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ART. I.—DR. MANSEL'S LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

THE LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT Examined in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1858, on the Bampton Foundation. By Henry Longueville Mansel, B.D., Reader on Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College. First American from the third London Edition, with the notes translated. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1859.

THE aim of the author in these lectures is, to confute those speculatists who treat religion as a philosophy, the problems of which are to be determined either wholly or in a measure by the mere powers of reason. They are of two classes. The Dogmatists who, accepting the great truths of revelation, "attempt to build up a complete scheme of theological doctrine out of the unsystematic materials furnished by Scripture, partly by the more complete development of certain leading ideas; partly by extending the apparent import of the revelation to ground which it does not avowedly occupy, and attempting by inference and analogy to solve problems, which the sacred

the interest and the faith of multitudes who bear his name. The utterance breathed so earnestly from the apostle's lips, as he gazed on these approaching wonders, "Come, Lord Jesus," is now heard from only here and there one who looks for the "glorious appearance of our Saviour." If viewed aright, however, it would be desired as fervently by all, as it was by those in the first ages, to whom its glories were so fully disclosed. If the warning was at that time appropriate to the forgetful, how much more is it to the indifferent and unbelieving of this period, to whom his advent is so near? "Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If, therefore, thou shouldst not watch, I will come to thee as a thief, and thou canst not know in what hour I will come to thee."

ART. IV.—THE INDO-SYRIAN CHURCH.

BY REV. J. FORSYTH, D.D.

TRADITION relates that, after the ascension of our Lord, and the church had been fully established at Jerusalem, the apostles went forth to publish the glad tidings in the regions severally allotted to them by divine command, or by mutual arrangement. For example, Andrew, it is said, visited the shores of the Black sea; Bartholomew went to Arabia, Philip to Phrygia, and Thomas to India. How much or how little truth there may be in this story, cannot be ascertained. The New Testament is silent on the subject, beyond the general statement, that they "went every where preaching the word;" and the first century furnishes no witnesses who were personally cognizant of the facts. There is, however, nothing improbable in the supposition that some one of those heroic heralds of the gospel may have penetrated as far into the East, as others did into the West. In both directions there were teeming millions sitting in darkness, and commerce had opened well frequented pathways, rendering the Orient and the Occident equally accessible to the Christian evangelist.

That Thomas or any other apostle ever honored India with his presence may be questioned, but there is little room to doubt that the church was planted in India during the primitive ages of faith. In the second century there came to the Christians of Alexandria a cry for help so loud and urgent, that no less a man than Pantaenus, the founder of the renowned school of that city, and the teacher of Clemens, Origen, and others of the most eminent theologians of that age, was induced to spend some years of missionary labor in India. How long he remained in this country, and what were the fruits of his visit, are questions which we have no means of answering. We only know that he went to the East, and after some years returned to his old post in the Alexandrian school.*

A few centuries later, we have the testimony of an eyewitness to the fact that numerous churches existed on the west coast of Southern India, and in the Island of Ceylon, viz. that of Cosmas the topographer. He was an old sea captain of Alexandria, who had been for many years in the Indian trade, and had made many voyages to the far east. But wearying, at length, of the risks and perils of commerce and the ocean, he had sought a quiet resting-place in an Egyptian monastery, and he spent his latter years in writing a work entitled *Topographia Christiana*, in which, with much monkish nonsense, is mixed a great deal of the practical knowledge of a shrewd and observing traveller. "There is," says Cosmas, "in the island of Taprobane (Ceylon), a Christian church, with ministers and believers.—In the Malabar country, also, where pepper grows, there are Christians, and also in Calliana, as they call it, there is a bishop who comes from Persia, where he was ordained."

