
Heroic Church Leadership in India: Capuchin Bishop Anastasius Hartmann (1803-1866)

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Zusammenfassung

Wegen seiner heroischen Führung in der katholischen Kirche in Indien während der schwierigen Zeiten in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts ist Bischof Anastasius Hartmann anderen Kirchenführern haushoch überlegen. Trotz einiger kirchlicher Probleme konnte er in den drei Vikariaten, in denen er gedient hat – Patna, Bombay und Poona –, viel für die Kirche tun. Neben der Gründung von Kirchen und anderen Institutionen war er für den Aufbau mehrerer Bildungseinrichtungen verantwortlich. Er hat auch die Aufnahme einiger religiöser Männer- wie Frauengemeinschaften in seine Vikariate ermöglicht. Selbst 150 Jahre nach seinem Tod inspirieren seine unermüdlige Leidenschaft und sein unerschrockener Mut immer noch viele Missionare und Missionarinnen. Dieser Beitrag, eine biographische Erzählung von Hartmanns Wirken, umfasst vier Abschnitte: 1) Kindheit und Jugend, religiöse Berufung, Ausbildung und Dienst in Europa; 2) Dienst als Apostolischer Vikar in Indien; 3) Hartmanns Beitrag zur katholischen Kirche in Gesamtindien; 4) seine Spiritualität.

Schlüsselbegriffe

→ Bischof Hartmann
→ Kapuziner
→ Vikariate von Patna, Bombay, Poona
→ Padroado-Propaganda-Konflikt
→ Indian Christian Marriage Act (1872)
→ Kirche in Indien

Abstract

Bishop Anastasius Hartmann stands head and shoulders above the Church leaders for the heroic leadership he gave in the Church during the troubled times of mid-19th century India. Despite certain ecclesiastical problems, he was able to do much for the Church in the three vicariates he served – Patna, Bombay and Poona. Besides founding churches and related institutions, he was responsible for founding several educational institutions. He also facilitated the arrival of a few religious societies, both of men and women, to his vicariates. Even after 150 years of his death, his indefatigable zeal and undaunted courage continue to inspire many missionaries. A biographical narrative of Bishop Hartmann's heroic leadership in India, this paper is divided into four parts: 1) Early life, religious vocation, training and ministry in Europe, 2) Ministry as Vicar Apostolic in India, and 3) Hartmann's all-India level contribution to Church in India, and 4) His spirituality.

Keywords

→ Bishop Hartmann
→ Capuchins
→ Vicariates of Patna, Bombay, Poona
→ Padroado-Propaganda conflict
→ Indian Christian Marriage Act (1872)
→ Indian Church

Sumario

Gracias a su dirección heroica de la Iglesia católica en la India durante los tiempos difíciles a mediados del siglo XIX, el obispo Anastasius Hartmann es mucho más estimado que los otros dirigentes de la Iglesia india de su tiempo. A pesar de los problemas eclesiales, pudo hacer mucho por la Iglesia en los tres vicariatos (Patna, Bombay y Poona) en los que ha ejercido su ministerio. Junto a la fundación de iglesias y otras instituciones era responsable de la construcción de varias instituciones educativas. Ha facilitado la admisión de algunas comunidades religiosas masculinas y femeninas en sus vicariatos. Incluso 150 años después de su muerte, su celo constante y su ánimo profético continúan inspirando a muchos misioneros y misioneras. El texto, que presenta un relato biográfico de la dirección heroica del obispo Hartmann, se divide en cuatro partes: 1) Infancia y juventud, vocación religiosa, formación y ministerio en Europa; 2) ministerio como Vicario Apostólico en la India; 3) la contribución de Hartmann a la Iglesia en toda la India; 4) su espiritualidad.

Palabras clave

→ Obispo Hartmann
→ Capuchinos
→ Vicariatos de Patna, Bombay, Poona
→ Conflicto Padroado-Propaganda
→ Matrimonio Cristiano en la India (1872)
→ Iglesia en la India

1 Introduction

Bishop Anastasius Hartmann stands head and shoulders above the Church leaders for the heroic leadership he gave in the Church during the troubled times of mid-19th century India. Appointed first Vicar Apostolic of Patna in 1845 he earnestly worked for the pastoral development of the mission, establishing several church institutions in his vicariate. Before he was to fulfill his mission in Patna, he was transferred (1849) to the Vicariate of Bombay while remaining Vicar Apostolic of Patna.

The Church in Bombay was beset with Church's jurisdictional problems created by the Portuguese *Padroado* which continued to control the Church without obeying the authority of the Pope. Reaching Bombay in 1850, he took several steps to reconcile the people and clergy who were torn between the authorities of the *Padroado* and of the Pope. Slander, threats, apostasies filled the Bishop's cup of sorrow to the brim. He was partially successful in reconciling the faithful who were caught between the *Padroado*-Propaganda conflict.

Despite these ecclesiastical problems, he was able to do much for the Church in the two vicariates – Bombay and Poona. Besides founding churches and related institutions, he was responsible for founding several educational institutions. He also facilitated the arrival of a few religious societies, both of men and women, to his vicariates to carry on educational and pastoral works.

Problematic pastoral issues exhausted him and forced him to return to Rome to recuperate in 1856, where he was appointed Assistant to the Papal Throne, a Roman Count and later Director of the Foreign Missions of the Capuchin Order.

Re-appointed Vicar Apostolic of Patna in 1860 he re-started his pastoral works: establishing many more church institutions, founding Christian communities and so on, till his death on 24th April 1866. A scholar in Hindustani, he translated the New Testament into Hindustani.

As a foresighted shepherd he had a vision for the Church at the national level. Aside his responsibilities in his own Vicariates, he took the initiative on behalf of other bishops in India in getting the rights of the Catholic Church especially the Indian Christian Marriage Act 1866 legislated by the British Government in India.

As a self-effacing shepherd of the Church, he thought beyond his Capuchin Order or his vicariates so much that he was ready to hand over authority whenever situation warranted. Overall, what we notice in his personality is his indomitable courage to confront opposition from within to organize the Church and shepherd it during the troubled times.

This paper is a biographical narrative of Bishop Hartmann's heroic leadership in India.¹ The paper is divided into four parts: 1) Early life, religious vocation, training and ministry in Europe, 2) Ministry as Vicar Apostolic in India, and 3) Hartmann's all-India level contribution to Church in India, and 4) His spirituality.

¹ Sources on Hartmann are aplenty, in English, German, Italian and Latin. An exhaustive biography based on several non-English sources is Fulgentius VANNINI, OFM Cap, Bishop Hartmann, Allahabad 1946, 452; also by the same author and title (new edn), Allahabad 1966, 471. Also, Die Akten-sammlung des Bischofs Anastasius Hartmann zu einer Geschichte

der Kapuzinermissionen in Tibet, Nepal und Hindustan, ed. by Fr Adel-helm JANN O. Minorum Capuccinorum, Lucern 1925; in section on: Materialia pro Annalibus Missionum Reverendo-rum Patrum Cappuccinorum in Tibet, Nepal ac Patna (tr. Henry Hosten, S.I.), in: The Works of Rev. H. Hosten, Vol. xxvii, Vidyajyoti College of Theo-logy Archives, Delhi; also German

autobiography, Autobiographie des Anastasius Hartmann (1803-1866), des Schweizer Kapuziners, Titular-bischofs von Derbe und Apostolischen Vikars von Patna in Indien, Provinzialat Schweizer Kapuziner, Luzern, 2003.

2 Early Life, Religious Vocation and Ministry in Europe

Bishop Anastasius Hartmann, known as Joseph Aloysius Hartmann, was born on 24th February, 1803 in the Swiss town of Altwis,² in the parish of Hitzkirch in the Canton of Lucern, Switzerland. Baptized as Joseph Lewis, he was the seventh of ten children. Lewis was pious, sensitive, firm and straightforward. His ideal right from childhood was to be a priest.

After his elementary education he began his Latin studies with a private tutor, a priest. Later he went to the Catholic College of the Immaculate Conception at Solothurn that was attended by some 300 boys. His stutter was to him a source of embarrassment, but like Demosthenes, he went over to a mountain grove and practised inflections and modulations and was so successful that later he won several prizes in declamation. At Solothurn he served Mass every morning in the Capuchin Church in addition to the school Mass later. He wished to join the Capuchin Order though his parents and relations suggested that he join the Benedictines or be a diocesan priest. But he wanted to be a Capuchin or else to go back to the farm.

Lewis entered the Capuchin novitiate at Baden, Aargau, on 13th September 1821. He received the habit on the 17th and the religious name Brother Beanus, later changed to Anastasius. He made his solemn profession on 19th September 1822. He continued his studies in Philosophy and Theology with great proficiency and topped the class. After three years, having obtained a dispensation, on 24th September 1825, the Bishop of Lausanne ordained him a priest.³ By the following June his priestly training was over.

A Convent of Schupfheim Lucero was his first field of work. Here large groups of penitents soon flocked to him for spiritual direction. For four years he was confessor, preacher and substituted pastors when they were absent or sick. His next appointment was as Novice Master at Fribourg in 1830. For nine years he was also professor of Logic, Natural Philosophy and Theology at Fribourg and chaplain of the nuns at Montonge. Every Sunday he preached in the neighbouring parishes. Due to illness in 1839 he was transferred to the monastery of Solothurn.⁴

2.1 Call to Overseas Missions

From his very novitiate he had nourished an ardent desire to go to the foreign missions of the Capuchin Order and frequently asked his superior's permission for the same. But they did not consent his leaving the Province, as his service was needed in his home country. Hence for sixteen years he worked in his motherland as master of novices, director of nuns, professor of philosophy and theology and won the love and admiration of his fellow priests and the people at large.⁵

Then, his superiors, perceiving his missionary qualities and unquenchable desire to go to the missions, granted him the long-awaited permission. Thereafter, he set out for Rome

² For biographical details see Italian document: *Elenco dei. Vice Prefetti, Prefetti, Pro-Vicarii, Amministratori Del Tibet, Tibet-Hindostan E Vicariato Apostolico di Patna, Dal 1704 al 1886*, Vidyajyoti College of Theology Archives, Delhi.

³ VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 9.

⁴ For a short biographical sketch, see A. MAMPRA, SDB/J. PUTHENKALAM,

SDB, Venerable Bp. Anastasius Hartmann OFM CAP, (1803-1866), in: MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM (Ed.), *Sanctity in India. The Retreat, Yercaud, Tamil Nadu, 2006*, 235-257.

⁵ For another short biographical study, see Jose KALAPURA, *Heroic Church Leadership: Bishop Hartmann of Patna, Bombay and Poona*, in: *Indian Church History Review XLVI* (1/2012) 53-68.

⁶ Patrick MULLIGAN OFM. Cap., *Champion of Faith: Bishop Hartmann*, in: *Capuchin Annual* (Dublin) 20 (1950-51) 370.

⁷ One of the most prolific writers of Christian literature in Hindustani and Urdu was Bishop A. Pezzoni. He has translated some 19 works into Hindustani and seven works into Urdu. Of these six works have been published: see Fulgentius VANNINI, OFM. Cap.,

on the first stage of his missionary journey to India. On reaching Rome, he was detained there for four years as acting-director and professor of the missionary College of St. Fidelis,⁶ where young missionaries were being given special training.

At the death of the Superior General, the Pro-Procurator allowed him to choose any mission, but he instead left it to the Superiors. When told to go to China to open a new mission with two companions, he was overjoyed and began to study Chinese, but when the Pro-Procurator died he had to take over temporarily the direction of St. Fidelis College. Later, his request to go to the missions was accepted and the Vicar General asked him to proceed to India. So he began learning Hindustani under Bishop Pezzoni,⁷ who had retired after 35 years of work in India. In his own hand, he copied the Bishop's *Italian-Hindustani Grammar*. On November 22, 1843 he, along with two others, proceeded to Suez where he boarded the monthly ›English Mail‹, en route to Bombay to reach Agra, their destination mission.

3 Ministry in Agra Vicariate

Hartmann was assigned to Agra Vicariate, then managed by the Capuchins since 1784.⁸ It may be noted that Jesuits, at the invitation of Emperor Akbar, had set up their Mughal Mission at the imperial city of Agra in 1580. The Capuchins received this Mission after the Jesuit Society was suppressed in 1773.⁹ Hartmann and companions arrived on 15th January 1844, at Bombay where they rested for a fortnight. The overland journey of 800 miles to Agra was made by bullock cart as was usual in the days before the railways. They reached Agra after a harrowing journey on 6th March 1844. Soon he began to study the languages, culture, and customs of his land of adoption. By the end of August he had learnt English and Hindustani so well that he was considered fit enough to be appointed Chaplain of Gwalior State which had recently come under British control.¹⁰

The British garrison, picketed some six miles away from the town of Gwalior, was being cared for by Capuchin Fr. Angelo-Mary of Imperia. So Fr. Anastasius had to divide his time between the native congregation and the Goan community, which had settled in the State. Gwalior was one of the most difficult and barren fields of the entire vicariate. The zealous missionary undertook the work of spiritual and moral regeneration of his flock, stressing specially the reception of the sacraments and education of children. Convinced that it was in the innocent minds and hearts of little children that faith and virtue must be planted, he set about establishing schools for the education of the young. Since the Catholics were scattered over the countryside, he attached boarding departments to many of his institutions for the convenience of those children who lived too far off to attend as day-scholars.¹¹ Next, he opened a house for penitent women, who aroused calumnies against him, but he emerged innocent. His own resources supported the two projects, but for that he had to make many personal sacrifices, even limiting his meals to once a day.

Hindustan-Tibet Mission, Capuchin Ashram, Agra, 1979, 300-301.

8 The Capuchin work in Agra Vicariate developed from their earlier Mission, the Hindutan-Tibet Mission, headquartered at Patna, founded in 1703. Once their Mission in Tibet was wound up 1745, and subsequently in Nepal in 1769, only north Bihar remained as its territory, under the Prefecture of Tibet since 1768.

Later, at the suppression of the Jesuits, the Jesuit Vicariate of the Great Mughal was handed over first to the Carmelites (1774), and then to the Capuchins of Patna, attaching it to the Prefecture of Tibet in 1784. This was erected as a Vicariate Apostolic in 1820, shifting its headquarters to Agra. See VANNINI, *Hindustan-Tibet Mission* (FN 7).

9 On the Jesuit mission to Emperor Akbar and his successor, see Edward MACLAGAN, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Gurgaon (1932), reprint 1990.

10 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, *Sanctity in India* (FN 4), 238.

11 See Daniel D'SOUZA, *The Growth and the Activities of the Catholic Church in North India, (1757-1858)*, Mangalore 1982, 183-185.

4 Ministry in Patna Vicariate

As noted above, Patna was the headquarters of the Capuchin Mission in eastern India.¹² In 1820 the centre of the mission was shifted from Patna to Agra, which was raised to a vicariate, with practically the whole of north India as its territory. In 1845, Dr. Borghi, Vicar Apostolic of Agra convinced Rome to make Patna an independent Vicariate, bifurcating the eastern territories under Patna and suggested Mgr. Gaetano Carli as Vicar Apostolic. Since the latter declined,¹³ Borghi proposed to Rome Fr. Hartmann, »a man of virtue and still more of prudence and of science«, as Vicar Apostolic of Patna. He was very reluctant, but Borghi prevailed upon him to accept the nomination. On September 30, 1845 Pope Gregory XVI appointed Hartmann, Titular Bishop of Derbe, and first Vicar Apostolic of Patna. On the 15th March 1846, he was consecrated Bishop in the Cathedral of Agra by Bishop Borghi and he proceeded to Patna.

Patna, the provincial city of the Mughals and later under the Bengal Presidency of the British, had 300,000 inhabitants at the time. When he arrived there, he saw the Cathedral in ruins, the roof caving in; the mission house likewise was in ruins. There were no schools, no Sisters or Brothers. The new Vicariate with a population of 20-30 millions, had an area of 150,000 square miles; the Vicariate had 2700 Catholics and four missionaries. The Vicariate consisted of Bettiah, Chuhari, Patna, Dinapore, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea besides the entire Kingdom of Nepal and the small Kingdom of Sikkim with their adjacent territories.¹⁴

In order to understand his person, his qualities of mind and heart, his achievements and failures, it is essential to have a general idea about the missionary situation of North India during his time.¹⁵

The traveling conditions of North India in his days were very primitive and incommensurable: bullock-cart was the usual means of transport. To use his own words »I had to travel 700 miles in bullock-cart, foremost part through jungles infested with tigers and along very hard roads over hilly and stony country; the days were dreadfully hot ... at times a pastoral visit meant traveling through desert wastes ...«¹⁶ Not infrequently the Bishop found himself before a river in flood. At times he traveled on horseback or on elephants exposed to scorching heat of the sun. Three times he made the steep ascent to Darjeeling (nearly 7000 feet) and each time he was thrown off the horse.¹⁷

It was in Patna Vicariate that he exhibited his heroic leadership and his crusade began in earnest.¹⁸ The material and spiritual condition of the Church in the territory assigned to the new Vicariate was shocking. Many of the Catholics had almost given up the practice of religion, due to lack of pastoral care, while others were the cause of great disedification.¹⁹

¹² On the Capuchin work in Patna, Bihar state, Nepal and Tibet, see a recent study: David N. LORENZEN, *The Scourge of the Mission*, Marco della Tomba in Hindustan, New Delhi 2010; also, Jose KALAPURA, King, Fort, Zamindaris and Missionaries: The Founding of Bihar's Oldest Christian Community, 1745, in: *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 61st Session, Calcutta 2000, 1011-1028.

¹³ Mgr Carli's resignation must not be taken at its face value. Back from Rome, Dr Borghi was sure that his Coadjutor would accept the new

appointment. But when the two Prelates sat down together to discuss the division of funds, the territorial limits of the two jurisdictions, the number of missionaries to be allotted to each Vicariate and similar topics, Dr Carli realised that Patna was being given a step-motherly treatment: VANNINI, *Bishop Hartmann* (FN 1), 38.

¹⁴ On the Capuchin Mission in Hindustan, see *Missioni del Minori Cappuccini, Sunto Storico*, Vol. IX, Indie Orientali, Parte Seconda, 1745-1935, Nepal-Bengala-Indostan Missioni Agra, Patna, Allahabad, Lahore, Ajmer, Simla, Bettiah, by P. Clemente DATERZORIO, Roma 1935 (Father Clement DATERZORIO [ed.], *Stories from the Capuchin Mission in Nepal, Bengal and Hindustan*, Rome 1935), Capuchin Monastery, Sahibabad, Uttar Pradesh.

