Walking, Mapping, Knowing:
Indianization and Survival in the Jesuit New Madura Mission (1837-1890)

Henria Aton
School of Religious Studies
McGill University, Montreal
August 2016

A thesis submitted to McGill University
in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts

Tables of Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines a lesser-known Jesuit mission in nineteenth-century South India, the New Madura Mission (NMM). While Catholic mission history in India has largely focused on the innovation of the Old Madura Mission (1606-1773), the NMM has been comparatively disregarded as unimportant despite its influence on Catholicism in the region. In particular, the mission was instrumental to the development of the fully Indian Jesuit order existing in Tamil Nadu today. Engaging with theories of mimesis and conversion, this thesis analyzes missionary writings to show how the Jesuits rewrote and reshaped Indian Christianity in response to their experience in South India. I argue that the beginning of the Catholic hierarchy's 'Indianization' was partly enabled by the development of new narratives, objectives, and sites for Catholicism in India, which came to a head at St. Joseph's College in Trichinopoly. In doing so, I emphasize the ways in which the Jesuits and their ideas were affected by the Tamil worlds in which they worked in order to suggest, following Eugene Irschick, that the missionaries themselves were subject to a process of conversion.

Résumé

Cette thèse s'intéresse à la Nouvelle Mission du Maduré (NMM) au XIXe siècle, une mission jésuite peu connue en Inde du Sud. Alors que l'histoire des missions catholiques en Inde a largement mis l'accent sur l'innovation de l'Ancienne Mission du Maduré (1606-1773), la NMM a été relativement omise malgré son influence sur le catholicisme dans la région. En particulier, cette mission contribua au développement d'un ordre jésuite entièrement Indien, qui par ailleurs existe toujours aujourd'hui au Tamil Nadu. En engageant des théories de mimétisme et conversion, cette thèse analyse les écrits de ces missionnaires afin de démontrer comment ils réécrivirent et reformèrent la chrétienté Indienne en réponse à leur expérience en Inde. Je soutiens que le début de l'« Indiennisation » de l'hiérarchie catholique fut partiellement permis par le développement de nouveaux récits, objectifs, et sites pour le catholicisme en Inde, vu surtout à travers le Collège de Saint-Joseph à Trichinopoly. Je souligne particulièrement la façon dont les jésuites et leurs idées furent influencés par le monde tamoul dans lequel ils travaillaient, afin de suggérer, après Eugene Irschick, que les missionnaires eux-mêmes ont été soumis à une conversion.

Notes on Transliteration

This thesis employs transliterated words from Tamil and Sanskrit. In general, Tamil transliterations follow the University of Madras Lexicon. Terms that are found in the English dictionary are kept in their commonly accepted form, e.g., Brahmin, Pariah, Sudra. Other caste names are referred to using diacritics.

Where appropriate, I have retained the primary sources' spelling of place names in order to avoid anachronisms and issues with maps. However, these spellings can be the source of some confusion and so, wherever possible, first mentions are accompanied by a modern transliteration in parentheses. If a place name is common, I retain the popular spelling, e.g. Madurai, Tanjavur, Tamil Nadu.

Missionary archives and all edited volumes of letters used in this thesis are in French. Unless stated otherwise, translations are my own.

Abbreviations

JAV	Archives Jésuites de la Province de France, Vanves
AMEP	Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris
LEEC1-LEEC2	*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle mission du Maduré*
LNNM	*Lettres des nouvelles missions du Maduré*
MEP	Missions Étrangères de Paris
NMM	New Madura Mission
OMM	Old Madura Mission

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due first and foremost to my supervisor, Professor Davesh Soneji, for his support throughout my MA, for spending precious moments listening and giving, and most of all for cultivating a warm and brilliant South Asia studies cohort at McGill.

Sincere thanks to Professor Andrea Marion Pinkney for offering invaluable feedback on this project at different stages, and for consistently giving me opportunities to share my work and to share in her own.

I was very lucky to spend the 2015-2016 academic year learning Tamil at the American Institute of Indian Studies in Madurai. I am so grateful to my teachers, Madam Soundra Kohila and Madam Vimala Rachel, for their patience and confidence in me.

I also want to extend my thanks to all the graduate students in the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill who showed by example what it means to be a great teacher. Thank you especially to Lisa Blake for watching over me throughout the past five years.

Infinite thanks to Marek Ahnee, for his contagious passion; to Stephanie Duclos-King, for being an incredible partner-in-crime at AIIS; to Praveen Vijayakumar, for believing in my abilities as a scholar; and to Geneviève Mercier-Dalphond, for being a role model.

Thank you to Mark Balmforth for his insightful editing eye and endless encouragement.

Finally, to the Aton and Kraus families, who have supported me since day one of my academic adventures—thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Introduction

On October 24, 1837, four French Jesuits arrived in Pondicherry, India after a prolonged and tedious journey from Toulouse, France. The moment was triumphant for Fathers Joseph Bertrand, Louis Garnier, Alexandre Martin, and Louis du Ranquet, who arrived in South India as bearers of a great legacy. They came to reclaim the Madura mission that had belonged to their Jesuit forebears from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, prior to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The four missionaries resolved to be "animated by the same spirit" as those who had come before, betraying if not a lack of awareness, then a strong identification with their predecessors (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 27 Feb. 1838 FMd150 JAV).[1] In reality, the Jesuits faced enormous obstacles to their goals in the first decades of the mission; struggles with health, competing religious orders, and political challenges characterized the instabilities of the New Madura Mission (NMM) from 1836-1890. In the NMM's archive, these challenges infuse the familiarity of Christianity with foreignness, marking how the mission would evolve into the twentieth century.[2]

This thesis began as an attempt to explain the apparent contradiction between the difficulties of the Jesuits in 1837 and the current success of the Society of Jesus in South India. Today, Jesuits work in fifteen Catholic provinces in India, including the Madurai Province. Indian Jesuits run many elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges open

[1] Letters marked FMd150 JAV come from the Jesuit archive in Vanves, France, where the New Madurai Mission's archive is held. The letters are separated in folders by years, but fall under the same classification. The two volumes entitled *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle mission du Maduré* (LEEC) and the *Lettres des nouvelles missions du Maduré* (LNMM) were published by Father Joseph Bertrand. For the sake of brevity, letters from these volumes are designated by volume and by number of letter, ex. LEEC1 n.1 is equivalent to volume one, letter one. Specific dates are provided as they are available in the materials.

[2] Ines Županov, writing on Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notes that these tensions "remained a source of creativity and frustration for the members of the Society of Jesus. Two solutions, mutually contradictory and yet inseparably conjugated in all Jesuit labours of their own *corps* and widening the *corps* of Catholicism, crystallized in the course of the Jesuit search for the optimal relation between the self and the other." See *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23.

to all castes and religions. Perhaps most striking is renowned historian of Indian Christianity R.E. Frykenberg's assessment that India has produced 3,851 Jesuits, 495 from Madurai alone (2008, 357). It is clear that a big part of the Jesuits' influence in South India is related to the order's ability to train so many of their own in India. Frykenberg writes:

> No institution in Catholic India exemplified this amazing expansion as much as the Jesuit order. This expansion, over the century and two-thirds since its return to India in 1838, was to be so extremely rapid that they soon became, in many ways, the predominant Catholic presence throughout the continent…. Without this instrument it is doubtful that Catholics could have become not only the largest Christian community in India, but perhaps also a community brimming with highly dedicated and highly trained Indian priests and scholars (ibid).

Yet in 1985, Stephen Neill asserted that the NMM was "depressingly European," lacking vision or "grand imagination," and run "in the Roman fashion, without departure or experiment at any point" (306). To some extent, Neill is right. The nineteenth-century Jesuits were not involved in what generally interests scholars, such as translation projects and sweeping conversion movements. Instead, they were primarily preoccupied with maintaining Christian communities and reviving the mission in an environment deemed hostile.[3] How, then, did the Madura mission contribute to the transformed landscape of the Indian Catholic hierarchy in the twentieth century? To begin answering this question, I trace the history of Christian missions in India.

Connected Histories

[3] In his dissertation, Alphonse Manickam notes that the Jesuits of the NMM were hindered for many years in their lofty conversion and education goals due to the many problems they faced, many of which will be detailed in chapters one and two of this thesis. See "Les Jésuites et l'intouchabilité au Tamil Nadu: Études historiques et anthropologiques sur des approches longtemps différées," PhD diss. (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2001), 252. Manuel Xavier Miranda, author of a dissertation on the NMM, similarly writes that the new Jesuits were very much limited by their interactions with other missionaries and the British colonial government, which had been established in India during the absence of the Society of Jesus. See "The Jesuit Experience in Tamilnadu: the New Madura Mission, 1838-1938," PhD Diss. (University of Madras, 1982), 96.

Perhaps like all movements and peoples in nineteenth-century India, the NMM was an instantiation of the "connected histories" of Europe and South Asia.[4] Most significantly, the presence of the new Jesuits in Madura marked an almost two thousand-year-old history for Christianity in India that begun with the St. Thomas (or Syrian) Christians in Kerala, whose tradition is said to have come from the preaching of Thomas the Apostle in India. Although the historicity of these origins is difficult to confirm or invalidate, St. Thomas Christian communities remain "the earliest and strongest expressions of indigenous Christianity to be found anywhere in the continent" (Fykenberg 2008, 115).[5]

The next significant instantiation of Christianity in India occurred from the sixteenth century onwards, when Portuguese explorers arrived in Goa and Portugal became a colonial power in South Asia. This event is particularly important for this thesis, as the missionaries that accompanied the Portuguese operated under the *padroado real*, an agreement between the Pope and the Portuguese monarchy that enabled the latter to fill ecclesiastical positions throughout its empire (ibid., 127). As we will see in chapter one, *padroado* authority became a source of great conflict for Jesuits in the nineteenth century.

Sixteenth-century Goa also marked the beginnings of the Society of Jesus in India. Francis Xavier was perhaps the most famous Jesuit to work in the region; among his contributions to Christianity in India, we can include the conversion and organization of churches for *parava* Christians on the Coromandel Coast, and the College of St. Paul in

[4] The term "connected histories" is borrowed from Sanjay Subrahmanyam, whose 1997 article on the subject was later expounded into several major publications, including *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails & Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2011).

[5] For more on the question of historicizing the presence of Thomas the Apostle in India, see Robert E. Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). The author rightly affirms that "Canonical belief in the significant of the arrival and survival of Thomas Christians from ancient times onwards is extremely important for understanding the entire history of Christianity in India" (ibid., 114). Indeed, this tradition has allowed Christian Indians to argue that Christianity is not a foreign implant, a particularly important point when facing the accusations of nationalists in the nineteenth, twentieth, and now twenty-first centuries.

Goa. By the time of his death in 1552, Xavier and his companions had helped build the foundations for the Catholic Church in India.[6] According to most scholarship, the history of Roman Catholicism in India after Xavier remained largely in the hands of Jesuits.[7] Xavier's work created the need for a mission in the South, and so began the Old Madura Mission (OMM).

The OMM, precursor to the NMM, was colored by the powerful personalities of men such as Roberto de Nobili (1577-1657), John de Britto (1647-1693), and Constanzo Beschi (1680-1747). The OMM was characterized by its experiments, ranging from conversion to translations. It is most famous, however, for the Malabar Rites controversy, which pitted Nobili's conversion approach of *accommodatio* ('accommodation')—the adoption of Indian/Hindu customs that he deemed cultural rather than religious—against increasingly critical voices in Europe.[8] Accusations of Jesuits making "undue accommodation to 'heathen' belief and practice" were timely, the last straw against an already derided Society in Europe (Bayly 1989, 389; Županov 1999, 34).[9] The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV, though not entirely undisputed, was foreseeable.[10]

---

[6] In doing so, Xavier created a strained relationship between the Society of Jesus and the St. Thomas Christians. As the name suggests, Syrian Christians were linked to Eastern Orthodox Christianity, a connection that the Jesuits sought to eradicate by forcing them to "acknowledge the Pope as their sole source of spiritual authority". See Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 266.

[7] Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov's recent work presents a refreshing view of multiple knowledge productions in India, including that of Franciscans. See *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Stephen Neill also details the work of Franciscans, Dominicans, and secular clergy starting in the sixteenth century. See *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[8] For more on the Malabar rites controversy, see William Bangert, SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972); Bayly (1989); Županov (1999).

[9] It is important to read the history of the Society of Jesus in India alongside developments in France. As trouble stirred in India, the Society already faced considerable resistance in Europe, where they had been fighting against accusations of betraying European monarchies since the order's foundation in 1540. See Bangert (1972, 329); Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 121-124; Jean Lacouture, *Jésuites: une multibiographie. 2. Les Revenants* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1991), 261; Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). Bangert (1991) in particular details the many factors involved in the suppression,

Before the collapse of the Jesuit order, Protestant missionaries had begun to establish their own foreign missions in India. The first and perhaps foremost of these was the Danish-Halle mission established in 1706 in Tranquebar (*taraṅkambāṭi)* by Barthlomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau.[11] The mission saw the beginnings of an Indian Protestant community, and Ziegenbalg produced some of the first translations of the Bible into Tamil—a project that was met with great distaste by Beschi, who represented a very different, Sanskritic and elitist missionary approach to Indian culture (Hudson 2000, 44).[12]

By 1770, Ziegenbalg's successors, most notably C.F. Schwartz, had spread the Pietist mission infrastructure across South India. Frykenberg notes that "none surpassed" Schwartz in his accomplishments. The German missionary was a trusted emissary of the British East India Company in their dealings with Haidar 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Mysore, as

---

including the rise of the *philosophes*, lack of central authority in France, and the resurgence of the Janseists. In part, Bangert argues, the Jesuits were rejected for their emphasis on order, obedience, and unmovable loyalty to the Pope, which was seen as political ambition. In France alone, the suppression of the Society was preceded by the burning of Jesuit scholarship and banning Jesuits from teaching positions (ibid., 375-377).

[10] With the disappearance of the Society of Jesus in India, many other orders claimed the territory of the OMM. Stephen Neill discusses these claims, which came from Capuchins, the Portuguese Bishop of Mylapore, and the *Missions étrangères de Paris* (MEP) alike. The French MEP was given precedence, and remaining Jesuits in India were given the choice of returning to Europe or merging with another order (Neill 1985, 129).

[11] Ziegenbalg's presence was not random; the Danish East India Company had a trading fort in Tranquebar based on an agreement with the king of Tanjavur. Conflict arose when Ziegenbalg and Plütschau arrived, as the Danish monarch Frederick IV, who had sent the German missionaries to spread Christianity in foreign lands, had not consulted the Danish Company regarding their arrival. See D. Dennis Hudson, *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000). It is also important to note, however, that the German missionaries were not the first Protestants in India, as several Dutch Company chaplains, most famously Phillipus Baldaeus, had previously preached to Indians in the seventeenth century (ibid., 5).

[12] Ziegenbalg's writing also included his *Genealogy of the South Indian Gods* and the *Bibliotheca Malabaria*, a vast catalogue of Tamil works, which have been hailed as examples of his interest in Tamil society and vernacularization. Ziegenbalg's life and work in South India are especially interesting as a case study for how German Pietism and Tamil Saivism were entwined linguistically, culturally, and intellectually in the construction of a new, moral Indian Christianity. See Hudson (2000); Will Sweetman, "The Prehistory of Orientalism: Colonialism and the Textual Basis for Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg's Account of Hinduism," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, n.2 (2004): 12-38; Daniel Jeyaraj, "Mission Reports from South India and Their Impact on the Western Mind: The Tranquebar Mission of the Eighteenth Century," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005).

well as the "*raja-guru*" of Serfoji II, King of Tanjavur (*tañcāvūr*) (Frykenberg 2008, 157).[13] Schwartz also played an important role in the Tamil Protestant community as the mentor of Vedanayagam Sastriar (1774-1864), an evangelical Protestant *veḷḷālar* who studied with Serfoji and became the king's court-poet.[14]

Following Schwartz's death in 1801, a set of controversies sparked by new religious movements in Europe transformed Protestantism in South India. Anglican missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), whose beliefs differed quite notably from that of their German predecessors, took over the Danish Halle mission in Tranquebar. These "new missionaries"—among them C.T.E. Rhenius and L.P Haubroe—brought with them Enlightenment-style ideas on egalitarianism, which translated as a rejection of caste and rituals that Protestants like Sastriar considered central to their faith (Hudson 2000, 148).[15] These changes colored the development of Indian Protestant communities, who were unwillingly "'converted' overnight into Anglican Protestants" (Frykenberg 2008, 260).

[13] Schwartz's influence on Serfoji II is significant given the reputation that the king acquired as a highly educated and curious man who cultivated a cosmopolitan court characterized by a push for an "Indian colonial modernity," one that reflected European morality and systems of education. See Indira Viswanathan Peterson, "The Schools of Serjofi II of Tanjore: Education and Princely Modernity in Early Nineteenth-Century India," in *Transcolonial Modernities in South Asia*, ed. Michael Dodson and Brian Hatcher (London: Routledge, 2012), 37.

[14] Sastriar is recognized as a leader of the evangelical Protestant Tamil community. His approach to music was linked to his strong identification as both Protestant and Tamil, and his devotional poetry and hymns helped established a specifically Tamil Christian identity "that encompassed new ideas and discourses that were emerging in South Indian society," but also used specifically Tamil frames of reference to convey Christian evangelical messages. See Indira Viswanathan Peterson, "Between Print and Performance: The Tamil Christian Poems of Vedanayaka Satri and the Literary Cultures of Nineteenth-century South India," in *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 37.

[15] The controversy surrounding C.T.E Rhenius further illumines how the shift in missionary beliefs and authorities translated in India. Rhenius, a German Lutheran who had been sent to India by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), was considered too "outspoken, unconventional, nonconformist" by the new Anglicans of the SPG (Frykenberg 2008, 249). In other words, the charismatic Rhenius was involved in several activities unapproved by the new Anglicans. His Bible translations into a vernacular Tamil were called "ungrammatical in meaning, unsystimiatical [sic], but also irreligious" by Vedanayagam Sastriar (quoted in Hudson 2000, 146). In addition, Rhenius pushed to train and ordain Indians into religious positions at a time when European missionary societies wished to make the process of ordination more restricted (Frykenberg 2008, 251). Frykengerg notes that Rhenius' eventual dismissal was seen by Tamil Evangelical congregations like Sastriar's as "ecclesiastical or missionary 'imperialism' (or 'colonialism')" (ibid., 256). This association of the new missionaries' beliefs with colonialism is especially relevant to the future developments of the NMM.

The growing presence of missionaries in India was also concurrent with the East India Company's (EIC) Charter Renewal Act of 1813 which opened the EIC's territory to missionary activity. The nineteenth century saw a rise in both British and American missionary societies in India, including the Church Mission Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ibid., 263).[16] When Thomas Macaulay delivered his "Minute on Education" in 1835, charting an Anglicized course for colonial education in India, Protestant missionaries of all different backgrounds became critical conduits of empire and colonial power.

The history of the NMM in India begins only two years after Macaulay's Minute. The presence of the new Jesuits signified changes within the Catholic Church in Europe, notably the dispute between the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* and the *padroado* regarding ecclesiastical authority in India. The creation of the Propaganda reflected Pope Gregory XV's belief that Portugal should no longer have control over the expansion of Catholicism in such an important territory (Frykenberg 2008, 346). The resulting "Great Schism" between dissenting Portuguese (Goanese) priests—referred to as "schismatics" by the French Jesuits—and non-Portuguese Catholic priests would cause immense difficulty for both sides.[17] Known for their loyalty to the Pope, the new Jesuits were important players in the Catholic Church's search for missionaries "who would be directly answerable to Rome" (ibid., 347). The rest of this thesis will deal with the years directly after the Jesuits' arrival in

[16] By opening India to mission, the British government also heralded an age in which missionary lineages could be created in India, such as the famous Scudder family of medical missionaries. For more on the history of the Scudder family, the Reformed Church, and the interaction of missionaries and colonialism, see Eugene P. Heideman, *From Mission to Church: the Reformed Church in America Mission to India* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001).

[17] Although this thesis focuses on the story of Jesuits in the nineteenth century, prior to the Society of Jesus' restoration, many other Catholics such as Capuchin, MEP, or Oratory of Saint Philip Neri priests were dealing with the inner rupture caused by the schism in India (Frykenberg 2008, 348). The difficulties were made especially bad by the distance between Europe and India, which made it easy to ignore Papal briefs and bulls written far from actual missionary territories.

Pondicherry, and map their first steps toward the "consolidation of Catholic Christianity in India" (ibid., 350).

Literature Review

Any history of Christian missions in South Asia begins with the encompassing works of Stephen Neill (1984; 1985) and R.E. Frykenberg (2008). These scholars provide detailed chronological accounts of Christianity in India starting from the St. Thomas Christians; Neill ends with the second half of the nineteenth century, while Frykenberg's work extends to a century later. Both of these works are forced to foreground historical comprehensiveness in lieu of analysis, but they remain essential overviews.[18] A historical overview combined with a vivid argument is found in Susan Bayly's 1989 work on Christianity and Islam in South India.

More specialized sources for the study of Christian missions can generally be divided between a focus on Protestantism or Catholicism, often centering on themes like gender and caste. Currently, scholarship on Protestant mission is predominant. Daniel Jeyaraj and D. Dennis Hudson are the primary scholars working on the Pietists and early Protestant communities in South India. Jeyaraj has written both a dissertation and a monograph on Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and the Danish Halle Mission (2000; 2006). D. Dennis Hudson's *Protestant Origins in India* similarly focuses on Ziegenbalg, Sastriar, and the "new missionaries" (2000). Will Sweetman has also produced several articles and book

[18] Frykenberg writes that his book was written "to adequately address and cover the enormous number and complexity of Christian communities as these gave grown and proliferated during nearly 2,000 years…" (2008, 460). Accordingly, the author states that his history does not emphasize analysis but bases itself on "accepting the usefulness of many sources at face value, with subjecting them to the technologies of higher criticism" (ibid.).

chapters on Ziegenbalg's encounter with Hinduism (2004; 2006).[19] Important scholarship on Tamil Protestants, missionaries, and language is further found in Indira Viswanathan Peterson's work on the influence of the Pietists on Vedanayagam Sastriar and Serfoji II (2004; 2012).

Scholarship on British missions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has similarly focused on how missionaries influenced processes of identity formation in South India. Both Nicholas Dirks (2001) and Geoffrey Oddie (2006) detail how British Protestant missionaries participated in constructing 'Hinduism'.[20] Rupa Viswanath's book on the construction of a "Pariah problem" in part analyzes how Christian Dalits (then called Pariahs) used missionaries to gain access to prestige and status in Tamil Nadu (2014).[21] Richard Fox Young's edited volume entitled *India and the Indianness of Christianity* (2009) includes several chapters on South India which shift the scholar's focus away from the missionary point of view and towards that of Indian Christians.[22] One of the most important works on gender and Protestant missions is Eliza Kent's *Converting Women* (2004), which centers on women on both sides of the conversion, missionary and convert.

Scholarship on Catholic missions in South India has seen important developments in the twenty-first century. The most notable prior studies were written by Henriette Bugge

[19] See Sweetman (2004), and "Heathenism, Idolatry and Rational Monotheism among the Hindus: Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg's *Akkiyyanam* (1713) and Other Works Addressed to Hindus," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India* (3 vols.), ed. Andreas Gross et al. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006).
[20] See also Geoffrey A. Oddie, "Missionaries as Social Commentators: the Indian Case," in *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, ed. R. Bickers and R. Seton, 197-210 (Richmond. Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996). Another important work around missionary representations of Indian society is Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[21] Another recent work on Dalits and Christianity is Chad Bauman, *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008). Bauman's focus on *Satnami* Christians in Chhattisgarh is outside the regional scope of the review, but his study still stands as an example for where scholarship on Christianity and caste is headed.
[22] See Richard Fox Young, ed., *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009).

(1994) and Kenneth Ballhatchet (1999). Bugge wrote primarily about the MEP in South Arcot, while Ballhatchet focused on the connection between caste and Catholicism, including but not limited to the Jesuits of the Old and New Madurai missions. Alphonse Manickam's dissertation (2001) on Jesuits and untouchability in Tamil Nadu is also a widely cited source. The foundational texts for the study of Catholic missions in South India generally rest on Ines Županov's two major studies of Jesuits in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (1999; 2005). Županov's scholarship on the OMM brings new analytical vigor to the subject, while her book on how earlier Jesuits encountered and constructed Tamil worlds brings critical terms to the study of Indian mission, such as "tropicality," and "cultural cartography". David Mosse's work (2012) on caste and Catholicism in South India is also unique in its scope and balance of historiographical and ethnographic data.[23]

To my knowledge, the only in-depth study of the New Madura Mission is a PhD dissertation presented by Manuel Xavier Miranda in 1982 at the Madras Christian College.[24] Miranda's work provides important access to unpublished diaries and journals from the mission archive in South India. Aside from this work, the NMM is mentioned by Bugge, Neill, Bayly, Ballhatchet, Manickam, Frykenberg, and Mosse, though mostly in passing. Little to no emphasis is placed on the influence of the new Jesuits, though Manickam does reserve an entire section of his dissertation to how the NMM missionaries did (or rather, did not) respond to concerns about caste in South India (2001, 270-310).

[23] Anthropological studies of Christianity in South India that reflect on the links between Christian communities and mission abound. See for instance Selva J. Raj, "Transgressing Boundaries, Transcending Turner: The Pilgrimage Tradition at the Shrine of St. John de Britto," in *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines*, eds. Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, 85-111 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), and Kristin C. Bloomer, "Making Mary: Hinduism, Roman Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Tamil Nadu, South India," PhD diss. (University of Chicago: Faculty of the Divinity School, 2008).

[24] Father M. Anbarasu Maria Raj, S.J. of the Arul Anandar Jesuit college in Madurai informed me that he has recently completed a dissertation on the NMM. However, this work is not yet accessible to the public and I have not had a chance to read it.

Questions of Theory

This thesis seeks to direct attention to the beginnings of the NMM, where decisions concerning caste and the Indian clergy were shaped; I argue that it is possible and necessary to link these decisions in part to the Jesuits' physical and intellectual encounters with South India. Influenced by the challenges of moving throughout the mission and establishing stable communities, the missionaries developed many strategies for the survival of their Catholic project—one of which was the development of an Indian Jesuit order.

This argument stems partly from the work of Eugene Irschick on Danish missionaries in eighteenth-century Tranquebar. Irschick claims that these missionaries underwent a particular type of conversion in the form of a "coherent and mutual dependence […] critical for the continuance of Tamil society" (2003, 256).[25] For Irschick, this conversion process occurred through the "mutual invocation by the missionary and the local individuals of certain ways of thinking that were implicit in the local Tamil world" (ibid., 254). His analysis is grounded in what anthropologist Michael Taussig has elsewhere called "the placeness of place" (2009, 205). Irschick's definition of conversion is especially helpful for scholars of missionaries because it establishes how powerful alterity can be in the context of identity building. By borrowing Dipesh Chakrabarty's notion of the "more *affective* narratives of human belonging," the author allows his work to account for the unavoidable multiple conversions of the Danish missionaries (Chakrabarty quoted in Irschick 2003, 254).[26] In other words, "conversion is a process of

[25] Irschick's article on Tarangambadi and the Danish missionaries is grounded in the particular time and location about which he writes, specifically the popularity of the *siddhar* movement that informed how the missionaries viewed health However, Irschick's greater project was, in his own words, to expand scholarly understandings of conversion to include the ways in which "conversion made the thinking of the locals and the missionary into a homogenous entity, where the missionary discovered in the local terms and thinking about health a fulfillment of his own religious conversion goals" (2003, 254).

