HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN CANARA

VOL. I

SEVERINE SILVA

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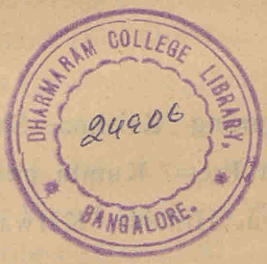
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HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN CANARA

Vol. I.



SEVERINE SILVA

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PREFACE.

The first attempt of writing the history of Christianity in Canara was made by that learned Jesuit Scholar Fr. A. F. X. Maffei S. J. of the St. Aloysius College, Mangalore. His work remained unpublished. It was next taken in hand by Fr. John Moore S. J. when he was the Rector of the same College. Possibly after some additions it was published in 1903 as "The History of the Diocese of Mangalore". From the contents of the book it is apparent that both Frs. Maffei and Moore suffered from want of adequate material at their disposal. They should have collected at least the existing material both documents and tradition. Their failure in collecting it has created a void which cannot be made good any more. That old tradition is completely lost.

Later, scholars like Jerome Saldanha and others attempted to write out a concise history of Christianity in Canara. Here again the initial mistake was that no original material was collected. Instead, controversies were raised, apparently without any basis. These controversies reached a climax after the publication of S. J. Saldanha's Brochure on the Captivity of the Christians in Seringapatam. But ultimately the whole controversy died out peacefully. Ever since then there has been a lull in the study of the subject. Individual scholars in various places have attempted here and there to throw some light on certain aspects, without touching the heart of the matter.

While I was a student in Mangalore I had heard many anecdotes of this captivity from my mother and some relatives in Bijay and Karmbar, Ferar and Bajpe.

It is a pity that I did not record them at that time. But these stories which I heard made an unforgettable impression in my mind and I was determined from that time to write a full and exact account of the whole episode. The collection which I have put forward in this book is the result of about 30 years of incessant research and I thank all my friends who have given me their unstinted help. There has been no refusal from any source.

I am grateful to the Very Rev. Fr. Thomas D'Souza, Vicar General of North Canara for initial help and guidance. He put me into touch with various scholars of Goa, especially of Panjim. Among them I must acknowledge the assistance given to me by Rev. Casmiro Nazareth, the learned author of "Mitras" and Dr. Pandurang Pissurlencar, the Archivist of Panjim. Fr. F. X. Gomes Catao of Saligao Seminary Goa supplied to me a good deal of original material from his archives. Prof. Rocque Mascarenhas of Margao translated for me the old Portuguese material. Dr. P. M. Joshi, the Archivist of Bombay placed at my disposal all the Bombay archives. Similarly a search in Madras Record Office at Egmore was permitted by Dr. B. S. Baliga. Fr. Heras' collection of material in the Indian Historical Institute of Bombay was also of great use to me. Fr. Cyril Barnard O. C. D. and Fr. Franz Rozembaum S. V. D. rendered great assistance to me in getting copies of documents from the Vatican Archives. The papers about Abbe Dubois were first discovered by Mr. Kora Chandy of Bangalore and he has kindly placed at my disposal the copies of all these. I am grateful to the General of the Carmelite Order in Rome for kindly giving me all the literature about the Carmelites in Canara.

The idea of printing the book is primarily due to the suggestion of Very Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza S. J. Assistant to the General of the Society at Rome. He has helped me in various other ways also. There is another priest also (a great scholar) who has been of great help to me. But he wants to remain anonymous. I must also acknowledge the help given to me by Fr. A. Saldanha S. J., Rector, St. Aloysius College, the Belgaum Jesuits, Mr. Paul Gonsalves B. A. B. L. of Mangalore and Chev. A. P. C. Albuquerque of Madras. Dr. K. N. V. Shastri of Bangalore made several suggestions. Finally I must acknowledge the assistance given to me by Fr. Stephen Fuchs S.V.D. of Bombay. I am grateful to Messrs J. P. Rego, Tile Manufacturer, Mangalore, H. D'Souza of Byculla. Bombay and my sons-in-law Tony Moraes and L. V. A. D'Souza for their financial assistance to print the book. The delay in printing is regretted.

Closing this preface I would like to venture the suggestion that the Christian Community of Canara inaugurate a museum in Mangalore in memory of the captivity and collect all available evidence including photographs of places where they are alleged to have suffered and from where they escaped. In the fitness of things it would be the greatest memorial to our ancestors.

The remaining documents and the Bibliography will be printed in volume two.

FEAST OF THE
ASSUMPTION. 1958.
KARWAR.

S. SILVA.

CHAPTER I

EAST WEST CONTACTS

The West coast of India is known in popular parlance as Parashuram Srashti.[1] This Parashuram Srashti was later known as Sapta Konkana, dividing the whole coast into seven cultural states. Later these seven cultures intermingled and developed four definite culture areas, Kerala (Travancore and Malabar), Tuluva (South Canara), Haiva (North Canara), and Konkana (the coast north of the Gangavali in North Canara).

These four cultures are divided by anthropologists into two classes, namely, matrilineal and patrilineal. Kerala, Tuluva and Haiva are matrilineal and Konkana is patrilineal. The dividing line between the two is the historic river Gangavali which flows from the Sahyadris into the sea, 5 miles south of Ankola in the district of North Canara.

Kerala, Tuluva and Haiva, known collectively as Kerala Patti, is renowned for its ancient culture. It is the land of matriliny, of Maramakkutayam and Aliya Santana with polyandry. There the authority of the maternal uncle is supreme.

To the north of the Gangavali up to the Masur river in Thana district is what is known as Konkan. It is the land of patriliny, of war and conquest.

Hiuen Tsang passed through this region, and he called it Kong-kien-na-pulo. "From Malaya Kuta the pilgrim returned to Dravida and from there proceeded to the north-west for 2000 li or 333 miles to Kong-kien-na-pulo" and again "from Konkan the pilgrim proceeded to the north-west for 2000 to 2500 li or upwards of 400 miles to Mo-ho-lo-cha".[2] (Maharashtra).

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1 The legend of Parashuram is the invention of a patrilineal people dating from the 10th century A. D. and it originated at Sopara in Thana district. The whole of it is given in the Sahyadri Khanda. But this treatise was later interpolated. This legend has its counterpart also in the Sangham Literature of the Tamils. It dates back 300–600 A. D. For this and other legends about Konkan see Arthur Crawford: Legends of the Konkan, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1909.

2. Cunningham: Ancient Geography, P. 18.

Canara is part of this ancient land.[1] In this tract we find the three cultures: South Canara has Tuluva culture, and North Canara has both Haiva and Konkana cultures. Canara is therefore an ancient cultural land; and an important tract in the whole of Parashuram Srashti.

It is here that patriliny and matriliny meet and where we also find totemism. The patrilineal culture that came from the north crossed the Gangavali and penetrated with full force also into Tuluva. But matriliny did not penetrate beyond the Gangavali and with the abolition of Maramakkutayam and the proposed abolition of Aliya Santana it is practically dying out, leaving the tract to patriliny. It is here that Phallus worship penetrated; Mahabaleshwar of Gokarn, Kadambeshwar of Yaan, and Madukeshwar of Banavasi are ancient temples, the renown of which even reached Ptolemy. Adi Shankaracharya had discussions with the Brahmins of Gokarn.

Geographically, Canara is that coastal tract of Parashuram Srashti which is bounded on the North by the Portuguese settlement of Goa, on the East by the District of Dharwar and the State of Mysore, on the South by the District of Malabar (State of Kerala) and on the West by the Arabian Sea.

The countries round the Arabian Sea are the West coast of India, Baluchistan, Persia, Arabia and the Eastern coast of Africa including Egypt.

Shooting from this vast sea are some important inlets. They are the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Cutch. Each of these inlets has an important river either flowing into it or flowing parallel to it. The Tigris and the

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1. Throughout this book both South Canara and North Canara are treated as one. The name Canara is a misnomer. The word was coined by the English after the conquest of Seringapatam in 1799. It was possibly Sir Thomas Munro who called the district by that name. The Bednore Empire (1500–1763) was known as the kingdom of Canara. Buchanan thinks that it was called so because the official language was Kannada. Dr. Dalgado in his " Glossorio " has dealt with this name and its various aspects exhaustively. He has cited various Portuguese and foreign writers who have used this word. The Dutch (1595—1795) used the word Canarin meaning the Shenvis of Shastha Vardes (Bardes and Salcette).

Euphrates flow into the Persian Gulf. The river Indus flows practically by the side of the Gulf of Cutch and the Nile runs parallel to the Red Sea.

All the countries bordering the sea and also the countries beyond in the interior, as also the rivers were centres of ancient cultures and civilization.

In India, the culture of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was flourishing around 2000 B.C. In about the second millennium B. C., a race known as the Aryans penetrated the mountain passes, destroyed the older culture and established their own to the east of the river Indus. But the Harappans still continued and the excavations at Rupar[1] formed the link between Harappa and the known historic Mauryas and Guptas.

The Sumerian culture developed in Iran about 3000 B.C.

Royal dynasties flourished in Egypt from beyond 3000 B. C. Copper tools began in Egypt from about 2500 B. C. and hieroglyphics developed by 2600 B. C.

The feats of the Kings of Israel are narrated in the Bible.

The Greeks on their part also played their role in this East-West contact. Alexander the Great extended his conquests up to India; but he did not live to see the fruits of his achievements. However he gave further impetus to these contacts. He engaged Phoenicians to survey the coasts of the Persian Gulf and colonise its shores; Nearchus surveyed a part of the coast of Sind also.

And ultimataly, the Roman Empire brought together all the remnants of the older cultures which now reached their zenith. During the time of Augustus, Strabo was engaged in his Geography which was completed about 23 A.D.

All these and other nations had contacts with one another; the Arabian Sea was their main meeting place. The Mediterranean Sea was connected with the Red Sea by a canal running to the Gulf of Suez by Ramosis II in the 13th century B.C. This is known as the Pelusiac Arm of the Nile. This canal was redug or reopened by Pharonecho around 600 B.C. and a hundred years later repaired by Darius the

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1. These excavations were conducted by Raj Bahadur Daya Ram Sohni and R. D. Banerji.

Great[1]. The original canal connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean was 100 miles long and it was used for over a 1000 years. At the time of Darius, it was 200 ft. wide and 40 ft. deep.

On the other hand, in the East, royal dynasties flourished in China from beyond 2000 B.C.

The countries included in the East Indian Archipelago and the southern parts of China had also ancient flourishing royal dynasties.

Navigation commenced on this sea at an early time. It is however difficult to state whether the land route was used earlier than the sea route. Probably, people living along the sea shore always preferred to exploit the sea than to risk the land route.

Possibly skins of animals or light wooden planks were the first boats. Later, hollowed tree trunks were used.

These boats were used first, and possibly, mainly for fishing purposes, as food was the main problem.

As mariners grew more accustomed to sea faring, visits to neighbouring sites became frequent. Thus the earliest navigation proceeded only from port to port. People in boats kept close to the sea shore.

The discovery of favourable winds for the crossing of the seas was the first great landmark in the history of navigation. Contact between East and West became closer and from this time there developed regular trade between East and West. India was a country that stood in the middle both for the west and for the east; and with the discovery of the favourable winds commerce passed both to and fro touching both the eastern and western coasts of this vast Indian sub continent.

It is yet uncertain when planks were first used to build ships; and also when oars and hulls were invented. All these are prehistoric events. Though some varieties of timber fit for making planks for ships and also resin were available in some of the western countries, yet this supply was quite insufficient. The only source for all these materials was the West coast of India.

1. Paul Hermann: Sieben Vorbei und Acht Verweht, Hamburg 1952, p. 433.

Generally in ship building teak from the West coast of India and cocoanut trees or teak trees from the same coast were utilised for hulls.[1] The nearest sites where both these materials could be found was the West coast, though cocoanut was available at Java and other places. The Arabs and other nations had ship building yards on the South Kerala coast. The teak planks were stitched together with cocoanut fibres.[2]

" Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions of the third millennium B.C. report maritime relations between Mesopotamia and the countries of Dilmun, Magan and Melukhkha".[3]

In the third millennium again, it is alleged, that Egyptian vessels were sailing down the Red Sea.

Possibly the Phoenicians superseded the Egyptian trade.

The feats of Solomon are narrated in the Bible. It is said in the first Book of Kings: " And King Solomon[4] made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edam; and Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea with the servants of Solomon; and they came to Ophir[5] and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents and brought it to King Solomon."[6] Solomon utilised the services of Phoenician sailors.

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1 Teak in Arabic or Persian is Saj, originally Sag, from Prakrit Saka, and Konkani Sailo. Cocoanut in Arabic is Narjil or Nargil, derived through Persian from Prakrit Nargil, Konkani Naral or Narl. The Arabs also call the cocoanut al-jawz-al-Hindi, "the Indian nut ".

2 The cocoanut tree was later taken by the Arabs to Arabia and in the 14th century, Ibn-Batuta mentions it as growing at Zafer, a port of Hadramawt, which had large commerce with India.

3 Hourani: Arab Seafaring p. 6.

4 974-932 B. C.

5 Though for a long time the place name Ophir was generally taken to mean India in general, latterly it has been identified sufficiently as the village now called Poovar near Cranganore. (New York Times, Feb. 20, 1954).

6 1 Kings Ch. 9, verses 26 to 28.

Logs of Indian teak have been found in the temple of the Moon at Mughin and in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar.

The earliest known contacts with China date back to beyond 1000 B.C. The ancient astronomers of both China and India divided the heavenly bodies into 28 constellations known in Chinese as "Erh Shih Pa Hsin".[1]

The navigators from the coasts of India had from ancient times scoured over the seven seas(Sapta Sagara).[2]

On the western side Flinders Petrie, the Egyptologist, in his excavations at Memphis came across the remains of Indians. Possibly there was an Indian colony there. Indians had knowledge of the Red Sea and Strabo mentions that an Indian sailor was found drifting in a boat and taken to Egypt. He offered to show to the Egyptians the route to India.

The West Coast navigators were mariners from Konkan, Haiva, Tuluva and Kerala. These belonged to communities who developed the art of navigation from ancient times.

The two ancient systems of law, Alya Santana Kattu and Maramakkutayam, prevalent in South Canara and Kerala respectively, have possibly Mediterranean origins. In ancient times, when a commercial expedition was to be fitted out, generally a human sacrifice was offered. Usually, the son of the merchant who fitted out the mercantile fleet was offered in sacrifice. But it is said that once the wife of the merchant refused to offer her son for sacrifice. So the sister of the merchant offered her son instead. Though he was to be sacrificed, in consideration of the magnanimity of the mother, the gods were satisfied with the blood taken from one finger of his.

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1 Chi Hsien-Lin says "Sino-Indian ties date back to 1100 B.C." Times of India, November 7, 1954. The numeral 28 is a multiple of the numeral 7 which is an important numeral both in Eastern and Western thought. It is also an important numeral in the Sankhya system of Indian philosophy.

2 The seven seas are: Ceylon, Tondlamandala, Bengal, Burma, Sumatra, Indo-China and China.

When this was done, the boy was restored to his mother. In remembrance of her great magnanimity, the non-brahmins introduced the law that inheritance should pass to the sister's son.

It is surmised that the Ling worship that is so prevalent in India was brought from Sumer or Elom. In the same way the Demon worship of Tuluva has its counterpart in Sumer and Elom and other ancient places.

Asoka's Buddhist Missionaries had gone as far as Egypt and possibly even further to teach the gospel of Buddha There were Buddhist Missionaries in Alexandria and various other places. Also, on the eastern side, Buddhism was preached in Tibet and China at a very early date.[1]

China was known to the ancient Indians as "Cina"[2] It was the first country in the world to produce silk and China silk was introduced in the Indian markets about 4th century B.C.

In 138 B C. Chang Chien, a court officer of the Han Dynasty, was sent by the Emperor as an envoy to Hsi Yu, the "Western Region"

These east west maritime contacts brought different communities to the West coast of India. Local tradition in Cochin traces the settlement of the community of white Jews[3] there back to the days of Solomon. These white Jews came in Solomon's fleets to Cranganore, and nearby "Ophir" in search of ivory, apes and peacocks.[4]

1 Tradition says that two Buddhist monks named Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna visited China during the Han Dynasty.

2 This term is found mentioned in both the national epics of India: The Mahabharata and Ramayana.

3 This small Hebrew kingdom flourished for a long time and in the middle ages it was practically an island of Judaism in a Hindu domain; in 1954 the last remnants of this settlement were repatriated to the kingdom of Israel.

4 This community of white Jews should not be confused with that of the Beni Israel. The latter descended from seven couples who came to the Konkan coast near Bombay erroneously in 68 A. D., after the destruction of the second temple; these so called " black Jews " believe that they are descended from fugitives of the first captivity

In some royal courts of Southern India, Ionian or Greek soldiers served as palace guards.

In known historic times, the platform of the Arabian sea was scoured by Indian, Arabian, Persian, Egyptian and Chinese navigators. Indian ships plied all along the sea coast of India.

Chinese ships were frequently visible on the West coast of India. They came to the Arabian Ocean and possibly traded with all the countries bordering this sea.

Finally from about the 3rd or 2nd century B.C, the Arabs usurped the whole field for themselves. From this time to the advent of the Portuguese in the last years of the 15th century, Arabs monopolised the vast commerce of India, East Indian Archipelago and even of China to the farthest countries to the north of the Mediterranean sea.

Shipwrecked sailors or mariners coming in commercia expeditions contacted temporary marriages with the coa tal women and thus developed various Shafi Moslem communities along the coast. The Moplahs of Kerala and Tuluva, and the Daldis of Konkan, the Konkani Mosems of Ratnagiri and the Navayats of Bhatkal belong to this class.

Islamic missionaries preached the gospel of Mahomed all along the coast. Syed Fatulla Bagdadi, a near relative of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed with two others preached and died in Ankola. Various shrines of Moslem missionaries are found along the coast of Canara. The shrine of Shah Karimuddin is at Sadashivgad, two miles north of Karwar and that of Shah Kamaluddin is in Ankola. At the shrine of the first, a Urus (fair) is held annually.

The names of many articles of merchandise on the West coast can be traced to various languages on both sides of the Arabian Sea.[1]

1 Kismis or Kishmis (dates) is a Persian word. It is a sort of Persian currant. Mirragamma — Myrrh: Arabic. Urida beans — a pulse (black gram) — Hindi or Marathi. Covy — a red or yellow earth: Malayalam. Cambay — a cheap cloth: Possibly from the town Cambay; Dividar — Deodar, God's tree: Sanskrit.

Arab folk lore is teeming in Tulu legends. Tulu folk-lore is known as Padadanas. In these poems there are many Arabic words intermixed e.g. Palli (Masjid), Mecca (town in Arabia), Sultan (king), Khalasi (sailor), and so on. A demon in one of the Padadanas is identified as an Arab.[1]

Arab place names are found all along the coast. The name Baitkol in Karwar is of Arabic origin. It means Bait-el-kol i.e. Bay of safety.[2]

Many personal names of Arabs and Persians are found on the West coast.[3]

On the whole, the commere on the West coast of India, or generally on both the coasts of India, was in a very flourishing condition from ancient times. The Kadamba King Jayakesi I of Goa (1050–1080 A.D.) had at his capital trade representatives of not less than 14 countries. They are Sihalla, Callah, Zungavar, Pandu,

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1 This Arab is identified with Kallukutti.

2 The term Wadi is apparently Arabic in origin. In Arabic language Wadi (with d soft and not hard) means a low alluvial land. A study of its meanderings is worth an attempt. In Arabia there are: Wadi Dawasin, Wadi Berk, Wadi Erenek, Wadi Sirra etc. In Transjordan there is: Wadi Sirhan; in Palestine there is Wadi el Hassy, Wadi es Saha, Wadi Farah, Wadi Kelt etc.; in Syria there is Wadi el Ajem; coming to Africa, in Egypt there is Wadi Natrum (on the Nile valley), Wadi Halfa (just below the second cataract of the Nile) etc ; in Sudan there is Wadi Halfa, Wadi Beda etc ; in Morocco there is Wadi Draa etc ; in Algeria there is Wadi Jedi; in French West Africa there is Wadi Igharghar, Wadi Ma etc ; in Eritrea there is Wadi Baraka etc ; the term appears to have entered the West coast of India through South Konkan. In Karwar Taluk there is Koli Wada, Konkan Wada etc. Then it went to Maharashtra, and travelled in Guzerat also. When it came down into Andhra, it transformed itself into Vadagalai. Here the meaning was changed. A northerner was known as Vadagalai as opposed to Tengalai meaning a southerner or Tamils. Hence the Haviks are called Tengalais. Either it is a Mahrati term which was taken up by the Arabs and spread all along the western countries or it is an Arabic term imported into the West coast and then taken into Mahrati.

3 In Karwar Taluka there are the following place names: Baberwadi; Aligadda; Alana-Gudda; Julba—Wada.

Lueralla, Chandda, Gandda, Bengalla, Gheatta, Gurjara, Qaita, Pusta, Srytam and Chandrapur.[1]

While maritime trade was carried on all around the Arabian Sea, land routes were also availed of for trade purposes. These routes traversed central Asia in the eastern and western directions. The rich trade that was taken over the Arabian Sea to the Eastern shores was conveyed through various land routes both into Central Asia and to Europe. The foundation of the town of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile by Alexander the Great was a stroke of genius and this city gave the greatest impetus to convey the trade to the Roman markets as also to the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

On the eastern side these routes traversed China, Mongolia and Japan. Chinese pilgrims as well as merchants were often seen on these routes.

Thus by the time of the foundation of the Roman Empire there was a brisk land and sea trade. The routes over the Arabian Sea were well known.

This mastery over the Arabian Sea continued for a full 1000 years or more in the hands of the Arabs, Persians, Egyptians, Chinese and Indians. The conquest of Egypt by Rome only gave a greater impetus to this trade. Egypt became the great emporium of Indo Roman trade, which was so lucrative to both India and the Roman Empire.[2] Thus India was brought very close to Rome and this trade extended to both the western and the eastern coasts.[3] Roman coins found in Travancore have confirmed the volume of this trade; and the fact that Alaric when he sacked Rome was able to demand, among others, a ransom of 2000 pounds of pepper confirms this.

Ports like Sopara, Muziris, Arikkemedu and others were well known in all the eastern markets and contact with these ports was easy. The Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal were but lakes.

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1 Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Panjim; Mancoes de rieno No 93, fol. 1396

2 Pliny

3 The recent excavations at Arikkemedu near Pondichery have thrown a great light on this.

With the vast east-west trade, the economic position of the communities that were engaged in commerce was flourishing. Riches flowed in easily and pomp and glory were in display everywhere. Describing life in Goa in the 10th century, one writer says:- "The street of his (King Jayakesi I) capital was completely filled with the palanquins of his Pandits, constantly passing, the poles of which were covered with jewels and inside which were quivering the golden ear-rings (of their owners)".1

In the description of Kaveripattanam of the East coast it is said: "The sun shone over the open terraces over the warehouses near the harbour and over turrets with windows like the eyes of deer. In different places of Puhar the onlooker's attention was arrested by the sight of the abode of Yavanas whose prosperity never waned. At the harbour were to be seen sailors from distant lands."2 This was before the Christian Era.

From ancient times the term "India"was loosely used. Ancient writers used the word also for tracts to the east of India. "Most of the writers about Alexander call the inhabitants of the hilly region to the south of the main ridge of Caucasus and near the Indus Indians; and also mentioned another Indian tribe or nation who inhabited the sea shore on the western side of the Indus".3

The knowledge of Herodotus about India and Indians was possibly about the races south of the Caucasus or any way to the east of the Indus 4

Arrian mentions tribes like Assaceni and Astaceni as Indian nations in the mountains between the Indus and Cophenes. But he never alludes to Brahmins.5 That means to say that in his conception there were tribes known as Indians to the west of the Indus also.

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1 Moraes: Kadamba Kula P. 185.

2 Ancient India No 2 P. 21.

3 Cowell Hunter and Wheeler: Ancient India P. 11.

4 Rennelli: Geography of Herodotus P. 309.

5 Arrian; Indica, Liber XV P. 474. The passage states that at the time of Alexander's invasion the Indus was the boundary of India and Ariana.

Ancient Geographers like Hecataeus (500 B.C.), Herodotus (484–431 B.C.), Ktesias (398B.C.), Eratosthenes (240 B.C.), and Strabo (60 B.C. to 19 A.D.) have attempted to locate the different places in the different parts of this 'India'. Ptolemy has expressly mentioned many names of places along both the coasts of India [1]

But the interpretation of these place names by modern historians or geographers has not yet been successful.

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIANITY PRIOR TO 1498 A. D.

It is a remarkable fact that the Indians had prophecies of their own that the Latins were to subjugate the world.[2] Whether this was due to the awe for the Roman Empire with which the Indians had large contacts or to some other causes is not quite definite.

By the term Latins, Friar Jordanus generally means the European nations, as the Roman Empire practically extended throughout Europe, and a great part of Asia and Africa.

But the first and the greatest product of the Latin race was the foundation of Christianity, the centre of which was shifted to the metropolis of the Roman Empire. It is from here that it devoloped and extended throughout the world.

The Roman Empire was at the zenith of its power at the beginning of Christianity. Palestine at this time was practically the centre of all trade routes both over land and sea. The discovery of the monsoon winds by

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1 McGrindle: Ancient India: Ptolemy.

2 Yule: Friar Jordanus P. 15. Yule further says that the Chinese and Burmans also had such prophecies and that the Mexicans also had similar tales. One significant circumstance may be mentioned about this. The glory of the Roman Empire superseded all other previous empires and their power coupled with the great commerce which they had with all the then known world should have made a lasting impression on the peoples of the whole world whom they came into contacts.

Hippalus in 45 A.D. made the sea route to India much quicker. The Red Sea was crossed in 40 days and the voyage from Alexandria to the West coast of India was a matter of only three months.[1] Trade between Muziris[2] and Alexandria was at its height between 45 A. D. and 160 A.D.

The maritime routes carried the traffic as far as the Red Sea and from thence the caravans took it through Palestine to distant places. The goods unloaded at the head of the Persian Gulf also passed through Palestine to other places. Jerusalem therefore was an important centre from which trade routes radiated throughout the known world.

It was at this time that the birth of Christ was announced to the world.

The message of Christ to his Apostles " Go ye and preach to all nations of the world" was bound to have profound repercussions throughout the then known world. The West coast of India figured largely in Jewish trade and the name of India was proverbial in the business markets of Jerusalem. So Christ's message had a special significance to India and the Apostles definitely included India in the programme of their apostolate.

Tradition assigns the work of the evangelisation of India to the Apostles Thomas and Bartholomew. Both are said to have preached the gospel of Christ on the West coast of India.

"..... it is thought to be beyond doubt" writes Adrian Moens, " since all the old traditions and annals of the Malabar declare it with one voice that the apostle Thomas arrived in the year 52 after the birth of Christ at Mylapore, a town on the coast of Coromandel, and having converted many, proceeded to the coast of Malabar and first arrived at Cranganore, converted many to Christianity in this place and at Malian Karre, Cottecay, Repolim, Gekkomangalam, Pernetta, and Tiruvangotta, and after having built some churches and appointed two

1 Nilkanta Shastri: Foreign notices of South India.

2 The present Cranganore.

priests, returned, it is supposed, to Coromandel, and there again made so many converts that the Brahmins out of anger, at the falsehood of their religion having been proved, and at that of the apostle having been proved true by public miracles, stoned him to death and pierced him with a lance; not to mention many other particulars, amongst others those of the travels, miracles and work of conversion of this apostle....."[1]

The problem of the Indian apostolate of St. Thomas has been discussed since about the beginning of the second or third century A.D.[2] The matter has been somewhat confused by the existence of the apocryphal "Acts of St. Thomas"; The interpretation of this work by some writers locates the apostolate of St. Thomas in northern India.[3]

A study of the ancient routes makes it more probable that if at all Christianity was preached in India by the apostles of Christ, it was done so first on the West coast of India. Trade routes connected Palestine more by the sea than by land.

The story of Thomas is supported by early writers like Ephraem Syrus, Ambrose, Paulinus, Jerome and later by Gregory of Tours. The last, before 590, reports that Theodore a pilgrim who had gone to Gaul told him that in that part of India where the Corpus (bones) of Thomas the apostle had first rested (Mylapur on the east or

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1 Dutch in Malabar PP 171–172. This passage is found in the Memorandum on the administration of the coast of Malabar by Adrian Moens dated 18th April 1781. Moens was a Calvinist and a bitter anti-Roman Catholic The facts elicited by him above are the result of his personal investigation, though personally he says in the same statement that it is possible or probable that the apostle Thomas is confused with Thomas of Cana (Thomas Knai). Repolim is identified with the present Edapilli, also called Ellengalur

2 Rev. E. R. Hambye S. J. in his paper "St Thomas" (Clergy Monthly, November, 1952, Catholic Press, Ranchi) has presented the whole case with all the documents and authorities on the subject.

3 There is nothing known about the existence of Christianity in this tract

Coromandel coast of India) there stood a monastery and a church of striking dimensions and elaborately adorned.

To substantiate the proposition that, if at all, St. Thomas visited India, the evidence can be divided into two categories, namely, (1) Tradition, (2) Toponomy.

The tradition is strong on Kerala coast that the Christian faith which the people profess was the result of the apostolate of St. Thomas. This tradition was at first oral, and later it was reduced to writing. Songs like Thomas Rambam and Margam Kali pattu and numerous others clearly testify to this apostolate.[1]

These ballads and songs refer to the murder of St. Thomas in the temple of Kali[2] in Mylapore by the Brahmins on July 3, 72 A. D. at 4-30 P.M This is the tradition which is preserved to this day.[3] His body was brought to Mylapore and buried in the house in which he had lived and which was used as a place of worship.

So far is the tradition on the West coast. The East coast also has traditions of St. Thomas. They specifically refer to the martyrdom and burial on the East coast of India. They are contained in many Tamil stories. The authorship of these stories is ascribed to Hindus.[4]

1 There is yet scope for a more authoritative substantiation of this proposition by a further and intensive research into all the existing family and church archives on the Kerala coast.

2 The goddess Kali is most powerful deity of the school of Vamachari (left hand ritualists) of Sakti cult of India. The cult of Kali pervades the whole of India, but specially strong in Bengal. Kali is the patron goddess of Chitoor and as such the most powerful in Madras side.

3 The remains of Thomas were in Eddessa in the fourth century and there they remained till they were translated to Chios in 1228 and afterwards to Ortona. A Royal Commission was set up by King John III of Portugal to find out the relics if any of St. Thomas. Various experiments failed. But accidently while digging the foundations deep in the sands to build a church,a masonry tomb containing what might have been expected to be found in the apostle's tomb: some bones of snowy whiteness, the head of a lance, a pilgrim's staff and an earthen vase were found. This was in 1522. (Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. XIII P. 383).

4 Since the Christianity on the East coast was extinct at an early period owing to persecutions, these stories may have been remembered by Hindus and put in writing or narrated by them.

In the region of Mylapore is found a bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi (ancient Persian) inscription dating the seventh century and the tradition is that it was here that St. Thomas laid down his life.

Various clues can he obtained by a study of toponomy of the places connected with St. Thomas. The first distinct mention of the place of the tomb is found in St. Isidore of Seville (between 601-636). He says that Thomas was martyred and buried "in Calamina Civitate Indiae "[1] Various other writers till the 8th century have followed this authority.

The place name Mahlûph is found for the first time in the Book of the Bee of Solomon Bassorah (1222 A.D.)

In between is another name Qualimaya. It is found in a Syrian Manuscript of 874 A.D.

Mylapore (Mahilapura) has finally been accepted by all the European writers.

The exact connection between Calamina, Qualimaya, and Mylapore is yet a matter of research.[2] That there is a connection there is no doubt. When this problem is solved the study of St. Thomas will be complete.

In the 9th century Nestorians came to Mylapore and a Nestorian town began to rise on the sand dunes.

Marco Polo on his return from China is alleged to have visited the tomb of St. Thomas in 1293. He says: "The body of Messer St. Thomas the apostle lies in the province of Malabar, at a certain little town having no great population. It is a place where few traders go.....

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1 S. Isidore: De ortu et obitu Patrum, Migue, P. L. 83, Cal. 152.

2 It is regretted that the science of Toponomy is yet in its infancy in India though Europe and America have made great strides in it. The name of the site where St. Thomas was murdered is still more difficult to be ascertained. The old site where the apostle was martyred was washed off and the sea returned to the end after wrecking the city and causing the Brahmins to flee and build a new Mylapore a mile inland. The site of old Mylapore became a sand dune. Later, a Nestorian town sprang up here and it was called by Persian and Arabian traders as Betumah i.e. a house, church or town of Thomas. But the Indian Christians called it Tirumailapur i.e. Holy Mylapore. So it is left for the science of Toponomy to make further research.

Both Christians and Saracens however greatly frequent it in pilgrimage, for Saracens also hold the saint in great reverence..... The Christians who go in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the saint was killed and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick, and by the power of God and of St. Thomas the sick man is instantly cured."[1]

Besides Marco Polo, John of Monte Corvino(1200), Odoric of Pordenone (1318), and Conti (1400) visited this holy shrine.

On the whole the conclusion of Dr. J. N. Farquhar[2] endorsed by Cardinal E. Tisserant[3] may justly be quoted here: "Thirty years ago the balance of the probability stood absolutely against the story of the apostolate of Thomas in India We suggest that today the balance of probability is distinctly on the side of historicity".

The antiquity of the Syrian Christian congregation of Malabar is itself the best proof of ancient Christianity of India.

The second apostle of Christ that is connected with India is St. Bartholomew.

On the whole very little is known of the life and work of St. Bartholomew. One account says that he preached in Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Armenia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and on the shores of the Black Sea.

For a long time research work on the life and labours of St. Bartholomew was practically neglected. It is only some of the post-medieval writers that first undertook the study of St. Bartholomew. The Bollandist Fr. Stiltingus S. J.[4] (1703-1762) first propounded the theory that the field of labours of the Apostle was in India. But he did not specify the place. Sir W. W. Hunter suggested Malabar.[5] Milne Rae suggested the Indus valley.[6]

1 Yule: Marco Polo 2nd Ed. II, 338.
2 "The Apostle Thomas in South India".
3 "English Syro Malabare" Col. 3091.
4 Stiltingus: Acta Sanctorum, Ballandists, 39, 7.
5 Hunter: Indian Empire pp. 234-235.
6 Rae: Syrian Church in India pp. 627-8.

Zaleski in his turn marked it out to Kalyanpur of S. Canara.[1]

There is definitely some tradition about Bartholomew on the West coast. There are two places on the West coast connected with his name, namely Kalyan and Betalbatim in Goa. This tradition is strong and alive till today.

Kalyan of Thana was also a highly commercialised centre. Along with Sopara, it is also an ancient port.

St. Pantenus (Philosopher) was sent by Patriarch Demetrius to India at the end of the second century A.D. This Pantenus found there (India) Christians who told him that Christianity had been preached by Bartholomew and that he had kept there the Hebrew gospel of St. Mathew.

There is some authority of Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria.

Of the two apostles some probability can be attached to the coming of St. Thomas in India; but nothing definite can be said about St. Bartholomew.

From the apostolic time to the inauguration of European maritime enterprise in the waters of the Arabian Sea, various missionaries and travellers have visited the West coast of India. They have also attested to the existence of two Christian communities on this coast.

In the fourth century there arrived in Cranganore Thomas of Cana (Knai Thomas) with some priests and other Christians from Baghdad, Mosul and Jerusalem.[2] Great privileges were given to these people by the local potentates.[3]

Cosmos Indicopleustes (an Alexandrian merchant and

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1 Zaleski: Les Origines du Christianisme aux Indes p.39.

2 These were possibly refugees who came to India on account of persecution.

3 There are a good many grants on copper plates still preserved in some of the old Churches of Travancore; some were given to the Portuguese and they are lost. Some translations are found in a Jesuit Mss. in the British Museum.

monk) visited south-eastern Asia between 520 and 525.[1]

He speaks of three different Christian communities on the West coast of India, namely,(1) in Ceylon, a group of Persian merchants with a priest and a deacon, (2) in Malabar, a Christian community with a Bishop, (3) in Kalyana near Bombay with a Bishop.[2]

By the sixth century, Christianity had two Bishops on the West coast including Ceylon and it was also in a flourishing condition.[3]

Thus on the two parts of the West coast, viz. the southern and the northern, Christianitv had spread to some extent. In the south it was the old Syrian community of Kerala. In the north also there were Christian communities at Thana, Kalyan, Sopara, Chaul, Broach and even at Goa. A Christian community existed also at Karanja (Uran) as the Portuguese are said to have discovered a deserted Christian church at that placc.[4]

The advent of Islamic missionaries and the establishment of Moslem principalities on the West coast was a great blow for the development of Christianity. The existence of strong Hindu principalities on the Kerala coast prevented no doubt the inroads of Islam to a great extent on that side, but the northern or the Konkan coast was woefully exposed. Thus while St. Thomas Christianity

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1 Cosmos, a Greek traveller and geographer of the first half of the sixth century, was born at Alexandria in Egypt. In his later years, he entered the monastery of Raithn on the Peninsula of Sinai; while in the monastery he wrote the "Topography".

2 The translation of the Greek text is as follows; "In the island of Toprabane in further India where is the Indian Ocean there is also a church of Christians and clerics and faithful; but I don't know whether there be (any Christians) beyond (it); similarly in the direction of (or into) the country Male where pepper is grown and in the place called Kalliana there is also a Bishop ordained from Persia". (E. O. Windstedt: The Christian Topography of Cosmos Indicopleustes, Cambridge, 1901, P. 119).

3 It is possible that, owing to this flourishing state of Christianity at this time, its theology made a great impression on the early studies of Shankaracharya who was himself a Keralite.

4 D'Sa: Catholic Church in India.

continued to flourish in Kerala, that of Konkan was gradually wiped out by persecution.

King Alfred's Embassy is also history. In the "Anglo Saxon Chronicle " it is narrated that King Alfred sent an expedition to establish relations with the Christians of the far East. The expedition was mainly sent to the Pope with presents from King Alfred in 883 A.D. But it is said that the expedition proceeded to the East to the grave of St. Thomas at Mylapore under the leadership of Sighelmus of Sherbourne.[1]

In 1252 Pope Innocent III started the first Missionary Society for the conversion of the East. It was called Societas Peregrinantinen pro Christo

As a result of this,towards the middle of the thirteenth century, the Franciscans were commissioned by the Holy See to do missionary work in the inner Asia. Among the missionaries sent there were John Pian Carpine and others.

Odoric of Pordenone was to follow them.

While this evangelisation work was going on, four Franciscan Friars Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of Siena and a lay brother Demetrius of Tiflis crossed the Indian Ocean and landed at Thana in the year 1320.

In this tract at this time there were both Catholics and Nestorians. A church dedicated to St. Thomas existed at Sopara.

But the Moghals invaded this place in 1318 and converted both Hindu and Nestorian temples into mosques. From this time the Moslems were in power in these places and when the Franciscans arrived, they were brutally murdered by the Kazi of the place, because they did not accept Islam. Friar Jordan who just followed them collected the bodies and gave them a burial.[2] He buried them in the Church of St. Thomas at Sopara.

Odoric of Pordenone after touring through Central

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1 But it is doubtful whether the Embassy came to India. See Medlycott; "India and the apostle Thomas".

2 There is a letter extant in the Vatican Archives written by Friar Jordanus about the martyrdom of the Franciscans at Thana. An English translation of it is printed in Zaleski's Martyrs of India.

Asia came to the Persian Gulf and from Hormuz took ship to Thana. Here he collected the remains of the martyrs and took them with him with the intention to bury them in China. Then he passed south through both the West and East coasts and visited Mylapore also.

Friar Jordanus himself preached with great zeal against the doctrine of Mahomad. He was consecreted Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII[1] at Avignon in 1328. It is said that he baptised about 300 souls all along the coast.[2] One report says that Friar Jordanus was also martyred at Thana.[3]

Having reviewed thus far the development of Christianity on the West coast since its inception from the apostolic times, it is evident that there was Christianity both north and south of Canara, though Canara itself had no Christian community.

Without going into its older history, at the dawn of the kingdom of Vijayanagar (1336 A. D.) Canara was a great and an important tract. Hari Hara Raya, the first king of Vijayanagar appointed, three governors in Canara. The most important was at Barkur with the title of Raya. Then there was one at Mangalore with the title of Vodeya and the third was at Bangadi.

Ibn Batuta landed at Barkur in 1342 and went by the overland route to Calicut. He observed Moslem merchants in Canara from Persia and Yemen; he states that Banga Rani by name Shanker Devi was ruling Mangalore. In Canara there were over 4000 Moslem merchants.

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1 Two letters of this Pope to the Christians of Malabar dated 1330 are given in Vol. III of the Oriens Christianus (Trav. Manual II 145).

2 There are some letters of Friar Jordanus published by Nilkant Shastri in his book ". Foreign notices of South India ".

3 He was martyred by the Moslems. " But the Hindus of the vicinity so venerated his memory as to set up a bronze statue of him among the gods in one of their temples. This temple was afterwards destroyed; and in the 16th century some workmen who were digging on the spot found among the ruins this pagan tribute to a Christian martyr ". (Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, p. 610).

Earlier than Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo in 1290 testified to the flourishing state of Canara. He observed a great deal of Chinese trade in Canara. But much more than this was the trade with the Red Sea. The coastal road was in a very good condition. Trees were planted on both sides of the road. For every hatf a mile there was a chatrum (rest house) and a Hindu was in charge of it Houses were situated in the middle of gardens. People used to travel seated on animals; kings on horse back, zamindars on palanquins. Every merchant was accompanied by 200 300 followers. There was no fear of thieves or robbers because the punishment for theft was death.

With such an amount of trade between the two places, it is quite possible that Christians from the other end came to the West coast and settled in Canara also both for commerce and evangelisation. Among the Christian communities that possibly settled here mention may be made of Syrians and Armenians.

Then comes the natural question: was there Christianity in Canara prior to the 16th century? There is neither tradition nor legend to affirm this statement.

But certain indications point out that Christians existed in Canara at the principal commercial emporiums, Mangalore and Anjediva. A cross made of an olive tree and richly decorated with jewels was found dy fishermen in their nets in the sea at Mangalore. It was presented to the king of Bangel. In 1661, Migel de Almeida, a citizen of Goa, visited the descendent of this king and obtained it from him and took it to Goa. [1] The date of this find is supposed to be 1493.

When Don Francisco de Almeida was erecting a fort at Anjediva, while digging the foundations he came across stones bearing crosses.[2]

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1 Hosten: Notes on Christian antiquities in India.

2 On this subject read F. D'Souza: Oriente Conquistado. Par I, Conquista I, para 18-19. p 85 of Bombay Edition 1886. Osorius: De Rebus Emman Gestis. L8. J P Maffii S. J.: Historiarum indicarum Libri XVI Antwerp. Barros: De Asia Liv. 5, C 1. Hakjyut Soc. III 1880, 17-18. D. Ferroli S. J.: Jesuits in Malabar and Canara

These crosses indicate that Christianity existed in these two commercial centres prior to the Portuguese excursion. Fr. Hosten goes even further. Quoting Thomas Lopez he says that some Christians from Mangalore sent a deputation to Vascodagama on his second voyage towards the end of 1502 [1]

If these crosses prove the existence of Christianity in Canara, then it was of a transitory nature. It is possible that Christians came here stayed for some time and went back. But there was no permanent settlement Even in Anjediva, there was no permanent settlement of Christians. When seven missionaries landed with Cabral in Anjediva in 1503, they found there only 23 inhabitants in the whole island and they were all Hindus.[2]

Even if it is granted that Christianity existed in Kalyanpur in the early centuries of the Christian Era, towards the approach of the 16th century, every trace of it had vanished and Christianity was absolutely extinct in Canara.

However in the words of Friar Jordanus it can be said that "in this India, there is a scattered people, one here and another there who call themsevles Christians but are not so, nor have they Baptism, nor do they know any thing else about the fath. Nay, they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Chrits „[3]

CHAPTER III

1498 — 1534

The story of Ind, Indica or India was known in Europe from ancient times. But it was the tenacity of the Arabs that extended this knowledge to the farthest ends of Europ as far as the Iberian Peninsula. By the 16th century all European capitals were aware of the greatness of India and of its trade.

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1 How far this can be relied upon I cannot say. In the life of Vascodagama there is no mention of Mangalore at all.

2 All these 23 souls were converted to Christianity by the zealous Missionaries.

3 Yule: Friar Jordanus' p II,

By the 15th century, the Arabs had complete mastery over the commerce of the countries bordering the Arabian Sea. Their ships plied triumphantly over every sea route and their merchandise was widely distributed in all the pricnipal markets of Europe.

In the political horizon the Arab power penetrated throughout southern Europe as far as the Iberian Peninsula.

So both politically and commercially the Arabs prac ically ruled on land and sea over a vast stretch of the globe, str tch ng from Java to Salamanca.

The Arab power which spread in Europe so powerfully was a great menace to the Christian rulers. To thwart this menace the Pope with the cooperation of Emperor CharlesV and the king of France planned a second crusade. The Protestants fiercely opposed this idea. They declared it was a sin to make war upon the Turks because God had made them His instruments to punish the sins of His people. Owing to this opposition and to other causes, the idea of a second crusade was practically abandoned.

However, the idea behind it was notcompletely given up. It took new forms. One of these was the institution of Conquistadores.

From the 15th century these Conquistadores attempted to discover new lands by sea routes. One of them was India. The intention was to shatter the Moslem power from behind in the Indian Ocean itself. and thus rid Europe of the Moslem menace. All these leaders wore the Cross on their breasts

The works of the various travellers also were carefully studied and improvements were made on Ptolemy's, Fra. Mauro's and other maps. Fantastic stories and mythical legends about India and her rulers were known thrhughout Europe. One such instance was the story of Prester John, the legendary Eastern priest and king. This legend was current in Europe from abou the 12th century and he was supposed to be a great king of South India. These Conquistadores calculated also on the help they would be able to get from him in India.[1]

1 Ultimately they were foud to be Abyssinian kings who as Christians repelled all Moslem propaganda in Abyssinia.

Portugal has the honour of being the first to shake off the yoke of Islam and to regain for Christianity a great hold on the African continent. This is principally due to that illustrious navigator Prince Henry. In his early age he fought the Moors of Africa to convert them to Christianity. He made his residence at Sagres, in the vicinity of Cape St. Vincent and made his home a centre of studies specially of the nautical science. His life's ambition was to find out a sea route. Under his guidance the Portuguese sailors passed Cape Bogador in 1433, reached Cape de Omo in 1442, doubled Cape Verde in 1444 and got as far as Sierra Leone. He is therefore the greatest precursor of Europe in search of routes to India.[1]

Bartholomew Dias had already sailed from Lisbon as far as the Great Fish River[2] and had in addition established the fact that the coast of Africa on the other side of the Cape extended to the north-east.

Pedro de Covilho, who had already reached India, on his return descended the east coast of Africa as far as the 20th degree of south latitude and discovered Sofala in 1489, and so had become aware of the old Arabic-Indian commercial association. The nautical problem therefore to be solved by Vascodagama was clearly outlined and the course for the sea route to the East Indies designated.

The Infante Don Henrique, Vascodagama, Christopher Columbus, Alphonso Albuquerque and others all belonged to this batch of the second Crusade and were all imbibed with its spirit.

Vascodagama was fully equipped with all this information. He had made a complete study of the whole situation. He even obtained and had with him letters of introduction to King Prester John of India. Thus

1. For more information read Campbell J: Christian Mission. P. Ch. Ghosh: India as known to ancient and medieval Europe. Firth H: Romance of navigation. How, W. : Colonisation and Christianity. Campbell J. : Maritime discovery and Christian Mission.

2. Rio do Infante.

equipped, he took the full risk of the first voyage to India.

The command of the expedition was solemnly conferred upon him in January 1497, and on 8th July 1497 the fleet sailed from Belem. The flagship was San Gabriel on which Gama sailed. It was not more than 120 tons. Others were still smaller. The ships had three masts with six sails.

He was accompanied by his brother Paulo and Nicolao Coelho with a crew of about 150 men. At the beginning of November, they anchored in St. Helena Bay, and on 25th of the same month in Mossel Bay. On 16th December the fleet arrived at the farthest landing point of Dias, gave its present name to the coast of Natal on Christmas day and reached by the end of January 1498 the mouth of the Zambesi which was in the territory controlled by the Arabian maritime commercial association.

He had a tough time with the Arabs in Mozambique (2nd March). Here he captured an Indian named Davone. Then again at Mombasa (7 April), they feared for their commerce. But they were received in a friendly manner at Malindi, East Africa, on 14 April. A pilot[1] guided him from Malindi to Calicut which he reached on 20 May 1498.

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1. Who this pilot was is a question of controversy. Dr. G. F. Hourani in his " Arab Sea faring in the Indian Ocean" (Princeton University Press U. S. A. 1951) states that at Malindi Gama met the famous Arab pilot Ahmad Ibn Majid " and persuaded him to conduct the Portuguese squadron across the ocean to Calicut", and adds "Thus by one of the ironies of history a great Arab seaman helped to bring about the undoing of Arab navigation, for the Arabs could neither drive out nor compete with the Portuguese and other European nations which followed them", (PP, 83–84).

But a different version is given by other writers. Vascodagama when he went to Malindi had with him the chief of Zambuco who was captured by him at Mozambique. When he reached Malindi, this chief told him that if he were permitted to land he would get for him the necessary pilot to go to India. Accordingly he was allowed to land. and mediating with the chief of Malindi, he got the services of Melemo

Vascodagama did not cast anchor at any of the ports on the mainland of Canara, although Alve Kodi [Mangalore] was possibly known to him. But he got into some islands off Cundapur and planted a cross there and renamed the islands as St. Mary's Isles. He cast anchor at Anjediva. It is definite that he had this port in his mind during the voyage and he was determined to visit it. This visit to Anjediva by Vascodagama is significant. It was a great commercial emporium in olden days and perhaps had greater reputation than Alve Kodi.[1]

Vascodagama stayed at Anjediva for fifteen days repairing and refitting his fleet.

Many anecdotes are related about Vascodagama's stay on the island of Anjediva. He took full advantage of the whole situation. His trips to the mainland possibly extended to the whole coast of North Canara and even to the coast of Goa. What proved most important for the future course of action was the taking with him on his return voyage a young Jew who was in the naval service of a local chieftain at Honavar [2]

This Jew was fully conversant with the local topography from Goa to Canara and an expert in naval

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Kana, a native of Gujarat to take Vascodagama to India, This Gujarati was an expert in navigation and had with him better instruments of navigation than Vasco himself had. Thus this Gujarati never cared for the instruments of Vasco. This man landed Vascodagama at Calicut, (Henry Firth: Romance of Navigation),

1 The history of this little island of Anjediva is yet to be written. Gerson da Cunha has only attempted it in his article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Every traveller from the most ancient times has visited it. The papers of the Haklyut Society contain many references to it. The Arab traveller Ibn Batuta had a great veneration for it.