The Bishop faced acute financial crunch. The subsidy sanctioned for the erection of the new Vicariate never arrived. Patna was getting by way of people's collection, Rs. 30 / per month. For two years, he had to transact important business. Worn out church vestments, a wooden crosier and a ring costing Rs. 2 / was all his wealth, till some donated jewellery enabled him to have the pectoral cross and ring. A collection arranged brought him Rs. 100 / to begin the organization of a Vicariate nearly the size of France. Vexed with these problems, he wrote, »It was as though God had withdrawn himself and given full power to the prince of darkness.«²⁰

4.1 Managing Finances and Building Church Institutions

Bishop Hartmann's two great difficulties were lack of missionary personnel and of funds. His first act was to petition to Rome to send him more missionaries. In fact a few nuns of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary had been selected for Patna but due to some misunderstanding they directed their way to Agra where they had been working since 1842.²¹ And missionaries began to trickle in gradually. He also wrote to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons, besides the Imperial Family of Austria, for financial assistance, in order to repair his dilapidated churches and to put up school buildings. His pleading did not go unheeded, and his own country contributed generously. All his letters to Rome contained a plea for an increase in personnel and finances.²²

He pleaded for more funds for his various projects: a new church at Purnea, Loreto convent, a new school and a hostel at Darjeeling, St. George's Seminary for those who showed signs of a vocation, and other works that were going on in the vicariate. The Prelate even had to borrow Rs. 2000 / to make the necessary payments.

He also renovated the Patna Cathedral, enlarged the presbytery to serve as the Bishop's House, to host missionaries and also as a provisional school and Seminary. He visited Danapur where the East India Company had sanctioned land for a new church and convent. The new church for the Irish garrison came up in 1856, with the help of the government and the soldiers. He procured about 6 acres of land at Bankipur on the banks of the Ganges. On September 23, 1849 he laid the foundation of St. Joseph's chapel and the foundation stone of a future convent. In 1852 this institution was handed over to the management of the Sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (IBMV-now christened as Congregation of Jesus) from Munich. They are still doing yeoman service in Bihar and elsewhere in India.²³ He blessed a beautiful Church at Purnea and opened a boys' school and an orphanage in the Bishop's House.²⁴

15 For a study of the Catholic missions in North India till 1757, see Daniel D'SOUZA, *A History of the Catholic Church in North India*, (till 1757), Mangalore, Capuchin Friary, n.d.

16 MULLIGAN, *Champion of Faith* (FN 6), 381.

17 Ibid. 382.

18 KALAPURA, *Heroic Church Leadership* (FN 5), 55-56.

19 Adelhelm JANN, OFM. Cap., *Monumenta Anastasiana, documenta, vitam et gesta Servi Dei Anastasius Hartmann OFM. Cap., Episcopi Collustrantia Pars Prima*, Vol. 1, 1830-1852, Lucernae 1939, 119-130; also, VANNINI, *Bishop Hartmann* (FN 1), 34.

20 VANNINI, *Bishop Hartmann* (FN 1), 37-38.

21 Ibid. 44.

22 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, *Sanctity in India* (FN 4), 242.

23 *Under Mary's Mantle: History of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (IBMV) in India and Nepal (1853-1986)*, St. Joseph's Convent, Patna 1987.

24 JANN, *Annalibus Missionum* (FN 1).

In 1849, Darjeeling, Chunar, Benares and Ghazipur were detached from Agra and put under the jurisdiction of Patna. This created an additional financial burden. In October, he blessed a church dedicated to St. Finbar, built with the funds of the mission and the subscription of the soldiers. The bishop also blessed the first temporary church at Benares, dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption.²⁵

Overall, in spite of financial constraints, Hartmann raised enough funds to either renovate or build several churches and institutions. Institutions were being consolidated with fresh personnel from abroad. Within four years he had laid a solid foundation for the future development of Patna Church.

4.2 Hartmann, a Zealous Pastor

Though overwhelmed with the burdens of administration Hartmann found time for pastoral pursuits. For several months he went every Sunday morning to the Cantonment Station of Danapur, 25 kilometers from his headquarters at Patna City, to celebrate Mass and to preach to the Irish soldiers stationed there, and then immediately returned to Patna to celebrate the Parochial Mass and deliver a second sermon.²⁶ To get acquainted with the Bettiah Christians²⁷ in north Bihar he travelled to Bettiah in mid 1846, doing a five-day journey by bullock cart. The Bishop was consoled by the enthusiastic response of the Christians. He wanted to open a school for boys and another for girls at Bettiah, to be run by religious Sisters and Brothers, and also a school for boys and a seminary run by Jesuits at Patna, but did not materialize soon.²⁸ He proceeded to Chuhari, eleven kilometers north of Bettiah, where some Newar Christians from Nepal had been settled since 1786.²⁹ He also wanted to go to Nepal.³⁰

Later he visited Purnea at the end of 1846 where four Protestants of a distinguished family joined the Catholic Church. Hartmann's care for individual faithful is evident from the following episode. A certain Mr. R. Cruise of Purnea taught wrong doctrines. The Prelate wrote to him many letters with unending patience, but it was in vain. During a visit to Purnea in 1848, he had long discussions with Mr. Cruise and managed to win him over. He even became a close friend and benefactor of the missions for some time.³¹

25 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 54-58.

26 Ibid. 36-70.

27 For a study of an indigenous Christian community in Bettiah founded by the Capuchins, see my thesis: Jose KALAPURA, *Religion and Community: The Making of the Bettiah and Ravidasi Christians in Bihar, 1930-80*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi 1999.

28 The first school in Bettiah was established in 1860, during the second tenure of Hartmann.

29 The migrant Newar Christians from Nepal were settled in village Chuhari after 1786 when this village was granted as a *zamindari* to the Capuchins by the British. The identity of the Newar Christians, over the

years, has merged in the identity of the Bettiah Christians.

30 Actually, it was an attempt to re-establish a mission in Nepal, for the Capuchins had established four mission centres in the Kathmandu Valley way back in the 1720s. The Nepal mission continued till 1769, when the Capuchins were asked to leave Nepal by the new Shah rulers of Nepal. See details in Fulgentius VANNINI, *Christian Settlements in Nepal During the Eighteenth Century*, Agra 1977; also, Jose KALAPURA, *Nepal Inscribed: Christian Missionaries in Nepal in the 18th Century*, in: *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 69th Session*, Kannur 2008, 881-903.

31 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, *Sanctity in India* (FN 4), 240-242.

32 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 85.

33 Ibid.

34 See VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 93-138.

35 For a study on the Bombay Church, see J. H. GENSE, SJ, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, Bombay 1960.

36 For an exhaustive study of the Padroado question in Bombay, see the two-volumes of Ernest R. HULL, S.J., *Bombay Mission-History with A Special Study of The Padroado Question, 1534-1858*, published in 1927 and Vol. II, (1858-1890), published in 1930, Bombay.

37 The narrative of this section is extracted from an article in booklet form titled, *Hartmann, the Crusader*, authored by »One who has knelt at his tomb« (ANON), probably a Capuchin missionary, non-dated: document at Bishop's House Archives, Patna, 1-28.

5 Ministry in Bombay Vicariate

While he entertained many plans for the mission of Patna, on 13th December 1849, Hartmann received an order from Rome to proceed to Bombay to take over the administration of that sorely tried mission. Even while in Bombay, he remained Vicar Apostolic of Patna. Hence his jurisdiction now extended to three quarters of the British Empire in India (see Appendix-1: areas of three vicariates). Though the appointment was expected to be temporary, he was not to return to Patna as Fr. Athanasius Zuber was made Vicar Apostolic of Patna in March 1854.³²

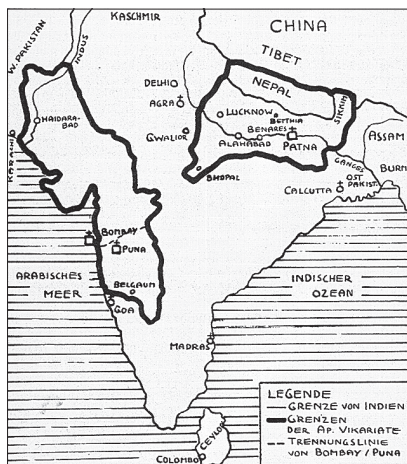
The Bombay Vicariate comprised then nearly one fifth of the whole Indian territory. It extended from the Konkan to Kabul in Afghanistan. It numbered 21 million souls: a medley of every type, language, caste and creed. The 40,000 Catholics were scattered among this vast horde.

When he reached the residence of the Vicar Apostolic he found on the desk of the study of his predecessor the latter's spiritual legacy consisting of the words »Woe to my successor!«³³ Bishop Hartmann realized the implication of these words, for he knew the sad history behind them. The condition of the mission of Bombay Vicariate was, indeed, very discouraging.³⁴ In the words of Jesuit Historian of Bombay Father Gense, »the ecclesiastical sky of Bombay was cloud-covered and storm-swept.«³⁵

The ignorance of the English on the part of the Italian clergy, the resentment of secular clergy against the Carmelites, the laity acting as though the churches were their own and using the name of one Prelate against the other, the Government being pestered with petitions and counter petitions – this was the situation in the Vicariate when Hartmann took charge of the Bombay Vicariate. Fr. Hull SJ described the ten years prior to his arrival (1840-1850), »the Dark Ages of the Bombay Vicariate.«³⁶

5.1 Jurisdictional Conflict in Bombay

Of all the problems in Bombay, those related to »double jurisdiction« were the worst. To understand the reasons we must briefly go over the historical background of the Bombay Mission.³⁷ Since early 16th century, Portuguese explorers and colonizers sailing round the



Appendix-1
Areas of Hartman's
Vicariates

Cape of Good Hope had set up their enclaves along the coast of India and beyond. In their wake followed the Portuguese missionaries who went for evangelization. In course of time the Pope conferred on the Kings of Portugal the duty of evangelization giving vast authority as protectors of all newly founded churches in Asia, Africa, and America. This civil-ecclesiastical administrative arrangement was called *Padroado* (patronage) system. The large town of Goa eventually became the See of an Archbishop under whose authority all the vast territories came. As long as Portugal retained her colonial power, the missions in her dominions flourished. When, however, the English and Dutch gained the supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the countries bordering on it, the influence of the Portuguese began to dwindle. In Church matters, however, the Portuguese were not ready to give up their influence over all those vast mission lands. Neither were they able to support and expand mission work in the areas under their control.³⁸