[26] Chakrabarty argues that these narratives belong to a hermeneutic thought tradition that "finds thought intimately tied to places and to particular forms of life," rather than abstract ideas of capitalism and labor. See *Provincializing*

examining one's life and physical body and changing it *for both the missionary and the target of conversion*" (ibid., emphasis mine). This thesis is particularly interested in these elements of the missionary 'conversion,' mainly because my sources are limited to missionary letters and documents from the mission's archive.[27] Recognizing the problematic nature of this archive, I operate with the awareness that Jesuit letters were specifically coded and "recast as part of a larger European epistemological, literary or aesthetic scheme" (Županov 1999, 33).[28] My interest lies in the overlap and differences between missionary obligations and other concerns in these sources.

What stands out most prominently from the NMM's archive is the Jesuits' constant struggle with the gradual process of their own conversion. The missionaries grappled with how to establish their mission and bridge differences between themselves and Indian Christian communities, all while maintaining a safe distance. Much has been written about the inherently contradictory lives of missionaries in South Asia, the most fundamental of which has been Homi Bhabha's ideas on colonial mimicry. For Bhabha, mimicry—often found in the form of writing—is nothing less than a colonial strategy based on "a desire for a reformed, recognizable

---

Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 18. This notion of the particular is useful here, for Jesuit missionaries interacted with Tamil spaces characterized by groups and movements particular to South India and/or South Asia. Xavier and Županov suggest that "the encounter between the Jesuits and the St Thomas Christians in the second part of the sixteenth century was for both sides a significant, if somewhat traumatic, opening to different cultural beliefs and routines. An important and understudied outcome of this encounter, documented on the Jesuit side, was the possibility of accepting religious plurality, at least within Christianity," resulting in the "the mirror of otherness [being] turned backwards"—a beautiful metaphor for mimesis (Xavier and Županov 2015, 151).

[27] While the theoretical context established above is useful, I remain grounded in E. Valentine Daniel's observation that, "…theory, any theory, is a way of understanding reality and not a collection of observations about reality" (1996, 6).

[28] Županov interacts with Michel de Certeau's work on "how the power of texts reworks both the social space and the space of the texts" (1999, 33). Her work on the Old Madurai Mission focuses on the ways in which the Jesuits very carefully recast certain problems in order to fit them into this specific "schemes" demanded by Jesuit superiors and European audiences. Still, as Županov reminds us, these archives must still be read through the particularities of the situation in which they were written: "The source of the unstable and contested ethnographic descriptions and interpretations found in Nobili's, Fernandes's and many other missionary letters should not be attributed uniquely to their rhetorical failures or manipulations, but also to the vicissitudes of political, cultural, religious and economic circumstances in early seventeenth-century Tamil Nadu" (1999, 16).

Other, *as the subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*," essentially reducing the threat of alterity by controlling it (1991, 122, emphasis in the original). Bhabha's concept resonates with many of the themes of this thesis, particularly the process of 'writing' Indian Christianity detailed in chapter one.

To this, I add Taussig's work on mimesis and alterity, which helpfully combines Bhabha's ideas on colonialism and Irschick's conceptions of the body. The anthropologist holds that, while there is an inevitably "palpable, sensuous, connection between the very body of the perceiver and the perceived" in the colonial encounter, alterity is part and parcel of how such mimetic connections occur and are translated into institutional spaces (1999, 21).[29] He raises important questions—Who is the imitator and who is imitating? Which the copy and which is original?—that, in this context, highlight the ambivalence of missionary projects.

The first chapter of this thesis, 'Walking,' or what I refer to as *missionary touring*, traces the early movement of the Jesuits through their mission (1836-1845**)**. In 1838, Bertrand, Garnier, Martin, and Ranquet established a network of districts, villages, and churches throughout the Madura territory. As the Jesuits rode around the mission, their encounters with Indian Christians, schismatics, and British agents emerged in their letters as a sustained language of difficulty, punctuated by familiarity and relief. This chapter will trace these tandem lines of writing: suffering and oppression (their own and that of their Catholics), but eased by the intimacy of shared spaces. I ask, how do these discourses thrive despite the tension, and what does this mean for the mission's projects?

The second chapter, entitled 'Mapping,' focuses on the new Jesuits' responses to two

[29] Taussig develops his ideas on mimesis around a study of South American Cuna figurines representing Europeans. His work accordingly designates mimesis as existing in at least two ways: the ability to copy or imitate, and the "bodily involvement of the perceiver in the image," recognizing that the encounter between colonial and 'native' people is based on the contact of bodies, above-all (1993, 21; 80).

enduring epistemological issues. First, the missionaries were immediately faced with the need to develop a stance on *accommodatio*, Nobili's infamous strategy of conversion. The NMM Jesuits were inheritors of the OMM, but they also contended with new pressures in South India; focusing on these tensions, I show how the missionaries were forced to reframe their ideas on accommodation and redefine their mission. I then move to the issue of borders and the mission's instability. The question I pose here is, how are the socio-political limitations and boundaries of the mission reflected in the production of Jesuit knowledge on Tamil Catholics?

The third and final chapter, 'Knowing,' is a case study of the mission's St. Joseph's College (and associated novitiates) established in 1844 in Negapatam (*nāgapaṭṭinam*) and moved forty years later to Trichinopoly (*tiruccirāppaḷḷi*). I explore the history of Jesuit educational institutions in India and describe the Jesuits' objectives for the college. In line with the issues of alterity and rupture found in the previous chapters, I highlight two particular places in which the mission's stances evolved within the framework of education—all towards a new, reluctant willingness to include Indians in the Society of Jesus. This concluding chapter thus brings the threads of mimesis and alterity to their natural endpoint: the sustained training and ordaining of Indian Jesuits.

Chapter One

Walking through the Mission:
Missionary Touring and the Writing of an Indian Christianity

Upon arrival in Pondicherry, Fathers Bertrand, Garnier, Martin, and Ranquet were faced with a colossal task. Before establishing headquarters, building schools, before even mastering Tamil, the missionaries noted the urgency of touring the Madura territory in order to obtain "a fixed idea of our new position, of our Christians and their dispositions, of the field that God calls us to reclaim, and of the provinces we must conquer in His love," and to see and tell of the "curiosities of our new countries and the mores of its inhabitants" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 no.1).[30] Bertrand's statement foregrounds the main arguments of this chapter, encompassing the complexities of a mission which sought out familiarity with Christians even while it embedded their existence in difference.

Having spent four months cocooned in the comforting headquarters of the *Missions étrangères de Paris* (MEP) in Pondicherry with the hospitable Mr. Bonnand, Bishop of Drusipare, the Jesuits stepped into the Madura mission on February 27, 1838 (Jean 1894, 246). Their first act was to circumscribe the terrain they would be walking into four areas: Bertrand to Marava, Garnier to Trichinopoly, Ranquet to the interior of Tinnevelly (*tirunelvēli*) in Palamcottah (*pāḷaiyaṅkōṭṭai*), and Martin to Tuticorin (*tūttukkuṭi*) and down the Fishery (Coromandel) Coast (Bertrand to Fouillet, Nov. 1837 FMd150 JAV). The Jesuits' early letters can be read like maps of the mission. The missionaries wrote within and about the spaces through which they travelled, so that their letters are structured by each stop, each village or

[30] Like the OMM Jesuits, whose knowledge of the vernacular allowed their famed writings and experiments, the NMM missionaries believed in the importance of learning Tamil; most missionaries spent their first several months in India studying Tamil. See Auguste Jean, *Le Maduré: l'ancienne et la nouvelle mission*, 2 vols. (Bruges: Société de Saint-Augustin, 1894), 246. Yet even by January 1839, almost a year after his arrival in Pondicherry, Garnier reported: "I am not yet capable of giving instruction in Tamil; it is difficult, and I am so ridden with occupations that I am unable to study it as much as I would like" (Garnier to RP Provincial, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 no.3).

town.[31] Many of their letters are composed of town names and descriptions, and details on inhabitants and the state of churches. These reports betray a tension that is central to this thesis, related to the fact that the missionaries "were not only observers and commentators on Indian society, but were also (at least temporarily) part of the scene they so often attempted to describe" (Oddie 1996, 210).[32] While walking the mission provided the Jesuits with knowledge and thus authority, the act of touring also mapped their own physical alterity.

This chapter reads missionary touring as an important method for the scholar as well as the Jesuits. As a theoretical tool, touring encompasses both the movement and stagnant elements of missionary ideas on the 'other' and the self. This chapter will focus on these two ideological strands that emerged from the NMM's cartography. The first is the rhetoric of suffering and oppression articulated by the missionaries as they fought against difference. The second relates to the subversion of this difference through the mission's production of shared narratives with the Catholic communities into which they walked. By demonstrating how these ideas depended on one another to push the mission forward, I establish that missionary acts of cartography impacted the mission's development into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Landmarks of Difference: Mapping Alterity

[31] Renowned anthropologist Anne Salmond described knowledge as a landscape with "spatial existence," or one that uses spatial metaphors. See "Theoretical Landscapes: On Cross-Cultural Concepts of Knowledge," in *Semantic Anthropology*, ed. David Parkin, 65-87 (London: Academic Press, 1982). Similarly, Nicholas Dirks has noted that the conquest of territories occurs through knowledge just as much as military intervention. See *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Ines G. Županov linked these assertions with the "Jesuit esteem for natural faculties, reasoning, and personal experience," which allowed them to use empiricism to turn the foreign into data to be "surveyed, enumerated, described, explained, catalogued" (1999, 22). In this sense, touring was not only a necessity for the new missionaries, but an instrument for grasping the mission and its composite parts.

[32] Missionary itineration is described by Geoffrey Oddie in his work on social commentary in missionary writing as "weeks-long tours" in which missionaries based in centers visited sub-stations in villages to gather information, and subsequently described their encounters (1996, 198). I do not use this definition simply because it does not quite encompass the rootlessness of the early NMM missionaries who did not yet have a center to return to.

Writing on the NMM missionaries in 1894, fellow Jesuit Auguste Jean wrote that the men had "no experience of the climate, none of the character and habits of the peoples they came to evangelize; they barely stammer a few words of their language" (247). Indeed, when Bertrand, Garnier, Martin, and Ranquet set out upon their respective paths, they reported these very problems back to their superiors in Europe. The cartography of the mission is portrayed throughout their writings as a constant battle with the climate, geography, actors, and foreign sites of Tamil Christianity. These challenges marred the Jesuits' orientalist-influenced notions of civilizing, intellectualizing, and assimilating Catholic Indians into receptacles of French ideals (Mehta 2002, 17).[33] In this section, I explore several ways in which the Jesuits mapped their experiences through the othering lenses of the tropics, 'paganism,' and political plots. Focusing on these encounters, I trace a 'cartography of alterity' riddled with landmarks of difference and measured primarily by a sense of suspended animation.

The Tropics/Tropicality

A large part of analyzing the Jesuits' self-construction depends on recognizing the alterity of touring. What part did the somatic play on the language and methods of mission? Like Taussig who speaks of "an intimacy of landscape and body" existing in movement and routine, I see the corporeality of missionary touring as part and parcel of cultural translation (2004, 205).[34]

[33] France's loss in the Seven Years' War (1754-1763) was a heavy blow, and Neill writes that, "Though the French continued their intrigues well into the nineteenth century, there was never any serious possibility of their being able to supplant the British" (1985, 14). However, though French political and trade aspirations were dashed, the ideals that came out of the French Revolution, encapsulated in the phrase "Liberté, égalité, fraternité," could still be transposed to India (Miranda 1989, 72). As Christopher Hodson and Brett Rushforth have shown, France's seventeenth-century Atlantic empire networks were much more important to the metropolis then has scholars have written. Thus while France may have lost its imperial influence early on, the intellectual legacy of empire in India cannot easily be overlooked. See "Absolutely Atlantic: Colonialism and the Early Modern French State in Recent Historiography," *History Compass* 8, no.1 (2010): 101-117.

[34] I borrow Županov's definition of cultural translation as being, rather than "a perfect transfusion of two parts," an "ongoing process" (2005, 7). Županov, in conversation with Homi Bhabha's work, states that "translation is replete with desire for the other and thus feeds on and, in the same move, annihilates cognitive and affective discrepancies" (ibid.). This understanding of what informs cultural translation frames this chapter's argument on the tensions between discourses of alterity and of familiarity ripe in the Jesuits' letters.

Structuring my thoughts is also an engagement with Županov's concept of "tropicality," which refers to the spaces, both geographical and metaphorical, in which the early Jesuits encountered their work (2011, 8). Tropicality consists of both an emphasis on climate, a pervasive theme in Jesuit writing, and the tropicalization of missionary spheres of knowledge, such as education, through prolonged engagement with the Indian context of Christianity.

The NMM archive reads like many other missionary repositories of knowledge. Descriptions of survival and death pervade its documents, attesting that touring was an arduous task. Several issues relating to the tropicality of South India were especially common. For one, the missionaries reported the difficulty of finding healthy, tame horses, and they deplored the discomforts of traveling by palanquin or, far worse, by bullock cart (Relation, LEEC2 no.70).[35] Even with a horse, the landscape was treacherous and often led missionaries astray on their routes. In a letter to his mother, Father Laroche described the challenge of visiting his 30,000 Christian constituents when travelling consisted of walking in "straight lines, more often by zigzags, due to ponds, paddy fields…and even turns curving in such a way that after six hours of walking, I find myself only a little further from where I left, thanks to faults in the roads and the uniform monotony of the plain" (Laroche to his mother, July 1851 LEEC2 n.59).[36]

Another common difficulty caused by the tropics was disease, especially cholera, which at times killed four or five missionaries at once (Wilmet to RP Provincial Jan. 1843, FMd150 JAV). In his history of the NMM, William Strickland reports that 21 out of the 64 Jesuits died in the first ten years of the mission (1852, 127). We also cannot overlook the difficulties associated

[35] Father Perrin, having broken his arm twice in horse related incidents, wrote humorously of the importance of horseback riding for missionary training (Perrin to RP Provincial, Feb. 1844 LEEC2 n.35). However, the difficulty of accessing Christian communities due to travel issues is a recurrent theme in the NMM archive that colored the missionaries' experience of India.

[36] Laroche arrived in the Madura Mission in April or May of 1847, alongside Fathers Meccati, Cauneille, and Strickland (Canoz to RP Provincial May 1847, LEEC2 n.48). He would, in the space of one year, bury four of his companions in India (Canoz to RP Provincial August 1854, LEEC2 n.63).

with isolation, caused by the lack of missionaries, the difficulties of traveling, and the uncertainty of letters reaching Europe by ship. Running from town to town, establishing their presence during festivals, and administering to small communities, the Jesuits sometimes did not see each other for several months and had to rely on Catholic families for survival (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Dec. 1838 FMd150 JAV).[37]

The missionaries encountered the NMM in these ways and more, investing their bodies in the mission project. The alterity is undisguised as the Jesuits described the many ways in which the landscape rejected their efforts and stood in their way. However, the discourses around tropicality also reveal a distinct strategy for mapping and controlling these points. Notably, as Županov tells us, "The association of the tropical climate with idolatry worked as an instant bridging method to distinguish and incorporate the foreign into the Catholic frame of references, and it served as the first possible explanation of idolatry" (2005, 8). In other words, writing about their physical limitations served several purposes of the mission. In part, it allowed the missionaries to alienate Indians by defining them through the unfamiliar climate; the heat and consequent difficulty of performing basic tasks for Europeans in South India was used as an explanation for laziness of body and mind (i.e., idolatry) amongst Indians.[38]

---

[37] David Arnold's work on missionaries and medicine is also an important source for reading into European suffering in India, especially related to the corporeal body. It also critically brings the writing of suffering into the frame of the state and colonial power, explaining how the missionaries' discourse became part of a larger project to subdue Indian bodies. See *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993). For a primary source describing the details of touring, see Henry Whitehead, *India: A Sketch of the Madura Mission* (London: Burns & Oates, 1898), 40. The new Jesuits themselves often humorously referred to themselves as "coureurs", or runners (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Nov. 1840 LEEC1 n.12; Laroche to his mother, July 1851 LEEC2 n.59). The term 'coureur des bois' was well known during the period of the NMM. It referred to French-Canadian men who travelled through the woods of New France in order to trade with Europeans. Ironically, they too had complex, often violent relationships with the indigenous populations living on the lands they used for their mission.

[38] Another fascinating take on heat and tropicality is found in Michael Taussig, *My Cocaine Museum* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004). Taussig notes other ways in which heat comes up as a trope in ethnographic narratives, always as a sign for alterity. For instance, heat can be "the languor that sets the stage for a dramatic plot….[or] the figure for an atmosphere in which natural history and political history become unified…" (Taussig 2004, 36).

However, tropicality also contributed to a narration of suffering tied to martyrdom. The strain of the South Indian climate enabled men such as Father Castanier (1839-1874), the superior of Marava district, to be described in the archive as "the most active, indomitable, and indefatigable Missionary of his time….by himself he was a legion," and "the Dragon of the South" (Anand 1988, 27; Rocaries 1960, 47)—all because of his prodigious achievements in spite of the lethal climate.[39] This narrative depended on and was supplemented by the act of writing about Indian Christians, who were also thought to suffer in part due to their inherent inferiority as children of the tropics. Shared suffering formed a tentative intimacy between missionary and Christian.

Pagans and Padogas

Another critical aspect of the missionaries' encounter with Indian Christianity was in the reported 'Indianness' of Christian and non-Christian Tamils alike.[40] In the NMM's letters, this observation was made largely through descriptions of 'heathenism' and its physical signposts in India, believers and sites of worship. In fashion with the writings of Europeans on the 'Orient,' Bertrand and his companions used predictable tropes to depict practices they did not understand, and that were deemed threatening to Christians or Christianity in India. However, they worked with a double-edged sword; essentializing statements and pernicious tropes would be applied by

---

[39] Father Castanier arrived in the NMM in February 1839 and immediately left his mark on the mission as superior of the southern district of the mission, encompassing Tuticorin and the Fishery Coast (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Sept. 1842 LEEC1 n.21).

[40] The 'Indianness' of Indian Christianity, a term used by Richard Fox Young to describe R.E. Frykenberg's intellectual engagement with the study of Christianity in South Asia, also refers to the ways in which Indian Christianity belongs to Indians, regardless of missionary influence. See "The Frykenberg *Vamsavali*: A South Asia Historian's Genealogy, Personal and Academic, with a Bibliography of His Works," in *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg,* ed. Richard Fox Young, 1-25 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009). Chandra Mallampalli similarly notes that doing history from below can reveal how Indians were central to political and judicial decisions made about caste, betraying "a dialogical relationship between Indian European knowledge". See "Caste, Catholicism, and History 'From Below,' 1863-1917" in *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg,* ed. Richard Fox Young, 144-157 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009, 156.

their readers to all Indians, Christians as well. Thus, the missionaries actively composed two layers of alterity: between themselves and non-Christian Indians, and between Indian Christians and other Indians, though the slippages, impossible to avoid, are found throughout this chapter. The unfamiliarity of paganism was used to dissociate touring missionaries as transient, superior observers, and to further portray non-Christians as ignorant. This distance however, alongside the missionaries' writings on physical difficulties, combined to create "perceptions of foreignness, and anxiety about its destabilizing impact on the self," reinforcing the discourse of the suffering missionary body (Dobie 2001, 9).[41]

One of the key ways in which the Jesuits wrote about non-Christian Tamils related to the audacity with which they ignored the European presence. For instance, Bertrand complained that the Indians he first met in Pondicherry had not progressed despite 300 years of European influence (Bertrand to a Jesuit, Jan. 1838 FMd150 JAV). Five years later, Father Wilmet wrote that Indians were "curious, importunate, and audacious," emphasizing the need to be strict with them if one wished to be taken seriously (Wilmet to RP Provincial Jan. 1843 FMd150, JAV). Difference, here, situated Indians beneath missionaries in patronizing ways, but it also acted as an obstacle to advancement where Indians refused to submit to European rules for civilization.

Shortly after their departure from Pondicherry, the missionaries began writing of their individual encounters with paganism. Though it is unsurprising they often chose to highlight pagan festivals and temples, these descriptions are part of an important rhetoric of suffering that emerged from the mission's reports. Festivals were especially popular because of their frequency and display. Note Father Bertrand's language describing the Combacounam (*kumbakōṇam*) festival on his way South from Goudelour (*kuṭalūr*) to Chidambaram (*citambaram*):

[41] For more on the idea of creating distance through writing, see Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

> We were met with each step by new testimony of the absolute empire that the devil exercised on these blind people: countless pagodas with hideous figures of their idols, sacred groves populated by armies of grotesque statues representing horses, cows, elephants, and other animals participating in honoring their deities; trees covered in rags that devotees had hooked to their thorny branches, etc. (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 no.1).

This description is then supplemented with an account of a Hindu temple in Chidambaram:

> Then, we had the curiosity to visit the pagoda. It surprised us in its proportions and grandiose air. Imagine a square compound surrounded by a wall made of stone measuring 20 feet in height and 800 feet in length on each side…. In the midst of this square, a vast basin 200 feet long, whose waters invite devotees who can descend from all sides using 20 steps made of beautiful large stones, forming a sort of amphitheater…. A truly imposing spectacle (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 n.1).

These descriptions must be read in light of expectations for missionary accounts sent to Europe. As l'Abbé Dubois of the MEP noted in 1825: "In tracing an accurate portrait of the turpitudes and extravagances of polytheism and idolatry, I believe that its baseness would highlight with immense benefit the beauties and perfections of Christianity" (xxvi).[42] Dubois' comment highlights how writing alterity worked to create a tighter bond between Christians by accentuating physical manifestations of 'otherness,' characterized by the "hideous" and "grotesque" but also the "imposing," which the reader is told to imagine.[43] In doing so, the Jesuits situated themselves in a space whose undesirable components could be subjugated and controlled by the act of writing.[44] The exteriority of non-Christian practices was a simple target

[42] Jean-Antoine Dubois was a Catholic missionary with the MEP who lived in India for many years before becoming the director of the MEP in Paris. He is perhaps most famous for his *Moeurs, institutions et ceremonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905). Alphonse Manickam claims that the Jesuit Madura mission was reinstated in South India partly due to Dubois' intervention on their behalf (2001, 247).

[43] The call for European readers to try to "imagine" the purposefully 'othering' scenes described by the Jesuits was also an intentional strategy. Xavier and Županov tell us that Goan Oratorians from Brahmin Catholic families in Ceylon tended to describe non-Christian religious practices in general terms, avoiding details that might "show 'too much' intimate knowledge about it, lest their orthodoxy be questioned" (2015, 189). Since the new Jesuits had arrived in India with the legacy of the Malabar rites controversy, it is not unlikely that they too used writing as a tool to emphasize alterity and reinforce their own propriety.

[44] Taussig argues that maps of nation (or in our case of mission), "allow everything interior to its holy outline to be cut into squares and rectangles, bought and sold… mix[ing] natural signs as icons of divinity, such as rivers, coasts, and mountains, together with white pegs or orange flags planted according to trigonometric calculations and the

that drew attention away from the suspended animation the missionaries found themselves in, one caused in large part by other Christian actors in South India.[45]

Read in this manner, the Jesuits' descriptions of paganism were an attempt to dislocate Tamil Christianity from the sites of Tamil religious traditions. The disrupted narrative of Catholic mission in South India, however, was tied to these points of alterity; the 85-year absence of the Society in India had upset the influence of the OMM. Were Christians to be defined by their past, present, or future? In a letter from Garnier to his family, we see that heathenism was used as a measure of this rupture: "Unfortunately, we bemoan defections in several far-away areas in which missionaries have not gone or not gone often enough. These neglected Christians lack scruples in giving their daughters to pagans….and generally behave like pagans" (Garnier to a Jesuit, March 1841 LNMM1). Two years later, Wilmet would write about the "superstitions" and "devilries" adopted by the three thousand Christians of Tuticorin (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Jan. 1843, FMd150 JAV). The battle against this Indianness, to which it was believed converts would invariably fall back if left to their own devices, was ceaseless. As we will see later in this thesis, an inevitable negotiation had to occur in order to propel the mission forward.

Political Machinations

The Jesuits' religious work was by nature also political, a reality which added to the language of oppression deployed by the missionaries. The second chapter of this thesis analyzes specific political situations; here, I focus on an overview of the forces at play to show that the

---

peace of war" (2004, 213). The power of maps is important to my analysis of the Jesuits' touring process, which was one method of mapping Christianity in South India.

[45] The term suspended animation here refers not only to the inability of the Jesuits to make significant conversion progress in the NMM, but also to their pronounced need to find connections with and replicate the perceived successes of the OMM, detailed in chapter two of this thesis. As Anita Callaway describes in relation to colonial visual cultures in Australia, suspended animation is the result of attempting to mimic only "one significant moment of a narrative" which, in this case, was not always still relevant or applicable. See *Visual Ephemera: Theatrical Art in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2000), 60.

Jesuits felt constantly rebuked in their missionary efforts in South India. Essentially, accounts of the Jesuits' liminal political status contributed to the portrait of missionary isolation painted throughout the NMM's archive.

Directly upon arrival in India, Father Bertrand learned that the East India Company had accused an OMM priest of not only "favoring idolatry," but also of seeking to bring back the "old empire" and fighting the spread of Christianity. The EIC's source noted that temples had much more revenue than churches, and that the Jesuits did not want Christianity to lift up slaves (Bertrand to Fouillet, 1837 FMd150 JAV).[46] In turn, Bertrand indicted the EIC for presiding over Hindu festivals, likely referring to the colonial government's policy of non-interference in Indian religious matters.[47] Further, the Jesuit accused the EIC of favoring Protestantism after officials prohibited *parava* Christians from fishing in certain areas where their work caused monetary loss to the British Company (Castanier to RP Provincial, 8 Nov. 1849 JAV FMd150).[48]

Even after the EIC was replaced by the British Raj, the Jesuits continued to report the disruption of NMM projects by colonial authorities. For example, Bertrand criticized Britain's standards of rule; he believed that the begrudging exterior respect accorded to Europeans was accompanied by interior contempt inadequate for missionaries, "who address souls, minds, and

[46] The trope of rich pagodas is rife throughout the NMM archive as well as the colonial British archive. In a letter to a fellow Jesuit, Bertrand describes a sixth-century incident in which a Muslim prince invades the province of Gujarat and destroys the Pattansomnah (*sōmanātha*) temple. Suspicious of the Brahmin priests' pleas to spare the deity, the prince smashed open the "idol" and found a treasure worth over 100 million francs. Bertrand comments that this was undoubtedly received through "blind devotion[,] whose generosity would have been worthy of a better cause" (Dec. 1840 LEEC1 n.24).

[47] Seven years later, Father Canoz also accused the government of Madras of profiting from idolatry at a rich temple in Palani (presumably the *pāḻani aruḷmiku šrī taṇṭayutapāṉi cuvāmi tirukōvil),* and of refusing to regulate *devadāsī*s (Canoz to Jesuits of the Vals, March 1844 LEEC2 n.36).

