

in Lisbon, the civil and religious authorities in Goa, the British Government, the Padroado and Propaganda parties in Bombay, the Carmelite Fathers, and the Carmelite Vicars-Apostolic. Confusion became worse confounded when, on several occasions, papal ordinances were simply rejected or ignored by the Padroado priests. Then came the disconcerting campaign of Archbishop Torres in Bombay. Finally, as if all that has been mentioned was not evil enough, the Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Fortini and his Coadjutor, Bishop Whelan, were at loggerheads with each other.

Thus, the ten years, during the time of Vicars-Apostolic Fortini (1840-1848) and William Whelan (1848-1850) were ecclesiastically a little hell, and in the words of Fr. Hull (Vol. I:370), "may aptly be called the Dark Ages of the Vicariate of Bombay." This was the state of disorder inherited by Dr. Hartmann when he was appointed Administrator Apostolic of Bombay.

#### (B) Bishop Anastasius Hartmann (1850-1858)

**1850** When Bishop Hartmann came to Bombay in 1850 the one Catholic newspaper for those under the Vicar-Apostolic's Jurisdiction was the "Bombay Catholic Layman", run by two Irish laymen, who used the paper to oppose first Bishop Whelan and then Bishop Hartmann. Rather than cross swords with them, Bishop Hartmann encouraged the starting of the "Bombay Catholic Standard," under the editorship of another Irishman. Soon disappointed with that paper as well, the Bishop approached a certain Mr. Borges, a son of the soil, who in July 1850 had, on his own initiative, started a monthly publication, "The Examiner." Three months later in September, 1850, with Mr. Borges' consent, "The Examiner" became the ecclesiastical organ of the Vicariate, under the Bishop's control and management, but under a longer title, "*The Bombay Catholic Examiner.*" By 1852 the other two publications folded up, while "The Bombay Catholic Examiner" kept on going. In April, 1905, its title was shortened once again to "The Examiner."

**1853** Hardly had Bishop Hartmann come from Patna to Bombay than he found himself in the middle of the bitter Padroado-Propaganda conflict. The Vicar of Salvacao Church set into motion a series of events which ended in June 1851 with Salvacao Church transferring itself to the jurisdiction of

the Archbishop of Goa. Then came the Bishop of Macao, Jeronimo da Matta in February 1853: on his way to Goa, he stopped at Bombay and officiated in the churches of Gloria and Cavel; then he passed on into Salsette where he said Mass and conferred the sacraments at Kurla, Thana and Bandra. Sharing in the rebellious conduct of the Bishop were four Bombay priests: Antonio Mariano Soares (Vicar General of the North and Vicar of Gloria Church), Braz Fernandes (Vicar of Salvacao Church), Joseph de Mello and Gabriel de Silva (Vicar and Assistant respectively of St. Michael's Church). The Papal Brief of May 9, 1853 "*Probe nostis*," completely vindicated the rights of Bishop Hartmann and confirmed his claim to the exclusive exercise of jurisdiction in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. It also condemned unreservedly the behaviour of Bishop da Matta and the four Bombay priests. In point of fact, however, his jurisdiction continued to be ignored by the adherents of Padroado: witness the series of events at St. Michael's church in 1853 which culminated with the transfer of that parish together with the Sion chapel to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa in June 1854.

The year 1853 is also noteworthy in that it marks the success of Bishop Hartmann's efforts towards founding a Catholic college in the Vicariate. Aware of what he called "the complete want of educational institutions for youth," he first invited in 1850 the Sisters of Jesus and Mary to take over the education of girls in Bombay. This was the very first Religious Congregation of Women to really begin work in the Vicariate (The Loretto nuns of Rathfarnham had been brought by Bishop Whelan to Bombay in 1848, but their efforts at running an orphanage in Bishop Hartmann's first year were a failure; they left Bombay for Calcutta). Bishop Hartmann then turned his attention to a College which he considered would be the foundation-stone of the social, intellectual and moral renewal of the Bombay Catholic Community. He laboured heart and soul to bring the Jesuits to Bombay for this purpose; his labours were rewarded when, by the end of 1853, there were four Jesuits in the Vicariate of Bombay (among them Fr. Walter Steins and Fr. James Peniston).