From the account of Cosmas, it also appears that at this period these Indian churches were, like himself, Nestorian in sympathy and opinion, if not in formal ecclesiastical connexion. We may consequently infer that they had retained, up to this time, the faith, the discipline, and the spiritual life of the primitive ages in a much larger measure than the domi-

* Dr. Burton thinks that Pantaenus went to Arabia; but there is, it seems to us, decisive proof that he went to India, in the writings of his favorite pupil, *Clemens Alex.—Stromata*, i., 529, Potter's ed.

nant churches of the West. During several succeeding centuries the Nestorians and the Jacobites spread themselves with a wonderful energy and success over the vast regions of central and eastern Asia, until their numbers, at one period, were computed to surpass both the Greek and Latin communions. They were not, indeed, exempt from the superstitions and the will worship of the so-called Catholic church; in these respects, they fell far below the Novatians, Paulicians, and other Puritans of those early centuries. Still, they must have had no small share of the living energy of true religion, since they exhibited so much missionary zeal, and so boldly unfurled the banner of the cross in the presence of barbarians and idolaters.*

The chief centres of Nestorian activity and influence were in Mesopotamia and Syria. In many of the great cities of those countries, *e. g.* Nisibis, Edessa, Seleucia, Babylon, there were Nestorian seminaries, whose alumni were sent forth to gather new churches from among the heathen, or to strengthen those already planted. This may serve to account for the Syrian character of the churches on the Malabar coast, and for the admixture of races among the Christians of St. Thomas, as the members of these churches were sometimes called. When these emigrations from Western Asia occurred, under what circumstances, to what extent, and for what objects they were made, are points which it is now impossible satisfactorily to explain. Commerce, doubtless, had some connexion with them; and it is quite probable that persecution may have driven many more to seek a new and safer home on the distant coasts of Western India. This much is certain that the Portuguese, at the close of the 15th century, found here a large community of Syrian Christians and churches bearing every mark of a high antiquity.

In 1497 Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thus opened the ocean passage to India. His second voyage, in 1502, was specially designed to prepare the way for Portuguese colonies and commerce; and when he reached the coast of Malabar, he was astonished to find there a

* An interesting account of Nestorian missions is given by Bost, *Histoire General de l'Etablissement du Christianisme*, iii. 27-146.

Christian community, which hailed his arrival as that of a brother in the faith. Little did they dream that these "brethren," so cordially welcomed, before many years had passed, would subject them to forms of intolerant cruelty, such as neither Malay nor Moslem had ever dreamed of. De Gama made some conquests, and thus laid the foundations of Portuguese power in India, which was soon extended and compacted by Alphonso de Albuquerque, who captured Goa in 1510, and made it the capital of the eastern dominions of Portugal.

At this period the Malabar coast was divided among numerous petty princes. The chief traders were Mahomedans, who, though hardly amounting to a tithe of the general population, possessed great influence, and were much courted by the three most powerful rajahs of Colaster, Calicut, and Cochin. The Christians seem to have had, at one time, a prince of their own, who ruled over a considerable territory; but, though at the time of De Gama's arrival, they were the subjects of the native rajahs, they enjoyed various political immunities secured to them by a charter engraven on three tablets of brass. The Christian population must have amounted to several hundred thousand, as in one of the provinces occupied by them, they are said to have had fourteen hundred churches. They were, at all events, so numerous that they had a military force of their own, and if any of their various civil or social privileges were invaded, they did not hesitate to defend them by force of arms.

The whole region in which these Christians dwelt, and where their descendants are still found, is one of the richest and most delightful in the Indian peninsula. Except along the foot of the mighty Himalayas in the far north, in no part of Hindostan is the scenery more magnificent, or the climate more diversified—ranging, as it does, from that of the torrid to that of the temperate zone. The district is bounded on the east by the Neelgherry mountains, which lift their peaks some 8,000 feet above the sea level, and are now the great sanatorium of southern India. The face of the country between these mountains and the coast exhibits the most varied scene of hill, and dale, and winding streams, which clothe the valleys with perpetual verdure. The woods pro-

duce pepper, cinnamon, frankincense, and many other aromatic gums; while the sides of the mountains, almost to their very summits, are covered with forests of teak or the Indian-oak, the best ship timber in the world. "The first view of the Christian churches in the sequestered region of Hindostan," says Dr. Buchanan, who visited them in 1806, "connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the parish churches in England; the style in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof being exposed to view, are ornamented; and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular and fretted. Most of the churches are built of a reddish stone, squared and polished at the quarry, and are of durable construction; the front wall of the largest structures being six feet thick. The bells of the churches are cast in the foundries of the country; some of them are of large dimensions, and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malay-alim. In approaching a town in the evening, I heard the sound of the bells among the hills, a circumstance that made me forget, for a moment, that I was in Hindostan, and reminded me of *another* country."