[48] Protestants are generally depicted as greedy in NMM sources. Bertrand recounts a moral purportedly told him by an Indian peasant: "The Protestant religion […] is a religion of *money*….we don't have much science, but in our simplicity we are not as dumb as people imagine….if [a merchant] wants to pay us for his merchandise, we say: do not accept it, it is certainly poisoned!" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Nov. 1840 LEEC1 n.12). This fable does double duty for Bertrand: it establishes the difference of the Indian Christian (who is simple-minded), the similarity (goodness, recognition of Catholicism as superior), while building a barrier around the Protestants by associating them with stupidity.

wills," and thus "require their sincere esteem and their love; without these, our efforts would be fruitless" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4). This reflection, representative of a common missionary trope on the divide between the body and the mind, also suggested that British rule did not transcend cultural boundaries, as was necessary for the civilizing project.[49] In response, the Jesuits developed ways of writing which recentered their own bodies and mission in a 'religious' sphere, outside worldly political concerns. While this strategy was based on a false dichotomy, it enabled the Jesuits to place both themselves and Indian Catholics in the depoliticized realm of moral good versus bad.

In addition, the Jesuits and the priests of the *Missions Etrangères de Paris* faced tensions from the 1838 onward. Upon their arrival, Bertrand, Garnier, Martin and Ranquet depended deeply on Mr. Méhay and Mr. Mousset of the MEP. The two secular priests (i.e., diocesan priests) are found throughout the archive accompanying the Jesuits on their tours, describing the complexities of caste politics in Tamil-speaking regions, even being poisoned alongside the Jesuits (Martin to Bertrand, July 1838 LEEC1 n.2; Perrin to RP Provincial, 14 Feb. 1844 LEEC2 n.35). Bertrand admitted upon his arrival in Pondicherry that he wanted to accept MEP missionaries into the Society of Jesus, in order to "establish intimate links between us, to form centers of actions for the glory of God…and to acquire precious experience on the nature of these missions, the dangers to fear" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 FMd150 JAV).

On their end, the MEP was led mainly by Bishop Bonnand, who was also the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry. While the Jesuits wrote with great enthusiasm of his visits to the Madura Mission, the MEP archive reveals the tensions that existed between the orders. Though

[49] In India, medical missionaries especially upheld the conversion model of healing the native body as the first step toward healing the soul. Missionary hospitals accordingly often involved prayers and Bible study classes (John Scudder quoted in Heideman 2011, 16). Esme Cleall notes that missionary discourse often equates native bodies with suffering and sin, distancing them from that of healthy Europeans (2012, 98). For many missionaries, the body was just an obstacle to the mind, and so the British control of bodies was insufficient.

sympathetic to their difficulties, Bonnand believed the Jesuits were not cautious enough in their movements, and that their misjudgments did more harm than good (Bonnand to Tesson, April 1840 Volume0999(1)10 AMEP). He wrote to Abbé Dubois, then the director of the MEP seminary in Paris, complaining of Bertrand's imprudent accusations that Goan priests were trying to poison him (Bonnand to Dubois, Oct. 1840 Volume0999(1)10 AMEP). Correspondence between Mr. Langlois, the superior of the MEP in France, and the Father General of the Jesuits also highlights the delicate nature of the overlapping territories of Pondicherry and the Madura Mission (Bonnand to Bertrand, Oct. 1841 Volume 0999(1) 10 AMEP; Langlois to the General of the Jesuits, Feb. 1842 Volume1000 AMEP). These letters remind us that even relations between religious orders belonged to a world of politics.

Finally and most consistently, the NMM Jesuits were fixated on the all-encompassing issue of the schismatics. In 1839, Bertrand summarized the Goan issue as being threefold. First, the schismatics tirelessly unraveled Catholicism in South India through their dishonesty and refusal to act as exemplars of the Christian spirit; second, the British government condemnably refused to support the Jesuits' struggle for authentication; and third, perhaps most saliently, Indian Christians proved incapable of telling right from wrong and truth from falsehood (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 n.1). Significantly, each of these accusations points to the dominating feeling of suspended animation that plagued the missionaries.[50]

The Jesuits accused the schismatics of taking advantage Catholic communities, using their hold over beloved OMM churches to obtain money from tax-paying Christians, and refusing to carry out the duties required of a priest (Garnier to a Jesuit, Nov. 1839 LEEC1 n.6;

[50] The omnipresence of the Goanese schism in later Jesuit monographs and histories further points to a thematic inertia in Jesuit history. See William Strickland, *The Jesuit in India* (London: Burns & Lambert, 1852); Louis Saint-Cyr, *Les nouveaux Jésuites français dans l'Inde, ou vie du R.P. Perrin* (Paris: Laroche, 1865); Jean (1894); John Castets, *The Madura Mission* (Trichinopoly: St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1924); Sebastian Anand, *Recall, Renew, Respond: 150 Years of Jesuit Presence in Madurai Mission (1839-1939)* (Dindigul, 1988).

Wilmet to RP Provincial, Feb. 1846 LEEC2 n.43).[51] They also deplored the behavior of the Goans, whom they accused of drinking (in churches) and stealing (from churches). These actions purportedly made Indians, who were thought to ignore theological differences between denominations of European missionaries, despise priests in general (Miranda 1989, 85).[52] This conduct was also linked by the Jesuits with the 'relapsing' of Christians into paganism, who might be offered toddy or betel by schismatic priests. In order to avoid evaluating Goan methods, emphasis should rather be placed on the brunt of this complaint: that Portuguese priests refused to surrender their holdings, placing their own bodies between the Jesuits and Indian Christians.

Beyond the sensationalizing that made such accounts entertaining material for contemporary audiences, they also give a sense of how difference was interiorized and deployed by the Jesuits in their writings. The true problem, according to Garnier, was that all these machinations "forced [the Jesuits] to adapt too much in order to succeed in making true Christians" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4). The schismatics were considered a "poorly executed ideogram" of what true Catholic missionaries—Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, the old and new Madura missionaries—sought to be (Taussig 1993, 17). The missionaries were thus not merely preoccupied by political intrigues in their own right, but also

[51] Analyzing such statements in this way enables me to recognize that the Jesuits (and their editors) likely conflated incidents in order to convey particular points; that is, the authors viewed incidents as general abstractions rather than what Taussig calls "image-ful particularities" (2004, 16). These instantiations are abstract replications that "acquire the power of the represented" (ibid.). Since this section establishes an idea more so than a historical particularity, I believe it is useful to make this distinction.

[52] On the idea that distinctions between missionaries and denominations were not conceptualized in the same way in India and Europe, Richard Fox Young writes: "For the vast majority [of the unconverted], it mattered little that missionaries came from different regions of the European world or that their social origin, education, and understanding of non-Western religions differed enormously. What mattered more was that, with very few exceptions, missionaries envisioned for India, always outlandishly and often outrageously*, the possibility of a new identity grounded in a different reality*…. In this view, missionaries were simply more alike than unalike, and their Christianity was of one piece despite clearly observable differences between Protestant and Catholic practices." See "Some Hindu Perspectives on Christian Missionaries in the Indic World of the Mid Nineteenth Century," in *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, ed. Judith M. Brown and Robert F. Frykenberg, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 39, emphasis in the original.

by the nature of their shared identity with the schismatics, and the enforced alterity of this connection. In a sense, touring was meant to suture a sense of wholeness into the Madura mission. By outlining the ways in which the mission and its Catholic constituents suffered from the fragmentation caused by physical and political problems, the Jesuits placed the impetus for success onto their own bodies.

Touring as Negotiation

While alterity had its own epistemological effects, touring was also a conscious act of coming to 'know' the mission. That is, the Jesuits could write about this foreign landscape as they experienced it "in relation to their primary concern with conversion" (Dirks 2001, 24). How else were they to justify the expensive and static NMM than by showing its potential for spreading Christianity? The missionaries' encounters with alterity made it all the more significant to establish the importance of their presence in South India. In this section, I explore the Jesuits' method of writing Indian Christianity into being. I argue that by inscribing their experiences with Christian communities into shared spaces and stories, the Jesuits began bridging differences in ways central to the 'indigenization' of the Society in India.

We have seen that the Jesuit project of cultural translation was based partly on measuring the difference between the European ideal of interiority and orientalist depictions of pagan customs.[53] However, the missionaries showed a remarkable ability to reconcile even glaring dissimilarities between their expectations for Christianity and the reality of Christian tradition in the Madura province. To show this, I briefly employ M. Arumairaj's method of charting the "public vocabulary" of Jesuits letters and documents to see exactly *how* they compared the two (1988, 47). One of the most apparent applications of mimesis comes in the Jesuit descriptions on

[53] For more on the intersection between missionaries and orientalism, see Dirks (2001); Binita Mehta (2002); Madeleine Dobie (2004); and Xavier and Županov (2015).

the performance of religion, which could easily be sensationalized. Performances, particularly in the form of festivals, processions, and theater, marked the alterity of Tamils by engaging the visual, tangible, and aural.

The following lengthy description of the Combacounam festival is an apt example:

> Up until this point, the idolatry had not ceased to sadden our gazes by the spectacle of its universal power over these poor Indians; but here, it crushed us by the proportions of its triumph. Imagine over 500,000 pilgrims coming from 50, 100, 200 leagues, grouped in an area several leagues around the center of the festival… going, coming, pressing the crowds every which way and pushing towards the pagoda…. See these 10 triumphal chariots, elevated by tiers in the shape of pyramids 50 and 60 feet in height… dragged by 50,000 devotees, resplendent from the lux, gold, silver, tinsel, banners, garlands, and striking draperies. Imagine especially the stupefying music of all the most strident instruments, by the hundreds and without an ounce of harmony or tempo, the horrible din of drums… of the cymbals and tamtams; the detonations of canons and firecrackers…and above all the immense explosion of cries, hurrahs, and shouts cried haphazardly by hundreds of thousands of chests in the frenetic enthusiasm… you will then have a flimsy idea of this impossible to describe spectacle… Here indeed a devil's fete… *Ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat!* [Where there is no order but everlasting horror dwells]" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 n.1). [54]

Reading past the Jesuit's assessment of the festival, one might recognize well-established elements of Indian festival culture—the colors and materiality of processions, music, devotees, and the performance of devotion.[55]

Comparing the above description with Bertrand's subsequent account of his welcome by Christians in Trichinopoly, we find that the language is almost identical:

> Here began the real triumph. I abandon attempts at description; some things must be seen with one's own eyes in order to understand. Thus give a free ride to your imagination. Do not spare colors for this canvas: bright, grandiose, childish, serious, comical, everything

[54] Bertrand's description then details the festival's market and the theater of "charlatan Brahmins" performing blood-curdling penitence (likely variations on hook-swinging) in order to obtain money from devotees. Acts of penitence deemed here predatory by the missionaries actually serve specific purposes during many festivals in South India. Tracy Pintchman notes that hook-swinging itself "is a kind of blood sacrifice, but it is also a dramatic enactment of an individual's devotion to *māriyamman*, a self-sacrifice that the entire community can participate in and derive benefit from" (2001, 155). Thus, what the Jesuits interpreted as charlatan was part of an elaborate religious structure of which they were unaware.

[55] For just one evocative example of festival-time in North India, see McKim Marriott, "Holi: The Feast of Love," in *The Life of Hinduism*, eds. John Stratton Hawley and Vasudha Narayanan, 99-112 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

> fits; movement, agitation and with this a *je-ne-sais-quoi* of calm; but above all music, that is to say, tin, a racket at its highest power; music! It is the forte of our Indians: far from the firecrackers and canons; closer to the drums of all dimensions and forms, the cymbals, the tamtams; surrounding our palanquins… jumping, dancing, pirouetting, bowing deeply… what triumph!! (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 n.1).[56]

The parallels between these passages are striking. The vocabulary employed by the Jesuits covers the same vivid categories; music, dance, noise, and chaos are reflected in each occurrence and mark the very Indianness of Indian Christianity. Further, both descriptions call for their audience to "imagine" the incredible, blurring the enforced dichotomy between religious traditions. In the second excerpt, however, the festival is described in what Županov describes as "a Catholic frame of reference" referring to "power" and "triumph" (2005, 8).[57]

These descriptions help uncover how mimesis operated in Jesuit writings. Experiencing the ubiquity of South Indian customs within Christian practices, the mission was, to borrow Taussig's words, "confronted unsettlingly with itself as portrayed in the eyes of its Others", causing an "imbalance in the economy of mimesis and alterity" (Taussig 1993, xv). The offending alterity of Tamil religions was widely replicated in their own 'universal' Christian tradition. Critically, the missionaries' response to this dilemma was, in some ways, to recognize the need for tradition based in "a *mélange*, an eclecticism of Roman and Indian," that allowed for

[56] This particular description is substantiated by many others in the NMM archive. Wilmet, for instance, described the ornate lights, statues, garlands, and tapestries used as decoration by the Catholic community of Tuticorin during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Jan. 1943 FMd150 JAV).

[57] These letters foreground the conclusions drawn by Selva J. Raj based on his fieldwork at Tamil Catholic shrines in South India. Raj notes that the shrine in *ōriyūr* to St. John de Britto, named *aruḷāṉantar,* is "centered around caste identities rather than religious affiliation….Catholics and Hindu alike, regard him as their favorite clan or family deity (*kula teiyam*)". See "Shared Vows, Shared Space, and Shared Deities: Vow Rituals Among Tamil Catholics in South India," in *Dealing with Deities: The Ritual Vow in South Asia,* ed. Selva J. Raj and William P. Harmon, 43-64 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 46-47. Pilgrimages and festivals to *arulāṉantar* are inter-religious affairs due in part to a shared Tamil culture. Joanne Punzo Waghorne's study of the Marian festival at *vēḷāṅkaṇṇi* also reveals the fascinating existence of shared religious spaces. See "Chariots of the God/s: Riding the Line Between Hindu and Catholic," in *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines,* ed. Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, 11-37 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).

practices whose meanings were important to Tamil Christians (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 n.1).[58]

This project, however, had two layers. On the one hand, Miranda argues that these missionary efforts "were in keeping with the character of the Indian people who were so fond of external manifestations of their faith" (1989, 110). By letting Christians imitate seemingly 'heathen' practices, the Jesuits worked toward the revival of Catholicism. On the other, this was a mimesis that "allows us to separate ourselves from what is being imitated" (Taussig 1993, 1). That is, the Jesuits' acceptance of Indianness placed them in control of foreignness. In Bhabhian terms, disavowing difference "produces in its stead forms of authority" marked by homogenization and hierarchy.[59]

Shared Spaces: Catholic Corporeality

Another site in which we can read this tension between visions of Christianity is in the common desire for churches as concrete sites of the faith. Bertrand argued that Indian Christians "confused in their minds religion with sacred sanctuaries, in which religion has appeared to them in all its greatness since time immemorial" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4). Obviously, this had something to do with the fact that Goan priests were still in possession of

[58] Kristin Bloomer provides one of my favorite instantiations of how Christian Indians bring European-based Catholic practices into their own traditions. During the repetition of a rosary in a Chennai Catholic prayer house, Bloomer describes how the attendees' use of the rosary "with difference" (in this case, in a non-authorized Catholic space existing outside of the approved hierarchy) "remove[s] its original authority and replace[s] it with their own. Meanings shift. The double is not the same as the original—but it is alike enough to still be a 'rosary'" (Bloomer 2008, 194). Another example from the NMM comes in the shape of *pāsku*, or Easter Passion plays, which allowed for a performativity of faith that missionaries often found extremely emotional and overwrought, but continued to use strategically: "Without a doubt, these representations are somewhat forced, exaggerated, and of taste…but only we Europeans notice this. For the Indians, it is the perfection of beauty." See Denis Guchen, *Cinquante ans au Maduré, 1837-1887; récits et souvenirs* (Trichinopoly: Collège Saint-Joseph, 1887), 58. Father Castanier was also known for his use of drama plays as a means of attracting villagers back to the Jesuits (Ballhatchet 1998, 126).

[59] One advantage of retaining non-European Christian traditions was that it could also bridge differences between communities in India. For instance, Father Lacouague noted that he knew the Brahmin inhabitants of Trichinopoly had accepted the Christian population when the annual Marian procession was able to occur through streets which had, in previous years, been restricted by hostile inhabitants. See Gaston Lacouague, S.J., *Dans l'Inde de François Xavier: souvenirs du Maduré* (Toulouse: Apostolat de la Prière, 1931).

most churches throughout the NMM; attracting Christians away from churches meant bringing them into the fold. Part of this disdain also related to the idea that exterior signs of religion were not as potent as interior ones.[60]

Yet throughout the years, the Jesuits placed enormous emphasis on building chapels and churches around the territory. These spaces were considered critical especially in communities of "weak" Christians who did not understand that poverty was a blessing, and were thought susceptible to schismatic influence (Wilmet to RP Provincial, April 1848 JAV FMd150). The majority of letters in the NMM archive emphasize the need to build churches, and the missionaries even solicited the help of the Jesuit mission in Colombo, Ceylon in order to pay for the construction of a new choir for the Tuticorin church (ibid.).[61] I argue that these dichotomous points of Jesuit thinking are explained by the role of churches in establishing a mutuality between missionaries and Christians.[62]

Churches were a shared space in which Jesuits, Indian Christians, and even non-Christians could replicate beliefs within a sanctioned site that Jesuits interpreted as European and Indians interpreted as Indian. On the effects of having churches in communities, Bertrand wrote:

> This organization [of the mission] once well established should be easily conserved, either due to the nature of the Indian, immobile and constant observer of his own traditions; either because of his pride. The families who regard the

[60] Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus' founder, created the Spiritual Exercises, an obligatory month-long retreat for all Jesuits, based on the principle of discernment, which was to guide all Jesuits through their lives. David Mosse argues that "personal interiority" was "a target for moral evaluation" for Indian Christians as well (2012, 16).

[61] Perhaps the best source for tracking where and how churches were built is Leon Besse's comprehensive work on the NMM's statistics, including that of territories, schools, etc. In order to gather the information in the book, Besse wrote to missionaries from each town and asked for histories, notes, parish diaries, or personal recollections on specific areas. See *La mission du Maduré: historique de ses pangous* (Trichinopoly: Mission, 1914).

[62] For another take on the importance of 'institutionalization' i.e., creating a "large Christian institutional presence" in India, see Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002. Cox's book focuses on the Protestant Christian Missionary Society in the Punjab, but his argument that Christianity grew "from the bottom up" through a mixture of Indian-led church gatherings and festivals points to a similar line of development as described above. Cox's conclusions are in line with Bertrand's remark that Catholic Indian families considered chapels in their communities as their own property and used them as such, for meetings and other purposes, thereby creating a position for themselves in the midst of non-Christian populations" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4).

> chapel as their property become attached, like to gather there, and thus to give themselves a position before the pagans…. Every day we have the joy of seeing the happy effects of these institutions; we meet villages that, despite the abandonment in which they have lived for years, are loyal to exercises of piety and public prayer…. we have no more effective way to conserve these fruits…" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4).

Although the importance of churches might be interpreted differently by the missionaries or by Christian families, the essential desire for a physical location of faith remained the same; for both sides, churches and chapels were manifestations of the existence of Christianity and of its roots in India. These landmarks of familiarity gave missionaries on tours moments of respite from alterity, particularly when they reflected the loyalty of Christians. While the schismatics controlled OMM churches, the new Jesuits' emphasis on retrieving these spaces points to their importance both symbolically and physically:

> … these radical new-broom Jesuits held that the key to spiritual revitalization in 'lax' or problem localities was the building of new places of worship…new churches in ailing Christian communities. It all seemed self-evident. If a locality was engaged in an ambitious church […] programme, if it was applying its resources to the construction of sites for formal or 'orthodox' worship, then its spiritual life must be active and dynamic, and there should be little difficulty in rooting out accretions of 'error' or deviant practice amongst its worshippers (Bayly 1989, 430-31).

Indeed, churches were the central locations of liturgical celebrations, processions, and first communions, all of which based themselves in non-European customs described above and gained legitimacy partly from their association with a church (Miranda 1989, 109).[63]

For the missionaries, the old churches served another purpose as symbols of the cherished OMM in a foreign, hostile landscape. The new Jesuits found much comfort in the tombs of their forefathers, actively seeking them out on their travels as rest spots, places to pray

[63] For instance, Miranda notes that due to their pomp and ceremony, Catholic congregations belonging to the NMM loved First Communion services in churches. Recognizing that this was a way to bring Indians into the "accepted norms and teachings of the Church," Father Garnier, the superior of the Trichinopoly district, instituted the practice in all the mission's districts (Miranda 1989, 109).

and practice discernment (Bertrand to RP Provincial, April 1838 LEEC1 n.1; Hurlin to a Jesuit, Jan. 1856 LEEC2 n.66). The churches themselves were "beautiful in their construction, magnificent in decoration and in the pomp of worship" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Dec. 1839 LEEC1 n.7). Accordingly, the Jesuits were fixated on reconquering these spaces, believing that the "grandeur and glory" of Christianity represented there was more important to Indian Christians than the foreign concepts of "evangelical poverty and Christian humility" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4). Seeking out OMM churches and tombs was a means of overlaying familiarity on the unfamiliar, and of reminding themselves that they served many of the same Christian communities.

More significantly, however, Bertrand and his companions believed that Indian Christians saw the old Jesuits as saints (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4).[64] It is unsurprising that the nineteenth-century Jesuits would seek out the location of miracles, perhaps hoping to gain the power of represented in a shared space (Taussig 1993, 2).[65] Certain successes of the mission were by default attributed to miracles of the forefathers. When the Madras court fleetingly voting in favor of a Jesuit claim in 1852, the missionaries wrote: "We needed a miracle to put us in possession of our central churches and assure the peace and prosperity of the mission. This miracle we owe to the powerful intervention of B.P. de Britto, martyr and patron of Marava, as we shall recount" (Relation, LEEC2 n.70). Thus the connection that churches

[64] According to Bayly, the phenomenon of Christian Indians worshipping foreign Catholics as "saint-heroes and legendary founder-figures" has been practiced for over 400 years by Syrian Christians towards sixteenth-century Nestorian priests (1989, 255).

[65] See Županov's chapter entitled "Conversion Scenarios: Discussions, Miracles and Encounters: The Theatrical Mode" (1999) for more on miracles associated with the OMM Jesuits and the ways in which they were written into the NMM archive. Susan Bayly notes that the new missionaries cultivated the "cult hero" and saint statuses of their predecessors by writing "Tamil biographical texts which dramatized his [Roberto de Nobili] work and achievements for a wide popular audience" (1989, 392-93). Indeed, Ranquet announced in 1841 that he had translated from Tamil a *veḷḷālar* man's history of *vīramāmunivar* (Beschi). He includes a summary of the book to show that "memory has conserved him in so many countries!" (Ranquet to a Jesuit, 1 March 1841 LNMM2 n.59)

enabled invested the mission and Christian communities with a history and power well known to everyone living nearby, and legitimized claims to authority and authenticity.[66]

Shared Narratives: Suffering and Martyrdom

To conclude this section, I return to the narratives of difficulty formulated throughout the Jesuits' writings; we have seen how the personal and physical suffering of missionaries was inscribed in the archive, but the NMM's letters were also concerned with portraying the misery of Indian Christians. While the Jesuits had been oppressed in Europe, Indian Catholics suffered from spiritual deficiencies caused by the absence of the Society and over sixty years of neglect at the hands of the Goans. These deficiencies resulted in a faithful but naïve community, a particularly pliable combination for the missionaries' purpose.[67]

Even with the return of the order to India, missionary touring meant that many communities barely had a glimpse of the Jesuits (Canoz to a Jesuit, March 1849 FMd150 JAV). Such villages were extolled by the missionaries for surviving the pressures of schismatics or Protestants (Martin to a Jesuit, Dec. 1839 LNMM1 n.14). Even these heroisms, however, could be overshadowed by the neglect of British authorities towards Christians in India, or by the overpowering influence of non-Christian Brahmins (Pereira to a Jesuit, June 1849 FMd150 JAV; Saint-Cyr to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 FMd150 JAV). Significantly, each of these challenges brought Christian Indians at least figuratively closer to the missionaries to whom they were

[66] The use of narratives of martyrdom, however, was only legitimate when employed by the Jesuits themselves. David Mosse describes how Father Favreux, a Jesuit priest in *allāpuram* in 1873, reported the growth of an "unauthorized cult of Arulanandar (the as yet uncanonized John de Britto)" (2012, 65). The association of his martyrdom with the power to exorcise was particularly shocking to the Jesuit, for whom these superstitions were "diableries," and so naturally the schismatics were blamed for the spread of this belief (Mosse 2012, 66).

[67] The rhetoric of the naïve Indian would have been familiar to European audiences with access to Orientalist novels and travel accounts. Bertrand recounts an episode between Pope Gregory XVI and the three Christian students brought to Rome to enter the Propaganda seminary. Having told the students they must speak Italian, the youngest of them, Sousai, replied the first thing that came to mind—"*Papa, come state?",* some of the only Italian he knew. Bertrand writes that the Pope was "greatly amused by their naiveté" and simplicity (Bertrand to RP Provincial July 1845, LEEC2 n.41).

loyal. The strategy of writing suffering into the lives of Christians as well as into their own is notable in the overall project of inscribing familiarity. By controlling the narratives of Tamil Catholic lives, the Jesuits attempted to direct the future of Christianity in South India, but the act of bridging difference in itself opened a new flow of intimacy between the missionaries and the inhabitants of the mission. These shared narratives were potent particularly because the Jesuits' suffering "reflect[ed] the religious and cultural liminality" of Catholics, and vice versa (Raj 2002, 104).

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explain how and why binary discourses of unfailing alterity and universal sameness exist in the same missionary archive. Where missionaries wrote shared narratives of oppression, their understanding of Indian Christians was deeply rooted in their own experiences in India. The sources make it almost impossible to read this process from the point of view of Indian Catholics living in the Jesuit Madura province. However, exploring alterity on a thematic level and surveying how the missionaries encountered and wrote about particular recurring points is useful. It paints a picture of how the physicality of the mission affected the formulation of the mission's objectives and its future developments. The particular trope of Christian naïveté and suffering, embedded in the threatening Indian landscape, allowed the Jesuits to spiritually govern. It is in the spaces the Jesuits wrote about that mimesis takes shape, as the missionaries wrote Indian Christianity into an accepted model that could eventually enable an Indian religious hierarchy. I argue that the ideas presented in this chapter are part of the key to understanding how the NMM contributed to the development of Catholicism in India, notably through the renewal of Catholic educational enterprises and the Indianization of religious orders. That is, the particular *mélange* of the suffering of alterity (and the protection it simultaneously

provided) and of the reassurance of universal religious similarities (even if constructed) mark the beginning of these important changes.

Chapter Two

Mapping Liminality in the NMM: Towards Alternate Sites of Tamil Catholicism

Having established how the New Madura Mission Jesuits walked through and wrote about the mission, I turn towards two specific moments of 'rupture' and examine how these were formulated, negotiated, and ultimately transformed. 'Mapping liminality' here calls for us "to explore the complex ways in which continuity and rupture are combined in the production of cultural forms" (Peel quoted in Mosse 2012, 27). As we saw in the first chapter, an important part of the missionary project was to establish histories of belonging for themselves and Christians in India. Chapter two examines how the tension between these narratives and the experience of the mission was translated in practice. I show how, in accordance with Eugene Irschick's two-way conversion, the mission at times shifted its actions and expectations to reflect contemporary Tamil religious, social, and political patterns in their plans for Catholicism in South India.