**1854** On December 12, 1853 the Carmelite General informed Propaganda that the Carmelite Fathers had decided to give up the administration of the Bombay Mission. The Holy See accepted their resignation and thus ended, after a period

of 133 years (1720-1853), the Carmelite administration of the Vicariate of Bombay. On February 16, 1854 Propaganda officially divided the Bombay Vicariate into the *Northern Vicariate of Bombay* (comprising the islands of Bombay and Colaba, and Aurangabad, Khandesh, Malwa, Gujarat and Sind as far as Cabul and the Punjab) and the *Southern Vicariate of Poona* (comprising the islands of Salsette and Bassein, and the regions of the Konkan and Deccan or Bijapur). Further, Propaganda entrusted the Bombay Vicariate to the Capuchin Fathers and the Poona Vicariate to the Jesuit Fathers. Bishop Hartmann was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay and Administrator of Poona.

The Propaganda Decree of 1854 inaugurated a period of four years of misgivings, bickerings and unrest in the Propaganda camp in Bombay: the Carmelites who continued to serve in the parishes under their charge before the Decree, did not welcome the Capuchins and looked upon them as workers of the eleventh hour who were reaping where others had sowed; on the other hand, the Carmelites positively disliked the Jesuits whom they held largely responsible for their ouster from Bombay. The Jesuits who were given the Poona Vicariate, desired to start a College in Bombay. The Capuchins, in their turn, dreaded what the Jesuits might do after opening their College; it would not be very long, they feared, before the Jesuits would assume spiritual leadership of Bombay. And Bishop Hartmann was caught in the middle of this three-sided cross-fire. In 1856 Propaganda called him to Rome to discuss a remedy for the deplorable situation that existed in the Bombay Vicariate. On July 29, 1856 Bishop Hartmann sailed for Naples little knowing that he would never see Bombay again.

On August 13, 1857 Propaganda reversed the 1854 arrangement: the Bombay Vicariate was now given to the Jesuits and the Poona Vicariate to the Capuchins. When squabbles arose between the Jesuits and the Capuchins over the comparatively small financial resources of the erstwhile Vicariate of Bombay, the Superior General of the Capuchin Order decided to clear the foul air by completely withdrawing the Capuchin Fathers from the Bombay and Poona Missions. Thus, on August 13, 1858 the Bombay-Poona Vicariate came entirely into the hands of the Society of Jesus.

**1857** The rise of an anti-Catholic Government in Portugal in the wake of the civil war had led to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Holy See in 1833. Pope

Gregory XVI responded with the Brief, "Multa praeclare" in 1838 (see our note for the year 1838 above) which at least on paper, deprived the Padroado clergy of all jurisdiction within the established Vicariates. Relations, of a sort, between Portugal and Rome were resumed in 1841. After 16 years spent in negotiations (1841-1857), a Concordat was signed between the Holy See and Portugal.

The Concordat of 1857 was a great diplomatic triumph for Portugal. According to it, the right of patronage was to continue in the See of Goa and its suffragans—Cochin, Mylapore and Cranganore; further, Portugal was allowed to form new dioceses in any part of India; as soon as a new diocese was established and had a Bishop, the Vicar-Apostolic would have to retire from that area and leave the Bishop in charge of the churches in it.

The Vicars-Apostolic were greatly put out by the provisions of the Concordat. They feared that it would not be very long before they would be dispossessed of the mission field that had been so long in their care. But the Concordat did not have a long life because of its unrealism. "It was a magnificent scheme on paper, but quite unworkable, the chief and unsurmountable difficulty was financial. Apart from this, the Goa clergy in India were not equal to the task of looking after the faithful scattered over such wide areas". (Gense, 1960:259).