2 The Kadambas of Goa on their decline were scattered in different places. One branch set up a dynasty at Chandavar in North Canara. The empire of this branch extended up to Honaver ,which is only eleven miles from Chandavar. In its naval service were foreigners also. Among them was this Jew. He is said to have been from Granada and later became a Moslem.

affairs. Vascodagama took him to Lisbon, converted him and named him Gaspar de Gama. This Gaspar was the source of all information for all subsequent voyagers.

Vascodagama returned to Europe on 29th August, 1499 after an absence of over two years. There was great rejoicing on the occasion. The king conferred upon him the title of "Dom" along with a perpetual pension of 20) cruzados a year.

The return of Vascodagama created a sensation in the whole of Europe. Cabral was next chosen to lead the second expedition. Rich merchants of Europe contributed to the equipment. Priests joined the expedition. With 13 ships and 1200 men, he set sail on 9th March 1500. But contrary winds drove him to Brazil. Turning again on the right course, he reached Sofala on 16th July and Mozambique on 20th July. On 2nd August he reached Malindi and a pilot led him to Calicut with possibly half the flee'. Gaspar de Gama [the converted Jew] accompanied him in the voyage. But Cabral's voyage created political complications at the court of Lisbon and so his name is subsepuently never mentioned. The only voyage that he did was no doubt historic, but he lacked much tact in his dealings with the Indians. Vascodagama made a second voyage in 1502.

Nervous at the delay of Cabral's return the king sent out a small fleet of four ships under Joao de Nova. This captain heard about the deeds and the misdeeds of Cabral and even of Vascodagama on the voyage, and avoiding the coast sailed directly to Anjediva and returned to Europe with a load of cargo from the king of Cananore,

The landing of Vascodagama at Calicut was the first great landmark in the history of European navigation. The Cape of Good Hope has been doubled for the first time in modern times. From this time dates that great commercial and political rivalry between the Arabs and the Portuguese. The stab from the back that was planned in Europe had now to be accomplished in the Indian waters. The shrewd Arabs also had realised that a serious foe had appeared in the waters of the Arabian Sea.

"The arrival of the Portugnese revolutionised the Eastern trade. The whole current of the commercial, political, social and religious history of Europe was changed by Vascodagama's discovery. By this discovery a stop was put to the Venetian and Genoese trade with India. Italy lost its prosperity and Egypt which, for 2000 years had commanded all the overland routes to the East, was suddenly deposed from her position of incontestable superiority. The commercial monopoly of the Arabs in the Eastern Seas and that of the Jews, as the inheritors of the traffic of the Phoenicians and Greeks in the Mediterranean, was destroyed at a blow". It resulted in the rearrangement of the mercantile and State systems of Europe which have subsisted to the present day.

This trade monopoly lasted for a full century and even longer (1510—1610) and Indian merchandise appeared on the markets of Lisbon which now became the centre of attraction for the whole European continent.

But this trade monopoly was not easily yielded by the Arabs. Wherever possible they formed alliances with the coastal princes and tried to thwart the Portuguese. For a full century this trade war was waged and was fought to its bitter end.

Nor had the Portuguese an easy time with the Indian princes and the people.[1] They proceeded with unscrupulous force and even great cruelty against the Arabian merchant ships and the Samudrin (Zamorin) of Calicut. Thus they succeeded and established the marine and mercantile supremacy of Europe over the Indian Ocean.[1]

But it must be said here that Portugal suceeeded ultimately by sheer use of the gun which the Arab and the Indian lacked at the very beginning.

At the commencement of the 16th century the political condition in and around Canara was favourable. The greatest bulwark of the Hindu religion, Vijayanagar Empire, was at the height of its glory. General Narsa of Tuluva had set up a dynasty of his own and his son

1. For further information on this subject read O. K. Nambiar; Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen.

Krishna Deva Raya ascended the throne in 1509 and shed the greatest lustre on the fortunes of Vijayanagar for a full quarter of a century. Canara was under his dominion and the revenue and judicial system of Vidyaranya held sway in the coastal tracts. Canara formed a part of the Vijayanagar dominions, and was proud that a son of the soil so illustriously adorned the throne of the mightiest Empire of Southern India.

To carve out an Empire on such a coastal tract was an impossibility for the Portuguese involved as they were against the strong confederacies of the Arabs and the coastal princes. They dared not therefore attack the coast of Canara. But during the Viceroyalty of D. Francis de Almeida, the Vijayanagar King Immadi Narasimha Raja permitted them to have commercial emporiums in all the tracts of Canara with the exception of Bhatkal. This was in the year 1505.

Ultimateiy the Portuguese got an ally in the person of Krishna Deva Raya; in his wars against the Sultan of Bijapur, he counted upon the alliance of the Portuguese and thus favoured them with commercial privileges on the coast of Canara. With this royal patronage in Canara the Portuguese lost all fear of the Arabs. Now they could easily tackle the Arab trade in Canara.

The Portuguese enterprise had not merely a commercial but also a religious aim. When Vascodagama and his companions were asked by the emissaries of the Zamorin of Calicut for what purpose they landed in India, they are reported to have answered " We have come to seek Christians and pepper. " Later on, a Viceroy on the eve of his departure for India received from the king this curious advice, the only one that fell from the royal lips: " Go on spreading Christianity widely."

1. Vascodagama made three voyages to India. The second was in 1502 and the third in 1524. On the third voyage he died at Cochin. In 1539 his remains which upto that time had lain in the Franciscan Church there were taken to Portugal and interred at Vidigneira. To commemorate the first voyage to India the celebrated convent of the Hieronymites was erected in Belem.

Though priests accompanied the voyage of Vasco-dagama, none landed on the West coast.

In 1500, Cabral landed in Anjediva. He had in his company eight zealous Franciscan Missionaries who were bound on the conversion of India. They were Fr. Henrique de Coimbra (Superior), Fr. Gaspar, Fr. Francisco da Cruz, Fr. Simao da Guimaraes, Fr. Louis do Salvador. These were well educated men. Fr. Masson was an organist and musician. The other two were Fr. Pedro Netto and Fr. Juao da Vittoria.[1]

The warm religious fervour that was dormant in these missionaries during the whole voyage burst out fully on arrival on this island. They converted all the 23 inhabitants of this island to the Christian faith. The dream of a Christian Europe was realised and strangely enough it was realised in Canara [2]

The seed that was sown by the Franciscans at Anjediva had to grow. A church was necessary. It was also necessary because the subsequent voyagers had to stop at this place for longer periods. Thus in 1506, a church was erected and dedicated to the lady of Brotas.

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1 For the history and the career of these priests both in Europe and India read ' Historia Seraphica chronologica '. Other authorities are:- Mitras Lus.: Vol. I p. 3 note. Faria D'Souza: Asia Portuguesa pp. 29–48. Da Cunha: Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein. Fareed Khan Buroke; Tripotage, p. 32. Barros: Asia. p. 30.

2 From Anjediva these missionaries dispersed along the coast. But none entered Canara. They went to Malabar where they possibly found petty chieftains. Three of them were slain at Calicut in the massacre of 16th Novemcer 1500. The survivors arrived at Cochin on or about the 26th of that month and settled there and thus laid the foundation of the Diocese of Cochin. Thus Cochin has the honour of being the cradle of later Catholicism in India. The Superior Henrique de Coimbra went back with the fleet of Cabral to bring more help for the mission. Two of his batch, Simao de Guimaraes and Louis do Salvador, worked among the Nestorians in refuting their errors and brought to the fold many of them and also some nonchristians. These priests till 1507 worked successfully in Vypeen, Cranganore, Palliport and other important centres.

This is the first Portuguese church in Canara.[1]

The church of the Lady of Brotas has survived till today. There are many anecdotes related about the miraculous nature of the statue. The greatest miracle that is ascribed to the heavenly Mother is that no person has died round its waters by shipwrecks or any other accident. Drunkards have left the shores of Anjediva in boats to the mainland of Karwar.[2] Whole boats have capsized in mid-sea. But all were saved. There was not a single instance of drowning.

It is not known on what authority the name Brotas was given. Neither is the origin clear. It is the only church of our Lady in the archdiocese of Goa by that name. Originally the word Brotas means a spring gushing out of a rock. It was a title given by Franciscans and Dom Francisco de Almeida is responsiple for dedicating this name to our Lady. There is a spring in the island and the water comes out from the rock. It flows all round the year and is the only water-supply for the whole island. But the origin of the name possibly refers to the fact that Christianity as brought by the Portuguese first sprang in this island and thus the name of our Lady is given as Lady of Brotas There are churches in Portugal dedicated to our Lady of Brotas.

Although voyagers came to India and returned and missionaries came and went back, the dream of founding an empire was reserved to Alphonso Albuquerque. This brilliant statesman and general studied the whole situation as advised by Gaspar dc Gama. On his voyage to India he was accompanied by Gaspar.

The dream of Albuquerque was a strong foundation of the Portuguese Empire in the East and the monopoly

1 The first post-Portuguese church was built by the Franciscans at Calicut in 1500. The church and a fort also under the same name were built at Anjediva by order of D. Francisco Almeida who disembarked on the island on 13th September 1505.

2 Anjediva is the only place on the coast of Canara where Goa liquor and specially foreign liquor was found at as cheap rates as in Goa. Hence many parties used to go there for drinking this liquor. It was contraband to be brought into Canara in the English period.

of the trade with East India for Portugal by excluding from it both the Venetians and the Saracens. He did his utmost therefore to make himself the master of the Red Sea.

With a base at Anjediva, the Empire was to be founded somewhere in its vicinity. An entry into Canara was an impossibility so long as Krishna Deva Raya ruled supreme. The only other tract was the valley of the Zuari in the neighbourhood of Anjediva. Gaspar was fully conversant with the topography and also with the political conditions that prevailed in this tract. An alliance with Krishna Deva Raya was the only chance.

The valley of the Zuari, better known as Gopaka-pattana, or as it is known now as Goa, was an ancient historical and commercial place. A branch of the Kadambas of Banvasi reigned here from about 900 A. D. to about 1200 A. D. with headquarters at Chandrapura (Chandor). The foreign commerce that attracted to this place made the whole kingdom immensely rich. The social and beneficient institutions that existed here during the regimes of Jayakesi and others had no parallel in the history of India.

Life under these Kadambas was gay. It became a land of song and chivalry.[1] Balni contained a 101 thirthas (sacred places). The Goan had no need to go outside Goa for easing his conscience. The proud martial Mahratta shunned at the Shenvi and conducted his Dusserah Nara Bali in the most grandiose style. The Vestal Virgin ruled supreme in the temple and charmed the bajaks (worshippers) of temples with her celestial music and intonation and expression,

But these things could not last. Towards the middle of the 15th century the empire crumbled. Its easy life however still continued. Towards the approach of the

1. With all deference to learned toponomists, the meaning of the place name Goa should be attributed to gavay meaning singer or singing. The Goans are celebrated for music. The institution of Vestal Virgins throughout all the temples of Goa has taken music to sublime heights. The music of the toddy tapper (Render) is classical and spontaneous. The music of Mando is national and peculiarly Goan.

16th century though there was no disorder political life was at a standstill. People deeply pondered over the future. Jotishis (astrologers) were consulted and wild rumours were circulated.

Possibly by some chance a report was afloat that the state of Goa would be captured by a foreign nation. With the approach of the Portuguese at Anjediva, wild rumours were afloat of the imminent conquest of Goa by the Portuguese. Jotishis gave fresh colour to these rumours and asserted that there was an ancient prophecy that Goa would subordinate itself to a foreigner and that the gods were of that opinion.[1]

It is difficult to state whether Albuquerque knew of this prophecy. Anyway, when he landed with his full force at the entrance of the valley of the Zuari, the elders of Goa presented the keys of the city and the old state banners to him. The whole party landed and after accepting the keys of the city, with the priests leading, the procession marched to the centre of the citadel. The whole procession was watched by thousands lining on both sides. Albuquerque was master of Goa without a shot.

But the victory was not to last long. The prophecies impressed only the pious while for the more practically minded people Albuquerque was an intruder. Within three months he was driven out of Goa. Quietly he left and took refuge again at Anjediva and awaited reinforcements. After six months he made his second attempt. The thunderous oration that he delivered to his army at Anjediva was a classic. The spirits of the most indifferent soldiers were roused and the following attack was crowned with success on St. Catharine's day, 1510. A Portuguese Empire was founded in India. Canara thus played a prominent part in the foundation of the Portuguese Empire.[2]

1. This is the same prophecy mentioned by Friar Jordan. With the existence of this prophecy in Goa, it is quite possible that the people of the West coast believed in these prophecies for a long time, and all along the West coast.

2. Prior to this, the Portuguese had conquered Cranganore in 1500, Cochin in 1506. The later conquests were Chaul in 1512, Calicut in 1513, Damao in 1531 and Diu in 1535.

Albuquerque therefore deserves the credit of having founded the Portuguese Empire in the East; it was the goal of his dream in which he succeeded. In the face of adversaries armed very nearly like the Europeans both on land and sea, Albuquerque succeeded in achieving his goal. But intrigues at the court of Lisbon broke Albuquerque and he died at the entrance of the bay of Goa on 16th December 1515.[1]

Albuquerque built churches in Goa and had Franciscans and a famous Dominicon with him. The church of the Blessed Virgin which he built is called by Fr. Spillman S. J. "the cradle of Christianity not only in India, but in all East Asia".[2]

With the capture of Goa, regular administrative machinery was set up. Civil and religious life also started. Every attempt was made to capture the trade of Canara especially pepper trade. For this purpose Portuguese boats visited Mangalore and other ports in the state of Canara.

Strangely enough Albuquerque pursued the policy not of conquest but of assimilation. There was a sharp tussle in this respect between Francisco de Almeida, the Viceroy, and Albuquerque. The former advocated the policy of conquest and of an Empire. But Albuquerque's word prevailed. This policy no doubt sealed the doom of the Portuguese power in India and paved the way for England (as future events saw it), but it gave the greatest impetus for the advancement of Christianity in India.

The Vijayanagar administration had laid special stress on the development of agriculture in this tract. Much rice was therefore grown in Canara. The Portuguese were in need of rice for the inhabitants of Goa as the local supply was not sufficient.

With the Portuguese merchants, missionaries also made their way into Goa and began evangelisation.

The Dominicans came with Albuquerque as Chaplains of the navy, and they evangelised in Goa under the

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1. Fifty one years later his remains were transported to Lisbon where they rest in a worthy resting place.

2. Kirchenlexikon V S. V. Goa.

direction of Fre. Domingo de Souza.[1]

Fr. Antonio do Lauro of the Congregation of Observantes landed in Goa in 1517 with 8 Franciscans. This is the first order established in Goa with its convent and church dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi.

Pope Leo X created the See of Funchal, on 16th June 1514.

This was confirmed in 1516. It is the beginning of the Padroado.[2] With this arrangement Goa was placed under Funchal.

Duarte Barbosa visited Mangalore in 1514, and left a description of the town: "Having left these places at 10 leagues distance there is another large river towards the south along the seashore where there is a very large town peopled by Moors and gentiles of the kingdom of Narsinga called Mangalor. These many ships always load brown rice, which is much better and more healthy than the white, for Malabar, for the common people and it is very cheap. They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden, also pepper which henceforward the earth

1. "As early as the end of the 15th century Portuguese Dominicans reached the West coast of Africa and accompanying the explorers rounded the Cape of Good Hope to settle on the coast of East Africa. They founded temporary or permanent missions in the Portuguese African Settlements and went in successsion to the Indies, Ceylon, Siam and Malacca. They made Goa the centre of these missions which in 1548 were erected into a special mission of the Holy Cross which had to suffer from British conquests, but continued to flourish till the beginning of the 19th century". (Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, p. 368,)

2, Padroado or Portuguese Protectorate of the Missions or simply "Portuguese Patronage was the privilege granted by the Popes to the crown of Portugal of designating candidates for the sees and ecclesiastical benefices in the vast domains acquired through the expeditions of its navigators and captains in Africa and the East Indies This concession which brought to the king of Portugal a certain portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of his kingdom carried the conditions that he should send good Missionaries to his new subjects and that he should provide with a fitting endowment such dioceses, parishes and religious establishments as should be established in his acquired territories (Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII. P. 489).

begins to produce, but little of it and better than all the other which the Malabars bring to this place in small vessels. The banks of this river are very pretty and very full of woods and palm trees and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and gentiles and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles which are very large and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques where they greatly honour Mohammad "[1]

The Franciscans accompanied by Lopo Vaz de Sampaio entered Canara in 1521 which was then in the domain of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. They effected many conversions and founded three churches one in Mangalore under the title of the Lady of the Rosary, which was the Factory church. In Ullal they built the church of our Lady of Mercy and at Feringpet[2] they dedicated the church to St. Francis of Assisi.

The first military and naval encounter of the Portuguese in Canara took place in 1530. Diogo de Silveira was sent with a fleet by the Viceroy Nuno de Cunha to punish a rich merchant in Mangalore who was carrying on trade to the detriment of the Portuguese. The encounter ultimately ended in the death of the merchant and the burning of his stores and house.[3] The same Admiral sacked Mangalore in the year 1532. At this time the people of the place fled to the hills for safety.[4] Thus the political might of the Portuguese was proved in Mangalore.

The regular ecclesiastical life that was set up in Goa culminated in the appointment of D. Fr. Juao de Albu-

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1 Barbosa: East Africa and Malabar pp. 82–83.

2 Feringpet literally means the petah (bazaar) of the Feringhis. The Europeans were then called Feringhis. There is an inscription at Kaikini in Bhatkal Petha of the year 1522 in which the Portuguese captain is called Perangada Capitan. (Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I. pp. 167–168). So the Portuguese were known as Perangis. This word is current in the Tulu language also. Venereal disease in Tulu language is known as parengi.

3 Barros; Da Asia.

4. Faria Y. Souza: Asia — Portuguesa 1. p. 292.

querque (Franciscan) as the first Bishop of Goa in 1532.

On November 3, 1534 Goa was regularly raised to the status of a Bishopric by a Bull of Paul III, 'Aequum reputamus' separating Goa from Funchal, ranging from the Cape of Good Hope to India and from India to China with all towns and places on the mainland or islands discovered or yet to be discovered.[1] The territories mentioned in this are Goa, Salcette, Canara as far south as Calicut, in the north the province of Bardez upto Surat, Diu, Mocambique, Mombaca, Cafrerea, Rios de Cuama, Socotora, Mascate, Armuz, Congo and Conora.[2]

By this and by the Bull 'Romani Pontificis', Pope Paul III renovated the right of Padroado and enjoined on the kings of Portugal the maintenance of church and religion.

From 1534 Canara was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Goa. Catholic religious life dates back to this time. The territory of Canara began to be known from this time as Sul[3] meaning south and it was considered as Mission land. It included both the northern and the southern parts of Canara.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN CANARA 1534—1600

Brisk preparations were taken at Goa to evangelise the territory that was put under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Goa. On 24th April 1541 the Seminary of Santa Fe was established for the education of the Indian secular clergy. In 1540 the Dominicans

1. Mitras I, 15. 2. Mitras I, 18.

3. From this time till 1886 when a Concordat was signed between Lisbon and Vatican, entirely seperating Padroado from Propaganda in South Canara, both the Canaras were known in Goa ecclesiastical literature as Sul. From 1886 to 1853 i. e. till the establishment of the Bishopric of Belgaum. North Canara alone was under the Padroado. With the appointment of a Bishop at Belgaum in 1953 North Canara was also transferred to Belgaum and so all connection with the Padroado was lost in both Canaras from 1953 onwards.

established their convent and built the college of St. Paul. Many other reforms were also introduced. The Holy Father Paul IV being pleased at this by a Constitution 'Etsi Sancta et immaculata' raised the Bishopric of Goa to an Archbishopric.

At this time there appeared on the horizon approaching Goa a slim figure who was to revolutionise the spirit of evangelisation in India. It was Francis Xavier of Navaire He arrived in Goa on 6th May 1542 and left its shores for the last time on 14th April 1552. This holy priest travelled far and wide; but it is an unsolved mystery, why he did not visit Canara. Yet he had Canara in his mind and had thought of its possibilities. Speaking of the Canara coast in a letter of 18th September 1542 to the members of his Society in Rome he says: "We have great hope that many Christians will be made there."[1]

Though he did not visit Canara, when his relics were brought to Goa, the ships encountered a storm off the coast of Bhatkal, and so the ships entered the port of Bhatkal and so they entered its port. The Captain of the ships Lope de Noronha sent word to the Viceroy of Goa that the ships had touched Bhatkal.

While the ships lay at anchor at Bhatkal, the dying wife of the Portuguese Factor was carried aboard the ship and was asked to touch the body of the Saint, She was cured immediately.

On receipt of the news from messengers of Captain Noronha, the Viceroy sent the Vice Provincial Belcher Nunez, three lay brothers, and four musicians from the seminary. These sailed to Bhatkal, by a special ship by name of Catur.

On reaching Bhatkal, all the ships sailed together. The body was kept in the original ship itself. To the accompaniment of band and music, the party started.

Tradition relates a sorry incident on the further route of the ship carrying the body of Xavier. When the

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1. Quoted from Gerson da Cunha from his paper "The Portuguese in South Canara" read on 21st January 1896.

ship approached Baitkol (Karwar) there was a demand for water. The sailors got down and asked water from the local inhabitants; but this was refused and the ship left Karwar without water.[1]

Actually the need for water was felt from Ankola onwards. But for want of getting a sufficient quantity of it, a large number of the passengers who were on board the ship got down somewhere at Aversa and walked all the distance to Goa.[2]

With the death of Krishna Deva Raya, the fortunes of the Empire of Vijayanagar were on the wane. The battle of Talikot (1565) crashed it altogether. There was a split between the king and his General over a girl Nur Jehan. The head of the king was cut off by his own General and placed before Nur Jehan. By this time plunder and loot was commenced by Bijapur army. 200 elephants loaded with gold and precious jewels left the citadel in different directions and the city burnt for six months. Not a stone remains on its place so that it is difficult to identify the place. Foreign and European trade received the rudest shock and could not be revived for full two years. That is the disaster of Vijayanagar or the 'Forgotten Empire.'

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1 Though Francis Xavier did not set foot on the soil of Canara, his brother's son Fr. Jerome Xavier S. J. passed through Canara by the overland route from Goa to Cochin. He stayed in the Rosario Church at Poye for some days. He was a well educated man and the author of several works.

2 The route from Karwar to Goa need not be discussed here. But one pertinent fact may be narrated. The ship that brought the body from Moluccas to Goa, after alighting the passengers, crew and the sacred remains of Xavier, immediately sank by itself and disappeared in the waters. (This and the above facts are taken from the Portuguese book published in Goa at the time of the Exposition of 1878). In 1614 when by the orders of the Pope, the right hand of St. Francis was to be cut off, three Jesuits were sent to cut the arm. But strange things happened when the operation was started. At last these Jesuits refused to cut as they said that the hands which they used for Consecration at Mass, should not be used for the cutting operation. At last a Jesuit lay brother Tome Dias performed the operation.

Already some time before Talikot, some princes planned to create semi independent principalities within the Empire itself. We are interested in two of these. The first was of Keladi Gowdas. Either Chaudappa Gowda or Bhadraya Gowda was given the principality of Gutti, Mangalore and Barakuru on feudal tenure. This was about 1500 A D. Gutti consisted of the Malnad tract of Mysore. Keladi is a village in Mysore. By dint of energy these Keladi Gowdas carved out an Empire for themselves after the ruin of Vijayanagar. The capital was transferred from Keladi to Ikkeri and later from Ikkeri to the most naturally fortified place known as Bidururu or Biduru Halli (Bednore).

The other was of Sondekars. Like Keladi, another principailty on feudal tenure was raised at Sonda about the same time as Keladi. Sonda is ten miles of south of Sirsi.[2]

But the political jurisdiction of this dynasty could not expand as easily as that of Keladi Gowdas, because the Adil Shahi Durbar of Bijapur (conquerors of Vijayanagar) drove a sharp wedge through Supa upto Mirjan. But later, on the extinction of Adil Shahis, the kingdom of the Sondas adjoined the Bednore Empire and extended from Chandavar to Fonda in Goa.

Thus in the second half of the 16th century three powers struggled for supremacy in Canara namely, the Keladi Gowdas, the Sondekars and the Adil Shahi Durbar of Bijapur. This last was known as the Great Mogul or the Grand Mogul. Its headquarters was at Bijapur and they maintained three Governers in Canara namely at Kadwad, at Shiveshwar and at Ankola.[3] But finally the Canara territory of Bijapur surrendered to Sonda and Canara was practically brought under two dynasties.

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1 The chronology is followed according to Keladi Nrapa Vijaya.

2 The town at present is practicallv in ruins with the exception of some old historical monuments including the Vaishnava Matt of Sonda Swami

3 Early Franciscan, Carmelite and Jesuit history has ample connections with the Court of the Great Mogul.

While after the erection of Bishopric the work of evangelisation was going on briskly in Goa. It was at this time that the Portuguese Government destroyed the Hindu temples in Goa.

In all 484 temples were destroyed. On the sites of many of these temples Christian Churches were built.[1] and the temple properties were confiscated and handed over to these churches.

Due to the destruction of the temples in Goa, many members of Shenvi community emigrated into Canara with their gods. They were gladly welcome to the Bednore Rulers who took full advantage of their services. They practically usurped all the Government services in the district and became also the leading landlords. Many became financiers and also dalals (agents) to the Europeans in their purchases of the different commodities in Canara

It was also at this time the Inquisition was introduced in Goa. It was established in 1560.[2]

The inauguration of the court of Inquisition at Goa judged at the present day may reveal a great deal barbarity. The stories that are made current in historical treatises may not be altogether false. Some may have been exaggerated. But most were probably true facts. The subject should be judged in the light of those days.

1 There are still signs visible of the destruction of these temples around the churches. In front of the Lotalim Church, there is a sun dial which is a remarkable piece of art.

2 The history of this court of Inquisition is irrelevent here. But some facts may be mentioned en passant. It was Pombal who suppressed it at Goa. It was reestablished in 1779 and finally dissolved in 1842. Pombal decreed that all cases involving punishment should be referred to the civil tribunal for a decision. "But by a curious irony of fate his brother was the head of Inquisition and the aged Jesuit Malagrida, the Confessor of the Marchioness of Tavora was burnt alive as heretic." (Indo Portuguese Review 1925 p. 13). Regarding this persecution, one traveller in 1606 says: "The persecutions of the Portuguese had made many Hindus Mussalmans and Parsis abandon their homes and live in the dominions of Shah Jehan where there was liberty of conscience."

But the whole system is of some consequence to the Christians of Canara, and particularly of South Canara. The main object of the court of the Inquisition was the combating or the suppressing of heresy. But the interpretations of these terms resulted in more harm to the Christians than to the Hindus. The Christians of Goa at the introduction of the Inquisition were late converts and in their daily lives they continued to practice some Hindu customs. Possibly they retained the Hindu names as Kamath, Prabhu etc. In their marriage ritual also, they followed some of the old customs, besides the ceremonies in the church.

The court of the Inquisition judged that these customs were not in keeping with the true Christian spirit and wished to ban them entirely.

The procedure before the court was that a complainant was required to lodge a formal complaint against a person accused of practicing non-christian customs. If the complainant succeeded in proving his case in the court, the property of the accused was confiscated, half going to the court of the Inquisition and half to the complainant. This gave many a strong motive to put up false cases or to avenge old grudges etc. Pyrard mentions a unique case where a woman wanted to get rid of her husband and to succeed to his property. Thus she brought a case before the court that he was practising Protestantism. She succeeded in having him tried; the husband was burnt alive and half the property passed on to her.

The Hindus were not dealt with so severely. They were given due notices and could leave Goa in time. There was neither a case against them nor confiscation of property. Moreover, the death sentence or burning alive was reserved only for Christians, and not applied to Hindus.

Thus the Christians lived in constant danger for their lives. Any continuation of the old Hindu practices in social life was an excuse for the adversaries to ruin them and their families. After the inauguration of the court, many complaints were made that the Christians were following the Hindu ideology and therefore were to be punished.

This was the signal for the Christians to abandon Goa in large numbers with all their possessions. Here they could find under the Ikkeri Rulers both freedom of worship and freedom of religion.

Those who remained in Goa gave up all Hindu practices and adopted Portuguese customs in their mode of dwelling and daily practice. Hindu names and Hindu practices were entirely given up. Only such people could live in Goa; others left.

Some settled in the northern parts of S. Canara invited by the Ikkeri Rulers for the development of cocoanut plantations.

Already the strain of administration of a vast territory extending from the Cape of Good Hope to China was too much. Christian communities were developing in various parts of this vast Diocese. So in 1557 Goa was divided into three Dioceses. Goa became the Metropolitan with two suffragan dioceses of Cochin and Malabar. Canara was retained under Goa.

Though the might of Portugal was sufficiently proved in Mangalore, yet there were elements in Canara which needed better control for the maintenance of the trade supremacy of Portugal. Inter alia the disputes between the chiefs of Canara among themselves was at times disastrous to the Portuguese trade. Such a dispute between the Queen of Ullal and Bangur Chief led to some disturbance in the trade. To secure better understanding, the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Louis de Athaide himself went to Canara in 1560 to settle the dispute of these two chiefs. The mission was successful and peace was restored.

On 5th January 1568 the Portuguese captured Mangalore by defeating the Queen of Ullal, and built the fort of St. Sebastian there. It was called St. Sebastian's fort, because the first stone was laid on this Saint's day. Three Jesuits accompanied the expedition and one of them Fr. Juao Francisco Estaphanio was always marching ahead with a crucifix aloft encouraging the soldiers to battle.[1] Dom Antonio de Pereira was appointed Captain of this newly

1 Souza: Oriente Conquistado II, p. 18.

built fort,

While the fort was under construction, a hospital was also built by the Friars who came later.

The Portuguese landed at Barcelore in 1569 with a large army and occupied the fort through the traitorous conduct of the Killedar of the fort. The Portuguese army plundered the town. The Tolar summoned the chief of Hosangadi, Honnaya Kambli, and both prepared for war in which the Perduru chief joined with a large army. A sanguinary battle was fought in which both sides lost heavily. Kambli was also killed. The Portuguese were forced to retire to their ships leaving back their guns and ammunition.

But in 1570 the Portuguese again attacked Basrur and captured it. The Tolar and the Kambli kings went with an army of 11000 men but were defeated. They agreed to pay a subsidy to the Portuguese who built a fort of their own at Basrur. In 1571 they fortified the fort and entered into a treaty with the Tolar chieftain.

In 1570, a few Jesuits entered Basrur by order of the Provincial of Goa and conducted their missionary activities from there. A church was built and dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary. A hospital was also started.

In 1574, many Christian families from Goa settled in Barcelore(Basrur). This was possibly due to the Bijapur trouble[1]. These families slowly penetrated into the interior

In 1572, 12 Augustinians arrived in Goa and founded the convent of St. Augustine[2].

About this time i.e. in 1570, the Zamorin of Calicut, Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar joined to oust the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean. They divided the Portuguese possessions among themselves. The task of driving the Portuguese from Mangalore was allotted to the Zamorin of Calicut. Goa was to be besieged by Adil Shah and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar

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1 It may also be due to the Inquisition.

2 This is the most successful religious Order that evangelised Goa. The concessions given by the Holy See is due to the great work of this Order.

was to march against Chaul and Bassein. The Queen of Ullal took advantage of this confederacy and sided the Zamorin of Calicut in his attempt to conquer Mangalore. She even invited the Zamorin's admiral and started the attack on the fort of Mangalore. But it ended in a dismal failure

Yet the queen was not fully subdued. In 1594, she built a fort in Ullal as against that of the Portuguese in Mangalore. Finally by the end of the century peace was restored between her and the Portuguese. The Ullal fort was razed to the ground in the presence of the Capitao Mor of Malabar. There was no more trouble with this queen.

A Jesuit college was opened at Margao in 1574. In 1579 it was set on fire by the armies of Bijapur. In 1580 a new college was constructed at Rachol. In 1583 Rudolf Acquaviva S. J. was its Rector. In 1597 it was again transferred from Rachol to Margao.

In the same year (1583) the martyrdom of the Jesuits at Cuncollim in Salcette in Goa took place. Rudolf Acquaviva, as Rector of the seminary, had arrived in Salcette in the beginning of July 1583. He had landed at Cortalim. Then he took the charge of the church of Nossa Senhora das Neves. On the 24th of July, he went to select a place to build a church in Cuncollim. This place was the stronghold of the Gaunkars, a Mabratta sect and Kulvado was their principal place. It was somewhere here possibly that Fr. Acquaviva wanted to plant his cross. He took with him the Portuguese Brother Francis Aranha, who had been an architect of repute before he joined the Society. At Margao, these two were joined by the Spanish Father Alonso Pacheco, parish priest of the church of the Holy Ghost at Margao and the Swiss Father, Peter Berno, priest of the village of Colva. The whole party spent the night at Orlim with the resident priest, a Portuguese Fr. Antonio Francisco.

Next morning, after Mass, they all went in proces-

1. Out of the 17 Christians martyred, the names of only the Jesuit priests reached Rome and they were beatified.

sion to Cuncollim. Diogo Rodrigues, a sacriston of the Orlim Church, carried the crucifix at the head of the procession. When they reached Kulvado, twenty persons including all the five priests were murdered by the Gaunkars.

The bodies of the laymen that were massacred were handed over to their relatives for burial. But the bodies of the Jesuits were thrown into a well of a neighbouring garden.[1] The Jesuits came and made repeated requests to deliver the bodies. On the 3rd day, the gods were consulted and by placing flowers on their heads and after obtaining their consent the bodies were handed over to the Jesuits. This ceremony of consulting the gods was done by the Ghadi.[2]

After a few days a Portuguese delegation came to Kulvado, the place where the martyrdom took place. The Portuguese enticed the Hindu leaders to meet them apparently to bring about a settlement. When the leaders arrived, they were forcibly taken to Velim, a neighbouring village and shot.[3]

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1 There is a chapel constructed over this well. At first two arches were constructed on this well and a cross was planted. Later the church was built; and just below the communion rails is the well which is now covered with a marble slab on which there is the following inscription: "He Bhaint tin dis urliot curhi Beat Martirinchio, vanvon rogot ani divn pormoll sorgincho". (In this well rested for three days the bodies of the Blessed Martyrs shedding blood and giving the sweet odour of heaven).

2 Letter of Fr. Thomas Stephens to his brother. This is printed in the "Christian Purana" edited by Joseph Saldhana at Mangalore.

3 On the site where the priests were murdered is now the church dedicated to Nossa Senhora de Saude. This is the present Cuncollim parish church. The site was guarded from the commencement. Brother Aranha died in a bush nearby where existed a large tree. After this tree died, in 1623 a cross was ereeted here with the following inscription: " Numa arvore aseteado Foi por Deus Aranha aonde Este padrao levantado suas raizes esconde 1623". In 1893, the Patriarch Don Valente built a chapel and dedicated it to the martyrs in commemoration of the decree of Pope Leo XIII raising them to the honour of the altar in 1893 on the feast of Epiphany.

In the latter half of the 16th century the Portuguese thus fully took the advantage of the weak political situation that existed in Canara. By wars and treaties with local chieftains they established themselves in several places. Mangalore was their prize and they clung to it strongly. Christians from Goa began to settle in Canara and it is said that they used to come in larger numbers. Their superior agricultural methods were of advantage to the Keladi kings who encouraged this immigration eagerly. Lands were given to them by the Keladi Durbar and even money to start cultivation.

In every settlement of theirs they had priests and churches. It is said that at this time the Portuguese settlements in Canara contained churches of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Augustinians, Theatines and other Orders with their seminaries, schools and orphanages. A church was built in Honavar in 1590.

On the whole, Christianity commenced in Canara in the 16th century. The Portuguese settlements were responsible for this expansion. The Franciscans and the Jesuits were the most zealous in the work of conversions.

In 1599. on his return from the Synod of Diamper, Archbishop D. Aleixio de Minezes of Goa visited Canara. He visited the churches of Mangalore, Barcelore and Honavar.[1]

CHAPTER V

The Glory of Bednore and the Development of the Christian Community.

1600—1650.

For the vast work of the evangelisation of Goa the medium of a common language between the preacher and his audiance was a vital necessity. The Portuguese language could reach only the higher classes. So a recourse to the language of the lower classes was a necessity in case the faith was to be extended to them. The Jesuit Seminary

1 Pe. Gabriel de Saldhana: Historia de Goa, Vol. I, P. 177. Mitras 2nd Edition, P. 252.

which existed in Margao and which trained young clerics seriously considered this aspect.

With this object in view, Lingua Canarina (Konkani) was attempted. In 1574 Konkani Schools were introduced in the Jesuit College attached to the church of the Holy Ghost at Margao. Besides the Boys' schools, Fr. Pimenta S. J. ordered the starting of classes of moral Theology and Konkani for the young Jesuits as a necessary preparation for their apostolic work.

Thus the study of Konkani began with a great zeal. But grammars were not available. No Mahratti grammar was in existence at this time. The rules of syntax were difficult. The first Konkani grammar was written by a Goan to facilitate the study of Konkani in the Jesuit schools of Margao.

This brilliant band of Jesuits had among them an English Jesuit named Thomas Stephens. His name appears among the Rectors of Rachol from 1590 to 1594 and was written as Tomas Estevao

The dawn of the seventeenth century was a great era for the Portuguese. The situation of incessant warfare and bickerings which they had with the native princes and the Arabs was gradually subsiding. The Arabs had practically lost their monopoly and the Portuguese now took the initiative. In Canara, the Ikkeri Gowdas were slowly becoming a power in the land.

The fifth in the line, Venktappa Nayaka, (1583-1630), practically severed connections with Vijayanagar and brought under his subjection practically the whole of Canara. He was assisted in his venture by his uncle Shivappa Nayaka who was the power behind the throne. By the end of the 16th century practically the whole of Canara from Kasargod to Chandavar was under Venktappa. The capital was at Bednore and it was known then as the kingdom of Canara. It was thus called because the official language was Kannada.[1]

From this time dates that great and continuous struggle between the Bednore Rulers and the Portuguese. In tracing

1 Canara literally means Kannada.

the history of this epoch between 1600 and 1763 (the year when Hyder conquered Canara) one factor should be carefully noted i.e. whenever it was possible, the Portuguese always stood for the development of Christianity in Canara and by offensive and defensive alliances with the Bednore Rulers wrenched out a considerable number of privileges for the Christians and for Christianity in general in Canara. This is the great service which Portugal has done for Canara. In furthering their own interest in trade, they also helped the growth of the church in Canara.

By the time Venktappa Nayaka established his supremacy over the whole tract of Canara, the Portuguese had already secured their strongholds along the whole coast of Canara, and they were almost invincible in their forts.

To make matters more complicated, the English also appeared on the scene from Bombay. A factory was started at Karwar[1] by Robert Master in the year 1638.

Venktappa played among these two Europeans powers most skilfully. From 1617 there was intense warfare between Venktappa and the Portuguese. Yet there was no decision. While this was the state of affairs, the English also came on the scene and tried to bring pressure on Venktappa.

At last for securing a permanent alliance with Venktappa the Portuguese planned the sending of an Embassy to the court of Venktappa at Bednore.

The Embassy started in 1623 and was accompanied by Pietro della Valle. He started from Mangalore. He found in Canara three churches, namely, the See, or Cathedral[2] of our Lady of Del Rosario within the fort, La Misericordia and San Francisco without. Yet in Mangalore there were but three ecclesiastics in all, two Franciscan Friars in San Francisco and one Vicar priest, to whose charge with very small revenues belonged all the

1 It was actually started in a field known as Totti in the tract now known as Sunkeri, three miles from the present town of Karwar.

2 It is worth noting that as early as 1623, the Rosario Church has been called the Cathedral. It should have been the most important church even from that time.

other churches.[1]

Venktappa Nayaka died in 1630 and was succeeded by Virbhadra Nayaka (1630-1634). The Portuguese now took the upper hand in Canara.

With the establishment of a stable government in Canara, Christianity extended from the coast to the interior. The Franciscans again took the initiative. Early in the 17th century they built two churches in Canara one in Mangalore and one in Cambolim (?).[2] In their report they say that in both places there was a good Christian Community and that they could expect something from them.

In 1619, a priest was killed in Mangalore. Fr. Diogo, a Franciscan, always in the forefront of the Portuguese armies and with a great disregard for the temples of the Hindus, was in 1619 in the forefront in the defence of Mangalore. The barbers caught hold of him, assassinated him, and absconded the body themselves. The body was not returned for, it is said, that the barbers treasured it highly.[3]

In the meantime a measure of far-reaching importance was issued from the Vatican. New lands were discovered for the church in America, Africa and the Far East. The evangelisation of these tracts was of primary importance specially in view of the fact that Calvinist Dutch and English Protestants were taking the lead; though Portugal was doing her best, it was possibly not enough; Pope Gregory XIII conceived the idea of establishing an agency for the control of church extension independent of Padroado which later developed into the Sacred Congregation of De Propaganda Fide. With this object in view, a primary commission was appointed in the year 1572 consisting of 3 cardinals. It was charged to promote the union with Rome of the Oriental Christians (Syrians, Slavs, Greeks etc.). The death of four Popes in rapid succession somewhat delayed the work.

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1 Della Valle: Travels II, P. 301.

2 I cannot locate this place. Possibly the old church was already decayed. It is possible that another church was built in another place.

3 Fernando Soledade: Historia Seraphica Tomo III, Ch. IX.

But Gregory XV summoned on 6th January 1622, 12 cardinals and 2 prelates and announced his intention of constituting a permanent and well organised congregation for the propagation of the faith and on 22nd June 1622 appeared the Bull " Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae " by which the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide was inaugurated.

The whole object of this legislation was to make the Christian apostolate a purely religious mission, free from national prejudice and covetousness. " The East must be converted to Christianity but need not be subjected to a European nation or civilization". This principle had evident repercussions on the Padroado.

The Portuguese started building the fort of Cambolim in 1619 by a treaty with the government of Venktappa. One of the conditions was that the order of St. Francis alone[1] was to build the church and evangelise the place. When the fort and the church were built Frs. Francisco Cordiero and George de Concecao blessed the fort and entered the church.

Later they destroyed a Hindu temple in the neighbourhood and built a church on its site, and dedicated the same to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception.

There was a treaty between the Portuguese and Virappa Naik in 1631. There was another in 1633. Both these treaties referred to problems of commerce, rather than to privileges for the Christians. But on the whole both the treaties raised the prestige of Portugal on the coast of Canara and encouraged them to proceed further.

In the meantime Christianity had proceeded on its onward march on the upghats also, specially in Karnatak

1 This statement deserves a remark. In the writings of early missionaries such statements are common. I have observed such statements in the writings of Carmelites, Franciscans, Jesuits and even Dominicans. The members of each Order have always written that their Order alone was preferred both by the reigning monarch and the people. I should rather think that this sort of writing was more to please the superiors in Europe, and to attract further missionaries to India. It was also in a way to bring to the notice of the Holy Father to continue to restrict the sphere of influence of certain tracts to certian Orders.

districts.

The Mission of Khanapur was found by the Portuguese Carmelites in 1606 or somewhat earlier.

While the Portuguese Missionaries were busy on the coastal tracts, the Catholics in the interior were more or less neglected. The same causes that led the Christians of Goa to settle in Canara, made them settle also in parts of the Deccan. Thus simultaneously there grew up a Christian community in several parts of the Deccan. Some missionaries had penetrated these tracts also and had effected conversions. But these tracts were beyond the bounds of Goa and a Bishop was necessary for all these communities.

Consonant with the papal legislation of 1622, the Pope appointed Mathew de Castro as Vicar Apostolic of Idal Shah in 1638. This Vicariate possibly embraced all these Deccan communities.

Virbhadra Nayak died in 1646. Then ascended the throne in full regal pomp and martial glory the Rampolla of the State, Shivappa Nayaka. Shivappa was the greatest of the Bednore Rulers. He brought under his rule the whole of Canara by subduing the few principalities that had evaded the rule of Venktappa.

The land policy that was inaugurated by Shivappa made Canara an agricultural granary and brought it in the forefront of all the European nations that were trading with the Indies.

At this time the ecclesiastical situation also was not bright for Portugal. There was no Archbishop in Goa for 22 years after the death of Archbishop D. Fr. Francisco dos Martyres (Franciscan), who died on 25th November 1652. The next appointment was of D. Fr. Christavao da Silveira in 1671. This was done with the approval of D. Pedro II of Portugal.

In the political sphere also Portugal was on decline. Philip II of Spain brought Portugal under his subjugation; it lasted for 60 years. This political subservience of Portugal had its own repercussions in Canara.

The Pope refused to recognise the Bishops appointed by Dom Juao IV and Don Alphonso VI. Spain also opposed it. There were dissensions and disorder in Portugal itself.

Yet with its usual vigour, Goa sent in 1645 (March 13) Fr. Simao da Graca, an Augustinian, as visitor to the churches of Sul (South). His appointment was by a Royal Charter. During monsoon he was to remain in Honavar. His permanent residence was to be in Mangalore.[1]

In 1648 Fr. Francis de Conceicao, a Franciscan, was appointed Visitor of the churches of the South (Sul). In one of his reports which he made to His Most Catholic Majesty of Portugal on 16th January 1649 he says: " I found many churches built in the territories of the kings of Malabar which is a great glory for your Majesty to know. There are faithful subjects in the kingdoms of infidel kings. These catholics are assisted by Franciscans in Cranganore, Calicoulao, Porca, Vaipin, Coitate, Carieture, Betimano and Alapar. I will build two new churches in the jungle of the Queen where many are willing to convert to the faith. But they cannot realise their desire for want of ministers who have no means of subsistence; so that with 1000 pardaos each year we would gain thousands and thousands of souls to heaven"

Though the earlier places mentioned by the visitor are of Malabar, Canara is mentioned as the jungle of the Queen. The missionary refers to the Jain Queens of Gersoppa who had a flourishing empire along the Gersoppa route [2]

The visits of these priests opened the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa. They reported the neglected state of Christianity in Canara.

The Portuguese, however, in their straitened circumstances could not improve the situation. There was a fairly large Christian community in Canara that had to

1. Mitras II, 46.

2. The church at Gundbala which is on the banks of the Sharavati is an old church; it exists today.

be attended by priests. Portuguese priests were not available and money was not forthcoming.

Shivappa was a nationalist to the core. Though he permitted the evangelisation of Canara by the missionaries from Goa, yet he desired in his own Empire an indigenous church. He wanted an Indian Bishop to guide the destinies of the Christians of the Bednore Empire. With this object in view, he opened negotiations with the Portuguese Ecclesiastical authorities, and through them with the Holy See, to convert the Bednore Empire into a Diocese and appoint an Indian as its head. The Portuguese civil authorities accepted the idea and the king of Portugal Dom Juao IV made this recommendation to the Holy See.

Fr. Andrew Gomes, who, in 1649, was sent as a missionary to Canara, was selected for the post and his name was recommended to the Holy See. This recommendation was accepted by the Holy See and Fr. Andrew Gomes was appointed the first secular Bishop of Canara. The order was brought from Rome by Fr. Borges, Vicar of Santa Luzia in Goa who was in Rome at that time. Unfortunately before Fr. Borges reached Goa, Fr. Gomes died.[1] Thus the first chance of raising Canara into a Diocese was lost

In 1650 Schultzen, the famous Dutch writer, visited Canara. He found two Portuguese churches in Honavar, one dedicated to St. Anthony and another to St. Catherine.[2]

The liberal land policy of Shivappa encouraged the Christians to settle in the interior. The Christians were patronised by him as they were good and honest cultivators. Shivappa encouraged also the Christians and Hindus from Goa to settle in Canara and cultivate lands.

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1. Mitras II, 45. Leonardo Paes: Pront. das Dif. Indie. Filotelo Pereira de Andrade: Andre Gomes.

2. Besides the accounts of Pietro della Valle and Schultzen, read about Canara in Pyrard (1607), Vincenzo Maria de Santa Catherina (1656), Fryer (1673), Hamilton (1718), Viscont de Valentine (1803) and others.

Buchanan admits this fact in 1800 when he was in Canara. But the figure of 80,000 Christians mentioned by him as having come and settled in Canara at the invitation of Shivappa is too fantastic to be believed. Possibly it is a misprint for 8000.[1]

Christianity spread to the interior from two sides namely Mangalore and Barkur. The entry from Barkur was more powerful.

So by the end of the first half of the 17th century, Christianity had taken a firm root in the soil of Canara. Churches were established in different parts of the district but missionaries were not sent from Goa to attend to the spiritual needs of the people and for further evangelising the tract. The idea of a further appointment of a Bishop to succeed Fr. Gomes was abandoned; the territory continued to be under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Goa and was known as Sul, a Mission land.

Christianity flourished here under the royal patronage of the Bednore Rulers also. The Christians were necessary for them for cultivation and in this they had to patronize Christianity to a great extent. This is a remarkable fact which has been overlooked so far. A proper study of the events of the time will unravel a great many things which will shed a strong light on the spread of Christianity in Canara.

CHAPTER VI.

The First Conflict of Jurisdictions.

1650—1700.

The second half of the 17th century is dominated by the significant personalities of two priests, Don Thomas de Castro and Padre Jose Vas. Both were eminent Goans and both stood opposing each other in the mission land of Sul.

Thus by sheer ill luck these events marred the steady progress in which the community was marching. On the political horizon also, the power of Portugal was brought

1. But even this figure is wrong as can be seen later.

almost to a standstill in Canara. Though in 1651, Shivappa gave Arkol to the Portuguese in 1653, he captured the fort of Mangalore and in 1657 he captured the forts of Cundapur, Gangolli and Honavar and thus practically crippled the Portuguese power in Canara.

Shivappa died in the year 1661. He was the greatest of the Ikkeri Monarchs and worked most in Canara which was his favourite tract in his whole empire.

He held the Jesuits in great esteem. The Jesuit Fr. Spinola was much attached to him. In his turn Shivappa permitted the learned Jesuit to build churches in his dominions.[1] Eminent Jesuits were sent from Goa or Portugal to the court of Shivappa on difficult diplomatic missions, e.g. Fr. Antonio Correa in 1651,[2] Fr. Ignacio de Arcamone in 1652,[3] Fr. Antonio Correa in 1652,[4] Fr. Migel de Almeida in 1652,[5] Fr. Antonio Nunes in 1654.