The first section traces the new Jesuits' relationship to OMM concepts of caste, particularly through Roberto de Nobili's controversial method of *accommodatio*. The missionaries claimed close ties to the priests from whom they had inherited the mission.[68] However, attitudes on the conversion of Brahmins had become even more contentious since the Malabar Rites controversy, especially as other missionaries in South India adopted different approaches to conversion. I argue that the enduring issue of accommodation in the nineteenth

[68] A separate but interesting line of inquiry here would go beyond the linguistic and historical shifts between the OMM and the NMM, to consider the implication of the national shift from Italian and Portuguese to post-revolution (mainly) French Jesuits.

century was a central division around which the Jesuits where forced to redefine the NMM, largely because the Jesuits placed caste at the top of their pyramid of alterity.[69]

Another consequence of the complex social, political, and religious landscape of nineteenth-century South India was the range of forces that affected the mission's territory, from British court rulings to pre-existing claims on land ownership. The second part of this chapter focuses on two particular places, the districts of Aour (*āvūr*) and Tuticorin, to demonstrate how the challenge of establishing religious supremacy in this environment forced the Jesuits to reevaluate their measures of success.[70] Mapping these struggles allows me to suggest a link between the missionaries' conceptions of political power and their approach to the mission's institutionalization.

Mapping Accommodation: From the OMM to the NMM

Although the concept of accommodation existed before the OMM, Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov consider Nobili to be "the first explicit accommodationist in India," because he called himself "a Roman Brahman from the caste of Roman Rajas (kings)" (2015, 152).[71] *Accommodatio* separated 'civility' and 'religion,' enabling Nobili and like-minded missionaries to adopt what they considered external signs of status as "morally 'indifferent'"

[69] Nicholas Dirks has written at length about the ways in which caste was understood by Europeans as "a sign at once of general tradition and specific alterity" (2001, 54). The notion that caste was a metonym for Indianness, meant that "knowledge of India was always put in terms of alterity, with unknowability a natural implication of the language of difference" (ibid., 44).

[70] I borrow here from Matthew H. Edney's assessment in his work on the British Empire's efforts for cartography in India, that: "The chaotic circumstances of the British surveying in India are conveniently obscured by a veneer of order and system" (1997, 30). The Jesuits were faced with similar chaos in the Society of Jesus' Madura province, and had the similar response of mapping patterns and order very often through their writing.

[71] The authors trace the existence of this missionizing project to the mid-sixteenth century, when the instability of European powers in India forced religious actors to give concessions to the king of Tanor (Xavier and Županov 2015, 150). Accommodation continued in the encounter of St. Thomas (Syrian) Christians and Jesuits, during which the latter were confronted with the problem of reconciling the otherness of Indian Christianity with this Christian community's link to St. Thomas the Apostle, who represented "an impeccable Christian pedigree" (ibid.).

(Xavier and Županov 2015, 154).[72] In South India, accommodation largely related to caste practices such as dress and diet, which missionaries could use to conform to high caste norms. For missionaries, embracing the societal model of caste meant operating under the assumption that Brahmins were necessarily the most intellectual and influential members of society. This idea was a point of contention, especially between Nobili and fellow Jesuit Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, who argued that caste and Brahmins in particular were religious structures inextricably tied to paganism (1999, 35). While Nobili believed that converting Brahmins would impel a top-down conversion movement in Tamil society, Fernandes believed low caste Indians were closest to and most worthy of Christianity. The associated Malabar Rites controversy rocked the Society of Jesus for over a hundred years, and it contributed to the suppression of the Society in 1773.

The NMM missionaries arrived in India knowledgeable about the OMM, its achievements, and the polemic around accommodation. They subscribed to Nobili's notion that if they did not follow caste rules to avoid defilement, the upper castes would revile them as they reviled Pariahs, and would never be converted (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4).[73] The preoccupation with caste permeates the NMM's archive with details on the occupation, practices, and personality traits of the groups they encountered, particularly the *parava* and *cāṇār* (now *nāṭār*) Christian communities of the mission's southern district.[74] Their

[72] Of course, the alluded-to "risks" were contained by the fact that the missionaries only condoned practices "where Christian meanings could be substituted for pagan ones" (Mosse 2012, 6).

[73] The idea of purity returns to the mind/body dualism reviewed in the previous chapter. It is not incongruous that the Jesuits would match their emphasis on interiority and purity of discernment with a purity of body. Bayly notes that when *cāṇār* converts began to take on practices associated with upper castes, the missionaries "accepted these as expressions of Christian propriety: they were thought to show that the Shanars were being improved and 'uplifted' by their new-found faith" (1989, 408). In this new framework, "Christianity merely provided them with additional reference points, an added set of tokens and models to draw from in these continual bids *to remap the social landscape*," based on caste hierarchy (1989, 408-09, emphasis mine).

[74] The *nāṭār* are mostly a community of palmyra cultivators and occasionally toddy traders or farmers who were converted beginning in the seventeenth century (Neill 1985, 215; Bayly 1989, 317). The *parava* are a community of fisherman who mass converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century. Susan Bayly's work traces the ways in which the *parava* adapted Christianity so it resembled "any other south Indian caste group," a very important point for the NMM Jesuits' encounters with the same community in the nineteenth century (1989, 321- 378). In the NMM

assessment of the caste system is summarized in the following statement: "One must admit that the Indians have a concept of nobility worth any other: it could easily appear strange, but it is certainly not vulgar or materialistic" (Garnier to RP Provincial, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 n.3). Caste was not seen as necessarily incompatible with Christianity or civility, and the ability to attribute traits to entire sections of the population was a useful tool for mass conversion.[75]

Father Superior Bertrand, like Abbé Dubois before him, also believed that caste was a positive force in India.[76] For instance, the conservation of India's arts, considered its only true source of glory, was attributed to the fact that all Indians specialized minutely in their inherited occupations (Bertrand to a Jesuit, Dec. 1840 LEEC1 n.24). The genius of caste was thus that it adapts to "the characters and exterior conditions of the population it is destined for" (ibid.). In addition, it was seen as an important tool for the colonial government: "Love of caste stifles love of country in the hearts of Indians, so that it is also null; his language does not even have expressions that render the true meaning of *nation, nationalism:* caste is everything. This is perhaps the cause of the servitude which the Indians have lamented for so many centuries" (Bertrand to a Jesuit, Dec. 1840 LEEC1 n.24, emphasis in the original). From this position, caste appeared to be an institution too central to Indian culture and too useful for foreign rule to

---

archive, the *cāṇār* are described as being docile and gentle people for whom Christianity was well-suited (Ranquet to his family, Feb. 1840 LEEC1 n.8). The fall of many *cāṇār* communities to Protestantism was blamed on the long-standing lack of true missionaries to guide them (Grégoire to Canoz, May 1851 LEEC2 n.56). *Parava*s, on the other hand, were described in harsher terms as "bad Christians," mainly due to the Jesuit's encounters with the *parava jāti talaivaṉ* in Tuticorin, an incident detailed later in this chapter. For a more scholarly description of the *nāṭār*, see Robert L. Hardgrave Jr., *The Nadars of Tamilnad: The Political Culture of a Community in Change* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

[75] However, the very elements that the Jesuits appreciated about caste were also disparaged, depending on the context. When Father Favreux had difficulty with leading members of the Odean caste in Madura, who had circulated a communal letter to reaffirm the authority of the Goan priests, he would write that the politics of caste hurt chances of conversion (Favreux to scholastics, 5 August 1850 FMd150 JAV); while a caste may be predisposed for being good Christians, caste leaders with minds of their own were a serious enemy.

[76] Responding to what believed were Eurocentric attitudes toward caste, Dubois wrote the following in his famous treatise on Hinduism: "I believe caste to be in many respects the *chef-d'oeuvre*, the happiest effort, of Hindu legislation. I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism, and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism" (1905, 28).

circumvent, and the best approach was to absorb it into India's Catholic hierarchy (Ballhatchet 1998, 112).[77]

These beliefs characterized the NMM's earliest interactions with caste. Writing on the Jesuits' difficulties, Bertrand noted: "We no longer see Brahmins converted; in other high castes, conversions are very rare; Why? Perhaps because we fail to enter through their doors….We already have half our costume, that is to say a beard which grew during the crossing, [and] bare feet with boots while we await sandals (Bertrand to Fouillot, Nov. 1837 FMd150 JAV).[78] The new Jesuits wished to pass as *sannyāsi*s, very likely based on reports that Nobili himself dressed as a renunciate (Bayly 1989, 390; Županov 1999, 48).[79] Similarly, Bertrand echoed Nobili's belief that missionaries should know the *vēda*s, in order to "show their conformity to Catholic dogma" (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Feb. 1840 LNMM2 n.37). The priest sought to learn Sanskrit, and even had Sanskrit books sent from France (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Dec. 1840 LNMM2 n.53). As a placeholder for converting Brahmins, the missionaries planned to exclusively use

[77] Jesuit and other missionary writings which brought these beliefs back to Europe undoubtedly contributed to what some scholars have termed the "invention" of caste such as Dirks (2001) and Geoffrey Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793-1900* (New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2006.). When the new missionaries encountered caste in South India, they held prior knowledge or beliefs based on information circulating in Europe and provided by the OMM fathers, so their experience of caste was already based in alterity. In addition, the complexities of caste were simplified in their writings, in order to establish some sense of control over the mission. Rather than recognizing that "caste identities were extremely malleable," and that religion worked differently in India, the Jesuits often wrote an Indian Christianity into being that separated bad Christians from good Christians, and bad castes from good castes (Bayly 1989, 70). This point becomes important in the latter part of this chapter.

[78] Four years later, Bertrand, who was settled in Madurai and building a church in the city, wrote to his superior that the people of Madura referred to him as a *sannyāsi* due to his serenity in the face of multiple trials (Bertrand to RP Superior, 16 Jan. 1841 LNMM2 n.55).

[79] For more on the ways the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Europe attempted to control Nobili's "dressing, acting, talking, and writing," fixating especially on the inappropriateness of *sannyāsi* dress, see Županov (1999), 77. Stephen Neill tells us that eighteenth-century French Jesuits working in the Madura province "agreed that they would work on the lines laid down by Robert Nobili for the mission of Mathurai. They would live as *sannyāsis*, renouncing everything that could give offence to high-caste Hindus, and would direct their message primarily to those of the higher castes" (1985, 90). The new Jesuits saw Nobili as a "doctor of religion," and wished to emulate his role as lofty teacher of true religion (Ranquet to a Jesuit, 1 March 1841 LNMM2 n.59). Similarly, Contanzo Beschi was known amongst the NMM missionaries for wearing *poṭṭu*, sandalwood paste, on his forehead, and for his way of dressing and transportation in a beautiful palanquin, all designed to place him in the upper echelons of caste society (ibid.).

catechists from the higher castes (Bayly 1989, 412). Accommodation, then, was still embraced as a strategy for authentic, lasting conversion.

The separation of religion and culture was likely appealing to a religious order continually oppressed for its loyalty to the Pope over European monarchs. However, the concept was decidedly European and no more suitable to the fluidity of South Indian politics than the British government's policy of non-interference in India's religious matters.[80] A major factor in the Jesuits' changing policies on caste in the 1880s was the realization that the concept of dividing religion and culture was extraneous. According to Susan Bayly, it became clear to the missionaries that "Christianity was not received in south India as a radical foreign ideology which was somehow working to 'unhinge' a static and hierarchical social order," nor even as a force of modernization (Bayly 1989, 448). In addition, the success of Protestant missionaries with so-called lower caste Christians was difficult for the Jesuits and their supporters in Rome to ignore.[81] In the 1880s, the new Jesuits were informed of the Church's new approach, "religious

[80] Prior to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the East India Company had upheld the policy of non-interference under slightly different terms. After 1858, the policy focused more on neutrality than "active support of religious institutions". See C.S. Adcock, *The Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 31. Non-interference emphasized the falsehood of a binary involving religion and culture; the government regularly intervened in matters many deemed 'religious,' such as *sati*, or widow burning. In dealing with the British and their perceived lack of interest in helping the Catholic cause, Garnier would wonder: "Is it [this conduct] the result of a system of general tolerance, or of indifference adopted almost everywhere?" (Garnier to RP Provincial, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 n.3).

[81] The actual success of the Protestant missions was a source of great contention for the Jesuits. Bertrand claimed his own research on the matter showed that, despite ten years of existence, the Protestant schools in South India could boast of not a single baptism. Furthermore, Protestant money spent on printing hundreds of books in Tamil and English was wasted, and the pages used to wrap up commercial items such as food, medicine, etc., even occasionally to make pagan decorations out of paper (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Dec. 1840 LNMM2 n.53). In reality, Protestant success (measured in numbers of schools, missionaries, and converts) was attributed in part by both Protestant missionaries and the Vatican to their refusal to accept caste as a social category for Christians in India. The Jesuits believed the financial support received by Protestant missions in India allowed them to offer money to Christians whose renouncing of caste might otherwise have left them destitute (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Dec. 1840 LNMM2 n.53; Strickland 1852, 103). As Rupa Viswanath notes, however, Roman Catholic missionaries were accused of the same thing by Protestants. See *The Pariah Problem: Caste, Religion, and the Social in Modern India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 61.

conversion should lead to social conversion," and placed under the strict supervision of Bishop Bonnand and a series of envoys from Rome (Dirks 2001, 25; Meersman 1973, 79).[82]

The Limits of Accommodation

Where the new missionaries attempted to mimic the strategies of the older mission, the archive indicates two important points: first, that their failures heightened the language of alterity, and second, that the missionaries' response to this was an epistemological shift central to the mission's operation. The failure to follow in the intellectual footsteps of their predecessors was especially difficult for the Jesuits, whose order was known for the highest standard production of knowledge (Xavier and Županov 2015, 139).[83] In response to an inquiry on "scientific" information about India, Bertrand sullenly claimed that the mission had no contributions to make, because such progress would require deep language study and conversation with Brahmins and other foreigners in India (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Feb. 1840 LNMM2 n.37). All of these were impossible when the missionaries were constantly touring. Similarly, Father Gury often wrote of his inability to focus on the sciences, claiming he could no longer remember enough geometry to even trace a map of the mission (Gury to a Jesuit, 28 July 1840, LNMM2 n.48).[84]

---

[82] Meersman notes that the missionaries were even made to swear an oath that they would follow the rules established by the Council of Trent and later by Pope Benedict in 1774; this process included questionnaires missionaries had to fill out and "describe in detail how each point was being observed" (Meersman 1973, 79).

[83] Xavier and Županov argue that sixteenth-century Jesuits had initiated "the founding moments in the emerging science of religion" through their inquisitions and writings on the nature of Hinduism (2015, 139). They name this new science, "the 'science' of the other," pointing to the importance and lineage of Jesuits writing alterity through cultural and proto-ethnography (Xavier and Županov 2015, 149).

[84] Gury considered it nigh impossible to "improvise" a map of the mission—a passable cartography would take five to six years and proper instruments (Gury to his brother, 26 Feb. 1840 LNMM2 n.39). To improvise would result in incomprehensible maps like those used by the British, who mislabeled villages and used incorrect spellings for towns (ibid.). Even worst, the colonial government's unwillingness to build or maintain roads even between the big centers of Madras and Trichinopoly made a mapping undertaking extremely difficult. Gury's ideal map was framed in the scientific principles of cartography but would highlight even the smallest villages if they had some religious importance or some particular curiousness, complete with statistics on numbers of Christians. In fact, the priest's idea was to create a map with which one could "follow the missionaries step by step in all their touring". His desire to map represents more than just an attachment to science; it is also steeped in a larger colonial project embedded in

Another instantiation of this rupture can be traced in the new missionaries' preaching methods. Father Sales described his admiration for the following OMM technique employed by Mr. Sarrige, the superior of the MEP mission: a priest challenges a Brahmin to an intellectual debate in public and, when the time comes, speaks to the Brahmin in Latin. The priest then uses the Brahmin's confusion to reveal his ignorance to the assembly, and to position himself as the superior moral mind (Sales to a Jesuit, 25 Feb. 1840 LNMM2 n.38).[85] Sales ruefully wrote of his own difficulties preaching in Tamil, claiming that transliterating Tamil into French was inefficient. The letter openly relates the Jesuit's frustration—if only he too could use Latin to trigger conversions through the force of his intellect (and some trickery)! However, almost a year later, Sales would write to his brother that pagan conversion was "superficial," rather than the result of intellectual discussions (Sales to his brother, 18 Jan. 1841 LNMM2 n.59).[86] His comments must be read within the context of the realization that, "those to whom they preached (the upper castes) rejected them, while all those whom they had ignored—the 'Pariahs'—actively sought conversion" (Mosse 2012, 56). This ideological disruption away from the perceived intelligentsia and towards other Christians marked the limits of accommodation, and it

---

modernity: the nineteenth-century production of certainty that occurs when methods considered "western" in their science (such as colonial exhibitions but also modern cartography, as in this case) are used to "know" i.e., understand a foreign space. See Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 7. A big part of the anxiety betrayed by Gury to his brother came from the inability to order to disorderly and to create a new reality out of "that which can be represented" (ibid., 29).

[85] Županov makes a fascinating link concerning the uses of language, noting that when Nobili arrived in Madurai in 1606, it was believed that "the local kings lived in a manner similar to ancient Mediterranean pagan despots, where learned men possessed a language as precise as Latin and where priests jealously preserved hidden sacred texts" (1999, 3). He called Sanskrit the "Latin of the Brahmans". The OMM method of using Latin to win debates is another important example of mimesis traversing all aspects of mission and life.

[86] The criticism of "superficial" conversion was not to be taken lightly. It was an accusation the Jesuits often made of their opponents, whom they claimed attracted converts through money, indecent behavior, false promises, and false religion (Canoz to RP Provincial, July 1841 LEEC1 n.17; Relations LEEC2 n.70). It also significantly suggested that Indians used Christianity and missionaries as they pleased, very much agents in their own lives and religious formation, building on missionary presence to their own advantage. See Viswanath (2014) for more on the idea of Dalit agency within Christianity; though she does not refer specifically to Roman Catholic missionaries, her insights apply to the case of Catholicism in India as well.

is significant that the Jesuits accounted for their failures in converting Brahmins to the distracting disarray of other Christian castes.[87]

How were the NMM Jesuits to conceive and write of their mission when its most basic goal was unattainable? I argue that the Jesuit as storyteller—weaving a new narrative for the mission—is essential to answering this question, and so I will trace several moments of rewriting linked to the above examples.[88] The first relates to the use of *sannyāsi* methods of preaching. In mid-1838, Father Ranquet noted that the presence of the British in all major South Indian towns had familiarized Indians with Europeans, so that "it is no longer necessary, as in the time of our first fathers, to hide our origin. People know who we are, where we are from; our European qualities give us relief rather than drawing scorn" (Ranquet to his father, 5 July 1838 LNMM1 n.7). This change was often considered cumbersome, especially due to British officials' association with Pariahs.[89] However, almost a year later, Bertrand wrote: "What horror was had for Europeans! What precautions did the old fathers have to take to hide their identities! How many embarrassing customs did they have to subject themselves to? What abnegation of themselves did they not have to practice in their dress, food, and actions?" (Bertrand to RP

[87] As we will see in the next section, the Jesuits' assessment of the state of Christianity in India was partly based on their misunderstanding of the hierarchical caste system established by the OMM fathers (Bayly 1989, 321-378). In a broad sense, the Indian Christianity they encountered was "a popular Catholicism focusing on shrines, pilgrimage centers, and festivals that thrived under the so-called Goan jurisdiction, as it had under the [old] Jesuits" (Mosse 2012, 46). While they did not recognize this Christianity as their own, what they were experiencing was less chaotic than simply foreign to them.

[88] I draw from Taussig's notion of the storyteller as one who, "takes us bodily into alterity" (1993, 40). In Taussig's mind, the storyteller has the ability to bring together "that situation of stasis and movement," to take the audience from "the far-away….to the here-and-now" (ibid.) In short, the storyteller constructs alterity that encompasses the audience, but also has the power to return the audience "home," to the freedom of the familiar.

[89] The British were known for hiring Pariahs as assistants and eating meat, uncaring of how caste affected their own status. However, the Jesuits believed that high caste Indians saw the British, and by association all Europeans, as "objects of contempt and repugnance" in India (Garnier to a Jesuit, Nov. 1839 LEEC1 n.6).

Provincial, 12 Feb. 1839 LNMM1 n.17).[90] This appraisal exemplifies how "cultural problems were 'chosen' and recast" to sustain the missionary project (1999, 33).

Similarly, faced with the unfeasibility of actually converting Brahmins, the NMM missionaries turned their attention to a different caste hierarchy—that of *veḷḷālar*, whose Sudra standing was balanced with an elite status linked to religious knowledge, vegetarianism, and landholding (Bayly 1989, 393; Ballhatchet 1998, 112).[91] The OMM Jesuits had considered *veḷḷālar*s to be of high-caste, and by the eighteenth century the separation between them and *parava* and *cāṇār* communities "had become firmly rooted in Jesuit ideas" (Ballhatchet 1998, 112). In the nineteenth century, the NMM missionaries ranked Brahmins, *veḷḷālar*s, and *mutaliyār*s as "far above Odeans and Maravas," (Martin to a Jesuit, Feb. 1840 LEEC1 n.9). Shifting the 'conversion value' of caste groups created a new measure of success for the Jesuits.[92] Maintaining Christians *veḷḷālar*s became of the highest importance, even if it meant grudgingly accommodating caste discrimination in their own churches (Bayly 1989, 433; Ballhatchet 1998, 128).[93] Although caste politics would be even more significantly transformed

[90] Still, Bertrand admitted that the missionaries would retain the white habit (which was much better suited to the climate than the black habit of the Society of Jesus) and that they would likely keep their beards, if only in fear of Indian barbers' capabilities (Bertrand to RP Provincial, 12 Feb. 1839 LNMM1 n.17).

[91] By the sixteenth century, *veḷḷālar*, or "sat-Sudra Vellalas" were considered "conventional 'clean' caste Hindus" (Bayly 1989, 389). Frykenberg further elucidates the caste landscape of Tamil Nadu as one in which three classes of castes can really be seen: Brahmins, non-Brahmins "who have ruled the land since ancient times and have remained powerful," and Untouchables (Dalits) (Frykenberg 2008, 50).

[92] This practice also had an important impact on the consolidation of caste in India. Susan Bayly explains: "Although it was unintentional, what the Jesuits were doing was consistent with the process of caste formation which was taking place at this time, and with the general firming up of corporate and communal affiliations which was such a marked feature of the late pre-colonial period in south India. In this period the mission was behaving like the many south Indian rulers whose techniques of statecraft tended to sharpen caste and religious identities..." (1989, 414).

[93] I refer here to the prolonged conflict of Jesuit missionaries, *veḷḷālar* Christians, and *cāṇār* Christians at the church of Vadakencoulam (*vaṭakkaṉkuḷam*). When the Jesuits first returned to this church, Mr. Mousset of the MEP thoughtlessly seated Pariah and *veḷḷālar* children together for catechism, causing a panic by *veḷḷālar* parents. This incident would become the first in series of Jesuit missteps, including the erection of a wall to separate *veḷḷālar*s from *cāṇār*s in the church, an act that would cause serious protests amongst the *cāṇār*s in the 1870s (Bayly 1989, 370). The next section will show how such political incidents involving caste were seen by missionaries. In this case, it is important to know that even when accommodating caste was important *on the ground*, the Jesuits often wrote to their superiors of their personal disdain for separations in churches. Martin proudly recounted how the

in the later years of the mission, this emphasis on *veḷḷālar*s is a significant example of how the Jesuits found new ways to interact with Tamil society.

In a more concrete sense, the Jesuits became more aware as time passed that they were working within an established order in which, "the region's most successful regimes…were those which used techniques of conspicuous piety and patronage to map their domains onto an expanding sacred landscape" (Bayly 1989, 453). In 1845, Bertrand wrote from Rome to his superior, the Provincial of Lyon, claiming that the NMM was about to experience "a new era": "They [the missions of the Society of Jesus] will break out of a precarious state in order to establish a solid base and be in harmony with the needs of the time" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, May 1845 LEEC2 n.44).[94] The change foreshadowed by Bertrand was the establishment of Madura as a vicariate apostolic in 1847; it was a move he characterized as giving the mission "a determined position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy" (ibid.). Bertrand's recognition that the mission could not operate under the same system as the OMM is notable; his letter emphasized the difficulty of the Madura Mission's landscape for the Jesuits, and the importance of not amalgamating their own work with the old churches that were built "under the influence of particular circumstances" (ibid.). His plan charted a transformation for the mission based on the failures of their original plans, one that would give the NMM both firmer borders and more freedom to adjust to "the needs of the time".[95]

---

guilty *veḷḷālar* Christians threw themselves at his feet in apology for their behavior in Vadakencoulam (Martin to Bertrand, 14 July 1838 LNMM1 n.8).

[94] It is worth noting that a big part of Bertrand's letter revolved around the question of whether the appointed vicar apostolic would be a Jesuit, given that this position at times required prioritizing 'secular' matters over religious ones—that is, the ability to administer other orders in a just way. In a hurry to prove that this task was not incompatible with the position of the Jesuits, Bertrand pointed to Francis Xavier as a model of both Jesuit ideals and apostolic duties. (Bertrand to RP Provincial, May 1845 LEEC2 n.44).

[95] Yet, to argue that the Jesuits dropped their idealization of Brahmin conversion would be false. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the establishment of St Joseph's College was done keeping in mind that Brahmins would be impressed by the intellectual efforts of the Jesuits. Accordingly, the College's early success was measured by the number of Brahmins it attracted (Castets 1924, 88). Equally false is the claim that the Jesuits' Christian converts in the nineteenth century "opted out" of caste in favor of Christianity's social upliftment. Bayly amply shows that both

Bayly's assessment of the new Jesuits thus vitally repositions them as actors in a social and political landscape that had existed long before them, and that was changing independently of them. This scholarship is helpful as it sets the stage for the particular issue of conversion defined by Irschick. The examples presented in this chapter support the idea that the changing attitudes of the Jesuits were the result of "certain ways of thinking that were implicit to the local Tamil world" (Irschick 2003, 254). The NMM was altered by the realities of a Tamil landscape in which Christianity was entwined with caste and religious hierarchy in very different ways than expected. Flexibility in caste policies allowed the Jesuits to move away from "mummified forms of organizational patterns" (Miranda 1989, 79) As we will see in the next section, this ideological 'conversion' was also prominent in the sphere of politics.

Mapping Borders: Aour and Tuticorin

The issue of establishing stable territory for the mission was at the forefront of the Jesuits' minds, and the difficulties in doing so were prohibitive. This section focuses on two incidents as they are described in the archive, noting especially where the emphasis was placed and how such challenges were addressed. I argue that in response to these conflicts, the NMM began to map Indian Catholicism onto the bodies of 'good' Christians rather than specific churches or sites tied to the OMM. The argument in chapter three is that the new emphasis on Indians was reflected in the sphere of education, whose purpose was in part to redress the instabilities of politics. To set the stage, I begin by pointing out significant moments in the NMM's history which point to its territorial instability.