### (C) The Bombay-Poona Vicariate (1858-1886)

**1858** On August 13, 1858 the Vicariates of Bombay and to Poona, which had been created in 1854, came to an **1861** end, and the one Bombay-Poona Vicariate was entrusted to the Jesuits. One day later, Bishop Alexis Canoz S. J., the Vicar-Apostolic of Madura, was appointed Administrator Apostolic of the Bombay-Poona Vicariate. Bishop Canoz never felt quite at home in this Vicariate: on the one hand, he was not at all anxious to get entangled in the Padroado-Propaganda jurisdiction conflict; on the other hand, his heart was in Madura. With the influx of Jesuit Fathers and Brothers into their new field of responsibility, Bishop Canoz felt that the comparatively well-manned Vicariate could do without him. He asked Rome leave to return to his own Vicariate of Madura and on May 3, 1861 Fr. Walter Steins S. J. was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay-Poona. The very next day Bishop Canoz left Bombay.

**1861** When Bishop Steins took over in May 1861 the Concordat of 1857 had not yet been put into effect. Rome insisted, that, as a preliminary condition, the Goan or the Indo-Portuguese schism should first be brought to an end. This "schism", for thus it is frequently called in the pronouncements of the Holy See) referred to the lamentable disorders and dissensions that wracked the Church in Bombay and elsewhere in the 1840's and 1850's. In his Brief, "Probe Nostis" (1853), Pope Pius IX spoke "of the abominable dissension stirred up by certain unworthy Goa priests in order to effectuate the foulest schism." He warned the four Bombay priests (see our note for the year 1853) that unless they submitted within two months, they would be suspended, declared schismatics and separated from the Catholic Church.

It was only in 1861 that the Pope was officially informed by the Portuguese Government that a Mandate from the King had been sent to Goa in which the Padroado clergy were ordered to end the schism. On March 22, 1861, the Pope appointed John Chrysostom d'Amorim Pessoa, Archbishop of Goa. Archbishop Pessoa reached India only in December, 1862.

**1861** The personnel that Bishop Steins had at his disposal included: to some 16 secular priests, 42 Jesuits priests, 5 Jesuit scholastics, **1867** 13 Jesuit brothers, about 12 Sisters of Jesus and Mary, and 5 Daughters of the Cross of Liege (who started a school at Karachi in 1862 and came to Bombay in 1863). The number of this newest religious group totalled a dozen sisters by the end of 1867. Vernacular schools were opened at Girgaum, Bandra, Mahim, Juvem (Juhu), Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar and elsewhere. With the increase of clergy available, existing churches were more adequately staffed, and a number of stations and sub-stations were opened: for the troops at Satara, Khandala, Purandhar, Nasik (Deolali), Mount Abu and Ghizri, (near Karachi); for railway people at Lonavla, Bhusaval, Igatpuri and Abu Road, Kotri and Sukkur; for the civil servants connected with the port at Keamari, near Karachi. In all these places, except at Ghizri, Keamari, Kotri and Sukkur, there were permanently residing priests.

On March 31, 1867, Bishop Steins left Bombay to become the Vicar-Apostolic of Western Bengal or Calcutta.

**1867** Appointed in March 1867, Bishop Leo Meurin, S. J. was to the first Bishop to be consecrated in Bombay itself. This **1886** took place at Esperanca church on February 2, 1868. During his administration, the Padroado-Propaganda struggle, which had been going on for nearly 150 years in India (1720-1868), took a new turn.

On the one hand, the Goa clergy in Bombay heeded the restraining influence of Archbishop Pessoa who was all for peace, and the Bombay clergy under Bishop Meurin did nothing to seriously endanger that peace. Thus, when at various times the people of Bassein, Kalyan and Versova, wished to be received under Propaganda, they were not accepted by the Bishop; nor were the people of Candolim (Kandivli) and Culvem received by the Archbishop, when they wished to go over to his side.

On the other hand, the clergy of the two jurisdictions in this Vicariate, as well as in other parts of India, often quarrelled with regard to their respective parochial rights. These differences of opinion mostly centred around the question of fees on the occasion of baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. Bishop Meurin set himself the task of seeking a peaceful modus vivendi and his efforts were crowned with success in 1878 when the Archbishop of Goa and the Vicars-Apostolic accepted the "Rules of Bishop Meurin". Unexpectedly, it was Propaganda who disapproved of this amicable settlement, affirming that all questions regarding the Double Jurisdiction were exclusively reserved to the Sacred Congregation. In practice, however, it seems that the "Rules" continued to be observed by both sides because they provided a workable scheme for co-existence and co-operation.

