewed them as the excesses of that intolerant order, rather than the natural consequence of their Church's claim to supremacy and infallibility.

Two Carmelites arrive at Surat—dissatisfaction of the Jesuits and Portuguese at their arrival.

14. The Carmelites, Vincent and Joseph, on their arrival at Surat, found themselves little less embarrassed in attempting to make their way to the coast of Malabar, than poor Attalla before them. For their appearance in India excited the jealousy both of the Portuguese and the Jesuits, who for a time combined to thwart them in their enterprise. By virtue of the grant of Pope Alexander VI. the Portuguese claimed the sovereignty of the East, in which term they comprehended Japan and China,<sup>2</sup> as well as India. They, therefore, looked upon the appointment of these missionaries without their concurrence as an intrusion upon their province. Accordingly, their despatches were not sanctioned in Portugal, and their arrival in India greatly displeased the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The Jesuits, whose influence in India was now great, did not fail to

<sup>2</sup> This claim, says Navarrete, will cost the lives of all the Europeans in those nations, if it ever comes to their knowledge. Tradado, vi. p. 409. Col. ii. La Croze, p. 354.



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foment this dissatisfaction ; and as the Portuguese were in possession of Goa, Cranganore, and many other places on the coast which the missionaries would have to pass on their way to Malabar, they hoped to intercept them, and destroy their mission in the bud. If it be remembered that these Carmelites were specially selected by the Church, and authorized by the Pope of Rome to enter upon this mission, we may again observe, as already seen in the Madura mission, how little regard the Jesuits will pay to the figment of the papal supremacy and infallibility, when they find it convenient to neglect them both.

15. The missionaries, disappointed at this reception, and finding that they had nothing but interruption to expect from the members of their own church, applied for protection and passports to the Dutch, who were then at war with the Portuguese, and commanded almost the whole coast. The Dutch commander, though a protestant, complied with their request, and, besides the passports, gave them letters of recommendation to the authorities on shore with whom he had influence. Without this friendly aid, they would have found it very difficult to reach the place of their destination.

They reach  
Cannanore  
under protection of  
the Dutch.

They arrived at Cannanore about the commencement of the year 1657, and proceeded without delay to Calicut, resolving to travel thence by land to Cochin. The Portuguese resident at Calicut, whose authority was second only to that of the Zamorin, represented to them the dangers to which they would be exposed by the way ; advised them to go by water<sup>3</sup> as the safer route ; and assured them,

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<sup>3</sup> This was probably the backwater, by which the greater

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Interview  
with the  
cattanar of  
Palur.

that if they could effect their journey to Cochin they would have nothing more to fear. With whatever motive this advice was given, their diversion from the course described led to their own preservation, and that of their mission. Their boats having brought them to Palur, one of the parishes of the diocese of Angamale, they were induced to stop there : whereas, had they gone to Cochin, as advised, there can be little doubt that the Portuguese and the Jesuits would have put an end to their mission to the Malabar Christians, notwithstanding the briefs which they brought from the Pope.

16. On their arrival at Palur, the cattanar, who was rector of the place, concealed himself in order to avoid them. Their interpreter having found him, he spoke to him on their behalf, and persuaded him to allow them to wait upon him. But he gave them a very cool reception, and carried his caution so far, that, although he understood Portuguese very well, he would hold no intercourse with them in that language, but spake through the interpreter, carefully observing all their words. After some minutes' conversation, however, he became more familiar, and told them frankly the state of affairs. He informed them what was the present temper of the people's mind, and what the pretensions of the Archdeacon, whom he advised them first to visit at Rapolino, where he resided. At the same time, he exhorted them to avoid all the territories and stations of the Portuguese ; encouraged them to expect that the Archdeacon would welcome them as messengers arrived from Heaven, sent for the good of the country ; and

part of the journey might be performed. This, as noticed in a former part of this work, is the usual mode of travelling in Malabar.





assured them, that his return to the obedience of the Pope would be followed by that of the whole nation.

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17. With these hopes they embarked for Rapolino, where they arrived after a voyage of a day and a half, having carefully avoided the Portuguese fortress of Paliporto and the town of Cranganore, which lay in their route. Immediately on landing they sent their interpreter to the Archdeacon, with a letter from the cattanar of Palur, acquainting him with the arrival of the missionaries in the country, their object, and credentials. This intelligence, however, instead of gratifying the Archdeacon, awakened in him some anxious thoughts, and for a time he remained silent. He had too much cause to look with suspicion on any messenger from Rome not to feel dejected at this intelligence. At length he assembled his council, and, with their concurrence, resolved not to admit the missionaries into their church, but to conceal them in some place more retired. According to the missionaries own report, they were not very comfortable in their retirement. Here they conferred together, through the Portuguese convert, Diez, on all questions relating to the re-union of the Syrians with the Church of Rome; but the conference came to nothing. The Carmelites are said to have obeyed their instructions with great diligence and zeal; but they found the Christians as far as ever from submitting to the Pope, and, indeed, even more determined against it than they were before the labours of Menezes: and the missionaries' difficulties arising from the irritated state of the Syrians' minds, were much increased by the intrigues of the Jesuits, who, tenacious of the jurisdiction of which they had just been

Visit to  
Rapolino—  
Archdeacon  
receives  
them with  
suspicion—  
Jesuits op-  
pose them.