In order to prevent stagnation, Popes sent Vicars Apostolic to India, under their Department for missions, the *Congregation de Fide Propaganda* (*Propaganda* in short, established in 1622), who were not to be dependent on the Goan (*Padroado*) Church authorities. Missionaries of various nationalities and different religious societies were enlisted and sent to the East under Vicars Apostolic.³⁹

Portugal took umbrage at the presence of *Propaganda* missionaries, and a long and bitter struggle began. The Portuguese court and the Goan clergy who were deeply devoted to it, did all in their power to embitter the lives of all Vicars Apostolic nominated by Rome, insulting them as »wolves«, »propagandists«, »invaders«, even »anti-Christ«. They went as far as to declare that the papal decree could not have any binding power in India unless it received previous sanction from Portugal.⁴⁰

The Vicars Apostolic were harassed in every way and frequently dragged before non-Christian judges, from whom they could hope for little justice. A sad state of affairs: a movement, which would defend the faith but defy the Pope!⁴¹

Clashes for power arose between the *Padroado* clergy and Catholics and those under *Propaganda*. This problem was very acute in Bombay. In effect the parishioners with a majority vote could pass on from one jurisdiction to the other and thus all canonical discipline was undermined. This was a major lacuna in the ecclesiastical administration.

Bishop Hartmann met with stubborn resistance from the clergy who were very sympathetic towards *Padroado*. He had to confront diverse pastoral challenges arising from jurisdictional conflicts. A few instances are narrated here.

1 The Rector of the Bombay Seminary, Fr Agostinho Osorio Lourenco, with nine of his Seminarists crossed over to the *Padroado* party in 1839. He had become so staunch a supporter of the cause and founded the *Padroado Defence Association*.⁴²

2 In 1852 on the island of Salsette (Bandra) some 1900 fishermen repented of their opposition to the Bishop and humbly offered him their allegiance. They now wanted to build a church, so they pooled their resources and bought a suitable piece of land, and began

38 KALAPURA, Heroic Church Leadership (FN 5), 58.

39 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 246.

40 See VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 139-184.

41 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 246.

42 Ibid. 88.

43 MULLIGAN, Champion of Faith (FN 6), 382.

44 The Examiner, Bombay 60 (1909) 183-193.

45 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 246.

46 ANON, Hartmann, the Crusader (FN 37).

47 For a complete narrative of the incident, see VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 150-169.

48 KALAPURA, Heroic Church Leadership (FN 5), 60.

49 The Examiner (FN 44).

50 Adelhelm JANN, OFM. Cap., Anastasius Hartmann, in: Seraphic Chronicle 19 (1936) 332.

digging the foundations. The *Padroado* clergy and people opposed the blessing of the church with all their might. It was deemed very imprudent for the Bishop to go: warning reached him from all corners and even from his legal adviser. Everyone dissuaded him, but he said courageously, »What! if the Bishop himself fears what can be expected of the flock?«⁴³

The trouble makers immediately came forward, and even went as far as to snatch the tools away from the workmen's hands. They threatened that Bishop Hartmann would build nothing without the shedding of blood, and that anything he did succeed in putting up would be torn down immediately.

Our Crusader was not to be intimidated. He walked ten miles out of Bombay to a holiday resort to meet personally the British Officials, and secured the fullest protection. Although ill feeling and threats by no means died down after this, yet the work proceeded steadily, and the church was completed in a few months, and became the stronghold of the faithful Catholics.

3 In 1853 a jurisdictional conflict erupted between Hartmann and Jerome de Matta, Bishop of Macao (a Vicariate in China), a *Padroado* Bishop who, on his way to Goa, dropped in at Bombay and without the consent of Hartmann administered sacraments to the Indo-Portuguese clergy.⁴⁴ This brought in many unnecessary troubles among the Catholics of his vicariate and Hartmann had to get the assistance of Rome to settle the matter.

4 When, for gross irregularities Fr. Braz Fernandes, Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of Salvation at Dadar was suspended, in spite of the valiant efforts of Hartmann, the parishioners went over to the Goan regime (*Padroado*). A similar incident occurred at Sholapur, Belgaum and Dharwar.⁴⁵

Hartmann wrote, »Nobody in Europe can realize my situation ... never in my life have I needed more grace from God than I do now.«⁴⁶

5 Hartmann's worst battlefield was Mahim.⁴⁷ During March 1853 Hartmann received news that Mahim was on the verge of a break away, and that the walkover to the Goan side was fixed for Sunday before Palm Sunday. The good Bishop was determined to save the church by his personal presence. He drove in a closed carriage to the Mahim Church on March 20, 1853, and arrived just as the voting slips were being distributed. He walked through the crowd in full Pontifical vestments and reached the High Altar unopposed. His unexpected appearance had dumfounded his enemies. The faithful Catholics rushed in after him and some began to ring the church bells joyously. But his enemies now rallied and endeavoured to drive away the Bishop and his followers. Only fear of reprisals from the Government prevented them from murdering him.⁴⁸

Unbridled turmoil reigned, but the Bishop could not be intimidated, and with five courageous supporters he remained unmoved within the sanctuary.

At about ten at night the police, who had been bribed, came with a posse and drove away the few faithful that remained inside the church, and demanded that the Bishop also leave. He refused, so they locked him inside and placed a guard at the door. They hoped to starve him into submission, but two faithful Catholics, at the risk of their lives, succeeded in taking him food secretly, and by their hands he sent a letter to a friend beseeching him to petition help from the Government. But the officials were unwilling to interfere, and Hartmann remained a prisoner in the closed and stuffy church.⁴⁹ After eight days of captivity the schematics, headed by a native priest, had attempted to suffocate him with sulphur dioxide in the church.⁵⁰

Meanwhile the English Government Official heard of the lamentable state of affairs, and he came in person to investigate. He was horrified at the sight, which met his eyes: the emaciated face of the Bishop and the fainting and tortured fishermen. The Governor ordered food and drink to be brought immediately, and assured Bishop Hartmann that he may remain in possession of the Church till the court decided the case.

Eventually a decision was passed in his favour, and the good Bishop was free to exercise his authority. He deemed it prudent to remain in Mahim for a while and for a year established his headquarters in the disputed church – dedicated to St. Michael.⁵¹

After this incident, a joint report by the Prelates from India was sent to the Pope. The Bishops begged the Pope to issue definite directions regarding the policy of the Church in India. On May 9, 1853, Pope Pius IX issued his verdict regulating Church matters in India, and threatening with excommunication all who refused to obey.⁵²

The Pope's ruling was immediately published. Bishop Hartmann tried his best to help those who had gone astray to become reconciled, but many in their obstinate pride defied the Pope's injunction. With a heavy heart the Bishop was forced to excommunicate publicly four priests. This firm step broke the strength of the opposition, and although sporadic trouble did flare up every now and again, one parish after another submitted, and soon all returned to allegiance with Rome.⁵³

Later, the Supreme Court decided that the ownership of the Church belonged rather to a Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception. The harassment did not stop, but he continued in possession of the Church and appointed a Goan Jesuit priest as Vicar in 1854. But as a result of the verdict, the Bishop had to leave his Church, for which he had patiently and courageously suffered. Later the chapel of Our Lady of Good Counsel at Sion, a substation of the Church of Mahim, was also lost. He built a new church, Our Lady of Victories at Mahim, and blessed it on December 5, 1855 in spite of the Padroado section trying to prevent it.

Due to his insistent efforts, the Government ruled that places of worship would not be transferred from one jurisdiction to another. This was a consoling verdict for him.⁵⁴

5.2 Hartmann's other Pastoral Challenges in Bombay

The first step of the new Vicar was to restore the Italian Discalced Carmelites--the missionaries in the Bombay Vicariate--in their former sphere of activity.⁵⁵ His predecessor, Bishop Whelan, in order to appease his congregation, both European and native, took a drastic step (1849) expulsion of the Carmelites, which occasioned a reprimand from the *Propaganda*. Hartmann's move roused a storm of indignation. Soon after, a quarrelsome parish demanded an indemnity of Rs. 16,000/-. Then one parish after another severed allegiance. The Bombay Catholic Institute, a pro-Irish organisation founded in 1848 by Bishop Whelan's Irish friends, was largely instrumental for the expulsion of the Carmelites.⁵⁶

When Bishop Fortini (a former Carmelite Vicar Apostolic) died intestate, at the instance of the Bombay Catholic Institute, his assets, equivalent to Rs.120,000/-, were made over to the officer appointed by the Supreme Court in 1848. It was only after six months of anguish, that the funds reverted to the Administrator. These and other lawsuits cost him Rs.6,000/-. Problems of this kind and other internal vexations made him enter in his diary on Christmas Day 1850, »My God, my God, upon what evil days hast Thou suffered me to fall«?⁵⁷

The laity of Esperanca Church had objected to Dr. Whelan appointing a Vicar in the quasi-Cathedral without their consent. Hartmann asserted his rights, but after some hesitation, appointed their nominee to the office and thus avoided a lawsuit. But the secular clergy and the Irish clique questioned his credentials, complained to Rome and to the Government. He removed the Vicar General for the English speaking Catholics and »took over the entire administration«. Though the opposition hardened its stand, he stood like a rock.⁵⁸

As the press was entirely hostile the much-harassed Bishop had no channel of communication with his flock and no means of making known his side of the question. Knowing the

power of the press, in 1850 the Bishop encouraged Mr. Briggs to start a bi-monthly paper, »The Bombay Catholic Standard«. He himself acted as co-editor. But in six months it was catering for his enemies. »Four newspapers«, His Lordship wrote, »are turning against me endlessly. Perhaps, never was a Bishop so slandered in his life.«⁵⁹ Nothing daunted, he founded another diocesan newspaper, *The Bombay Catholic Examiner*, which he kept supplied with editorials and articles.⁶⁰

There was the Irish section that was against Italian foreigners and was supported by the Bombay Catholic Institute and Journal. They represented him as a persecutor of the Irish Catholic Community and insisted on the nomination of an Irish priest at Poona and published insolent articles against the Vicar Apostolic. When later Fr. Stains, a Dutchman was appointed to Poona, they petitioned the Commander-in-chief of the Bombay army to suspend him and his allowance was stopped. The Bishop in his turn, asked for English missionaries, Brothers and Sisters from any quarter.