**1884** By 1871 the authorities in Portugal realized that the Concordat of 1857 was a dead document, and Archbishop Pessoa, who returned to Portugal in 1869, was entrusted with the task of drafting a plan for a new agreement.

On their part the Vicars-Apostolic, under the leadership of Bishop Meurin, addressed a joint petition to the Holy See in 1870 in which they asked for the abolition of Padroado in their Vicariates. They quoted a long list of disturbances and troubles flowing from the existence of this institution. In 1881, Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) appointed a special Congregation of Cardinals (not of Pro-

paganda) to study the state of the clergy and laity under the Padroado regime. The conclusion of this study: the right of patronage was an obstacle to the life and growth of the Church. Portugal was informed on April 10, 1884 of the Holy See's intention to abolish the Padroado outside Portuguese territory. When there was no response from Portugal, Pope Leo XIII issued the Brief, "*Studio et vigilantia*" on August 26, 1884, abolishing the right of patronage in non-Portuguese territories. This immediately provoked a response from Portugal; the Government expressed its willingness to review the Concordat of 1857; negotiations were re-opened between Rome and Portugal on September 1, 1884, and the Brief was put in cold storage.

**1886** This year is significant for two events: A new Concordat was signed between the Holy See and Portugal on June, 23, and Pope Leo XIII established the Episcopal Hierarchy in India on October 1.

The new Concordat was a triumph of papal diplomacy over Portuguese pretensions. Of the many provisions of the Concordat those that concerned Bombay were:

- (1) The King of Portugal retained the right of patronage over the Padroado sees of India as reconstituted by the Concordat; in addition, he was given the right to present the candidates for the bishoprics of the four Propaganda dioceses: Bombay, Mangalore, Quilon and Madura (Trichinopoly).
- (2) The reconstituted Padroado sees were: the Archdiocese of Goa with its three suffragans: Damaun, Cochin and Mylapore.
- (3) The diocese of Damaun was created by cutting off the northern portion of the archdiocese of Goa, and comprised part of Gujarat and the North Konkan Coast (Damaun, Diu, Tarapur, Bassein, Salsette, Karanja and Chaul) leaving out Bombay.
- (4) The status quo in the Bombay Vicariate was preserved: the Bishop of Damaun (Padroado) would have the Churches on Bombay island, and the Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay (Propaganda) would have the Churches

on Salsette island, that were in their actual possession at the time of the signing of the Concordat. Thus, double jurisdiction continued in these two islands.

The Concordat of 1886 was a decisive papal victory in the long struggle between Propaganda and Padroado: Padroado wanted the Vicariates abolished; Propaganda wanted to save and expand them. Through the Concordat, Propaganda policy triumphed, and this was entirely due to the able leadership of Pope Leo XIII.

Three months later, Pope Leo XIII issued the Bull, "*Humanae Salutis*," by which the gains obtained through the Concordat were strengthened: he established the Indian Hierarchy. As a result of this Bull:

- (a) **Bombay** (together with Agra, Verapoly, Calcutta and Colombo) was raised to the status of an Archdiocese. From now on, Bombay had at its head an Archbishop. His jurisdiction extended from Bombay island and, after an interval of over 300 kilometres, to Gujarat, Kathiawar, Sind and British Baluchistan.
- (b) **Poona**, comprising the remainder of the British Presidency, that is, the Deccan plateau, was separated from Bombay and erected into an independent diocese, suffragan to Bombay.

Between these two major events, that is, between June and October, Bishop Meurin was summoned to Rome by the Holy Father. Neither the Bombay clergy nor the laity nor the Bishop himself knew why. He left Bombay on July 27, 1886 never to return. (In 1887, he was made titular Archbishop and given the diocese of Port Louis in Mauritius). According to Gense (1960:288), "The most important event during Bishop Meurin's administration... was the emergence of the Catholic community from obscurity into the public eye." That community was now considerably enriched by two new educational institutions: St. Xavier's High School and St. Xavier's College. At the end of his administration existing mission stations were consolidated or new ones opened at Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Dharwar, Kirkee and Poona (in the Deccan), Ahmednagar and Deesa (in Gujarat), Bhusaval and Igatpuri (in Khandesh), Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur (in Sind) and Quetta (in Baluchistan).



