

EVANGELICAL PHILOSOPHY AS MANIFEST IN 18TH CENTURY  
BRITISH SCULPTURE COMMISSIONED FOR  
MADRAS, SOUTH INDIA  
COMPLETE WITH LISTING AND EPITAPHS

A thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by  
Mary Ann Steggles  
January 1990



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ISBN 0-315-63354-9

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MARY ANN STEGGLES

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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DEDICATED  
TO THE MEMORY OF

MAUDE BRUESCH DANIEL  
JUNE 20, 1886-NOVEMBER 26, 1978

WHO IN THE 63RD YEAR OF HER LIFE  
TOOK CHARGE OF A YOUNG CHILD

HER MEMORY SUSTAINS ME  
FROM A LOVING GRANDDAUGHTER



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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Klaus Klostermaier, Distinguished Professor, Head of the Department of Religion and Asian Studies at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, for serving as my thesis advisor. His patience, intellectual stimulation, untiring zeal for learning and devotion to this student was most appreciated. His example will remain with me.

Appreciation is extended to Dr. John Gahan, Vice-Provost of University College and Professor in the Department of Classical Studies, University of Manitoba and to Dr. Ed Moulton, Head of the Department of History, University of Manitoba for agreeing to serve on my thesis committee. Their warm reception of my work, comments and guidance were of great assistance.

I wish to thank the Shastri-Indo Canadian Institute, Calgary, Alberta and New Delhi, India for granting me their research fellowship which enabled me to document the works of sculpture in Madras, South India. Without their financial assistance, this thesis would not have been possible. Special appreciation is extended to Mrs. Kay de la Ronde, Executive Director of the Shastri Institute in Calgary and Mr. Malik, Director of the Shastri Institute in New Delhi, for their assistance. Additional appreciation is extended to the Indian Archaeological Survey Office in New Delhi and Madras for serving as my sponsor while I was in India.

Deepest gratitude is extended to Verger David, St. Mary's in the Fort, for allowing me to photograph the monuments in the Church and for the warm welcome extended to me by the congregations of St. Mary's in the Fort, Madras Cathedral and St. Thomas Garrison Church. Special thanks go to Mrs. Sathyeabama Rao, Curator of the Fort Museum, Madras, for her assistance with research on the

sculptures.

The following people were helpful in gathering information on the commissions for the monuments: Mrs. Betty Muirden, Yale Centre for British Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Mr. Duncan Robinson, Director, Yale Centre for British Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Mrs. Valentine, Librarian, Royal Academy Archives, London, England and the staff at the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the India Office Library, London.

I would like to express my appreciation to three professors whose friendship and encouragement meant so much to me during my undergraduate as well as my graduate studies: Professor Charles Scott, former Director of the School of Art and Professor of Ceramics at the University of Manitoba, for the lively talks on ceramic art history and the opportunity to assist him in several research and curatorial projects; Professor Dennis Sexsmith of the Art History Area, School of Art, University of Manitoba, whose approach to art historical investigation enabled me to view art in an entirely different light; and Professor M. Molitor, formerly of the Department of Classical Studies, University of Manitoba, for his friendship, support and advice.

I wish also to acknowledge the debt of gratitude I owe my son, Cristofre Martin, who accompanied me to India and assisted in the research. Thanks are also extended to Harvey Klaussen who also assisted in the research in India.

Special gratitude is extended to my family who allowed me the time to complete the manuscript sacrificing part of their lives so that I might be able to fulfill mine. To my husband, Don; my children, Cristofre, Jaine and William; my parents, Clyde and Ivis Duncan and my parents-in-law, Robert and Viola Steggles-

-thank you. I hope that this research will prove worthy of your continuing support.

I would like also to thank Dr. Alison Yarrington, Head of the Department of the History of Art, Leicester University, Leicester, England, who has agreed to serve as my Ph.D. tutor so that I may complete the documentation of the works by British sculptors in India.

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## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

British sculpture executed for Madras, South India, is work representative of some of the finest British artists as well as many lesser known artists. Executed between 1791 and 1872, these monuments exalt one of the dominant values of British society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; namely that of the just rule of India by a western civilized society based on Evangelical philosophy.

Background

The history of British sculpture commissioned for India is symbolically linked with the rise of British imperialism. In the late eighteenth century, there was a change in British perceptions of India (Davies 13). The aspirations of the East India Company, no longer a mere mercantile power on the sub-continent, but a political power in control of the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, became like other European colonial powers overtly imperial (Davies 13; Morris 7-8). The British sculptures commissioned for Madras, which are the focus of this study, range in date from 1791 to 1872. They are manifestations, in stone, of the changing attitude of the British towards India. The earliest monuments executed for India testify to a transition in aspirations of the British, from a trading interest to that of a political power, conquering territories and attempting to bring the natives of India under the control of the civilizing West. This aspect of British history in India is most evident in the *Cornwallis Monument* (fig. 46-7) executed by Thomas Banks (1735-1805) between 1793 and 1798. Subsequent monuments focus on other British heroes who, through their self-sacrifice, helped achieve supremacy for the British in the East. This assumed supremacy

was also expressed in the religious monuments of the first half of the nineteenth century. Notable examples are the *Heber Monument* (fig. 35), the *Daniel Corrie Memorial* (fig. 29), and the *Dealtry Memorial* (fig. 31). The last monument, dedicated to Queen Victoria is dated 1872. Like other monuments to Queen Victoria for the Empire, Matthew Noble (1817-76), in his depiction, has espoused the confidence of the British, once a conquering nation and now the conqueror, in his bronze memorial for the Madras waterfront. The Queen, seated in dignity, holds the orb and spear. She is Britain herself, both protecting and defending the Empire.