Bishop Hartmann felt he was the wrong man in the wrong place and in all his letters petitioned Rome to be allowed to go back to Patna. In 1854, Fr. Ignatius Persico was named Coadjutor and Vicar General but was transferred to Agra.

The combating of such overwhelming difficulties would surely have been considered »sufficient for the day« by a lesser spirit. Not so our crusader: the cross must be carried further and further afield and where it had already been erected, its foundations must be made firmer. His mental worries aside, he made an extensive tour of the Poona section of his vicariate. The physical privations he endured during this journey were innumerable. Spiritual disappointments, too, were not wanting. A whole parish could not be persuaded to receive the Sacraments: their excuse was that they were accustomed to do so during Lent only!

The courts had assigned one of his churches to the dissenters; accusations of mismanagement of church property were brought against him; creditors were clamouring for the payment of debts incurred by his predecessors, and finally the British Government deprived him of the right to administer the mission revenues. This put him into such pecuniary straits that he was forced to sell his only horse.

Yet there were consolations: fervent priests, pious Catholics, and the exemplary faith of the fine Irish soldiers that formed the garrisons in most of the towns.

5.3 Hartmann's Educational Initiatives in Bombay and Poona

There were complaints from every quarter against the clergy for not providing adequately for schools and orphanages. Catholic parents who wanted to give an education to their children had no other alternative but to send them to Protestant schools. In those early days, the Government gave no grants to Catholics and the educational expenditure fell heavily on the already strained financial resources of the Vicariate. It was an open injustice which called for the re-vindication of Catholic rights.⁶¹

51 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 247.

52 KALAPURA, Heroic Church Leadership (FN 5), 62.

53 HULL, Bombay Mission-History (FN 36).

54 KALAPURA, Heroic Church Leadership (FN 5), 62.

55 These Friars had quite a hard time since the year 1720, when they took over from the Portuguese Clergy. They had already been expelled (1789) and recalled (1791) once.

56 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 94.

57 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 245.

58 Ibid.

59 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 103.

60 The Examiner (see FN 44) is still in existence and is one of the oldest English-language papers in India.

61 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 124.

Hartmann gave his attention to the establishment of a college and schools for the education of the young, for he was firmly convinced that schools were a fruitful vehicle of the apostolate. He approached the Government with a request to grant boys and girls in Catholic orphanages the same financial facilities which were granted to other similar institutions, i.e., Rs 5 / per month for every orphan and Rs 2.50 per month for every other child.⁶²

To meet the lack of educational Institutions for girls he opened a European Girls' Orphanage (1850) managed by Loreto nuns at Mazagon and another orphanage in the same year for boys at Parel at his Villa. The Bishop's revenue in Bombay was only Rs.200 / per month. With new arrivals from Europe, a convent and school were opened at Fort (1855). The project cost him around Rs.10,000 / that forced him to sell two houses, silver articles and undertake a tour of Europe.⁶³

5.4 Facilitating Jesuit Ministry in Bombay-Poona Vicariates

Hartmann was convinced that English education was the need of the hour. So he tried to get English-speaking Priests or Brothers to run the boys' institutions. For this purpose, he thought at once of getting the Jesuits; they were the men to start and run schools. Accordingly, he applied through the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to the Superior General of the Society. At first his desire could not be realised, as the Jesuits did not wish to come to Bombay: the experience of the first two Jesuits in Bombay under Bishop Whelan had made them realise that Bombay was not the place for them.⁶⁴

But he did not rest until he could assure that the education of boys in the Vicariate would be in safe hands, until he had enlisted the services of a teaching Congregation. His desperate appeals found at last a positive response from the Jesuits. Between 1853 and 1854 five of them arrived in Bombay: Frs Walter Steins, Anthony Pereira, Anthony Jaques, James Peniston and William Strickland; one from Holland, two from Goa and two from England. They started a school in Bombay in the following year. In 1855 he bought land close to St. Anne's chapel, where institutions sprang up (the present day St. Mary's complex).⁶⁵

In 1854, according to his suggestion the Bombay mission was divided; the Bombay Vicariate was entrusted to the Capuchins with Bishop Hartmann as head and Poona was entrusted to the Jesuits. To avoid conflicts that could arise because of Jesuits starting a new College in Poona, he was made Vicar Apostolic of Poona and Administrator of Bombay, as he himself had suggested.⁶⁶ But the Bishop and the laity felt that a college was needed first in Bombay. Hartmann knew that Jesuits, not the Capuchins, had the capability of starting a college then. So it was recommended that Bombay be assigned to the Jesuits and Poona, to the Capuchins.

Meanwhile, the Carmelites, on their own, withdrew from Bombay for their other missions of India. But it was rumoured that Hartmann was responsible for their leaving. Some of them felt it was due to him that a Carmelite was not appointed Vicar Apostolic of Bombay. But the fact is that he had written to *Propaganda* (1853), that their leaving would

⁶² Ibid. 125.

⁶³ MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 245.

⁶⁴ VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 129.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 131.

⁶⁶ MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 248.

be prejudicial to the Vicariate of Bombay and had recommended that the administration be handed over to them.

While in Poona he received an urgent summons to return to Rome in 1857. Complicated negotiations regarding the Bombay-Poona Mission with the representatives of the Jesuits and the Secretary of the *Congregation de Fide Propaganda*, occupied the better part of four months.

In 1858, the Capuchin Superior General, to steer clear of the never-ending disputes, preferred to hand over Bombay and Poona to the Jesuits. The Capuchin missionaries either went to North India or back home. He was accused of being the cause of the loss of the mission to his Order and even the word ›treason‹ was used to discredit him. In a selfless gesture Bishop Hartmann resigned from his office as Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay-Poona, and the whole Mission was handed over to the Jesuits.⁶⁷ He became a private person again and condemned to forced inertia.

Overall, when Bishop Hartmann left Bombay in 1856, he had started no less than seven educational establishments, in addition to five or six parochial schools, either revived or newly begun by him. He had firmly laid the foundation of educational and charitable enterprises, paving the way for rapid development in the near future. Bishop Hartmann truly deserves to be called the pioneer of Catholic education in the Bombay Vicariate.⁶⁸

6 Hartmann's Second Ministry in Rome

The good Bishop was broken in health. Moreover he had to make the customary *ad limina* visit to Rome. So, after having obtained the requisite permission, he set out for Europe on July 29, 1856. This also gave him an opportunity to recuperate from an intestinal disease brought on him by the tropical climate of India and many heroic sufferings and sacrifices.⁶⁹

While in Rome, he took up the Directorship of the Foreign Missions of the Capuchin Order. In this capacity he wrote an Encyclical letter to all the missionaries of the Order,⁷⁰ which unfortunately during his lifetime was never published.

While in Europe he went to London for a successful termination of the negotiations he was to carry on there with the British Foreign Office. He protested against wrongs under which the Catholics of India were still suffering under the British rule in India (see discussion in Section III). His frankness and sincerity won for him the good will of the Government, and his petitions, with a few exceptions, were granted.

Though living in Europe his heart was for India. At Lyons in France he visited the Mother House of the Sisters of Jesus and Mary and the Headquarters of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and was given promises of a contingent of nuns from one and of further pecuniary help from the other. In February 1857 he proceeded to Dublin to try to secure the services of the Irish Christian Brothers for schools in India. In Naples, he collected funds for a convent to be erected in Bombay.

In his audience with Pope Pius IX he was asked to submit a report regarding the religious affairs in India and in particular the impact of the ›Double Jurisdiction‹ and the Concordat with Portugal.

⁶⁷ See VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 247-280.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 137.

⁶⁹ JANN, Anastasius Hartmann (FN 50), 333.

⁷⁰ JANN, Monumenta Anastasiana (FN 19), Vol. IV, 1857-1863-1946, 234; also in: *Analecta OFM Cap.* 23 (1907) 209-213 (*Epistola Encyclica ad universos Ordinis Missionarios*).

7 Hartmann's Second Ministry in Patna

On 24th January 1860, he was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Patna again, to succeed Bishop A. Zuber. On 25th March he set sail from Naples with four IBMV nuns and a new batch of six missionaries. Among the priests was Fr. Paul Tosi who later (1868) succeeded Bishop Hartmann as Vicar.

On arrival at Patna on 2nd June 1860, he resumed his work, notwithstanding his age, with the enthusiasm and vigour of a young man and undertook many pastoral visits. He began a boarding school for orphans of the 1857 Mutiny, at Kurji, five kilometers west of Bankipur, now a flourishing centre of education (St. Michael's School).⁷¹

The Vicariate had a larger territory as the districts of Allahabad and Lucknow were added to it in 1861.⁷² In the Vicariate there were 14 missionaries, 30 million non-Christians and 5000 Catholics, under his jurisdiction. Soon he set about visiting all his mission centres such as Allahabad and Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh, Jabalpur, Bhopal,⁷³ and Sagar in Madhya Pradesh, and finally Patna.⁷⁴ He established a convent school at Allahabad in 1864.