**(D) The Last Years of the Double Jurisdiction (1886-1928)**

**1886** The Concordat of 1886 did not put an end to the tensions and troubles of the double jurisdiction scourge when Archbishop George Porter, S. J. (1886-1889) came to the See of Bombay. Prior to the Concordat of 1886 parishes did not have boundaries and Catholics in Bombay were free to worship in any Padroado or Propaganda church of their choice. The idea of territorial jurisdiction was introduced for the first time after the Concordat. The occasion was the extension of the padroado church of St. Francis Xavier at Dabul. The proposed extension fell within the territory of Propaganda. Two papal decrees were issued on September 25, 1886. According to these decrees: (a) permission to build the extension was granted as an exception, (b) in future any construction built outside the "exempted places" (i.e. not under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bombay) would not fall under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Damaun, but under that of the Archbishop of Bombay and (c) Goans who came to Bombay after the signing of the Concordat could not belong to the Church of Dabul (i.e. subjects of the Bishop of Damaun); rather, the territorial law would apply, by which they would belong to that Church within whose boundaries their residence fell. These papal decrees of 1886 were published by Archbishop Porter in "The Bombay Catholic Examiner" on November 2, 1888.

There now developed in Bombay a fairly widespread movement spearheaded by the "Padroado Defence Committee" to safeguard the interests of Portugal in India. This Committee carried on its campaign through the pages of the "Anglo-Lusitano," by which it sought to mobilize the Goans to withstand the move of Propaganda to extinguish the Padroado in India.

**1890** On April 18, 1890 upon the intervention of Portugal a new set of decrees was issued by Rome, which have been called "Reversal Notes" because they set aside the papal decrees of 1886. In brief, immigrant Goans could join any Padroado Church of their choice, while Damaun subjects, coming to Bombay from Bassein or Bandra, had the same privilege. Further, any new constructions, built with the permission of the Holy See outside the exempted places, would come under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Damaun. The "Reversal Notes" were received with jubilation by the Padroado party in Bombay and by the Bishop

of Damaun who resided permanently at the old Augustinian Hospice at Colaba. When these Notes were issued in 1890, the See of Bombay was vacant, Archbishop Porter having died in September 1889.

**1893** The most important event of Archbishop Theodore Dalhoff's administration (1891-1906) was the Provincial Council of Bombay held from December 8, 1893 to January 6, 1894, under the Presidency of the Delegate Apostolic, Msgr. Zaleski. For the first time the three suffragans of Bombay—Poona, Mangalore and Trichinopoly—met their Metropolitan. Further, he built the church of the Holy Name (1905) on Wodehouse Road with Archbishop's House attached to it. This was Archbishop Dalhoff's answer to the Padroado petitions to Rome that the archdiocese be suppressed and become part of the diocese of Damaun.

**1890** These almost twenty-five years mark a renaissance of Padroado presence and activity in Bombay. This was the period

**1914** of Archbishop Dalhoff, S. J. (1891-1906) and Archbishop Herman Jurgens, S. J. (1907-1916) of Bombay, and Dom Antonio Pedro da Costa (1887-1901) and Dom Sebastiao Jose Pereira (1902-1928), Bishops of Damaun. The clergy of Damaun found in the "Reversal Notes" of 1890 encouragement and fresh impetus so that during these years they strove hard to improve in every way the life of their parishes in Bombay through church, school and socio-religious associations. In this they were in large measure inspired by the stout and zealous leadership of Msgr. L. C. Pera, who was Vicar General of Damaun for 20 years (1905-1925).

**1914** While the diocese of Damaun was waxing in strength and to influence, the Archdiocese of Bombay was severely crippled

**1916** as a result of the First World War which broke out on August 4, 1914. In the first half of August the German Jesuits were unmolested by the British authorities; but from the second half of the month, it became increasingly clear that their German nationality was going to cause difficulties. In spite of the efforts of the Archbishop and the Jesuit Superior Regular, the Government was bent on carrying out the internment of the German and Austrian Jesuits in the Presidency, leaving only such as were absolutely necessary to keep the educational institutions running.