The Jesuits in their turn also helped the Portuguese commercial authorities in the procurement of pepper, cinnamon etc. In 1653, the king of Portugal himself wrote the following to his Viceroy about a Jesuit Father: "I recommend you to give all the help and favour required by him to Fr. Goncalo Martins who is serving me in this state as Procurator for the despatch of the cinnamon on behalf of the Dukedom of Barganza in order that he might be able to send home all that belongs to the same Dukedom."[6] This Jesuit priest was also ambassador at the court of Shivappa.[7]

Venkappa Nayaka succeeded Shivappa but died soon. Then came to the throne Bhadrappa Nayaka who ruled from 1662 to 1664. In his reign dissensions arose among the foreigners themselves. The strength of Bednore was visibly diminishing and it was a problem to keep the whole empire united and strong.

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1. Moraes: Mangalore, P. 60, 2. Panjim Archives: Instruccao, folio 42. 3. Ibid: folio, 57. 4. Ibid: folio 60. 5. Ibid: folio 63–64.

6. Panjim Archives: Moncoes de Reino No. 23, ano de 1653, folio 263.

7. Fr. Goncalo Martins was ambassador of the Viceroy at the court of Shivaji and of Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur.

The first is the approach of the Dutch towards the coast of Canara. Cochin, the greatest bastian of the Portuguese on the west coast next to Goa ignominously surrendered to Von Goens under the command of Ignatio Sermento on 7th January 1663. The terms of the treaty brought about much humilation to the name of Portugal. Among the terms of surrender, clause 8 mentions that "the clergy may take with them their images and church ornaments except those of gold or silver."[1]

The Portuguese power was not crushed, but received a rude shock. The effect of this victory was that the Dutch proceeded northward and threatened the Portuguese possessions to the north of Cochin. Consequently after 1663, for fear of the Dutch, the Portuguese missionaries in Canara slowly retreated to Goa with all the parish registers and books. This happened not only in Canara, but all along both the coasts of India. The Dutch were Calvinists and bitter anti Catholics.

Owing to want of priests, the state of Christianity declined.

The Christians were scattered throughout Canara and had their lands and holdings in the interior of the district also

For all these Catholics there were only three Churches, in Onor, Barcelore and Mangalore. There were practically no priests for them.

Marriages were taking place without priests in most of the parts and people died without sacraments. It often happened that the parents received the sacrament of matrimony when their children were baptised.

Fr. Guiseppe di Santa Maria[2], a Carmelite Friar, passed through Canara in 1656-1657 on his way to Malabar. He says that Fr. Spinola S. J.[3] was the only priest of 6000 Christians scattered throughout the kingdom of

1. For a full description of the siege and capitulation read "Selections from the Records of the Madras Government: Dutch in Malabar." Dutch Records No. 13, PP. 10-14.

2. This barfooted Carmelite was appointed by Pope Alexander VII. He reached Malabar in 1660, and returned to Europe in 1663.

3. This priest lived in Honavar.

Shivappa Naik. The king, he says, though a gentile was extremely kind and evidently "inclined to our religion."[1]

In 1660 Dr. Joseph Sebastiani the first Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, and Fr. Vincento Maria de Santa Catharina passed through Canara on their way to Rome. According to them the spiritual desolation in Canara was most pitiable and they thought it their duty to bring the state of affairs to the notice of the Pope.[2]

Bishop Mathew de Castro also informed the Vatican authorities the miserable state of Christianity in the Dioceses,of Malacca, Meliapore and Cochin. Rome undertook the appointment of a Pastor in these tracts.

Nor was the situation clear with the Ikkeri Rulers. Portuguese power was clearly on the decline. By a treaty of April 20, 1671, the Portuguese were allowed to build factories in Mangalore and Barkur. But they were not permitted to construct double walls around the factories. They could not maintain oil distilleries. They were obliged to use the local weights and measures. Tax was levied on trade and what was most irksome, they could not kill Brahmins and cows, and could not convert the local people to the Christian faith.

But in 1664 negotiations between the Portuguese and the Bednore king were resumed. The Bednore king sent an ambassador to Goa with a present of 6000 fardles of rice and and offered to restore the forts of Mangalore, Barcelore and Honore to the Viceroy of Goa. Narna Molla (Narayan Malya) was deputed to negotiate on behalf of the Bednore kings.[3] In the meantime the Dutch appeared off the coast of Barcelore. This created complications.

Judging the weakness of the Portuguese, and the decayed state of the Bednore Empire, the Mahratta king Sambhaji planned an expedition to Anjediva and from there a leap on Canara. But Viceroy Conde de Alvor took immediate steps to counter the activities of the

1. Memoria Historico Ecclesiastice du arquidiocese de Goa. Mons Leonard Paes: Promptuario das Definicois Indicas.

2. Vincent Mary of St. Catherine: Viaggio all Indie Orientali' Rome, 1672.

3. Moraes: Mangalore, PP. 34–35.

Maratha Chieftain. Acting on the resolution of the military officers passed on 27th April 1682, an expedition of 4 ships and 200 men with necessary material was sent to Anjediva. The work of the fortification commenced on 5th May 1682. The Viceroy ordered the commandant Amaro Simao Pereira to fix on the following inscription: "Orders of the Viceroy Conde Alvor to fortify this island in 1682 to Amaro Simao Pereira, first Governor of this fort."[1]

Under the government of Conde de Alvor, Franciscans settled on this island. They built the church of Our Lady of Brotas in 1682. Francis Juao de Pesoa was missionary in Anjediva in 1692. On June 22, he represented to His Majesty the great fruit which the mission had done in the Archdiocese and prayed that he should be appointed parish priest of this church and get an allowance of 18 seraphins. Owing to his incompetence he was not appointed the parish priest, but the allowance was allotted to the church. Even this was reconsidered on 10th December 1695 favourably to the priest.

In consideration of the whole situation on 17th December 1674 the Propaganda appointed D. Thomas de Castro, Vicar Apostolic. In spite of the opposition of the Portuguese ambassador for about 7 months, the decree was brought into force on 30th July 1675.[2]

He was made the titular Bishop of Fulsivila and Vicar Apostolic of Malacca, Meliapore and Cochin.

Thomas de Castro, nephew of Mathew de Castro was born in Divar of a Brahmin family. While a youth, he accompanied his uncle to Rome and joined the Theatine Order of St. Sylvester in Rome.[3] At Rome he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and Theology and was

1. The following was added on the inscription in 1751: "In the year 1751 ordered again Marquis de Tavora Viceroy of India to tenant Colonel Governor Anton Pedro disreis de Silva to repair all the ruins and clear them."

2. Archivio della Sacra Congragazione di Propaganda Fide: Acta, 1674, f. 362, r. and v., n. 35; f. 368 r, n. 6; 1675 f. 197 r, n. 44.

3. Bibliotheque des Theatins, nomi e cognomi de padri e fratelli professi della congr. de Chierici, Regolari, S. d. 15th February 1632.

prefect of Novices.

Dom Castro arrived in India in 1677 by the overland route through the deserts of Syria and Babylonia, to escape the Portuguese vessels. He knew that the Portuguese and the Padroado had no love for him.

Neither were the Portuguese his only enemies. "The Indian Bishop was a Theatine and the Theatines had a monastery in Goa. They had learned of his admission to the Order with a very bad grace. 'Rome has made a very great blunder in admitting him to our holy institute and it would be a very godly action to keep him in Europe.' The reasons for this aversion to a native confrere are very frankly explained for us in a letter of Fr. Gallo to his Superior in Rome 'The Brahmins', according to him, were held in such contempt by the Portuguese that the Theatine Order would be dishonoured if it allowed them to assume its habit and profession. ' The Portuguese dislike them extremely. They do not even invite them to sit down when they receive them as visitors, even though they are priests. What an honour it would be for our Order if a Theatine were not judged worthy to sit down but had to stand before an ordinary layman who remained himself seated " Accordingly some months after the arrival of Thomas de Castro, the Theatines of Goa, despite the insistence of Rome, decided no longer to admit any Indian into their order. They enforced this resolution by a vow so as to put themselves beyond the pale of their superiors in order to avoid making themselves absolutely odious to the Portuguese."[1]

D. Thomas was fully aware of these moves. But resolutely he set to work and established his headquarters at Bangalore. From there he sent a copy of the Bull of his

1. Pierre Charles S. J.: Fr. Joseph Vas. The statement appears to be queer, but it is a fact. The Theatine Order founded by Italian priests during the years 1650–1655 admitted at first till 1750 only Europeans; and since 1751 they admitted Indians also, but only Brahmins. But there is only one exception. In 1831 D. Joseph Avelino do Rosario Dias of Camorlim, a Charodo, was admitted. There are other Orders also who practised these rules. The congregation of St. Philip Neri established in 1682 admitted only Brahmins. The congregation of St. John of God or Hospitalers founded in 1681 admitted only Charodos.

nomination to Archbishop Brandau. He then duly commenced his work. Starting from Barcelore (Barkur) he began celebrating marriages, administering sacraments and so on. Barkur was a very important place at this time and had many Catholics. He did the same thing in Mulky, Kalyanpur and other places.

D. Brandau had an inkling of this new appointment. Whatever it is, it curtailed his jurisdiction and he considered that the Holy See could not do it.

Knowing that D. Thomas would exercise his jurisdiction over Canara, and before the receipt of the copy of the Bull sent by D. Thomas, D. Brandau forbade all Christians of Canara to recognise D. Thomas as their Prelate or to receive the Sacraments at the hands of his missionaries until he produced the Bulls giving him jurisdiction.[1] This was possibly in 1677.

The reply of D. Thomas to the Pastoral was that he in his turn excommunicated all the Christians who preferred obedience to the Missionaries of Goa.[2]

Don Brandau died on 6th July 1678. From this time to 1681, the Archdiocese was governed by the Chapter.

The Dutch followed up their Cochin victory and pursued the Portuguese on the coast towards the north. They established a factory in Mangalore[3] and were proceeding towards Barcelore and Karwar. They already got leave to found a factory at Karwar to the great dissatisfaction of the English who were already established there.[4] In 1674 they occupied the fort of Barcelore, and settled there permanently. In their administration they were bitterly opposed to Portuguese priests but preferred Indian priests.

On the top of all this, there was the attempt of Thomas de Castro to extend his own jurisdiction over all Canara. Missionaries were already sent by him to Canara.

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1. Mitras: I. 184–185. This date is confirmed by Memoria Historia Ecclesiastica da arquidiocese de Goa 1533–1933, Nova Goa, 1933.

2. Mitras: I, 185.

3. In 1675 Fryer observes in Mangalore a port of the Dutch and 6 miles to the north the French had a flag flying.

4. English factories 1661–1664 PP. 238–239.

These were also Goan priests ordained by him.

But there was a silver lining in the clouds. The Portuguese at this time were able to defeat the Bednore Queen Chinnammaji and thus were able to wrest some privileges from her.

In the treaty which they signed with the Bednore ruler in the year 1678, the following clauses appear: the king should compel the Christians to be obedient to their priests in things appertaining to the Christian law; he should allow the priests to punish them for their violation of the law. The king should put an end to the practice of obliging the Christians to prepare fireworks at the feasts of their Pagodas.[1] No one was to be made a Christian against his will.[2]

By this treaty, Churches and factories were allowed to be built at Mirjan, Chandavar, Honavar, Bhatkal and at Kalyanpur.[3]

After the church was built at Chandavar, the statue of St. Francis Xavier, which was at Mirjan, was brought to Chandavar and installed in the church there. Chandavar was an important custom's station in the Bednore Empire and 30,000 to 40,000 pack bullocks used to come here with goods.

Besides this, the Queen was forced to give to the Portuguese 30,000 seraphins against the cost of the war, and 1500 bags of rice. It is also related that the factories of the Arabs were to be destroyed and lastly the Queen ceded to the Portuguese the monopoly of trade at Bhatkal and at Kalyanpur.

This treaty was a triumph for the Portuguese.

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1. This practice is mentioned by Moens.

2. The terms of this treaty had evident repercussions on the intrusion of D. Thomas in Canara.

3. The Milagres church Decree book at Kalyanpur has the following entry in Kannada: "As per column 13 of the treaty entered into in the city of Goa on Dec., 15, 1678 between Antonio Paes de Sonde, Governor General of Goa, and Basappa Naik of Ikkeri Sansthana the said king has agreed to grant a site for and to permit the construction of a church at Kalyanpur and to grant aid towards the building." Basappa was the agent of Queen Chinnammaji.

At this time Pe. Jose Vas[1] was ordained and was living a very saintly life in Goa. His repute was such that he was appointed confessor and adviser to Governor Don Domingo da Costa. Jose Vas heard of the great persecution of the Christians in Ceylon and he asked for permission from the Chapter of Goa to be sent to Ceylon. This he did on the advice of one Conig, who perceived in this young priest sterling qualities of missionary career.

But when he approached the Chapter of Goa with this request, the lattar advised him to go to Canara which, they said, equally deserves missionary labour; and that perhaps Christianity in Canara was in a worse state than in Ceylon. The Chapter appointed him therefore Vicar Vara of Mangalore.

Obedient to the orders of the Chapter, Jose Vas accepted the offer and together with his young nephew Jose Carvalho[2] started for Canara in March 1681. He also took with him a few servents.

Barefooted he travelled from Goa by the overland route along the coast. Traversing the kingdom of Sunda he came to Honavar where he found a single Portuguese missionary. Wherever he went he mixed with the people, associated himself with them and when he found any poor or sick people, he distributed to them whatever little money he had brought with him. Until at last it so happened that when he reached Mangalore, he had nothing left with him and had to live on the generosity of the people.

The saintly priest could judge for himself the state of Christianity in Canara. At every important place marriages were celebrated and sacraments were administered by the Missionaries of De Castro.

This was the situation that Jose Vas had now to handle. Unlike D. Thomas, Jose Vas was a man of mild disposition. His patience and humility helped him in this

1. Pe Jose Vas was the son of Christopher Vas and Maria de Miranda. He was born on Friday 21st April 1651. He was the brightest of the children. In a note by the father, it is mentioned that he wrote that "he will one day be a great man."

2. Later he was ordained a priest and he joined the uncle in Ceylon.

situation. On his arrival in Mangalore, the first thing that he found was that there was no trouble from the Dutch, because both De Castro and himself were Indians and not Portuguese.

At the very outset, he was encountered with the spiritual jurisdiction of a rival Prelate who claimed bona-fide jurisdiction over all Canara. On the other hand, he found himself the spiritual head in Canara of the Padroado of Goa; but he had practically no followers except the factory church at Mangalore. He was fully aware that the contest for supremacy would be ruinous to both parties and a scandal to the flock. He could not either openly disobey the orders of D. Brandau nor could he submit to the Vicar Apostolic. D. Brandau had alleged that D. Thomas had forged the papal documents.

The first thing that Jose Vas did was that he travelled to Bangalore, the headquarters of D. Thomas and requested him to show him the documents and prove his claims. After a careful perusal and examination of all the documents, Jose Vas was completely satisfied that they were genuine.

The only course under the circumstances was a compromise. The dispute was to be referred to the Chapter of Goa. This was done by a letter dated 16th September 1681. It says:- "Being desirous of remedying this matter as far as it lies in me, and fearing that it might be said of me nolluit intelligere ut bene ageret; I went to his Lordship the Bishop who showed me the original of the Brief that gave him jurisdiction, in which besides other places, this land of Canara and the port of Mangalore are named. He also showed me a letter of our late Vicar General stating that a copy of the Brief sent to him was referred to the Chapter of Goa and that the question of jurisdiction would soon be settled. Seeing these documents I was in doubt. Though for the peace of my own conscience it is enough that you sent me here as your Vicar and that I follow the example of my predecessor and that of the vicars of the neighbourhood, yet in order to secure the effect and fruit of the sacraments and for mutual peace, I begged his Lord-

ship the Vicar Apostolic to delegate his jurisdiction to me conditionally in case it was really his, promising in the meantime to report the matter to you and obtain a decision and begging him to withold excommunications. The proposal seemed good to him and he granted my request. Having thus informed you of my action, I profess myself ready to carry out any order you may give. But to proceed properly in the matter I beg you first of all to pardon my ignorance if I have acted in a manner contrary to my duty Secondly I beg you to be pleased to inform me whether the faithful living in the whole realm of Canara are of our jurisdiction or only those of certain parts; and in the lattar case what those parts are. For not to mention the remote districts those of Bantulla, Arcolla and Molky depend on Mangalore: those of Batticalo, Sirul, Kalyanpur and Gandalya go to the Vicar of Barcelore for their Easter duties or to the priest of Gandalya if there is one at any time: those of Combola and Chandor go to the Father at Honavar. About the distance between these places you can inquire from Father Manoel de Themudo S. J. or Father Antonio Francisco da Cunha, Vicar of St. Anne or from others who have been Vicars here.

Thirdly if all these places are of our jurisdiction I beg you to send a Vicar atleast to Barcelore for the people are far from both Honavar and Mangalore. And there are many people eager to go to church and frequent the sacraments. I am sure your zeal and piety will not permit that the lament of Jeremias "the little ones asked for bread and there was no one to break it to them" should be verified in the case of these Catholics at a time when there are so many priests in Goa who can be sent to feed the little ones of the house of God.

In the fourth place I beg you to be pleased to state the reasons why you consider the whole of this realm or any part of it to be not under the jurisdiction of the said Bishop seing that all are included in his Brief so that I can satisfy him and my own conscience."[1]

1. Mss. of Sebastian do Rego in his history of the Oratory.

It was agreed between Jose Vas and Bishop de Castro that till the dispute was decided by Goa, Jose Vas was to have the spiritual jurisdiction over Canara and thus Bishop De Castro was not to interfere there.

Temporary peace was thus restored. Jose Vas found himself temporarily at least the spiritual head of all Canara under Goa.

Luckily enough, the Chapter shelved this question entirely. For what reason they did so, is not clear. It is possible that they shirked the responsibility to handle the great problem of jurisdiction, and wanted to leave it to the Archbishop, whom they expected to arrive in Goa early and who possibly could have some personal knowledge of the whole problem himself.

But the storm was yet to burst. On 20th September 1681 Dom Manuel De Souza Menezes arrived in Goa as the Archbishop. A man of great learning and piety, he is considered as one of the great protagonists of the Padroado, and one of the greatest ecelesiastics who adorned the office of the Archbishopric of Goa.

The above cited letter sorely puzzled D. Manuel. To him it was almost a heresy that a subordinate of his who has been specially sent down to Canara to counteract the measures of D. Thomas should address such an epistle to him. The only alternative was the immediate recall of Jose Vas.

But providence intervened. A Jesuit priest[1] had gone from Mysore to Goa. In an interview with archbishop Minezes, he spoke of Fr. Vas's qualities of head and heart. He further stated that his saintliness was universally acknowledged in Canara, that he himself had seen him in Barcelore while at prayer raised above the ground and surrounded by a halo of light.[2]

This favourable report of the Jesuit disspelt all suspicion from the mind of the Archbishop. On the other hand, he had a high opinion of his abilities. As a result he confirmed him in his post as Vicar Forane and sent 3 zealous

1. It was Fr. Themudo S. J.
2. Vida de Jose Vaz P. 81.

missionaries to work in Canara under him. They were Nicholas de Gamboa, Jacinto de Mello and Antonio de Mello.

The Archbishop issued strict orders to the Goan Missionaries in Canara not to recognise Bishop De Castro. D. Manuel went even to the length of calling him a schismatic.[1] But the humility of Jose Vas was most edifying at this juncture. He prostrated himself at the feet of D. Thomas and most humbly implored him not to issue any more excommunications but to await the decision of Rome.[2] The dispute had by this time been submitted to the Vatican.

In spite of all the difficulties that surrounded him, Bishop De Castro set himself to work in earnest. After some years at Bangalore, he transferred his headquarters to Calicut. Here also he worked hard.

Then he came to Canara and tried to establish himself there. Through representatives of Queen Chinnammaji he got a plot of ground at Hampankatta (Milagres) where he erected a church. Here he collected some Goan boys, educated and ordained them. Through the good offices of the Queen, he secured several favours for Catholics.[3]

He died in Mangalore on 16th July 1685 aged 63 years. Conscious that he was in danger of death he appointed one of his companions, Don Antonio Falcao, Vicar General. But the latter declined to accept the burden and the Bishop's own nephew Don Joseph de Castro was appointed to the post.

But as soon as the Vicar Apostolic was dead controversies arose as regards the appointment of the Vicar General. Consequently the funeral was postponed, till the Vicar General Joseph de Castro promised not to exercise his office till the whole matter was properly decided. Accordingly some priests set out for Goa. But on the way the ship that carried them was overtaken by pirates and they were carried off as slaves.

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1. Venerable padre Jose Vaz. No. 7 Janeiro 1933, P. 108.
2. Ibid, P. 108.
3. The Queen was good both to De Castro and to Jose Vas.

After the departure of these priests the funeral took place, and the remains of D. Thomas were buried in the Milagres church built by himself. There is a marble slab to mark his grave.[1] He was buried in the sanctuary.[2]

During his tenure of office he ordained 22 priests in titulo missionis. Some failed in their vocation. They went to Goa under various pretexts and never returned.

After the death of Bishop de Castro, Queen Chinnammaji decided to resume the grant of the site of the Milagres church. But she was pursuaded not to do so and so it remained in Catholic hands.

After the death of Don Thomas, representations were made at Rome to continue the appointment of Bishops in these tracts and the name of D. Emmanuel a Costa, Bragmano, was suggested. But nothing further developed.

Thus ended the career of a prelate who brought upon himself endless trouble by accepting such a position. History has yet to decide the wisdom of Bishop de Castro. However it was not his mistake alone. The Congregation of Propaganda Fide itself tried to limit the Portuguese jurisdiction to Portuguese territories or dominions. D. Thomas was only a victim of this policy.

Taking advantage of the situation created by the death of the Archbishop, Pe. Jose Vas decided to retire from Canara. He asked the Goan Chapter to recall him. This was done in 1684 and the good priest retired from his difficult post with honour. Before his final retirement to Goa he asked forgiveness from the Vicar General in the absence of De Castro who was at Calicut for anything wrong he may have done. He knelt down prostrate before him and implored pardon of him. But the Vicar General treated him with great respect.

But the name of Jose Vas is a household word in

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1. The Indian Ecclesiastical Review, Mangaiore, Vol. II, P. 151 (1935).

2. But now this church no more exists and a cemetary lies in that tract. It would be useful to identify his grave. Some conjecture is made that it is somewhere near the grave of Abraham Saldanha in the lower cemetary (Alex A. Pais in the "Mangalorean" July 1948, P. 5.)

Canara. In spite of the great difficulties that he had to encounter, he obtained a great measure of success in his missionary enterprise. The Rosario Church where Jose Vas lived had a thatched roof mounted upon posts. But it was the largest church in Canara. Jose Vas reconstructed it and built two more churches : one at Barcelore and one at Gangolli. Both these were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and Fr. Vas inaugurated the Confraternities of the Blesssd Virgin in both. During his time, Gangolli had the largest number of Catholics.

Works are attributed to him in Canara that we read only in the lives of great saints or heroes. The conversion of an apostate from Christianity at the court of the native Rajah is only one of the many achievements accomplished by Pe. Vas in our land. Sinners repented at his very sight and heretics were converted.

But the greatest charity he did was the ransom of slaves. The political upheavals in the country had impoverished the people and many were sold into slavery. He came to the rescue of these people and practically exhausted all the money not only that he had but also which was with his retinue. Not satisfied with this, he even raised loans trusting to Providence. But he ransomed all the slaves, at least those who were brought to his notice.

But he had his enemies too. Once he was taken by some Christians to a field and severely beaten. It is not known what happened to these ruffians, but the field in which Jose Vas was knocked down and beaten is fallow to this day.[1] In another instance, he was called to Ullal at night for confession. But his companions took him to a deep jungle[2] and threatened to murder him. Jose Vas knelt down with his stick and prayed. Immediately there was light as day. The murderers immediately left and

1. Fr. Irineu Lobo S. J.: "Dor Mhuineachi Rotti". December 1943, P. 294.

2. Ibid. The place is called Mudapu hill within the jurisdiction of Fajir parish. A small chapel is put up there by the parish priest Pe. Salvador Rodrigues.

dispersed. To this day at the place where Jose Vas knelt are seen three holes on the rock, two of his legs, one of the stick on which he supported himself. All the three holes contain water, but one contains water all the year round upto the present day. The water in the hole is not flowing.

The work of Fr. Jose Vas in Canara is not yet properly recorded. He was possibly the greatest missionary that ever worked in Canara. Though hampered on all sides over the issue of jurisdiction, he had time to convert non-christians, ransom captives, reconcile enemies, settle family disputes, relieve the indigent and attend the sick whether Christian or not. It is thus he endeared himself to all. Throughout Canara he erected a large number of so called Irmidades where periodically he celebrated festive occasions to keep alive and animate the spirit of the true Faith.

The foundation of Irmidades was a great work accomplished by Jose Vas. He was compelled to do this for want of priests. What he did was that he constructed small huts and asked the people to gather there and recite their prayers. Once a year or oftner he used to attend the place himself or send a priest and celebrate a feast with great pomp. It was thus that he kept alive the faith among the Christians.

The work of both Jose Vas and Bishop de Castro has been much appreciated by the Catholics of Canara. In their address to the first secular Bishop of Mangalore Mons Valerian D' Souza, the following has been aptly inserted: "To the Goan clergy also we give our due respect. Among them we specially choose the famous Bishop Dom Thomas de Castro and the holy Pe. Jose Vas. ....."

On his return to Goa Jose Vas organised a new Order on the lines of the Oratorians.[1] In March 1686 he left Goa for good by the coastal route and passed through Canara again. He saw that the double jurisdiction had

1. This new Order was called at first Milagristas in Goa, and in Canara also it was known by the same name.

practically ended and Pe. Nicholas de Gamboa was the spiritual head of all the Catholics. Pe. Jose Vas entreated the superior of the newly founded Order to send some priests to Canara. Accordingly Pe. Joseph de Menezes was despatched to Canara. Pe Jose Vas remained in Canara for about 9 months exerting himself in the same way as before.[1] In January 1687, he proceeded to Malabar and was not heard of in Canara.[2]

Under instructions from Pe. Jose Vas more priests of his Congregation were sent to Canara. Among them is Pe. Migel de Mello who founded the church of Minin Jesu at Bantwal in 1702. Another illustrious priest that worked in Canara at this time and who belonged to this Order was Pe. Jacome Goncalves.[3]

In 1683, on the invasion of Goa by the Mahrata Chief Sambhaji, many Christian families from Bardes fled from Goa and settled in Canara.[4] Bardes was a province which was evangelised by the Franciscans. With the communidades at their disposal they worked out and built the famous church of Colvale which was destroyed by Sambhaji in 1683.

These families sailed from Goa in country crafts. Among their belongings were copies of the Christian Purana of Fr. Thomas Stephens.

It is narrated by the historian that in this voyage there was a heavy storm. The Christians were almost desperate, and all knelt down and recited devoutly the Purana and the storm abated.

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1. Pereira: Fr. Joseph Vas, P. 37.

2. Pe. Jose Vas entered Ceylon in April 1687 and died on Friday, 16th January 1711 in Ceylon.

3. This veteran priest and Pe. Migel De Mello both joined later Pe. Jose Vas in Ceylon. Pe. Jacome Goncalves succeeded Jose Vas in 1711. He is an illustrious priest and is the author of 33 works in the Singalese language.

4. It is significant that the language and other manners and customs of South Canara Christians resemble those of the people of Bardes. This confirms that they are from Bardes. The immigration of the four Gonsalves brothers happened possibly at this time. They came from Siridiam in Bardes (Gonsalves Family Mss.).

This is only one of those series of immigrations from Goa into Canara. The immigration was mostly from Bardes. When they emigrated they brought with them their communidades and they retained their rights for 'Zon'.[1]

Along, they brought also ideas about their custom of primogeniture. The eldest male in direct line was always given the ancestor's name.[2]

The Vicar General appointed to succeed De Castro died in 1700 and with his death ceased all double jurisdiction in Canara and Pe. Nicholas Gamboa became the Vicar Forane under Goa with spiritual jurisdiction over all Canara.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF BEDNORE.

1700—1763

By dint of selfless work, the Bednore rulers carved out a large empire for themselves and governed it in such a manner that it excited the admiration not only of the rulers of the Deccan but also of the foreigners. The foreign travellers who passed through this country have given glowing accounts of this empire and its rulers. Endowed by nature itself, the hand of man was but the instrument that led to its greatness and riches; and this was accomplished by rulers like Venktappa Somashekhara and Shivappa. "Canara" writes Julius Valentign Sten van Golonesse in 1743, "borders in the south on Colastry, the river Nileshwaram runs between the two and it is the last country on the Malabar coast. It abounds in everything especially rice, being the granary of many nations and particularly of the Portuguese at Goa who annually send a large number of vessels, known as the rice armada under convoy of some battleships to protect them against Angrian pirates, to this kingdom and keep a Resident in Mangalore in a

1. See Appendix No. 9.
2. This practice is found to this day in South Canara.

small fort."[1]

"Canara" writes Adrian Moens in 1781, "is one of the countries most favoured by nature and most fertile and most rich, it may be, which lie on this side of the peninsula".[2] "The country of Canara", says Baldeus, "is very fertile in rice and other necessities of human life. Its inhabitants commonly called Canarins[3] are very robust and fit for all manner of hard labour".

These statements bear witness to the work of the Bednore chiefs. The greatness of Canara was the greatness of the Bednore Empire. The Kol Kannam[4] of Sangham literature was converted into the richest granary of rice and among the communities which played an important role in this transformation was the Christian community. But strange are the ways of Providence. In this kingdom where there was no want and where every thing was in plenty a terrible famine appeared in the year 1727 caused by the failure of monsoon. It was the greatest famine that ever appeared in Canara. Parents were selling their children in Mangalore in order to get support for themselves.

Shivappa Nayaka died in 1660, and he left behind him an empire powerful enough to repel any aggression. But after his death decline set in. The end of the century witnessed the reign of Queen Chinnammaji (1672-1698) during whose reign court intrigues were rampant. The administration deteriorated and expenditure ran high Shivappa's standard Shisth was ignored and to meet the growing expenditure of the court, taxation was increased. During the time of Shivappa, i. e. about year 1660, the standard rent was 4, 50, 653 star pagodas. From this was deducted 23% for Inams, 19% for deficiency of the standard rent, 9% for fallow lands, and 1% for tunkas i. e. in all

1. Dutch in Malabar, P. 75. 2. Dutch in Malabar, P. 152.

3. Canarins are Shenvis of Canara. The Dutch have always used the word Canarins for Shenvis.

4. Kol Kannam is a word used in the earliest Tamil literature for Keralapatti including Canara. Literally it means no man's land i. e. a reclaimed land where any body could settle; land used for hunting and cattle rearing. Some writers trace the origin of the word Konkan to Kol Kannam.

52%. This Shisth or standard rent came to 2, 02, 226 star pagodas. To this, the Rani added 64, 370 star pagodas. This increase of land taxation caused much discontent, which burst out in Hyder's time and culminated in the catastrophe of the captivity.[1] Every section of the community that cultivated lands was affected by it. The Christians also who cultivated a vast tract of Canara were affected and became discontented with the ruling dynasty.

The foundation of the Bednore empire and the inauguration of the Portuguese India Empire almost coincide. The fortunes of the two were almost interlinked. The Portuguese direly needed Canara both for trade and for rice. Portugal did as much as it could for the development of Canara. In the troublous days of the Mahratta invasions the emigration that was taking place from Goa was directed partly to Canara. A Government report of 1747 states: "Besides this, many Christians about 5000 fled to the missions[2] from Bardes, Salcette and Tiswadi and afterwards lived there due to the invasion of the Mahrattas".[3] Both the Bednore Rulers and the Portuguese encouraged emigration, the former for cultivation and the latter for export of rice. The exact number of the emigrants cannot be stated definitely. But a considerable number of Goans came from Goa and settled in Canara.[4]

The hold that Portugal had over Canara was indeed strong. A letter of 1782 says: "The kingdom of Canara always paid to the Crown of Portugal a certain tribute or tax which is called pareas. The crown of Portugal has

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1. This aspect has not yet been considered by any author. Queen Chinnammaji's wanton increase of taxation is the foundation of that dissatisfaction with the rulers which ultimately resulted in the betrayal of Tippu by the Christians. At first the idea was that the king should not levy any assessment. But later the right of the King to levy taxation was conceded. But once the assessment was fixed it was the general conviction that the state has no right to increase the rate of taxation. The Christians were ready to fight this to the bitter end.

2. Missions means Canara. 3. Panjim Archives.

4. This emigration was mostly of Christian Brahmins. See Ravenshaw's letter (Appendix No. 6). He calls them Conguny Brahmins.

ever had in that kingdom the port of Mangalore and in it a factory with artillery and a military garrison; and where there was hoisted a Portuguese flag as a symbol of the dominion which it had over it. And thus the Portuguese subjects carried on in that said port of Mangalore, as in those of Barcelore, Cundanor (Cundapur) and others of Canara a free trade even with a privilege of rebate in rice called adnamos and always the Portuguese missionaries enjoyed a free and safe entry in the said kingdom making their abundant crops in conversions and in the administration of Sacraments to the great number of Christians who have established themselves there. The former and even the present Viceroys and Governors of India took great care to maintain and keep safe that settlement and the privileges, exemptions and prerogatives and liberties pertaining to it not only for the benefits mentioned above but especially on account of the extraction of pepper which is a very important branch of our trade, and the export of rice which is not to be got in the Portuguese dominions for subsistence of more than six months in the years of plentiful crops."[1]

Thus under the powerful political arm of Portugal Christianity developed in Canara, though a rude shock was given to it in the 17th century by the inroads of the Dutch.

In the 18th Century, the Dutch influence weakened and the Archbishops of Goa commenced to take active interest in the Mission of Canara. The jurisdiction of the Propaganda had passed off, but there was the danger that it might be revived; to prevent this, the Archbishops of Goa had to be in closer touch with Canara.

In 1701, the illustrious Fidalgo and Protonotary Apostolic Pe. John da Cunha was nominated Visitor of the Mission of Canara. In 1722 Archbishop Don Ignacio S. Theresa appointed Pe. Vincente de Basto, Oratorian of the Congregation of Lisbon, as Visitor in the territories of Canara and Commissary General of the same.

1. Letter of Martinho de Mello e Castro dated February 23, 1781. Panjim Archives. But see the report of Ravenshaw at appendix No. 6.

The dawn of the 18th century brought further political and economic relief for the Christians. In 1714, the Portuguese obtained a signal naval victory over the Bednore forces.

The provisions of this treaty are as follow:-

The contracting parties agreed that any disputes arising among Christians or between Christians and Hindus shall be settled by the Portuguese Factor and the Vicar, and where recourse to the Factor was not possible by the priests who may be found at the forts or in the districts of the Rajah of Canara. Any appeal from their decisions was to lie to the Government of Goa; and under no circumstances were the local governors or Thanadars to take cognizance of these matters in case of alleged injustice. Any Christian woman known to lead an immoral life was to be surrendered to the Factor for deportation to Goa, there to undergo due punishment, No trafficking in the Christians was to be permitted either on the part of the Rajah or on that of his subjects. Christians were to be exempt for imprisonment for debts. The Rajah of Canara was not to suffer any Christian either from Goa or from other Portuguese dominions to cohabit with Hindu women and should permit the Parish Priests whenever such a case occured to seize the culprit and deport him to Goa without themselves being liable to molestation from the local authorities. In the factory and the town of Mangalore and whenever there might be Christians the Portuguese were to be allowed to build churches. Priests were empowered to punish laxity in, or hostility to religion, according to their own law, for which the Rajah was expected to render every assistence; and whenever any of them happened to pass through Canara to take their abode there or in another country they were to be free from all molestation by the local Thanadars and governors as also exempt from tax in respect of any luggage they carried save on goods for sale.[1]

1. Braganza Pereira: Arquivo Portuguese Orientale Vol. III Pt. II pp. 98–99. The Naik of Ikkeri who signed this treaty was Somashekhara Naik (1713–1739).

In this treaty Christianity emerged gloriously in Canara.

Besides these provisions, the Bednore King had to give to the Portuguese 1500 Varahas, and 2900 mooras of red rice and 400 mooras of mascati rice and lastly the Arab power was finally crushed. The treaty enjoined on the Arabs not to have any factory in Canara from where they could trade.

At this time the little island of Anjediva came again to the forefront. As the old church was in disrepair, the king ordered on 28th October 1728 a new church to be built, which work was completed in 1729. It was consecrated.[1]

In 1728 Fr. Sebastian Rego was transferred from Bednore to Mangalore as the Vicar of the Rosario Church, and also as Vicar Vara in Canara.[2]

In 1740 Pe. Jacinth Manuel de Rego was nominated by the Governor of the Archbishop, Visitor of the mission of Canara with various powers. He resided at Barcelore as Vicar of the church of N. S. de Rosario. He was also Vicar Vara in Canara. In addition he was Judge of Justifications in the district. While in Canara it is stated that he issued two pastoral circulars.[3]

Between 1740 and 1751 Pe. Peter Rodrigues was appointed Visitor of the Mission of Canara. On October 27, 1751 Pe. John Gonsalves of Chorao was appointed his successor by order of the Archbishop Nieva Brum. The same Archbishop appointed in the same year Pe. Caitan Francis Couto of Panjim Vicar Forane.[4]

1. The consecration marks are still to be seen. By a letter of 25th February 1897, a sum of Rs. 2300/- was allotted for the repairs of this church. But the work was not carried out. In 1945 one corridor came down. In that year Archbishop Costa Nunes visited this church and recommended serious repairs. This was carried out.

2. This eminent priest was a great scholar; he studied the whole work of Pe. Jose Vas and wrote a treatise on that. It could not be published as he suspected it would not get the approval of Portugal. It is still in Mss. Some original documents of Jose Vas etc. are to be found here.

3. Mitras I. 4. Mitras I.

In December, 1750, two secular priests Frs. John Baptist Falcao and Francis Xavier dos Angos founded in Goa (Chimbel) the congregation of the Third Order of Cloistered Carmelites. It was duly approved both by the Archbishop and the Viceroy. Archbishop D. Fr. Manuel de Santa Catherina took the new congregation under his protection. He drew up new rules on 11th July 1785 and built for them a convent and a church in Chimbel. The new rules were confirmed by Pope Pius VI on 26th April 1790 and royal consent was obtained in 1791.[1]

By a provision of 14th July 1772, Pe. Jose Francisco Alvares of Margao was made Vicar of Milagres in Mangalore, and by a provision of 5th October 1759 he was transferred to Quirem where he remained till 1761.[2]

In 1752, Pe. Caetano Domingos Lobo of Pomburba was appointed Vicar of Rosario at Mangalore. He became also Vara of Mangalore.[3]

Pe. Caetano Peres de Silva of Neura was Vicar of the Rosario Church and Vara of Mangalore from 1759–1766. (Prov. 26th November 1759). He was Visitor of the churches in the Varados of Barcelore and Honor (Prov. 15th October 1762).

Besides these activities, various other missions also effected their entries into this tract. The Jesuits were among the first. At the beginning of the 18th century they had the mastery over Anjediva. With two churches, two colleges, and one seminary in it, they were practically masters over a population of 700 souls. Towards the end of that century they extended their activities to the mainland. The highly commercial centre of Ankola[4] was chosen and a church founded there. From here they extended further inland. The next place was Shiveshwar, another commercial highway between Goa and the Deccan via

1. Like some others mentioned above at P. 61 n. this Order was restricted only to Charodos.

2. He was then transferred to Raia in Goa (1761–1762).

3. His life is printed in A Vida of 12th January 1951. He was Desamb. da Rel. Ecles.

4. The old Ankola church is still to be seen at Baleguli.

Supa.[1]

Shiveshwar is five miles north of Karwar. Here also a church was founded. On the same highway is Supa and two miles from Supa is Joida. Here they had a college and two residences. Though the Bijapur supremacy was extinguished in 1683 when Bijapur surrendered to the Moghal army, the tract owned by Bijapur in Canara, was already captured by the Sondas in 1672. Supa contained the great shrine of Virashaivism at Ulvi, and hence this place was an important one in the Sonda kingdom. From Supa they proceeded further into the interior. In 1725, the Mission of Azrem (Belgaum District) was founded with the church dedicated to the Lady of the Rosary. It was maintalned by alms. In 1740, the Mission of Atticuru (Is it Kittur?) near Azrem was founded with the church of Our Lady of Miracles.

But the activities of the Jesuits were short lived. In 1759 Pombal expelled the Jesuits from the Portuguese dominions. By a royal letter of 1st April 1760, the Jesuits of the Province of Salcette were gathered in the Rachol college and kept there for few days. From there they were taken to old Goa and kept there in convents together with other Jesuits. On 20th May 1761, all these Jesuits sailed from Goa in the boat Nossa Senhora da Conceicao a S. Vincente Ferrer. All the properties belonging to the Jesuits in Canara were sold by orders of the Portuguese Government and the sale proceeds were appropriated by the Government.[2]

In the place of the Jesuits, the Chimbel Carmelites succeeded to these churches. Under instructions from the Marquis of Pombal dated 26th March 1759, the churches of Azrem, Khanapur[3] and Tumericoppa were[4] were handed

1. The church at Mudgeri is still to be seen. It has got an old cemetary.

2. An article on the expulsion of Jesuits by Pombal is written by Fr. Francis Xavier Gomes Catao in the "Annuario" of the Rachol Seminary for the year 1948–49.

3. It received from the Treasury a grant of Seraphins 226-04-02.

4. This old and large Mission received from the Treasury Seraphins 226-04-02.

over to them. In their turn the Carmelites started in 1760 the mission of Quintur (Kittur in Belgaum district) with the church dedicated to Our Lady of Carmel.

Another missionary congregation that settled was that of the Discalced Carmelites of the Italian Congregation. These Carmelites had a convent in Goa dedicated to the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel from the year 1621.[1] The Italian Carmelites continued to work in

1. The Discalced Carmelites i. e. the Reform of the old Carmelite Order by St. Teresa of Jesus started in Spain. The Spanish Fathers were not anxious to see the Reform of St. Teresa spreading outside Spain, but Pope Clement VIII got some 30 Discalced Carmelites and with them he started a new branch of the said Reform (with the same rule, constitutions and spirit even as their Spanish Brethren) on 13th November 1600 and called it the Congregation of Italy. This new "Congregation of Italy" was animated with a great missionery spirit and it spread all over the other countries of Europe: very soon also it sent out some fathers to the mission field. The first batch of Discalced Carmelite Missionaries from the "Italian Congregation" went to Persia. They left on 30th June 1604. Three of them left Rome on 6th July 1604 and arrived at Isphahan (Persia) on 2nd Deeember 1607. From there with the help of Portuguese merchants, they made a new foundation at Ormuz (Persian Gulf) on 16th July 1612; but they visited other places with the help of Portuguese merchants f. i. one went to Goa to find out the possibility of a foundation. Fr. Louis Francis of the Mother of God went in May 1613 from Ormuz with some merchants to Tatta (in Sind). It was a busy port near the mouth of the Indus. That was then the first time a Discalced Carmelite Father came to India. It was however only in 1618 that the said Father succeeded in getting a permanent house. The first batch of Discalced Carmelite missionaries came to Goa in 1619. They founded there a great convent under Rev. Father Leander of the Annunciation (a Spaniard). The foundation was properly made on 25th April 1620, but the building was only finished in 1621, the offices in their church [dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel] started on 16th July 1621. The canonical erection from Rome was only on 23rd June 1623. The same Fr. Leander made also a foundation in Diu on 12th December 1628. The Malabar Vicariate Apostolic was erected on 3 Dec. 1659 and was entrusted to the Discalced Carmelites. A new house [hospice] was erected in Surat on 8th October 1686. The Carmelite Superiors General at Rome approved the acceptance of the Mission of the Great Moghal by these Fathers on 15th November 1696, the first Vicar Apostolic was Fr. Peter Paul of St. Francis. The convent

Goa as Missionaries. But some how they incurred the displeasure of the Portuguese Government, and of the other Portuguese missionaries. At last in 1709 an order was issued from Portugal not only to expel the Carmelites, but to seize them and bind them and get them to Lisbon as robbers. P. F. John Baptist of S. Teresa was Vice-Provincial of this Order in Goa.

When these Carmelites got an inkling of this order in Goa, leaving every thing behind, they fled from Goa to the territory of the Grand Moghal at Bijapur. D. Mauritius was Vicar Apostolic of the Grand Moghal at this time. On the arrival of the Carmelites in his territory, he sent P. F. John Baptist in the territories of Bijapur and Sunda to find out an appropriate place to found a Mission; at last P. F John Baptist selected Sunkery[1] where the English had also a factory. The Englishmen themselves gave them a place in their own grounds and here the Carmelites built a small church and residence. This was in April 1709.

D. Mauritius resided here from 1712 to 1717,and P.F. John Baptist Maria was his Vicar General. In 1717 the latter was made the 5th Vicar Apostolic of Malabar and

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with church was built in Surat in 1761. In 1708 or 1709, there arose a quarrel between the Carmelites of Goa and the authorities there, due to their foreign nationality. It is said that they were ordered to take an oath of allegience to the king of Portugal. On their refusal their church and convent were confiscated and given to the Oratorians, and they were expelled from the Portuguese dominions. Some were deported to Portugal; others fled to Sunkery. The last letter of Propaganda using the title Vicar Apostolic of the Great Moghal is dated 1832. Next year for the first time they wrote Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, a title which continued till the establishment of the Hierarchy in 1886. The first Carmelite Vicar Apostolic Fr. Peter Paul of St. Francis [secular name Ferdinand Palma-Pignatelli] was appointed Vicar Apostolic of "Idalcan Golconda and the Great Moghal". This name was soon shortened into "Vicariate of the "Great Moghal" and later into simply Vicariate of the "Moghal".

1. He first came to Kadwad where the English had a large working factory. But it is said that he was stoned by the Hindus and driven away and so he afterwards went to Sunkery.

was consecrated in this small church, from which he set out for Malabar.[1] D. Mauritius then appointed P. F. Innocentius of St. Leopold missionary at Sunkery.[2] He governed the church from 1717 to 1720 when he went to Malabar.

In the beginning of the year 1720, P. F. Anastasius of S. Maria, on his return from Europe, was appointed to Sunkery; In 1721, the church which was till then of bamboo, was built of mud and stone and dedicated to Immaculate Virgin Mary. It was 78 cubits long and 22 cubits wide, and possibly one of the largest churches in India. It was blessed by P. F. Anastasius himself on 8th September 1722.

From 1725, quarrels started between the Sunda king and the English Factors at Sunkery. Afterwards, the English permanently left the place. But the plot that was given to the Carmelites was continued in their name. The same ship that took the English to Bombay carried P. F. Anastasius also to Bombay where he died on 20th March 1726.

After the death of P. F. Anastasius, P. F. Innocentius of the Presentation[3] was appointed missionary at Sunkery in 1726. But he was transferred to Malabar in 1737.[4] In the absence of a regular missionary, Sunkery mission was now entrusted to a secular priest Salvadore D'Sa, and he was in charge of it till 6th January 1740.

Towards the end of 1739 P. F. John Dominic of S. Clara came to Verapoly. Early in 1740 he arrived in Sunkery, and took charge of the Mission.[5]

On 23rd March 1752 the Vicar Apostolic D. Innocentius of the Presentation arrived in Sunkery worn out by trials and fatigue of full 15 years; and died here on

1. Great are his achievements in Malabar.

2. P. F. Innocentius had a brother Lord of Kollinitz, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Archbishop of Vienna.

3. He was a German, born in Cologne.

4. He was consecrated Coadjutor to Vicar Apostolic D. John Baptist Maria on 14th August 1746.

5. He was talking Konkani language as fluently as a Konkan man. It was difficult to distinguish him from an Indian in his talking.

6th June 1753, and was buried in the church.[1]

While P. F. John Dominic was at Sunkery, war broke out between the Portuguese and the Sunda King. The King's people thinking that this priest would ally himself with the Portuguese kept a close guard at the door of the church and did not allow the priest to leave the house. This went on for two years to the great exasperation of the priest. At last one day, the priest made preparations to leave. When the guards asked him where he was going, he replied that he was going to the king to report to him about this sort of imprisonment. At once he was set at liberty and the guards withdrew.

On 15th February 1756 he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Great Moghal. He was consecrated on 20th November at Verapoly by Dr. Florentio of Jesus, Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. Thus within 50 years of the existence of this Mission three of its missionaries viz. D. John Baptist, D. Innocentius of the Presentation and D. John Dominic of S. Clara were crowned with the mitre.

After his elevation to the Bishopric, P. F. John Dominic made Sunkery itself his residence. To assist him in his work, he brought two Carmelites of the Chimbel Monastery of Goa viz. Fr. Lazar of St. Joseph and Fr. Emmanuel of Nazareth and made one the parish priest and kept the other as his secretary. Though he had these two other priests, he attended himself to the parish work.

With the permission of the Archbishop of Goa D. Anthony de Taveira, P. F. John Dominic in February 1758 went to South Canara to administer the sacrament of confirmation. For 3 months, he travelled on foot from place to place. At the beginning of the rainy season he came back and after the rains started again and finished the whole district. In this laborious peregrination he confirmed more than 15000, and heard the confessions of people without number.

About this time, he also sent Fr. Lazar and a secular

1. Hindu and Christian alike called him a "Holy" man. In 1777, 24 years after his death, when his grave was opened Hindus themselves carried away earth from the grave out of devotion and it is said that several sick people were restored to health with this earth.

priest of Karwar, Ignatius Rebello, to the parishes of Shiveshwar and Ankola to preach and to administer the Sacraments. These missions which were in the hands of Portuguese Goan Jesuits remained abandoned because the Portuguese had imprisoned and afterwards exiled the Jesuits.[1]

The church that was built was already near to a collapse. So it was pulled down by P. F. John Dominic and the foundation was laid for a new church on 15th December 1761 and in a few months it was finished.

So from the commencement of the 18th century Christianity developed well in Canara. Several churches were built in various places and they were all provided with Vicars. The power of the Bednore and the Sonda monarchs was also rapidly on the decline and the Christians with the priests fully took advantage of the whole situation.

Thus by the middle of the 18th century Christianity was spread throughout the coastal tracts by the Padroado of Goa. The Jesuits entered from Canara and carried the Faith to distant regions of Karnatak; and the Carmelites of Sunkery continued the work.

The Christians of Canara carried on their religious duties without fear. They were much favoured by the Bednore rulers. Some of the best lands were in their hands and some became the richest landlords.

But the Ecclesiastical authorities at Goa were not content to leave them only as agriculturists or traders.