In spite of his chronic illness, he toured intensely his territory carrying out at the same time, also the duties of a military chaplain. The greater part of 1863-64 was spent in the translation of the New Testament into Hindi.⁷⁵ Though sick and under treatment, in 1864, he undertook a long pastoral tour partly by train and partly by bullock cart, travelling through jungles infested with tigers and along rugged paths. In January 1865, he was back in Patna. Soon he had to leave for Darjeeling for a court case. From Bhagalpur he rode five days on horseback. On his return to Patna on 11th June 1865, he had a violent attack of cholera and was between life and death. But by December he recovered. Back at his office, Hartmann began to clear arrears of work, which had piled up during his absence. He was applying himself feverishly to the work.

8 Hartmann's Last Days

After spending the Holy Week at Bankipur, Hartmann was back at his residence at Kurji. There he put in order the archive of the mission and his own correspondence. On Sunday the 22nd April he went to Jamalpur (some 200 kilometers east of Patna) to see to the construction of a church there. During his journey he fell ill and travelled back to his residence. On the night of the 22nd he was seized with violent vomiting and cholera. On Tuesday afternoon 24th April 1866, his condition grew critical. At 08:15 p.m. when those around were reciting the Litany of the Saints and prayers for the dying, he passed away. He was buried in front of the high altar in the Patna City Cathedral. Before handing over Patna Diocese to the American Jesuits in 1921 by the Capuchins, the revered relics were taken on 6th April 1920, to the Cathedral of Allahabad and re-interred there in front of St. Joseph's altar.⁷⁶

71 Hartmann had envisaged that the Christian Brothers from Ireland would develop St. Michael's School, Patna into a premier educational institution in Bihar. The Jesuits have shouldered its management since 1968.

72 See VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 281-304.

73 At Bhopal he found the descendants of French adventurers who had served in the Begum's army. Among these was Isabella of Bourbon, who assisted the Bishop in obtaining permission to place a priest in this Muslim State.

74 For details on Hartmann's work in Patna Vicariate, see Paul DENT, *A Brief History of Patna Mission*, Patna Jesuit Archive, Patna 1935, 50-60.

9 Hartmann's Works of All-India Significance

Three works of Bishop Hartmann, among many, have had direct positive significance to the Catholic Church at the national level: 1) facilitating adequate legislation by the British Government in India on the rights of the Catholic Community, 2) facilitating the legislation by the British Government in India on the Indian Christian Marriage Act 1865 and 1966, and 3) contributing to the existing Christian Literature in Hindustani and Urdu.

9.1 Rights of the Catholic Church in British India

Bishop Hartmann was a stalwart champion of Catholic rights in India. He did not confine his manifold activities merely within the borders of his Vicariate, but widened his horizon and fought strenuously for the removal of the disabilities, under which the Church in India was suffering.

First, the allowance given to Catholic bishops was disproportionate compared to that given to Protestant bishops. Up to 1852, no Catholic Bishop, with the sole exception of the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, received any for his ministrations to the Roman Catholic soldiery, and for the services connected with the registration of births, marriages and burials.⁷⁷

Bishop Hartmann worked out a plan, according to which Fr Ignatius Persico, OFM. Cap., and Fr William Strickland, S.J., two missionaries from Bombay, who were then in Rome, were formally deputed by the Propaganda, in May 1853, to go to London as representatives of the Vicars Apostolic of India, to discuss with the British Government several vital questions regarding the position of the Catholic Church in India.⁷⁸

Thanks to the efforts of the Prelates headed by Hartmann, the Court of Directors ordered, towards the end of the same year, a monthly salary of Rs 200 to be paid to four Bishops, viz., in Bengal, in the North-West Provinces, in Madras and in Bombay. Even this act of generosity was something, but still a trifle compared with the individual pay given, for example, to the Protestant Bishop of Calcutta, which amounted to Rs 4,600/ per month.⁷⁹

Secondly, on the discriminatory payment to the Catholic Military chaplains it was proposed that wherever a Protestant chaplain was provided for a certain number of Protestants, a Catholic chaplain should also be provided for the corresponding number of Catholics, and that in all cases as to pay, furlough allowance, retiring pension etc., one half of what was allowed to each of the chaplains of the Church of England should be allowed to the Catholic chaplains, but that the travelling allowance should be the same for both.⁸⁰

Thirdly, on the churches and expenses of public worship, burial grounds, orphanages and schools it was requested that the same rights and privileges as those granted to the Protestants should be extended equally and in like proportion to the Catholics.⁸¹

Fourthly, on Mixed Hospitals, Jails and Regimental Schools it was petitioned that Catholic chaplains should have the same access and facilities for the religious instruction

⁷⁵ MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 251.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 354.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 356.

⁷⁹ While in London (from 16th January to 5th February 1857), Hartmann wrote a booklet entitled: *Remarks on the Resolutions of the Government of India upon Catholic Affairs in India, 28th February 1856*. He wanted to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government of the fact that the provisions made in the resolution were altogether inadequate. He pleaded for a more liberal policy.

⁸⁰ VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 361.

⁸¹ Ibid. 362.

of their flock as were granted to the chaplains of the Church of England with regard to civil or military hospitals, jails, regimental schools and other establishments for Europeans. A Catholic chaplain was never allowed to set foot in a regimental school, while the Protestant chaplain had unlimited control over it.⁸²

Fifthly, there was the problem with regard to the double jurisdiction. Bishop Hartmann wanted the British Government to recognize the authority of the Vicars Apostolic and prepared a memorial to be presented to the Government of India. The Governor General Lord Dalhousie was not too favourably disposed towards the Catholic cause. The entire question was postponed for some time. Hartmann took the matter to Lord Dalhousie again on the 13th of November 1854. In 1856 the new Governor-General, Lord Canning, on his way from Europe to Calcutta to take up office, stayed in Bombay for a few days during which time Bishop Hartmann drew his attention on the matter. However, the petition was turned down in toto on the ground that Government could not get entangled in »a theological schism«. Henceforth, the Government would adopt a rigid policy of non-interference in ecclesiastical disputes.⁸³

These long and tiresome negotiations ended in 1856. On the 28th February, 1856, Lord Canning issued in Calcutta, from Fort William, the Resolution of V of the Government of India concerning Catholic affairs. This Resolution was an answer to the several collective petitions presented to Government by the Vicars Apostolic.

Finally, Bishop Hartmann mediated the establishment of an apex Church authority for the whole of India. In his transactions with Government he was at times alone, and very often he had to take up the interests of the whole Church in India, without being officially authorised to do so: a task which was beyond his juridical capacity. He felt that this lacuna should be rectified and proposed, on 13th April 1857, the appointment of a Delegate Apostolic for India having all-India authority to represent all Vicars Apostolic of India to mediate between the Pope on one hand, and interact with the British Government in India, on the other.⁸⁴

Vatican sensed the seriousness of the matter immediately: the proposal was heartily welcomed; on the 21st August 1858, a Visitor Apostolic for the Indian Missions was appointed in the person of Mgr Clement Bonnard, Bishop of Drusipare and Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry who undertook an Apostolic Visitation of the Vicariates of India.⁸⁵ In short, it can be said that the efforts of Bishop Hartmann and others bore fruit eventually: A permanent Apostolic Delegation for India was established in 1884; and a Hierarchy in India and Ceylon was established in 1886.

9.2 Towards Legislation of an Indian Christian Marriage Act

In the name of the Bishops of India, Hartmann undertook a delegation to the Viceroy of British India Lord Canning and obtained the marriage legislation in favour of the native Catholics.⁸⁶ The Indian Legislative Council had been engaged since 1864 in framing new and comprehensive legislation with regard to the marriage laws for Europeans, Anglo-

82 Ibid. 364.

83 Ibid. 365-366.

84 Ibid. 366.

85 Ibid. 370.

86 JANN, Anastasius Hartmann (FN 50), 367.

87 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 387.

88 Ibid. 388.

89 Ibid. 389.

90 Ibid. 390.

91 Ibid.

Indians and native Christians. This new Legislation was to be embodied in two Marriage Acts. One Act (known as Marriage Act XXV of 1864 and repealed by Act No. V of 1865) dealt chiefly with the mode and time of solemnising marriage of native Christians and so forth. The other Act, which became finally known as the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act 1866-Act No. XXI of 1866-intended »to legalise«, so the preamble to the Act reads »under certain circumstances, the dissolution of marriages of native converts to Christianity, deserted or repudiated, on religious grounds, by their wives or husbands«.⁸⁷

Several clauses in this new legislation were incompatible with the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church on marriage. For instance, only those who had received »episcopal ordination« were authorised by law to solemnise marriages. Anyone else except »any Clergyman of the Church of Scotland « had to obtain a licence from Government to solemnise marriages. This was surely a slur on the prestige of the Catholic Clergy and a lack of confidence in the authority of the Vicars Apostolic.⁸⁸ Also, the whole of Part V of the Act XXV of 1864, concerning the marriage of native Christians, was wholly unacceptable from the Catholic point of view, and so forth.