With the bigoted and barbaric zeal which Rome usually displays in such matters, the Portuguese priests destroyed all the ancient archives of these Indo-Syrian churches on which they could lay their hands. But their own accounts of their attempts to bring them under the yoke of Popery supply us with information respecting the condition and character of these Christians when first discovered, of their faith, polity, and forms of worship, which would be otherwise inaccessible; and, though coming from enemies, it is perfectly trustworthy. A considerable portion of the Syrian churches were forced to allow themselves to be Romanised, and fortunately for history, the consummation of the process consisted in the solemn renunciation of their so-called ancient heresies.

What then was the faith of the Syrian churches in India? From the unwilling admissions of their Romish enemies, it appears that they had always maintained those three funda

mental doctrines of orthodox Christianity, viz. :—1. Of the Trinity, as defined in the Athanasian creed, without the damnatory clauses. 2. Of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. 3. Of salvation by faith alone in the atoning sacrifice of Christ for the sins of men. Such is the substance of the creed of the ancient Malabar church; but her position will be better understood, and her affinity with the true Catholic church of all ages will be more distinctly discerned, when we consider the dogmas and usages which she *rejected*.*

1. She did not recognise the *Pope's supremacy*. On the contrary, so soon as these Christians came to know the Roman church, they abhorred her as Antichristian, and utterly rejected the claims of the Pope to universal jurisdiction. Until the Portuguese landed they had never even heard of such a personage; and when they did learn that he assumed to be the vicar of God and head of the church on earth, they at once declared that he must be Antichrist.

2. She maintained that the *Church of Rome had corrupted the true faith*, by making the word of God of none effect, and by imposing many human inventions upon the consciences of men. The Malabar Christians stoutly resisted every Romish novelty, so long as they had any freedom to think and act for themselves.

3. She denied the dogma of *transubstantiation*. The books of the Syrian Christians, says Gouvea, the Portuguese historian, "contained enormous errors against this holy sacrament." These "enormous errors" consisted in their maintaining the *spiritual* presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, and thus rejecting the notion of an *actual* presence as an absurd figment.

4. She condemned the *adoration of images as idolatry*. Except the figure of a cross, not an image was to be found in any of the Syrian churches prior to the arrival of De Gama.

5. She knew nothing of the *intercession of saints*. She held that the souls of departed saints are in a state of happiness, but will not appear in the presence of God until

* The records of the Synod of Diamper, from which our facts are gathered, will be found in *Hough's History of Christianity in India*, ii. 23-129.

after the resurrection. Gouvea, of course, pronounces this "an enormous error," striking, as it does, at the root of a dogma, which has brought millions of money into the treasury of Rome.

6. She had never so much as heard of *purgatory*, and could not comprehend what the Popish priests meant, when they talked about it.

7. She, of course, knew as little of *masses and prayers for the dead*.

8. She had no knowledge of *extreme unction*.

9. She had never heard of *auricular confession*; and when the thing was first proposed to her members, they shrank from it with the utmost horror, as they well might.

10. Her *clergy married* as freely as laymen; and the wives of the former were held in such honor, that they took precedence of all other women on all occasions, and in all places.

11. She recognised only *two sacraments*, viz. baptism and the *Lord's supper*.

12. In baptism there was no *holy oil* used, but water only. After the service, however, the infant's body was rubbed with cocoa-nut oil, or with a species of saffron; the service, which was deemed somewhat sacred, being followed by a prayer or benediction.

13. The *bread* in the *Lord's supper* consisted of cakes, with which a little oil and salt were mixed. Renaudot, in his history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria (*Collectio Liturg.* ii. 436), says that this was the custom of the Syrian Jacobites, from whom it may have been borrowed by the Indo-Syrians.

14. The *elements* of the *Lord's supper* were consecrated by *prayer*; and all the communicants partook of the bread and the cup.

15. The Indo-Syrian church maintained and practised *catholic communion*, admitting to her fellowship all who "hold the Head," to whatever "denomination," as we would say, they belonged. Hence she at first welcomed the Portuguese as "brethren beloved," though she paid dearly in the end for her charity.