In December 1838, a Circular Order signed by Mr. Blackburn, the collector of the Madura district, categorically recognized the ownership by Goan priests of all churches claimed

---

Hindu and Christian *cāṇār*s, for instance, continued to participate in "violent and long-running status and 'honours' disputes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (1989, 408).

by the Jesuits, and prohibited the NMM missionaries from ever entering them (Bertrand to RP Superior, Dec. 1837 FMd150 JAV).[96] Yet in 1852, a decision by a Madura magistrate acknowledged the legitimacy of Jesuit claims to a church in Sarougany (*sarukaṇi),* on the basis that the British policy was to judge issues based on the rules of the "sect" in question, i.e., the Vatican (Canoz to RP Provincial, August 1854 LEEC2 n.63). Two years later, an appeal led by the schismatic priests saw this decision reversed by a court in Madras (Relation, LEEC2 n.70).[97]

The geographical borders of the mission were also subject to considerable change, and so the establishment of Madura as a separate vicarate apostolic with Canoz as bishop in June 1847 was counted as a great victory toward the NMM's stability. Two years earlier, the Propaganda Fide had adjusted mission divisions in South India, so that in 1845 the districts of Pratacoudy and Vadougherpatty became part of the Pondicherry vicariate apostolic, and the NMM obtained Tanjavur. This decision made sense in terms of natural borders and cartography, but was for the NMM "a loss and an embarrassment," given the poverty of Christians and lack of churches in the Tanjavur district (Canoz to RP Provincial, July 1845 LEEC2 n.39). Yet almost ten years later, the Concordat of 1857, made between Rome and the Portuguese monarchy, reconfirmed the rights of the *padroado* in India; the agreement created a bizarre double jurisdiction in which the

[96] This petition was debated at the Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland in 1841, thanks to a friend of the NMM, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, a relative of Father Clifford. The criticized Blackburn responded that ever since the arrival of the French priests, he had been dealing with their many recriminations, and that he had considered his Circular Order of the 18th of December 1838 to be "absolutely necessary" to "check the Spirit of Encroachment exhibited by the Party of the French Priests." See Blackburn quoted in *The Sessional Papers Printed by Order of the House of Lords or Presented by Royal Command*, vol. V., (1841), 27.

[97] The many layers of colonial administration in South India is also relevant to how the Jesuits interacted with the British. Garnier noted two levels of government: the civil (mostly based on financial concerns), and Indian (mostly based on symbolic power). The Madras presidency had a British governor general and collectors, as well as a range of subordinate Indian officers, generals, and directors. The Indian administration was twofold: on the one hand, the British allowed Indians to administer themselves through chiefs called *cariaken*, who reported to the British but ran their areas without interference. Each collectorate had three or four small courts and an appeals court run by British judges with Indian employees. On the other hand, South India was also still governed by "little kings" who had all the exterior dignity of nobility but no real power; because they received pensions from the East India Company, they depended on the British authorities to survive (Garnier to a Jesuit, 28 March 1839 LNMM1 n.19).

archbishop of Goa retained authority over certain churches in NMM domain (Neill 1985, 304).[98] The two case studies presented in this section represent instantiations of how these top-down decisions echoed throughout the mission and its objectives.

Aour

In Aour, the name of both a district and a town south of Trichinopoly, the dispute between Garnier and a schismatic priest remained heated for at least ten years. Aour was an important site for the NMM, having purportedly been 'given' to the Jesuit missionaries in 1686 by *kaḷḷar* chiefs referred to as the "Kattalur and Perambur rajas," in a show of support for the missionaries' activities (Bayly 1989, 396). As a result, Aour became one of the sites which "played a crucial role in the construction of the hinterland's original Christian cult networks" (ibid., 386).[99] Garnier, who worked in nearby Trichinopoly, confessed: "But the district which is closest to my heart, and incessantly enflames my desires, is that of Aour, so renown in the letters of the old Fathers, so long the theater for Fathers Bouchet and Martin's works. When I recall the tale of their success and the flourishing state of this Christendom, my mouth waters" (Garnier to a Jesuit, 10 Jan. 1839 LNMM1 n.15).[100] He claimed that the 10,000 Christians were "still full of

[98] Despite the arrival of nine Goan priests following the signing of the Concordat, the Jesuits would write that their presence "caused no sensation, and since that day their cause weakens quickly" (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Feb. 1846 LEEC2 n.43). Yet the Concordat of 1886 furthered this difficult situation by attributing personal jurisdiction over all fourteen "historical churches" within the NMM's ecclesiastical territory to the Goan Bishop of Mylapore (Castets 1924, 76).

[99] For a more complete view of the Jesuit narrative around Aour, see Besse (1914), 95-117.

[100] The resonance of his words with Homi Bhabha's notion of (colonial) mimicry is clear in his "desire for a reformed, recognizable Other" that would be just intimate enough to re-forge the lost connection with the OMM and true Catholicism in India" (Bhabha 1994, 122). For more on the concept of Jesuit 'desires,' see Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Levy's work describes "an iterative desire in the Jesuit architectural culture" (2004, 202). The author also discusses art as another fascinating layer of desire, mimesis, and alterity in foreign missions: "Training the recent convert or the unconverted to make European-style images, the Jesuits hoped that making something in a European style could mean that the subject has assumed the identity of the producer of the prototype: that the subject has become Christian, Catholic" (2004, 202). Here, the concept of representing reality through the visual is part of "the ordered world of objects and the discipline of the European gaze" (Mitchell 1991, 12).

memories of their ancient fathers," but profoundly ignorant of true Christianity due to the Society of Jesus' long absence (ibid.).

Garnier believed that because the physical church edifice had been the property of the OMM Jesuits and because he had proof of the Pope's directive, the church rightfully belonged to the NMM (Garnier to RP Provincial, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 n.3). However in the absence of the Society of Jesus, the Goanese priests had claimed jurisdiction "through the extinct Madura Mission" (Manual of Pudukottai State Vol.1, 96). Garnier decided to write to the British Resident in Tanjavur asking for an introduction to the *rājā* of Tondaman (*toṇṭaimāṉ*) in Poudoucottey (*putukkōṭṭai*), a 'little king' who received his pension from Tanjavur.[101] Garnier was received with "great respect" by the Resident and the *rājā*, who posed many questions about the Jesuit lifestyle and religion, and authorized his possession of the church in Aour.[102] Upon his return to Aour, however, Garnier found that the schismatic priest had no notion of following these orders. The missionary sent a letter to Poudoucottey asking for two soldiers to uphold the British government's command, but neither the Resident nor the legal courts were willing to interfere, claiming that the Jesuit presence in Aour disturbed the peace. Garnier's letter is filled with questions: was this change related to the British policy of non-interference in religious

[101] The system of 'little kingship' was a very important part of the Tamil political landscape, especially in the eighteenth century, and the hierarchical relationship did not only exist between the British and influential Tamils, but also between chiefs of varying influence: "a claim to kingship depended on the lord's ability to maintain an ever-expanding network of dependents and tributaries on whom he bestows marks of rank and ennoblement" (Bayly 1989, 51). The pension given to these *rājā*s by the British were large, but also included the money needed by the king to pay his employees and dependents (Pereira to a Jesuit, 18 June 1949 FMd150 JAV).

[102] The scene of influential 'pagan' figures (often if not always Brahmins) intelligently interrogating the Jesuit missionary about religion is a fairly common trope in missionary archives. Scenes such as these enabled the missionaries to portray Brahmins as singularly bright and curious about Christianity. The dialogue would usually begin with questions, then the expressing of a desire to learn about Christianity and what makes it different from paganism. It would end with the king or Brahmin impressed with Christianity and wanting to know more, indicating perhaps the possibility of conversion. For an example, see Pereira to a Jesuit, 18 June 1849 FMd150 JAV.

matters? Had he somehow offended the Resident or the *rājā*? Fifteen days later, he retreated from Aour's OMM church (Garnier to RP General, 11 Feb. 1839 LNMM1 n.18).[103]

Unwilling to leave the Christians who had declared for him, Garnier decided to sustain his authority by buying land in nearby Calouttouppatti and building a small mud church in the yard (Besse 1914, 113). From there, he held two masses every Sunday along with catechism stories, employing stories from the Bible and litanies from the OMM. He claimed that most of the Aour Christians pledged themselves to him in no time, and that his church fit almost 2000 people (Garnier to a Jesuit, 10 Jan. 1839 LNMM1 n.15). The incident came to a head several months later when the schismatic priests were preparing for the festival of the Holy Rosary at the "big church". Garnier explained that his Christians, enraged over the festivities, marched to the church where a fight broke out. With the intervention of Indian policemen and a troupe of European soldiers, the crowd was dissipated (Garnier to a Jesuit, Nov. 1839 LEEC1 n.6).

The establishment of important festivities at the small church that were centered around Indian Christian religiosity marked the new Jesuits' method of accommodation. As we have seen, outward manifestations of faith were an important part of Indian Christianity. Garnier deliberately emphasized his efforts to lead Christian ceremonies with pomp, even building an enormous nativity scene complete with a statue of the Virgin Mary sent from Lyon, France, which he dressed up "in the French-style" (Garnier to a Jesuit, Nov. 1839 LEEC1 n.6).[104] In

[103] Castanier wrote in the same month that he believed Garnier had failed due to some misinterpretation during his meeting with the *rājā* and the Resident. Upon exchanging gifts, Garnier had offered a pearl necklace to the *rājā*, which the resident believed to be a rosary. Angered by this apparent conversion tactic, the Resident then removed his favor (Castanier to a Jesuit, 15 Feb. 1839 LNMM1 n.18). There is nothing in the sources available to me that would corroborate such a statement, but Castanier's belief that this misunderstanding might have occurred reminds the reader that the Jesuits were highly aware of their alterity in India, where customs were foreign and offense could easily be given.

[104] The practice of dressing up deities, often in expensive gifted saris for female gods, is ubiquitous today in India. A parallel European custom is perhaps less well known, but "the practice of clothing Catholic devotional images reached back to the Middle Ages." See Anne G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 263. Garnier's action was not devoid of European meaning. However, the action did not necessarily mean the same thing for the Jesuit and the Indian

doing so, he also mimicked what he believed had been the power of the OMM Jesuits in Aour, namely the "power of eloquent speech" deployed during festivals at the main church (Canoz to RP Provincial, July 1845 LEEC2 n.39). As the focus of his letters shifted to the site of the new church and those celebrating in it, Garnier constructed a new, sanctioned space for Tamil Catholicism. Tellingly, renewed attempts to take possession from the schismatics were tempered, despite reports of a new *rājā* favorable to the Jesuit cause (Pereira to RP Provincial, June 1849 LEEC2 n.54).

The case of Aour encapsulates many of the issues discussed in this thesis.[105] Perhaps most importantly, it demonstrates the link between politics and the process of mapping new Christianities. In this example, the inaccessibility of the "big church" in Aour led to a shift from the center to the periphery in the creation of a rival church. By imbuing this new space with authority through the use of festivals, the mission's organization came to resemble more closely the networks of communities described by Bayly, which grew in power by establishing sacred sites and persons rather than through an established ecclesiastical hierarchy.[106] It is striking that

---

Christians participating in a festival. Whereas Garnier sought only to emphasize pomp and respect toward Mary, it is possible the Christians would have made a reasonable visual association between prominent Hindu goddesses and Mary-as-goddess. For different views on the parallels between Mary and Hindu goddess in India, see Clooney (2005) and Bloomer (2008).

[105] While I have chosen to focus on Aour here, similar incidents occurred throughout the mission. In Marava, for instance, the Sarougany church became central in the NMM's court cases in Madras. The story of this church's founding as told in NMM letters is interesting because it glorifies the virtue of the old Jesuits and justifies the new Jesuits' claim on the church. Bertrand recounts that Father Xavier asked a Mughal nawab for land in order to build the church. Pleased with his attitude, the nawab offered to give Xavier ten or fifteen villages as well, for an annual revenue of 15,000 francs. Xaver refused because he wished to emulate Christ's poverty rather than a pagan emphasis on money. On this basis, he was considered the last "in a chain of glorious apostles that evangelized Marava," (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Jan. 1838 LEEC1 n.4). His Goan successors, who did not understand his wisdom, turned the church into an "unassailable fortress from which the schism fights and harasses us" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Feb. 1839 LEEC1 n.5).

[106] I see a connection between Bayly's portrait of South Indian politics and Irschick's explanation of K.R. Subramaniam's work on the Maratha Tanjavur kingdom. Irschick notes that Subramaniam's work is about "the growth of local capillary knowledges that bound both the state and the society together" (2003, 267). For Irschick, this process was contributed to by the mixing of "local microphysical subjugated knowledges about health and discipline" in the encounter of the Danish missionary with siddhars and Tarangambadi's Tamil society (ibid.). Knowledges developed in a Tamil landscape eventually come "to inform the relation of the state and the society"

in order to frame these changes as successes in their letters, Garnier redirected 'true' Christianity onto particular sites and bodies of Indian Christianity. What is elsewhere considered pagan influence becomes, in Aour, a sign of "admiration, piety, and esteem for our saint religion" (Garnier to a Jesuit, Nov. 1839 LEEC1 n.6). Alterity here is rewritten as the measure of true Christianity, so that the mud chapel gains its authority based on its *difference* from the schismatic church.

Tuticorin

Tuticorin, part of the NMM's southern district, was another important locale for the Jesuits. As a Christian *parava* stronghold, Tuticorin represented the efforts and miracles of Francis Xavier in India, but it was also an important trading town for the Dutch and British (Bayly 1989, 339). Given its juncture between the old and the new, it is unsurprising that Tuticorin was also the site of an unfamiliar caste-based political and religious system. The *parava jāti talaivaṉ* (caste headman) in Tuticorin, who claimed the power to financially and political administer Christianity in the region, was the head of a lineage that had consolidated over two hundred years of being both Christian and "a major colonial client group" (Bayly 1989, 9). These influences meant that "in their everyday worship the Paravas still identified themselves with the broad sacred landscape of Tamil country, and that their conversion to Christianity had never prevented them from sharing in the region's wider religious culture" (Bayly 1989, 358). This assertion infuriated the Jesuits, as the headman could (and did) use the Goan priests and Jesuits interchangeably. In addition, because the new Jesuits had not approved of his rule as a Christian leader, the tradition around the OMM Tuticorin church was considered uncomfortable close to paganism (Gury to his parents, 6 July 1839, LNMM1 n.24; Frykenberg 2008, 139). As a

(ibid). This idea informs this chapter's focus on missionary acculturation in the face of alterity, where the Jesuits' presence mixed with the established structures of Indian Christians in unforeseen ways.

result, the NMM missionaries considered the *jāti talaivaṉ* to be a "ghost king" with no real (read, British) authority (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Dec. 1839 LEEC1 n.7). They accused him of arrogating administrative power over Christianity in Tuticorin on the basis of financial capital.

The story described in this section began when Father Martin, enraged by this situation, demanded to see the Tuticorin church books (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 10 Feb. 1840 LNMM2 n.35).[107] Recognizing the danger, the headman immediately drew up a statute which effectively replaced Martin with a Goan priest (Martin, 30 April 1840 FMd150 JAV). Martin's refusal to accept the statute was met with a swift response by the *jāti talaivaṉ*, and the Jesuits were evicted from of all churches in the surrounding areas, replaced by schismatics, and brought to trial (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Dec. 1839 LEEC1 n.7; Besse 1914, 481).[108] In the NMM's archive, this incident marks another moment of rupture, this time between *parava* Christians in the southern district. The Jesuits reported that their rejection caused a split in many villages that supported the new missionaries. In 1839, Bishop Bonnand visited Tuticorin and was forced to sign the embarrassing document in order to reestablish order (Neill 1985, 297). At this point, the Jesuits retreated from the town under the guise of a peace, to villages that had shown support (Bertrand to RP Provincial, June 1841 LEEC1 n.15).

As in the case of Aour, the Jesuit strategy shifted to focus on 'true' Christians in villages at the periphery of the *jāti talaivaṉ*'s center, manipulating caste customs to their advantage.

---

[107] Martin, the first nineteenth-century Jesuit to work in the region, is portrayed in the NMM archive as both inflexible and saintly. This reputation came perhaps from his constant conflicts with the *jāti talaivaṉ*, which eventually forced Bertrand to remove him from Tuticorin on the basis that he was *too* inflexible (though definitely saintly) (Besse 1914, 481). Over his many months in the area, Martin accused the *jāti talaivaṉ* and the district's king of stealing from churches and Christians. He also claimed that the schismatic priests of the area were in league with the two men, and that they were granted power over the churches and a share of the plunder in exchange for their silence (Martin, 30 April 1840 FMd150 JAV).

[108] Bertrand wrote with lack of concern about these trials, knowing that while the British did not support their claim over churches, the *parava jāti talaivaṉ*'s influence in the South was considered a source of some embarrassment to the colonial government and any way of lessening it was welcomed (Bertrand to RP Provincial, Dec. 1839 LEEC1 n.7).

Having been converted by Francis Xavier himself, the *parava*s were considered important vessels for Jesuit Christianity (Bayly 1989, 356). Using this connection, the missionaries placed the burden of changing on Indian Catholics themselves, claiming that they would be left without a Jesuit priest due to their own shortcomings as Christians (Bertrand to RP Provincial, 6 August 1841 LNMM2 n.67). The Jesuits then convinced these communities to stop paying their daily contribution to individual village chiefs, who answered to the *jāti talaivaṉ*. As a result, once haughty chiefs "begged" for the Jesuits to administer their churches with full liberties (Bertrand to RP Provincial, June 1841 LEEC1 n.15).

Significantly, the *jāti talaivaṉ*'s break from these village chiefs, two of whom were his own brothers, was described by the Jesuits as a split in the *parava* religious lineage. Upon being asked for help against the Jesuits by their brother, the two chiefs reportedly responded: "In matters of caste, we will obey you; but when you attack religion and its minister, we do not know you; we prefer to die than to be disloyal to religion" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, June 1841 LEEC1 n.15). The separation between caste and religion here does not correspond to Susan Bayly's description of the *parava*s in Tuticorin, but it indicates how the Jesuits gradually wrote and shifted toward alternate sites for Christianity *outside* the Tamil headman's sphere of influence. Concurrently with the Jesuits losing their claim over the OMM church, a new church was built in Tuticorin (Canoz to a Jesuit, 17 March 1849, FMd150 JAV). The church was considered a symbol of Jesuit independence and domination in the NMM's southern district, and was considered "the most beautiful of the Mission to date" (Besse 1914, 483).[109]

[109] We know, however, that another 'revolt' broke out in 1849, and that Jesuits were kicked out of many churches and brought to court, where they often did not win (Neill 1985, 297). In the same year, Castanier would report continued difficulties in the district because the Christians did not understand the issue of jurisdiction (Castanier to RP Provincial, 8 Nov. 1849 FMd150 JAV). What is interesting for this project is how these alterities were consistently subsumed by the Jesuit project of writing a new Indian Christianity represented by 'good' Christians and the sites of their faith.

In their interactions with the *jāti talaivaṉ*, the NMM missionaries were faced with centuries of influence that had built the *parava* leader into not simply a caste chief, but a chief of a Christian caste hierarchy.[110] Reading through the archive, the headman's claim over the administration of churches is formulated as greedy, corrupt, and false. Bayly's story of the *parava* lineage's history in Tuticorin, however, tells a very different story of how certain Tamil sites and individuals gained so much influence—one that directly involved Francis Xavier and his successors who, in order to root Jesuit Catholicism in India, contributing to the creation of a "new Christian religious culture [...] shaped so as to highlight the authority of the group's caste notables" (Bayly 1989, 331). The new Jesuits' representation of the *jāti talaivaṉ*'s actions should be read as the missionaries imposing their own Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy onto a vastly different landscape. More tangibly, they projected their own alterity onto Indian Catholics who were under the influence of the *jāti talaivaṉ*, displacing Christianity from a territory riddled with difference and into new maps encompassing their own vision of Indian Christianity.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how two enduring concerns of the NMM were mapped by the Jesuits. The new missionaries' letters consistently reflect a desire for stability and familiarity in a mission whose foreignness seemingly often caught them unaware. Writing on accommodation and politics, the Jesuits struggled to recognize Christianity in India. However, their letters also record the construction of this vision at the margins of major Christian sites in nineteenth-century South India. Significantly, this construction depended on the support and bodies of Indian

[110] Bayly also explains that the problem of the *parava jāti talaivaṉ* was especially dire given that the new Jesuits were already attempting to wrest control of the Tamil churches and Christian authority from the schismatics. The chief's presence as religion/caste leader was "seen as an abomination, not only because of the wordliness and impropriety it was thought to foster, but because the Jesuits perceived the *parava* caste headmanship system as denying the very essence of church power and authority" (Bayly 1989, 359).

Christians. Michael Taussig talks about, "the power of the copy to influence what it is a copy of" (1993, 250); in this case, the 'copy'—Indian Christianity, in the minds of the Jesuits—is not accessible in the NMM archive.[111] However, it is certain from the sources available that the Jesuits were able to build connections with Christians and establish shared religious sites because they 'copied,' or mimicked, critical elements of Indian Christianity, such as external manifestations of faith and customs relating to caste. R.E. Frykenberg notes that this type of activity was characteristic of Roman Catholic institutions in India. Freed from the hope of "building an ecclesiastical domain" in the face of the British empire and the arrival of Protestant missionaries, the Jesuits "could carry on with the expansion of their programmes 'beneath the radar' of official sensitivities, where they often went unnoticed" (2008, 243).[112] As this chapter as shown, this particular quality enabled the Jesuits to root Catholicism in India where it might otherwise have merely lingered, and to establish a Catholic community "brimming with highly dedicated and highly trained Indian priests" (2008, 357). The next chapter positions St. Joseph's College, representative of the NMM's most successful educational endeavor, as a key example of this pattern in an institutional setting.

[111] Susan Bayly, however, is able to access the other side of this incident based on extensive sources housed today in the *jāti talaivaṉ's* house in Tuticorin, and personal relationships with *parava* families in the area (1989, xii; 337).
[112] In the case of Protestant (and especially Anglican) missionaries and institutions, Frykenberg writes that conversion and missionizing took on a more imperialistic form: "When implicated in attempts to control or to dominate Christians who were native to this or that part of the Indian continent, this kind of activity became a manifestation of 'colonialism'—at least in the sense that paternalistic behaviour exposed India's Christians to subjugation and exploitation" (2008, 243).

Chapter Three

Knowing How to Survive:
Education and the Creation of an Indian Jesuit Order

In this chapter, I bring themes from the two previous chapters into a physical and epistemic site of the NMM: education. Specifically, I seek to link how the difficulties of the mission affected decisions made in regard to the development of an Indian Jesuit order. So far, I have shown that these missionary texts largely reflect a negotiation between the Jesuits and the Indianness of Indian Christianity. This negotiation had to occur in concert with shared sufferings and political turmoil, and it was always colored by other agents of nineteenth-century South India: Protestants, 'schismatics,' the British, and 'little kings'. In this context, then, 'knowing' refers to knowing how to adapt and sustain the mission. Whatever else can be said of the NMM and its lack of originality, the new missionaries continued to lead the mission until it became what it is today in Madurai and Tiruchirapalli[113]—a mission constituted primarily of Indian Jesuits.[114]

The practical instrument of this change was largely the development of schools and seminaries dedicated to training Indians for the Society; accordingly, this chapter focuses on the

[113] St. Joseph's College exists to this day in Tiruchirapalli, and it is still run by Jesuits. St. Joseph's Church (also called the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes) situated nearby boasts a large blue sign detailing major historical dates concerning the Society of Jesus in Tamil Nadu, including both the NMM becoming a vice-province in 1929 and a full province in 1952. These dates are especially significant because they also mark what some consider the end of the NMM and the beginning of a truly indigenized Indian Jesuit order in South India.

[114] However, the shift in priesthood which occurred mainly in the twentieth century by no means separated the Society of Jesus in India from its European hierarchal roots. In her dissertation, Kristin Bloomer offers a useful example of how this tension plays out. She writes about a pastor's reaction to the Marian possession of a Christian woman in his parish, which he deemed implausible because Mary "can't be so cheap as to come onto a human woman" (2008, 348). Her analysis of the pastor's response demonstrates how Indian Christian authorities continue to depend on Europe for official stances: "This is the sort of argument I repeatedly heard coming from priests in Tamil Nadu…. For one, as long as the Roman Catholic Church bans women from becoming priests, priests' continued authority in the church rests on the authority of male over female power. Furthermore, official Roman Catholic positions on spirit possession are based on European notions of divinity. These are based on binary oppositions between good and evil, nature and spirit, male and female. Only the devil can possess a person, according to the Vatican" (ibid.) Bloomer also recognizes though, that many religious authorities in India take different stances with their followers and their superiors, in order to appeal to the public while avoid "pos[ing] a threat to their very priestly authority and the authority of the Church in Rome" (ibid., 349).

NMM's biggest endeavor, St. Joseph's College (1844-present).[115] I argue that this institution and the debates surrounding it exemplify how alterity influenced the production of knowledge. Like Anna Johnston, who writes about nineteenth-century evangelical missionary writings in India, I see the Jesuits' letters and educational endeavors as characterized by a "doubled discursive framework—simultaneously endorsing and challenging imperial institutions," and marked by "continually troubled efforts to produce seamless representations of colonial evangelism" (2003, 202). Evocative of Bhabha's ideas on the ambivalence and slippages of the colonial project, this explanation acknowledges that the missionaries were typically caught between operating within and benefiting from colonial power, and facing the liminality of the missionary project within the empire.

In chapter two, I showed how this tension played out as the new Jesuits navigated their political struggles in Aour and Tuticorin by setting up peripheral religious and political networks. Though the NMM cannot be excluded from nineteenth-century imperial projects in India by virtue of these strategies, it is valuable to adopt a view of missionary-Indian encounters that leaves room for understanding conversion in more flexible ways.[116] In this chapter, conversion comes mainly in the ways the Jesuits evolved their stances on caste and priesthood in India within the framework of education. The chapter has three parts: first, I briefly explore what Jesuit education looked like in India prior to the NMM and the suppression of the Society. The nature of institutions in sixteenth and seventeenth century Goa highlights St. Joseph's College as

[115] The importance of Christian (foreign) schools in India for Indians wishing to obtain an English education to access government posts or for social mobility meant that many Indians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries encountered Christianity (Brown 2002, 2). Judith M. Brown argues that education was a powerful "technology of communication that made the 'new Christianity' such a powerful presence and cultural catalyst in India in this period" (2002, 3). As such, I consider schools to be central to the missionary presence and NMM's 'successes' in South India.

[116] The inextricable link between mission and empire is summarized by Frykenberg: "When implicated in attempts to control or to dominate Christians who were native to this or that part of the Indian continent, this kind of [missionary] activity became a manifestation of 'colonialism'—at least in the sense that paternalistic behaviour exposed India's Christians to subjugation and exploitation" (2008, 243).

a unique Catholic enterprise. Second, I trace the College's eventful history—from Negapatam to Trichinopoly—in order to map how the missionaries' many difficulties dictated the mission's needs for its educational sphere. Third, I scrutinize small shifts undergone by the mission as it progressed from the standpoint of caste-exclusive *accommodatio* to the very beginnings of an Indian order.[117] These three sections lead me to my conclusion, which further reflects on Irschick, Taussig, and Bhabha to explain how mimesis and alterity are essential frameworks for the many kinds of conversion occurring in nineteenth-century Catholic South India.