More detrimental to the Catholic cause was the proposed legislation concerning the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act, 1866. In simple language, the Act stated that a native wife who had embraced the Christian religion, and in consequence of his or her conversion had been deserted or repudiated by his or her partner for six continuous months, may sue the latter in the High Court or district Court (according to the respondent's residence within the jurisdiction of the Court) for restitution of conjugal rights. The Vicars Apostolic of the South, in their joint representation to Government, pointed out that if the Bill was allowed, it would cause much trouble and annoyance to the Catholics in British India.⁸⁹ They summed up, under five different heads, the chief objections to the main clauses of the Bill, that is, in the great majority of cases, the Bill made the re-marriage of converts entirely impossible; it was often useless; it threw families into disorder; it did positive injustice to the new converts; and it interfered with the faith and practices of Catholics in direct violation of the solemn promise made by Her Majesty the Queen. Each charge was proved in detail. The document wound up by stating that all the inconveniences mentioned above would be removed, if the Bill were amended so as to make the re-marriage of Catholic converts legally valid, whenever they were solemnised according to the rules and customs of the Catholic Church.⁹⁰ The conclusion is worth quoting:

We (the Vicars Apostolic) crave no special privilege. We only want to have the same religious freedom that is granted to the Mohammedans and to the Hindus. No civil suit, no court decree is required for Mohammedans and Hindus to desert their partners converted to Christianity and to marry again. So we ask that a new convert to Catholicism may, in the same way, be allowed to re-marry without a civil suit, without a court decree, or any other interference from the civil law.⁹¹

The Vicars Apostolic of Burma, India and Ceylon (with the sole exception of the Vicar Apostolic of Madras) turned unanimously to Bishop Hartmann to defend Catholic interests before the legislators of the land. They knew, moreover, that he was a *persona grata* with the Government. It was this flattering token of confidence from his colleagues, which in the spring of 1865, made Bishop Hartmann go to Calcutta (now Kolkata), the headquarters of British India.

The preliminary labours of the Prelate consisted in making himself *au fait* with the situation. He put himself in touch with the more influential members of the Council, offered his remarks on the Bill for the Re-marriage of Native Converts, acquainted himself with the state of things, analysed the former deliberations of the Legislative Council on the subject, and studied the memorials and petitions, the number of which was legion, addressed by the clergy of different religious denominations, and which continued to pour in like a flood. In a word, he did his utmost to get ready for the time when the Bill would come up for final discussion before the Legislative Council.⁹² At the same time, he thought out how best he could assist his confreres in the priesthood by obtaining exemption from the provisions of Act V of 1865, which were still considered objectionable.

At the beginning of November 1865, Hartmann was again in Calcutta for final discussions on the new Marriage Bill. In a twenty-five-point memorial, dated the 23rd November 1865, he set forth reasons in defense of the Catholic legislation on the Re-marriage of Native Converts. The gist of the argument he pressed in support of his claims was that the Church had its own laws in this regard. They were so stringent and binding on every Priest that it was impossible to evade them. »For among Catholics«, he stated, »there is no division; their doctrine and practice on the subject are uniform; they have a fixed rule forming part of Canon Law, with a regular Court, where every doubtful case is tried and decided in accordance with that law. The law itself is a time-tried one, its operation easy and powerful; no Government has ever had the occasion to complain about it. The present Bill could hardly be amended so as to come up to the Roman Catholic rule, neither was there any fear that this rule might be changed or abandoned.«⁹³

He pointed out that both the Church and the Indian Government had the same purpose in view; the only difference was that they did not follow the same procedure. He pleaded that the Native Converts' Marriages were more than sufficient to satisfy the Government and to achieve the object of their intended legislation.

This memorial, together with three others was sent to the Legislative Council. The Report of the Select Committee appointed by the Government on the proposed Bill was published in »The Gazette of India«, the 20th of January 1866:

A point which we have meticulously considered is the claim of the Roman Catholics to be exempted from the Bill ...they have deputed Dr. Hartmann, the Vicar Apostolic of Patna, to confer with the Legislative Department on the subject of the proposed legislation.

As we are satisfied with the existence of such a procedure, and as we felt compelled to attach weight to the fact that the British Government in Ireland and in its colonial dependencies has never attempted to interfere with Roman Catholic discipline on the subject of marriage and divorce, we have thought of introducing a section which will have the effect of placing the Roman Catholic Clergy and their converts on the same footing on which they would have been if Act XXV of 1864 and Act V of 1865 had not been passed.⁹⁴

On this occasion, Dr. Hartmann came in contact with the highest personalities in the Legislative Council and was also received, with marked distinction, by the Governor-General, Lord John Lawrence. His Excellency and Sir Cecil Beadon told His Lordship that with regard to marriages, to the Catholic Church had always observed the best rules, and assured him of their sympathy.

The upshot of Bishop Hartmann's negotiations with the Government was that all objectionable clauses still to be found in the Marriage Act of 1865 were withdrawn, and his fight for the exemption of Catholics from the provisions of the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act, 1866 was an unqualified success.⁹⁵

However, there was still something in the Marriage Act V of 1865 which bothered the Vicars Apostolic, though they showed themselves ready to abide by it. Section 32 of the Act, as it stood, implied that quarterly returns of marriages entered into by native Christians were to be submitted to the Government.

Bishop Hartmann laid stress on two points: the quarterly returns of native Christians marriages were not an easy matter to be complied with. The Government expected the returns to be submitted in English. While nearly all the original entries were in Latin or in some of the native languages, most of the priests in charge of native congregations were not conversant with English and they needed a clerk to help them for the translation. It was but fair, and here came the Bishop's second point of contention, that an adequate compensation should be given for this work.

The insistence on this last point made the Government change its mind. In an official communication of the 21st May 1866, we read that »the transmission to the Local Government of the Marriage Returns of the Native Roman Catholic Christians« is no longer required.⁹⁶ Bishop Hartmann had scored yet another victory over the Government, but he was no more in the land of the living to rejoice over this happy news.

The glad tiding of such happy results reached the good Bishop three weeks before his death and formed one of those last joys that filled his noble heart, which was soon to cease beating. The Vicars Apostolic and the Catholic Indian press hastened to offer him, in the name of millions of Catholics, their warmest thanks for the eminent service he had rendered to the Church on this important occasion. The fruits of his intelligent labours are still enjoyed by Catholic India today.⁹⁷

9.3 Contribution to Christian Literature

Another significant contribution of Bishop Hartmann was translating in 1864, the New Testament into Hindustani and publication of many catechetical and liturgical books in Hindustani and Urdu for use in North India. The New Testament entitled, *Naya Adhnama Hamare Khudawand Yisu Masih* (see Appendix-1A, 1B), was printed in Roman script with a key attached for reading Hindustani in Roman script. It turned out to be a standard work for correctness and precision. In 1852, he had published a Catechism in Hindi, written in Latin script for missionaries, another in Persian character and a third in Devanagari script for Christians of Northern India. The book entitled, *Rozina Amal*, was printed at Sardana, a Capuchin centre near Meerut, north of Delhi.⁹⁸ The same was printed in Urdu or Persian script 15 years later. Hartmann had written books and articles in Latin, English, Urdu, Hindustani, Persian, etc. *Rozina Amal* (see Appendix-2A, 2B) was revised and printed in Hindi later on as Hindustani is no more used in North India.

92 Ibid. 392.

93 Ibid. 394.

94 Ibid. 395.

95 Ibid. 396.

96 Ibid. 397.

97 Ibid.

98 I have a copy of his New Testament (printed in 1864) and the prayer book (*Rozina Amal*) in Roman script. Hartmann had written books and articles in Latin, English, Urdu, Hindustani, Persian, etc. Some of the prayer books he composed have been revised and printed in Hindi as Hindustani is no more used in North India.

Appendix-1B
Hartmann's
New Testament-
Praefatio

From Rev. Mission
PRAEFATIO.
1902. ————— Retinal 1935

~~Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Novum Testamentum, perita Vulgatum~~
in urdū translatum, nunc prima vice in lucem prodit; et quidem typis romanis, partim pro majori Missionariorum commoditate, partim quia verosimile est, typum romanum alti gubernii decreto typis persicis ac devanagari dictis brevi substitutum iri. Nihilominus mens est, aliam hujus versionis editionem in devanagari typis adornare.

Versio in urdū fieri haud potuit, quin plura minus domestica vocabula persica et arabica subintrarent, quia in vulgari loquela correspondentem expressionem non habent, aut quia non decebat quasdam dictiones sacras vulgi vocabulis reddere, praepimis si hae paganismum sapiant, aut dundaxat sic dicti provincialismi sint. Tandem vocabula technyca, ab interpretibus generaliter recepta, omnino retinere conveniebat. Interea in hac versione vocabula arabica et persica minori, quam in omni alia versione, numero occurrunt.

Idioma urdū dictum non solum in Hindostān proprio vulgi linguam licet plus minusve corruptam constituit, sed vastissimas Indiarum regiones pervadit, ita ut lingua franca dici poterit; cujus cultura et extensio ab alto gubernio omni modo promovetur. Religionis plurimum interest, ut inter Christianos indigenas hoc idioma purum conservetur et sedulo colatur, quia hi non minus quam ipsi Missionarii frequenter ab una provincia in alteram transeunt; unde nisi urdū purum calleant, alibi nec Missionarii ministerium suum sacrum exercere, nec fideles Religionis beneficia, prout par est, percipere poterunt.


Ecclēsiae spiritus deinde hoc habet, ut pro usu sacro ad populum idioma purum retineat, unde devotionis libros, praepimis S. Scripturam licet in vulgari lingua, non tamen in vulgi dialecto, tradit. Idem circa verbi Dei praedicationem valet. Inde fit, ut populus etiam incultus, praeter suum peculiarem dialectum, pro usu sacro linguam nativam puram intelligat, licet eam loqui nesciat.