16. She knew nothing of the rite of *confirmation*, nor of *sponsors* in baptism.

17. She recognised only *two orders in the ministry*, viz. presbyters or priests, and deacons.*

There are various other usages, some of them being retained by the church of England as relics of those five or six centuries which she designates as "primitive antiquity," *e. g. Bowing at the name of Jesus*, with which the Indo-Syrian churches were wholly unacquainted.

Such were the faith and the order of the church of Malabar viewed on their negative side; and, when we take into account the truths she maintained, as well as the errors she rejected, we are warranted in saying that she was one of the purest branches of the church in mediæval times. If her

* It is surprising that so good a man as Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his excessive zeal for prelatie episcopacy, should have allowed himself to make, first, a disingenuous statement on this point, and next, a misrepresentation of a fact attested by the Romish ecclesiastics. In the first edition of his *Christian Researches*, p. 148, he says "that these Hindoo Christians maintained the *order and discipline of a regular church under Episcopal jurisdiction*." Then, on p. 149, he gives a list of errors abjured by the Syrian clergy at the Synod of Diamper. Among these "errors," he says, was this, "that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church than *bishop, priest, and deacon*." Now, this last is a positive misstatement, proved to be such by the Records of the Synod; and we can only account for the fact by supposing that Dr. B. got his information at second-hand, or quoted from memory. In the third session of the Synod of Diamper, various old Syrian books are condemned, and ordered to be destroyed—among which was "the Book of Orders, wherein it is said that there *are only two orders, diaconate and priesthood*." The Indo-Syrians, who were unsubdued by Rome, and whom Dr. B. visited in 1806, confessed to him "that they were in a degenerate state compared with their forefathers"—that "customs had been introduced in the later centuries" which were unknown in the older and purer times. Yet Dr. B. testifies that he found "*ruling elders*"—*i. e. lay elders*, as they are sometimes called—in these Syrian churches. The Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diamper prove conclusively that the "order and discipline of a regular Episcopal church" were unknown until then; for one of the chief objects of this Synod was to set up such an order and discipline.

Dr. Buchanan's attention was called to the misstatement noticed above, and in a subsequent edition of the *Christian Researches* he corrected it, as we have been assured, though unable to verify the fact by a personal examination of it. But, after his death, somebody took it upon him to cancel the correction, and restore the old misrepresentation to its place!

Mr. Hough, though an Episcopalian, candidly states the case as it is (*Hist. ii. 18*); but he adds, in a note, with a charming simplicity, "it does not appear why the order of *bishops* is omitted here." He then proceeds to "conjecture" the cause of the puzzling phenomenon.

membership had been placed in circumstances similar to those of the faithful mountaineers of Piedmont, her history would, no doubt, have been as mournful and as glorious as theirs. But persecution unto death was one of the trials of faith and love, to which she does not appear to have been subjected, for some centuries prior to the advent of the Portuguese.

It will naturally be asked, what was the influence upon the Indo-Syrian church herself, of the faith and polity to which she nominally adhered? How did her interior condition compare with her creed? The destruction of her ancient archives by the ruthless bigotry of Rome renders it impossible to give so full and satisfactory an answer to this question as could be desired. Still the unwitting testimony of her enemies shows that here as everywhere else the world over, the truth in Jesus vindicated its divinity by its influence on the moral character and social condition of those who professed it. The Syrian Christians were distinguished from all the other inhabitants of the Malabar coast, by physical as well as moral traits; they are said to have been endowed, beyond both their Hindu and Mohammedan neighbors, with every natural gift of body and mind. In person they were larger, better proportioned, more active, and with a more majestic presence than the heathen. And a still broader distinction existed between them—in reference to moral and social qualities. The Syrians were noted for their industry, their enterprise, their inflexible integrity in commercial transactions, their kindness to their poor, their hospitality to strangers, and their peaceable tempers. An act of violence of any kind was an event of very rare occurrence. In all the domestic relations their conduct was also most exemplary,—in the singular love and reverence of children for their parents and seniors, and in their reciprocal faithfulness as husband and wife. When they came to know the Portuguese, whom, as we have already mentioned, they at first welcomed with the most hearty affection as brethren of a common faith, they were horrified, as they well might be, by the bloody revenge, the falsehood, the avarice, the boundless licentiousness in which they indulged. For these reasons, the Syrians subsequently refused to hold religious communion with them.