1. Although the Jesuits started these Missions, the author of the history of the Sunkery Mission P. F. Francis Xavier doubts whether they had a right to start these missions. When the Jesuits were expelled from these missions by Pombal in 1759, no effort was made by the Archbishop of Goa to send other priests to these churches. When P. F. Francis Xavier sent his own missionaries, it was objected to by the Archbishop. P. F. Francis Xavier thinks that, when the Sunkery Mission was initiated, its jurisdiction extended throughout the Great Moghal and the Sunda Kingdoms. Consequently the Jesuits were not under the Archbishop of Goa as is evident from a letter of Archbishop Taveira to Pope Benedict XIV [Printed as an Appendix to the Bullarium of the same Pope].

The more intelligent boys were selected and sent to Rachol to undergo training for the priesthood. Pe. Caetano Fernandes of Bidrul [1] was ordained by the Archbishop Nieva Brum in the Palace Chapel on 23rd September 1758. He was the son of Miguel Fernandes and Isabel de Crasto.

Pe. Jeoquim Jose Lewis of Kallianpur was ordained by the same Archbishop on 23rd September 1769. He was the son of Philip Lewis and Rosa Furtado. Pe. Manuel Caetano Pinto of Mangalore was ordained on 22nd September 1770. He was the son of Jose Pinto and Apolonia Masceranhas.[2] Thus indigeneous priests also joined the Goan clergy in Canara.

Both the Bednore and the Sonda Empires succumbed to Hyder in 1763.

CHAPTER VIII

HYDER ALI AND THE CHRISTIANS.

1763—1782

The immediate consequence of the change of Government was that bands of robbers and dacoits swarmed over both in Sonda and Canara provinces. They filled every place with plunder destruction and bloodshed. In Sonda the destruction was most. P. F. John Dominic who was in Sunkery, fearing for church property, sent all to Anjediva as a place of safety.

In 1764, Hyder sent an army to Sunkery to quell this band of robbers. The commander, a Mussalman, did his task in the most brutal manner. Everybody he came across, he ordered to be hanged. This spread terror in the whole tract. Many fled from Sunkery or took shelter in the church, both Christians and Hindus alike. They were over 600 and for one whole month they were in the

1. Bidrul is Bednore. If Pe. Fernandes is the first indigenous priest of Canara the honour goes to Bednore. There was a fairly large and cultured Christian community in Bednore itself.

2. This family is possibly from Kavur. See the two names Domingo Pinto and Salvadore Pinto [Munshi of Tippu] below.

church imploring John Dominic's help and protection.

When the gathering was reported to the Moslem general he burned with rage at John Dominic and declared that he would cut off his head with his own hand. But P. F. John Dominic despising death, rushed out of the church to meet the general himself " O wonder, the very man who a little while ago enraged, was threatening the Bishop with death, as soon as he came before him, suddenly being changed, he rose up and met the approaching Bishop with extraordinary reverence and received him with great respect". In the meeting that followed, the policy of indiscriminate punishment was given up and the people were allowed to go home. Not satisfied with this, the general placed a guard at the house of the Bishop so that nobody should molest him.

The Canara of Hyder was different from the Canara of the Ikkeris. But to both it was the greatest rice granary of the West coast. The Christians were among the leading landlords and the best and most industrious cultivators of this tract.[1] Added to this, the political arm of the Portuguese always was on their side and all this gave to the community a very high status in the eyes of Hyder.

Canara was a rich prize for him. He expected great things from this tract. To perpetuate his memory he changed the name of the capital Bednore to Hyder Nagar and since then, it is known as Nagar. The name of the town of Mangalore was changed to Courial which means Port Royal. It was his favourite site and port.

Whatever else may be said of Hyder it must be admitted that he strictly followed the policy of religious tolerance throughout his empire. "For although he was a Moor or a Mahomedan, and the kingdom of Mysore is a heathen country in which as is well known, cows are not eaten, much less killed, he gave out at once strict orders against the killing of cows and announced at the same time that every one was free in the exercise of his religion and if he was obstructed in it he might complain

1. See letters of Sir Thomas Munro; Asiatic Register 1800.

direct to himself and would obtain satisfaction.[1] Rev. Schwartz, a Protestant Missionary in one of his letters says that "What religion the people profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He had none himself and leaves every one to his choice."[2]

This principle of religious tolerance he followed from the very commencement of his conquest of Canara. The same liberties which the Christians enjoyed in the Bednore rule were continued by Hyder. It may even be said that at the outset Hyder had the same regard for the Christians as the Bednore chiefs had for them. It was his privileged community.[3]

One of the first acts of Hyder after the capture of the Bednore Empire was to be in good relationship with the Western traders. With this end in view he granted a firman to the English East India Company in May 1763 for trading in his dominions. This was only the renewal of the licence or its extension. The English had already their factory at Karwar (Kadwad) from 1638.[4]

Under these circumstances, the Archbishops of Goa continued sending missionaries to Canara as they had done before during the Bednore rule. In 1765 Pe. Caetan Peres D'Sylva was Vicar Forane in Mangalore. In 1765 Pe Jecchim Machado was Visitor of the mission of Canara. To him is attributed one important decree by which he regulated the procedure in suits etc. It is as follows:-

" From today onwards in order to maintain the peace and tranquility of this Christian realm and avoid hatreds and litigation in cases already decided before the said parish priests and Vicar Varas, whenever they may have to appeal on the same matter in case the decision has been unjust they shall do it within the time limit of 30 days before the Superior of the Mission and in his absence before the said Vicar Varas and after the lapse of this period no case shall be admitted a second time to judge-

1. Dutch in Canara, P. 151.

2. Quoted by Wilks, Mysore II, 526.

3. There are instances of various grants given by Hyder to various churches in Canara.

4. Foster: English Factories in India, 1638.

ment so that in this way justice may be observed and perpetual litigation prevented and the said parish priests who may accept for decision suits already settled before by their predecessors in office and their referees, I hereby declare suspended and the respective parties condemned, whether the suit be one for money or for anything valuable to pay one third of the value of the subject matter which will be devoted to the use of the Fabrica (Revenue destined for the repairs and maintenance of a Church) being at the same time deprived of any further right of appeal.[1]

In 1727, P. F. John Dominic again started on his pastoral visit to South Canara. But he died on 25th January 1772, at Shirvao and was buried there. After his death the Sunkery mission declined. In 1774 P. F. Gregory of the Prsesentation was the missionary at Sunkery.

On 16th August 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. Their missions and churches in India were divided between the Capuchins and Missions Etrangeres of Paris [2]

The suppression of the Society of Jesus did not affect Canara much. But a certificate issued by the secular authorities in Goa on 17th August 1842 mentions some particulars about the Jesuits in Canara. It is mentioned in that certificate that at the time of suppression there were 10 Jesuits and 57 catechists in Mysore. In the Deccan they had 4 residences and in Sonda two residences.[3] In the year 1776 chiefly by the instigation of D. Charles, the body of P. F. John Dominic was transferred by P. F. Gregory of the Presentation from Shirvao to the church in Sunkery.

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1. Mitras II 29

2. Abbe Dubois belonged to this celebrated congregation.

3. The statement that at the time of the suppression of the Society in 1773 the Jesuits had two residences in Sonda puts me in doubt whether all the Jesuits from Canara were removed by the order of Pombal in 1759 or some still continued. In my travels in the jungles of Supa I have come across big crosses raised on big laterite stands in various places round about the town of Supa. The tradition there is that they were raised on sites where Jesuit churches or residences had existed. Another strange thing that I have observed is that in the deep jungles of Joida there were a great number of statues of Christ, the Blessed Virgin

The same Fr. Gregory in the necrology speaks almost in the manner:"On 23rd January very early in the morning Fr. Gregory reached the village of Shirvao. As the parish priest was absent, he talked at once to the assistant parish priest about the intended transfer. The Assistant willingly or unwillingly gave his consent and thus on the same day at ten o'clock in the morning the body of D. John Dominic was taken from the sepulchre (tomb) which notwithstanding the decay of the clothes and the wooden coffin was sending out no unpleasant but sweet odour. At once it was wrapped in waxed linen clothes and sealed with a triple seal, lest either the people of that place or any one else might try to prevent the transfer or the crowd might be excited on account of this. Fr. Gregory carrying this with him set out for Mangalore; from there with a small boat he came to Anjediva. Since the dead Bishop had friendly relations with many of the inhabitants of that island, and had bestowed on them great benefits while alive, therefore wishing to honour the remains of their friend and benefactor they celebrated solemn obsequies in the presence of the body on 26th January. On the following day, his body was transferred to Sunkery and not only the Sodality but also numerous crowds of Christians, pagans and Moslems came to meet it. All wished to increase by their presence the pomp of funeral of their most beloved Bishop who had deserved their greatest gratitude. They came to honour him as if he had been their common father. After the prayers of the obsequies and the singing of the Office of the Dead in the church, his body was not buried but deposited in the sacristy awaiting the order of D. Charles who was staying at Bombay; then it was transferred with solemn rites and with great funeral pomp to the sepulchre.

Then on 22nd April, according to the will of D.

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and some saints scattered here and there. I saw this about 30 years ago. The Christians there told me that they belonged to the old Jesuits churches which existed there. Whatever it is the chapter on Jesuits in Canara is yet to be written. There is a tradition in Binge, a village near Karwar that some Jesuits wandered about this side after suppression of the Order and after some time sailed from Anjediva or Mangalore.

Charles, having called together many priests from everywhere with great pomp and solemn obsequies his body was buried in the church near the high altar, in the same place where the body of D. Innocent of the Presentation rests, whose tomb therefore was opened again on this occasion."[1]

P. F. Gregory of the Presentation was Vicar of Sunkery from 1717 till 17th September 1780, when P. F. Philip of all Saints took charge of the church.

The advent of Hyder was a herald to important political developments on the West coast. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the English were the three Western powers who entered India in the garb of traders.

The Portuguese were the earliest in the race. But the early difference in the policy to be followed in the East between Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy, and Alphonso Albuquerque, the conqueror, had its adverse effect.

The English on the other hand were but amateurs. While the Dutch and the Portuguese were fighting for supremacy, they remained mere traders. Little by little they entered into local conflicts[2] more with the object of securing their own trade, but at the same time to chalk cut the policy for the future.

The Deccan was impenetrable to all these three Western powers. Their greatest barrier was the Bednore kingdom. For full 200 years it foiled any attempt of the western powers to land on its shores. But at the same time the peculiar situation of this empire with its communications maintained so well afforded a study to the Western powers which they could take to advantage at any opportune moment.

Mangalore was the gateway from which radiated various routes which penetrated the Sahyadris to the centre of the kingdom, Bednore; From its heights the unknown and impregnaple Deccan was laid bare. The Gersoppa route, the Hosangadi route and a few others were the main commercial and military highways that passed through

1. History of the Sunkery Mission.
2. Report of Adrian Moens, the Dutch Governor in 1743.

the kingdom for well nigh 200 years. These were well marked and well maintained also. The Sahyadris were almost impenetrable at any other point north or south of this.

The English Factors at Karwar (Kadwad) and Onore (Honavar) had made a complete study of the whole situation. They had travelled along these very routes to places like Hubli and Bijapur and even Bednore. Robert Master, Factor of Karwar had given glowing accounts of his accounts of his adventures in these routes.[1] The relations between the English Factors and Venktappa Nayak of Bednore are too well known.[2]

To the Englishman of that day he who was in possession of Mangalore and Bednore was the master of India.[3] It was not Plassey that decided the fate of India nor Chillianwala, but the imagination of the humble English trader at Karwar and his tenacity to pursue a policy that laid the foundatians of the British rule in India and enabled the Duke of Wellington with his camp at Haliyal to subdue the greatest Indian Empire after the Moghals viz. the Mahrattas and pursue them to their own dens.

The entry was through Mangalore and rightly therefore can it be called the gateway of India.

The annexation of the Bednore Empire by Hyder laid bare the whole problem. What could not be thought of during the Bednore supremacy was seriously planned now. The solidarity of the Bednore empire was gone and it was followed by disruption and destruction throughout. The various Western powers judged Hyder differently; but in the minds of all he was but a petty local chieftain who could and should be handled as a tool.

To the Portuguese he was after all a petty[4] intruder. To the Dutch he was an upstart. But they were too feeble; nothing could be expected of them. To the English he was

1. Foster English Factories in India 1661–1664.

2. Ibid.

3. Cf. Hyder's orders to the Christians quoted in Ravenshaw's letter at Appendix No. 6.

4. The word "petty" can be contrasted to the words "king" and 'queen" used by them in reference to the rulers of Sonda and Bednore.

but a local chieftain who had arisen to some power which was not his by right. According to them he did not deserve the empire over which he was ruling and so they knew that it was a matter of time and tenacity to dethrone him.

Hyder on the other hand had his own notions about the English. That was the only race according to him, who were to be fought to the bitter end. He had his own plan of dealing with them. According to Hyder it was not possible to crush the British power in India by defeating them in one place, for they had various places to draw upon - Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and above all England- and he realised that they could not be beaten by any ordinary means. In order to create trouble for the English in India the only effective method in his opinion was to bring about a war between the English and the French in Europe. Then to set up the people of Iran and Khandahar against Calcutta and Bengal; to set up the Mahrattas against Bombay; and finally for himself to take the help of the French to attack Madras. Thus stirring wars in all the places so as to make it impossible for the people of one place to help those of another, the enemy would be destroyed and the country would become his.[1] The plan was indeed deeply laid. But its actual execution was not within his means involved as he was with foes on all sides.

Both the Portuguese and the Dutch were too impotent to achieve anything against this upstart. The task was therefore reserved for the English. Their method of interference in local feuds was already tried by them on the West coast. They had already encountered the armies of the Bednore Chiefs in Colastry and other places in Malabar. From the Dutch they had learnt how useful the military services of the native Christians[2] could be and

1. Hyder Nama in the Mysore Archeological Reports, 1930, PP. 79-106.

2. Dutch in Malabar P. 188. Adrian Moens in his Memorandum gives the following account of the Christians who were enlisted in the army; "Among Roman Catholics must also be mentioned the topasses. (Topassi comes from two words, to = two and passi = Bahashi.

many such were enrolled by them both in the army and in the navy. They were only waiting for a suitable opportunity. By the time, when Hyder was merely planning, the English took the offensive. The die was cast and both parties were obdurate. Canara was to be the battle ground.

It is in this tense situation that the Christian community cast its lot. Whether it had to take sides in this struggle at all or not is a question which defies any answer. Secondly it is difficult to say even now with whom they should have allied themselves. Thirdly, whether the whole community as such should have joined the move-

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Therefore Topass means one who speaks two languages viz. Malayalam and Portuguese). The topasses live about here and along this coast, and come to us from the Portuguese, some of them having been slaves of the Portuguese, who were emancipated and others generated by mixing with native women.

So they rather belong to the native than to the foreign element ... ... They still speak, as a rule, common Portuguese, or as it is called here, low Portuguese, but are dressed in European style, though they usually go barefoot and wear a white linen cap on the head and on top of this a hat.

There are great number of these topasses to be found along the coast of Malabar especially by the shore and near the forts of the Company. There are many in and around the town of Cochin who live by all kinds of trades, there being among them many carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths etc. There are also among them some who live only by making decorations, in which they are much skilled, for the Roman churches on feast days, also for weddings and other special occasions among us. Many of them also live by cultivation, and some enlist as soldiers in the Company's service, but these are as a rule lazy and worthless people who do not know any trade or refuse to work and hence enlist out of necessity. They can be used in a garrison for sentry duty, but I should not rely on them at all on the field or the firing line. They have besides the characteristics of the Portuguese, and are Portuguese in their hearts, as may be best seen when Portuguese arrive here from Goa and other places; for then one sees them quite in their element.

They are Roman Catholics and proselytes of the Portuguese. They are so much attached to this religion that nothing will induce them to give it up. Their superstitions outdo even those of the Portuguese and Spaniards".

ment is also a question which is difficult to answer. To judge from the results is often dangerous But it is certain that the members of the Christian community entered the service of the English and from this time the authority of Hyder was questioned by Hindu and Christian alike in Canara.

The general relations between Hyder and Christians form a chapter which has been entirely lost sight of. Hyder had two remarkable Goan priests as his personal friends. One was Bishop Noronha.[1] The other was Fr. Jeochim Miranda.

Bishop Noronha was a strange personality.

When Hyder attacked the most impregnable fort of Chikkaballapur he was actually assisted in the fight by Bishop Noronha.

The Bishop became a great friend of Hyder. They were both going for walks together. One day Hyder did not send for him for his customary walk. The Bishop thereupon went over to Hyder. When he reached the place the Bishop found another man from Pattana sitting in his usual place. When the Bishop arrived both rose to receive him. The Bishop then straight went to his usual place and sat down there. This amazed Hyder and consequently he treated the Bishop indifferently and did not even allow him to stretch his legs. This irritated the Bishop. He asked leave to depart. Hyder granted him a pass to leave his territories. The Bishop left immediately and in spite of Hyder's attempts to frighten him on his way he managed to reach the kingdom of Sonda safely. Learning that he was safe, Hyder was sorry that he had

1. In 1903 Ismail Gracias of Panjim wrote a biography of Don Antonio Jose de Noronha under the title " O Bispo de Halicarnasso, D. Antonio Juse de Noronha - Memoria Historica, Nova Goa, Imprensa National 1903". In 1933 this book was translated into French with an introduction by H. de Closets de'Erry and published by the "Societe de l'Inde Francaise" Pondichery. It contains 129 pages. Orme, in his History of Hindustan has several references to this strange Bishop. The Mysore Archeological Report in its issue of 1937 at page 96 has given some references to this Bishop so far as his friendship with Hyder was concerned.

permitted him to depart. However he treated the other Europeans in the army well and they were glad that the Bishop had left them for good".[1]

Fr. Jeochim Miranda of Santa Anna of Talavlim was Vicar of the Gangolli parish by the provision of 5th October 1759. He was there till 1762. Then he was transferred to Omzoor (Prov. 27th May 1762) where he remained till 1766. After this he became a Missionary Apostolic and was transferred to Coorg.

Fr. Jeochim Miranda was introduced to Hyder probably just after the Coorg campaign after 1768. The holiness of this priest struck Hyder and he kept intimate friendship with this priest till his death. Though Moslem, he requested Fr. Miranda to pray for his success in his military campaigns and even made vows in the church at Feringpet where Fr. Miranda was the parish priest.[2]

There was another missionary Rev. Schwartz, a Protestant, to whom Hyder showed great respect. He lived at the court of Hyder.[3]

The garrison of Seringapatam which was trusted by Hyder had a great number of Catholics. Hyder took personal interest in their spiritual and moral welfare. For this purpose he asked the Jesuits of Mysore to send some missionary priests to Seringpatam. A priest stayed there annually for some days.

If this was the general attitude of Hyder towards the Christians, what explanation can be given for the conduct of the Christians of Canara?

My explanation is this. The contempt of the Portuguese government and of its officers to Hyder was shared by the Goan clergy in Canara. It is a remarkable feature in a Goan clergyman that he has intense respect and reverence to two names viz. Portugal and Padroado. Wherever he be replaced, he will speak in the highest

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1. Mysore Archeological Reports 1937, P. 96.

2. See letter of Fr. Miranda at Appendix No. 1

3. He was sent by the Madras Government on a peace mission to Seringapatam in 1779. He stayed in Seringapatam for about a month. When he retutned, Hyder gave him a present of 300 pagodas.

terms about Portugal and Padroado. The contempt which the Portuguese government had for Hyder was equally shared by their clergymen who served in Canara. The Portuguese talked about the Bednore and Sonda chiefs as kings and queens. So the extinction of their empires and the cruel treatment meted out to them by Hyder was odious to these Goan clergy and it increased their contempt for this chieftain [1] These sentiments of the clergy were imbibed by the Christians too and possibly there sprung up in the minds of the community an aversion to Hyder however much he tried to pacify them.

This hatred once roused could not be suppressed. Other causes also contributed to increase their hatred for Hyder.

The destruction caused by Hyder in the territories conquered by him was considerable. It resulted in the greatest ruin of countries like Cadappa, Kurnool etc. Hyder demanded an exorbitant sum from the governor of Bednore. He was tortured. As he could not pay, he committed suicide. The whole city of Bednore was oppressed. Those who were suspected of having money were tortured. " This form of preserving the multitude, the Nawab only can attain to, for they shew by their quietness with which they live, after so many oppressions of their money honour and castes are so much afraid of him on earth as of God in the heavens. The Nawab used cruelty killing robbing and other oppressions without remedy".[2]

His greed was responsible for the increase of taxes

1. It was natural for the Goan clergymen to imbibe these high notions about Portugal and Padroado. That little country Portugal once commanded the known civilized world. It possessed an Empire on which the sun never set and with Goa as the centre, its fleets and navies scoured over all the seven seas. In this mighty empire, the glory of Padroado was visible throughout. Its jurisdiction extended from Goa to Macao or Timor on one side and to Zanzibar on the other. It was natural for the Goan clergy to have the highest respect for both these names. So in their minds they had nothing but contempt for Hyder and his government.

2. Peixoto: Mysore Archeological Report 1937, P. 115.

surpassing even that of the cruel Ranee of Bednore. The standard rent of the kingdom was 2, 20, 229 star pagodas.[1] The luxurious life of Ranee towards the close of the empire raised it to 2, 66, 599 star pagodas. There was already discontent over this. Taking advantage of the riches of the kingdom Hyder raised it by one stroke of the pen to 4, 63, 153 star pagodas thus effecting a direct increase in land revenue alone 1, 96, 551 star pagodas.[2] This made the landlords desperate and discontent became universal.

By the increase of custom duties trade was at a stand still. Consequently unemployment was rampant.

Plots were on the increase. Corruption was universal. Ministers and Government officers were continuously executed for corruption.

The only alternative to escape the horrors of this regime was to seek the aid of somebody to oust the usurper from their ancient land. With the natural aversion that was implanted in the mind of the Christian community towards Hyder and the policy which he followed in Canara of extracting money in whatever form possible definitely put the community against Hyder. The only question was whom they could possibly join.

This tense and delicate situation was fully studied by the English. They were the only power which could possibly master the situation and take the fullest advantage of it. Now or never was the Englishman's motto and they threw the gauntlet.

The place of attack also was well planned. It was to be none else but Mangalore. That was the key to the whole situation. The capture of Mangalore, the English knew fully well, would be half the capture of Bednore. The news would instantly travel to the crippled Sonda prince in Goa and the deposed Wodeyar of Mysore. In the tense situation thus caused, the English knew the great possibilities that would be created.

The first military attempt on the part of the English

1. Shivappa Nayaka's time (1648–1660).
2. Letter of William Petrie.

was only the creation of a diversion for Hyder. While the latter was sweeping the Carnatic, the Bombay Government in 1768 fitted out an expedition under Admiral Watson against Mangalore.

Just at this time (1768) Hyder defeated the Raja of Coorg, exiled him and conquered Coorg.

Whether elaborate attempts were made by the English to secure the goal, history has yet to decide. But "One Ramys Havaldar who had formerly been in the employ of the Canarese[1] Government and a moorsman commanding Hyder's fleet was to be approached to secure the betrayal of their powerful master"[2]

The appearance of the English squadron at Mangalore created a delicate situation for the Portuguese Factor. "On the one hand the two nations were bound by age-long alliance albeit commercial rivals; On the other in consequence of the extraordinary rights which they exercised in Canara the Portuguese were morally bound to defend their interest against any aggressor".

The military position occupied by the Portuguese in Mangalore was unique. They in fact commanded the very entrance. Both the English and Hyder had to rely on the Portuguese. While on the one hand Hyder relied on the Portuguese owing to strong friendly alliances which he had concluded with them, the English could rely on them on the fact of European cordiality. The Portuguese were therefore in a dilemma. While they were adamant to Hyder, his officers worked up a coup de etat by which they tried to kidnap the Portuguese Factor himself and take the fort forcibly. The Christians were in great numbers here and they held important military and naval posts too.

But they remained strictly neutral.[3]

The plot to entice away the Factor was betrayed by a Christian Captain of the artillery which was manned by Christians. Duly warned, the factor had now to face

1. Bednore Government.

2. Public Department Diary 1768 No. 52. Letter to James Sibbald Factor of Onore dated February 1768.

3. Pisurlencar: Antegualhas, Fasciculo I, P. 167.

every danger and for this purpose he called in all Christians to shelter in the fortress.

In the face of the impending danger, there was no alternative for Hyder's forces but to attack the Portuguese. The signal to storm was only an invitation to the English by the Portuguese to resist the forces of Hyder.[1]

In February 1768, Mangalore fell to the English owing, it is said, to the imprudence of Luft Ali Beg, Lord High Admiral of Hyder. The immediate commander surrendered to the English his force at Onore and Mangalore which consisted of two ships, two grabs of two masts and about 10 gallivats.[2]

The English victory was complete and Mangalore was in their hands. When Hyder was informed of this, he at once turned his attention to Canara and both father and his son Tippu were determined to regain Mangalore. All plans were kept secret until the overwhelming army was actually before the gates of Mangalore under the personal command of Hyder early in May 1768.[3]

" Major Gouin left Mangalore on 5th and on the 7th in the morning a skirmish ensued with the advanced body of enemy's horse in which we had two men killed, one ensign lost (?) and 20 men wounded. The loss on the side of the enemy is reported considerable."[4]

A little later in 1768, the Portuguese coming with one grab, one patacho and 12 gallivats landed a thousand native sepoys at Karwar with a view to capture the Pier Hill and so the territories of Hyder adjoining the Goa frontier.[5]

In May 1768, the whole army of Hyder with Tippu was before the gates of Mangalore. " On Tippu's first junction with Luft Ali Beg, the loss of Mangalore and the

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1. Pisurlencar: Antegualhas. Fascisculo I, P. 167.
2. Wilks Mysore I, 331. 3. Wilks Mysore I, 331.
4. Secretariat Records: Letter of Messers Watson and Sibbald of 18 March 1768.
5. Forrest: Selections from State Papers II, 147.

DHARMARAM COLLEGE LIBRARY 2400 BANGALORE.

insufficiency of their means to attempt its recapture induced the officers commanding, after closely examining the state of that place, to retire inland, to limit their exertions to the preservation and order of the interior; to cutting off the English force from all means of intelligence; and by apparent inaction lulling them into security until the arrival of the efficient means, which were approaching under Hyder's personal command. It was his object to make these means as imposing as possible; and not a man was visible until the overwhelming mass of his whole united army appeared at once before Mangalore early in the month of May. The impression was disgraceful in the last degree to the British arms; a wretched defence terminated in embarking the garrison consisting of 41 artillery, 200 European Infantry and 1200 sepoys in a most unsoldier like manner; shamefully abandoning sick and wounded consisting of 80 Europeans and 180 sepoys and all their field pieces and stores. The remaining objects on the coast and chiefly the recapture of Honavar and Baswarajadurg were accomplished without much difficulty."[1] The English were totally routed, Their army consisted of one general, 47 officers 680 English troops and 6000 sepoys among whom were many Christians.[2]

Hyder was duly informed of the part played by the Christians in support of the English. To him their behaviour was nothing short of treachery. He summoned the Portuguese priests and questioned them what punishment such treachery merited. The answer to the face of Hyder was naturally that it should be death, because it was a penalty for betraying the sovereign. But prudent as Hyder was on such occasions, he had them only imprisoned.[3]

Though M. M. D. L. T. has not mentioned it, the Portuguese records speak of priests being imprisoned on this occasion. Fr. Sebastian de Faria, Vicar Vara of Honavar was taken with two more priests to Hydernagar

1. Wilks Mysore I, 331–332.
2. Bombay Archives: Political and Secret Documents Diary.
3. M.M.D.L.T.: History of Hyder Shah, PP. 384–385.

(Bednore) and there were at least 5 others who were then arrested.[1]

Towards the end of May, Hyder's army marched through Subramanya pass to Bangalore and Hyder with a select corp went to Bednore (Hydernagar).

In June 1768, a meeting of the land-holders of the province of Canara was called by Hyder at Bednore, "for the purpose as he pretended of adjusting the arrangement of revenue for the ensuing year. In point of fact Hyder had discovered that a general discontent at his severe exactions had rendered this class of his subjects well disposed to favour the designs of the English invaders; that to the amount of a willing assistance with provisions they had generally testified this partiality; and that a correspondance for combining their farther exertions had been extended nearly over the whole province. A sagacity undisturbed by mental compunction enabled this extraordinary man in all cases to extract the greatest possible advantage from incidents which to ordinary minds would have furnished proof only for apprehension. He coolly announced to the assembled land holders that he had discovered their treasons; and had determined on a punishment more convenient to his affairs than a sentence of death; a list was then produced containing the detail of the enormous fine which had been previously annexed to the name of each individual; such as were present were delivered over to the charge of the department of torture for the realization of the amount: and effectual means were taken to levy the same contributions on those whose fears had restrained them from attending".[2]

The first stage is over and a pause is necessary to study and weigh the whole situation. Events had developed which could not be forecast during the Bednore rule.

The English attempt had failed. But they did not despair. They had learnt lessons for the future. They only needed patience and perseverance. The policy laid down by them was the correct one. Nothing could deviate them from

1. Pissurlencar Fasciculo I, No. 30, P. 196.
2. Wilks: Mysore I, 332.

it. The Englishmen had already observed that the leading communities of Canara were opposed to Hyder's rule and that the Christians had definitely cast their lot in their favour.

Hyder in his turn also had to study the whole situation anew.

Towards the Christians the only alternative for him was to follow that same policy of religious tolerance to which he had stuck from the very beginnig. There was no other way for him. Even though the Christians had shown signs of revolt there was no alternative for him but to forget it.

Though he was aware that the Christians were seeking military service under the English, and had also openly joined the English against him in the last engagements, firmans were issued giving them the same rights and privileges which they enjoyed under the Bednore kingdom. A few including some priests were imprisoned, but the community as such was left alone.

This attitude of Hyder towards the Christians was bitterly resented by his son Tippu. It was only the shrewdness and tact of Hyder that could conceive it. Tippu's temper could not possibly even think of it. Tippu was fully aware of the part played by the Christians in the last engagement. The attitude of the clergy towards the Moslem regime in Canara was also known to him fully. But his word carried no weight with his shrewd father. However he bided his own time.

The question of the Portuguese was a vexed problem to Hyder. Each party awaited an invitation from the other. The impending danger from the Mahrattas of the Deccan forced Hyder to open the negotiations himself, rather than wait for the Portuguese. The Portuguese on their part also eagerly awaited this opportunity and when the offer came from Hyder, they immediately accepted it. An able Goud Saraswat by name Sadashiv Kamat was chosen for this purpose by the Portuguese.

The negotiations were completely successful. The

Archbishop of Goa in a letter of November 17, 1771 to the Governor of Goa commended the efforts of "Lingoa de Estado" Sadasiva Camotim on behalf of the priests.

The full force of the storm was abated. Things returned to normal. The relations between the Portuguese and Hyder became once more cordial. The Christians were no more chastised.The church dignitaries were even appointed civil servants in their factory by the Portuguese Government. All suspicion against the clergy was removed. Hyder thought that Canara was behind him as he had appeased the chief hostile community, its priests and patrons the Portuguese.

It was only the terms of the English treaty that remained, and he was virtually the dictator of this treaty.

Whatever may have been the external relations between the Portuguese and Hyder, the alliance was unholy. Each suspected the other. Hyder only waited for an opportunity to oust the Portuguese. The Dutch also distrusted him equally. As against the English, he wanted to have more European rivals in India besides the French. So Hyder started negotiations with the Germans.[1]

In 1774 the Portuguese were obliged to leave the factory of Mangalore because Hyder's engineer recommended this very site to build a fort for himself. With the loss of this, the last vestige of Portuguese power disappeared from Canara. There are authorities who hold that the Portuguese still continued in Mangalore. But their political influence disappeared. They left behind them however, that rancour against Hyder which was given expression to by the priests who could never be reconciled to Hyder's regime. With the departure of the Portuguese from Canara the great moral support which the Christians had was gone.

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1. On account of Hyder Ali's intervention a German East India Company was formed. In 1779 they started a factory at Nandangadde a village 2 miles from Karwar. The history of this company has not been known till now. About the year 1789 it came to an end because it was a financial loss owing to the hostile attitude taken by the English against them.

While all those political developments were going on, the Catholic Church and the Catholic community continued to grow and flourish. In 1778, the seminary founded by Fr. Jeoch m Miranda was handed over to the Propaganda of Verapoly. The popular Lenten hymn Riglo Jesu which was composed by Fr. Miranda was at this time became known in Mangalore.

In Goa also some changes took place subsequet to the suppression of the Society of Jesus. the college of Rachol was given in charge of the Vincentian Fathers in 1779. The Oratorians erected a Diocesan seminary in it.

In Sunkery, troubles arose between the Vicar Fr. Philip of All Saints and the parishioners. A serious charge was made against him by the parishioners about his moral character and he was removed on 23rd April 1783. From this time there was no Discalced Carmelite priest in this church and a Goan secular clergyman was appointed Vicar.

D. Fr. Manoel De Sta. Catharina assumed the administration of the Archbishopric of Goa in 1780, because Archbishop Britto had to return to Europe.

This Archbishop, in 1782, sent Fr. Jose de Espinola as a visitor of the mission of Canara.

On 7th December 1782, Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur died at Seringapatam. He died of a carbuncle.

The death of Hyder removed from the scene the last vestige of compromise. Whatever Hyder was in other aspects, he had a tact which carried him through the most delicate of situations. Disaster was averted only by his sag city and prudence. For the rest all was ready for a speedy climax.

CHAPTER IX

TIPPU SULTAN AND THE CAUSES OF THE CAPTIVITY.

1782 — 1784

Four days later Tippu hurried to Seringapatam and assumed the reins of Government.

Different writers have painted Tippu in different colours. The judgments of latter-day historians range from tactical benevolence to monstrous cruelty. For an impartial appreciation of Tippu's character, the opinions of contemporary writers should be consulted and among these non-Englishmen should be preferred as far as possible.

Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto, a Portuguese, who was an officer in Hyder's army and who knew Tippu intimately says: "The Nawab's son is as cruel as can be said, wretched and of worse actions than can be found in any person. No chief is desirous of accompanying him, for he is imprudent, for which reason his fortune will last no longer than his father lives or his disgrace which he has hath change into victories of which he runs great risks, for there is not one person of his servants or in the other kingdoms that loves him naturally; and if some make a show outwardly they make a virtue out of necessity"[1]

The opinion of Wilks, an Englishman, may also be studied here. "He could neither be truly characterised" says Wilks, "as liberal or parsimonious; as tyrranical or benevolent; as a man of talents or destitute of parts. By turns he assumed the character of each. In one subject alone he appeared to be consistent having perpetually on his tongue the projects of Jehad - Holy War".[2]

These are two opinions, one by a person who knew him intimately and the other by one who heard him immediately after his death.[3] The substance of the two opinions put together is cruelty coupled with religious bigotry. But strange enough Fr. Francis Xavier thinks that "though Tippu Sultan was addicted to the Mahommadan superstition he was showing great religious indifference, and never showed any zeal for the Mahommadan sect; but he was singularly hostile to the Christian name".[4] Tippu is thus

1. Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan from 1758 to 1770 by Eloy Joze Correa Peixoto. Peixoto is a Portuguese of somewhat wild career. He was in Hyder's milit ry service for some time, and then resigned. His memoirs are lately unearthed.

2. Wilks: Mysore II, 381.

3. It is doubtful if Wilks knew Tippu personally.

4. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVII.

an engima.

With such a personality at the head of the state as successor of Hyder, what was to be the position of the Christian community ? They had already decided upon a course of action in Hyder's time. Tippu's disapproval of his father's policy was already known to them. The only way open to them was to go ahead. Whether reconciliation was ever desired by any party is unknown and there was no visible attempt from any side of it.

With such a character at the helm of affairs a change of policy could definitely be expected. Tippu lacked the tact of his father.

At this juncture a study of the strength and the political influence of the community in Canara is necessary.

In 1783 "in Tuluva the Christians had 27 churches each provided with a vicar and the whole under the control of the Vicar General subject to the authority of the Archbishop of Goa".[1] The statement of Buchanan cannot be fully verified for want of original records. It is significant that Buchanan has mentioned only Tuluva. The tract included in Tuluva is only South Canara and the coastal tract of North Canara was known to him as Haiva. It is impossible to hold that there were 27 churches in Tuluva alone. These 27 churches were in both Tuluva and Haiva, as is apparent from the lists of the churches destroyed.

But according to an old record[2] the Mission of Canara was divided into four Varas, Onore (Honavar), Barcelore (Barkur), Moulkuim (Moolki) and Mangalore. This existed from the time of the Queen of Bednore. Onore had three churches:San Salvador de Mundo at Honavar, San Francisco Xavier at Chandawar and N. S. do Remedios at Gulmona; Barcelore had five churches: N S. Rosario at Barcelore, N. S. de Conceicao at Gangolli, N. S. de Milagres at Nagar (Bednore), N. S. de Milagres at Kalianpur and San Padro at Nirlaver. Moulquim had four:N. S. de Conceicao at Mulky, N S. de Saude at Sirva, N. S. de Remedios at Kirim and San Laurenco at Karkal and Mangalore had

1. Buchanan: II, 219.

2. A copy of this record is put into my hands by Mr. Alex A. Pais. B.A., LL.B. of Mangalore.

nine churches N. S. de Rosario at Bolar, N. S. de Milagres, San Jose of Pezar, Cruz of Bidrem, Merces of Ullal, San Jose, of Omzoor Minin Jesu of Bantwal, Salvador do Mundo of Agrar and Mae de Deus of Mogarnad.[1] The Mission of Coorg does not appear in this record. Possibly it was a chapel under Bednore or some other parish. The work of Fr. Jeochim Miranda was carried on in Coorg at the time of the captivity by another Goan priest by name of John da Costa.

The Christians of Canara were under the spiritual jurisdiction of Don. Fr Manoel de Sta. Catherina, who was the Archbishop of Goa from 1780. Fr. Jose de Espinola was appointed visitor of the Mission in 1782. Pe Laurence Manuel Mendes was vicar of the church of Our Lady of Brotas at Anjediva in December 1783. Pe. Maximo Caetano Antao of Colva (Advogado do Auditario ecclesiasticos) was nominated vicar of the church of N. S. de Rosario at Mangalore (Prov. 11-2-1780) and Vara of Mangalore (Prov. 11-2-1780). Afterwards Visitador das terras do Canaree das suas varas (Prov. 17-2 1780).[2] Fr. Jeochim Miranda was in charge of the seminary of Monte Mariano at Feringpet, 15 miles from Mangalore. There were about 20 students in the seminary studying for the priesthood. Fr. Leitao Lobo was missionary in Canara from 18 years.[3] He was working in Canara at the time of the captivity. Another priest who was working in Canara at this time was Pe. Caetano Francisco Couto of Panjim. He was Vicar Forane.[4]

In the Carmelite jurisdiction at Sunkery Fr. Phillip ab Ominbus Sanctis (Discalced Carmelite) was vicar of Sunkery in 1783. Fr. Sebastian Fernandes was missionary vicar in Sunkery in June 1783.

The members of the community were traders, business

1. To this must be added the church of Immaculate Conception at Sunkery which was under the jurisdiction of the Carmelites.

2. Mss. of Fr. F. X. Gomes Catao of the Rachol Seminary.

3. Mitras II, 29.

4. Ibid. The various priests that were in the various parishes of Canara may be seen in Appendix No. 8.

men, landholders and also tillers of the soil. The salt trade was a monopoly in their hands. There was a general sign of contentment throughout and the Christians were much respected also among other communities. Business was run also in partnership with members of other communities.[1] Christians enlisted themselves also in the Bednore armies and were offered rewards for their gallantry.[2]

In the profession of their faith they were ardent. Religious ceremonies were practised with great solemnity. The commencement of Sunday Mass was announced by the firing of a gun or a Kadina in the vicinity.[3] On hearing the gun people used to rush to the church so as not to be late for Mass. The mysteries of the Christian faith were woven into songs and sung by groups of people sitting together to the accompaniment of the gumat (drum). A senior or elder recited the songs and they were repeated by all. The place where they sat was called the Mand,[4]

Socially the community was divided into four castes namely Bamon, Charodo, Sudir and Gowdi.[5] There was no intermarriage between these castes and various other social rules prevented social intimacy between them.[6]

Literacy there was to a certain extent. Whether parish schools existed or if they existed, in what language the children were taught is not very clear. The priests possibly knew only Portuguese and Konkani; they used the Roman script. The Portuguese language was learnt by many. But more people learnt Canarese as it was both official language and the medium for commercial transactions.[7] They talked only in the Konkani language. Prayers were said also in Konkani. Even the local converts had to adopt

1. Gonsalves family Mss.

2. The Lewis family of Kalyanpur had many distinguished members in the Bednore armies for which they were given large grants of land as Inam.

3. Gonsalves family Mss.

4. The word Mand is a very peculiar Goan word from which developed the celebrated songs known as Mando.

5. These distinctions have disappeared lately.

6. For a note on these castes see Appendix No. 10.

7. Gonsalves family Mss.

the Konkani language, though they were apparently Tulu speakers as Tulu was the language of Tuluva. But the Goan priests in Canara would not speak any other language except Konkani or Portuguese. It can be definitely stated that in Canara the Goan clergyman never cared to learn the native language of the place where he worked. They knew only two languages, Portuguese and Konkani and spoke only in these languages. They even taught Portuguese to the Christians;[1] but never learned Tulu or Kannada. Tulu or Kannada people had to learn Konkani to converse with the priests. Due to this custom of the Goa clergy, Konkani became the universal language of all the Christians in Canara. The arrival of the Archbishop of Goa in Ankola parish was announced through the Shetya of the Vaishnava temple at Ankola. He then informed the Vicar. The route of the procession was marked by the Shetya and arches were put up by him at proper places along the route.

What the numerical strength of the Christian community in Canara was is a problem not yet solved.

A community which was so powerful and influential in Canara and which had passed a full century or two in affluence and prosperity, according to Giuseppe di Santa Maria's (1656-57) estimates numbered in the kingdom of Shivappa Naik about 6000. This kingdom included the whole of South Canara and a major part of the coastal tract of North Canara upto about the river Mirjan. Karwar, Ankola and Supa were included in the Sonda kingdom. They are excluded from this estimate.[2] There were immigrations after the report of Santa Maria also. What additions there were and what was the number of further immigrants can be left to imagination. There are no statistics available. There were immigrations even upto the middle of the 18th century.[3] Between Giuseppe di Santa Maria and the captivity it was about 150 years. The ori-

1. There are many instances of Christians who had studied Portuguese in Mangalore.

2. It is said that in Ankola Taluka at the time of the captivity there were about 6000 Christions.

3. Portuguese Government Report of 1747

ginal 6000 might have increased to about 40000 during this period and in spite of further immigrations the Christian population of Canara at the time of captivity was not more than 50000.[1] It was perhaps less, but certainly not more, even giving full scope for its development in the peaceful times of Bednore. The Christian population of the Sunkery Mission was 600.[2]

And this community was scattered along the coast of Canara, a region of sublime beauty. In the words of Fr. Bartholomew: " However from Cape Comorin to Mount Dilli, the sea coast inhabited almost without a break, offers to the eye a rare sight of many Christian churches, and gentile temples in succession, all hiding among the clusters of trees. Beautiful, indeed, and most pleasing is this view, nor is there a plain to be found similar to this any where else among the nations of this earth. In summer the sea is calm and resembles a lake; the green coast is clearly marked by bleak buildings and is intersected by rivers".[3]

Thus in the kingdom of Tippu there was a rich and a powerful community. Numerically also it was strong. The character of this community was moulded by European traditions. The priests, who were mostly from Goa had imbibed Portuguese culture and the same was propagated in Canara. They had wrested privileges and charters from Bednore monarchs which made them a state within a state. Hyder with all his greed and avarice had to tolerate the Christians. It was for Tippu now to show his wisdom and sagacity in the face of any crisis brewing in his kingdom.

The accession of Tippu opened a new era for the Christians and generally for the whole of his empire.

Tippu's war policy completely drained the treasury. The source of revenue was only Canara and this source he now tapped to its fullest extent. To the revenue of

1. Fr. Miranda fixes the total population at 40000. See Appendix No. *1*

2. History of Sunkery Mission. Ch. XXIII.

3. Though this description is given by Fr. Bartholomew of the coast of Malabar, it applies to Canara also.

Hyder, with additions and new heads, Tippu added 2, 86, 625 star pagodas, thus bringing it to a total of 7, 49, 778 star pagodas.[1] The cup was drained to the last.

His policy towards the English was one of rancour and hatred. He dreaded them most.[2] Where the English were not opposed to him he was pleased to call them Nazarenes (from Nazareth). But on other occasions they are rascally infidels and a runaway race.[3] " In narrating their attacks they are compared to wounded wild boars and in other passages they are a race of demons.[4] " The means", Tippu said, "I have taken to keep in remembrance the misfortunes I experienced six years ago from the malice of my enemies (English) are to discontinue sleeping on a cotton bed and to make use of a cloth one. When I am victorious I shall resume the bed of cotton".[5] To the English, Tippu was not as tough a foe as Hyder. They knew fully well that they could easily overpower him. The English were aware that Tippu's policy would only precipitate his own downfall.

On December 14, 1782[6] the English landed in Canara under General Mathews, with positive orders from the Bombay Government that "if the intelligence were confirmed (of Hyder's death) to relinquish all operations whatever upon the sea coast and make an immediate push to take possession of Bednore".[7] General Mathews landed at Cundapur. He was fully aware that the army and the provisions and other material that he had at his disposal was quite inadequate for the task he was ordered to undertake. "Continuing to protest against the insufficiency of his means and to disclaim all responsibility for consequenees, he proceeded in the same spirit of precipitate obedience".[8] He had only 400 Europeans and 1200

1. Letter of William Petrie.
2. There is a tradition in Canara that Tippu ordered all the pepper vines to be cut down so that the English should not trade in Canara.
3. Wilks Mysore Preface XV. 4. Ibid XV - XVI.
5. Asiatic Register 1800 Characters, P. 12.
6. Wilks says it is on 12th January 1783. (II 53).
7. Wilks II, 53. 8. Ibid P. 54.

sepoys. As luck had it, the march ended with the capture of Bednore itself. He was now in possession of the whole country westward of the range of mountains from Sadashivgur to Mangalore, beyond the passes he possessed Bednore, Anantpoor and the fort of Cowleydroog",[1] And a detachment body was seeking to obtain possession of the distant province of Sonda. The only resistance that he got from the enemy's armies was at Hosangadi 4 miles west of the Mysore border.

It was a puzzle how the general could accomplish such a task with such meagre resources. But the General himself answers it: " To what", says General Mathews, "can it be owing but to the divine will, that my army without provisions or musket ammunition should have our wants supplied as we advanced for without the enemy's rice and powder and ball we must have stopped until the army could be furnished".[2] Panic is the second cause ascribed by the General.

But there is a third cause and that is the help rendered by the Christians to the marching army. As the army was marching the Christians acted as guides and facilitated the advance.[3] Unless the proper march routes are known, Canara is a difficult country for an advancing army.

In May 1783, Major John Campbell wrote from Mangalore to the President of Bombay:- "There are a number of native Christians here who had been formerly attached to the artillery, 34 of them are taken in the same service here, and Francis Pinto, late an Ensign in the 'Bombay Natives' whom General Mathews had promised to employ and give ensign's pay and batta, I have appointed to take charge of them with the same rank pay and allowance as he had formerly."[4] From this it is evident that Christians enlisted in the army of General Mathews.

Moreover, Scurry says that the Christians advanced to General Mathews a sum of Rs. 3,30,000. The fact that

1. Ibid P. 58. 2. Ibid P. 55.
3. Fr. Miranda also confirms this statement See Appendix No. 1.
4. Saldanha: Captivity of the Christians P. 65

General Mathews was in difficulties and needed help has been admitted by himself and so it does not seem unnatural that he accepted this financial help. Besides, the Christians supplied to the army 1000 bags of rice.[1] The Christians were landlords and cultivators and they could supply this quantity easily.

All this was ample help by the Christians to the invading General who was bent on ridding Canara of the tyranny of Tippu. The spectacular results of the march of General Mathews made a great impression on the Christians and induced them to help him the more. The Christians were sure that the Moslem rule would be over. They staked their all on this offensive.

In March 1783, Tippu left Carnatic because the English were at Onore under General Mathews and some had already proceeded to Bednore. In April 1783 Tippu's immense army was in sight of Bednore. With no reinforcements, the English army had no chance against Tippu, and the only alternative was to surrender.[2] On 28th April 1783 General Mathews capitulated in Bednore. They were all put to a disgraceful death.[3] It was the first victory of

1. Jeochim Miranda App. No. I
2. See Wilks II, P. 320 for full details.
3. Indian Records Series: Vestiges of Madras army by H. Dawson, Vol. III, S. 469-470 has the following information about General Mathews and others:- "General Mathews and all the prisoners above the rank of Lieutenants were invited to an entertainment prepared by the direction of Tippu. The subalterns were hurt that they were left out of the invitation. As soon as the company met, a large bowl was brought there out of which they were desired to drink. The request immediately caused a suspicion in the officers that poison was infused in the potion and therefore they refused to drink. Upon which a set of armed men was let into the room who forced the liquor down the throats of those brave men inspite of any resistance they could make. The poison was too powerful not to have the effect this inhuman betrayer intended and the following gentlemen fell a sacrifice to this violent breach of all laws human and divine.....(India Gazette 12th July 1784). Appended are the names of 4 kings and 13 company's officers who suffered with the General as well as of two others who fell victims to the poison at Bednore. Colonel Braithewaite on his release from confinement was called on by Lord Macartney for his opinion as to the truth of the reports regar-

Tippu after his accession and seated on a masnud he ordered a salute to be fired.

With the surrender and death of General Mathews and his whole army, all help rendered by the Christians has been entirely lost sight of. The only person who was fully aware of the extent of help was dead and no report had gone to Bombay or Madras about it. If reinforcements had come in time for General Mathews the course of history would have been different. Here is the crux of the whole problem. Tippu who could have been crushed and ousted from Canara, had not only survived, but emerged gloriously. It was his luck. Little did the Christians suspect what was in store for them in the future. Immediately Tippu marched to Mangalore which place was defended by the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders under Major Campbell.

In July 1783, the French who were the most energetic in the assault left Tippu, as France and England had just concluded a peace treaty.[1] M. de Bussy refused to carry on with the siege. This enraged Tippu greatly. Thus the siege of Mangalore was converted into blockade. The English were forced to surrender and on 11th March 1784, treaty of peace between Tippu and the English was signed in Mangalore. Immediately Tippu left via Bednore to Shanur

One important fact deserves to be mentioned here. Coorg, which was captured by Hyder, was retaken by the Rajah during the life time of Hyder. But Tippu on his accession recaptured the tract and took the Rajah and his family prisoners.