Jesuit Education in India

Though the establishment of St. Joseph's College did not constitute an abrupt shift in Jesuit thinking, it did reflect that "the dynamics of cultural and religious interaction on the subcontinent were significantly changed" from a century prior (Brown 2002, 1). Perhaps the most prominent Jesuit school before 1884 was the College of St. Paul in Goa. Authority over the college had been transferred to Francis Xavier in 1551, with the understanding that "this was a sphere in which Jesuits could be usefully employed" (Neill 1984, 140).[118]

Like almost all of the ideas and places this thesis has examined, the College of St. Paul became an instantiation of the contradictions experienced and spread by missionaries in India. To begin, political considerations for education in the sixteenth century were significantly different from those of the NMM. The Portuguese monarchy encouraged Xavier to restructure St. Paul's, hoping to use the European school to turn Indian students into "suitable vehicles for catechizing

[117] Even from the time of the Old Madura Mission, the concepts of accommodation and indigenizing Christian hierarchies throughout the empire were coterminous. *Accommodatio* was taken by the OMM to also mean, "stimulating at the same time the creation of the native clergy, recruited almost exclusively from among the 'natural leaders' of the local communities" (Županov 1999, 243). In practice, however, the notion of natural leadership simply turned Brahmanism into "a kind of fetish of civility" instead of an actual entry point for a native Jesuit order (ibid.).

[118] The history of the College of St. Paul reflects the complications of the time. It had been founded in 1541 by the Confraternity of the Holy Faith, but even after its transferal to the Jesuits, continued for several years to exist under a double jurisdiction (Županov 2005, 121).

and acting as carriers of received European ideas to their own peoples" (Russell-Wood 1992, 198). However, the leadership of António Gomes, the college's rector, was disastrous for this project and amounted to what Županov describes as a "coup d'état, which turned what was initially a unique educational institution in Asia established for the natives into a Jesuit college, an Indian Coimbra, or, as its rector preferred to call it, an 'all-India university'…" (Županov 2005, 124; see also Neill 1984, 157-158).[119] Although by 1554 some students were already preaching in their own communities, Gomes' new vision for the college provided only "elementary schooling for Portuguese, mestiço, and native boys," fully transforming the college's primary objectives (Neill 1984, 162; Županov 2005, 124). The College of St. Paul remained critical in Jesuit history not as a site for training Indian priests, but as "the major training center for Jesuits received and educated in the Far East and the principal reception center for partially prepared recruits arriving from Europe" (Alden 1996, 47). The Jesuits' primary educational venture in the sixteenth century thus excluded Indians from the Society of Jesus, and more generally from access to the burgeoning Catholic hierarchy in India.

To whom or what could the NMM missionaries look to as example of a native Jesuit order? The only example within the OMM is Pero Luís Bramane.[120] Pero Luís studied at the College of St. Paul seminary for many years and became a Jesuit priest in 1576. He was widely

[119] Xavier's original purpose for the school had been Xavier "to instruct young Asian and African boys in the Christian religion, train them for priesthood, and later send them back to their native places as ministers of missionaries" (Županov 2005, 57). However, Stephen Neill tells us that Gomes "turn[ed] a school, in which only a minority of the pupils would go forward to ordination, into a seminary governed by rules suitable only to candidates for the priesthood," a harsh policy which excluded many students and even caused others to be later kicked out of the priesthood by Francis Xavier (1984, 158).

[120] For an analysis of Pero Luís' work as a Jesuit, see Županov (2005), 259-270. There were other Indians ordained within the Catholic hierarchy, but not the Jesuit order. Matheus de Castro, for instance, was a native Goan ordained in Europe before returning to India as Archbishop of Bijapur. As the first Indian Catholic bishop, Castro strongly condemned the Jesuit refusal to ordain Indians; he believed "that the Jesuits were the most detestable of God's creatures and were responsible for the ruin of Christianity in the subcontinent" (Alden 1996, 263). He specifically criticized Jesuit colleges which professed to serve Indians but reflected the European belief in "their alleged intellectual deficiencies, a charge he [Castro] denied by pointing out his own intellectual attainments, including the mastery of nine languages" (ibid.).

esteemed by the missionaries of the OMM, and Županov suggests he had a critical part to play in the creation of a Tamil-ized "common, Christianized conduit" (2005, 266-67). Until his death, however, Pero Luís firmly believed that Indians would make good Jesuits and lamented that he remained "the only Malabar son of the Society" due to his order's refusal to ordain Indians (ibid.; Alden 1996, 263). The rejection of Indian candidates continued to be the Society's prominent position through to the nineteenth century, and Pero Luís was the only Indian received in the Jesuit order before the NMM.[121]

Aside from the College of St. Paul, Jesuit institutions in this period were neither popular nor particularly successful. The influence of Catholic India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was limited to three major areas: Goa, the Coromandel Coast, where Francis Xavier worked with the *parava*s, and Kerala, home of the Syrian Christians whose relationship to the Jesuits was uneasy at best (Neill 1984, 164).[122] Father Bertrand would write in the mid-nineteenth century that one of the biggest blows caused by the 1773 suppression was the abandonment of Indian students studying to be clergymen in the six major seminaries around India: Goa, Bassayn, Rachol, Ambalacat, Vaypicotta, and Cochin (Bertrand, *Introduction* LEEC1).[123] For the new Jesuits, the failure of previous institutions to initiate an Indian order was evidence that this ambition was largely unfeasible.

---

[121] Even Francis Xavier had upheld this view, though his indictment was not particularly original: "In the first place, the whole race of the Indians, as far as I have been able to see, is very barbarous. It troubles itself very little to learn anything about divine things and things which concern salvation. Most of the Indians are of vicious disposition, and are adverse to virtue. Their instability, levity, and inconstancy of mind are incredible; they have hardly any honesty, so inveterate are their habits of sin and cheating. We have hard work here, both in keeping the Christians up to the mark and in converting the heathen." See Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola quoted in Henry James Coleridge, S.J., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* (London: Burns and Oates, 1872), 67.

[122] For more on Jesuit missions with Syrian or St. Thomas Christians, see Xavier and Županov (2015). The authors present intriguing insights on how the Jesuits' encounters with Christians in Kerala were, "a significant, if somewhat traumatic, opening to cultural beliefs and routines" that showed the Jesuits "the possibility of accepting religious plurality, at least within Christianity" (2015, 151).

[123] In his introduction to the first volume of the NMM's *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses,* Bertrand, citing a letter written by the Archbishop of Cranganore, assures his reader that even in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits were zealously dedicated to the formation of an indigenous clergy (Bertrand, *Introduction* LEEC1). However, Bertrand

Education and Empire

The change in colonial rule is also significant for positioning the NMM educational sphere. The OMM Jesuits had worked in conjunction with the Portuguese empire in India, at a time when the *padroado* was a source of authority for the missionaries instead of a dreaded schism. Missionaries worked hand in hand with the Portuguese imperialist venture, following armies into new areas for evangelism (Neill 1984, 161). This is an important point to bear in mind, particularly as the British empire in India to some extent represented a similar link between mission and education for Protestant missionaries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[124] Many Protestant schools in India followed British curriculums and in this way served the empire's political and cultural objectives (Frykenberg 2008, 322).[125] As a result, "The religious British public saw missionaries as representatives of their own religiosity and philanthropy and followed missionary 'adventures' with avid interest" (Johnston 2003).[126] The

---

was writing sometime around 1865 when the first LEEC book was published, by which point the NMM was already under pressure to demonstrate their own commitment to bringing Indians into the order.

[124] We have already seen that the EIC and the colonial government were at times uneasy with the presence of missionaries in India. However, government records concerning Protestant missions abound. On the contrary, surveying Jesuit education in India reveals a lacuna of recent, scholarly studies on Jesuit colleges. This point is significant in that it illumines both the link between empire and education which enabled the growth and reputation of many Protestant institutions (see, for instance, the famous St. Stephen's College in New Delhi), and which motivated so many studies of Protestant missions when Catholic mission in India remains less studied.

[125] Bhavani Raman has pointed out that the exchange between British and Indian schools was a two-way process. Andrew Bell, a low-level colonial administrator and superintendent of the Madras Male Asylum School in Egmore, brought the *tinai* school "Madras monitorial system"—which involved one older student watching over many others—to Britain as an inexpensive way for teachers to teach large numbers of students. See *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012), 122.

[126] In fact, both British and American Protestant missions in India survived mainly on the sustained interest (translated into small donations) of the public back home. Claudius Buchanan's *The Star of the East*, written during his travels in India to convince the British public that missions deserved aid, became a bestseller when it was published in 1809. See Karen Chancey, "The Star in the East: the Controversy over Christian Missions to India, 1805-1813," *The Historian* volume 60, issue 3 (March 1998): 507-522. Similarly, Harriet Newell, the wife of an early American missionary, wrote a journal which was edited and published in the United States following her death. The work became a critical piece of Protestant missionary propaganda that encouraged young American women to involve themselves in foreign missions. See Dana Robert, "The Influence of Missionary Women on the World Back Home," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* V.21.1 (Winter 2002), 61ff. For more on British and American audiences for these texts, see also Eliza Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 52.

situation for Jesuits, who did not have robust support in Europe, was wholly different (Mosse 2012, 45).

For the new missionaries, the establishment of St. Joseph's College was based on conflicting ideas and realities. On the one hand, it was mimetic endeavor based on the example of Jesuit colleges throughout foreign missions, meant to homogenize Catholicism. On the other, it was a site that required an "intercultural mimesis" in order to survive (Mosse 2012, 9).[127] Further, as Anna Johnston has shown, reading missionary texts reveals "that significant changes in imperial (missionary) policy resulted from early colonial experience," which can be mapped by tracing "re-negotiations of relations between imperial and colonial orders" (2003, 35). I argue that St. Joseph's College is an ideal site for reading this tension, because it stood so central to the mission's survival. The college, whose history is outlined and analyzed in the following section, is a space in which Indian Catholicism would develop into one of the most prominent Christian hierarchies in contemporary South India.[128]

From Negapatam to Trichinopoly

The NMM's beginnings in the sphere of education were somewhat stalled. Unsurprisingly for an order so concerned with education, the new Jesuits had arrived in India with the intention of establishing institutions as soon as possible.[129] However, funding was directed elsewhere for almost a decade due to the mission's other pressing needs, such as

[127] David Mosse argues that the Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "construct[ed] knowledge through an 'intercultural mimesis,' coming to knowledge about India through a relationship with Brahmans and their view of society… an imitation of Brahman theorizing…" (2012, 9). His ideas reflect back on Eugene Irschick's notion of double conversion, where both sides of the encounter are affected, seeking similarities and differences, and find common ground through a shared (Tamil) landscape of ideas.

[128] From Frykenberg: "Indeed, the Catholic Church of India has now become the largest, most comprehensive, and best-organized ecclesiastical structure in the continent. Among its congregations are, at the very least, sixteen million, and probably many more, communicants and followers" (2008, 376).

[129] The Fathers had brought materials for a future college from Europe, including scientific and medical equipment ("cabinet de physique") (Saint-Cyr to RP Provincial, July 1841 LEEC1 n.18). Indeed one motivation emphasized in opening a college was to "initiate young Indians to the European sciences," a goal that would appropriately bring Enlightenment rationality (i.e., civilization) into the conversion project (Saint-Cyr 1865, 347).

building churches, hiring catechists, and dealing with trials. Although Garnier had already begun construction on buildings for a school in Trichinopoly, Negapatam, a commercial town with a useful proximity to French-held Pondicherry, was chosen as primary location for both the European, and later, the Indian college/seminary (Garnier to a Jesuit, 20 Dec. 1839 LNMM2 n.32).[130] Trichinopoly instead became the site of Indian high schools and a novitiate run by Father Garnier, which would prepare Indians to enter the seminary on the coast.[131] Father Audibert, the rector of the college, assigned Trincal, Hugla, Prosper Bertrand, Puccinelli, and Gillard Gonon (a Jesuit brother) to the college in its first year (Bertrand to RP Provincial, 24 April 1844 LEEC2 n.37). Given the small number of missionaries in South India at the time, the number of bodies is indicative of the weight placed on the enterprise.

By 1845, Canoz described the educational operation as overall successful. In Negapatam, the European college had sixteen students from French families in Pondicherry and Karaikal, along with ten Irish students from the British regiments. The college also attracted students from the neighboring vicariates of Jaffna, Colombo, and Madras (Saint-Cyr to a Jesuit, 3 July 1849 FMd150 JAV).[132] Next to it, a "completely separate" Indian college was established to respond to the need of the Catholic community. By mid-1849, this institution, run by Saint-Cyr, had over

[130] Establishing a college in Trichinopoly was considered by the missionaries as wasteful, because Indian Catholics did not yet have the potential of European or créole students (Besse 1914, 59). Though undoubtedly disappointed that his plans for Trichinopoly would not be used, Garnier described Negapatam to his mother as an idyllic place: "Negapatam is a small British station on the edge of the sea; its harbor is frequented by many boats and small ships that trade from the coast and the island of Ceylon. Its Christian population is very large but still divided between Catholicism and the schism, which is maintained by the efforts of a Goan priest" (Garnier to his mother, Nov. 1842 LEEC1 n.23). For a description of the town's Dutch and Christian history by the missionaries, see Bertrand to RP Provincial, 24 April 1844 LEEC2 n.37.

[131] Canoz agreed to Garnier's request for a Catholic preparatory school in Trichinopoly because the population of 10,000 Catholics had access only to Catholic primary schooling and were being forced to turn to Protestant institutions. The superior held that this school would both give a solid religious education and linguistic training (in Latin and useful living languages) to its students, of whom the best could then be filtered to the college at Negapatam (Canoz to RP Provincial, June 1844 LEEC2 n.38; Besse 1914, 68)

[132] Despite the Indocentrism of this thesis, the networks of Catholic education in the nineteenth-century depended upon Ceylon for many things. The NMM received funding for church buildings from their Jesuit colleagues in Colombo, and many missionaries came to them from the seminary in Kandy, established in 1894 (Frykenberg 2008, 356).

40 students, three of whom—as we will see below—entered the novitiate (Besse 1914, 62). Canoz emphasized that admission into the college was extremely difficult and undertaken with many precautions. Once admitted, the Indian students could prepare for several things, such as "the native priesthood, the function of catechists, and other carriers accessible to our Indians" (Canoz to RP Provincial, June 1844 LEEC2 n.39). Most students of the Indian college were entirely financially supported by the Jesuits, but the dual project in Negapatam was considered worthy despite financial difficulties: "The movement that our double college will produce, the presence of a great number of Fathers, the brilliance of our religious ceremonies, all this will make an impression on the Christians, will detach them from the schism and return them to a Catholic unity, and will even attract some pagans to knowledge of the Holy Gospel" (ibid.).[133]

Progress was also being made in Trichinopoly, with the notable expansion of the novitiate's functions and student population in its first years. By 1848, the novitiate also served as a residence, a presbytery, and a school, and it housed over fifteen Jesuits (Wilmet to RP Provincial, 8 April 1848 FMd150 JAV).[134] This growth reflected the preoccupation with stabilizing Catholicism in South India, but also a gradual push toward preparing Indians for ordination, whether as secular priests or members of the Society of Jesus. When Bertrand left for Rome in 1845 and took three Indian students from the Negapatam College with him, he was responding to a number of changes and forces detailed below. Similarly, the missionaries' new

[133] Many ethical questions arise from the issue of payment for education. I mentioned in chapter one that the Jesuits accused Protestants of using their abundant funding to bribe or otherwise compel parents into giving up their children to be educated. However, Catholic missionaries were accused of the same thing by their Protestant counterparts, in a game of what Viswanath calls "sheep-stealing" (Viswanath 2014, 59; 283 n.34). For another perspective on how missionaries in India used coercion, see Karen Vallgårda, "Between Consent and Coercion: Danish Missionaries and Tamil Parents in Late Nineteenth-Century South India," *Review of Development and Change* XIV, no.1-2 (2009): 87-108.

[134] Fathers Laurent, Galtier, Cyraud, and Sartorie were among them (Wilmet to RP Provincial, 8 April 1848 FMd150 JAV). Part of the reason that so many missionaries stayed in Trichinopoly, no doubt contributing to it becoming the center of the NMM, was the town's ideal geographical location within the mission. Jesuits and their students traveling between Madurai and Negapatam, for instance, would stop by Trichinopoly to rest and reunite, sharing stories with their compatriots, some of whom they may not have seen in months.

institutions in Dindigul and Madurai and the establishment of several bodies for training catechists indicated new concerns for the NMM.[135]

Reading Difficulty

Given the lauded successes of the network established by the Jesuits in the 1840s and 50s, how can we read the costly and controversial choice to move the college to Trichinopoly in 1883? The events which preceded the transfer, and particularly the obstacles which plagued the missionaries, must be examined as motivating factors for a decision that would shape the mission's entire future. One of these factors was disease. In July 1846, cholera killed Audibert, the superior of the college, O'Kenny, who taught English classes, and several students (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2 n.52; Miranda 1989, 138). The result of this outbreak was instrumental to the NMM, beginning the gradual decrease of European and *créole* students as frightened Pondicherry families retrieved their children (Bruné to RP Provincial, 1858 FMd150 JAV).[136] In similar fashion, a fire professedly started by jealous schismatics destroyed the college in 1848 and forced the missionaries to rebuild (Castets 1924, 84-85).

[135] An organized overview on each of these organizations can be found in Besse (1914). The Jesuits' views on and relationships with catechists could make up an entirely separate thesis. The Jesuits wrote often of the essential nature of catechists who could "penetrate into the hearts of families" where missionaries could not. The art of translating texts and sermons into Tamil also befell catechists: "The catechist is the missionary's arm; without the catechist, the missionary is a hunter with a dog and without a gun" (Laroche to his mother, July 1851 LEEC2 n.51). Henry Whitehead, a contemporaneous Anglican priest in India who wrote extensively on education, wrote the following on the importance of catechists: "They [Indians] have no words to express many of the mysteries of our holy Faith, and, in consequence, one must use obscure paraphrases which the uncouth minds of the Indians to not seize very readily. The missing words have been coined according to the genius of the language, but are only understood by Christians. A good catechist, however, will find a thousand means of making himself understood, as he makes most of his arguments from the break book of nature" (1898, 160). For more on catechists and the role of Tamil "intermediaries" in mission, see D. Dennis Hudson, *The Life and Times of H.A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900): A Study in the Encounter of Tamil Sri Vaisnava Hinduism and Evangelical Protestant Christianity in Nineteenth Century Tirunelveli District,* PhD diss. (Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1970) and Henriette Bugge, *Mission and Tamil Society: Social and Religious Change in South India (1840-1900)* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1995).

[136] Tassis praised the fact that because Pondicherry now had students in need of schooling, the Pondicherry high school once lead by Jesuits would not have to close, and would be directed by MEP missionaries (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2 n.52). Besse, on the other hand, writes that the Pondicherry high school reopened in 1846 with the French government's retrocession of the old colonial college, causing the "disappearance of the French element" in Negapatam (1914, 62).

The letters I have read do not betray the sense of anxiety that must have pervaded the mission, which depended on the college for its social and political status in India. However, these difficulties and the continual need to rebuild the college resulted in financial difficulties impossible to cover by the usual methods.[137] In addition, by 1854, forty of the fifty Indian students attended the college without paying tuition, an expense barely covered by funds sent from overseas (Canoz to RP Provincial, Aug. 1854 LEEC2 n.63; Miranda 1989, 140). Lack of priests was also a great obstacle—how could scholastics receive a full education if there was no one to teach theology or administer philosophy exams (Bedin to RP Provincial, 22 July 1861 FMd150 JAV)? Leon Besse's assessment that the college's early difficulties forced the missionaries to "harmonize with their environment", i.e., change the direction of their educational projects, circles back to the concept of mimicry as a mimetic strategy used to "reform, regulat[e], and discipline" alterity (1914, 62; Bhabha 1994, 122).

Rationalizing the necessity for change, Tassis wrote that the missionaries could focus instead on the "less brilliant" but more important project of the Indian college (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2 n.52). The NMM's response to the above obstacles was twofold: first, European students were phased out so that by 1858 the Indian college had 80 boarders and 60 regular students, and second, the college was gradually reshaped to conform to the British government's regulations for subsidized schools (Besse 1914, 63). By 1869, enough changes had taken place for the college to become affiliated with the University of Madras, and the Jesuits received 250 rupees monthly from Lord Francis Napier, the Governor of Madras (ibid., 65).

The culmination of these changes was the decision to physically move the college in

[137] The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith published in the years of the NMM generally include specifics on the amount of money sent from Europe to the Jesuits. In 1841, for instance, the Annals report that the NMM received 46,000 francs, or over 10,000 more francs than Bishop Bonnand and the MEP, and more than twice the amount of the Vicar Apostolic of Ceylon. See *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, volume 2 (London, 1841).

January of 1883 inland from Negapatam to Trichinopoly. Primary and secondary sources on the mission present many different reasons for the transfer, but two primary points of view are particularly relevant here.[138] One relates to the British and their support for the move, which was approved by both Sir Grant Duff, then Governor of Madras, and Mr. Grigg, the Madras Director of Public Instruction.[139] Negapatam is nestled between Pondicherry and Karaikal, two coastal French union holdings in South India, and so relatively isolated. The fortressed city of Trichinopoly, on the other hand, housed the brigadier commanding the South Division of the Madras Army, and so contained army barracks and many soldiers with their families (Garnier to Renault, Jan. 1839 LEEC1 n.3; *The Gazetteer of the World* 1887, 561).[140] Moving inland thus brought the Jesuits into greater proximity to colonial hubs of power.

In this landscape, the NMM's effort to educate Indians was squarely within the British colonial project. In the process of educating Indians, the Jesuits were also involved in a conscious process of creating "obedient, conforming citizens" of a colonized nation (Foss 2003, 41-42). The Jesuits reported that British officials "…seem[ed] to have finally understood real politics, which depend on the Catholic element…. certainly they will not find loyalty comparable

[138] There are many other opinions apart from the two presented above. According to André Rocaries, one motivating factor was the presence of a very large Śiva temple in Trichinopoly (*Jambukeswarar*) whose influence might be mitigated by increasing the Jesuit influence and presence with a competitively large college (1960, 69). Jean Castets writes that the move occurred because Trichinopoly had become the chief junction of the South Indian Railway in the 1850s (1924, 86). Another Jesuit scholar similarly believed that Negapatam was too far away from "the center of intellectual life in Tamil country" (Sebastian 1988, 39). Lacouague and later Ballhatchet noted that Trichinopoly was chosen as the new center due to its high population of Brahmins, who were still primary targets for the Jesuits and for whom the British would fund their education as ideal future government employees (1948, 38; 1998, 139). The NMM archive brings up many of these reasons, and the move is characterized as strategic. It was accordingly unpopular amongst Protestants in Trichinopoly who had already established many schools in the city and did not want competition (Castets 1924, 86).

[139] The European and Indian colleges in Negapatam had been visited a number of times by British officials, who probably sought to keep an eye on French activities in India as well as ensure that future (Indian) civil servants trained by Jesuits would be suitable. Although Jesuit educational institutions were well reputed in the West and India, accusations of anti-nationalism made against Jesuits in Europe may have been a concern.
before the suppression may have come into consideration early on (Miranda 1989, 211).

[140] For more on the presence of the British army in Trichinopoly, see James Lancaster Ranking, *Report Upon the Military and Civil Station of Trichinopoly* (Madras: Gantz Brothers, 1867). Ranking was the Surgeon General of the Madras Medical Service and though his report revolves around health, he also provides an important overview of the station including a census on the District of Trichinopoly.

to what we or our Christians can promise them anywhere else" (Bruni to RP Provincial, 1860 LEEC2 n.71). That is, the missionaries were complicit in what Homi Bhabha has termed the production of "a knowledge of Christianity as a form of social control" (1994, 124).[141]

From the Jesuit perspective, though, the shift in location to Trichinopoly also represented the leap of their most important efforts into a less European, less familiar world. The development of the sphere of education in these Tamil spaces was a critical factor for the creation of the Indian order that exists today. While Negapatam's location was conveniently and ideally close to the only French territory in India, French families from Pondicherry would never send their children far away to Trichinopoly for schooling (Bertrand to RP Provincial, 24 April 1844 LEEC2 n.37). Moreover, the climate was prohibitive; while coastal Negapatam was breezy and cool, Trichinopoly's dryness was infamously difficult (Pereira to RP Provincial, June 1849 LEEC2 n.54).[142] This point could not be insignificant for men who suffered from and wrote about the south Indian heat so ceaselessly. Finally, Trichinopoly was a much more Protestant space than Negapatam; the missionaries claimed that Protestants outnumbered Catholics and that Protestant schools dotted every street corner (Bertrand to a Jesuit, 15 Dec. 1840 LNMM1 n.52**;** Neill 1985, 296).[143] Though Trichinopoly was considered the center of the NMM, the shift also brought the Jesuits' concerns to the forefront.

---

[141] The missionaries' letters at times showed considerable awareness of the role they played in Britain's colonialism. Writing to a family member, Father Verdier, who would become the superior of the southern mission in 1872, noted that the British government's rule was better for civilization, religion, and country, and pointed to Ceylon as an example of this (Verdier to Auguste Verdier, 16 Jan. 1859, FMd150 JAV). In the context of this comment, his description in the same letter of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and how the British reestablished their power implies an understanding that the Jesuits' mission relied on the colonial government's rule in India—and this, even though the Jesuits were chaplains to the British army, including Christian sepoys.

[142] Indeed in July of 1849, before the move (and admittedly at an exceedingly hot time of the year in South India), Saint-Cyr mentioned in a letter to a friend that Bishop Bonnand wanted to move the novitiate from Trichinopoly to Negapatam, in order to escape the heat and give the students a chance to rest (Saint-Cyr to a Jesuit, 3 July 1849 FMd150 JAV).

[143] Protestant missionary society reports from this period reveal how extensive the education network in Trichinopoly was between the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Missionary Society, amongst others. Trichinopoly was considered to have "the highest educational

Towards an Indianized Order

Above, I use St. Joseph's move to Trichinopoly as both a literal and a figurative point of rupture for the NMM. The rest of this chapter will analyze two ensuing developments central to the NMM's objectives: its stance on caste and on India's Catholic hierarchy. These details allow me to texture the ways in which the college and novitiate came to reflect the new reality of the NMM, somewhere between the missionaries' desires, that of their superiors in Europe, and that of the Indian Christians communities around them. At the heart of these developments were small and often reluctant adjustments and measures, but I argue that these were significant in crucial moments towards building the Jesuit order we find today in South India.