It may be said, that however pure the creed of the Indo-Syrian church, her spiritual life must have been at a low ebb, as we have no evidence of that aggressiveness which is one of the invariable marks of a healthy Christianity. The pure gospel, where it comes with power, is like leaven; its law is diffusion; it perpetually seeks to make inroads on the kingdom of darkness, and to bring men into its own marvellous light, even at the risk of bonds and death. This is true. And we know too, that a rigid orthodoxy may exist, while there is much more of formalism than practical godliness among those who profess it. So it may have been, so it no doubt *was* to some extent with the church in question. Yet when we remember the history of modern missions, especially of those within Mohammedan countries, we should not be surprised that the Syrian church did not attempt to win fresh conquests for the cross, in the presence of two such mighty powers of darkness as Brahminism and Islamism. We have never heard of a missionary in any part of the Turkish empire, making any direct effort for the conversion of a Mohammedan, until the recent enactment of a law of toleration. We once asked an eminent person connected with the missions to the east, how this was to be explained. "Why," said he, "to ask such a man to become a Christian, was, in effect, to ask him to lose his head." And therefore, unless we censure ourselves, we cannot harshly judge the Syrian church of India, if, in her circumstances, she regarded the door of missionary enterprise as shut, and concluded that the utmost she could hope to do, was to maintain her own ground, and hold fast her own integrity.

For nearly half a century after their settlement on the coast of Malabar, the Portuguese were too intent upon trade, and too eager in the pursuit of money and pleasure, to think much about the recovery of heretics, or the subjugation of the heathen to the dominion of Holy church. Even the friars, whom the government with a pious zeal worthy of a better cause, took care to send to these new settlements in the east, caught the spirit of the place, and were far more anxious to build and endow splendid convents for their various orders, than to win converts to the Christian faith. Hence when Francis Xavier landed at

Goa, in 1542, he discovered that his own countrymen were as fit objects of his missionary labors as the heathen themselves. In fact, they were utterly demoralized; and Xavier must have felt, that it was a preposterous task to undertake the conversion of Pagan or Moslem to a religion whose professors indulged in vices of which even the heathen were ashamed.

The first attempts to bring the Malabar Christians into the communion of Rome were made in 1545, by the Cordeliers of the order of St. Francis. Don Juan Albuquerque, the first bishop of Goa, was a member of this order, and having had his attention turned to these churches, he sent a friar, named Vincent, whom the historian Gouvea describes as "a great man of God," to inquire into their condition, and to induce them, if possible, to recognise the Papal supremacy. Father Vincent was welcomed by them as a Christian minister, and was allowed to preach in their churches until they comprehended the real object of his visit. Finding that he could neither coax nor coerce the *cattanars*, as the Syrian pastors were called, he changed his tactics, and established a school for the instruction of the Syrian youth whom he could induce to enter it, in the Latin language and ritual. Here, again, he was foiled; the Syrians refusing to recognise the ordination of its alumni, though their own sons, or to admit them to their pulpits.

At this stage, the Jesuits, now in the first flush of their triumphant career as a missionary order, took the thing in hand; and thinking that the ill-success of the Franciscans arose out of their indifference to the habits and prejudices of the Syrians, with their usual pliancy and adroitness, they allowed their pupils to retain their national dress, and to use their mother tongue, or rather, the old Syriac. For awhile the plan seemed to prosper; but the success was more apparent than real, and the worthy fathers were often scandalised at hearing those whom they had so carefully educated and ordained, preaching, in their own college, the "heresies" which they hoped had been eradicated from their young minds. The Jesuits are not easily discouraged, and their educational schemes, though demanding time for their full development, in the end, must have told upon the Syrian church. Unfortunately for her, just at this time, the