The help rendered by the Christians to General Mathews was duly reported to Tippu. It could not be hidden from him. It is possible the reports were also highly exaggerated. Tippu was aware of the consequences that would have ensued if General Mathews had succeeded

ding General Mathews. Braithewaite concurred in the general belief that several officers died by violence but had reason for thinking that General Mathews was not among the number (History of the Madras Army, Wilson, II, 130.

1. Letter of Fr. Miranda.

It was a matter of life and death for him in Canara, and specially at a time when he had just succeeded his father. He was also aware of the attitude of the Christians during his father's time. Though Hyder forgot it, he would not.

Tippu was therefore determined to eradicate the Christian community and priests from Canara. The coastal tract was an incessant danger zone for him and the only safety that could be afforded to this tract was by the removal of the Christian Community from this area. With this background it is easy now to gauge the motives that led Tippu to capture the Christians and take them to Seringapatam. The Christians were quite enamoured of General Mathews because with such a small army and within such a short time he was the master of an Empire ranging from Sadashivgad to Mangalore, and with Bednore also in his hands. The good relations with the French Government which Tippu had all long and on whose military alliance Tippu had relied, had come to an end and so long as peace reigned between France and England in Europe, it was impossible for Tippu to count upon the French assistance in his campaigns against the English. Some of the leading officers of the French army had already refused to serve Tippu. In the absence of French help Tippu knew that he would have to encounter innumerable dificulties in fighting alone against the English. To minimize these difficulties as much as possible the banishment of the community was a necessity for Tippu.

The English were in such an abject position that it was not possible for them to render any help to the Christians. The only thing that they could do in the disgraceful treaty of Mangalore was that they obtained by article 7 a promise from Tippu that he would not molest the Rajas or Zamindars who favoured the English in the late war.[1] But not a word was said about the Christians. Tippu would not condescend in the least to have any amnesty for the Christians mentioned in the treaty. Neither could

1. The Rajas who helped the English were the Rajas of Kumbla Vithala and Nileshwar.

the English force it themselves.[1]

With the disgraceful treaty of Mangalore the next step contemplated by Tippu was the wholesale banishment of the Christian community from all his dominions. This was the logical sequence of the plans he had in his mind all along from the time of his father. He was now master of the situation. He nourished this evil design possibly from the disaster of 1768 and now had the opportunity to carry it out.

Though the English were powerless and could not render any help to the Christians against Tippu, there was yet another foreign power, the Portuguese, who were practically the guardians of religion in Canara. The official correspondence of the Portuguese both with Tippu and the Goa Government shows that the Portuguese Government at Goa interfered and requested Tippu not to imprison the priests and to let the Christians live peacefully as his father, Hyder Ali Khan, had done. But Tippu did not heed the Portuguese intervention at all. Possibly the Portuguese Government also did not contemplate direct action.

But certain authorities are of the opinion that the captivity is due to the policy of the Goa Government itself. M. Canaple the French Commandant at Mahe writing to De Conway, the Governor of Pondichery on 3rd March 1788 on the authority of M. Le Dineur, the second chief of the Imperial Lodge at Mangalore says: "The Queen of Melondis, recently a feudatory of the Nawab, wanted to compel the Bhosles by force of arms to pay her tribute. They refused her this and applied to the Portuguese for protection. D. Francisco D'Ancugna, the Governor of Goa, against the advice of an extraordinary council which had been called for the purpose sent them 5000 European and native troops, 4 frigates and 10 small sloops ready armed. The Portuguese forces captured the country within 10 days, established garrisons at all fortified positions and thus frustrated the hopes which the Nawab had entertained of making himself

1. It may also be possible that the English who signed the treaty were not fully aware of the facts of the help rendered by the Christians to General Mathews. With his death all was perhaps forgotten.

master of the territories of the Bhosles which extended to the gates of Goa".[1]

But Fr. Francis Xavier has got his own reasons for the capture of the Christians and their banishment to Seringapatam. "About the beginning of 1784", he says, "he (Tippu) began to give sufficiently clear signs of his hatred against us. Then it was rumoured that this great hatred was infused in him by some pseudo – prophets of that sect, who, going to the king, told him that his kingdom would not be firm unless he led all the Christians to give their name to the Mahomedan religion and unless he completely eliminated the Christian name from his kingdom" [2]

On the whole it can fairly be said that owing to the propaganda of the Goan priests and the alliance of the Christians with the English, Tippu banished the community to Seringapatam to remove all chance of help to the English at a time when his armies were engaged in other spheres. He wanted to remove all immediate danger to himself and his kingdom. He thought that by the banishment of the Christians of Canara he would succeed in keeping the English at bay or at least give himself a breathing time to oppose the English at a favourable opportunity. This is the main political reason that induced Tippu to banish the community from Canara.

That this banishment is due to political considerations is further evidenced by the fact that the lands forfeited from the banished Christians were bestowed on loyal Christians.[3] Those who were known to be loyal to Tippu were not only retained but were even rewarded for their loyalty by Tippu.

But the basic question still remains whether the whole community had knowledge of the alliance with the English. Any wayTippu wreaked his vengeance on the whole community. To pick up and choose was an impossibility.

Then again there is the question whether the Christ-

1. Gaudert Catalogue des Manuscripts.

2. History of the Sunkery Mission Ch. XVII. The good priest's reason is more applicable to conversion than to banishment.

3. Memorial of 1800 to the Archbishop of Goa.

ians of Canara alone were captured for all those of his whole kingdom. Though the Canara Christians were mainly responsible for the help rendered to the English, the orders of Tippu extended to all the Christians of his kingdom. There were large Christian communities in different parts of his kingdom on the upghats also; and all these had to bear the captivity. Tippu feared not only the Canara Christians but Christians as a whole.

The religious fanaticism of Tippu must also be taken into account. It cannot be denied wholly. But that was not the main cause of the banishment.

CHAPTER X

THE CAPTIVITY. 1784-1789

Ever since the humiliating treaty of Mangalore, there was some inkling in the minds of the Christians and the priests, that some evil or other would befall them. Without knowing the exact nature of the events to come, no preparations could be made to avert the catastrophe.

Though Tippu was generally considered by some authorities as a mad man, there was some method in his madness. He kept his evil designs secret till the last moment.

State secrets of a person like Tippu are bound to leak out, and Fr. Francis Xavier rightly says that "many days before the edict, its rumour had reached hither (Sunkery) and struck all the Christians with the greatest sadness". Possibly the impending orders were known throughout Canara.

Immediately the news was afloat, preparations were made to remove all the precious things from the churches and take them to places of safety. The island of Anjediva was thought of by many. It was not in the political jurisdiction of Tippu, but was still owned by the Portuguese Government. A Goan priest, Fr. Mendes, was the vicar there and he could be trusted; and Fr. Francis Xavier says "at the same time, under the same persecution, by the same provinces, in the same houses of Anjediva, with the

same Rev. Mendes, innumerable other treasures and riches, other almost immense goods had been deposited both by some churches of Canara and indeed chiefly both by pagans and profane temples of idols".[1]

But the goods of all the churches of Canara could not possibly reach Anjediva. It is an island three miles off Karwar and so only those churches that were in the vicinity of this island could possibly take advantage of the position. Even the Hindus and Hindu temples deposited their treasures there.

The Goan priests were expelled first. The Portuguese account says that 13 of them arrived in Goa completely destitute. Tippu wrote to the Portuguese Government that in due consideration to that Government he had pardoned them the capital punishment and fine of 3 crores of rupees.

Fr. Miranda was a problem for Tippu. He was fully aware of the great friendship that existed between him and his father and also the respect which Hyder had for him. At the commencement of his rule, Tippu also had shown him the same regard. But on the other hand Tippu was adamant in the pursuit of the policy which he had laid down towards the Christians. At last he found an excuse to banish him. The silence of Fr. Miranda about the whereabouts of General Mathews' wife enraged Tippu greatly and he banished him to Tellichery. Why he was not sent to Goa instead along with the other priests is a puzzle till today. Fr. Miranda had 20 seminareans at Feringpet studying under him for the priesthood. The order for him to depart caused the dissolution of the whole seminary. Those Canarans who wished to leave the seminary were given that option but those who wanted to continue were banished with him to Tellichery. At the time of the captivity, Canara had more than 13 resident priests working in it. Officially only 13 were sent away. The rest left secretly as soon as the rumour of banishment was afloat. The accounts of the churches were taken by these priests to

1. History of the Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVII.

Goa. They took also the other books with them.[1]

It was the tactics of Tippu that made him banish the priests first. This first banishment of the priests had left a void in the whole history of the captivity and it has not yet been filled up. Fr. Launay thinks that by the first removal of the priests, the community was left without spiritual guides who could have advised them on their future course of action. Had it not been for the fact that the priests were forcibly removed from the scene and that also at the very outset, the priests would have surely shared the exile.[2]

After the banishment of the priests the Christian community was led away into captivity into Seringapatam.

Tippu's official account of the captivity is not available. There is no paper found in his archives which gives a direct clue to the whole story, nor is there available any order both in Mysore and in Canara to capture the Christians and take them to Seringapatam. ButFr.Francis Xavier has given some information about the contents of an edict. He says that "an edict went out from Tippu Said Bahadur Sultan that all the Christians who were his subjects and in his kingdom should be brought to his metropolis, Seringapatam, and should be forced to renounce the Christian faith and to join the Mahomedan sect, and also to be circumcised".[3] But this is apparently hearsay. Under these circumstances, matter reproduced by different authors requires to be collected to weave out a consistent story.

It is said that sealed orders were issued by Tippu to all his officers to capture in the course of one night all the

1. This is the gratest disaster. There is no trace of any book in any church in Canara; nor are they to be found in Goa.

2. This first expulsion of the priests from Canara has been misjudged by the community. In a memorial of the Rosario parishioners dated 4th October 1868, it is said that the large congregation of 80,000 souls taken captive was shamefully deserted by them in their hour of need; for the Christians were either killed or perverted to Mahomedanism. This is a statement made in 1868 and from much before this time the Canara Christians were engaged in severe controveries over the Padroado and the Goan clergy. This statement is possibly the result of that controversy. 3. Sunkery Misson. Ch. XVII.

Christians of his kingdom and to deport them to Seringpatam.[1] This and the passage of Fr. Francis Xavier read together clearly indicate that the order implied all the Christians included in the whole kingdom of Tippu. Besides Canara (as it was at that time), there were other tracts with Christians in large numbers also. The town of Bednore itself had, according to one account, more than 30000 Catholics.[2]

The question therefore resolves itself into two namely 1) what is the number of Christians taken from Canara i.e. from that tract which in British times (from 1800 onwards) was known as Canara, and 2) what is the number of Christians taken from outside Canara. Let us take now only Canara i.e. the present Canara comprising both northern and southern parts.[3]

Whether it was possible to capture all the Christians from all parts of Canara in the course of one night can be left more to imagination. To accomplish this, if at all it was ordered so, the whole army of Tippu was necessary and possibly more. Canara is primarily a place of hilis and mountains. Deep and dense forests covered a large area of this tract. Deep and broad rivers traversed it. Canara was therefore not an easy place like the Deccan, and Tippu's orders could not be carried out in the course of one night. Orders were passed by Tippu no doubt, but their execution was left in the hands of his officers. No doubt the officers did that task as quickly as possible. But as soon as the decree was published, the first thing that the able bodied Christians could be expected to do was to fly to the hills and jungles.[4] The confusion that was created can be left to

1. Except Kirkpatrick's copy there is nothing extant to prove that Tippu had issued orders. It is unfortunate that not a single order has either been preserved or has been found in the course of these 150 years. Everything has been left for imagination and conjecture.

2. The statement of M. Maitre de la Tom in "History of Hyder Shah" [1784], P. 82.

3. The other question is not within the sphere of this treatise and there is no adequate material also to treat it.

4. There are instances of the Christians fleeing to territories outside the jurisdiction of Tippu e.g. Coorg and even Cananore. The emigration took place as soon as the rumour of banishment was afloat.

the imagination.

As Fr. Francis Xavier puts it: "For very many having left the father land, family, possession, if they had any and every thing, emigrated from here (Sunkery) in utter poverty and misery and for many years led an exile's life in foreign provinces, nor did they become better in any way; some however, without a house or even a roof, remained here, in a most hidden way, without any rest, changing every night their hiding places in the houses of pagans, so that they might not be found by persecuting satelites".[1]

The cripple and the aged had necessarily to be left behind. They could not possibly be carried to Mysore They remained in their houses. They possibly suffered a miserable death at the mercy of their neighbours. But there are instances where old people who had been left behind survived the captivity till the return of the captives. The community being an influential one many bought themselves off from the officers by bribes. The subordinates of Tippu were responsible for their actions; and the supervision over them could not be strict in such a vast area.[2] Many hid themselves to escape the Moslims. Canara as is well known is a country of forests and hills and rivers. To hide there is the easiest.[3] Many were hidden by influential neighbours.[4] This wholesale deportation of the Christians was not approved by the other communities. Neighbourly

1. Sunkery Mission, Ch.XVIII.

2. I have not come across any definite authority for this statement. But considering the age and morals of the time, this is not only possible but highly probable.

3. There are some families known as Kholiyegars. The tradition is that they hid themselves by putting heaps of dried leaves on the bodies. Kholi, in Konkani, means a leaf. There are other traditions that people dived in the waters of the rivers or remained in boats in midriver.

4. In the parish of Kirem in a Saldanha family a young Christian boy was hidden by Bants in their houses. The boy was brought up by them for many years. Gold rings were put in his ears and he was treated as if he was a member of that family. He was known as Shetti also. When the Christians returned, he was handed over to them, and his descendants are known to this day as Shetties.

feelings ran high in this dire hour of need, and members of the Christian community did command respect among other communities also. Many fled to Cananore. This was a place of safety as a Moslem Bibi reigned here and she was on friendly terms with Tippu.

There were Christians who had been loyal to Tippu's Government and who now escaped banishment. They remained unmolested.

The authors of the Diocesan history maintain that 5000 Christians remained unmolested in Canara. Had so many remained loyal to Tippu ?[1] Though the order was to deport all the Christians of Canara, the exigencies of the moment demanded that some had to be left back for some reason or other.[2]

Fr. Francis Xavier says: " But in order that God's vengeance against the excommunicated men[3] might more

1. There is no record to show who these families were. It would be very interesting to pursue this topic and ascertain with certainty who these 5000 Christians were.

2. In the pages of " the Mangalorean" Mr. Alex A. Pais has given some illustrations about this retention and it is quoted below in detail:- " There were about 7000 people still left and were in hiding. Some Catholics- Coelhos (Porobs) and Saldanhas (Kamath) who were cultivators of betel leaves and betelnuts at Omzoor were left unmolested by Tippu's soldiers because they wanted pan-supari from them. One Dumga Kamath (Saldhana) an ancestor of the Town Surveyor Saldanha made Rs. 500/- a fortune by selling pan. He was robbed of it however. Some Catholics at Urwa—Pais and Rego families— who were tenants of Moplah landlords were on the representation of their landlords that they would not be able to cultivate their fields were not seized. Some Catholic tenants of Hindu landlords in Kallianpur also escaped on the representation of the Hindus that they would not have tillers of their lands and growers of vegetables. Thus Tonse Fernandes family was spared. Aranhas of Chitrap, Mulky, were kept hidden in a hay stack by the Bunts. A few dressed like Hindus to deceive Tippu's Moslem soldiers. Some escaped to Telichery. Caetan Porob was taken to Seringapatam but he escaped from there. He came to Mangalore. He again escaped to Telichery.(The Mangalorean: Vol. XVI, No.9 September 1948, P. 11.)

3. These were the persons who had wrongly accused Fr. Philip of all Saints of immorality. They had been excommunicated.

clearly be made to manifest it so happended by divine disposition that those few men who did not take part in the plot against Fr. Philip and who therefore were not included in that general anathema suffered no harm, annoyance or persecution for their religious belief or in their temporal goods; they did not abandon the place, did not lose any property, were not forcibly removed, but God having touched the hearts of wild men, they remained safely under the protection of the same Mahomedan rulers."[1] This is what happened in Sunkery.

If all this is taken into consideration, the number of Christians that were taken to Seringapatam from Canara was not very great. Fr. Francis Xavier also is of the same opinion.[2]

It is also a fact that those who were taken captives were mostly poor and without influence. The rich and the influential escaped.

Considering all these factors, it is worthwhile to reckon the figures mentioned by various writers The author and the figure given by him is mentioned below:

1. Tippu - 60,000[3] 2. Abbe Dubios - 70,000[4] 3. Stewart - 70,000[5] 4. Scurry - 30,000[6] 5. Wilks-30,000[7] 6. Bristow-40,000[8] 7. Fr. Miranda-40,000[9] 8. Portuguese Government Report - 20,000[10] 9. Imperial Gazeteer - 30,000[11] 10. Asiatic Register, 1799-70,000[12] 11. Sir Thomas Munro-60,000[13] 12. Memorial of 1860-60,000 13. Memorial of Rosario Parishioners-80,000 14. Kirkpatrik-70,000[14].

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1. Sunkery Mission Ch. XVII.
2. "At the arrival of the tyrant's impious decree, the satelites of the king brought chained to Seringpatam as many Christian men and women as they could find. Their number however was not very great". (Ch. XVIII.) This statement is made about Sunkery Christians.
3. Kirkpatrick: Select papers P. 59 4. Letters P. 74.
5. A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tippu P. 52.
6. Captivity, P. 103. 7. Mysore II, P. 100.
8. A Narrative, P. 85. 9. Appendix No. 1.
10. Pissurlencar: antigualhas. 11. Vol. XIV P. 346.
12. 1799 Characters P. 2. 13. Letters, P. 30.
14. Biographical notes, P. 30.

How can this great variety of figures be explained. It is left to the conjecture of the historian. Possibly the larger figures include also the Christians outside of Canara. The figure of 60,000 mentioned by Abbe Dubios lends support to this view. The Abbe is confirmed in this by Tippu and other contemporary writers.

Now the question is how many of these were from Canara. The Portuguese report is possibly the most authoritative for this; and this may be supplemented by the authority of Fr. Miranda. The Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities had spiritual jurisdiction over Sul which included both these Canaras, and so they were in a better position to know the figures from this tract. According to them the number is only 20,000; at most according to Fr. Miranda it was not more than 40,000. So to all intents and purposes, the number of Canara Christians taken captive to Seringapatam is not more than 40,000 and possibly not less than 20,000. Possibly it was about30,000 and not more.

There is a vague impression in Canara that the captivity took place in the course of one night only and that memorable night was the night of Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent. But various writers have given different dates for the capture of the Christians. The Barkur Ms. claims that it was the vigil of Ash Wednesday, 24th February 1784.[1] Fr. Miranda says it was 22nd. February. He was on the spot in Mangalore. Fr. Francis Xavier says it was in March 1784.[2] This may be true for Sunkery. Any way, the captivity was not a question of one night throughout Canara.

The Moslem soldiers hunted out the Christians from their houses. They practically raided every house. Private

1. Much capital has been made till now on account of the pathos involved about this particular day Ash Wednesday as the first day of Lent. Other dates were discovered lately and so this date, having remained all along, has added more pathos to this incident. Possibly, the retention of this only day for such a long time has given rise to the impression that sealed orders were issued for the capture in one night.

2. Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVII.

grudges were amply utilised to inform the Moslem officers of the existence of Christians in the places of their hiding. Thus and by any other conceivable means, the Christians were arrested and herded together. The chief camps in which the Christians were collected prior to their deportation were Mangalore, Manjeshwar, Cundapur, Honavar, Ankola and Sunkery. These are all coastal towns. It is not known if the Christians of the interior were also brought here. They were brought here in chains.[1]

From these places they were marched to Seringapatam. The ascent to the ghat section was by two routes, viz. the Gersoppa route and the Jamalabad route. Three priests accompanied the captives during their march. It is not known exactly who these priests were, whether from Goa or Canara. Possibly they were from the Canara Christian community. They wished to share the troubles of the other members of the community. They travelled in disguise. Two of them died on the way[2] and one who was found out was banished to Telichery.

All the camps were under martial law orders. The commanding officer's order was final. Disobedience to it meant instant death. Marches and halts were regulated according to the whims of the officers. If cooked food was not eaten, it had to be left behind, and the camp had to march hungry. The dead were left behind without even being given a burial. If children were a burden, the only alternative was to abandon them.

Tradition has it that the rock of Jamalabad has a tragidic history. The unruly were simply hurled down from its heights, probably bound hand and foot.

Altogether the whole company had to march about 100 miles before they could reach the first camp above the ghats. The ghat section of this route was the most perilous and dangerous, especially the Gersoppa route.

The journey was long. The paths were "thorny". They

1. Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVIII. Possibly the unruly were chained.

2. Mr. Alex Pais says: "One priest was caught and thrown down the rocky precipice from the Jamalabad fortress". (The Mangalorean September 1948, P. 11.)

were marched under martial orders. This historic journey of the Christians has perhaps only one parallel in the history of India, viz. that of Mahommad Toglak. The privations which the people had to suffer and the wonderful manner in which they completed the journey will ever remain their greatest sacrifice in the annals of their history.

On their arrival in Mysore, a halt was ordered at the village of Shaher Ganjam. Escape was not possible, nor feasible, for they were under a strong guard. Hunger and disease claimed a vast toll in these camps. It is estimated that about one third of the number succumbed before the party reached Seringapatam.[1]

'Their properties were confiscated and distributed to the loyalists. The total property that was thus confiscated is estimated at 5 lakhs of rupees".[2] The Christians were a power in Canara and possessed considerable estates. Buchanan also admits that " during the government of Hyder these Christians were possessed of considerable estates in land, all of which were confiscated by Tippu...."[3] The rupee value was no doubt small at that time and rice was sold at about 50 seers a rupee. Therefore the 5 lakhs of properties of that time could easily be of over a crore of the present day. Any way the figure of 5 lakhs appears to be rather small even for that time.

Thus in the memorable year 1784 in the time of lent, Christianity was practically wiped out in Canara. The labours of the zealous Missionaries of the past 300 years were practically in vain. There was no Christian in Canara who could openly say " I am a Christian and I will live in Canara". Tippu had achieved his political ambition.

The state of these people both in Mysore and in their places of hiding was most miserable. Fr. Francis Xavier has pithily described it. He says: "It would have been still little if this persecution touched only the

1. The Barkur Ms. as translated in the Diocesan history gives some details of the sufferings endured by these people in the earlier camps. Cholera raged for some time. The burial of all the dead bodies was also difficult. Consequently jackals did a great havoc.

2. Memorial of 1860. 3. Journey II, 219.

temporal goods of our Christians, but it touched chiefly in those things pertaining to the soul and the eternal salvation. For both those who had fled from here as exiles and those who remained here, and chiefly those who had been led to Seringapatam, not having a church, or altar, or sacrifice or sacraments or the food of the Christion doctrine, nor any practice of religion, fell in so great an oblivion of God, and in the ignorance of the chief mysteries of our faith, so that it was very difficult to distinguish them in this from brute animals. And those who had been deported to Seringapatam were all circumcised, some with little resistance, some voluntarily and of their own will subjected to themselves at least externally to the cult of the Mahomedan impiety. Many of them, after receiving the circumcision, being enrolled as soldiers, after some time, mixed with thieves and robbers, (among whom also many of the exiles were found) devastated for many years this whole province, with slaughters, plunders, and with all kinds of vices. Thus it happened that many of them were hanged, and many others while plundering were killed; many others with no signs of conversions died most miserably and very few outlived up to the restoration of this Mission". " All these and many other evils which is too difficult to refer one by one happened from the year 1784 to 1789".[1]

Does this apply only to the Sunkery Christians or to all the Christians of Canara ? Fr. Francis Xavier pertinently says: 'It is indeed true that this edict of the tyrant affected all the other Christians who were under the vast dominion of Tippu-Said-Bahadūr-Sultan; but it is also true that they did not suffer every where such and so great an extermination ".[2] So it applies only to the Sunkery Christians.

From 1784 to 1799 the Christians of Canara where captives in Seringapatam. But they were not alone. There were other Christians also brought from other parts of Tippu's dominion.

The history of these people has not been narrated in

1. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVIII.
2. Ibid. The Empire of Tippu existed even beyond Canara

its true colours. Only some vague[1] tradition still exists. No full report was drawn up after the return of the captives. The tradition that exists has been put down to writing long after the event and by different persons in different places without any contact to one another. How the problem of maintenance was solved has not been fully explaind. It is possible that Tippu offered the Christians land to cultivate for their maintenance. How far this was taken advantage of is not clearly known. Some were enrolled in military service. If reliance is to be placed on the Barkur Mss. 100 men formed a company. Four companies formed a risala. Four risalas were under a sufedar and 4 sufedars came under a Bakshi[2]. Thus the total number of men under a Bakshi amounts to 5400. These were possibly all the men who could be enrolled out of Canara Christians.

The religious life was also a problem.[3] Abbe Dubois mentions that a priest, a drunkard, roamed about this place and administered sacraments and performed marriages.[4]

Connected with this captivity, is a mysterious figure by name Balthu Chetney.[5] It is reported that he was the

1. It is vague because if all this tradition is put up together and knitted together into a story, many inconsistencies may result as will be shown below.

2. History of the Diocese PP. 43–44.

3. Tales of Balthu Chetney written by Rev. Denis Fernandes, S. J. in the pages of the Mangalore Magazine may be read in this connection.

4. After the Brief of Clement XIV dated 21st July 1773, suppressing the Jesuits, there was some irregularity in the mission of Madura, Karnatak and Mysore. In 1777, Propaganda Fide approved the Carmelites and sent the Bulls to open missions in Madura Karnat and Mysore. But somehow it was postponed. During this time one clergyman (local) John D'Silva by name caused much confusion. He opposed the entry of Carmelites and reserved the whole field for himself. He was a regular trader and cheated people by receiving ornaments. He was a money lender to the scandal of Hindus and others. He roamed over all Mysore during this troublous time (Hierarchia Carmelitana Edited by P. Ambrosi A. S. Theresia A. C. D. Fasciculus IV, PP. 283–284). Was this the same clergyman referred to by Abbe Dubois ?

5. Chetney is a Konkani word for a sweet pickle. It has some other meaning also. In general the word is used for a preparation of food.

chief of Tippu's royal household and was highly respected by Tippu himself. He played a prominent part in the social life of the community at the time of their captivity in Seringapatam. In many instances through his influence over Tippu's officers, punishments to Christians were averted. He started centres of devotions where the Puranas were read and the rosary recited. Mr. Saldanha says: "We have it in the tradition handed down by Balthu Chetney that a "Council of Ten" consisting of the acknowledged guides of the Christians used to meet together from time to time to deliberate on matters concerning the welfare of the community and that at one of the meetings which he attended the venerable Paul Prabhu of Omzoor read and explained Father Estevav's Puran[1] when the meeting was suddenly broken up by the appearance of a Subhedar in their midst who seized it and took it to the Peerzada from whom Tippu got hold of it and devoutly placed it alongside the Alcoran in the royal library."[2] Altogether Balthu Chetney is a mysterious figure. The historicity of this personality is doubtful. The Barkur Mss. alleged to be the earliest document about the captivity has not mentioned his name. Did tradition then invent a name?

Apart from the mystery of Balthu Chetney, there is mention about some other Canara Catholics. Salvadore Pinto of Kavur was employed by Tippu Sultan as his personal munshi. "He is said to have had great influence on Tippu Sultan and highly distinguished in his service."[3]

The Christians though captives in a Moslem kingdom were not altogether devoid of religion. Some Englishmen have expressly narrated the counting of beads and genuflection before crosses. They had cherished rosaries and crosses and taken them with them. They recited the rosary though in secret.

The Barkur Mss. and some other sources of inform-

1. Tradition has it that the Christians were secretly reading the Christian Purana of Fr. Thomas Stephens.

2. Captivity, P. 28.

3. Gonsalves family Mss.

ation relate that a good deal of tortures were inflicted on the Christians.

Regarding these tortures three things should be remembered. The tortures were extremely severe.[1] Secondly Christians were not the only people on whom such severe tortures were inflicted. Every community suffered at Tippu's hands. It is said that the Armenians and the Moslems alone were left out. All others suffered for some reason or other or for no reason at all but simply for the pleasure of the sovereign. Thirdly, the infliction of tortures was generally in the hands of subordinates. Tippu was not present when they were inflicted, at least not often. Neither is there any evidence to prove that he himself dictated what special tortures were to be inflicted on the Christians. The subordinate officers handled this matter to decide of what sort they should be. Many a time these subordinates took the law into their own hands and inflicted harsh tortures simply to further their own purposes. Regarding the tortures, the statement of the Persian writer Mirza Ikbal may aptly be quoted: "Mankind were held in fear and trembling; God's creatures day and night were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and the ears was the commonest thing imaginable and of the killing of a man there was thought no more than of the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with

1. A Catholic missionary who resided at the time in an adjoining district furnishes the following dreadful particulars of the tyrant's barbarity: "He was preceded by 30,000 barbarians who butchered every person that came in their way; and by his heavy cannon under the command of General Lally at the head of a regiment of artillery. A great part of the inhabitants of Calicut both male and female were hung. He first tied up the mothers and then suspended the children from their necks. The cruel tyrant caused several Christians and heathens to be brought out naked and made fast to the feet of the elephants which were then obliged to drag them about till their limbs fell into pieces from their bodies. This happened in the year 1789 at which time I resided in Verapoly. I had then an opportunity of conversing with several who had escaped the fury of this merciless tyrant". (Asiatic Register 1800 characters, P. 10, note.)

the expectation of a safe return to it."

Though it could be possible that the tortures were inflicted on the Christians for breach of discipline etc. yet it is generally admitted that they were due to the refusal of the Christians to deliver their daughters to the harems of the Moslems. In a mass of Moslem officers and men, it was natural that the chastity of Christian women was encroached upon because the Christians were powerless in the camps. There were some who succumbed possibly to avoid destruction and death or to carry some favour. Among others there were revolts followed by exemplary punishments.

Cutting of lips and noses and parading through the city seated on asses was one of the several punishments meted out to the Christians. The services of Chamars were utilised to cut the lips and noses and this was generally done with saws. A classic illustration has been given by the author of the Barkur Mss. "The Jamadars, Subedars and Havildars had meted out to them ignominious punishment, for with their ears and noses slit off they were seated on asses and paraded through the city. One of these a certain Moble Antony made the following speech to the Sultan: "You have disfigured my features by cutting off my nose and ears. You have forgotten the favours done to you. May God behold this and raising his eyes to heaven he appealed to God expressed contrition for his sins and expired".[1]

Whether Tippu was personally responsible for the tortures, because the girls were refused to be taken to his own harem is a doubtful question. Among other authorities, Wilks is of opinion that he had not much love for the harem. "From constitutional or incidental (obstructio in urethra) causes he was less addicted than his father to the pleasures of the harem which however contained at his death about 100 persons".[2] Launnay says that women were handed over to the Moslems. In spite of all this, social life in Seringapatam was not all

1. History of the Diocese, PP. 45–46.
2. Wilks, Mysore, II, 380.

misery. Becher has given a fair picture of the life of Portuguese women.

What was the life of the Christians that remained in Canara either in hiding or as loyalists ? As to those who are in hiding, their life must have been miserable. Some of them were caught a second time and taken to Seringapatam. The life of the loyalists was gay and cheerful. They actually assisted the Moslems in getting hold of those in hiding. On the other hand the Moslems handed over the captives into the hands of these loyalists to be taken to Seringapatam. For this they were not paid wages, but given liquor as much as they desired.[1] Thus they gained vast powers over the captives.

An interesting episode is mentioned by Becher. There was a Christian woman in Cundapur, Philippa, with a child four years old.[2] At this time a Frenchman by name M. D' Outerville was commissioned by Tippu to construct roads on the sea coast.[3] While he was camping at Cundapur, this woman went to him and performed all his domestic work of washing clothes etc. While the Frenchman passed on to Mangalore, she accompanied him and lived practically with him.

At this time in Mangalore, Becher, one Mr. H. and a servant were taken captive and sent to Seringapatam. This party was given in charge of a Portuguese[4] and six peadhas.[5] When the company started Philippa expressed a desire to follow them to Hyder Nagar and actually did so with her child. While living with D'Outerville, she was

1. It is interesting to note that Tippu's government introduced total prohibition in Canara. In spite of it the people were distilling everywhere.

2. It is not known whether her husband was taken to Seringapatam or was dead.

3. It should be said to the credit of Tippu that he had a touch of modern ideas, and laid the foundations of the modern road system. A net work of new roads broad enough for vehicular traffic and entirely deviating from old routes were laid out. The modern roads of Canara date from that time.

4. This is a Christian.

5. Peadah is a pedo in Konkani i.e an office sepoy.

very kind to Becher and his party. She washed their clothes and made them clean and comfortable, a pleasure which they had not enjoyed for a long time. When Philippa expressed a wish to accompany Becher, he was not pleased. But it was of no avail and she started with them.

At first they were delayed a little by Philippa having her child to carry. But after they had gone some distance from Mangalore, the Portuguese pressed the first man he met and made him to carry the child a mile or two, and then forced another; and in this way the child was carried all the way to Hyder Nagar.

The Portuguese carried liquor with him. The French captain gave him the permit for the liquor. Thus all arrived in Hyder Nagar. The captives were duly handed over to the authorities and Philippa and her child remained in Hyder Nagar, with a French family. Becher used to get a small pittance of 20 fanams a month from the treasury which was not enough for his own maintenance. Philippa sometimes used to send him some presents through the captain's wife and so he was greatly indebted to her. One day, she went to see Becher and told him that she had an offer of marriage from the French Sergeant, but, that she did not like the man. Though Becher could not conceive that it was a proposal in his own favour, yet he told her that he had no intention of marrying in this country and advised her to marry the sergeant. The sergeant was earning Rs 500/- a month and was thus in a position to maintain the child also. This convinced her and she left Becher in tears. Shortly afterwards she was married to the sergeant, the captain performing the marriage.[1]

There is another episode which happened in 1786 and should be mentioned here. Though it occured in Goa, it had vast repercussions on the future conduct of Tippu, and possibly alleviated the cruelties to a great extent. There was for some time a great desire on the part of the secular clergy in Goa to aspire for higher positions which were supposed to be reserved only for the Portuguese. In this connection, Pombal appeared to be in

1. Becher: Memoirs PP. 36-42.

favour of this move of the secular clergy of Goa. Accordingly, Pombal was responsible for the appointment of a Goan priest for the vacant Bishopric of Cochin. Till Pombal's death, the move was approved by the Archbishop of Goa. But after his death, the man was removed from the office.

This act irritated all the Goan secular clergy. Two priests, Pe. Caetan Francis Couto of Panjim[1] and Pe. Jose Antony Gonsalves of Divadin attempted to raise a revolt against the Portuguese administration in Goa. They travelled as far as Lisbon with their application for higher posts for the secular clergy. But they failed. On their return, they set up the Indian army against the State. They were joined in this movement by notable personalities of Goa, specially Abbe Faria. The French promised them help. It is said that correspondence was commenced with Tippu Sultan to be ready in Karwar to march into Goa when the signal of revolt was announced. The rising was expected to take place on 10th August 1786. But the whole plot was betrayed by one priest Pe. Pedru Caitan Jose Lobo. When investigation commenced, 47 people were arrested and 9 escaped. The information was given to the police by the Archbishop. All these were put under court martial and a memorable trial commenced. When direct evidence failed, concocted witnesses were put up in the witness box and a conviction was obtained. 15 were sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was carried out with great cruelty. Though no documentary evidence is available of the help requested from Tippu, the judgement of the court martial has revealed the whole story.[2]

This revolt of the Goan clergy opened the eyes of Tippu to a great extent and this is responsible in a large measure to his change of policy. He had perhaps not believed in the patriotism of the Goan clergy. Like his

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1. The priest was in Canara in 1784 and escaped to Goa in the captivity.

2. This episode is confirmed by Fr. Pavone S. J. and some more details are given in his letter of 1788.

father who was considered one of the first and the greatest protagonists against alien rule in India, Tippu found to his surprise, now the same spirit among the Goans who in spite of the greatest difficulties dared to oppose the alien rule.

CHAPTER XI

DISPERSAL, 1789—1799.

Now that the danger from the Christians was over, Tippu thought that he was free to have his designs on the English. But the shape the events took could not be averted. The third Mysore war was a necessity, for the English both to make good the dishonour of the Mangalore disaster and also to vindicate the promise made to the Hindu Royal family of Mysore.[1] Tippu was fully aware of the huge confederacy that was about to be formed to crush him altogether. The full force of this persecution did not last for more than four or five years from the time it commenced, viz. 1784. As years passed, Tippu found that his power was being gradually curtailed and he foresaw that with the policy of hatred which he had inaugurated, he could not possibly survive the onslaughts of the huge confideracy formed against him. Repentance did come to Tippu though late. He openly saw that the policy of keeping the English at bay by banishing the Christian community had failed.

Consequently persecution and terrorisation was abandoned. Negotiations were opened with the Portuguese Government and with the Archbishop of Goa with a promise that he would no more molest the Christians; not only this, he positively asserted that he would built all destroyed churches at his own cost.[2]

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1. See Atcheson: A collection of Treaties, Vol. IX, PP. 200-206 for the treaty of 28th October 1782 for the restoration of the Hindu dynasty of Mysore.

2. Quoting the Mangalore Magazine Vol. I, P. 344-345, Mr. Saldanha gives the following as alleged to be sent by Tippu to the Archbishop of Goa: "Several thousand Christians in the dominion of Tippu Sultan had oft in past years represented to him the discomfort

This was a signal change of policy. The Christians found the supervision over them released and Tippu was more conciliatory in his attitude. The Christians now escaped from the camps and gradually began to enter neighbouring kingdoms.

At this time many Christians performed daring feats in rescuing the captives from Seringapatam and taking them to places of safety. One Domingo Pinto[1] excelled himself particularly in this, rescued many persons and took them secretly to Mangalore or Telichery. "He proposed to those who were anxious to regain their liberty at right time to rescue at great risk provided they paid him a certain sum of money. He fixed the price of rescuing the captives at Hoons 8 (Rs. 32) and Hoons 4 (Rs. 16) to each male and each female respectively."[2] But ultimately this action of of his was reported to Tippu by a spy. The officers of Tippu were after him. Once he was actually caught and brought up to Pattana. But on the way he cleverly managed his escape, came to Telichery and settled there.

At this time some Mangalore students who were studying for the priesthood in Goa returned to Mangalore. Among these was Pe. Louis Sequeira of Mangalore.[3] He was ordained in 1789, and returned home shortly after.

The treaty of Seringapatam (1792) sapped the econo-

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attending the due exercise of their religion. He had hitherto paid no manner of regard to their supplications. Nevertheless the present state of affairs in his extensive empire had inclined his heart to mercy and not to harshness. Wherefore he had despatched these his trusty messengers who might convey the words of his mouth in all variety, begging the Governor and the Archbishop not to refuse every needful exertion towards succouring their brothern Christians according to the obligations of their religion. And he would as soon as might be convenient rebuild at his own expense the Churches that the fate decreed agents of destruction had levelled to the ground." I have no autherity for his statement but tradition. But it is definite and is documentarily proved and admitted in the letters of Englishmen that an Embassy was sent to Goa by Tippu; only the text of the statemcnt is not exactly known.

1. Brother of Salvador Pinto.
2. Gonsalves family Mss.
3. Carta Dimessoria, 26th October 1789.

mic, financial and military resources of Tippu. The cession of Baramahal and Coorg broke down the natural barriers which offered protection to his kingdom and facilitated the invasion of Mysore both from the East and from the West. The English were now supreme. The treaty of 1792 completely opened Tippu's eyes. From now on he was not only not an enemy of the Christians but a positive friend. As in his father's time, his trusted garrisons consisted of Christians.[1]

His defeat in 1792 resulted in further emigrations. Possibly the Christians began to get out openly and settle in different territories.

In 1792, the captured Coorg Rajah Dodda Virarajendra had managed to escape from Seringapatam and with the aid of the English was able to recover Coorg for himself in the treaty of 1792. Virarajendra of Coorg, a good and compassionate man and anxious of peopling his kingdom which had been depopulated by the late wars welcomed the fugitive Konkani Christians. As an inducement to remain permanently in his territory he granted them several privileges.[2] Fr. John D'Costa appears to have interceded with the Rajah and obtained the charters. Many South Canara Christians settled in Coorg at this time.

The Potuguese Government also opened negotiations as they required the old ports for the conveyance of rice from Canara.[3]

After full consideration of the changed circumstances, the Archbishop of Goa, anxious about the spiritual welfare of the Christians that were left in Canara or that had returned to Canara, by a provision on 20th February 1795, appointed Fr. Mingel Juse Louis Mendez[4] interim vicar to

1. Mr. Saldanha mentions a tradition that the life of Tippu was saved by a Christian faithful servant in Travancore (Captivity, P. 27)

2. The name of Fr. John D'Costa appears here in connection with these Mulpattas and so it is possible that from the time of his exile by Tippu till now he was in Coorg.

3. Read letter of 20th December 1793. There was war between the ortuguese and Tippu in 1790 and peace was concluded in 1791.

4. This illustrious priest was the son of Theodosia Mendes of Ribander and Anna Louisa of Madre de Deus. He was born in S. Pedro

all the four varas of Mangalore, Barcelore, Onore and Mulquem.[1] With him also some other priests came to Canara.

About this priest the history of the Diocese of Mangalore says:- " The few Christians that escaped the general persecution and remained in and about Mangalore after a time began to assemble in the chapel built by a certain Peter Rego in Derebyle 3 miles from Mangalore and Fr. Joseph Michael Mendez came from Telichery to minister to their spiritual wants. Along with him came Fathers Messia and Cosmos Camillos da Costa".[2] But even before this there were some Goan priests in Canara. In 1792 (May-June) Pe. Gaspar B. Braz da Cruz was vicar of Ankola. He ministered to the spiritual needs of the Catholics of Sunkery and celebrated 5 nuptials in Sunkery during that time [3] In 1796, a Catholic priest of Honavar Pe. Juao Antonio Lopes[4] who was ordained by Archbishop Santa Catherina on 24th September 1796, was sent to Honavar. In 1797, P. Cajetan Xavier Gomes was sent to Ankola by the Archbishop of Goa. He visited Sunkery twice, said mass in the house of a Christian and baptised some children.[5]

" At this time which can be called a lucid interval, when it seemed that the tyrant's change could not be trusted D. Victor of St. Mary who at that time was Vicar Apostolic of the Mogul had neither the courage nor the confidence, nor the convenience to send hither some missionary. Yet there was not wanting one who certainly without authority was administering the sacraments to the few Christians who were here (Sunkery). A certain indige-

(Panelim) and was the Gaunkar of Ucassim. He was ordained by Archbishod Santa Catharina in the Palace Chapel [Se'] on 6th June 1760. [I am indebted to Fr. F. X. Gomes Catao for giving me the clue for this appointment from his Mss.] This solved many difficulties.

1. This order of the Archbishop confirms that there were four varas in the Mission of Canara.
2. History of the Diocese, P. 36.
3. Sunkery Church Archives.
4. Son of Andre Manuel Lopes and Juanna Gonsalves of Honavar.
5. Sunkery Church Archives.

neous Goan priest by name Gaspar Melchior Diaz of the Cross who at that time was the parish priest in the mission of Siumjar (Shiveshwar) under the Archbishop of Goa and who was residing in the nearby province of Canacona twice traversed through this our mission of Karwar and having assumed the title of "deputed parish priest" baptised some children of this church of Sunkery, heard confessions and blessed some marriages".[1]

There is another circumstance which affected the social life of the Christians at this time. The priests of the Syrian Schismatic Community had by this time poured into Mysore, Baramahals and other places. Abbe Dubois was at this time in charge of the Mission of Baramahals. In 1797 he started a correspondance with Mr. Reade the Collector of Baramahals to oust the members of this community. But it was of no avail.[2] These Schismatic priests perverted many of the neglected Catholics.

The Goan priests who came to Canara had kept their old prejudices. They could not accept the rule of Tippu with sympathy. The persecution of the priests was ever before their eyes, and it could not possibly be forgotten so soon. As soon as they entered the country they openly advocated a revolution against the tyrant. They made themselves very offensive to the Ruler by their letters and even by their speeches. As a result, in 1797, the brief relaxation ceased and persecution commenced again. The many good promises made by Tippu were not fulfilled. Fr. Juse Mingel Mendez was kept in captivity for two years at Jamalabad till the fortress was captured by the British in 1799.[3] It is not known what happened to

1. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. XIX.

2. Read the Abbe Dubois Reade Correspondence.

3. History of the Diocese, page 56. It is a surprise how Fr. Mendez could survive the two years in that fortress at Jamalabad. But there is a tradition in South Canara about him. It appears the wife of the Moslem commander of the fort of Jamalabad was seriously ill, and possibly on the point of death. Fr. Mendez's holiness was known to the commander and he requested him to pray for his sick wife. The prayers of this holy priest had the desired effect and the wife recovered. In due acknowledgement of this favour the commander treated this priest well

the other priests that were in Canara. Possibly they escaped to Goa.[1]

But the persecution could not last long as the end of Tippu was near. The advantages gained by the English by the treaty of 1792 had to be carried to a finish. The last war crushed him altogether. An army of 21000 men assembled at Vellore under the command of General Harris on 14th February 1799. 16000 men under Wellesley joined it at Ambur on the 20th. 6420 men of the Bombay army assembled at Cananore under General Stuart. Colonels Reade and Brown also assembled armies at Trichinapoly. "All this was directed against the chieftain of Mysore who six years before was stripped of one half of his dominions and left in possession of a territory yielding a revenue of a little more than a crore of rupees; while the revenue of the Anglo Indian Government alone without speaking of that of its ally exceeded nine millions. What a mass of talent the petty prince of a petty country must have been supposed to possess".[2]

The task was too much for the petty prince. On 4th May 1799 Tippu succumbed. The rest was with the English.

CHAPTER XII

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF TIPPU.

The religious policy of Tippu is now to be discussed. "Tippu, in an age when persecution only survived in history, renewed its worst terrors; and was the last Mahomedan prince, after a long interval of better feeling, who propagated that religion by the edge of the sword".[3] Launnay is also of the same opinion. Fr. Francis Xavier

for the rest of the period of his confinement and when the fourth Mysore war was over in 1799 this priest was allowed to escape. Any way, the survival of this priest in that dungeon for two years would have been an impossibility if it was not for some favour or other.

1. The Diocesan History says that a Christian named Antony a wretched spy betrayed Fr. Mendez to the authorities.

2. Mill VI, 80.

3. Wilks Mysore II, 383.

thinks that personally Tippu was quite indifferent to his own religion. But his bigotry was roused by some false prophets of Islam who approached him and told him that his kingdom would not remain stable unless he made all Christians embrace the Mahomedan religion, and caused the very name of Christ to disappear from his kingdom.[1] Even granting this is true, as a logical sequence only Christians should have been converted. But there are instances where others too are forcibly converted. In general, the religious policy inaugurated by Tippu was to the effect that all his subjects should embrace Islam; that but Islam there should be no other religion in his kingdom.[2]

This policy he inaugurated about the year 1785. From this time dates the religious persecution in his kingdom, which has been described as one of the worst in the history of modern times and has cast the deepest slur on the name of Tippu, and which has eclipsed his better qualities. Ever since, history has judged him from this angle of vision. In the due discharge of this policy, Tippu did two things: 1) the destruction of the places of religious worship; 2) conversion to Islam by circumcision.

Hindus were converted in great numbers. The chief priests of the Lingayat sect at Pattanam (Bednore) were circumcised.[3] Tippu's expedition to Malabar is imputed by some authorities "to a determination to convert to the Mahomedan faith or on failure to extirpate the whole race of Rajahs, Nairs and other Hindus; many of whom were accordingly seized and circumcised; while others

1. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. 19.

2. This may appear strange to the modern scholar. But if a study is made of the policies of some of the Moslem kings of the middle ages, many illustrations could be given in the history of India of such forced conversions. Crawford gives one such instance. At P. 128 of his work "Legends of Konkan" is the following passage: "Towards the end of 15th century, the Moghals appeared on the scene (Ratnagiri) bringing with them a host of the lower orders of the Moslems and many Mulhas; many thousands of Hindus were circumcised by force and made to conform outwardly to the religion of Islam; their progeny became devout Muslims".

3. Fr. Miranda Appendix No. 1

escaped, or failing in the attempt put themselves to death to avoid loss of caste."[1] Many of the Nambhudri Brahmins were caught and circumcised. Those who could escape fled to Travancore.[2] Nor were the Shenvis of Malabar free from the molestations of Tippu. At Nileshwar south of Mangalore the Hindus were forced to hide in the woods and all such as could be caught were circumcised.[3] Englishmen were circumcised in great numbers.[4] Many Englishmen were prisoners in his camps and so it was easy for him to have the operation performed on them.

All the Christians of Canara who were in Seringapatam, as also the Christians from other parts of his dominions brought there as prisoners, were circumcised. "Some Christians belonging to this place (Telichery) as they were coming in a boat from Mahe were seized off Currachew by the Nabob's people made Mussalmans and detained."[5] A Portuguese priest who was attached to the church there (at Mangalore) had been forced to embrace the Mahomedan religion and to submit himself to the painful operation.[6] The Christians of Serviapalaen (near Coimbatore) were locked up in the prisons of Seringapatam, two of them having died, the others feigned death; they had won over the keepers with money and others escaped and returned to the village.[7] The commerce which the Europeans had in Calicut attracted many Christians who had purchased lands there. These Christians went under the name of Portuguese. Tippu seized all their lands and allowed them to withdraw from there

1. Asiatic Register 1800 characters, P. 10. Note. Buchanan: Journey II, 190.
2. Buchanan Journey: II, 106.
3. Buchanan Journey: II, 209.
4. Fr. Miranda Appendix No. 1
5. Letter from the Telichery Factors William Lewis G. Peterson, Lawrence Shaw, dated 25th April 1789 to Major General William Meadows Governor of Bombay (Political and Secret Department Diary, Vol. 39, P. 226.)
6. Edmond Gaudart: Catalogues des Manuscripts t. V, 64–65.
7. Notes of P. Guerpillon, 1896.

but prevented them from carrying away their moveable goods.[1] Concluding Fr. Miranda aptly says: " Likewise many others have been circumcised even the military men of his army, without considering their nationality whether friendly or not".[2] In a nutshell, the policy is "according to the law and as is the law so are the subjects."[3]

In the wide spread dissemination of this policy, Tippu's greatest pride was that he had converted the Christians. On the day of the circumcision of Christians in commemoration of this unique achievement " salvoes of guns were fired, banquets were held, bands were played and money was distributed".[4] Tippu had achieved his object and he was proud of it. The community that defied his father and possibly could have defied him also was now not only captive in his kingdom but members of his own religious persuasion. But this universal rejoicing was resented by many. The officers of the French army evinced a special distaste for it.