Before their arrival in Pondicherry, Bertrand and the new Jesuits were well versed in the opinions of their predecessors concerning education (desirable) and Indianizing the order (a very distant inevitability). The NMM's consensus was thus that Tamil Catholics were full of potential but untrustworthy and in need of structured education (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2 n.52). This stance was practical for the missionaries, buying them time with their European superiors. Bishop Bonnand also wished to avoid both "the undue haste for Indianizing, which characterized many of the younger missionaries, and the rigid traditionalism which considered the Indian candidate not mature enough" (Bonnand quoted in Miranda 1989, 132). On the other, one of the biggest advocates for an Indian order was none other than Joannes

---

advantages," with two First Grade colleges, a national high school, and 45 middle and primary schools. See Sir Charles Lawson, *Narrative of the Celebration of the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Empress of India in the Presidency of Madras* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1887), 188. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) Missionary Herald for 1879 writes that the London Missionary Society had 1707 schools and 79,929 scholars at this time (151). Correspondence between officials in India and the India Office in England notes that in 1859, the British were granting financial aid to schools run by the Gospel Society, rather than establishing Zillah (native) schools in Trichinopoly. See *East India (education): Correspondence Relating to the Education Dispatch of 19 July, Volume 4* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1859), 115.

Roothaan, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus (1829-1853).[144] His influence, described in more detail below, was an important motivating factor for the Jesuits.

In 1854, Father Superior Canoz was still maintaining to his provincial superior in France that aspiring Indian Jesuits would have to work doubly hard to erase their Indianness (Canoz to RP Provincial, August 1854 LEEC2 n.63).[145] The rise of educational institutions in the Madura territory thus cannot simply be accounted for by the Society of Jesus' predilection for social justice, as has been claimed throughout Jesuit historiographies. On the contrary, education was part of a missionizing project that recognized the eventual necessity of creating an Indian priesthood, but was determined to reform Indian Christianity beforehand. With this purpose in mind, the Jesuits established a network of elementary schools, prep schools, colleges, and novitiates throughout the mission to evaluate Indian students and send them to the 'appropriate' places—somewhere between good citizen, government worker, or priest (*The Catholic Directory* 1856, 184-85). The deliberateness of this approach is emphasized by the missionaries' careful preoccupations, such as the argument that colleges should be prioritized over seminaries because parents would be more likely to send their children to school if they did not fear conversion (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Feb. 1847 LEEC2 n.43).

How do we account, then, for changes in this generally consistent outlook on education? Further, how can we read the sources pointing to the slow beginnings of an Indian Jesuit

[144] For a timeline of and excerpts from Roothaan's communication with the NMM Jesuits on the subject of the Indian clergy, see Jan Slijkerman, S.J., "Roothaan and the First Novitiate in India of the Restored Jesuit Order," *Indian Church History Review* IX, no.1 (1975): 23-54. The author accesses archives that I was not able to, and so includes letters written from Europe to South India that help round out the picture painted in this thesis. In general, Slijkerman shows that from the beginnings of the NMM, Roothaan pressured Bertrand and his successors to focus on religious education and accepting Indians into the Society of Jesus.

[145] The idea that Indian minds required more shaping was prevalent. Father Wilmet even criticized the circulating idea that Indian students interested in the vocation should be taught Latin, morality, and then be ordained. He believed that these students required much more serious study in part to give them real authority over other Indians (Wilmet to RP Provincial, 8 April 1848 FMd150 JAV). The Jesuits worried that because Indian secular priests would not require the same rigorous training as Indian Jesuits, their numbers would multiply far beyond the mission's ability to financially maintain (the cost of one secular priest being about 500 francs per year) and far beyond their control (Canoz to RP Provincial, Aug.1854 LEEC2 n.63)

priesthood? In the next sections, I examine closely the Jesuits' encounter first with caste and then with two individuals to show how educational institutions provided the framework for religious and social identities to be formulated in flexible ways.[146]

Caste and Education

From the lens of continuity, the new Jesuits in the second half of the nineteenth century upheld the notion of accommodation in its educational institutions. The best way to convert Brahmins was seen as the creation of separate schools.[147] In Negapatam, the Jesuits planned on only admitting high caste boys to the Indian college (Ballhatchet 1999, 10). As we saw in chapter two, excluding non-Brahmins from the mission's projects was unsustainable, yet the missionaries' letters emphasized the presence of high-caste Indians and their positive effect on lower caste students (Pereira to RP Provincial, June 1849 LEEC2 n.54; Saint-Cyr to RP Provincial, Oct. 1850 LEEC2 n.56). Tassis, for instance, bragged that the ease with which upper-caste Christians studied was a model for other students in the college. In another case, the steadfast faith of a converted Brahmin student even in the face of his caste's rejection was upheld as an exemplar (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2 n.52). This logic extended even further. According to twentieth-century Jesuit historians, the insistence on retaining caste

[146] In this argument, I diverge somewhat from Alphonse Manickam's claim that the French Jesuits were not truly concerned with caste issues because they had so many other problems to deal with, notably with Protestant and schismatic missionaries as their enemies (2001, 252).

[147] According to Ines G. Županov, this project was welcomed by high-caste Christians at St. Joseph's College in Trichinopoly, who wrote the following excerpt in a letter asking "to found a separate residential colony" for Brahmins: "We wish to show by the practice of Christian virtues…side by side with an outward conformity to Brahmin habits and custom, that Christianity does not mean drinking, wearing hats, boots and trousers, or surrender of caste dignity, but a vivifying influence which raises man to the highest perfection of his moral nature" (quoted in Županov 2005, 26). The idea of transforming Christianity into a vivifying and moral religion by (1) associating it with Brahmanism, and (2) extricating it from outward symbols of Europeanness such as clothing was a tactic that would allow missionaries and concerned Catholics to deal with "unruly and un-Christian behavior" (Županov 2005, 127). The Jesuits also used this particular point of alterity, which might have distanced lower caste Indian Christian communities, to their advantage against Protestant missions, "pointing…to the 'exemplary conduct of Catholic natives' and soldiers as well as favorably comparing the benefits of Catholic schooling with the secularizing effect of an Anglo-Protestant education" (Mosse 2012, 53). For more on Jesuit sources which claimed that *padroado* priests "turned their churches into drinking dens," see Miranda (1989), 27.

separations in colleges actually enabled Dalit Catholics to move more freely in Trichinopoly by virtue of being students in a respectable institution (Besse 1914, 68; Lacouague 1948, 38): "From this contact resulted…considerable prestige for the Church, a sentiment of respect, admiration, and profound recognition, even amongst the pagans, for the Catholic missionary…. Our Christians no longer have to blush about their faith" (Lacouague 1948, 38).[148]

Yet despite these "demonstrable successes," many Jesuits in South India today come from so-called low caste communities.[149] How did this shift occur? In part, pressure came from the Society in Europe, especially in the face of the mission's relative conversion failures, which were regarded quantitatively rather than qualitatively, as the Jesuits would have no doubt preferred. As early as 1846, Roothaan wrote that if any Catholic should "ask to be received into the Society they should not be rejected," but admitted into the college for examination (quoted in Slijkerman 1975, 32-33). According to David Mosse, the mission's evolving stance on caste did not have much to do with the Vatican, but rather came "as a result of ideological innovation from within Tamil society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Mosse 2012, 51).[150] A

[148] Eliza Kent's discussion on how missionary-approved seating separations in churches can be read, either "as a response to the moral laws of Christianity, or "in terms of its 'reception history' among the Indian Christians' Hindu neighbors," is helpful for a broader understanding of how caste tied into missionary decisions (2004, 25).

[149] Manickam notes that at the time of his writing, Dalits constituted 70 per cent of Catholics in India, a number which is reflected in the Society of Jesus' ranks (2001, 11). Internal statistics for the order, however, are difficult to come by. As Mosse puts it, "Because caste in the Catholic Church is characterized by its *public denial*, the task of 'outing' caste has been challenging" (2012, 216, emphasis in the original). He goes on to note that priests and other men in positions of power have "denied knowledge or records of caste in parishes, institutions, or in relation to admissions or appointments" (ibid., 216-7). As a result, knowledge of the Society of Jesus' caste demographic remains unofficial knowledge for insiders. I was told in a private conversation with a Madurai-based Jesuit priest in May 2016 that many priests and novices in the Madurai Province are Dalit, though these numbers are not necessarily reflected in the order's hierarchy. Mosse points his readers to a helpful 2003 study by M. Thangaraj on the matter. See *Evaluation of the Ten Point Programme for the Development of Dalit Christians in Tamil Nadu* (Chennai: Madras Institute of Development Studies, 2003).

[150] For some idea of how things *did* change after Vatican II, a council which occurred between 1962-1965, see Manickam (2001). The author's dissertation delves first into the period between 1970 and 2000, in which Dalit Christians began to protest against discrimination and saw various changes. Manickam's last section entitled "A Future to Build," focuses on the ways the mission could develop in the future, including in its relationship to the government and the role of churches. The Society of Jesus' website also details provisions made for Dalits in India: http://www.jesuites.com/actualites/archives/2000/periyanayagam.htm.

critical factor was the anti-caste stance adopted by Protestant missionaries in South India, which helped develop a political, cultural, and religious critique of untouchability (ibid).[151] Though Bertrand informed his superiors that Protestant schools in Trichinopoly produced no true converts, Catholic authorities such as Roothaan tied Protestant success to their contrary stance on caste accommodation (Ballhatchet 1999, 124-25).[152]

We have seen how the new necessity to operate within British rule challenged the Jesuits in and around Tuticorin, forcing them to find alternate ways to establish dominance over the *jāti talaivaṉ*. The NMM's sphere of education was under no different stress. In order to compete with their Protestant adversaries, the missionaries had to vie for the same government grants (Sebastian 1988, 37-38; Mosse 2012, 52-53).[153] Not only did the Jesuits emphasize an English education and the creation of model citizens, but they also had to shift their policies on converting Brahmins and separating students by caste (Lacouague 1948, 40). In part, the Jesuits continued to turn their attention to *veḷḷālar* communities. The community of Christian *veḷḷālar*

[151] As Eliza Kent and many other scholars have noted, the appeal of Protestant Christianity was not always linked only to a preference for Protestant beliefs over Catholic ones. Rather, conversion was "integrally related to processes by which groups that had been marginalized in pre-colonial and early colonial social formations were able to forge new identities better suited to their aspirations of social mobility" (Kent 2004, 49). The Catholic Church's fear that Protestants were converting more Indians due to their anti-caste policies reflected this reality.

[152] In their personal correspondence, the Jesuits mocked Protestants for having so many missionaries and other resources in India, and for spending so much money, without definitively converting many people: "It is grievous to see so much money wasted with scarcely any, even nominal, benefit, while Catholic Schools cannot be founded for want of funds….One-twentieth part of the sums spent annually by the Protestant Missions would suffice to maintain the Catholic one in affluence, to found schools and colleges, to educate young natives for the Priesthood, or to train them as Catechists, and thus would rapidly bring the Heathens into the fold of Christ" (Strickland 1852, 168).

[153] For an account of how and why Protestant/British education developed in India as part of the colonial strive for security and stability, see Frykenberg's (2008) chapter entitled "Elite Education and Missionaries". Important to this process was historian and politician Thomas Macaulay's 1835 "Minute on Education," which claimed that prioritizing a British education in India was critical and was representative of the debates that had been taking place as the British government took over the EIC. Macaulay's Anglicist priorities were adopted and became the English Education Act of 1835, effectively "set[ting] the direction for British education policy" in a way that would also shape Jesuit Catholic education in India (Basu 1974, 72). As per this new policy, the new schools would be open to all castes: "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (quoted in Frykenberg 2001, 333). Sir Charles Wood's 1854 Dispatch began the concept of grant-in-aids from which St. Joseph's College profited. See also *Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, for 1876-77* (Madras: Graves, Cookson & Co., Popham's House, 1877).

proprietors and merchants who formed an "influential class" in Trichinopoly were considered particularly valuable targets for the college (Besse 1914, 68). By the 1890s, somewhat after the scope of this paper, even the *parava* community was asking for permission to enter the Society (Ballhatchet 1999, 129). Concurrently, Dalits wishing to enter Jesuit-run schools and colleges sent a petition to Rome. In 1894, the Pope would tell Superior Verdier, known for his reluctant and regressive views on caste inclusiveness, that the Jesuits had to cease attempts to convert Brahmins, and begin forming any appropriate candidate (ibid., 139). For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on the period of transition by highlighting the earliest presence of Indian Jesuits in the archive before 1880.

Indians in the Order: C. Dayriam and A. Pereira

There are only a few places in which we see Indian Jesuits in the mission before the wave of change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[154] Still, these instances are useful glimpses of how the NMM perceived Indian Jesuits within their overall discourse on education. Once again, I argue that the inevitable tensions around the subject were inherited from the mission's need to mirror both European hierarchies of power and Indian Christianities. These examples suggest that the Jesuits were more aware of the power of Indianizing the order than is ostensibly indicated in their letters.

The archive's first mention of Indian candidates occurred in 1845. Sent back to Rome in part to recover from a series of illnesses, Bertrand brought along three students from the Negapatam college. In his letters, these students come across less as shining examples of success

[154] One place in which this transition is made obvious is in Besse's book, which relates statistics from the mission's districts. At the end of each district, Besse includes the names of the *pangouswamis*, or priests, who worked in the area. As time progressed into the 1890s and beyond, the number of Tamil names increases exponentially, indicated a complete transformation of the NMM's foundations (though this exercise can become confusing as many Jesuits gave themselves and are listed by their Tamil names). By 1910, the mission had 36 Indian Jesuit priests, still a perplexingly low number given that by the 1950s, Indian Jesuits had replaced most Europeans in South India (Castets 1924, 80).

and more as calculated evidence of the Jesuits' commitment to ordaining Indians, to be deployed in a timely fashion against any accusations to the contrary (Bertrand to RP Provincial, July 1845 LEEC2 n.41).[155] Bertrand—likely indirectly addressing Superior-General Roothaan—noted that although the three students would have to take an oath preventing them from entering the order, he believed that that "if God grants them the grace of vocation, the Holy Father will not refuse to exempt them from this oath, since it will allow them to be most useful in their native land" (Bertrand to RP Provincial, July 1845 LEEC2 n.41).[156]

The students only reappear in the archive around 1848, when a letter written by Tassis names one among them, Dayriam, and states that he had returned to finish his novitiate in Trichinopoly due to health issues caused by the European climate (what a reversal!).[157] According to Tassis, then procurator of the NMM, Dayriam had been accepted as a novice after several years at the College of the Propaganda, and was announced as the first high caste Indian (and the only Tamil) to be received in the Society (Tassis to RP Provincial, Oct. 1848 LEEC2

[155] The three students' presence in Rome raises the question of why they could not be trained in the Indian seminaries. The decision to bring the students on the arduous journey to Europe reflected the gap between mindsets and decisions in India and Europe. Alden writes that, "Even though entry into the Orders in India was denied, it was possible for a determined, resourceful, high-caste Indian to be ordained in Rome" (1996, 263). In other words, only those who benefited from a privileged education and represented the Brahminical point of view considered "highbrow"—due to Orientalists and missionaries such as Nobili—would come into direct contact with Europe. For more on the difficulties caused by disagreements between local colonial stances and that of the Church, see Matheus de Castro's story in Xavier and Županov (2015), 255.

[156] The prohibition of "natives of the land" to enter Catholic orders dated back to the sixteenth-century in which Gonçalo Alvares, "the first Visitor in the East," gave the official opinion that Indians were not yet fit to enter into the Society of Jesus (Alden 1996, 262). As Alden puts it, "Where the Jesuits led, the others followed: by the early seventeenth century, the Franciscans and other Orders had also erected color bars, which remained in place until at least the late eighteenth century (ibid., 263). Roothaan cautioned Bertrand to choose his students wisely: "As they will be the first fruits of your Mission it is very desirable that they be well selected. When other candidates will present themselves and they will be considered fit, they may be proposed; you understand how important it is that the first attempt succeeds" (Roothaan quoted in Slijkerman 1975, 29).

[157] According to Slijkerman, this student is referred to inconsistently by his Tamil Indian name, Dayriam—otherwise spelled Dairiam, Dayrianathen, or Dayrianather—or his Christian name, Constant (the latter used mainly by Roothaan, while the missionaries refer to him by his Tamil name). Besse also uses the name Dayriam and Daïriam interchangeably. However, according to a 1894 catalogue of the Jesuit province of Toulouse, these sources actually refer to two separate Jesuit: Constans Dayrianader (the student sent to Rome), born 12 April 1823, and Marianus Dayriam, born 2 February 1853. This is the only mention of Marianus Dayriam that I have come across and the scope of this thesis does not allow me to pursue the matter, but it is an important inquiry for a further project. See *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Provinciae Tolosanae Societatis Jesu Ineunte Anno MDCCCXCIV* (Uclesii: Ex Typis Collegii, 1894).

n.52; Miranda 1989, 143). [158] The missionaries reported that the other students in Trichinopoly, impressed and curious, saw him as equal to the European missionaries. In Besse, Father Dayriam is listed as a *pangousami* (priest) of Aour district, where he built a church, beginning in January 1, 1875. Later in the same year, Dayriam's struggles with a Goanese priest named Andicourani over the village of Souseyaperpatnam mark the missionaries' continued struggles with the schismatics (Besse 1917, 114; 345). The letters I have seen, however, remain silent on the other students, one of whom we know was named Sousei (Joseph).[159]

In part, Dayriam's presence reinforced the rhetoric on converting Brahmins. He was also likely used to support the contention that caution should be employed in 'naturalizing' the Society of Jesus in India, especially if it led to such ideal candidates (Saint-Cyr to RP Provincial, Oct. 1850 LEEC2 n.56). Yet, the idea that a Tamil Christian could become a Jesuit was transformative. Dayriam's return to India is indicative of the mission's need for manpower; the college and novitiate had to become an independent source of missionaries, and Dayriam was perhaps the earliest proof that the mission could be successful in this. Further, his Tamil-bodied presence in the mission, where he was placed in charge of the Indian congregation in the vicariate-apostolic of Madura and fought against schismatics, confirmed that Jesuit Catholicism in India could be upheld even after the Indianization of the NMM (*The Catholic Directory* 1856, 184). This dream by no means excluded the Jesuits' own bodies from India, but it gave them the

[158] Tassis' information is not reliable. Pero Luís, who became a Jesuit under the OMM and whose story we find in Županov's *Missionary Tropics* was born to a Brahmin family (2012, 259). It seems unlikely that such an error would have slipped past Bertrand, the editor of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, who was so knowledgeable on the OMM's history. Perhaps the slip was purposeful, for the less informed?

[159] There is no further mention of the three candidates who accompanied Bertrand to Rome even in Jan Slijkerman's article on the first noviciate of the NMM (1975, 23). However, he notes that Dayriam is mentioned several times in Latin texts found at the Jesuit archive in Shembaganur (ibid., 54). The two other Indian students who had accompanied Bertrand to Rome were apparently never given permission to join the novitiate (ibid., 40). Contrarily, Jean Castets, a Jesuit writing in the 1924, notes that none of the students brought to Rome by Bertrand "could make up their minds to stand apart as a nucleus of secular priests in the Mission and had to be committed into the Society (80). It is unclear what happened to these students, whether they remained in Europe or returned to India.

power to bring "the whole Church of India into canonical order by creating an Indian hierarchy," in line with both Roman and British policies (Miranda 1989, 171).

The second moment in which an Indian enters the archive is more sustained, though it begins in September 1845. Father Antoine Pereira was born in Goa in 1817, likely to a Catholic family, and studied at the College of Rachol until he entered the novitiate of Saint-André in France in 1841.[160] Roothaan decided to send Pereira to the NMM after his training, with an express purpose: "This is, I hope, a precious acquisition for Madura. Other young men from Goa will, on his example, probably ask to enter into the Society" (quoted in Slijkerman 1975, 31). Apart from these general details, the archive does not reveal much on Pereira's background. Notably, details about his family's status and his caste are not discussed in the letters I have encountered.[161] Still, sources announcing Pereira's arrival in South India use this event as incontrovertible proof that the missionaries were taking serious actions toward an Indian order:

> For long, we have whined about our small numbers and about the extreme difficulty of sufficient recruitment in Europe and of conserving the missionaries that your charity sends us…. Everything reminded us of the necessity to recruit and form good auxiliaries in this country. Our first fathers thought seriously of this in the first year; this need was a principal motif in the establishment of the college-seminary of Negapatam…. While the young Indians, led by Father Jos. Bertrand, are fashioned in the novitiate and the scholasticate in France, we receive from the T.R.P. general *another Indian*, F. Pereira… (Wilmet to RP Provincial, April 1848 LEEC2 n.51, emphasis mine).

[160] The College of Rachol is described in *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, published in 1878, as a former Jesuit college which became a seminary "supported by the Government" after the suppression of the Society of Jesus. It is said to have moved several times and existed under different names such as the College of the Holy Ghost and the College of All Saints. The sketch significantly describes the separation between the seminary's two populations: "Its lower classes are designed for preliminary training, and the higher for studies indispensable to the clerical calling". See José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & Co. Limited, 1878), 48. See also Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 24.

[161] We can reasonably guess from other letters, however, that Pereira was Indian and not from a Portuguese family. For instance, Roothaan wrote to Canoz of the new father: "If the example of Fr Pereyra would inspire some of his countrymen to ask to be received into the Society they should not be rejected; nor should you admit them immediately into the noviciate…" (Roothaan quoted in Slijkerman 1975, 32). Moreover, he is referred to as Indian in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Wilmet to RP Provincial, April 1848 LEEC2 n.51). The difficulty in establishing these biographical facts about the inhabitants of archives is found also in Xavier and Županov (2015), 264.

The European missionaries were seemingly divided over Pereira's role in the mission. In the archive, he is referred to as a trusted and valuable colleague. Pereira was made Master of Novices of the NMM and Master of the Trichinopoly novitiate, which was modeled after the one in Saint-André (Pereira to a Jesuit, 18 June 1849 FMd150 JAV). Upon his arrival in 1847, Pereira was sent to Goa to recruit students like himself for the novitiate, and returned with six possible candidates (Wilmet to RP Provincial, April 1848 LEEC2 n.51). He was an integral part of the novitiate, doing everything from recruitment to writing out timetables. However, there was some question from his superior, Canoz, over whether he should be replaced by another priest. Roothaan insisted this would not be "convenient": "As this means of recruiting in India is now open to us through the Divine Goodness, it is advisable not to allow it to be lost" (quoted in Slijkerman 1975, 39). Pereira remained in his post.

The contents of Pereira's letters are also helpful for this analysis as a hint of how the European Jesuits conceived of Pereira's identity and role in their project. That is, although Pereira is described as "Goan" and "Indian"—identity markers that are deployed for the mission's greater success by appointing him Master of Novices—his distance from India and training in France constructs Pereira as an insider/outsider, and thus as a useful tool.[162] Politically, Pereira was used as a mediator between Jesuits and Goan schismatics, his "compatriots," with whom the European Jesuits believed he could reason (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Feb. 1846 LEEC2 n.43).[163] His colleagues linked his various successes in the fields

[162] A parallel could be made between Pereira's use and that of O'Kenny, the first British Jesuit to arrive at the NMM, who was called upon and used as chaplain for the British regiments in Trichinopoly due to his unique partial identities as British Jesuit.

[163] Wilmet even wrote that three bothersome schismatic priests, sent by the new archbishop of Goa to fight back against the Jesuits, turned themselves in and submitted to Pereira (Wilmet to RP Provincial, Feb. 1846 LEEC2 n.43). There is an ambiguity in Wilmet's phrasing of the incident: "He [Pereira] spoke to his compatriots and enlightened and convinced them, because they were of good faith. However, we have judged it prudent not to precipitate anything; it is good that *they have time to reflect and concert amongst themselves*" (ibid., emphasis mine). The

of mediation and recruitment with his ability to "convert" the enemy. Clearly, Pereira was considered critical for bringing Christians into the Jesuit fold. Perhaps because of this, he was also chosen by Canoz to assist Hartmann, the Bishop of Bombay, in the "grave question" of the Bombay diocese (Canoz to RP Provincial, April 1843 LEEC2 n.61).[164] When Canoz wrote to his superior that Hartmann had decided to divide his diocese and give a piece to the Jesuits, it was no doubt constituted as a triumph for Pereira (Canoz to RP Provincial, Nov. 1858 LEEC2 n.69).

The case of Pereira is thus somewhat ambiguous when taken within the context of the missionaries' adverse discourse around 'naturalizing' the order. However, Pereira benefited from not being Tamil. While the new missionaries were aware of and liberally wrote about Tamil castes and traditions, they associated Goan Christians with the legacy of Francis Xavier. A non-schismatic Jesuit Goan was a victory for the Society in India. Further, the letters indicate that Pereira participated in the mission's emphasis on converting Brahmins, another reason for which he may have been such an important actor. Reporting a conversation between himself and the King of Poudoucottey, Pereira emphasized to his readers that the conversion of a 'little king' would be mimicked by Brahmins and would protect Christians in the region from persecution (Pereira to a Jesuit, 18 June 1849 FMd150 JAV). However, he was also deeply engaged in the effort to admit Indians to the Society of Jesus. In 1850, he founded the Congregation of the Brothers of Notre-Dame of Seven Dolours to train catechists and even priests.[165]

---

question is of whether "they" refers to the schismatic priests or to Indians, in which Pereira would be included. If the latter is the case, the text once against suggests how the European missionaries deliberately used Pereira to certain ends, knowing well that his unique position would strengthen their own.

[164] Hartmann became bishop of a vicariate which "covered an area of about 120,000 square miles, with a population of perhaps ten millions," and had only four priests to help him (Neill 1985, 289). His calling upon the Jesuits for help was significant, as Hartmann was well-reputed in India and would eventually become "the chief representative of the Roman Catholic community to the government of India" (ibid., 291). It was also this connection with Hartmann that enabled the Jesuits to establish St. Xavier's College in Bombay.

[165] It is not insignificant that Pero Luís, the only Indian Jesuit from the OMM, was also preoccupied with enabling Indians to enter the Society of Jesus, even "begging the general to admit additional Indians, even if the trial period were to be doubled…" (Alden 1996, 263). Although Pereira was able to begin his own enterprise towards this goal,

Overall, Pereira's role in the mission positioned him neatly within an approved Catholic hierarchy. As Master of Novices, he based himself on his European novitiate and answered to Canoz. With Hartmann, he represented the interest of the French missionaries who sought to extend their religious influence against the schismatics and even the MEP. Finally, as a non-Tamil Indian, Pereira represented a missionary source from *within* India but outside Tamil communities, thereby retaining a distance between missionary and Christian that the European Jesuits held on to in their often racist and exclusivist writings.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that despite the missionaries' progress towards caste inclusivity and 'Indianizing' in the late nineteenth century, such concepts were often foreign to the new Jesuits and not necessarily reflective of an innate desire for social justice. I have sought to suggest that, on the contrary, these shifts occurred because of the NMM's difficulties in upholding continuity with the OMM and traditional ways of understanding concepts of mission and conversion. St. Joseph's College in Negapatam and Trichinopoly, along with its associated novitiates and schools, became a critical site on which these discourses took place. By default, the college was part of a public and political life that had to depend on the colonial government for funding. Internal to the Society, however, the college was a space in which the Jesuits had to prove the value and sustainability of their decisions concerning Indian Christians, in an atmosphere of increasing competition and greater distance from the days of Francis Xavier, Constanzo Beschi, and Robert de Nobili.