way was opened for their using against her that old weapon, "divide and conquer," which they have so often employed, on so many fields, and with such deadly effect. Believing that they could make an easy conquest of the flock if its chief pastor, Mar Joseph, were out of the way, a plot was contrived to secure this end, and he was accordingly sent to Portugal, with the understanding that he should not be allowed, on any condition, to return to the east. Mar Joseph, like St. Peter at Antioch, seems to have "dissembled" somewhat at Lisbon. At all events, the managers in Portugal, being satisfied with his soundness in the faith, or misunderstanding the orders from Goa, sent him back to his old post. Meanwhile a Syrian successor, Mar Abraham, had taken possession of the ground, and thus the door was opened for Jesuitism to work for the accomplishment of its designs, in its own peculiar way. Advantage was taken of the mutual rivalry of these two men, neither of whom possessed the unbending integrity and heroic courage which, at this juncture, were the qualities pre-eminently needed in the leaders of the Syrian church. Both of them appear to have acted on the principle of "doing at Rome as the Romans do," of dealing with Jesuits as Jesuits deal with others. They, however, soon found, to their sorrow, that they were rude tyros in the hands of masters perfectly accomplished in all the arts of chicanery and intrigue. Poor Mar Joseph, by recognising the Pope, and by coming back to India under Papal authority, had allowed himself to be taken in a Jesuit net. Fancying that his difficulties were at an end, after his return from Portugal, he began to preach to his people their old Syrian faith, but he was speedily roused from his dream by an imperious summons to appear at Goa and answer to the charge of heresy. He was foolish enough to obey, and it is said that he was sent to Rome, but his fate is one of the mysteries of history.

The chief instrument in bringing the portion of the Syrian church which finally succumbed, under the yoke of Rome, was Menezes, Archbishop of Goa. He arrived in India in 1597, armed with all the Papal powers necessary to effect the conquest. But his first efforts did not promise much. Mar Abraham, who had been exalted to the high dignity of (Romish) Archbishop of Angamale, showed signs of relapse

to the old Syrian faith very soon after he had reached his "see;" and as death approached, he threw off all disguise. The measures adopted by Menezes, in regard to the succession, so inflamed the Syrian churches that they held what we would call a "convention" of their cattanars, or pastors, and ruling elders, at which it was resolved that they would steadfastly adhere to their ancient faith and discipline, and that no Romish priest should be admitted into their churches. They, in fact, entered into a covenant to defend the liberties of the church of their fathers, and all present bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to adhere to it. And if, at this time, they had possessed a leader of unflinching courage, of unwavering principle—one who, with intelligence and piety combined a thorough comprehension of the crafty foe with whom he had to contend, these Syrians might have opposed their enemy with success, and perhaps have won a world-wide fame as the Covenanters of India.

Finding that his negotiations with the Syrians were not yielding much fruit, he determined to visit them in person. The viceroy and clergy of Goa, alarmed for his safety among those whose hostility he had done so much to excite, begged him to lay aside his purpose. But Menezes piously replied, that "his life was only too secure, as he had not merit enough to win the honor of martyrdom." Apprehensive, perhaps, that "merit" might be gained on the journey, he, nevertheless, took care to provide himself with a strong escort, that could, at once, protect him, and enable him to bring a certain piratical chief to terms, who was giving the Portuguese no little trouble. The military part of the enterprise first occupied his attention, and in the management of it he proved himself to be equally expert in using the *cannon* of Portugal to put down piracy, and the *canons* of Rome to subdue heretics. The stronghold of the pirates was a fortress named Cunahle, which they had been permitted to construct by one of the Malabar princes. Hither they fled in times of danger, and here were gathered their rich stores of plunder. Menezes having made satisfactory arrangements for the capture of the place, with the prestige derived from this display of military power, addressed himself to the other object of his journey, which was to terrify the Syrians into submission. With this view he proceeded to

Cochin, where he was received by the authorities with all honor, and sent a message to the Syrian archdeacon to meet him at this place, that they might confer together in regard to the affairs of the church.