The next step was the destruction of the places of worship. If Islam was to flourish, Hindu temples and Christian churches had to be demolished. The great Hindu temple of Nagar, the capital of the Bednore dynasty the greatest perhaps of the Lingayat sect, was razed to the ground. All the churches in Mysore state were destroyed. Only a few churches remained. The church of Keranganur remained on account of the bravery of a certain Michael. The church of Gadanhally was spared by a Musalman officer. The church of Blackpully at Bangalore was spared through the efforts of a fervent Catholic, Xavier Gowda. The chapel of Ayupaleam near Coimbatore was possibly forgotten. The churches in the mission of Karnat were also destroyed.

But that of Penganur was preserved on account of the intervention of the Rajah of the place.

The following churches in Canara were either destroyed or pulled down by order of the Sultan:- Church

1, Gaudart: Catalogues des Manuscripts t. V, 64-65.
2. Fr. Miranda: Appendix No. 1
3. Fr, Miranda: Appendix No. 1
4. Fr. Miranda: Appendix No. 1

of N. S. de Rosario and N. S. de Milagres of Mangalore, the convent and seminary built by Rev. Jeochim Miranda, church of Jesu, Marie, Juse of Omzoor, chapel of ..... of Bolar, Mangalore, church of N. S de Merces of Ullal, church of Bom Jesu (Minin Jesu ?) of Buntwal, church of Santa Cruz of Bidre, church of Mae de Deus, Mogarnad, church of Sra Sao Salvador of Agrar, church of Immaculada Conceicao of Mulky, church of Sao Juse of Pezar, church of N. S do Remedios of Kire, church of N. S. de Saude of Sirvan, church of Sao Lawrence, Karkal, church of N. S. de Rosario of Barkoor, church of Immaculada Conceicao of Gangolli, church of N. S. de Milagres of Kallianpur, church of N. S. de Rosario of Çundapur, church of Immaculada Conceicao of Baindur, chapel of.....of Kumta, church of Sao Francisco Xavier of Chandavar, church of Sao Salvador of Honore, church of N. S. dos Remedios of Gulmona, church of Immaculada Conceicao of Sunkery built by the Carmelites."[1]

1. Memorial of 1860. No mention is made here of the church of St. Peter of Nirlaver which is a village between Barkur and Petrepolly. There were two churches dedicated to St. Peter Apostle, one at Petrepolly and the other at Barkur, which was a filial of Kalianpur. It appears both were destroyed by the orders of Tippu. No mention is also made here about the rich Ankola church dedicated to B. V. M. The Kanara Gazeteer mentions that the Ankola church dedicated to B. V. M. was destroyed. So possibly the list is not complete. There is a tradition at Ankola that the chapel of Baleguli, 2 miles from Ankola was preserved by the special orders of Tippu because a Christian woman cured him of some illness when he was in Ankola. As a reward, it is said, that the Sultan passed on to the family 25 acres of land round this chapel. Presumably this chapel was left. There are records to prove that the Archbishop of Goa appointed priests as vicars of Ankola and they ministered to the Catholics during the period of the captivity inspite of Moslem rule. The church of Bidrem was preserved on account of the influence of the Chauter chiefs. On account of the influence of some of the local Bunt chiefs, only the roof of the Kirem church was demolished. As a mark of gratitude for this, the church authorities are giving to this day candles on the parish feast day to the descendants of the Bunts. "The building of the church (Sunkery) that had so often been profaned by the sacrilegeous acts of those miserable people together with our House experienced the divine wrath. For, the Mahomedans

The chapel of Mercara was destroyed and the priest was expelled.[1] In the hunt for the few Christians of Coorg, all of them escaped to other places.

To avert greater destruction, the goods of the churches as of the temples were carried to places of safety. The Shenvis of Malabar at the time of Tippu's raids removed

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first used the church as stables for the cattle; later on they completely demolished both church and house so that no stone was left standing. They even removed some of the stones and used them to repair some of their unholy places of worship". (History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVII.) The church of Milagres (Mangalore)was destroyed and the stones were used to build an Idgah (a place of worship) on the Idga Hill Whether the church of Chandavar was pulled down completely or not is doubtful. This church has a large sized wooden statue of St. Francis Xavier. In olden days, it was floating in the sea and came into the nets of some fishermen while at sea. It was brought by them and given to the local chieftain who kept it in his museum as a rare exhibit. Soon there were noises in the house. On the Jotishis being asked, they advised the chieftain to hand over the statue to the Christians, who placed it in Mirjan for public veneration. Mirjan was a centre of trade at that time. This statue was here venerated by Christians, Hindus and Moslems alike and was held in great veneration by all the communities. Later in 1678 a church was built at Chandavar and the statue was removed to this church. Chandavar was the boundary of Bednore Empire and was a Customs Naka during Venkappa Nayaka's rule. All pack bullocks had to be registered here. At Chandavar also this statue was held in great veneration by all communities. The fact that this statue is intact till today in the present church leads us to presume that because it was venerated by all communities including Moslems, this statue was left untouched by the officers of Tippu and therefore it has survived. There is a large bell [Weighing 1860 lbs. and slightly cracked] in the front yard of the Shankar Narayan temple at Hosangadi in Cundapur Taluka bearing in Portuguese the following inscription:- EITAPELO-MESTRE BODV 1743 with the figures of Jesus Christ and Blessed Virgin on its surface and on its opposite sides. It was handed over to the temple by Tippu's officers. It belonged to the church at Petrie. It can be heard for 5 miles when rung. There is another bell in the Shankar Narayan temple near Cundapur given to it by Tippu's officers from the Barkur church. These gifts are due to the fact that Halepaiks to whom these temples belonged were in his armies.

1. This priest was Fr. John da Costa. This priest appears in Coorg again in 1792. It may be that he never left Coorg but was hiding somewhere till 1792.

in all 65 images from temples like Gurunayur in the north and brought them to southern countries.[1] The authorities of many Hindu temples of Canara took their valuables to the island of Anjediva.[2]

Moslem and Hindu bandits openly entered the churches and other residences of the people and plundered all the goods. "As soon as Fr. Sebastian had fled from here (Sunkery) a multitude of pagans and Mahomedans having entered the house and the church, which had no one guarding them, began to loot and plunder whatever seemed to be of any use to any one".[3] The Hindus were everywhere persecuted and deprived of their riches, of their women and of their children.[4]

This general religious policy inaugurated by Tippu allowed certain exceptions. " The Syrian Christians were treated well by Tippu. Similarly he encouraged the Armenian merchants to come and settle in Mysore and all kinds of facilities were given to them".[5] The Halepaiks of Canara were not only treated well, but the bells of Christian churches were handed over to their Shankar Narayan temples in Cundapur.[6]

Tippu confided in Canara only on Moplahs and in every place they became the officers and the officials of the Government.[7]

The full history of Tippu's religious policy has never been written. Even the few facts that are gleaned from writers were noted by them long after the event. But such a policy cannot be sustained. Even with all his might Tippu could not carry it through involved as he was in continual wars and conflicts. The results were apparent within two or three years and convinced him that this policy was most injudicious.

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1. Sharma: Saraswat Bhushan P. 142.
2. History of the Sunkery Mission, Ch. XVII. 3 Ibid.
4. Buchanan: Journey, II, 190.
5. Kirkpatrick: Select Letters of Tippu, No. 425.
6. South Kanara District Manuel: Supplement, P. 41
7. Buchanan Journey II, 190.

In 1787, Tippu's ambassadors were in Paris in the court of Louis XVI. The persecution of the Christians by Tippu was brought to the notice of Holy Father in Rome before this. Taking advantage of the presence of Tippu's ambassadors in Paris, the Papal Nuncio tried to come to some settlement through the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. At last the matter was left in the hands of M. de Cossigny, Governor of Pondichery. Though officially these negotiations remained without results, yet the friendship between M. de Cossigny and Tippu must have changed his policy of persecution.

A change of policy became therefore a necessity for Tippu, and this was felt first in the year 1789. "The whole Christianity" writes Fr. Francis Xavier, "under the dominion of Tippu Sultan seemed to breathe a little in the year 1789. The causes of this alleviation were two fold: 1) because the unbounded pride of this tyrant was greatly broken, crushed and repressed by the victorious English arms, who prevailing in many provinces, subjected many citadels, among which also was the nearest fortress of Sadashivgad where they remained until peace was concluded, which the tyrant to his very great disgrace was compelled to ask; 2) the other cause of this alleviation was, because the Christians, even who having been circumcised were enrolled in the army, were fleeing away in crowds from the land of the Sultan and were kindly received by the neighbouring kings and princes, from which fact it so resulted that many of the provinces of the tyrant were reduced to solitudes; on the other hand, the people and the power of the bordering kings was increasing. Hence the tyrant to hinder further emigration, and to recall those already emigrated, feigned to recover his senses and in this same year 1789 sent letters to the Goan Governor and Archbishop, asking for Catholic priests to be sent to his dominions, promising to rebuild at his own cost the churches destroyed by himself."[1] In 1789 a special deputation was also sent to Goa.

This repentence was extended by Tippu also to other communities. "The designing prince had held out to fugi-

1. History of the Sunkery Mission, Ch. XIX.

tive Nairs to return and resettle with their families under the promises of their not being further persecuted. Some have availed themselves of his advances.".[1] So it may be taken as certain that the full force of the persecution diminished from the year 1789, and Christians and others began to emigrate from his dominions in larger and larger numbers.

As a result of this change of policy advocated by Tippu, "several of the exiled Christians who had emigrated in foreign dominions but not far off and who bore more ardent affection for the mother country returned to their own houses. These however were few both because of the short time and chiefly because on account of the nature of that worst tyrant it was feared that a savage fraud was hidden in words and perfidy was intended."[2]

In the general policy followed by Tippu of converting all to the doctrine and faith of Islam, the Christians of Canara also had to follow. To convert these Christians was the easiest for him for they were already prisoners in his hands, and were nearest to him. Therefore it is a positive fact that the Canara Christians were circumcised and made Moslems. The earliest authorities, Fr. Miranda and the Portuguese Government Report admit this.

Next, it is a fact, which is beyond doubt, that these Christians openly practised Islam went to the mosques with other Moslems and prayed with them. Their names were changed, and Islamic names were adopted.[3] They

1. Letter of William Meadows, Governor of Bombay dated 23rd September 1789 to Charles Malet, Resident of Poona. (Secret and political Department Diary, Vol. 39, P. 384.)

2. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. XIX.

3. I had an occasion to listen to a story told to me by an old friend of mine. Somewhere near Udipi two Christian neighbours were quarreling. It so turned out that one called the other that he was the descendant of Yusuf Peter Cornelius and the other claimed that he was the descendent of Emir Lores Naik. Possibly the Islamic Names continued after their return to South Canara and though not in every day use, were taken advantage of during quarrels, which is just the time to rake old prejudices.

grew beards and dressed like Moslems also. To all appearances every Canara Christian was a Moslem. The Christians even talked the Hindustani language.[1]

The substantial question, the toughest in the history of the whole captivity that has been the subject matter of violent controversy for over a hundred years is whether to this circumcision the Christians voluntarily submitted. The only authority Fr. Miranda who could have possibly stated something about it is quite silent. Fr. Francis Xavier says:– " .....those men that were taken to Seringapatam all were circumcised, some under compulsion, some of their own accord".[2] This statement may possibly apply only to Sunkery Christians, because he had first hand knowledge only of them. But it cannot be denied that he had some knowledge of other Christians also because he had visited Coorg in 1805 where he had met several such Christians returned from Seringapatam

In a letter dated 1st May 1801 to Fr. Blandin, Rector of the Seminary at Rue de Bac in Paris Abbe Dubois writes:— "You will be astonished to learn that of the 44318 Christians who were led into the capital by the orders of the tyrant and whom he made to undergo

1. The following is an extract from the Gonsalves family Mss.: ' One day a strong man came to the house of Pascol Gonsalves in the town of Mangalore and stood on the threshold of the house. He tied a turban to his head in the Mussalman fashion. He had a long beard and whiskers and a staff in his hand, and looked wholly like a Mussalman, He found an old woman sitting alone on the verandah of the house. He boldly questioned the old woman in a threatening voice in Hindustani language: " Buddi kon hai gharme", [old woman, who is there in the house]. The old woman taking him for a Mussalman replied in Konkani language: " Ghara dharle monis konu nanthre, putha. Avum yeklinch matarim assam." [There are no adult males in the house. I alone, an old woman, am in the house.] She also said in Konkani: " Mojea yekleach putak Patnak dhorum vela." [my only son has been taken away in captivity to Seringapatam.] At these words, the man felt himself unable to restrain his filial emotions and said in Konkani: " Maim, maka tuje bencao di". [Mama, give me your blessing]. The old woman was beyond herself with joy, embraced her son and said: "Thum re mojea putha. Jivo asai re thum." [Is it you, my son, are you alive].

2. History of Sunkery Mission, Ch. VIII.

the yoke of the circumcision, all apostacized and there was not one of them out of so great a number who dared to confess Jesus Christ and make the slightest protest. I have made every investigation imaginable in order to find out whether at least some had confessed the faith, when this infamous ceremony was being performed on them; but I have had the grief to learn that not only did they not open their mouth when they were made Mussalmans but that even till the arrival of the English, they had always behaved like true and faithful disciples of Mahomed ".[1] This statement refers practically to all Christians who were at Seringapatam when he visited that place.

Among the authorities who have discussed the question whether the Christians consented to the circumcision two deserve a study They are Abbe Dubois and Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne. Both were Catholic priests. Both were observers of a high order. Both studied the situation but from different places, one from Sunkery and the other from Seringapatam. Their informants were actual survivors; but they studied the question of this apostacy many years after the event. False motives cannot be ascribed to any. Fr. Francis Xavier's history was a document which he knew would be handled by posterity. Abbe Dubois could not or would not send a false report to his Superiors. To one it was a complete apostacy and to the other it was only external.

The only eye witness who wrote about the apostacy and circumcision of the Canara Christians is the author of Barkur Mss. It says: " Out of every company, 25 men were taken and circumcised and at the end of the month when the wounds were healed another batch of 25 was submitted to the same rite and so on till the whole company was initiated into Islamism."[2] There is no mention of

1. Aloysian Supplement 1933, P. 5; Possibly the figure of 44318 includes all the Christians who were at Seringapatam at the time of circumcision. This includes the Christians both from Canara and Mysore. The apostacy was therefore general both among Canara Christians and Mysore Christians.

2. History of the Diocese of Mangalore, P.64. This may be studied along with other authorities and then its authority and veracity may be judged.

revolt or obstruction or anything. All authorities agree that the converts attended the Mosques every Friday. Mons. Dubois has possibly seen this on his arrival in Seringapatam. Therefore to all intent and purpose there was apostacy. The Christians became Moslems en masse. Their submission to the operation of circumcision was a submission to Islam as it was understood by Tippu. According to Abbe Dubois it was a complete apostacy. Externally it was so. They attended the Mosques. They joined Moslem prayers and lived as Moslems. The Christians were in Seringapatam for fifteen years. We have no information whether the children born then were also circumcised. It would be interesting to know what the facts are. There is evidence that marriages were performed by an apostate priest. Abbe Dubois has recorded this fact. According to Fr. Francis Xavier it was a partial apostacy. What he meant by it cannot be made out. If there was some resistence to the conversion, some instances of martyrdom should have occured.

The only authority for such instances of martyrdom is Bristow. But a careful persual of Bristow's and Scurry's accounts reveal that both had observed the same event. To Scurry it was a punishment for the refusal to deliver girls to the harems. He expressly said so. To Bristow it seemed to be martyrdom for the Faith. But he too seems to allude to the incident pointed out in the Barkur Mss. It is the punishment and death of Moble Antony.

So what Fr. Francis Xavier means by partial apostacy is to all intents and purposes that the Christians underwent circumcision only externally. The Christians did not voluntarily submit to the conversion. Even Buchanan in 1801 when he saw them styles them as involuntary Mussalmans [1]

But the problem is whether the Catholics by accepting circumcision believed that they left the Catholic

1. Buchanan: Journey II, 219: The passage is: "As the Christian religion does not prevent the readmission into the church of such delinquents these involuntary Mussalmans have in general reconciled themselves with the clergy who now of course are at liberty".

religion and embraced Islam. Whether, by circumcision a man becomes a Moslem ipso facto.

Circumcision has been resorted to by several communities in the world. "The number and variety of tribes and nations who practised it are surprising; a conservative estimate places the number that practice it in our day at two hundred millions..... Even some Christians circumcise their children, the Copts for instance, and the Abyssinians in Africa; and among the Filipinos, the same may be said of most of the Tagalos, who are Catholics. To these last, however, it is a mere ceremony without religious import."[1] Circumcision therefore is not necessarily a change of religion. Even the Koran does not expressly say so. But it has long been held as an external sign of Islam. This much must be admitted. Therefore the mere fact that a Christian is circumcised does not ipso facto make him a Moslem, nor does the mere attendence of the mosque ipso facto mean that he is a Muslim. The English soldiers of the time were themselves Christians They too were circumcised by orders of Tippu. To them, this operation was only silly and they were possibly laughing when they underwent this operation, and certainly did not think of a change in religion. The Canara and Mysore Christians underwent circumcision with a similar mentality. They attended the mosque only under compulsion, and with a mental reservation. That means that only externally they adopted Moslem practices. The Christians were the victims of political terror of Tippu. They were deprived of their homes and lands and were brought captive to Seringapatam. Would such a people embrace the faith of the oppresser ? Such would not be likely. Stray cases there may have been of conversion. But that there was wholesale conversion of all the Christians is not supported by facts.

" This extraordinary and almost universal weakness" says Launay, " cannot be too severely blamed. Some excuses can be made thereby diminishing the gravity of the fault. Later the faithful replenished with better senti-

1. Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol, III, P, 177.

ments were not wanting and M. Dubois has noted their explanations. It is true that they had no one to encourage them. The ministers of religion had already been hunted out of the kingdom and at their departure, not forseeing the future they had not thought of preparing them nor of outlining for them a rule of conduct, so that in the state of abandon uncertainty and fluctuation in which these poor people found themselves one could not but expect some scandal from a people of such disposition.[1]

Let us brush aside for a moment the fervent apology of Fr. Launay for the conduct of the Christians in embracing the faith of Islam, what is the evidence that they really believed in that faith? Every conceivable authority from the commencement to Buchanan in 1801 has admitted that their apostacy was only external and that they were unwilling Mussalmans.

Above all the future conduct of these 'converts' is very relevant. The continued saying of the Rosary and genuflections before the cross has been admitted by independent authorities like Bristow. The reading of Purana has been admitted even by Moslems. There are instances where the Christians defied Tippu and upheld their own religious belief. "In the time of Tippu Sultan there was a whole batallion of them (Christians) under an officer named Surappa (Xavier) who on one occasion when the tyrant meditated the destruction of the Christian church at Seringapatam called his fellow men to arms and defied his master".[2] Mgr. Teissier, Bishop of Mysore, was a missionary in Ganjam, near Seringapatam in 1880. He found among the prisoners the descendants of some who were captives under Tippu. "One of them who had learnt from his mother many details regarding the persecution told him that his mother as well as many others were required, perhaps several times, to repeat aloud the name of Allah, in token of their adhesion to the faith of the prophet; and that they cried out with all their

1. See Launay's report.

2. Bowring: Eastern Experiences 1781, P. 81, Read the report of this incident by Launay.

heart, not Allah (with the aspirate) but alla ! alla ! a word which in Canarese means no. Thus these Christians proclaimed, in reality and quite aloud, their will not to change their religion, while the Mahomedan officers, not observing the difference in the two words, imagined just the contrary".[1]

When the time was opportune they appealed to Abbe Dubois personally and requested him to come to their rescue. Abbe Dubois was working then in the Baramahals as a missionary. This tract was taken from Tippu after the Third Mysore War in 1792. The Christians of Seringapatam who were captives had then heard of this great missionary who was respected by friend and foe alike. The English officers had held him in the greatest esteem. Tippu himself had a great respect for him and for the religious of his Order.

The strongest proof is the admission of their guilt to Abbe Dubois. "The apostate Christians whom I found at Seringapatam or in the environs" writes Abbe Dubois to his Bishop, "did not fail on my arrival, to come and throw themselves at my feet, protesting to me that they had never renounced the Christian religion and that they would not have even apostacized externally but for the fact that they had been unfortunately deprived of their spiritual guides and had found no one to make them perceive the enormity of their crime".[2] This is a plain blunt statement which was spontaneously uttered at the earliest instance.

CHAPTER XIII

The Return and the Resettlement of the Christians.

1799–1831

All the tracts comprising the present two districts of Canara were obtained by the East India Company as

1. Aloysian Supplement 1933, P. 11.
2. Ibid. Compare Launay's Report.

the result of the treaty, and the English administration commenced in these districts from 1799.[1] Three able English officers Thomas Munro, John G. Ravenshaw and Alexander Reade were sent to Canara to take over the administration. Thomas Munro was specially deputed from Baramahals to reorganise the whole administration. Mr. Ravenshaw was appointed the Collector of the Southern Division and Mr. Reade of the Northern Division.

While the administration was in progress Dr. Buchanan was deputed by the Calcutta Government to make an economic survey of Malabar, Canara and Mysore. It was "performed under the orders of the most noble the Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of India for the express purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, arts and commerce; the religion, manners and customs, the history natural and civil and antiquities in the dominions of the Rajah of Mysore and the countries acquired by the Honourable East India Company in the late and former wars from Tippu Sultan". He set out on the afternoon of 23rd April 1800 from Madras and completed his journey on 4th July 1801. He was in Canara from 15th January 1801 to 15th March 1801.

When the English made their entry into Canara, the economic condition of the whole territory was in the most pitiable state. "When I (Sir Thomas Munro) entered Canara from the southward in July last, the districts of Coombla and Vittel, lying between Bekul and Mangalore, were in the possession of the two chiefs, styling themselves Rajahs, who had long been pensioners of the Bombay Government. Jamalabad had refused to surrender. A great part of the country from Nulsuram to Barkoor had been ravaged by the Cooroorgs. In many places the cattle had been swept away, the villages burnt, and the inhabitants, men, women and children carried off into captivity. The followers of Dondia had made an eruption from Beddenore into the district of Coondapur. Billgi was in possession of a Polligar. Ankola and Sadashivgad were garrisoned by

1. The exact territories (comprising the present Canara) that were ceded to the English by the treaty need not be mentioned here.

the Sultan's troops and the Raja of Soonda had entered that district as his ancient inheritance."[1] And again in para 18 of the same letter he says: "Canara has..... now completely fallen from the state of prosperity. The evils which have been continually accumulating upon it since it became a province of Mysore have destroyed a great part of its former population, and rendered its remaining inhabitants as poor as those of the neighbouring countries..... There is scarcely any saleable land; even on the sea coast to the northward of Cundapur or any where inland from one end of Canara to the other, excepting upon the banks of the Mangalore and some other great rivers. In the vicinity of the Ghauts, the lands are not only unsaleable, but the greatest part of them is waste and overgrown with wood. It is reckoned that the population of the country has been lessened by one third within the last forty years and there can be little doubt but its prosperity has suffered a much greater reduction. Gersapah, Ankola and Cundapur, formerly flourishing places contain now only a few beggarly inhabitants. Honavar once a second town in trade after Mangalore has not a single house, and Mangalore itself is greatly decayed".[2] Nothing ruined it more than the extraordinary augmentation of the land rent.

In such a devastated country "the Brahmins of Tuluva pretended that they are the only persons entitled to be called Baleky or proprietors of the soil".[3] "At present the greater part of the country belongs to Bants and other Sudras who style themselves proprietors although the Brahmins are willing only to give them the title of Mulacaras[4] or tenants. The property, if it ever belonged to Brahmins has been entirely alienated nor is there even a pretence set up of the Brahmins having power of redemption".[5]

1. Letter of Sir Thomas Munro dated 31st May 1800, para 2.
2. Compare this state of Canara with the report of the Dutch cited above.
3. Buchanan: Journey II, 31.
4. Mulgenidar, Mulgeni is a peculiar tenure in Canara.
5. Buchanan: Journey II, 33.

While the country was in such a sad economic state, the Christians returned. It is said that the Christians were set at liberty after the death of Tippu. It may even be said that those who wished to get out simply left Seringapatam. Or as Buchanan puts it: " (they) are now of course at liberty and 15000 have already returned to Mangalore and its vicinity; 10000 have made their escape to Malabar from whence they are returning as quickly as their poverty will admit".[1] The date of this memorandum is 22nd January 1801 On this date Buchanan had the figures of the southern division with him. Comparing the different dates the figures of Buchanan appear to be exaggerated.

Buchanan asked both Ravenshaw and Reade[2] to prepare a census of the population of Canara. This factor gives us a clue as to ascertain exactly the number of the Christian population of Canara after the return of the captives.

In this general census, the Christian population of Canara is stated as under:

Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of the southern division of Canara in 1800 gives the following account of the Christian population:-[3]

Christians- cultivators, merchants etc.; Number of houses- 2545; men- 3701; boys- 1968; women-3603;

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1. Buchanan: Journey II, 219.

2. After the capture of Canara, both Ravenshaw and Reade were transferred as Collectors of Canara.

3. Buchanan: Journey II, 206. The memorandum of Buchanan as regards this entry is of 15th January 1801. I have made a statement above that in the captivity the persons who suffered most were the poor and the uninfluential and that the rich and the influential escaped. Here is the patent proof for that statement. Mr. Ravenshaw classifies the Christians as cultivators and merchants. If there were merchants among them, they were surely the rich and the influential merchants who existed in the community before the captivity. The members cannot become merchants within the short space of time after they returned from Seringapatam. Therefore it is quite true that the rich and the influential escaped the captivity. After all it was a Shenvi race.

girls- 1605; Total- 10877. Mr. Reade, the Collector of the northern division gives the following account of the Christian population in 1800:- Cundapur- 36 Christian houses; Ankola- 93; Honavar- 256; Supa- 87; Soonda- 4; Banwasi- nil; Bilgy- nil. Thus in all there were 476[1] Christian houses. Calculating on an average 5 persons to a house, the total number of Christians in the northern division (North Canara) in 1800 was about 2380.

All these 13000 and odd people did not return from Mysore. Of this number ¾ at least had remained in Canara. Besides, some may have returned even after the census was taken. The Christians are entered in the census as cultivators and merchants, the two avocations which they followed before the captivity. On the whole it can safely be said that the number of Christians that returned was very small. Munro says that not even one tenth returned. If it is so then on a modest estimate the number of those that returned can be put to about 4000 or 5000. The community was almost decimated. The Canara Christians who had settled in Coorg under the patronage of Virarajendra with the help of Fr. John D'Costa in 1792 also left the place and their fields and returned to Canara. Home is after all dearer, whatever attractions there could be for the place of settlement.[2]

The death of Tippu brought on the scene two singular figures who moulded the destinies of this community to a very large extent. They are Abbe Dubois and Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne (Raphael Pescetto). According to his own statement Abbe Dubois arrived in Seringapatam after the death of Tippu towards the end of the year 1799. "If I am asked why I left my former station to come in these districts, I answer that after the change of Government, the people of my persuasion escaped from

1. Buchanan, Journey II, 336 & 872. Ankola at that time consisted of the present Karwar and Ankola Talukas. The memorandum of Buchanan as regards the entries are 7th March 1801 and 18th March 1801.

2. The archives of the church of Mercara show that almost all the settlers left the place. The result was that Christianity practically dwindled in Coorg leaving there only a few original Christians.

the persecution formerly exercised over them by the late Tippu, being apprised of my long stay in a neighbouring district and my being already acquainted with the languages, morals and usages of the natives, and at the same time seeing the spirit of tolerance and impartiality of the Government, sent to me many deputations with the earnest entreaties to come without delay to their assistance and to rebuild under the protection of Government their places of worship pulled down by orders of the late Sultan."[1] Fr. Francis Xavier was sent to Sunkery by the Prefect Apostolic of Bombay to reorganise the extinct Sunkery Mission. To reach to this place he had to encounter innumerable difficulties. The Archbishop of Goa though a Carmelite himself rigidly opposed his entry into Sunkery. The Portuguese Government not only opposed him, but wrote to the English officers not to admit him in Canara. In spite of all this opposition, with "all things which were necessary for celebrating mass, I most secretly found with one (at Anjediva) and who lent them to me and with all that I left Anjediva on April 13 (1801) and on the same day reached Sunkery without companion, without servant, without possibility of taking with me an interpreter, without the necessaries of life".[2]

The Abbe was a Frenchman and Fr. Francis Xavier was an Italian. The royal patronage of the Portuguese was now entirely extinct in Canara. The English were now the masters of its soil. The Abbe Dubois was known to

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1. Mysore Residency Records Collection: September-December 1800, Page 2091. For full text of the letter see Appendix No. 4.

2. History of the Sunkery Mission Ch. XXII. This Mss. was written by Fr, Francis Xavier of St. Anne about the year 1832 and it remained so at the Venice Archives of the Carmelites. It was accidentally discovered by Fr. Ambrosius and he published it for the first time with the other celebrated Carmelite works in 1939. Till this year, the whole Mss. was practically unknown; but only some cuttings from this were printed here and there; it is very probable that the whole Mss. was unknown to Fr. Maffei. If it was, it is impossible that a scholar of his reputation should have misconstrued the character of that able priest Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne.

the English from the time he came to India and served as a Missionary in the district of Baramahals. Fr. Francis Xavier though strongly opposed by the Portuguese Government entered Canara with the aid of the English. Thus under the auspices of the masters of the country, the English, these two veteran missionaries commenced their work for the economic and religious rehabilitation of the refugees. The task was stupendous to both, but they did not shrink it. These singular priests worked very hard and if at all the community was organised after its return from Seringapatam it was solely due to their indefatigable energy and zeal. In the capital (Seringapatam) itself the Abbe Dubois collected 1800 of the captive Christians and, pleading eloquently before Mgr. Champenois, the Bishop, brought them into the fold and established on a permanent basis the Roman Catholic Church in the province of Mysore.[1]

He worked in the mission of Mysore till 1822 when he sailed for Europe. In 22 years he built three churches for the Christians, one at Bangalore, one at Palhally Talooka of Ashtagram and the last at Sathally in Hassan district. He had then a Christian congregation of between 12 and 13 hundred families. He spent money from his own resources for the Christians. Seeing the poverty of the people and possibly anticipating that the churches might be deserted for want of funds, he requested the English Government to give an annual subsidy for these churches and secured from the Government an annual subsidy of Rs 100/- for each of the three churches.

Abbe Dubois was not expected to come to Canara. He belonged to the Pondichery Mission and he was under Mgr. Champenois. He was assigned to work in Mysore. For his work in Mysore he is spoken of in some parts as the prince's son, the noblest of Europeans. There is no record also to show that Abbe Dubois ever came to

1. Beachamps: Hindu manners and customs by Abbe Dubois, P. xi. There is still a certain community of Moslems in Seringapatam who are talking Konkani. These are perhaps the Christians who persisted in Islam.

Canara. Nor even any tradition. But there is a certain passage in his work "Hindu Manners and Customs"[1] which runs as follows: "I afterwards procured a book in Canara entitled Purohita Ashrama Karma..... in which I found the same details in almost exactly the same words".[2] This passage suggests that the Abbe was in Canara. When the members of the Christian community themselves invited him, it must be presumed that he came to Canara to render some help to these Christians in their homeland.

Abbe Dubois was a masterful organiser. He is well known for a study of two subjects: (1) the founding of agricultural colonies and (2) the eradication of small-pox.[3] In this devastated country the Government was anxiously awaiting cultivators. Waste and fallow lands were abundant. Thus lands were freely given on Mulpattahs ensuring title to the cultivator.[4] This situation was fully taken advantage of by the shrewd Abbe Dubois, and with the existing close relationship between him and the English officers things were not so difficult. Wherever possible and wherever the Christians wished to settle, they were given lands. The Christians were better cultivators and more industrious. This is acknowledged by the English officers. The founding of agricultural colonies was a special feature of the general work of Abbe Dubois,[5] and the Christians

1. Oxford Edition, 1906. 2. P. 268.

3. Read Beauchamps: Preface to the book, Hindu Manners and Customs, Oxford, Clarendon Press,

4. The history of these Mulpattahs is a study by itself. The available papers of Munro and others give a vivid glimpse of the tenacity of the English officers in reclaiming lands and bringing them under cultivation. I have not come across any such Mulpattah given to a Canara Christian. But it can with certainty be said that many of the Christians of South Canara availed themselves of such pattahs to commence cultivation. The Gonsalves family Mss. gives one such instance of land being given in 1799 to Pascoal Gonsalves. It was confirmed by Government in 1816.

5. The founding of the agricultural colony at Sathally near Hassan is the greatest achievement of Abbe Dubois, and is a model both for Government and other missionary societies.

of Canara also were settled in this manner. This is how he tried to solve the problem of the poverty of the people. For subsistence, tagavi loans were advanced freely on the recommendation of Sir Thomas Munro. These subsidies enabled the Christians to commence cultivation, to purchase seed and bullocks; they repaid the debts in annual instalments. Sir Thomas Munro had granted such loans in Baramahals and Abbe Dubois was well conversant with such loans. It was therefore easy to secure them.

The only intricate question was the restoration of the old lands claimed by the Christians. This was difficult for various reasons. One is that some lands had changed hands; In some cases the lands were willingly restored in consideration of the fact that the captives had returned and were almost penniless. But these cases were rare. These were cases where old Christians who had been left behind had handed over the lands to neighbours with a request to give them to the heirs on their return. Many did not return at all. Some returned; and out of these, some got the lands back, while others were deceived by these neighbours, who put up Tulasi Kattas in front of these houses to show that it was their property. Suits were filed by the Christians to recover their properties. Many failed; some were compromised and few succeeded.[1] It was a lengthy litigation. In one instance of a family taken to Seringapatam, only one woman returned. She came back to her property at Bombil in Amtadi in Bantwal village. But she was driven away by the occupants and died destitute.[2] But there were some among those who returned who could claim their lands and houses which they had possessed before. After a protracted struggle a list of 141 families was drawn up and the lands mentioned in that list were restored to their rightful owners.[3]

Some of the Christians who were educated were absorbed in Government service in Mangalore. Salvadore

1. Gonsalves Family Mss.
2. Mangalorean, October 1948, P. 1.
3. Munro's Letters. It must be admitted that what these families got is nothing in comparison to what the community lost.

Pinto[1] who had distinguished himself in Tippu's service was appointed the first Shirestedar of the District Court which was constituted in 1801.[2]

When the Christians returned to their home country, the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa commenced again. Vicars were appointed to the different parishes and also to the four Varas and they began to carry out their ministry. After his release from the Jamalabad prison Pe. Juse Mingel Louis Mendes[3] was appointed to the Vara of Mangalore on 7th December 1799. He was also the vicar of N. S. de Rosario of Mangalore. The old veteran missionary was reappointed again in due recognition of his past services. As Missionary of N. S. de Rosario Fr. Mendez was given the faculty of administering the sacrament of Confirmation. Pe. Camillo Piedade da Silva of Colva was appointed assistant of Fr. Mendez by provision of 7th December 1799. He was promoted vicar of Ullal in 1801. By provision of 9th February 1801 Pe. Manuel Louis Mendes brother of Pe. Mingel Juse Louis of S. Pedro became also assistant of Fr. Mendez in the Rosario Church. He was promoted vicar of Omzoor(1801-1804). In 1804 he was transferred to Bantwal. By provision of 3rd March 1804 Pe. Peregrino Reveiro of Socorro was the assistant of Fr. Mendez. The Rosario Church under Fr. Mendez was the training ground for all the new priests before their appointment as vicars to the various parishes.

The Church of N. S. de Rosario of Mangalore still continued to be the principal church in the mission of Canara. Fr. Mendez made it his residence. The new

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1. See above. 2. Gonsalves Family Mss.

3. It is about this priest that Buchanan says: "The vicar general was long confined in Jamalabad. He speaks Latin neither correctly nor fluently and seems very desirous of obtaining what he calls a domineering power over the sect that his authority may be equal to that of the native gurus, so as to keep his flock in good order not only by the spiritual means of excommunication but also by the temporary expedients of fine and corporal punishment. (Journey II, 219).

priests worked hard for the Christians in Canara. With the advice and help of Abbe Dubois, things went on quite satisfactorily. Fr. Mendez showed much personal interest in the resettlement of the Christians. The English officers were continually approached by them on the various problems that confronted them. Not satisfied with this, Fr. Mendez alone approched Dr. Buchanan for a speedy settlement of their grievances. This petition was sent by the Doctor to the Governor General at Calcutta, who duly forwarded it to Madras and from there it came to the Collector of Canara, Mr. Ravenshaw, who became much enraged with Fr. Mendez. But Ravenshaw had to give in.[1]

The Mission commenced again its work with the four old varas and twentyone parishes. The unruly Christians were disciplined by various means.[2] With the appointment of the priests the religious as well as the economic revival commenced. With the aid of the priests, the Christians began the rebuilding of the churches, which had been pulled down by Tippu's orders. Various means were devised to carry out this programme. The building of the Rosario church was financed by public subscriptions in 1803,[3] so also the Milagres Church (Mangalore) was rebuilt in 1811.[4] In 1806, Fr. Britto began the building of the Milagres church at Kalianpur. It was completed in 1808. The construction of the church at Gangolli was solely due to the efforts of one Silva. The church at Karkal was built in 1801, and that of Kirem in 1810. By 1815, 23 churches were built in Canara. Besides the two in Mangalore proper, there were 9 built in and

1. Appendix No. 6
2. Buchanan: Journey II, 219, cited above.
3. Memorial of 1860.
4. The Diocesan History at p. 61 gives an amusing story. The site chosen was at Bendur. The church was meant for all Mangalore Catholics. But some controversy soon arose and the building which was commenced so enthusiastically and was nearing completion was abruptly abandoned and plans were laid out to build two churches, one for the Rosario parishioners and another for the Milagres parishioners. Thus this church became the first to be built in Mangalore.

about Mangalore and Bantwal. Four were built in the vara of Mulky, four in Cundapur and Barkur and three in Honavar and one elsewhere.[1]

The new churches were not rebuilt on the old sites. New sites were taken up to suit the settlers. Though the English Government was aware that the church lands had been confiscated by Tippu, they did neither restore those lands nor give lands free to construct these churches. The members of the community toiled hard both with labour and subscriptions to raise these new edifices. These churches were also endowed with properties to ensure that proper worship was maintained. In the administration of these properties, the old Junta reappeared. Muktesars were appointed by the Junta to administer these properties alongwith the priest. In the Milagres Kalianpur church prior to 1829, there were two Muktesars appointed with the priest to administer. Copies of these lists were sent to the Company Sircar, in accordance with a Government circular. [2]

In 1807 Pe. Cosma Bernardo Camillo Valeriano was appointed visitor to the Mission of Canara. [3] Fr. Mendes left for Goa in 1808 after an ardous work in Canara from 1795 to 1808. He presided over the inaugural meeting held in the church premises on 26th July 1803 for the construction of the church and himself contributed

1, History of the Diocese P. 62. The three churches built in Honavar were those at Honavar proper, Gulmona and Chandawar. The site of Gulmona destroyed church is still visible. It is three miles interior of the present site. The present church is near the river and 18 miles up the river Sharawati from Honavar.

2. There are some lists in the records of the Milagres church at Kalyanpur. The list of lst November 1822 is signed by Igarji Padri Plasa Alamao and Muktesars Pedroo Luis, Duming Juao Fernand, and Jaki Manuel Louis. The list of 1824 is signed by Igarji Padri Teutonio Colas and the same three Muktesars. The list of 1825 is signed by Igarji Padri Vicent Custodi Furtad and Muktesars Pedroo Louis, and Jaki Manuel Louis. The list of 1826 is signed by Kalyanpur Igarji Padri Manuel Savera Quadr and the same three Muktesars.

3. The life sketch of this priest is given in Illustro Goana 1865 and in Anglo Lusitano 1888 No. 95.

Rs. 400/-. In 1807 he was appointed visitor of the Mission of Canara and in that capacity visited all the churches and church buildings in Canara.[1]

Archbishop D.Fr.Manuel de Sta. Catharina died on 10th February 1812 when on a visit to Novas Conquistas. On February 13, 1812, Don Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino assumed the government of the Archdiocese of Goa. He had been nominated on August 20, 1804 Coadjutor and successor to the Archbishop of Goa D. Fr. Manoel de Sta. Catharina. He was a man of lettters, virtuous and charitably minded. God favoured him more than once with supernatural lights to keep away from the sanctuary candidates without vocation. Consequently he had to postpone the ordinations of those who had not the proper disposition. He realised the importance of a good seminary for the training of priests. He gave the two diocesan seminaries wise and useful regulations and staffed them with members of experienced religious orders from Europe. He spared no trouble to train wise preachers and parish priests. He visited the churches frequently. He used to make long meditations at the foot of the Crucifix. He was very frugal in his meals. He made no distinctions at table and was satisfied with quite an ordinary bed. As pastor he used to find consolation only in prayer for all his worries. In his attempts to root out many evils, he

1. In 1808 he was appointed on the Chapter of the Cathedral at Goa. In 1808 he was quartenario and in 1812 Conig. In 1838 he was appointed Mestre Escola. In 1839 he was Chancellor of the Archdiocese. In 1840, he was Arcediego. In 1841 he was appointed the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Goa which post he held till his death in 1846. This is the most romantic Goan priest that worked in Canara. His identity is unknown to any writer on the captivity in Canara yet. Various writers have mentioned his name without the proper identificaton. A true survey of his work is yet to be undertaken. His indefatigable work in Canara including his captivity at Jamalabad for two years is really praiseworthy. No stone was left unturned by him to render all possible assistance to the refugees. By approaching Dr. Buchanan alone, he incurred the displeasure of the Collector Ravenshaw (Diocesan History P. 57). Yet Ravenshaw pulled him through. Altogether his work in Canara rightly merited him the high posts in Goa.

gained many enemies who reported him even to the King.

At this time, Pope Clement VII restored the Society of Jesus on 5th August 1814 by his Bull, Sollicitudo Omnium eccl.

Archbishop Galdino was instructed in 1816 by the Portuguese Minister at Lisbon that he would be given facilities to visit the missions of the South (Canara) and that he would be paid the congrua in the same manner and at the same time as the Government officers of the same rank. Accordingly in 1819 many churches in Canara were visited by the Archbishop.[1] On his visit to Mulky, he settled the disputes there.[2] There are three important decrees pertaining to Canara ascribed to this saintly Archbishop [3] His visit was the crowning feat in the whole course of events. It was consoling that the spiritual head of the Christians should come and sympathise with the community in all their trials they had to undergo.

By persistent agitation and appeals, Sir Thomas Munro was pleased to recommend to the Governor of Madras a remission of assessment on church properties. This was granted in 1821 by Sir Thomas Munro himself when he was Governor of Madras. The tax on church properties at this time was assessed at Rs. 375/-.

There was a military revolt in Goa in 1821 in which the Viceroy was arrested and deported. In consequence, many respectable persons fled from Goa and settled in Sunkery and elsewhere. Among them was Fr. Joseph Marian Cordoso, Vice Parish Priest of Panjim who remained in the Sunkery church for four months. Next came to Sunkery Archbishop Galdino himself who was also accused of partisanship in the conspiracy. He also remained in Sunkery as the guest of Fr. Francis Xavier. On 27th April 1823 the Archbishop held an ordination service and raised to priesthood Emmanuel Pacheco.[4] He

1. Mitras II, 29.

2. The details are not known. Some mention is made in the history of the Diocese at P. 259. 3. Mitras, I. P. 29.

4. Emmanuel Pacheco was from Coorg. Minor orders were conferred on him by D. Peter of Alcantara on 18th May 1819 when he came to Sunkery on his way to Madras.

also administered the sacrament of Confirmation to many children from Anjediva, Chitkol (Chitakula) and Chendye. The Church of Sadashivgad was found by Archbishop San Galdino in 1824. A propery was also purchased by him for its maintenance. In the same year, Scurry published "My Captivity" in London.

On 23rd January 1823 Abbe Dubois left India never to return. His passage was paid by the East India Company and a special pension settled upon him for life in recognition of the many services which he had rendered in India. Letters on the "State of Christianity in India" by Abbe Dubois were published in France in 1824. "The purpose of those letters as I understand them was to assert that, under existing circumstances there is no human possibility of converting the Hindus as a nation to any sect of Christianity; or in the Abbe's own words: 'Let the Christian religion be presented to these people under every possible light ..... the time of conversion has passed away and under existing circumstances there remains no human possibility of bringing it back.' It would require a reproduction of the whole text of these letters to explain fully the grounds upon which the Abbe based his decision so humiliating to himself and to his fellow Christian workers, but the chief cause undoubtedly was the invincible barrier of what we may call nowadays intellectual Hinduism, but which the Abbe called Brahminical prejudice. He refers regretfully to the collapse of the Church with its hundreds of thousands of converts, many of them of high caste established by the Jesuits Beschi and de Nobili in Madura; but at the same time he made no concealment of the real causes of their failure. 'The Hindus soon found that those missionaries whom their colour, their talents and other qualities had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings as men coming from another world, were in fact nothing else but disguised Feringhis (Europeans) and that their country, their religion and original education were the same as those of the evil, the contemptible Feringhis who had of late invaded their country. This event proved the last blow to the interests of the Christian religion. No

more conversions were made. Apostacy became almost universal in several quarters and Christianity became more and more an object of contempt and aversion in proportion as European manners became better known to the Hindus.'

" It is necessary to remark that the Abbe's letters were vehemently answered by the Protestant Missionaries, Hough and Towaley..... In another place the Abbe remarked: ' Should the intercourse between individuals of both nations, by becoming more intimate and more friendly, produce a change in the religion and usages of the country it will not be to turn Christians that they will forsake their own religion, but rather (what in my own opinion is a thousand times worse than idolatry) to become mere a thirst; and if they renounce their present customs it will not be to embrace those of Europeans, but rather to become what are now called pariahs'."

" In a word, the Abbe completely dispaired of the higher castes ever becoming Christians, though he was ready to acknowledge that there was a harvest field among low castes and outcaste . Of his own attempts to convert the Hindus he remarks: ' For my part I cannot boast of my successes in this sacred career during the period that I have laboured to promote the interests of the Christian religion. The restraints and privations under which I have lived, by confirming myself to the usages of my country; embracing in many respects the prejudices of the natives; living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself; in short by being made all things to all men that I might by all means save some- all these have proved of no avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India in the capacity of a Missionary, I have made with the assistance of a native missionary in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two thirds were Pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants and outcastes of several tribes, who being without resource turned Christians in order to form conversions, chiefly for the purpose of marriage or with some other interested views'."[1]

1. Hindu Manners and Customs: Edited by Beachamp, 3rd Edition PP. XXIV-XXVII.

It is in this book that the famous statement of Abbe Dubois about the proselytisation of the Christians is found. That statement is as follows:- " In order to give a striking idea of the religious dispositions of the Hindus and a strong instance of what I asserted above that there was to be found among them nothing else but a vain phantom of Christianity without any real or practical faith I will with shame and confusion quote the following scandalous instance..... Some time after their (Christians) arrival in Seringapatam Tippu ordered the whole to undergo the rite of circumcision and to be made converts to Mahomedanism. The Christians were put together during the several days that the ceremony lasted: and Oh! shame, Oh! scandal, will it be believed in the Christian world? No one, not a single individual among so many thousands had courage enough to confess his faith under this trying circumstance and become a martyr to his religion. The whole apostacized en masse and, without resistence or protestation, tamely underwent the operation of circumcision; no one among them possessing resolution to say I am a Christian and I will die rather than renounce my religion. So general a defection, so dastardly an apostacy, is I believe unexampled in the annals of Christianity". The argument of Abbe Dubois is briefly this: It is not possible to convert the Hindus to Christianity and he proves this statement by the fact that no Christian objected to his forcible conversion to Islam by Tippu Sultan. The Canara Christians have unduly taken this statement as an insult applying it to themselves. But Abbe Dubois never intended it. He made a general statement about all the Christians who had been forcibly converted by Tippu Sultan.

Definite information is available about the second great missionary in Canara, Fr. Francis Xavier of Sunkery.[1] Here he was received in a very small house, the walls of which were most awkwardly built of earth and the roof

1. History of the Sunkery Mission Ch. XXII. Fr. Francis Xavier further says:- "The 14th April 1801 is therefore the day of the restoration of this mission, a day to be marked with a 'white stone', a day to be recalled with annual solemnity. Here in passing a little

thatched of hay. A small altar was built of stones. "In this little church or shed, the next day, i.e. April 14, (1801) I myself read the letters patent, by which I might be recognised as the lawful missionary, to all the Chrstians who were then inhabiting this mission and who were present. Afterwards I said Mass to the general joy and exultation of all and at the end sang the Ambrosian hymn "Te Deum Laudamus" in thanksgiving and thus I began my mission". Through the intervention of the English, Fr. Francis Xavier was able to recover the treasure which had been deposited in Anjediva with Fr. Mendes by Fr. Sebastian Fernandes. He received them on 30th May 1801.[1]

Fr. Francis Xavier laid the first stone of the church of the Immaculate Conception on 8th September 1801. It was on an elevated ground near the old church, the site of which was too damp during the rainy season. He completed the church within 20 months and blessed it himself solemnly on 22nd May 1803. The spot of the old church was converted into a cemetary because the former cemetary had been profaned by the burial of a heretic German belonging to the factory of that nation. The following is the list of names who contributed towards the erection of the church and house:-

Don Fr. Pedro de Alcantara, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Bombay	Rs. 300
Fr. Gregory of the Presentation, Missionary of Delhi	Rs. 100
Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne	

similarity is to be observed between the first foundation of this mission and the present restoration. For it was first founded by Fr. E. John Baptist Maria, a Genoese; it has been restored by me a Genoese too; it was founded in the month of April; it has been restored in the same month of April after 92 years; it was founded with the favour of the English then masters of the place 'Totti'; it has been restored by the favour of the same English, masters of the whole territory; finally it was founded with the Portuguese persecuting our missionaries; it has been restored, the Portuguesc persecuting me".

1. Read the History of the Sunkery Mission for a full controversy on the subjeet of these goods. Fr. Francis Xavier has vividly described it.