The negotiation which occurred around education was similar to that which allowed the Jesuits to create bonds of shared suffering with Indian Christian communities, or to develop

---

access was limited to Indians who would attend the novitiate, undergo "appropriate obstacles," and take temporary vows under Canoz, and thus very highly regulated (Tableau Général, LEEC 2 n.64).

alternate ways root their authority in churches and villages. It involved a slow and sometimes indirect process of relaxing policies and contouring systems that favored European visions of Catholic hierarchy, which the Jesuits desperately relied. I have located two points in this process: the move from the Negapatam to Trichinopoly, and the writings on and use of the few Indian Jesuits who appear in the early years, before the mission's statistics really began to transform, so that by 1950 almost all Jesuits in South India were Indian.[166] These are critical moments; they were the culmination of the missionaries' first experiences and reflective of this hesitation, an uncertainty which would allow the mission to reach its present iteration.

[166] David Mosse notes that due to the explosion of seminaries and schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indian priests "largely replaced Europeans in the 1950s" in rural Ramnad (2012, 53). Data publically available from Dr. Thomas P. Gaunt's study on Jesuit demographics at Georgetown University's Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) suggests that this trend extends beyond one small region. Statistics collected between 1982 and 2013 indicate that as the number of European and North American priests has declined, the number of South Asian priests has steadily increased. Dr. Gaunt's research notes that the global composition of the Jesuits has flipped in certain ways; there has consistently been a much higher proportion of Jesuits entering from the so-called developing world, and the average age of such priests is estimated at 50% younger than priests from the so-called developed world. See Thomas P. Gaunt: "The Changing Jesuit Geography," *Nineteen Sixty-Four* (research blog), Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate of Georgetown University, February 1, 2011, http://nineteensixty-four.blogspot.ca/2011/02/changing-jesuit-geography.html, and "By the Numbers: Jesuit Demography," *Nineteen Sixty-Four* (research blog), Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate of Georgetown University, January 9, 2015, http://nineteensixty-four.blogspot.com/2015/01/by-numbers-jesuit-demography.html.

Conclusion

For nostalgia notoriously works to create a mythic past, which it then mourns. This cycle, while arguably quite human, can engender a blindness to new impulses and movements that do not fit into previous models.

Maggie Nelson 2007, xxiii.

This thesis has dealt with the consequences of what Maggie Nelson describes as a "mythic past"—that is, the mimetic impulse to live up to, imitate, and relive the past—on the work of the New Madura Mission's Jesuits. We have seen how the missionaries fought to keep on their forefathers' trajectory. The inability to do so due to changes both colonial and ideological was a central dilemma of the mission. We also have noted the ways in which the Jesuits responded to this dilemma, writing about Indian Christianity and seeking reassurance that their 'universal' faith could be legitimized through a combination of westernization and accommodation. On this process of making an object familiar, Michael Taussig writes:

> Pulling you this way and that, mimesis plays this trick of dancing between the very same and the very different. An impossible but necessary, indeed an everyday affair, mimesis registers both sameness and difference, of being like, and of being Other. Creating stability from this instability is no small task, yet all identity formation is engaged in this habitually bracing activity in which the issue is not so much staying the same, but maintaining sameness through alterity" (1993, 129).

Taussig's analysis, which he applies both as general theory and specifically to Cuna figurines representing Europeans in South America, has been central to this work. The letters of the NMM archive replace the figurines as the primary objects of study, but the outcome still rings in familiar tones. The Jesuits' writing practices were undoubtedly a type of identity formation for them as individuals, and for their order as a whole.[167]

[167] Ines Županov's work on the OMM bases itself in a similar archive to the one used for this thesis. Her analysis of the Jesuit writing project and archival power is thus especially helpful here. The author writes that the Jesuits were given directions on how to write letters, and helpfully provides ways to "counter-read" these in light of what we know about the missionaries' obligations (1999, 31-34). For an internal criticism on the ways in which Jesuit archives are shaped and must be analyzed, see M. Arumairaj, "The Jesuit Contribution to the Historiography of Tamilagam," in *Jesuit Presence in Indian History*, ed. Anand Amaladass (India: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1988).

While access to materials from Indian Christians is much less easily available, the universality of the mimetic practices described by Taussig suggests that they, too, might have struggled with the task of performing Christianity in missionary-approved ways while maintaining their Tamil selves. There is abundant evidence throughout secondary sources that Indian Christians, just like the missionaries, tended to perform religion in ways they deemed suitable.[168] Further, Susan Bayly has shown us that processes of identity-making in South India depended on so many different agents and ideas that it is hardly possible to pin down where and how:

> Once dismissed as alien or marginal implants of European colonial rule, the manifestations of… Christianity which took root in south India should now be seen as fully 'Indian' religious systems. Their underlying principles of worship and social organization derived from a complex and dynamic process of assimilation and cross-fertilization. New doctrines, texts and cult personalities were introduced by a variety of Indian, west Asian and European teachers and churchmen, but over time these were taken over and transformed by their recipients…. the most forceful of the self-styled reformers and purifiers had an impact on the society which was not at all what they intended**.** This applied to the 'reforming' nineteenth-century Jesuits….They may have planned to 'purge' and standardize indigenous religion, but the would-be converters were themselves 'converted'; they were made over into tutelaries and cult saints so as to fit in with south India's existing forms of worship (1989, 454).

Bayly's description of conversion calls to mind Eugene Irschick's own, to which I will return below.

The objective of this thesis has been to explore one facet of how Jesuits in Tamil India went from being primarily European to almost entirely Indian. Scholars such as David Mosse and Ines Županov have offered brief and insightful explanations for the phenomenon, but as of yet no study has examined this issue in more detail. On one level, the answer to this inquiry

[168] For instance, Vedanayagam Sastriar, one of the most famous Tamil Protestants in history, wrote that Protestant missionary efforts to curb certain liturgical practice were often fruitless. These customs included celebrating certain holidays and adorning churches with garlands and candles (Hudson 2000, 148-153). Philip Baldaeus, a Dutch Reform minister in India and Sri Lanka, also faced a challenge when he was told by Protestant Brahmins that they would not eat meat or drink because this did not fit their concept of "the essence of Christianity". For these Christians, Christianity acted as "a way of life that emerged from their 'nature' and level of 'education, and thus in no way obliged them to eat meat or drink regardless of whether these items were pure or not (ibid., 8-9).

seems obvious. India's independence and move into 'modernity,' accompanied by the social consciousness and mobility described by Mosse, left little choice but for an Indianized Catholic hierarchy.[169] However, the foundations for the Society of Jesus' transformation in India were established even before the late nineteenth-century.

I have thus sought to answer the following questions: what influenced the Jesuits to begin moving toward a new modernity for the NMM, and how did this move occur in the early years of mission? The NMM Jesuits arrived in India carrying what Dirks calls "the fundamental conceit of colonial representation," i.e., the assumption that India's Christian history and tradition would disappear if not for European intervention (Dirks 2001, 106). For the Jesuits, this conceit was translated into the belief that they lived in "a bipolar imaginary," in which "They [had] left from a 'center,' Europe, where they had both truth and the means of salvation, and went to a 'periphery,' India, in which they had neither" (Manickam 2001, 15).

In chapter one, I have shown how the Jesuits' descriptions of their touring reflected Manickam's statement and shaped the missionaries' concept of their own suffering and that of Indian Christians through alterity. By analyzing the types of difficulties narrated by the missionaries, I also emphasized how these were used on two levels: to make the unfamiliar familiar by sharing narratives, and to reinforce the missionary body's separation from the 'other'. That is, the Jesuits deliberately participated in "maintaining sameness through alterity," but also in maintaining alterity through a distinct kind of sameness.

---

[169] As nationalism in India took root, in part constructed on foreign, orientalist ideas of India's "mythic past," Christianity came increasingly under fire as being a foreign religion, and missionaries foreign implants determined to rob India of its true, ancient greatness. V.D. Savarkar, a prominent nationalist in the twentieth-century, wrote that Christians were originally Indian/Hindu, that their conversion had been forced, and that Christianity was an "alien adulteration". Quoted in William Elison, Christian Lee Novetzke, and Andy Rotman, *Amar Akar Anthony: Bollywood, Brotherhood, and the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 138. Mahatma Gandhi also contributed to the narrative against missionaries and their "allegedly unfair methods and exaggerated claims". See Susan Billington Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V.S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 316.

Chapter two moved from aspects of the missionary body to aspects of the mission itself. It mapped two areas in which the Jesuits experienced plentiful difficulties: the nineteenth-century applications of accommodation, and the issue of politics and mission centers. Through this analysis, I explored how the Jesuits' responses to challenges—sometimes in creative, "under the radar" ways—stimulated new understandings of the mission's possibilities. In essence, these obstacles forced the missionaries to actively rewrite difficulty and alterity into acceptable resolutions.

While the first two chapters of this thesis answered the question of *what* influenced the Jesuits to consider old concepts anew, chapter three focused on the issue of *how* this occurred. I argued that educational institutions were sites that demanded flexibility by nature of being public spaces within the British empire, and also because they represented the future of the NMM. St. Joseph's College and the mission's various novitiates were deeply involved in missionary conversion plans but, even more basically, these spaces guarded who would have access to institutionalized Catholicism in India. The Jesuits' struggles undoubtedly affected how they constructed Christian Indians, in establishing similarity and highlighting difference alike—both methods protected the missionaries from the bewildering Indianness of Indian Christianity. Through their schools, the Jesuits faced the forces of social mobilization, nationalism, and modernity by Indianizing their order.[170]

Why are these beginnings important? I remind the reader of Frykenberg's analysis of the NMM: "No institution in Catholic India exemplified this amazing expansion [of indigenous clergy] as much as the Jesuit order…. So much was this to be so that, today, no country in the

[170] It is critical that many of these forces were internal to India and not just the direct influence of the Pope and the British on the mission. These factors prove that the Jesuits were deeply tied to the forces at play in Indian society, and forced to respond accordingly. For instance, as Frykenberg tells us, by the time the new Jesuits returned to India in 1836, much of the *padroado* clergy in India was Goan. These priests "led the way in promoting the formation of an Indian clergy" which "defended itself against returning European missionaries" (2008, 356).

world has produced so many Jesuit priests—3,851 [in total]…. Jesuits would become the instrument by which many Roman Catholic institutions would be forged into a sharp-edged instrument of Vatican power that was second to none in the world" (2008, 357). In other words, the missionaries' restrained but noteworthy shift on the issue of Indian Jesuits would eventually allow the Society of Jesus to thrive in India, notably through a European hierarchy.

This is by no means to say that Jesuits in India are controlled by European interests or vestiges of colonial power, but the NMM's methods in the second half of the nineteenth century had big impact on how Catholicism developed over the next hundred years. [171] The issue of accommodation—now referred to as indigenisation or inculturation—continues to plague Indian Jesuits.[172] Christian Indians level three major critiques at the Catholic hierarchy's attempts to negotiate Christianity between Rome and believers in India: (1) accommodation has often relied on and reinforced the process of Sanskritization, by choosing only one appropriate version of Indianness, (2) accommodation assumes that Indian culture *can* contain the inclusive message of Christianity, when in fact many so-called low caste Christians see Indian culture as inherently "oppressive and inegalitarian," and (3) in the view of some Hindu nationalists, accommodation is yet another colonial strategy meant to lure Indians into a foreign system of control (Gravend-

[171] To be clear, Jesuits have historically been accused of being controlled by certain interests since the beginning of the order in the sixteenth century. For accounts of how Jesuits were subjected to witch-hunts in Europe throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Eric Nelson, "The Jesuit Legend," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, eds. Helen L. Parish and William G. Naphy, 94-118 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[172] For more on how the terms indigenisation and inculturation are currently described and used, see Xavier Gravend-Tirole, "From Christian Ashrams to Dalit Theology—or Beyond: An Examination of the Indigenisation/Inculturation within the Indian Catholic Church," in *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, eds. Chad M. Bauman and Richard Fox Young, 110-137 (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014).The author details the minor differences associated with each concept, and shows how these are deployed often for political purposes.

Tirole 2014, 121-124). That is, although the idea of an Indian Christian theology is appealing, the problem of *who* this theology speaks for will persist as long as caste does.[173]

Manickam's analysis of the Jesuits is a good entry point for my theoretical understanding of the NMM, which relies heavily on their perception of a center and a periphery, a familiarity and a difference that had to be carefully bridged yet maintained. This thesis has gradually argued that in fact, the ability to negotiate difference in appropriate ways was dependent upon a conversion of sorts. While Bayly brilliantly argues that the Jesuits were converted by Tamil communities into "tutelaries and cult saints," I focus on a more muted conversion, informed by the works of Eugene Irschick, Homi Bhabha, and Michael Taussig.[174]

Irschick's definition of conversion as a two-way process of change grounded in localization set the stage for my reading of the NMM Jesuits' work. I have shown throughout this thesis that the missionaries' letters reflect how they encountered and dealt with the slow process of conversion, whether in terms of defining Indian Christianity, in their approaches to politics, or in their educational priorities. Homi Bhabha's writing on colonial mimicry has been helpful in linking Jesuit approaches to the mission with local

[173] Once again, I bring us back to Kristin Bloomer's dissertation on Marian possession in Chennai. In discussing the possession by Mary of Nancy, a woman from a so-called low class, Scheduled Caste background, Bloomer notes that many people viewed her as "the wrong person for the job" (2008, 376). Her possession was considered dangerous by the Church because ,while her "social standing is equally negligible, Maataa's occupation gives her body new weight" (377). It is clear from Bloomer's writing that the issue at hand is that Mary would give Nancy more status than her caste allowed, which points to a way that the Catholic Church participates in marginalization practices even today, even when many priests are Dalits themselves.

[174] And indeed, though this thesis has not touched upon the subject of how missionaries were viewed by the Indian Christian communities they wrote about, it is clear from letters that even the first fathers to return to India became part of a circuit of pilgrimage and devotion. For instance, Father Martin's grave became a pilgrimage site, much like those of OMM fathers such as St. John de Britto. Christian and non-Christian Tamils were said to visit the grave and leave gifts (Lorde to a Jesuit, 21 June 1860 FMd150 JAV). Miracles were even reported related to the tomb (Hurlin to a Jesuit, Jan. 1856 LEEC2 n.66). Miranda, however, assures us that the Jesuits "took care not to allow these popular devotions to descend to the level of superstition and blind belief," quite contrary to Bayly's interpretation of the new Jesuits' participation in Tamil networks of belief (Miranda 1982, 112),. Interestingly, the Jesuit fathers also reported visiting Martin's grave to meditate or seek advice; some even used the site for reunions (Canoz to RP Provincial, July 1845 LEEC2 n.39).

power dynamics. The emphasis Bhabha puts on colonialism reminds us to constantly keep in mind that the NMM Jesuits were inheritors of centuries of Catholic Orientalism, and were themselves actors in British India. Accordingly, although the Jesuits saw their own bodies and priorities as alter in India, they still represented and upheld colonial discourse, of which one was mimicry. For the missionaries, Indian Christians were the objects of double-edged desire for familiarity, with conditions. As Bhabha puts it, "Such contradictory articulations of reality and desire—seen in racist stereotypes, statements, jokes, myths—…. are the effects of a disavowal that denies the differences of the other but produces in its stead forms of authority…" (2000, 130).

Bhabha's work is instrumental for reading the archive with a critical eye. However, recognizing the inherent hybridity of conversion presented by Irschick provides room for both the missionary and the convert, for the idea that conversion under colonial power is about coping with power imbalances and that even when Christianity is used by Indians for subversion, European church hierarchies in India constitute a mimesis of colonial structures. Taussig's writing on mimesis enables us to incorporate the physical or "palpable" and "sensuous" elements of the encounter between Jesuit and Indian (colonizer and colonized; perceiver and perceived) as equally important to the conversion process. The anthropologist's work opens space for the particularities of Tamil India and of the Jesuits who came to work there. This last point makes the development of an Indian Jesuit clergy even more important. In essence, the replacement of white Europeans Jesuits with priests born and trained in India is the real endpoint of Irschick's double conversion: the foreign missionary not only assimilates and converts to Tamil worlds, but literally becomes Tamil.

Bibliography

Unpublished archives

Archives Jésuites de la Province de France, Vanves. *Correspondence.* 1837-1847; 1848-1852; 1853-1857; 1858; 1859; 1860. FMd150.

Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris. Volume 0999(1) 10, 1835-1841.

Primary Sources

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ed. *The Missionary Herald Containing the Proceedings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Vol. LXXV. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1879.

Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. Vol. Two. London, 1841.

Ayyar, K.R. Venkatarama, ed. *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*. Vol. 1. Pudukkottai: The Sri Brihadamba State Press, 1938.

Bertrand, Jean, ed. *La mission du Maduré: d'après des documents inédits*. 4 vols. Paris: Librarie de Poussielgue-Rusand, 1848.

———. *Lettres des nouvelles missions du Maduré*. Lyon: Imprimerie de Louis Perrin, 1839.

———. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle mission Du Maduré*. 2 vols. Paris: J.B. Pélagaud, 1865.

Besse, Leon. *La mission du Maduré: historique de ses pangous*. Trichinopoly: Mission, 1914.

Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Provinciae Tolosanae Societatis Jesu: Ineunte Anno MDCCCXCIV. Uclès: Ex Typis Collegii, 1894.

Castets, John. *The Madura Mission*. Trichinopoly: St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1924.

Coleridge, S.J., Henry James. *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. London: Burns and Oates, 1872.

Dubois, Abbé J.A. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies: The Classic First-Hand Account of India in the Early Nineteenth Century*, edited and translated by Henry K. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

East India (education): Correspondence Relating to the Education Dispatch of 19 July,. Vol. 4. London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1859.

Fonseca, José Nicolau da. *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*. Bombay: Thacker & Co. Limited, 1878.

Guchen, Denis. *Cinquante ans au Maduré, 1837-1887; récits et souvenirs*. Trichinopoly: Collège Saint-Joseph, 1887.

Jean, Auguste. *Le Maduré: l'ancienne et la nouvelle mission*. 2 vols. Bruges: Société de Saint-Augustin, 1894.

Lacouague, S.J., Gaston. *Dans l'Inde de François Xavier: Souvenirs Du Maduré*. Toulouse: Apostolat de la Prière, 1931.

Lawston, Sir Charles. *Narrative of the Celebration of the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Empress of India in the Presidency of Madras*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1887.

Ranking, James Lancaster. *Report Upon the Military and Civil Station of Trichinopoly*. Madras: Gantz Brothers, 1867.

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, for 1876-77. Madras: Graves, Cookson & Co., Popham's House, 1877.

Rocaries, André. *400 ans aux Indes; la Mission du Maduré*. Paris: A. Fayard, 1960.

Saint-Cyr, S.J., Louis. *Les nouveaux jésuites français dans l'Inde, ou vie du R.P. Perrin*. Paris: Laroche, 1865.

Strickland, William. *The Jesuit in India*. London: Burns & Lambert, 1852.

The Gazetteer of the World, Prominence Being Given to Great Britain and Colonies, Indian Empire, United States of America. Vol. IX. London: Thomas C. Jack, 1887.

The Sessional Papers Printed by Order of the House of Lords or Presented by Royal Command. Vol. V. 1841.

Whitehead, Henry. *India: A Sketch of the Madura Mission*. London: Burns & Oates, 1898.

Secondary Sources

Adcock, C.S. *The Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Alden, Dauril. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Anand, Sebastian. *Recall, Renew, Respond: 150 Years of Jesuit Presence in Madurai Mission (1839-1939)*. Dindigul, 1988.

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Ballhatchet, Kenneth. *Class, Caste, and Catholicism in India: 1789-1914*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998.

Bangert S.J., William. *A History of the Society of Jesus*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972.

Basu, Aparna. *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Bauman, Chad. *Christian Identity and Dalit Religion in Hindu India, 1868-1947*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008.

Bayly, Susan. *Saints, Goddesses, and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South India Society, 1700-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bloomer, Kristin C. "Making Mary: Hinduism, Roman Catholicism and Spirit Possession in Tamil Nadu, South India." PhD Dissertation. University of Chicago: Faculty of the Divinity School, 2008.

Borges, Charles J. *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994.

Brown, Judith M. "Introduction." In *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, edited by Judith M. Brown and Robert Eric Frykenberg. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2002.

Bugge, Henriette. *Mission and Tamil Society: Social and Religious Change in South India (1840-1900)*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1994.

Callaway, Anita. *Visual Ephemera: Theatrical Art in Ninteenth-Century Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2000.

Calvet, R.P. Arthurus. *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Provinciae Tolosanae Societatis Jesu: Ineunte Anno MDCCCXCIV*. Uclès: Ex Typis Collegii, 1894.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chancey, Karen. "The Star in the East: The Controversy Over Christian Missions to India, 1805-1813." *The Historian* 60, no. 3 (March 1998): 507–22.

Cleall, Esme. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Dirks, Nicholas. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Dobie, Madeline. *Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language, and Culture in French Orientalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Elison, William, Christian Lee Novetzke, and Andy Rotman. *Amar Akar Anthony: Bollywood, Brotherhood, and the Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Frykenberg, Robert E. *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Gaunt, Thomas P. "The Changing Jesuit Geography." *Nineteen Sixty-Four* (research blog). Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate of Georgetown University. February 1, 2011. http://nineteensixty-four.blogspot.ca/2011/02/changing-jesuit-geography.html.

———. "By the Numbers: Jesuit Demography." *Nineteen Sixty-Four* (research blog). Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate of Georgetown University. January 9, 2015. http://nineteensixty-four.blogspot.com/2015/01/by-numbers-jesuit-demography.html.

Gravend-Tirole, Xavier. "From Christian Ashrams to Dalit Theology—or Beyond: An Examination of the Indigenisation/Inculturation within the Indian Catholic Church." In *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, edited by Chad M. Bauman and Richard Fox Young, 110-137. New Delhi: Routledge, 2014.

Hardgrave Jr., Robert L. *The Nadars of Tamilnad: The Political Culture of a Community in Change*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

Harper, Susan Billington. *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: Bishop V.S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 2000.

Heideman, Eugene P. *From Mission to Church: the Reformed Church in America Mission to India*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001.

Hodson, Christopher and Brett Rushforth. "Absolutely Atlantic: Colonialism and the Early Modern French State in Recent Historiography." *History Compass* 8, no.1 (2010): 101-117.

Hudson, D. Dennis. “The Life and Times of H.A. Krishna Pillai (1827-1900): A Study in the Encounter of Tamil Sri Vaisnava Hinduism and Evangelical Protestant Christianity in Nineteenth Century Tirunelveli District.” PhD dissertation. Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1970.

———. *Protestant Origins in India: Tamil Evangelical Christians, 1706-1835.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2000.

Irschick, Eugene F. “Conversations in Tarangambadi: Caring for the Self in Early Eighteenth Century South India.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 23, no. 1&2 (2003): 254–70.

Jeyaraj, Daniel. “Mission Reports from South India and Their Impact on the Western Mind: The Tranquebar Mission of the Eighteenth Century.” In *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914*, edited by Dana L. Robert. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005.

Johnston, Anna. *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kent, Eliza. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Lacouture, Jean. *Jésuites: une multibiographie. 2. Les Revenants*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1991.

Levy, Evonne. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Mallampalli, Chandra. “Caste, Catholicism, and History ‘from Below,’ 1863-1917.” In *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding--Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical--in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg*, edited by Richard Fox Young, 144–57. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009.

Manickam, Alphonse. “Les Jésuites et L’intouchabilité Au Tamilnadu: études Historiques et Anthropologiques Sur Des Approaches Longtemps Différées.” PhD dissertation. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Dept. of History, 2011.

Marriott, McKim. “Holi: The Feast of Love.” In *The Life of Hinduism*, edited by John Stratton Hawley and Vasudha Narayanan, 99-112. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Mehta, Binita. *Widows, Pariahs, and Bayadères: India as Spectacle*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002.

Miranda, Manuel Xavier. “The Jesuit Experience in Tamilnadu: The New Madura Mission, 1838-1938.” PhD Dissertation. University of Madras, 1985.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Mosse, David. *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Case Society in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India, the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

———. *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Nelson, Maggie. *Women, the New York School, and Other True Abstractions*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007.

Oddie, Geoffrey A. "Missionaries as Social Commentators: The Indian Case." In *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, edited by Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton, 197–210. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996.

———. *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793-1900*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2006.

Peterson, Indira Viswanathan. "Between Print and Performance: The Tamil Christian Poems of Vedanayaka Satri and the Literary Cultures of Nineteenth-century South India." In *India's Literary History: Essays on the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Stuart Blackburn and Vasudha Dalmia, 25-59. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.

———."The Schools of Serfoji II of Tanjore: Education and Princely Modernity in Early Ninteenth-Century India." In *Transcolonial Modernities in South Asia*, edited by Michael Dodson and Brian Hatcher, 15-44. London: Routledge, 2012.

Raj, Selva J. "Transgressing Boundaries, Transcending Turner: The Pilgrimage Tradition at the Shrine of St. John de Britto." In *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines*, edited by Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, 85-111. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

———. "Shared Vows, Shared Space, and Shared Deities: Vow Rituals Among Tamil Catholics in South India." In *Dealing with Deities: The Ritual Vow in South Asia*, edited by Selva J. Raj and William P. Harmon, 43–64. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.

Remensnyder, Anne G. *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Robert, Dana. "The Influence of Missionary Women on the World Back Home." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 21, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 59–89.

Russell-Wood, A.J.R. *The Portuguese Empire 1415-1808: A World on the Move*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Salmond, Anne. "Theoretical Landscapes: On Cross-Cultural Concepts of Knowledge." In *Semantic Anthropology*, ed. David Parkin, 65-87. London: Academic Press, 1982.

Slijkerman, S.J., Jan. "Roothaan and the First Noviciate in India of the Restored Jesuit Order." *Indian Church History Review* IX, no. 1 (June 1975): 23–54.

Subrahmanyan, Sanjay. *Three Ways to be Alien: Travails & Encounters in the Early Modern World*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2011.

Sweetman, Will. "The Prehistory of Orientalism: Colonialism and the Textual Basis for Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg's Account of Hinduism." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, n.2 (2004): 12-38.

———. Heathenism, Idolatry and Rational Monotheism among the Hindus: Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg's *Akkiyyanam* (1713) and Other Works Addressed to Hindus." In *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India* (3 vols.), edited by Andreas Gross et al. Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2006.

Taussig, Michael. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

———. *My Cocaine Museum*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004.

Thangaraj, M. *Evaluation of the Ten Point Programme for the Development of Dalit Christians in Tamil Nadu.* Chennai: Madras Institute of Development Studies, 2003.

Vallgårda, Karen. "Between Consent and Coercion: Danish Missionaries and Tamil Parents in Late Ninteenth-Century South India." *Review of Development and Change* XIV, no. 1–2 (2009): 87–108.

Waghorne, Joanne Punzo. "Chariots of the God/s: Riding the Line Between Hindu and Catholic." In *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines*, edited by Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, 11–37. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Xavier, Ângela Barreto, and Ines G. Županov. *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Young, Richard Fox. "Some Hindu Perspectives on Christian Missionaries in the Indic World of the Mid Nineteenth Century." In *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions*, edited by Judith M. Brown and Robert E. Frykenberg, 37-60. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2002.

———. "The Frykenberg *Vamsavali*: A South Asia Historian's Genealogy, Personal and Academic, with a Bibliography of His Works." In *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg,* edited by Richard Fox Young, 1-25. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009.

Young, Richard Fox, editor. *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding—Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical—in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2009.

Żupanov, Ines G. *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahminical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

———. *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th Centuries)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.