The poor Syrians hardly knew what to do in this emergency, when their Cattanars and principal laymen were called together for consultation by the archdeacon. They were afraid for their pepper trade, they were afraid for their religion, they were afraid to comply with the summons of Menozes, they were afraid to offend him. A sort of compromise was concluded. The archdeacon, under a strong escort, should go to Cochin; and the archbishop, if he came among them, should be allowed to say mass in their churches, but if he attempted to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he was to be sturdily opposed. Menozes, of course, intended to visit them. He did so. He went to Vappicotta, and preached a sermon there from John x. 1, in which he tried to show that none were true pastors but those who entered by "the door" of the Roman church. Gouvea says that this sermon was so full of pious sentiments as "to draw tears from the eyes of Portuguese and natives." The latter may have wept, but it is probable that their tears were produced by the dreaded power rather than by the "piety" of the preacher.

After he had propounded to the Syrians the startling doctrine that their venerated Cattanars or Pastors were "thieves and robbers," Menozes desired them to assemble the next day that he might administer to them the rite of Confirmation—a rite, of which they were up to this time wholly ignorant, and one, which they evinced no desire to accept. He also explained to them on this occasion the doctrine of Purgatory, of which they had never before heard. The only real converts he made at Vappicotta were two Syrian youths, whom the Jesuits were training for the priesthood. Overcome by the seductive kindness of Menozes, they became the open, and apparently the sincere adherents of Rome. His success was insignificant in point of numbers; but the thin edge of the wedge was inserted, which, in due time, he was certain that he could drive triumphantly home. He next went to Patee—the capital of a province containing a large body of Syrian Christians,

who had already manifested a decided repugnance to Popery, both to its doctrines and its practices.

Menezes was received by the Syrians of Parea with a cold respect, and was allowed the use of their churches and pulpits. They listened in silence to his sermons; but when he urged them to be "confirmed," their patience was exhausted, and they vehemently cried out that they would never submit to the indignity of being confirmed by him;—that it was no sacrament, nor in any sense one of Christ's institutions, but an invention of the Portuguese to make them slaves, by "setting a mark on their foreheads and giving them a box on the ear;—that they would not endure it, nor allow him to touch their own beards, or their wives' and daughters' faces. We have not space to follow the Romish archbishop from place to place, and to describe the treatment with which he met. The failure of his mission was so obvious, and the insults to which he was occasionally exposed were so displeasing to the Portuguese, that they begged him to abandon the field and return home.

But with a zeal worthy of a better cause he persisted in his enterprise, he only concluded to try another method. He resolved, if possible, to buy some of the principal shepherds, confident that if he succeeded in the purchase, he would, ere long, win their flocks. Accordingly he wrote a letter to one of them—the archdeacon—full of expressions of the warmest friendship, and closing with the promise to do great things for him if he would yield himself unreservedly to the Romish church. The archdeacon seems to have nibbled a little at the bait, but for the present he did no more, and Menezes was forced to be content with an agreement that a synod should be called at an early day to determine all matters of faith; that the archbishop should be free to visit and preach in any of the Syrian churches of the district; but the archdeacon insisted that he should neither confirm persons nor exercise episcopal authority. "None but fools," says Geddes, "will ever expect Papists to observe any such promises longer than the first opportunity to break them." The present agreement proved no exception to this rule. Before a month was gone Menezes violated the solemn compact, in the districts nearest to the Portuguese settlements, and where he could safely act on

the old rule of the council of Lateran, that no one is bound to keep an engagement made with heretics.

We cannot, within the limits of an article, describe the successive steps and the various methods by which the crafty and unprincipled prelate accomplished his designs; how he worked upon the fears of the native rajahs, and bribed the Syrians with money, or dazzled them with pompous ceremonies, or terrified them with threats. • It must suffice to say that the poor archdeacon was finally brought to throw himself at the feet of Menozes, and to utter the confession as hypocritical as it was blasphemous: —“Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight,” etc., and to promise that he would subscribe a certain creed which Menozes had drawn up. Before subscribing the creed, the archdeacon suggested that on account of certain Christians not so well instructed as they should be, and until the meeting of the synod soon to be called, it would be best that his subscription should be in private. Menozes deemed it prudent to comply; but as he had good reason to regard his convert’s faith as very slender and unsettled, he took special care to guard against the ill consequences of a subsequent recantation.