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L

deprived, did all in their power to impede the Carmelites ; for they were resolved that the diocese of Malabar should be for ever lost to the Church of Rome, rather than see it pass into any other hands. Of this, abundant evidence will soon appear. So much again for the vaunted union of catholicism ! Yet who can fail to observe, or refuse to acknowledge, the good providence of God, in so overruling the jealousy of these ambitious men, as to cause it to divide their strength against the poor Christians at this juncture of their affairs, and to leave them at liberty for a season to complete the work of emancipation which they had begun !

They refuse to recognise Archdeacon's consecration.

18. The man of most influence in the Archdeacon's council was Ita Thomas, who was firm in his attachment to the Nestorian creed, and the most opposed to any re-union with the Church of Rome. At their first interview with the Carmelites, he told them, that since the Archdeacon had been chosen Bishop of the diocese by the unanimous voice of the Church, and had been recognised as such by all the princes on the coast, they also must first acknowledge him in that capacity ; for until that point was conceded, they had nothing to expect from them. This demand embarrassed the missionaries not a little, as they had no power to make such a concession. On their stating this, they were conducted back to their secret apartment.

Or to consecrate him again—demand Archdeacon's resignation of his office, which is refused.

19. Here they remained in much difficulty what step to take next, when, after two days, their anxiety was relieved by another proposal from the council. Since they had refused to recognise the Archdeacon's consecration, it was thought advisable for him to be consecrated again in the regular way. To this he con-



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sented, and Diez was sent to the Carmelites, to ascertain whether either of them was a Bishop, and if so, to desire him to come and perform the service. They answered in the negative, and said, moreover, that the Arch-deacon could be consecrated by no one until he had deposed himself, and testified by his humiliation, that he repented of the fault he had committed in assuming the episcopal dignity. This proposal Diez resolutely rejected, saying, that since the church could not subsist without a head, such a step on the part of the Arch-deacon would again place them under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, to whom they had solemnly determined never more to submit.

20. These two conferences having proved unsuccessful, the Carmelites resolved to try what assistance might be obtained from the Portuguese. Accordingly, Father Vincent, from whom this account is taken, went to Cochin, leaving his colleague, Joseph, behind at Rapolino, to take advantage of any favourable circumstances that might arise. He first presented his briefs to the chapter of Cochin, and then to the Archbishop of Cranganore, to whose protection he and his colleague were then commended by the Pope. Notwithstanding the admitted supremacy of that pontiff, Vincent would have found his briefs of little service, had not the low state of the Portuguese affairs induced them to judge it expedient to pay the missionaries some attention. The viceroys of Goa, Count de Sarcette, had recently died, and the supreme authority in India was now vested in a triumvirate, whose names were, Francis de Mello, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, and Emmanuel Mascarenhas. The last presided at Goa, the other two were, at present, at Cochin,

Apply to  
Portuguese  
for protection—ob-  
tain it after  
some de-  
mur.

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whither they had retreated from the island of Ceylon when the Dutch took possession of Columbo. Vincent first addressed himself to Francisco de Mello, who at the moment felt in some embarrassment how to receive him. After a little consideration, however, his sense of duty to the state overcame his jealousy of the Carmelites, which the Jesuits had fomented, and he resolved to consult his colleague, Antonio de Sousa, what was best to be done. Having set before him the perilous condition to which they were reduced, and the briefs with which the missionaries were provided, he insisted on the importance to the safety of Cochin, of maintaining a good understanding with the Christians of the country. "They have often," said he, "defended our city, which, without them, we must have lost: and now that we are more feeble than ever, what will become of us if they are against us? It is, therefore, for the good of the state and of the king's service that we receive these monks." Antonio hesitated at first, but he soon saw the necessity of this policy, and gave his consent.

Jesuits' opposition to it unavailing.

21. During these deliberations the Jesuits, aware of what was going on, endeavoured to awaken in the minds of these governors a suspicion of the Carmelites' pretensions. For this purpose a letter was forged, and addressed to them, purporting to be written by a certain priest, to put them on their guard against four Dutchmen, who, it stated, had arrived at Rapolino, disguised as monks with long beards, and had come to Malabar to destroy the Christian religion. Probably the other two persons here alluded to, were attendants upon the Carmelites. They could not have been their col-





leagues, Hyacinthe de St. Vincent, and Marcel de Yves, as they had not yet arrived in India. The disposition and the object of the writer of this letter were so apparent, that it failed of its intended effect, the governors paying no regard to its contents, and recognising the Carmelites and their mission.

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22. From the arguments used by Francisco de Mello in support of his proposal, it is easy to perceive to whom the Portuguese nation should attribute the loss of Cochin, Cranganore, and their other establishments on the coast of Malabar. If the Jesuits had not so totally alienated the Syrian Christians from their order, and from all who patronised it, the Dutch would, most probably, have failed in their attempts upon those places, in defence of which the Syrians could, at the shortest notice, have furnished forty thousand of the best soldiers in India, well-equipped, and accustomed to the use of arms. If the human mind, like dead matter, could be moulded into any form an oppressor might choose, or pressed to the earth by an incumbent weight, then something might be said for the Jesuits' policy, though nothing could extenuate its injustice. But since the contrary is the fact, and the experience of ages has proved that there is a buoyancy in the soul of man which struggles for liberty, with a restlessness that must ultimately disengage it from the heaviest pressure; then, nothing can be more impolitic than the measures which they have uniformly adopted, not in Malabar only, but every where else, to keep it down in passive subjection to their will.

Ruin of Portuguese in India attributed to the Jesuits.

23. From Cochin, Father Vincent proceeded to Cranganore, where the jesuit prelate, Don Garzia, appeared to approve his credentials, expressed himself favourably towards his mission, and strongly recommended the Christians

F. Garzia's dissimulation—Carmelites welcomed at Corolungate.