Missionary Apostolic at Sunkery	Rs. 250
Fr. Charles Joseph of St. Peter Missionary A. P. O. at Surat	Rs. 210
Fr. Raphael Chicola, a native of Placense, Lazarist Missionary	Rs. 120
Fr. Lawrence Manuel Mendes and his brother Fr. Caetano Mendes of Anjediva Island	Rs. 13
Mrs. Rosa Nesbit, an Armenian lady of Bombay	Rs. 100
Collections made through Fr. John Aloysious, Missionary Apostolic at Bombay	Rs. 180
Total....	Rs. 1273

Thomas Harris Collector of Canara secured from the Madras Government a sum of Rs 1000/- for the erection of the church and also exemption from taxes on the landed property of the church. [1]

The following note appears in the Sunkery church archives about this church:- "In this year 1803 on 23rd May Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne, Carmelite Apostolic Missionary with the authority of His Lordship D. Peter of Alcantara of St. Anthony, Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Great Moghal blessed the new church built by him in the new place and with a new shape whose foundation stone had been blessed on 8th February 1801. The place of the Victory Church (?) in which he built.....he destined for his burial. Hence whenever it is mentioned hereafter that some corpse is buried in the Sunkery graveyard..... in this place the old church stood.....unless it is otherwise noted". [2]

The material help rendered by Fr. Francis Xavier to the Christians may be repeated in his own words:- "I was

1. I am indebted to this material to a Mss. copy of which was kindly put into my hands by Mother Rosario, Discalced Carmelite Prioress of St. Joseph's Convent at Tiruvalla. The Mss. contains a good deal of information about the Discalced Carmelites at Sunkery; I have found some of this is the pages of the History of the Diocese of Mangalore at PP. 69 to 97. The Mss. discloses that Fr. Francis Xavier was the glory of his Order as Abbe Dubois was of Missions Etrangeres.

2. The note is in Latin. It is in bits.

considering by what stable means I might help the poverty of these many Christians, which was the cause why many of them were held by most powerful idolators as slaves. While pondering these things, it occurred to me that if I got some uncultivated land and gave it to the Christians for cultivation according to the custom and usage of this province then I would fulfil both my longings. Plenty of such land was available, which being bound to no private owner could be apportioned by the Magistrate to whomsoever seemed to him. Therefore out of such lands one which they call "Carlimaki" situated in the village of Baad I sought and obtained from the Magistrate with the burden to pay an annual tax of Rs 4/- some idolators opposing and resisting in vain.

"As it is customary here for the first cultivation to be made by the owner of the land I enclosed it with a raised maund of earth and briers and other means; dug water channels, many and in all directions; also many wells; or better great ditches; planted innumerable cocoanut and other fruit trees and finally erected some huts for dwelling in. After these, I made the distribution of each part of the divided field to each one of the Christians for cultivation and who in time were to share all the fruits with me, on an equal division, the whole burden of the annual tax resting with me. I spent nearly Rs 400|- in the first cultivation of the field".[1]

After the Christians had left Coorg for their homes in Canara, the few Christians that were left behind continued to be under the spiritual guidance of Fr. John da Costa This veteran missionary was in Coorg for a long time, and had worked hard for the Canara Christians when they were leaving Seringapatum during the siege of that place by Lord Cornwalis. After 1800, however this priest incurred the displeasure of the remaining Christians. To settle this dispute, Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne was deputed to Coorg in 1805. Fr. Francis Xavier settled the

1. History of the Sunkery Mission Ch. XXIV. This is the commencement of what is known till now as the Padribag property. This property is still in the hands of Christians who are parishioners of the Sunkery Church.

dispute to the full satisfaction of both parties and an elaborate document was drawn up. Fr. John da Costa still continued in Coorg and his name is mentioned in the State's records till 4th July 1822. On 4th June 1824 the name of Fr. Pedro Baltazar Borges appears as the parish priest of Virarajendrapet. While Fr. Francis Xavier was in Coorg, he consolidated the position of the jurisdiction of the Carmelites in Coorg and obtained a Nirupa from Virarajendra Wodeyar for the purpose.

The sacrament of Confirmation was given in Sunkery on 25th June 1806 by D. Fr. Peter Alcantara of St. Antony. He also held an Ordination service. In the Carmelite jurisdiction also Fr. Pietro de Alcantara, Vicar Apostolic, examined and signed the books of the Sunkery church on 18th May 1819.

And to crown it all, Pope Gregory XVI commanded[1] Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne to accept the dignity of Vicar Apostolic of Malabar in 1831 and on 14th Dec., 1831 he was consecrated in Bombay; and then he left for Malabar. During his 31 years of stay in Sunkery he baptised 341 catholic children, 59 noncatholics, blessed 126 marriages, and buried 204 persons. His instructive and amiable conversation united to a noble and pius character endeared him to all, The following note[2] is found in the Sunkery church archives:- "On 4th December 1831 Fr. Francis Xavier of St. Anne who lived here almost for 31 years as Apostolic Missionary was honoured, although unworthy, with episcopal consecration through the irresistible decree of the Holy See under the title of the Bishop of Aurate in order that he might exercise the office of Vicar Apostolic in the province of Malabar. In case he should meet with death elsewhere he himself writes this earnestly begging his successors in this mission that when they are informed of his soul and that they should beg for the prayers for the same purpose from the faithful who dwell here and that they should inscribe the day and year of his death in this book".

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1. He had refused it twice before.
2. The note is in Latin.

By a portario of 15th January 1831, Archbishop Galdino introduced administrators for the coffre (funds) known as Missao de Canara. Even if the Archepiscopal See was vacant these administrators had to give the account to Goa. This work was subject to inspection. These administrators had to take upon themselves the extra burden of keeping the accounts of the churches properly and submit them to Goa annually or whenever they were required.

Archbishop Galdino died on 15th July 1831 and in the same year Pe. Jose Pavlu da Costa Pereira de Almeida was elected Vicar Capitular.

The religious and economic revival was witnessed by Buchanan even as early as 1801. i. e. within two years after the return. " The clergy are now busy with their flocks whose poverty has hitherto prevented them from rebuilding any of their churches..... These poor people have none of the vices usually attributed to the native Portuguese; and their industry is readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindus than avowed by themselves."[1] The population also steadily increased. In 1818 the total Christians is estimated at 21280 out of a total population of 670355.[2]

CHAPTER XIV

The Second Conflict of Jurisdictions
The Period of Transition
1831—1886

In the struggle for supremacy in the Indian ocean the days of Portugal were past and England ruled the waves. A strong British Empire was rising in the Continent of India trying to bring the whole territory under one administrative unit. Now England rather than Portugal

1. Journey II, 219.

2. Diocesan History, P. 63. If this rate of increase is calculated from Shivappa Nayak's time (1660) to the Captivity (1784) the total Christian population in Canara in 1784 does not go beyond 50,000.

was the source of power and strength in the East and assured better safety for the development of the indigenous Christianity. Portugal only lingered on as a political power and without any foundation prided itself with the ancient glories of the Padroado. Moreover, Portugal was one of the few countries in Europe in which frequent political somersaults were characteristic features; and worse still these conflicts in the home country had their repercussions in all the colonies, especially in Goa. The end of the first quarter of the 19th century brought political and religious conflicts again to the forefront.

At this time Portugal was plunged into the throes of a fratricidal war. Two rival royal parties, one headed by Dom Migel, and the other by Dom Pedro, as regent of Queen Donna Maria da Gloria II, struggled for supremacy. This state of affairs put off appointments to vacant sees both in Portugal and in India. All the religious orders were suppressed. The diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Portugal were broken off. Things were worse in Goa. The suppression of the religious Orders in 1833 in Portugal had its repercussion in Goa also. All the old flourisning institutions of the religious orders were wiped out with one stroke and Goa turned completely secular. There was much civil unrest which resulted in a civil war in 1835. The vacant see of the Archdiocese of Goa was not filled since the death of Archbishop Galdino. Speculation was ripe in religious circles. To avoid a catastrophe, the Chapter, virtually with the power in its own hands, elected Pe. Jose Paulo da Costa Pereira de Almeida as the Vicar Capitular in 1831 and after his death, elected on 18th January 1835 Pe. Pavlu Anton Dias de Conceicao as his successor.

The Catholic community of Canara had just emerged from the worst trials it had to undergo. By dint of hard struggle it was rapidly coming into prominence. By the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, "they have raised themselves to a name unquestionably the most respectable in every situation in which they move in Canara, whether as holding high public stations as mer-

chants, dealers, farmers or public servants. There exists little doubt that this high moral, and as subjects the most useful attainment proceeds from the religion they profess and examples held out to them by their pastors."[1] And as another writer observes, "In natural acuteness they are fully equal to the Brahmins and they are superior to them in morals and enlightenment. They form a valuable connecting link between the Hindus and their European Superiors".[2]

In 1837, Canara proper, i.e. upto the river Mirjan in the north, was divided into 18 unequal parishes with a Catholic population of 25171. These parishes were administered by priests from Goa. "There were among them 3 clerics hailing from Canara, a thing unheard of till then ordained acolytes from a long time and declared fit for sacred orders after due examinations undergone in Goa. There were also two aspirants for the priesthood who wore the cassock though they had not yet received the tonsure Examined like the first set, they too had been judged fit to receive major orders. But as no Bishop was available who could ordain them, these were, so to say, left at the door of the sanctuary, persons who by their age, learning and virtue, might easily have been raised to the priesthood if the Diocese had only a Prelate"[3] North of Mirjan, in the old territory of Sonda there were three churches at Shiweshwar, Sunkery and at Ankola with a Christian population of 1803 souls. The Christians entertained good relations with their priests; the bond of union between the clergy and the laity fostered solidarity and strength. On the whole, although the Goan clergy was not mainly responsible for the progress of the community, yet the community profited also by their religious guidance.

Bishop Francis Xavier, as missionary at Sunkery, had observed closely the development of Christianity both in

1. Harris, Collector of Canara in 1824.
2. J. Stokes, Revenue Commissioner in 1830.
3. Bishop Francis Xavier: Annals of the Propagation of Faith 1840 pp. 466-478.

Canara and Goa and possibly in other parts which were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. He had known also the sufferings of the Canara Christian community under the Padroado regime. The current political and religious trends both in Portugal and in Goa were well known to him. Thus his appointment at this juncture as Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly was very opportune. He was well-known in Vatican circles for the sincerity of his zeal, his uncommon intelligence and his singular prudence. His opinions carried great weight in Rome. The British Government also held him in great esteem for the valuable work he had done in Sunkery. For this the Government had sanctioned him a stipend of Rs. 25/- a month. It was raised to Rs. 50/- a month when he was appointed Bishop of Verapoly.

After a close study of the whole Padroado situation, on 29th August 1835 he submitted a report to the Propaganda that the Episcopal Sees of the Portuguese should be suppressed in the whole of India. To do this, he says, is now the best time as there is no Portuguese Bishop anywhere in India. All the episcopal sees of the Portuguese were vacant and were governed by administrators. As all the monasteries of religious orders were suppressed in Portugal and in its territories beyond the seas, and the Holy see had severed relatious with the court of Lisbon. and as civil war had broken out in Goa itself, there was no danger that the Portuguese government would further defend the right of Patronage.

The policy of the Propaganda Fide too had become bolder in latter years. True to the spirit of the ancient Bull, the Portuguese, and more especially the Indian situation were studied more closely in accordance with the report of the various missionaries. A stable government was emerging in British India which assured freedom of religion. Consequently the policy of the Propaganda also changed, as the Padaoado of Portugal was no more required for the survival and extension of the church in India. In accordance with this policy, various Vicariates were established in India independent of the Portuguese Padroado, and directly subject to the Propaganda. The new Vicariates

were created at Calcutta on 18th April 1834, in Ceylon on 3rd December 1836 and on the Coromandal coast on 3rd June 1837. There was already (since 3 XII 1659) a Vicariate Apostolic in Malabar. These Vicariates existed side by side with the Dioceses of the Portuguese.

In this state of things the Queen's party in Lisbon boldly appointed in 1837 D. Antonio Feliciano de Carvalho [1] Archbishop of Goa. But the Vatican did not sanction this appointment. In spite of it, carvalho sailed to India, and seized the power from the Vicar Capitular Pe. Paul Anton Dias de Conceicao. But Pe. Paul Anton maintained that according to the present discipline of the church when once the election of Vicar Capitular is made, he could not be expelled and neither could he be forced to resign. Yet, as a faithful servant of the Queen, he relinquished his post to D. Antonio Feliciano[2] and issued a pastoral on 25th November 1837 ordering all the faithful to acknowledge D. Antonio as the legitimate Prelate of the Archdiocese of Goa. However, only a part of the clergy recognised him. Though the Vicar Capitular Pe. Paul Anton had virtually transferred the power to the nominated Archbishop Carvalho, many of the clergy in Goa strongly opposed this action. This was also given publicity in the various parts over which the Archbishop's jurisdiction extended. After consolidating his position in Goa, Carvalho wrote a circular letter to be read in all the churches of the Diocese. The purpose of the letter was that he should be recognised as the Bishop. Along with the other tracts of the Diocese, Canara also recognised Carvalho as the legitimately appointed Bishop. But his true position soon became known. In January 1838 he presented some candidates to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar for Ordination. But the Vicar Apostolic refused to ordain them till he proved the validity of his own appointment. He was unable to do so. This became known also in Canara.

At this critical juncture the Catholics of Mangalore town took the initiative. Under the leadership of Rev.

1. Mitras II.
2. An ex Benedictine.

Avelino Fernandes,[1] a young Goan priest of Mangalore, and with the aid of the three clerics in minor orders and two aspirants (all five indigenous) and some leading Catholic laymen of Mangalore, a protest was raised against the regime of Carvalho. The Goan Vicar General in Mangalore and his followers tried in vain to suppress it. The outburst was spontaneous. The Goan priests who remained passive and the rest of the laymen were practically forced to abjure and give up submission to Carvalho. The Goanese clergy was even threatened with expulsion from the parishes. A curious situation was thus created in Canara. Those who supported Goa had no Bishop to direct the priests. The Vicar General of Mangalore had no canonical powers. All other priests had only temporary faculties which were soon to come to an end. Recourse to Rome could not bring an immediate relief to the situation. Therefore under the existing circumstances, a resolution was taken in Mangalore to to consult the four Catholic Bishops nearest to Canara, namely, the Vicars Apostolic of Madras, Pondichery, Bombay and Malabar. All replied practically in the same strain. The Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, an octogenarian, wrote a brief note. The others gave reasons and also some advice. The reply, in general, was that they should not formally sever connections with Goa, but submit themselves in the interim to the nearest Catholic Bishop, as the lawful delegate of the Pope, till the time that Goa received a legitimate Bishop, or the Pope of Rome decided differently. The advice was accepted by all and they submitted themselves to Bishop Francis Xavier as nearest to Canara.

Before the above resolution was accepted, some laymen had already informed D. Carvalho of the move that was taken by the Christians referring the matter to the other four Catholic Bishops. On the receipt of this letter Carvalho became furious and poured his invectives against the Vicars Apostolic and requested the people to remain

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1. " Scarcely 28 years old, full of health and courage, indefatigable, well instructed and possessed of rare virtue, he effaced from my mind all that I had seen of Indian priests" (Bishop Francis Xavier).

under his own jurisdiction under ban of excommunication. This letter of Carvalho brought the matter to a climax. Nine parishes with their priests immediately went over to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar par interim. Jurisdiction was conferred on the priests anew by Bishop Francis Xavier. But there were also Padroado priests in these nine parishes and they were suspended. Five other parishes followed a little later. One parish, namely, Kalianpur, was split into two sections. Thus in all fourteen and a half parishes with many of their priests placed themselves under the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. They were 17755 souls in all, including the Christians in the regiments. The remaining 2050 persons adhered to Carvalho. About a thousand of these were passionate Padroadists. The three northern parishes of Canara had a population of 4360 who obeyed Carvalho.

In Mangalore town proper there were two parishes with a Catholic population of 5040, and a floating military population of 800 souls. There were four priests in charge of these two parishes and out of them only one Pe. Avelino Fernandes submitted to Bishop Francis Xavier; and so this priest alone looked after all the nearly 6000 Christians of the two parishes. In the mean time the five indigenous clerics who had been awaiting ordination were duly ordained and sent to Mangalore and other parishes.

Carvalho was furious when he heard that Bishop Francis Xavier had taken the priests and the faithful of Canara under his jurisdiction. Jointly with the civil government of Goa, he issued an edict by which he confiscated the property of all the priests who had recognised Bishop Francis Xavier. He also commanded under threats, the parents, brothers and relatives of these priests that they should bring them back to Goa as soon as possible, and put them in his hands. Special parties were sent from Goa

1. It was at this time that Bamons (Catholic Brahmins) of Kalianpur erected the church of our Lady of the Rosary in Kalianpur and rejected the jurisdiction of Goa. Thus there were two churches in Kalianpur. The original church of Our Lady of Miracles subject to Goa, and the new church under Propaganda.

to take captive especially Pe. Avelino.[1] But it was of no avail. Only one priest for a short time turned away, but then returned to the jurisdiction of Mgr. Francis Xavier.

Threats having failed, Carvalho resorted to force. He selected two priests who were his followers in Canara, and later he sent three more from Goa to their assistance. They were to try all means possible, i. e. flattery, promises etc. to wean away the others from the Propaganda. If they failed they were to set up vagabonds and ruffians in each parish against the priests to force them to leave Canara. The treatment which the three priests received at the hands of the Catholics of Mangalore was so rough that they quickly returned to Goa and were never seen again. The two priests at Mangalore who were submissive to Carvalho had been there for a long time and knew all the bad characters of the place. They set up some ruffians against Pe. Avelino and the others and threatened them even with death. But they would not shake Pe. Avelino and his partisans.

In October 1838, the Governor of Goa died of a carbuncle. A triumvirate was appointed to look after the civil administration. Carvalho was nominated the President. Taking advantage of his position as civil Governor, Carvalho wrote a letter to the Magistrate of Canara that the priests there who were the subjects of the Queen of Portugal were illtreated and were prevented from exercising their ministry in the parishes over which the Queen of Portugal had supreme rights. He asked for satisfaction for the injuries done to these priests and for their reinstatement in the parishes from which they have been expelled. The Magistrate replied that he had made full inquiries into the whole matter and had found that those priests themselves to be blamed. As for the churches reclaimed he said that he had received express orders from the Governor General of India not to meddle in the religious affairs of the Christians.

Not content with this, D. Carvalho still persisted in his aggressive policy against the priests and the

1. This priest had to undergo great hardships for some time.

Christians of Canara. He knew that there were priests in Goa who were hostile to him. Afraid that some might take refuge in Canara, he forbade under the pain of severe penalties any priest to leave Goa without his express permission. He maintained a special spy service for this purpose. In spite of all these difficulties two priests found means of escape and entered Canara. One of them was Pe. Vincent Marian Barretto, and the other Pe. Leao Dias. These priests publicly agitated against the appointment of Archbishop Carvalho and used their influence to withdraw the people from the Goanese jurisdiction. The Carmelites availed of this opportunity and appointed Leao Dias the Delegate of the mission of Canara. They persuaded some more priests to join the regime of the Vicar Apostolic.

In the mean time in August 1838 Bishop Francis Xavier sent a report to Rome about the whole situation in in Canara and how he had handled it. A rescript from the Pope authorised him to delegate a simple priest to give Confirmation in Canara. It reachad him in February 1839 aud was published in March. The priests who still followed Carvalho now understood the whole situation and at least two of them changed camps. They were the ex Vicar General and one of the dissident priests of Mangalore. At this time there were 22 priests from Goa and Canara itself, and two clerics in minor orders in Canara. A few young men were asking for the tonsure.

Nor was Rome slow to move. They had studied the whole Indian situation carefully. Pope Gregory XVI issued on 24th April 1838, a Bull of far reaching consequences. It was "Multa Praeclare". It mentioned that all those regions which were within the limits of the Diocese of Mylapore or San Thome must be joined to the Apostolic Vicariate of Madras. The regions which were within the limits of the Diocese of Cochin and Cranganore must be joined to the Apostolic Vicariate of Malabar. Its See was at Verapoly, and the jurisdiction and whole authority belonged to venerable brother Francis Xavier, the Bishop of Amata, the Vicar Apostolic residing at Verapoly and to his successors. It was also declared that both in the ecclesias-

tical and spiritual government the above mentioned Vicars Apostolic depended immediately upon "Us" i.e. the Pope and upon the Apostolic See. They alone must be considered as the Ordinaries of those places. They must be obeyed by all, and from them, all must receive faculties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. "We cancel therefere those Apostolic letters of our predecessors which were published in the erection and fixing of boundaries of the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore or San Thome. Moreover we cancel also those Apostolic letters of f. r, Paul IV issued on February 4, 1551 on the erection of the Archepiscopate of Goa so that the Archbishop of Goa will not be able to exercise any jurisdiction in future in those regions about which we are concerned by whatever name ever worthy of special mention". In fact the Bull suppressed the four Indo-Portuguese Dioceses of Meliapor, Cranganore, Cochin and Malacca. It subjected their territories to the jurisdiction of the nearest Vicar Apostolic as their sole Ordinary. It accordingly abolished the metropolitan right of Goa over the suppressed Dioceses.

A fatal blow was thus given to the Portuguese Padroado. In its true spirit it was restricted to Goa alone without considering here the other parts of India, the territory between the promontory of Comorin and Canara inclusive and the Western Ghats was brought under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. That was at least the honest opinion of the Carmelites. What the Portuguese thought was otherwise- The Propaganda view was beyond Portuguese conception. The feelings of the proud ancient civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy of Portugal were wounded to the hilt by the abrogation of their rights by the Vatican. The Papal Bull was vehemently attacked and from this time began that great conflict which brought immense evil to whole Catholic India.

The situation in Canara at the time of promulgamation of the Bull "Multa Praeclare" deserves to be studied. Till the time of the publication of the Bull the whole of Canara was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. The only exception was the parish of

Sunkery which was under the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay and thus it was directly under the Propaganda Fide. In spite of the Bull "Multa Praeclare" Archbishop Carvalho continued his jurisdiction over all Canara. Though the district of Canara was already transferred to the charge of Verapoly by the Bull "Multa Praeclare" yet Pope Gregory XVI by a special rescript in November 1838, granted to the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar the power to exercise jurisdiction over the churches of South Canara. The promulgamation of the Bull "Multa Praeclare" found an invalidly appointed Archbishop of Goa in the person of D. Antonio Carvalho of the Padroado regime and a highly esteemed Vicar Apostolic of the Carmelite Order in the person of Mgr. Francis Xavier of the Propaganda regime at Verapoly. Thus Canara also was to be the battle ground of the jurisdictions.

Immediately the Bull was proclaimed in 1838 and was received in India, Bishop Francis Xavier set out to carry it through. But his frail constitution and weak health, made it impossible for him to cope with the new situation. In answer to a petitinn of his, the Holy See by an Apostolic Brief of 7th June 1839 appointed for him a coadjutor with the right of succession in the person of Fr. Ludovico of St. Theresa C. D. In 1840, Mgr. Francis Xavier himself was raised to Archepiscopal dignity and appointed Archbishop of Sardis. In consequence the British Government in India raised his honorium to Rs. 75|- a month.

But as fate had it, at this very juncture D. Carvalho died[1] on 1st February 1839. The death of D. Carvalho created further troubles in Goa. Pe. Paul Anton Dias who had relinquished his office in favour of D. Carvalho again claimed his rights to the office. There was another party which was headed by Pe. Anton Juao de Athaide. There were thus parties within parties and for some time all religious life was in chaos in Goa. Both parties appealed to Rome as well as to the Queen of Portugal. Ultimately on 14th October 1839 Pe. Anton Juao de Athaide was elected

1. Some say he was poisoned by his compatriots the Portuguese. He died as he lived without the least sign of repentance.

Vicar Capitular.

The Christian community of Canara had also to play its part in this struggle. At the outset they had already lost the sympathies of the Archbishop of Goa D. Carvalho. They had even defied him, as he had not been validly appointed. The death of D. Carvalho was the signal for the Christian community to take matters in their own hands. It was not in revolt against the Padroado regime; nor in bias towards the Propagandist Carmelites; what they wanted was peace. In consequence they appealed to Rome for guidance. A petition was forwarded to the Holy See in 1840 praying that the district be set up as a separate Vicariate Apostolic. Fr. Jeochim Pius Noronha headed this movement.

The ecclesiastical Padroadist regime of Goa, undaunted by the turn of events in Canara, maintained that Canara was still within its jurisdiction and this authority was reaffirmed by a pastoral of 7th March 1843. On 30th September 1844 another pastoral was sent to the Christians of Canara. In this pastoral the Vicar Capitular laments that, after having made them known by his pastoral of 7th March the extension of his spiritual authority and after having been restituted to their legitimate jurisdiction, the greater part of the churches of Canara had been usurped by the missionaries of the Propaganda and that they still continued to alienate the faithful from Goan jurisdiction. To do this effectively they have even called to Mangalore the Coadjutor Bishop of the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. The Vicar Capitular now commanded the Portuguese missionaries that (1) they protest in their name and that of the Archbishop against the usurpations which that Bishop might attempt or against any jurisdictional act which he might pretend to exercise over any of those churches, (2) that they appeal to magistrates and courts from which they should expect help and protection, (3) that they make the people to understand the acts which the Propagandists dared to exercise over the subjects of Padroado were null, (4) that they warn their parishioners not to communicate with the intruding missionaries, and in the same year Pe.

Anton Rosario was appointed interim superior of the mission of Canara.[1]

In these tumultuous times, which began with the death of Archbishop Galdino, a valid appointment of the Archbishop of Goa was made for the first time by Pope Gregory XVI who on 19th June 1841 appointed D. Jose Maria da Sylva Torres as Archbishop of Goa. But by a Brief of July 8, he restricted the exercise of his jurisdiction to Portuguese territory.[2] From the nature of the proceedings it appeared that matters would come to settlement or that peace would be restored in Canara at least from this time. But immediately on his arrival in Goa, the Archbishop renewed the struggle by championing again the cause of the Padroado outside Goa and he did it with still greater vehemence than his predecessor.

The appointment of the Archbishop Sylva Torres had a mixed reception in Canara among priests and laity. There was even a split among the Goan clergy. It was at this time that many priests in Canara. returned to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa.[3] They tried also to induce their flock to submit to the jurisdiction of Goa. However the Christians did not follow these priests. In this crisis, Archbishop Francis Xavier, the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar deputed about 25th August 1844 his Coadjutor Ludovico of St. Theresa as Commissary in the region of Canara. When he came to Mangalore, he at once pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the disobedient priests who were championing the Portuguese right of Patronage. In retaliation, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the Commissary of the Vicar Apostolic by the head of the disobedient priests. Since all attempts for a reconciliation were in vain, the Commissory returned to Verapoly.

1. When he began his jurisdiction and when it was completed is not known.

2. Diocesan History p. 104.

3. It was at this time that Pe. Avelino Fernandes and some others, who had been staunch Propagandists reverted to Goa, "and became a rock of scandal to the faithful for whom he had laboured so well. He had to leave Mangalore for Goa where it is said he repented before dying". (Diocesan History p. 101.)

Archbishop Francis Xavier was not to live long to labour in his new field. At last full of days and merits, worn out by old age, he died in Verapoly on 7th December 1844 and was buried there in the Cathedral church. A certain historian of India does not hesitate to call him the foremost Bishop of Travancore and the ornament of the Malabar mission.[1] The death of the Archbishop Francis Xavier deprived the Christians of their leader to guide the destinies of the community in this tract. The split that had been created some time ago widened now more and more and Canara was practically divided into two camps.

Each vicar drew to his own side the church with its flock. The churches of Rosario and Milagres of Mangalore, Kumbla, Ullal (in part) Omzoor, Bantwal, Agrar, Mogarnad, Bidrem, Kirem, Mulki, Pezar (in part) Karkal, Cundapur, Gangolli and Sunkery adhered to the jurisdiction of Verapoly; while those of Sirva, Kallianpur (Milagres), Udyavar, Barkur, Honore, Kumta, Chandavar, Ankola, Binge, Sondim, Chitakol and Fajir transferred their allegience to the Archbishop of Goa. Thus a rift occurred a second time in the religious history of Canara. One camp roughly consisted of the tract which lies to the south of Udipi with Mangalore as the headquarters. The other camp was of all the territory to the north of Udipi with Kallianpur as the headquarters. The southern adhered to Propaganda and the northern to Padroado.[2]

In the southern sector, chiefly in Mangalore, there was an intelligent community. This community learned that the government of Portugal had, for a long time, been conducted on anti-catholic principles, and Portugal did not

1. He was a great man and a great scholar; in the midst of his heavy missionary duties, he had leisure to appreciate the beauties of the Konkani language. He wrote a grammar of this language which was reprinted by Cunha Rivara at Panjim in 1859. He also wrote the history of the Sunkery Mission and a Dictionery of Portuguese-Konkani "por um missionario Italiano" published by Cunha Rivara in 1868.

2. The northern section included the whole catholic tract of North Canara too. In spite of the fact that the churches in the northern sector were clinging to the Padroado regime, the Propagandists built several churches near these very churches,

have the means of discharging the obligations of the Padroado according to the present wants of Canara and of modern India. According to them it was extremely regrettable that the Padroadists followed their own vanity, their own paltry interests, and entirely ignored the serious harm done to the moral and social progress of the people and the advancement of religion. The watchword of this section was therefore self preservation and self advancement.

From this time, the southern section were all for the erection of Canara into a separate Vicariate Apostolic and for the inauguration of higher education in the Vicariate. These two were the pressing needs of the community which was fast developing. Irrespective of any other consideration, the southern section worked towards these ideals with all the force at their command. A petition was sent to the Holy See and the result was eagerly awaited. In 1844, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda replied to the people of Mangalore that the Holy See intended to grant their desire. Accordingly, the Holy See erected the Canara District together with North Malabar and the territory of Coorg into a new Vicariate Apostolic on 19th February 1845, and by another decree of 12th May 1845 appointed Fr. Bernardine of St. Agnes O. C. D. Bishop elect of Thana in partibus and the Coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, as its administrator. He received the episcopal consecration at Verapoly on 5th October 1844, arrived in Mangalore on 8th November 1845 and made his residence in a building on the site of the present St. Anne's Convent. The charge of the mission of Canara was handed over to him by Pe. Augustine Gonsalves dos Chagos e Doris[1] who succeeded Pe. Vincent Marian Barretto as Delegate of the Cermelite regime. Before his arrival in Mangalore, Bishop Bernardine wrote a letter to Archbishop Sylva Torres on 17th August 1845 in which he informed him of the new division made by Rome and of his nomination as Administrator of the new Vicariate Apostolic. But the Archbishop did not reply to this letter

1. He remained and worked in Canara and died in Karkal on 23rd January 1868.

The new Bishop worked with great zeal. A seminary was opened for clerics at his residence. In 1849 he established an English school in Mangalore and in 1850 erected the church dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary at Mangalore and gave it the rank of a Cathedral.[1]

The great advocate of the Padroado, Archbishop Sylva Torres resigned the See of Goa on 26th March 1859 and went back to Portugal. Santa Rita Botelho was appointed the Governor of the Diocese As a result of extreme worries and forced by ill health, Mgr. Bernardine left Mangalore on 6th December 1852 for Rome without the previous permission of the Propaganda. There he was relieved of his duties.

After the death of Mgr. Bernardine, the territory of Mangalore Mission was separated from the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly by a decree of Propaganda of 12th March 1853, and converted into a separate Vicariate Apostolic. On 20th March 1853 Fr. Michael Antony of St. Aloysius Gonzaga[2] was nominated by the Holy See as the first Vicar Apostolic of this new mission. He was consecrated in Bombay by the illustrious Anastasius Hartmann O. F. M. Cap. Administrator Apostolic of the Church of Bombay in the Cathedral Church on 15th May 1853, and shortly afterwards entered Mangalore.

By nature tall and of a strongly built constitution and with rare eloquence, he made a profound impression in Canara, and specially in Mangalore. He was a great and learned man and possessed deep vision and foresight. The two tasks to which he set his mind from the outset were the establishment of a seminary and of schools. His ambition was to start schools all over the mission for the intellectual formation of both boys and girls. This task he entrusted to the Brothers and Sisters of the Congregation of St. Joseph of the Apparition from France. The first school was started in the Milagres parish in Mangalore. In course of time similar schools were started

1. This is the present Cathedral church of the Diocese of Mangalore which was rebuilt by Fr. H. I. Buzzoni S. J.

2. He was till then in the mission of Bombay.

both for boys and girls in Mangalore, Cananore. Tellichery, Mahe and several other places. In this task the French Christian Brothers also assisted the Bishop. In 1886, he tried to bring nuns of the Second Order of the Discalced Carmelites from Italy. But he did not succeed.

But a great task that he ventured upon was the foundation of an indigenous Congregation of Sisters in the Mission. He foresaw that the several orders of priests and sisters introduced from Europe would not be sufficient to meet the educational needs of the boys and girls of the mission. So with the idea of ultimately developing an indigenous congregation of sisters of Carmelite Third Order he selected some girls mostly from among the orphans and boarders under the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Appari tion and instructed and trained them with great patience and wonderful zeal towards a religious life.[1]

The Padroadists all the while tried their best to bring the whole of Canara under their charge. They would not tolerate the Carmelite jurisdiction in a tract which from ancient times belonged to the jurisdiction of Goa. Bishop Michael and his missionaries were subjected to various ordeals. In this attempt of the Padroadists, the religious history of Canara provides a sorry picture. Usurpation of churches and properties were frequent events. Party factions and law suits were common.[2]

The climax was reached in 1856 when the exGovernor Visconde de Villa Nors de Ourem raised a debate in the Camara of Lisbon over the issue that the bones of a Padroado priest Pe. Feliciano da Silva had been disintered from the grave in the church and thrown on a dung hill. The subject was moved for discussion before the most illustrious society of Portugal and specially of Lisbon, including the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, who had just returned from Rome after a discussion in the Vatican over the Padroado issue. This debate caused considerable stir

1. In fact many of these girls later on under his successor Bishop Mary Ephrem O. C. D. joined the Congregation of Apostolic Carmel.

2. A fair idea of this conflict may be gathered from a letter of Pe. Jeochim Elentires Mercos da Costa dated 20th February 1837.

throughout the eastern world and the Vatican circles directed Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of Propaganda to hold an official inquiry. The latter directed Mgr. Hartmann, Bishop of Bombay, to inquire into it. Ultimately it transpired that Pe. Feliciano was under excommunication and died without absolution and was buried in the Pezar Church. "Hence" writes Fr. Luiz de S. Domingo, " it was indispensable for me to write to Pe. Gomes[1] to remove from the Church and consecrated ground the mortal remains of Pe. Feliciano. Two months afterwards I went to Buntwal and asked Pe. Gomes where he had reburied Pe. Feliciano. He showed me the place where his bones were thrown by the party to whom he had entrusted the disinternment. I was very indignant at this and wished to gather the bones to bury them in a decent place, though unconsecrated. But this was not possible. The winds had dispersed the ashes and everything".[2]

Tired of the work entrusted to his charge, getting weak and loosing his sight, the Vicar Apostolic of Mangalore sent in his resignation to the Propaganda in 1870. It was accepted on 27th May 1870[3] and on 29th September 1871, he left the scene of his labours and retired to Tusth (near Quilon) where he lived unknown to the world, till he died there a saintly death on 18th December 1878.

Though the northern sector of the Christian community of Canara still held fast to the Padroado regime, its southern sector inaugurated a definite progressive programme. Their attachment to the Propaganda remained; but the southern sector wanted more. The need for higher education in the district became more urgent during the latter half of the 19th century. The members of the community had before them the great educational institutions started by the Jesuits in Bombay, Calcutta and Trichinopoly. They were probably dissatisfied with the

1. The succeeding Propaganda Vicar of Pezar.

2. Many Catholic papers in India including the Examiner of Bombay made much of this incident.

3. This was confirmed by the Apostolic letters of 3rd January 1871.

slow progress made by the Carmelites in meeting their needs in the field of education.

In 1857 some attempts were made at the settlement of the whole Padroado question and a concordat was signed between Pope Pius IX and the King of Portugal. Accordingly, on 5th March 1863 a Commission arrived in Mangalore to carry out its provisions in Canara. "The boundaries between Goa and Canara were first settled, giving the whole of North Canara to the Vicariate of Mangalore, with the exception of certain parishes which were left under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. In South Canara, Pezar, Kirem, Fajir, Mogarnad, Agrar, Udyawar, Sirva (N. S. de Saude) Barkur, Kalianpur (N. S. de Milagres) and Hospet were also assigned to the Archbishop."[1]

From this time the struggle of jurisdictions appears to have diminished to a great extent. The two jurisdictions continued to work in the respective churches entrusted to their charge. But the fire burnt on beneath the ashes for some time yet,

In the Padroado jurisdiction, a Vicar General was appointed by the Archbishop to be the immediate superior in Canara. Various rules and regulations were brought in force for the administration of this tract.[2]

In their task of excluding the number of churches by both the Padroadists and Propagandists, Karwar town affords a good example. A Carmelite from Sunkery and one from Goa - both applied for land in the newly inaugurated town of Karwar. The Padroadist Pe. F. M. Gonsalves of Goa got immediately on 17th December 1863 three acres of land at the Bingi Ghat to build a church. The application of the Carmelite was postponed for consideration.[3] Again in 1868, Fr. John Baptist from Mangalore applied for a grant of land at Cajoobag and it was granted on 18th January 1868,[4]

1. Diocesan History p. 126.
2. One important circular of 12th June 1877 deserves a study.
3. Karwar Municipal Archives.
4. Karwar Municipal Archives. Here the Mangalorean Church was

The financial position of the members of the Christian community in Mangalore was now as sound as ever. There were in it rich merchants, magnates, landlords, agriculturists and chiefly Government Officers who wielded great influence in the district. Money was therefore no consideration. They were prepared to meet any contingency but wished to have their desire for good educational institutions satisfied. In this the Christian Community was not wholly satisfied with the Carmelites. The priests engaged in parish work did not mix sufficiently with the people as the latter were accustomed to in the former times. To them the discipline of the Carmelites was too strict. But worse, the Carmelites did not fall in with the ideals of the progressive community. Thus a tension ensued between Carmelites and Christians which led to occasional scuffles between them. The ultimate cause of all the trouble was that lack of sympathy with the goal which the community had in its view, viz. the inauguration of higher education.

Dissatisfied with the Carmelites, the southern section agitated for the transfer of the Vicariate to the Jesuits. Such a petition was directed in 1858 to the Holy See through the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and in the same year three more were forwarded. In 1859 three more memorials were sent. This caused some sensation in the Vatican Offices and on 15th May 1860 Monsignor Bonnand, Vicar Apostolic of Pondichery, accompanied by Mgr. Claud Mary de Pommier and Mgr. Laoninan, arrived in Mangalore to study the whole situation. This Commission caused a considerable stir among the Christians there and the members of the Community presented to these Prelates a long memorial of 56 paragraphs signed by 175 Christians. The able draft after narrating the history of the mission mentioned the main prayer that the mission may be transferred to the Jesuits.

In 1867 cables were sent to Rome in May, June and August. The Vicar Apostolic of Quilon Mgr. Maria Ephrem

built by obtaining from a lottery a sum of Rs. 10000. The jurisdiction of this church is unque. Situated in the midst of Padroado territory of North Canara, any new comer to Karwar, who does not belong to North Canara or to Goa, is a parishioner of this Church.

of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, (Lucianno Garrelon), succeeded Bishop Michael Antony. When the resignation of Bishop Michael Antony was accepted by the Propaganda, Bishop Mary Ephrem was already in Rome and was attending the Vatican Council, where he made a bold stand in defence of the infallibility of the Pope. After the resignation of Bishop Michael Antony, Bishop Mary Ephrem was transferred to Mangalore retaining the Vicariate Apostolic of Quilon until a successor was appointed.[1] Though his name was suggested in Rome for the Coadjutorship with right of succession to the Archdiocese of Rhedones, he declined it, and preferred to work as a humble missionary in the East. When the Piedmontese army entered the Papal States and the Vatican Council was dissolved, Bishop Mary Ephrem left for India and reached Mangalore in October 1870.

In 1870 three events synchronised which forbode the future to a great extent. The most persecuted Propagandist Bishop Michael resigned in this year. The staunchest of the Padroadists Pe. Eusebio Antonio Barrocho of Varca died at Pezar in the same year and in the same year also a slim Arab girl with sigmata, Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified took her abode at the Mangalore Carmel. It augured well for the period of enduring peace and steady progress which was given to Catholic Canara.

The two greatest endowments of Bishop Mary Ephrem to the Mission of Canara are 1) the bringing to this mission the Cloistered Carmelite nuns of St. Theresa of Avila and 2) the foundation of the Apostolic Carmel together with Mother Veronica of Jesus.

The Cloistered Carmel of Kankanady Mangalore is the first in existence of the 10 cloistered Carmels now in India. Bishop Mary Ephrem invited to Mangalore the Carmelite nuns of the Carmel at Pau in France and a batch of 3 nuns[2]

1. This was done on 24th May 1821 by the nomination of Fr. Iddephonsus.

2. Six Carmelite nuns (all from Pau) left Europe. Two of them died in the Red Sea on account of the heat. The Mother Prioress with 3 nuns reached India; but she also died in Calicut on the way. She had

arrived in Mangalore on 19th November 1870. They took up their residence temporarily at St Anne's, near the Cathedral. In 1879 they bought a plot of land at Kankanady and raised the present convent buildings, which they occupied on 19th March 1882. From that time this convent with its spacious ground surrounded by a high wall stands in the central portion of a well educated Christian Community as a standing monument to its great founder and a solace and a comfort not only to Christian but to Hindu alike.[1] In the first batch that reached Mangalore was that stigmatised nun Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified who had shed lustre to the whole Catholic life of Mangalore.

The Congregation of Carmelite Tertiaries known as the Apostolic Carmel, was founded on 16th July 1868 at Bayonne (France). It had for its aims the education of girls in the missions. The first batch of sisters, three in number arrived in Mangalore together with the Cloistered Nuns on 19th November 1870. They were put up in the St. Anne's convent near the Cathedral, abandoned some two or three years ago by the Sisters of St. Joseph. There the Apostolic Carmel has grown like the mustard seed of the Gospel and has spread its branches far and wide.

But Bishop Mary Ephrem was not to live long to work in this mission of Mangalore. He died on 10th April 1873. All the missionaries gathered round his body in Mangalore. He lies buried behind the main altar in the Cathedral. Bishop Mary Ephrem was the last Vicar Apostolic of Mangalore of the Order of the Discalced Carmelites. No other Vicar Apostolic was appointed in his place by the Propaganda, but Rev Fr. Paul Joseph Vida C. D.' one of the missionaries belonging to the Mission of Mangalore,

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been sick all the while on the journey. So only three arrived in Mangalore; Later on, the Congregation obtained some more nuns from the Carmel of Bayonne.

1. "They often tell me they feel themselves in a small paradise. They follow their rule without the least mitigation or softening and they have kept up all their customs and practices of France". (Bishop Mary Ephrem). The heart of Bishop Mary Ephrem is still retained as a relic in this convent,

assumed the office of the pro-Vicar in which he was confirmed by the decree of the Propaganda in August 1873. After that by the Apostolic Letter announced on 24th March 1876 the Most Rev. Leonardus Mellano, Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, was installed as Administrator Apostolic at the same time retaining the Vicariate of Verapoly. But owing to some trouble in his own mission, he could not come to Mangalore and so Fr. Victor of St. Antony. O. C D., Missionary of Quilon, was appointed Administrator Apostolic of the Vicariate of Mangalore in 1876.

The Discalced Carmelites were able missionaries. They studied the community intimately and have often expressed their appreciation about them. As Bishop Mary Ephrem puts it:- "The Catholic community of Mangalore has a physiognomy all its own. Faith has struck deep root in the hearts of these people. There is in the habits of families, in the manner of bringing up their children, in their assiduous frequentation of sacraments a Christian spirit which one does not meet with elsewhere in the same degree. The Mangaloreans are undoubtedly superior in intelligence, in education, in delicacy and firmness of character to other indigenous Catholics. This testimony is given to them unanimously by all the Vicars Apostolic and all the missionaries of India who have observed and known them. Descendants of ancient Brahmins of the country, they have a certain air of distinction, an intelligence quick and penetrating and their number (they are about 12000 in the town of Mangalore alone) has enabled them to keep themselves firm and constant in their religious traditions. They have certainly their defects; when they refuse to submit to authority or enter into a quarrel with their superiors (which sometimes happens to them) they show an obstinacy and tenacity above the ordinary; but as they are educated and have a strong faith there is always hope of bringing them round by the use of reason and by appealing to their conscience".[1] They had the aspirations of the

1.Bishop Mary Ephrem: Annales de Propagation de la Foi 1873; no. 267, pp. 112-257.

community at heart. Bishop Michael with his deep vision foresaw that only the Jesuits could satisfy their needs and it is said, in fact, that he foretold the advent of the Jesuits in Canara.[1]

Memorials were again sent to the Holy See on 29th June 1873 asking for a transfer of the Mission to the Jesuits; and on 11th January 1874 a general meeting of the Catholic community was held in Mangalore at which resolutions were taken in order to prevent a misrepresentation of the community's efforts for the transfer of the mission to the Jesuits. The proceedings were signed by 225 Christians. The opportunity for this transfer was propitious as at the time there was no Bishop of the Carmelite Order in Canara. This opportunity was recognised at once by the community and an application made for the transfer of the Mission to the Jesuits. This plan was pursued vigorously though even in the southern Propagandist section some sided with the Carmelites while all the others urged the transfer to the Jesuits.

This situation brought Mgr. Persico from Rome to study the whole affair and to report on it. After a deep study of the whole literature[2] on the subject, and after the report of Mgr. Persico, the Holy See decided to transfer the mission to the Jesuits. Finally by the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII of 27th September 1878, the Mission of Mangalore was entrusted to the care of the Jesuits of the Province of Venice. The first batch arrived in Mangalore on 31st December 1878[3] and on that very day Fr. Victor O. C. D., the Administrator Apostolic of the Vicariate formally handed over the mission in the Cathedral and with Fr. Irenaeus, the vicar of the Cathedral, and the only other

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1. But as fate has it he died a few days prior to the arrival of the Jesuits in Mangalore.

2. It had grown into volumes. A collection of this literature would give ample scope for a serious study of Christianity not only in Canara but in Indja as a whole.

3. This batch arrived in Bombay on 19th December and there they learnt of the death of Bishop Michael the previous day and they assisted at the funeral obsequies of the deceased Bishop.

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Carmelite in the mission, left for Verapoly on 18th February 1879. The pro-Vicar was Fr. N. M. Pagani S. J. Entrusted to the Jesuits by the Apostolic Letter were only those tracts which were under the jurisdiction of the Carmelites after the Concordat of 1857. The Padroado jurisdiction that was existing from 1857 still continued.

The Carmelite regime inaugurated by the illustrious Bishop Francis Xavier was over. The whole coast, practically from Bombay to Comorin with the exception of Goa was once in their hands. The suzereignty over Goa was retained by Portugal more due to friendly relations between England and Portugal than to any other cause. Bishop Francis Xavier's friendship with the British also practically forced him to leave Goa alone. Placed in such a position along the whole West coast, it was for them to avail themselves of their great opportunities and make their influence felt. The reasons which prevailed in Rome for the transfer of the Mangalore Mission from the Carmelites to the Society of Jesus cannot be exactly known as the documents concerned are in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of Faith and cannot be inspected. From a perusal of the letters received from the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation to the Superior General of the Carmelite Order in 1877, it would appear that since 1869, the transfer of one or the other Missions of the Carmelites (Mangalore or Quilon) to another religious Order was being considered due to the scarcity of priests in the Carmelite Order, and not on account of any fault of theirs.

The Carmelite Order sent eminent men to the mission field of Canara. These men showed great devotion and zeal in their labours. The Carmelite Bishops were men of vision and foresight. They foresaw the proper needs of the community and specially the demand for higher education. But they could not satisfy the community and do the needful for lack of suitable personnel. Special mention must be made of a member of the Third Order who worked and died in Mangalore. He was Fre.Alexander Dubois popularly, known as Frad Saib. He was the nephew of Abbe Dubois. Born in Rouen in France of rich parents, he chose Mangalore as the field of his labour. He become the vicar

of Milagres church from 1865 to 1877. Well known for his prayers and penance, the people loved and adored him. His presence on the roadside even would instinctively force the Christian as well the Hindu to kneel down and ask for his blessing. With deep vision he foresaw the return of the Carmelites in the future and for that purpose selected Kulshekar, the ancient royal seat of the Alupas as the site of his church which he proposed to build. Unable to complete it, he died at Milagres of cholera and was buried in the church which he half finished. Till today his grave is a place of pilgrimage to Christians and Hindus alike. Candles are burning there night and day and it is only a question of time when his cause will be taken up raising him to the honours of the altar.[1]

The Jesuits as soon as they landed gauged the whole situation correctly. They found a community shrewd and intelligent and prepared for great things. Ample funds were available. It was up to the Jesuits to lead them and they led them rightly too.

The new adminstration began to work in earnest. The foundation of the St. Aloysius College was laid on 29th June 1882. The building was constructed on the model of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in Rome. This building, together with the others on the top of the Idgah Hill, overlooking the whole of the town of Mangalore, has been the beacon light in the field of education. For a long time it was the only first grade college on the West coast south of Bombay; the assiduous work done by the pupils within the four walls of its building under the able leadership of renowned Jesuit educationists gave that institution a stamp of exceedingly great value which it has maintained to this day.[2] The greatest need of the community was thus satisfied. Fr. Urban Stein S.J. inaugurated the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin at Codialbail. In 1880 a Catholid Library was opened. The Codialbail press was also started. In 1883 a Jesuit Novitiate was opened at Jeppu.

1. Quite according to the vision of Frad Saib a fine Carmelite convent has been built at Kulshekar lately by the Discalced Carmelite Fathers.

2, The author of this work is an alumnus of this institution.

Alert in all situations, the Jesuits studied the ancient language of the community. And keen observers and research workers as they were, one of them, Fr. Angelo Francis Xavier Maffei S.J., composed the first grammar and a dictionary of the Konkani language in Mangalore. They were monumental works at the time and the Madras Government aware of their utility undertook the printing.[1]

True to the spirit of their Order, the Jesuits catered to all the other wants of the community and very soon peace was restored and the community marched on to greater glories ably led by the Jesuits themselves.

The Pro-Vicar Apostolic was raised to the dignity of Bishop of Trincomium and Vicar Apostolic of Canara, and the consecration took place in the Cathedral on 25th October 1885.[2]

But the double jurisdiction in the district of South Canara was lamentable. The final settlement of this double jurisdiction was effected by the signing of another Concordat in 1886 between the Holy See and Portugal. According to it, the whole of South Canara was transferred to the Propaganda Jurisdiction which was governed by the Jesuits of the Province of Venice and the whole of North Canara was retained with the Archbishop of Goa. Pe. Reis, the Goanese Vicar General in South Canara, with all his priests acknowleged Bishop Pagani's jurisdiction on 16th February 1887. All the Goan clergy remained at their posts and gave allegiance to the Bishop. The Vicar General retired to Goa for reasons of health.