The synod, which it was agreed to hold for the adjustment of all matters of doctrine and discipline, is known in history as the *Synod of Diamper*—a town not far from the Portuguese garrison of Cochin, and selected by Menozes for this very reason. It assembled on the 20th June, 1599, and consisted of 173 ecclesiastics and 660 procurators of the people; and it remained in session nine days. It was opened with a solemn mass by the archbishop in person. But it is unnecessary to detail its proceedings. It is enough to say that its declared purpose was “the extirpation of errors and heresies out of the Malabar church,” and its final result was to force Romanism upon all who were driven or deluded into an acceptance of its decrees. All persons who had anything to “propose for the glory of God, and the reformation of the church,” were invited to come forward; but Menozes, who was the presiding genius of the occasion, was too shrewd to submit their proposals to a free discussion and a free vote. Worthless, in one view, as the decrees of the Synod of Diamper therefore are, in another aspect

they are of great value—they show what popery is, and what the old Indo-Syrian church was.

The solemn farce was terminated by the public and formal adoption of the decrees, or their subscription by the ecclesiastics and laymen who had “assisted” at the synod. This was not accomplished without opposition by the unwilling Cattanars, but their hostility was overcome by the gifts and the threats of the archbishop, and last and best of all, by a *miracle* which Gouvea describes and attests. A heavy rain had been falling for some days, and the weather was such that it seemed as if the procession could not leave the church within which it was sheltered. The person holding the crucifix stepped to the door, and alarmed by the descending flood, said it was manifest that the union just made was displeasing to God. Menozes, however, ordered the procession to move, when, “no sooner was the cross taken from the porch than, marvellous to relate, the rain ceased, and the weather became the finest in the world.” Not a man was wet, not even the cross-bearer who headed the procession; the murmurs of the Cattanars were hushed by the miracle, and the only drops that fell were the showers of tears from the eyes of the exultant people. So, at least, reports Gouvea.

Menozes, not long after the Synod of Diamper, was made Viceroy of India—an office which his energy and talents amply qualified him to fill. He subsequently returned to his native land, and was there raised to the highest dignities of the state, but for some mismanagement was thrust from them, and died in disgrace, in 1605, “having lost,” says the historian, De Faria, “all the glory he had acquired in the Indies.”

The later history of these churches must be told in a few sentences. The “glories” won by Menozes in India proved to be neither large nor permanent. His conquest extended only to the small portion of the Syrian churches in the vicinity of the Portuguese settlements, while the great mass of these churches in the remoter north, or among the mountain fastnesses, sturdily refused to put on the Roman yoke. They maintained their independence; but shut out, as they were, from those mighty influences which were then at work in Northern and Western Europe, their condition

became little better than that of their Romanized brethren. In 1663 the death-blow was given to the Portuguese power in India by the Dutch. Cochin was captured, and the hopes of the poor Syrians were greatly raised by this event; but the Dutch on the Malabar coast were too much occupied with other affairs to concern themselves about the native Christians. A glorious opportunity was thus lost for winning real conquests to the Cross in that dark land. The Indo-Syrian church gradually assumed the form and position in which we now find it—that is to say, it was divided into two reciprocally hostile branches, one of which recognises, while the other refuses, the supremacy of Rome.

The attention of English Christians was first turned to these distant and ancient churches in 1724, and the missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were directed to inquire into the state of the Syrians, with a view to their employment as helpers in the work of evangelizing India. It was hoped that they would be important allies in the blessed enterprise of winning the Indies to Christ. But it was soon found that, instead of lending aid to spread the light, they were in much need of the light themselves. Although opposed to wearing the yoke of Rome, they were not exempt from that evil leaven of superstition which had made Rome what she is. This attempt to enlist the co-operation of the Indo-Syrian church, and to strengthen the things that remained in her and were ready to die, was, perhaps, too soon abandoned, and the Reformed churches of the West became even oblivious of her existence, until the publication of Dr. Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, in 1808. For more than twenty years English missionaries have been at work among the children of these ancient churches; and we would fondly hope that, though so long dormant, they may yet be aroused to win for themselves a share in the coming glories of that day when the banner of the Cross shall wave in triumph over all these magnificent regions, from the spicy groves of Ceylon to the snowy summits of the Himalayas.