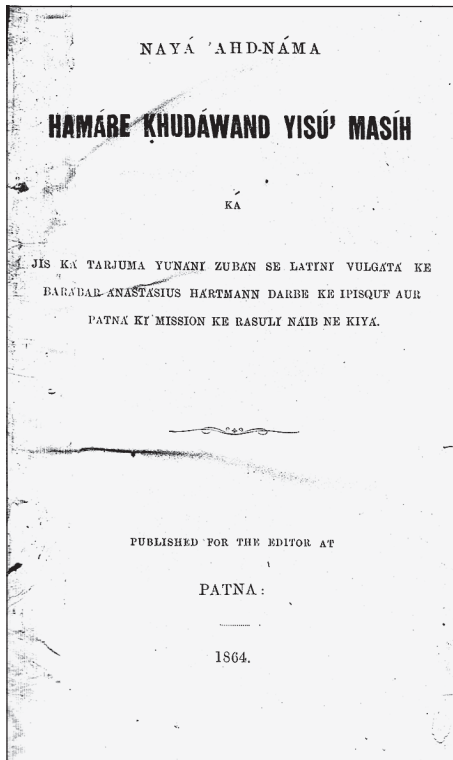
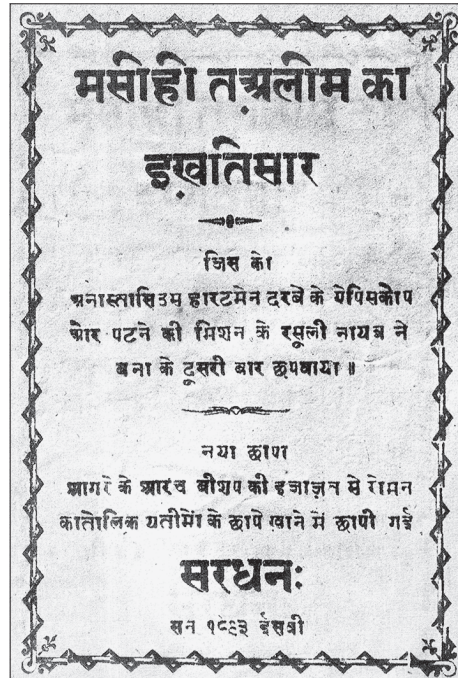
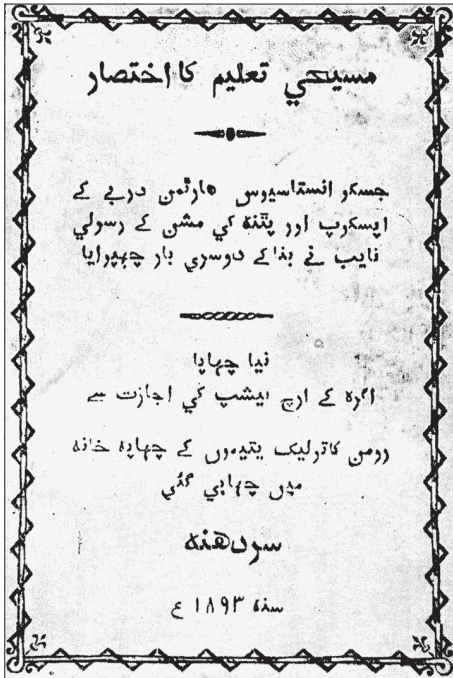
Hujus editionis intentio haud fuit, commentarium in Novum Testamentum dare, sed dundaxat quosdam sacros textus adnotationibus illustrare, qui ab haereticeis in pravam sensum detorquebantur, aut qui contra illos veritatem catholicam clarius exhibent.

Datum Patnae 3 Septembris, 1864.

† A. HARTMANN, O. C.

*Episcopus Derbensis,
Missionis Patnae
Vicarius Apostolicus.*





Appendix-2A

Bishop Hartmann's
Catechism in Urdu,
Urdu script

Appendix-2B

Hartman's
Catechism book
in Hindustani
(Devnagari script)

Appendix-1A

Hartmann's
NT-Hamare Khudaw
and Yisu Masih

10 Hartmann's Spirituality

Prayer for Hartmann, was the natural breath of his spirit, the mainstay of his moral resistance. He led a fervent life, a life of rigour. He overworked himself, and never rested. He nearly lost one eye while compiling his Directory for the missions.

On his way to India, when he disembarked at Alexandria, he resolved, »This land has been sanctified by the presence of Jesus, Mary and Joseph and by the blood of countless martyrs. As long as I shall stay in Egypt, I will taste nothing but bread and water.«⁹⁹ In spite of the tropical climate, he was clothed in the heavy coarse habit of his Order. He slept on the deck, washed the plates. Later even as Bishop he often slept on the bare ground, to accustom himself for his apostolic labours.

Another aspect of his spirituality was his humility. He did not disdain to assist coolies in extricating a cart from the mud, to pass a rope over his shoulders and to tow his barque along with the boatmen. He was seen, sleeves tucked up, trowel in hand building an altar in a poor church.

When he was appointed Assistant to the Pontifical Throne, he wrote, »I am, as your Eminence is aware, entirely lacking in knowledge, prudence, fortitude and apostolic zeal. I am far from being endowed with those qualities that characterize a good Bishop.«¹⁰⁰ He was disposed to leave Bombay at a moment's notice. He suggested to his superiors to recall him to the monastery and to replace him with Fr. Ignatius Persico, his former secretary.

Hartmann did not run away from troubles and sufferings: rather he went forward to face them with the courage of a martyr. He was a man of enduring mental stamina with dignity and authority enhancing them with affability and gentleness. His moral courage equaled his physical endurance, but his spiritual strength surpassed them all. His whole life was a continual suffering, a »passion« endured with unparalleled courage and fortitude.¹⁰¹

In 1847, a 70-year old lady had made her will bequeathing to the Catholic mission of Patna one of her bungalows. Since the clerk, a Catholic, had changed it to his own advantage, a lawsuit followed: the unscrupulous man charged the Bishop of having exerted pressure on the lady and of having threatened to refuse her last Sacraments and ecclesiastical burial if she did not leave him the bungalow. The Bishop was convicted, pronounced guilty of fraud and simony, fined Rs.8000/for defamation and asked to pay all legal expenses. It turned nearly all the Catholics against him, but the High Court declared him innocent. God's justice pursued the accusers. They finally fell at his feet on Christmas day 1849 asking pardon, which was graciously granted.¹⁰²

Like a true son of St. Francis of Assisi, Hartmann was a great lover of »lady poverty«. Even after his elevation to the Episcopal dignity, he always remained a simple Capuchin and scrupulously observed his religious vows. In fact, he lived a very poor life and thus set a good example for his fellow workers in the mission field. On one occasion he took shelter in a hovel in order to lodge the poor orphans in his episcopal residence. Actually

99 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, Sanctity in India (FN 4), 255.

100 Ibid. 251.

101 Ibid. 247.

102 Ibid. 241.

when he died, he had nothing worth in his room except a few holy pictures and objects of devotion.¹⁰³ Hartmann considered voluntary poverty as one of the best means of achieving perfection. In private and public, he practiced it and exhorted everyone to do the same.¹⁰⁴

As far as possible he administered personally the temporal affairs of his mission. When death overtook him all of a sudden, the books and records were found to be in perfect order.¹⁰⁵ Once in Bombay he even sold his horse to settle an old debt. Through his parsimony and with the modest help received from Propaganda Fide, he was able to establish many schools and orphanages and build a number of churches and chapels.¹⁰⁶

11 Conclusion

In the history of the Church in India in modern times the commanding figure of Bishop Anastasius Hartmann stands out because of his heroic labours under the most trying circumstances, because of the influence he exercised for the development of the Church in Northern India and farther afield, because of his energetic defence of Catholic rights, and because of his personal holiness.¹⁰⁷

Though living in mid-19th century, he envisioned great collaboration and concord among ecclesiastical authorities and pastors. Hartmann suffered great harm due to the lack of unity and understanding. »As long as there have been bishops in India, he wrote, no one has suffered so many and such great calumnies as I have ... and the harm done to the Church is very great ... «¹⁰⁸ In his own way he tried to remove the national prejudices and jealousy that were existing among the Vicars Apostolic, mostly European, and bring about unity and concord among them.

Bishop Hartmann was a man of mighty vision, far ahead of his times.¹⁰⁹ He was never animated by parochialism; his heart went out to all Christian countries with the same missionary spirit. His outlook, his attitude was always universal, catholic. He fought might and main for the rights of the Catholic Church against the then British colonial Government which was far from sympathetic, nay even hostile to the community. Again, like a valiant defender of faith and intrepid crusader he spoke against the abuses of ›double jurisdiction‹ of the Padroado.¹¹⁰

The difficulties and conflicts he faced and the initiatives he took for the cause of souls and love for the Church would be enough to make him an outstanding figure in the annals of Catholic Missions.¹¹¹

Today, Bishop Hartmann is venerated as a »Servant of God«, a stage on the way to sainthood. Even after 150 years of his death, his indefatigable zeal and undaunted courage continue to inspire many missionaries. In the rich tapestry of the history of the Catholic Church in India, the life and work, the sufferings and sacrifices, the achievements and triumphs of the Servant of God, Bishop Hartmann, stand out. ♦

103 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 428.

104 JANN, *Monumenta Anastasiana* (FN 19), Vol. III, 850.

105 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 49.

106 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, *Sanctity in India* (FN 4), 254.

107 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 9.

108 Clementinus A. VLISSINGEN, OFM. Cap., *Letterae Circulares. De Missionali opera Ordinis nostri augenda*, in: *Analecta OFM. Cap.* 82 (1966) 212.

109 For another biography of Hartmann, see Anthony Mary GACHET, OFM. Cap., *The life of the Rt. Rev. Dr. A. Hartmann, O.C. Bishop of Derbe, Prelate Assistant to the Pontifical Throne, Vicar Apostolic of Patna, Calcutta 1868.*

110 VANNINI, Bishop Hartmann (FN 1), 7.

111 MAMPRA/PUTHENKALAM, *Sanctity in India* (FN 4), 252.