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1. It is sad to observe that the beginning made by Fr. Muffei has not been followed up in Canara. Again, with all the brilliance shown by the Jesuits, it is sad to observe that no attempt was made to study the history of Christianity in Canara. For the matter of that, the Carmelites also did not attempt it. Thus there is a serious gap in our knowledge of the early Christian History of Canara. The Carmelites or the Jesuits could have collected ample material both in documents and tradition during their regime. Their failure to do it has not only created a void but gave rise to unnecessary controversies at a later date.

2. On this very day there was a severe lightning of forty strokes in Kalianpur, the greatest seat of Padroado.

Pope Leo XIII, by his Apostolic Letter Humane Salutis auctor on 1st September 1885, established the Hierarchy of India. The official proclamation was made in the Council of Bangalore on 25th January 1887. Mangalore became a suffragan of Pondichery. Vicar Apostolic became the Bishop of Mangalore.

In 1886 the double jurisdiction vanished at least territorially as South Canara was formed into the Diocese of Mangalore, and North Canara alone was retained under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. There were now at least two solid blocks, one fully under the Propaganda and the other under the Padroado. Though this solution appeared to have eased the tension, yet it had the effect of separating the two Canaras. Though the religion was the same, yet the moral uplift suffered in the North to a great extent, as future events evinced.

This period of the conflict of jurisdictions ranging from the time of the issue of the Bull Multa Praeclare to the signing of the Concordat in 1886 has generally been termed the period of Goan Schism. But sober thought is convinced that there was no schism in the proper sense of the word. The Bishop of Mylapore D. Theotonius de Castro wrote in 1910 to a French Journal, L'Universe, and protested against the repetition of the calumny (Goan Schism). "In Goa there are no Schismatics..... The ancient Archbishopric of Goa has always gloried itself to be Catholic ..... Those who wrote about the " Goanese Schism " have exaggerated the matter in the heat of the controversy about the jurisdiction between the Propagandists and the Portuguese".[1]

A full study of this so called Schism has lately been made in Goa by Mgr. Agapitus Lourenco. The conclusion of his study is that though the opposition offered by the Goan clergy and laity is to be deplored, it does not amount to a schism in the proper sense.[2]

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1. There is a good deal of literature printed about this alleged schism.

2. Fr. Earnest Hull S.J. attempted a controversy over this schism in his History of the Bombay Mission, but he has been adequately met by Padre Nicen Figueiredo in his ' Pelo clero de Goa ' Rangel 1939.

APPENDICES

I

Letter of Fr. Jeoquim Miranda of Monte Mariano

" A summary report of the events since the year 1783 when the Nawab Haider Ali Khan Bahadur died at Nelur on the 3rd November during the absence of his son Prince Tipu Sultan, the present ruling Monarch.

" In December of the same year, General Mathew having come from Bombay with his naval armada, landed at Mirjeo and having taken its fortress went on taking the others from Piro to Barcelor, whence climbing the ghats he took the court of Nagar, the capital of the Kingdom of Canara and thence coming down to Mangalore went on taking more as far as Durga which borders upon the Naire thus bringing all that kingdom under his sway with great ease.

" The Civil population was all happy because they were much oppressed by the coming of the new master. But their happiness was short lived; for the Nawab Tipu Sultan having come with a third part of his powerful army from the land of Arcate where he kept in reserve a part of it in order to oppose the army of Madras, entered suddenly in Nagar and having attacked its fortress, in which the French distinguished themselves, to whom he owed his victory, made it surrender under capitulation, which was not later respected by him, interpreting its terms according to his convenience, as he was wont to, like his father.

" The reason why the English suffered this reverse was because every one engaged himself in collecting and filling his own pockets and not caring what would befall them. They sought their own private interests against one another. They consulted those very persons who were the confidentes of the Nawab whom they proclaimed dead and that there was no one to retake from them the Kingdom they had conquered; they made little of the warning of the civilians, and their army being spread in so many fortresses, along roads and entrances to the ghats, they remained with a small body of men; Hayat Saheb, forseeing from this continuous

disorder, his total ruin with the coming of the Nawab escaped out of his dominions for safety.

"As soon as Nagar was retaken, Tipu Sultan entered it seeking the priests and the Christians against whom he was going to wreak his wicked intent proposed in the year 1768 to his father who disapproved of it and reprehended him for it; but now that he was dead, he began to put into execution his former passion and rancour, which he seemed to bear towards our holy religion since his birth, because since he left Arcate he went on pulling down the churches which he came across on his way and passed orders to pull down those of the Mission of Mysore, showing signs that all his subjects would be compelled to follow Islam only as he was their sole king.

"The Vicar of Nagar was kept a prisoner with two others of the district of Barcelore; they suffered much for some time, and on undertaking in writing having been taken from them that they would not return to his dominions (Tipu's), they were expelled; of all these events herebefore referred to, the English who were at Mangalore knew nothing, there being no one to inform them for sure, nor of the imprisonment of General Mathew and his militia.

"Getting by chance the above news, I wrote to the Nawab and received with great pleasure his reply from Mudbidrem in which he ordered me to go with all haste to him, recommending me a certain task, completing which, I arrived by the time he had arrived at his camp at Cadarete where he had me received with pleasure and made me stay with his commander M. Benthenot and thence he gave me audience in the temple of Bellur, situated in Mangalore conversing with me at length from 8 to 11 P.M. inquiring about various matters which are generally referred to on such an occasion and specially if the wife of General Mathew was in the fort, and being informed that there was no such or any other lady, he smiled and did not proceed with such talk because I showed myself modest in it.

"I showed him on this occasion the charters of privileges and concessions issued by his father in favour fo Mount Marian and his last letter which he wrote to me just before

his death, and it was in its own envelope (cover) which he himself opened and had it read to him, and as it was in my favour, I requested him to the same effect and he promised me in these formal words: 'Live happy and in health and I will protect and help you much more than my father'.

"In fact there being filed many Complaints against me at the court of his Deputy Ma Mira Sadoca and the Ambassador M. Piveron de Morlat having gone to the said Nawab to speak in this connection, the Nawab told him that I was his old protege as well as of his father, as a priest of his government, and soon he issued a charter (order) that henceforth no one should meddle with me, and with those of the Mount Marian and it being justified why I had given a thousand bags of rice to the English, he declared in the said charter or order that even if the priest had given not only a thousand but 2000 bags of rice, he would not take ill of him; he did me many favours at different occasions, releasing more than a hundred and fifty Christians who were in jail and some women who were in the hands of the Mohamedans.

"Tipu Sultan treated me with great kindness during all the time the other parish priests were in jail; at last on 27th July 1783 while the French were actually attacking the fort of Mangalore, they suddenly stopped the Mortar fire and Macronoby (a stone throwing catapult), declaring to have received news of the signing of peace in Europe between the two nations, the French and the English, and because the Nawab compelled them to continue firing, throwing away the torches (fascines), by drum beating and playing of the pipes all three regiments of General M. Delale, Coronel M. Cosigni, and the Commander M. Benthenot retired to their camp where formerly they used to remain at quarters and well armed and where they now lay exposed to any assult which the Nawab could make them for being much offended at their said behaviour or conduct.

"Some days after M. Cosigni set out with his troops who were in the service of the Nawab, marching them to Mount Marian where he remained two days with me and thence went on by land to Mahim; because of this shelter and hospitality which I could not refuse, Tipu Sultan was

much offended and aggrieved with me; the reason why he went on getting displeased with me and thenceforward I incurred his anger, it was because he supposed that it was I who showed him the way giving him directions because he (Tipu) said a foreigner could not know it; this was reported to M. Cosigni who recommended me therefore to the ambassador M. Piveron de Morlat so that I might not be put to trouble on this account.

"Soon after this incident there happened another of grave consequences because the Nawab had sentenced some of his officers, Killedars and other disloyal men among whom there was also a Christian, the interpreter of Mr. Satrorius, to death by hanging on the gallows which he had erected many on a hillock at Mangalore, and among the condemned being the Killedar of the fortress of Mangalore Rustum Bego by name who was singularly patronised by Mam Mandaly, the Commander-in-chief of the army of Nawab Haider Ali Khan Bahadur, who had given in his charge, at his death, his seals for being his most faithful servant in order to hand them over to Prince Tipu Sultan who was then away recommending him to guide him (Tipu) and his other son Prince Karim Saheb, keeping them under his care, the said Mam Mandaly repeatedly interceded with the Nawab for the said Rustum Beg; but the Nawab did not want to listen to him and ordered that he should be taken along with the other condemned men to the gallows.

"The said Mam Mandaly came out on this occasion with a few men of his company and went to the gallows and taking hold of the noose (rope) from the hands of the hangman, put it to his neck saying that he preferred to die to seeing his protege (god son) hanged. The Nawab was repeatedly informed of this but he remained adamant, and Mam Mandaly also constant in his resolution; the Nawab getting enraged at his behaviour came personally with his new regiment of chales (?), cannon etc. having kept in advance the two French regiments ready and marched to the place of the gallows. As soon as Mam Mandaly saw this, he ordered his favourite Killedar to mount on his elephant and he himself mounting a horse drew out his scimitar and

in a loud voice called out that those who were of his party and loved him should follow him and he took his way to Nagar.

" Only one French Commander of the **resala** of Mam Mandaly declined; all the others followed him; in the meanwhile the Nawab sent his officers and courtiers to placate with entreaties and promises the fiery temper of the Mam Mandaly and sending his men on the other side surrounded him, and he, being deceived with promises, returned. The Nawab got him carried in a palanquin to his quarters. A friend of his, an officer of 60,000 banadares and piadares, having spoken to him a few words on his way, the Nawab fearing some rebellion, had him killed at the foot of his elephant as well as 18 other partisans of Mam Mandaly were killed by placing them at the mouth of the cannon. The other officers of his regiment were beheaded and of the rest he had their noses, ears and lips cut off and he had the favourite Killedar together with others hanged in his presence while he went on cursing all the while. On account of this lamemtable incident there was such a confusion that evening that almost all felt offended and appeared to be in revolt against the Nawab.

" If on the occasion referred to the English fired their guns sparingly or if few came out of it (?) the very men of the Nawab would have put an end to him, fearing which he remained well guarded that night, and soon after he made peace with all his officers etc. Some say Mam Mandaly killed himself in a fit of passion either by taking poison or as some say by pulling out his own tongue.

" Some time later peace was made between the Nawab and the English who surrendered their forts to him, the Ambassadors having come from Madras for this purpose; finally on the 22nd February, the day on which all the Christians of that Kingdom were taken prisoners, I too was taken to the court of Ma Mira Sadoca by a minister of his, together with the Rev. Parish priests arrested before and there was issued the decree of the expulsion of all the missionaries of that Kingdom on pain of being hanged if they or their successors returned to it, any of the above men-

tioned workers paying the fine of two lakhs of pagodas. At the same court, another separate bond was drawn up against me, on which the other missionaries were also compelled to sign by dint of beating, I being separated from them on that occasion.

" On Saturday, the eve of the first Sunday of lent, I was arrested with other priests and jailed in the fortress, and two days later taken with the priests and seminary students of the Mount Marian to the said court on 2nd April whence I was banished along with my companions of the Mount Marian to Cochin under guard, at the great requests of the ambassador M. Piveron; otherwise I would be detained along with my companions in the said Mount Marian for another purpose of his wicked design which the Nawab wanted to secure of me, this being reason why he did me favours and protected me so much, from which God saved me along with my seminary students because he wanted to circumcise them, by the intervention of the ambassador who did trouble himself very much also in order to get the jailed parish priests released in consideration of your Excellency to whom he professed to bear great friendship, as he assured me, saying that for no one else he would trouble himself so much as he did for your Excellency.

" I had soon lowered the flag which the Nawab Haider Ali Khan Bahadur had given to the Mount Marian on account of the devotion which he had taken to the temple after his triumph in the famous battle of Percupatanam in which with a few of his reserve resalas (?) he completely destroyed the formidable army of the Mahrattas who had beseiged him. Then taking leave of the said M. Piveron and of the Mahomedans, the brother-in-law of the Nawab and his Bagxis (?) and his generals who used to pray for help to our Lady in order to be successful in their undertakings, offering Her flowers, candles and music, I left that Mount Marian to their great sorrow on the 7th April, and since then ceased there Divine Worship and it remained uninhabited and in a deplorable condition where there had been baptized many Mahomedans, by which your Excellency may

form an idea in what devotion that temple was held by all—"about which many great things will be told always and greater things will happen".

"On arrival at Cananore in the company of my companions I was released by the guards of the Nawab without their being able to get something from me because whatever I had was invested in the immoveables there and a part of the moveables with which I sailed were taken away by Bonnsulo – God's will be done; God's name be blessed –. Now I remain at Cochin, to which place I have been banished by the Nawab. Here I took shelter in the seminary of the Carmelite Fathers who support me and my companions for the love of God.

"What has happened after me is as follows: The Christians of Nagar have been banished to Chittaldurga and all the others in the kingdom who number about 40,000 have been taken to Seringapatam. A great number of these died of small pox; of the three fathers who had been found disguised in the company of the Christians two died, and the third having been found out was banished, and he came to Tellichery: The churches of the Mission of Mysore have been demolished and its missionaries who have been Jesuits were banished; they send me their news. The leading Christians of Pattanam and those of Kanara together with the Sacristans and their families were all circumcised with express orders not to communicate with their priests. The temples of the Hindus have also been demolished together with the famous temple of Pattanam. Its chief priests like Somangollos and others were also circumcised; also the English in great numbers have been circumcised; likewise many others have been circumcised even the military men of his army without considering their nationality whether friendly or not, according to the old adage: "As is the king, so is the law, and as is the law so are the subjects". Salvoes of guns were fired, banquets were held, bands were played and money was distributed on the day on which the Christians were circumcised; General M. Delale being annoyed and angry at all this killed the horse which the Nawab had given him and on account of this display of his

feelings, I do not know for this reason or another, he had been placed under guard and the troops under his command divided and assigned to the various resalas of the Nawab.

"The Ambassador M. Piveron has since long retired to Pontecheyra, to which place has gone also after him M. Benthenot. The Nawab and the English have exchanged the fortresses that were about Arcoate, thus finalising completely the peace made between them. It is now said that the Nawab is going to invade Travancore and both are preparing for battle. And as your Excellency has already received news from the Rev. Fathers who have come from the Mission, namely about the funds and the assets of the churches, I do not want to speak about them more, thus depriving you of the precious time that you require to attend to more important matters. Pardon me for being impolite in my writing and for want of order in this summary account because this is justifiable in a person who has lived for 27 years among the illiterate. Considering the worth of your illustrious friend Count of Ega and Albuquergue whose letter I have not received since 1783; should your Excellency receive his letter among those that you receive from Lisbon please send it to this unworthy useless and humble servant of yours.

"May God preserve you for many years etc."[1]

II

Letter of Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur to the Governor of Goa:-

To,

The Illustrious Possessor of Happiness and General of great army, Generous D. Frederico Gilherme de Souza Governor of the ports of Goa, whose friendship be perpetual.

After expressions of friendship I inform your Excellency that I am in good health and desire to hear good news from you.

The priests who were in the dominions of my Government were the cause of the treacherous invasion and other disorders, and the said dominions were ruined with a loss

1. Pissurlencar Antigualhas Fasciculo II pp. 305-310.

of three crores of rupees. Of this your Excellency specially must have had information. I had resolved to punish the said priests and make them pay for the loss suffered by my government. However in considerations of much that your Excellency wrote to me respecting these priests and they having asked me to pardon them the loss of crores of rupees caused by remaining in the dominions of my government, affirming to pay 3 lakhs of rupees to my government on condition that none of them should remain in the said dominions. and should leave them paying the said loss of the government, the priests who should desire to continue in these dominions or those who should come in future, subjecting themselves also to other punishment to which they bound themselves by the binding that they gave and considering also your Excellency's friendship and your recommendation to pardon them the promised amount, I send them to your Excellency with the hope to hear good news from you I end this letter written on 24th March 1784.

Translated by Anant Camotim Vaga State Translator 7th July 1784.[1]

III

Order from Gulam Mahamad, Amildar of Mangalore Hobly to Goosappiyar Monigur of the Bunger Province. 1794–95.

Whereas instructions having been received from the Huzur to sell the land and gardens of the Christian inhabitants who were ordered to be sent to Seringapatam and whereas Vencannah of Arcool village having come to offer a nuzzer (or cawnikay) to the circar for the proprietory right and interest in an estate situated in the village of Amtardy of Buntwal Maganey of the Bunger Province which was late the property of Pudduvulty Munnu Christian, the shisth hereof is pagodas 10–1–10; now be it known that sum of 132 pagodas has accordingly been paid to the circar by the said Vencannah on whom the aforesaid estate (of) late Pudduvalty Munnu Christian situated as aforesaid in Amtardy village of Buntwal Maganey of the Bunger Province

1. Pissurlencar Antigualhas Fasciculo II p. 258.

the shist thereof being in money 8-1-10
12 Mooras of rice 2-0- 0
Total 10-1-10 is settled in perpetuity and he being accordingly sent to you you will make over to the said Vencannah all the garden and other grounds together with all houses huts or other things standing or being on any of the said ground included in the said shisth. You will also enter his name afresh in the circar account as the landlord of the said estate and in the same way as from other ryots you will collect from the said Vencannah all the shisth Pudgy Putty Must and other additions (to the land rent) of such estate without allowing any balance to be outstanding. You will also allow the estate to be held and enjoyed by him and his heirs for ever-you will enter this sanad on the Shanbogue's records and give the original to him. 17th Vyasauk of Crothy (1794-95).[1]

IV

Letter of Abbe Dubois to Lt. Col. Close, Resident in Mysore, 12th November 1800.

Lt. Col. Close, Resident in Mysore.

Sir,

As you informed me, this morning, that you was (sic) desirous to make Government (sic) acquainted with my arrival and residence in the country, I do myself the pleasure to forward to you a correspondence between me and Captain Graham, Coll. in the Barrahmul by which (sic) you will perceive that Government is, long ago, acquainted with my being resident in the districts depending on the Hon. Company. I have to request you that you will be so good as to return it to me after perusing it. I shall, by all means, be very happy, of Government being officially apprised by you, of my change of residence, and my coming here in compliance with the wishes of the native Christians to discharge by them, the duties of my profession. If I am

1. Madras Record Office: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 1801, pp.8945-9014. This sanad was in Kannada, An English translation of it was found as an appendix to the letter of Ravenshaw dated 19th July 1801 see Appendix No. 6).

asked why I left my former station to come in these districts I answer that after the change of government the people of my persuasion escaped from the persecution, formerly exercised over them, by the late Tipoo, being apprised of my long stay in a neighbour district, and my being already acquainted with the languages, the morals and usages of the natives; and at the same time, seeing the spirit of tolerance and impartiality of the new government, sent to me many deputations with the most earnest entreaties to come, without delay (sic), to their assistance and to rebuild under the protection of Government, the places of their worship, pulled down by the orders of the late Sultan. After having placed another missionary to take care in my absence of the Christians spread over the Barrahmaul, and taken a passport from the Collector of the district, I considered it my indispensable duty to comply with their wishes.

As for the rest, I have nothing to add to the humble address I did myself the pleasure to forward to you the last year, on my coming in the country.

I have the honour to be with a high regard

Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant

Sarganjam, 12th November 1800. Sd/-Dubois Missionary.'

V

Petition given by Pe. Juse Mingel Mendez to Dr. Francis Buchanan, 18th January 1801.

Humble petition of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Canara: -

That it is about 150 years since the Roman Catholic religion is established in this province. Your petitioner's forefathers were formerly of Goa. At the request of the Rajahs of this place they came and settled here and they have been greatly favoured by the said Rajahs who furnished them with lands and subsidy sufficient for their own maintenance for the building of their churches.

I. Mysore Residency Records, September to December 1800, P.-2091 The letter is in the Abbe's own hand.

This establishment continued from the time of the Queen of Canara to the death of Hyder Alli, Tippu's father with the same honour and respect, and the latter even allowed the Roman Catholics domineering power over the Roman Catholic subjects.

But the Sultan Tippu had a great hatred against the Christian religion. When he came here to restore his country which had been subdued by the Hon'ble Company he carried all the Christians to Pattana amounting to about 80000 souls and by force and violence made them moors, most of whom died there. After the conquest of Seringapatam some Christians that remained there came to this place, it being their native country. The number of whom here now will be about 15000 souls who are in utmost distress and poverty, their houses being demolished, their estates given away, their Churches destroyed.

The churches in this reign (?) of Canara were twenty and two with so many vicars and curates, besides a seminary for the education of children which all is destroyed by Tippu.

Your petitioners therefore finding themselves in this wretched condition without any means to reform their churches or maintain their priests, all that they can earn by their daily labour being hardly enough for their subsistence they most humbly request your Lordship will be pleased to considerate (?) their case and make them such an allowanee as your Lordship may think proper and enough for the rebuilding of their churches and maintenance of their priests and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Mangalore, 18th January 1801.

(Sd.) Franco de Saldanha, Constantio de ma, Francisco Coelho, Ignacio Coelho, Pedro Lobo, Salvadore Koir, Manuel da Cunha, Aleixio Dhepn, Sebastiao Montr, Matheus Montr, Salvador Glz, Bernardo Lobo, Paulus Minezes, Ant. de Souza, Ant Juso de Silva, Lorenco de Silva, Mel da Silva, Laserca Sequeira, Ventura Paes, Diogos de Souza, Seb Lobo Goora, Diogo Pais, Come Pais, Salvador de Nova, Juao de Salda, Ventura Rasquinha, Salvador de Souza, Francisco Fernandes.

Marks of Caetano de Souza, Simao Pais, Thome Suares Diogo Koir, Sebastiao Telles, Alexio Dessa, Francis Saldanha, Salvador Pto, Salvador Minezes, Basilio Coelho, Mathews Montr, Lucao Dessa, Juse Taura, Francisco Fernandes, Antonio Barreta, Mathews Rego.[1]

VI

Letter from the Collector Ravenshaw to the Board of Revenue, Madras. 19th July, 1801

Gentlemen,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the Secretary's letter of the 27th ultimo enclosing copy of a petition addressed to H. E. the most noble Governor General in Council by (as is supposed) the Chritian inhabitants of this district. Had the quarter part of the persons whose names are affixed thereto really signed the original petition themselves or had they even knew of its being written or of its contents I should have felt much hurt at their conduct because as they had received the strongest assurances of protection and of their estates being restored to them, if possible, both from Major Munro and myself and as most particular orders have been given relative to an investigation of their claims to the different Tahshildars of the Talooks in which their lands lay and moreover as several of them were with me at the time and as I was daily inquiring into their circumstances it would have denoted an ungenerous and illiberal conduct in them to have addressed their grievances to any other person than him who was at the time labouring to redress them.

2. On receipt of the petition in question I sent for the persons whose names are affixed thereto and on inquiring whether they knew anything about it I was surprised, though pleased, to find they were as ignorant of the matter as I had been. On a further investigation with others I traced the petition to its source. It was written by a Padry of the

1. Madras Record Office: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue 1801, dated 2nd November, PP. 13037-41. This petition was handed over to Dr. Francis Buchanan to be presented to the Governor General at Calcutta. The latter in his turn passed it on to the Governor, Madras for inquiry.

Roman Catholic religion who resides here and given into Mr. Buchan(an) when I was here in January last. I wish that gentleman had furnished me with a copy of it at the time. The petition was forged with so many marks of the authenticity that a person not acquainted with circumstances might not well suspect its falsity. The Padry's own signature is not put to it because, had it been, he was probably fearful it might have been thought that he acted from self-interested motives, and, in case the petition fell into my hands, that I might imagining he was the author of it. To give it a more plausible appearance the names of some persons are written at length and the mark only of others is put and so well did he know the abilities of the different persons whose names he himself affixed to the petition that he has been very correct in writing the names of those who he knew could write and in putting marks only to others. When the Padry knew that I was in possession of all the circumstances of the case he confessed that he alone had been the author of the Paper in question and that he had affixed the names thereto without speaking to any of the persons on the subject or consulting any of the christian inhabitants about it.

3. Having thus disclosed to your Board the way in which the petition in question was framed and the authenticity of it, I shall with pleasure relate the past and present situation of the Christians in Canara for no one can feel for or pity their misfortunes than I do and which I do the more because the greatest hardships they have endured, they have brought on them by an attachment they were suspected of bearing towards the English. The Christian religion appears to have been introduced in Canara at a far distant period and not many years after the Portuguese had settled at Goa at which time this province was divided into petty Rajahships the chiefs of which paid a trifling to Peishensh to Mor Hurry Roy the then chiefs of Bijanagar. The Bunger Rajah, who then possessed Mangalore and all the country around to Mungasur and near Shumteul north and south and to near Jamalabad East, having been threatened by the noted Pirate Angria and others, who at

that time laid waste this coast, some of whom he was fearful would come and plunder his capital applied to the Portuguese at Goa for assistance which was granted him in a small detachment of troops, which it was agreed should defend the place against all the Rajaha's enemies, was sent from thence to this place and with them a Factor and one or two priests of the Roman Catholic religion. The Bunger Rajah feeling security from these new friends granted them several privileges. They built a factory and certain quantity of land was allotted to them around it for gardens. It was not long before they also built a church and the priests began to convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion and additional duty of half rupee a corge was laid on all rice exported and the amount raised thereby was appropriated to the support of the factory. There were other small fees collected also by the Portuguese but they were very trifling. The whole was about 1500 Bahadury Pagodas per annum. The security they enjoyed here brought many others from Goa and other places and among them several priests. These people scattered themselves over the country and found little difficulty in persuading many of the natives of every place they went to prefer the doctrines of the Christian to those of the Brahminical religion. There were more Conguny Brahmins converted than any other cast(e). As the number of converts increased they built churches in different parts of the Province and during the reign of Bunger Rajah they enjoyed every support they could have wished. Soon after the foundation of the Biddenore Govt. by Chinnappa Gour about the year 1540 all the petty rajahs in the Province were subdued. Their districts were assumed but they were allowed a certain quantity of land as umbli or Enam. The ryots of the remaining parts of these countries paid their rent immediately to Government. The Portuguese and Christians were however still protected as before and continued in the same free exercise of their religion and rights till the end of the Rani's Govt. and the Portuguese flag flew at the factory till this time without any interruption. When any disputes arose in which christians were concerned and in the case of enormities being committed by people of that cast(e) they were always

sent to the Portuguese Factor who inquired into the case and punished the offender if a Christian. Accordingly the common way of settling such causes was by a Panchayat. If a dispute happened between a Christian and a Hindu the Panchayat Board, if I may so call it, was composed of half one and half the other sect.

4. When Hyder Alli first conquered this province in or 1762/3 he continued the same privileges to the Portuguese and allowed them to hoist their national flag at the factory as usual and all their complaints were decided with little variation from the way just mentioned. But it does not appear that domineering power was ever allowed to the Roman Catholic priests over their subjects. In the Servajid or 1767/8 Commodore Watson having taken Mangalore which was then commanded by a Moghal named Ali Beg, the Portuguese and Christians of the place so far from opposing the English troops as Hyder expected they would have done were accused of being particularly alert in supplying them with all kinds of provisions. Tis said they rejoiced to find the place in possession of the English. These circumstances being related to Hyder Alli so soon as the English force retired he retook Mangalore; he confined several of the Padrys and other Christians and threatened to hang them for treachery. His anger however being soon appeased he released them on condition of the whole body entering into a muchelka and binding themselves thereby in case Mangalore or any other place on the coast should be taken by his enemies that they would fly with all their property to Nuggur and in case Nuggur should happened to be taken he gave them permission to make submission to the power who should subdue it. The alleged reason of this stipulation is that Hyder considered Nuggur as the key to Canara and that the taking of the former would ensure the conquest of the latter. From this time it is said even Hyder viewed the Christians with a suspicious eye. The Portuguese however were again confirmed in the factory. The fees they had enjoyed to the amount of 1500 Pagodas as before mentioned, were from this time discontinued but an Enam of land to the amount of 18 pagodas a year was still

continued to them. The fees were still however collected by Hyder's servants and carried to account under the head of extra collections till the year Avilumby or 1777/8 when they were included in the Syr. It would seem that Hyder had kept them separate thus long with the intent of restoring them to the Portuguese if they would agree to serve him on his terms. It was in the year Manmatha 1775/6 or Thurmaky 1776/7 that Hyder repaired the fort of Mangalore appointed a Killedar and troops to garrison it and established a person at the head of the marine department and he at this time told the Portuguese that in consequence of these arrangements he could no longer allow them to have any interference with the Bunder as before but that they might continue their factory and that he would protect the Christian religion, as the Rani had done on condition of their supplying him with a certain number of troops properly officered. He proposed giving them the small allowance as the French and they were to consider all his enemies as theirs etc; that they might hoist their own flag in the army; but that they were to be immediately at his command and bind themselves to obey implicitly his orders in all military matters. An ambassador went to Goa with these terms for a treaty but the then Viceroy absolutely refusing to enter into it sent back an answer it is said in high words to that effect, upon which Hyder immediately ordered the factor into confinement with many of the Roman Catholic priests and others and resumed every privilege and Enam which had been granted to the Portuguese.

5. Various causes at the commencement of the reign of Tippu Sultan created in him a strong and rooted prejudice against the Christians of Canara. The detachment sent by General Mathews after the fall of Bidnore to take Mangalore took up their ground at first on a hill in the rear of the Buthery Pagoda about two miles from this place whence a summons was sent to Meer Zaim Rustum Bega Mogul who was then Killedar of the fort to deliver up to the English. Shady Barey who was ammaldar and Wisser Shahal who was at the head of the marine department fled

into the country and left the Killedar to make his own sums when the English army encamped at the before-mentioned place. The Christians who are far more industrious than any other class of people here went to our camp with vegetable poultry &c. to sell. This was one of the charges afterwards against them and which with the others determined Tippoo on presenting them as he did sometime. After the fort was in our possession, a detachment, a report says, 12000 then sent by Tippoo arrived under the command of Hussein Ally Cawn of Bengempilly and encamped on a spot not far distant from where the English army had been. They had not been there many days before a detachment sent from the fort for the purpose completely routed and dispersed them and took all their baggage and ammunition. A Christian, it is said, undertook to show the officer who commanded this detachment, I believe a Captain Purson, a bye road to the enemy's encampment. Tippoo after his having retaken Bidnore came via Raveul and Mudbidry to seige of Mangalore: at one of these places he was joined by Shady Barey and Meer Zaim Rustum Beg the late Killedar of the fort and ammaldar of the district. But he was so enraged at the loss of the place, and, additionally so at the late defeat of Husse n Ali Cawn, that he immediately ordered Mir Zaim Rustum Beg to be hung for delivering up the fort; and Shady Barey most probably to save himself having represented to the Sultan that the misfortunes which had lately happened were entirely to be attributed to the treachery of the Christians who had not only privately but openly given information and other assistance to the English. He took an oath that on again getting possession of Mangalore he would utterly ruin the Christian tribe from the province. It is useless to relate all the circumstances of the siege of the place. Suffice it to say when our troops became more closely pressed and all were obliged to retire within the walls of the fort some of the Christians took the image of the Virgin Mary from the church not far distant and brought it within the walls. Breaches and batteries were almost built up and demolished in the same hour and Tippoo being led to suppose that our army was indebted to the Canara Christians for the

uncommon alacrity with which the besieged were enabled to repair their works(for he knew they were the best workmen in the country) his inveteracy to that class of people became more rooted than ever. Several of the Roman Catholics were seized and carried to his camp where a paper was drawn out to the following effect and they were ordered to sign it. Tis said they refused at first and declared the charges were false. They were at last forced to sign it. The charges were as follows or rather the confessions:-

1. It was us who wrote to the English and invited them to come and take possession of Canara in 1781-82.

2. It was us who furnished supplies to and otherwise assisted General Mathews army when it landed and took possession of Honavar.

3. It was us who plundered the treasury at Nuggur when that fortress fell to General Mathews.

4. It was us who accompanied the detachment which was sent to take Mangalore and furnished it with supplies both on the march and after it encamped near Mangalore. It was also us who supplied provisions to the English after the fort was taken and who led the detachment to the attack (of) Hussein Ally Cawn as well as aided the English in repairing the breaches made when the fort was besieged by Tippoo Sultan.

(Signed) by several Christians.

None of the Christians now here have seen this paper; but the charges which some of their religious were obliged to sign they understood to be to the above effect. The original may probably be among the late Tippoo's records. Having procured this kind of confession, scarce had the few remaining English troops quitted Mangalore before,(orders having been previously issued for the purpose) every Christian man, woman and child was seized and when the whole men collected together in number about 80000 they were sent under a guard to Seringapatam. The padrys excepted who were sent to Goa and forbid on any account ever to return to Canara again. Their seizure was so sudden that the Christians had no time to make the least preparation for their departure or to dispose off the little property

they had then. Everything was confiscated after they left the place. Their lands were given or rather sold away afresh in perpetuity to any person who would take them. They in general however fetched good prices for they were as well or better cultivated than any in the country. These unfortunate wretches had not been long in confinement before the small pox attacked and carried off near two thirds of them. As they were allowed extraordinary liberties during this pestilence several found means to escape and returned to Canara. Tippoo's orders however followed them and all these who would not submit to circumcision were directed to be seized and sent back in chains. Many of those who survived at Seringapatam he obliged to submit to it. Some few escaped at different times to Goa, some places in Malabar and indeed to some parts of Canara. None however ever got possession of their estates or personal property. They procured a maintenance by their daily labour.

6. So soon as it was known that Canara was to be given up to the Company they all flocked to their places of nativity and a numerous horde of Padrys were despatched from Goa in search of their ruined churches and the long lost followers of their faith. The industry of the people always ensures a demand for their services so that there was no danger of their ever wanting a maintenance. They have already found means to rebuild some of their churches substantially and to repair others in a slight way. The image of the Virgin Mary which I before observed was taken into the fort of Mangalore during the siege was when it was evacuated removed to Tellichery by sea and from thence sent to Goa whence it has lately been brought and deposited in a temporary building erected on the site of the old church at this place.

7. I must now gentlemen reply to the 2nd paragraph of your Secretary's letter relative to the move in which the Christians' estates having been appropriated and which I fear will lead me into a greater detail than a relation of their past and present situation has done. It has been observed before that immediately on the seizure of the

Christians the whole of their real and personal property was confiscated and their estates were ordered to be sold in perpetuity to any person who offered to purchase them. Some of them indeed at the time of going away made over everything to their next neighbour and desired them to take care of the same till their return. But as it was generally known afterwards that such lands belonged to Christians the persons holding them were obliged either to give them up or pay a nuzzarnamah to Government for the right of continuing in possession of by the head people of villages and others, after the Christians had quitted the place. But some few were concealed from government and no nuzzar whatever paid therefor

8. Soon after Major Munro arrived in Canara a deputation of the Christians waited on him to represent their circumstances. When he had heard the particulars of which as I am informed he recommended them rather to agree together in cultivating some waste lands on moderate terms than to urging the restoration of their ancient estates which for 18 years past had been held and quietly enjoyed by people who had legally purchased them. People attached, as the natives of Canara are, to the spots of their birth and the lands which have been cultivated by their forefathers for ages past would rather fly the country than cultivate any other lands where those they call their birthright unjustly taken from them and the Christians declined taking other lands till the question of their right to their old estates was discussed. They say, "the lands we claim were cleared levelled and first brought into cultivation by our forefathers under their hands did they flourish till they fell by right of descent to us and by us were they tilled till Tippu Sultan alleging crimes against us of which we were not guilty thence attempted to justify the tyrranical act of sending us our wives and children and fathers prisonors to Seringapatam whence not more than a third of us have returned; are there any document save the paper the Roman Catholic priests were forced to sign to prove that we were guilty of the charges alleged against us. Even if we could they justify Tippu Sultan in acting as he did and if we were not by what reasoning of right or justice could he confis-

cate our property and dispose of it to other people and will not the present government be justified in restoring our lands to us on our repaying to the present occupants the money they may have outstanding thereon". They further urge that their lands were not regularly sold by government but that they were given in perpetuity for a nuzzar. This however is a niceness of distinction or rather a quibble I am not inclined to allow to the extent they could have it.

9. I am well aware gentlemen that the subject in question is of so delicate and intricate a nature that it may require a very great share of judgment and impartiality to discuss it with that deliberation and penetration it deserves and to decide on it with justness to all parties however inequal I may be thought to the task. I hope it may be allowed that I have shared neither pains or trouble in the consideration of it and if with a wish to state my sentiments to the fullest I am led into a very prolix discussion. I trust your Board will attribute it to the real cause and a desire to do justice. Major Munro's orders relative to the Christians estates I have (and of them more hereafter) though I know therefrom his intentions relative thereto I am ignorant of the grounds on which he formed them. In considering a case of this nature it becomes in my opinion to reflect on customs usages and more of administration during the late government as also on the ancient customs of the province and thence to judge of the intent of the parties rather than to judge as if the circumstances had happened, under the Company's government.

(Here follows a long discussion in 50 long folios which, I believe, will not interest the reader at the present day.)

15. There are several Portuguese and others who have lately returned to Canara and have been with me to claim their estates. They were not banished as others were but have fled the country at different times from fear of Hyder and Tippu. Their lands were consequently resumed by Government for want of owners and sold to other people. Their cases though somewhat differing

from the other cases of Christians may be determined by the same orders or by the usage of the country which on their paying the amount outstanding on such estates on the part of the present occupant will restore such land to them. In my letter forwarded with my estimates for 1211 I expressed a wish that Govt. would allow the Christians something towards rebuilding their churches. There is no other relief they stand in need of at present.

16. The number of priests who have come into the country is more than necessary. There are two or three to some churches where one is quite enough and as they have I believe no allowance whatever from Goa they must of course make their converts pay an additional contribution for their subsistence. With respect to the powers necessary to be granted them for supporting their authority there can be no obligation to their exercising of censure excommunication and all other spiritual means usually employed in maintaining the discipline of the church and imprisonment should be left to the officer with civil authority.

17. Since writing the above the Padry who forged the petition given into Mr. Buchanan has been to ask my forgiveness of the crime he has been guilty of. He attempted in some degree to justify his conduct or rather to palliate it by saying that Gentleman pressed him to write anything he might have to say and sent to him when he was leaving the place for the petition and that as he had no time to speak to any of the Christians on the subject he signed their names himself that he trusted they would not be allowed to suffer for an act he alone had committed and which he was induced to do from a vain hope that Mr. Buchanan's representation would obtain some indulgences to the Christians. I told him that his representation to H. E. the most noble Governor General in Council was an accusation against me of inattention to the claims of the Christians and that though my own conscience told me I had done everything in my power to relieve them that it yet remained for the Govt. to be convinced thereof and that it is of consequence because my duty to state every circumstance

of the case to my superiors- who would doubtless observe the line of strict justice to all.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very obedt. servant,
John G. Ravenshaw
Collector.

Mangalore,
19th July, 1801.

VII

Letter from the Collector of Canara, Northern Division, to William Petrie of the Madras Board of Revenue.

15th August, 1801.

Sir,

Accompanying I have the pleasure to forward a statement of the lands formerly occupied by Christians and who are now present in the Cundapur district. I had both parties assembled in order to gain every requisite information concerning the lands in question for although always I thought the Christians were fully entitled to their lands, I was desirous to hear all the objections the present occupants had to make before resolving to reinstate them, not doubting but upon enquiry many circumstances would appear in favour of present proprietors. But there was little or no opposition made. They seemed to be convinced of the justice of the measure and only claimed compensation for the Nazzeranas exacted of them by the sarcar and some trifling improvements they had been at since the Christians' lands came into their possession The reason for relinquishing the lands so easily arises in my opinion from their possessing other lands in the first place, but principally from their never having held the Christians lands as the private property but always of the Sircar which seems to be the reason why they have bestowed little or no improvement upon them, for, the produce is the same now that it appeared to have been 18 years ago. They might also have considered that lands thus improved upon by force might be taken again from them in the same manner and that it was not worthwhile to bestow any improvement upon land which they had no certainty of holding. There was only one estate, a garden No.- that could not be

restored to the original owners because it had passed through the hands of several proprietors who purchased it of each other and as the person who held it immediately after the seizure of the Christians is now dead, no restitution could possibly be made. However, I desired them to look out for another spot of ground to make a garden and that advances for the purpose should be made then. Finding that no obstacle existed towards patting the rest in possession of their lands, I accordingly granted each a Sanad agreably to the form observed by Major Munro when Sircar lands are about to be more private property.

The present season being so far advanced I directed that the crop now on the ground and trees should indemnify them for all the improvements and recommend that I may be permitted to return the amount of all Nazzaranas exacted by the late Government This can be done either by remitting it in the rents of this and the ensuing fasali or by advancing it to them at once from the Treasury. This last move, as the sum is not great would, I think, be the best, that which would benefit the cultivators the most because it would enable them to defray the expenses of preparing other lands in time for ensuing season, for all lands in Canara that have lain fallow above a twelve month require to be fresh levelled and their banks repaired.

I have further directed that taccavy be advanced the Christians be a greater extent than is allowed to farmers of their class and I also submit the propriety of their being allowed double the usual time to repay it. By these means I hope the Christians will soon enjoy all the comforts of petty landlords in Canara.

The rest of the Christian estates lay in Honavar and Ankola which I shall adjust on reaching those districts in the manner now observed. In the meantime I have sent orders to the Amaldars to afford such as may be in want of the necessary assistance.

Cundapur, Sd. Alexander Read
15th August, 1801.

Then follows an appendix with names and a long statement of the description etc. of the properties.' The

names of the persons who relinquished the properties to the Christians are as follows:-

1. Christnachi. 2. Hennoo. 3. Mukund Campthi. 4. Pulli Chinna. 5. Potail Chinna. 6. Amersa. 7. Ponder Sheregar. 8. Sonda Ponda. 9. Mogna. 10. Sheik Ahmad. 11. Sheik Ahmad. 12. Sheik Ahmad. 13. Sheik Ahmad[1].

VIII

PRIESTS OF CANARA.[2]

1. AGRAR.

1751- Pe Jose da Costa, 1752- Pe. Jacome Fernandes de Moraes. 1766- Pe. Antonio Migel Mascarenhas de Arpora 1769- Pe. Antonio Joao Lobo de Candolim. 1775-80- Pe. Anastasio Miranda de Loutelim.

2. BANTWAL.

1752- Pe. Antonio Lobo de Serula. 1759- Pe. Balthazar Miranda de Margao. 1762- Pe. Manuel Feliciano Gomes de Loutulim. 1769- Pe. Jose Baptista Fonseca de Graca 1775- Pe. Nicolas Tolentino Menezes de Raia 1776- Pe. Custodio C. Nazare de Panjim. 1777- Pe. Nicolao Tolentino Menezes (II time). 1780-Pe. Juse Manuel Gomes de Loutelim. 1788- Pe. Sebastiao Coutinho. 1790- Pe. Laurenco C. Lobo de Candolim.

3. BARCELORE.

1752- Pe. Antonio Lobo de Serula. 1769- Pe. Nicolao Tolentino de Minezes 1776- Pe Pedro Caetan Ribeiro de Candolim. 1780- Pe. Celestino Pereira de Guirim. 1794- Pe. Salvador Rodrigues de Colva. 1799- Pe Recardo Juse Vas de Cortalim.

4. BIDRUL.

1761- Pe Antonio D'Sa de Anjuna. 1766- Pe. Seba-

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1. As the statement is too long and consists of only figures it is not copied. Madras Record Office: Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, 3rd September, PP. 10698-702.

2. This list was compiled by Fr. Francis Xavier Gomes Catao of the Saligao Seminary from the Patriarchal Archives of Panjim. He has kindly placed it at my disposal. The list is not complete as many files are missing. It is apparent from this that the Mission of Sul was organised from Queen Chennammaji's time.

stiao de Frias de Chicalim. 1768- Pe. Caetono Ribeiro de Socorro. 1775- Pe. Lamenco Caetano Lobo de Candolim. 1779- Pe. Mathias B. de Fonseca de Graca. 1790- Pe. Laurenco C. Lobo (II time)

5 CALIANPUR

1761- Pe. Custodio Leitao dos Reio de Sen Thome. 766- Pe. Anastasio Miranda de Loutelim 1775- Pe. Caetano Quitoria Lobo de Calangute. 1777- Pe. Antonio Manuel Lobo de Serula. 1779- Pe. Custodio C. Nazare de Panjim 1780- Pe. Juao Salvador Lobo de Nachinola. 1788- Pe. Salvador Messias de Souza de Talaulim. 28-8-1799- Pe Ricardo Juse Vas de Cortalim, Vicar Vara of Barcelore;

6 KARKAL

1759- Po- Francisco Salvador Lobo de Serula; 1775- Pe Sebastiao M De Crasto de Azessim; 1777- Pe Custodio C Nazare de Panjim; 1781 - Pe Alexio Rodrigues de Raia;

7 GONGOLLI

1759- Pe Jeoquim Mel Miranda de Talaulim; 1762- Pe Manuel Furtado de Pomburba 1766- Pe Salvadore Pinto de Anguira 1769- Pe Severino de Silva de Benaulim 1775- Pe Antonio Mel Lobo de Serula 1777- Pe Salvador Mel Gomes de Loutelim 1779- Pe Jose Masceranhas de Loutelim 1780- Pe Lourenco de Nazare de Calangute

8 MANGALORE (Rosario)

1752- Pe Domingo C Lobo de Pomburba 1759- Pe Caetan Peres de Silva de Neura 769- Pe Aleixo Lobo de Candolim ? - Pe Celestino Ribeiro de S Mathias 1776- Pe Antonio Francisco Simoes de Nerul 1779- Pe Francisco Ferreira de Souza de Naroa. 1780- Pe. Maximo Caetano Antao de Colva 1795- Pe Mingel Juse Louis Mendes de Panaulim 1799- Pe Mingel Juse Louis Mendes de Panaulim

9 MANGALORE (Milagres)

1751- Pe Tomas de Souza 1752- Pe Jose Francisco Alvares de Margao 1762- Pe Salvadore Pinto de Anjuna 1767- Pe Diogo de Noronha e Silveira de Talaulim 1768- Pe Pedro Celestiano Ribeiro de Candolim 1775- Pe Antonio Francisco Socorro de Nerul 1776- Pe Sebastiao

Frias de Chicalim 1780- Pe Philip Neri do Rosario de Verna 1795- Pe Mingel Juse Louis Mendes de Panaulim

10 Mulquem. 1761 - Pe. Bartolomeu Jeoquim de Abreu de Graca. 1769- Pe. Antonio Migel Masceranhas de Anjuna. 1775- Pe. Bartolomeu J. de Abreu (II time). 1779- Pe. Antonio Francisco Simoes de Nerul. 1781- Pe Niclau Francisco de Concecao. 1799-Pe. Cosme Bernardo Camillo Valeriano.

11. NIRLAVAR. 1776- Pe. Luis Dias de Varca 1781- Pe. Domingos Alvares de Aldona.

12. OMZOOR. 1759- Pe Inacio Caetano de Silva de Graca. 1762- Pe. Jeoquim Manuel Miranda. 1766- Pe. Manuel Francisco Gomes de Loutelim. 1768- Pe. Salvadore Manuel Gomes de Loutelim. 1775 Pe. Antonio Mel. Lobo de Serula. 1777- Pe. Caetano Quiterio Lobo. 1779- Pe. Pedro Caetano Ribeiro. 1780- Pe. Antonio Xavier Vas. 1788- Pe Sabastiao Coutinho. 1790- Pe Laurenco Caetano Lobo de Candolim

13. PEZAR. 1759- Pe Salvadore Pinto de Anjuna. 1762- Pe. Inacio Caetano de Silva de Graca. 1768- Pe. Antonio Maunel Lobo de Serula. 1775- Pe. Caetano Ribeiro de Serula. 1776- Pe. Caetan Vincento da Cruz de Serula. 1799-80- Pe. Caetano Ribeiro (II time). 1780- Pe. Pedro Caetano Ribeiro.

14 QUIREM 1752- Pe. Nicolao Tolentino Menezes. 1752- Pe Anastasio Miranda de Loutelim 1762- Pe Sebastiao Farias de Anjuna 1768- Pe Juse Masceranhas de Loutelim 1776- Pe Severino de Silva de Benaulim 1781- Pe Salvador Pereira

15 SIRVAO 1766- Pe Jose Mel Gomes de Loutelim 1775- Pe Luis Caetano de Sequeira de Santa Ines 1776- Pe Salvador Juse Lobo de Serula 1779 Pe Juav da Costa de Loutelim 1788 Pe Caetano Quiteria Lobo de Calangute.

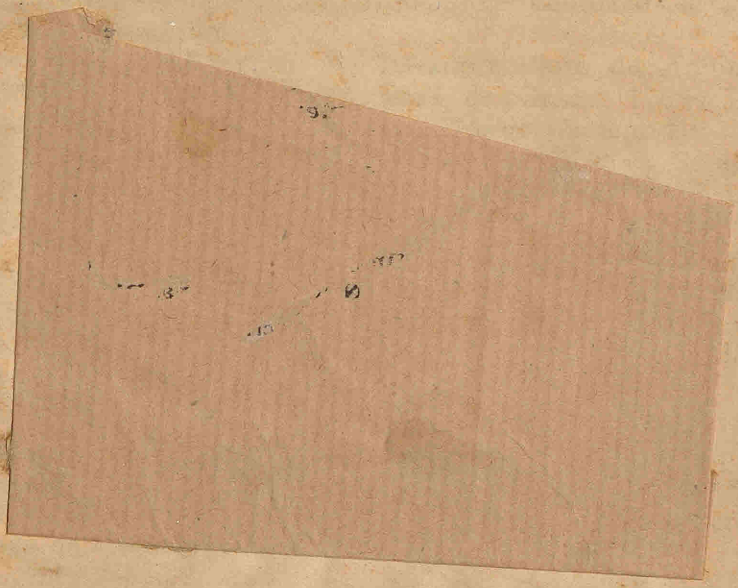
16 ULLAL 1759 Pe Vicente Caetano Lobo de Pomburba 1761 Pe Antonio Peres de Socorro de Betalbatim 1762 Pe Jose Antonio da Silva de Loutelim 1768 Pe Jose Mel Fernandes da Concecao de S Bartholomeu 1775 Pe Antonio Joao de Menezes de Verna 1776-

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Pe Salvadore Pereira de Benaulim. 1778 - Pe Caetano Fernandes. 1780-Pe Pascoal Dias da Rosario de Carmona.

17 HONNAVAR—1780-Pe Nicolau Tolentino Menezes de Raia. 1791-Pe Joao da Costa de Loutelim. 1793- Pe Gaspar Belchoir D. da Cruz de Calapur.

18 CHANDAWAR— 1762- Pe Antonio Joao Lobo- de Candolim. 1768 - Pe Pedru Caetano ibeiro de Candolim. 1775- Pe Joao da Costa de Loutelim. 779 Pe Joao Vicente da Cruz. 1780- Pe Caetano Ribeiro



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