### Intent

The intention of this study is not to document the change in style of British sculpture from the end of the eighteenth century to the third-quarter of the nineteenth century. Sculpture, in the context of this thesis, will be viewed solely as a visual manifestation of the philosophical attitudes of the Evangelical. The British sculptures commissioned for Madras are not only memorials to an individual and his own personal achievement but are also visual manifestations of the changing status, values and attitude of the Evangelical movement in India. The early works are examples of an individual's profession of faith. The best example is the *Swartz Memorial* (fig. 22) dated 1806. Two monuments, *The Heber Memorial* (fig. 35), dated 1830, and *The Corrie Statue* (fig. 29), dated 1837, bear witness to the zeal of the missionaries in the conversion of natives to the Christian faith. They are examples of the prejudice that the British felt towards the "assumed" heathen populations of India and, as such, are examples of the belief that the missionaries could raise the moral state of the natives through the Gospel. *The Dealtry Memorial* (fig. 31), dated 1861, expresses the final evolution of the foreign missionaries; that of establishing a native Christian church with

native clergy.

### Importance

The primary importance of this study has been a complete compilation of the monuments commissioned for Madras, South India, between 1791 and 1872 now extant in the city. There are several aspects of practical importance in compiling a complete listing of the monuments. There has been to date no complete documentation of the works. They are rarely, if ever, mentioned in any of the numerous articles, monographs or exhibition catalogues of the artists. John Butler in his book, Christian Art in India, makes the following point:

In 1979 the Royal Academy held a Flaxman Exhibition at its galleries in London, as a tribute to an important artist who had long been neglected. The catalogue of this exhibition will be, for many years to come, the standard work on Flaxman; yet, naturally-since the fixed stone monuments in churches cannot be moved half-way across the world for short loans-his work in India was represented only by a photograph of the main memorial at Thanjavur. The collection of Flaxman's bozzetti at the University College, London, contains those of four only of the Madras tablets. Flaxman and the Bacons and other fine statuaries had considerable business connections with India...No one...begrudges...India this body of fine work; but more knowledge about it ought to be available in England (103).

In her short article, *British Neo-Classical Sculpture in India*, Mildred Archer has commented on four of the monuments commissioned for Madras (50-55). Brief textual remarks on a few of the British sculptures appear in some of the recent publications on British architecture in India. The information provided on the monuments is often inaccurate and limited; in most cases, the authors have only identified certain monuments in India. The inaccuracies contained in these texts have been noted in the discussion of the monuments. The approach by the architectural studies has been to identify the style of the sculptures with the

styles of the architecture as representative of British imperialism. Archer has only stressed that India contains works by major British artists. There has been no attempt by any of the authors to interpret the monuments in light of current philosophical trends in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century.

A complete documentation of the works in Madras will add knowledge to the body of literature concerning the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century British sculptors that contributed work to India. It is hoped that this study will stimulate an interest culminating in the complete documentation of British sculpture commissioned for India.

#### Method and Procedure

In order to fully understand the transition of British attitude and power as represented in the memorials, it is necessary to include a brief introduction to Evangelical philosophy as well as a chapter devoted to the history of the Evangelical movement as it expressed itself in Christian missions in India. I have attempted to simplify an understanding of these subjects by treating each topic separately. Thus, Chapter one introduces the thesis topic. Chapter Two introduces the role of commemorative sculpture as a medium which expresses society's ideals. Chapter Three discusses the Evangelical movement and its justification for the rule of India by the British. Chapter Four provides a background to the Christianization of India. The monuments, in Madras, are discussed in light of the Evangelical movement in England and its desire to bring not only western civilization but Christian morality to India. Chapter Five serves as a conclusion to the previous chapters.

The appendices include a complete listing of the British monuments commissioned for Madras between 1791 and 1872 now extant. In addition, one monument by Matthew Noble executed for St. Mary's Church, the *Hobart*

*Monument* (1875), is mentioned in order to document all monuments in the church. The monuments are listed by the surname of the deceased as well as by sculptor. Floor plans of the churches and a map of the City of Madras are included in order to facilitate location of the monuments. A history of the City of Madras has also been included. In addition, background information on two churches, St. Mary's in the Fort and Madras Cathedral, has been included along with appropriate illustrations. All of the photographs, unless specified, were taken on location in Madras during the summer of 1988. The wording on the epitaphs has been included where possible. The epitaphs are listed in alphabetical order according to deceased.

The format of the thesis is based on the system of parenthetical documentation as contained in the MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, 2nd edition.

## CHAPTER TWO

## SCULPTURE AND THE RISE OF BRITISH NATIONALISM

Background

Several factors occurring early in the eighteenth century contributed to the rise in prestige of British sculpture by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Foreign influence, especially in the resident artists from the Low Countries, Peter Scheemakers (1691-1781) and Michael Rysbrack (1694-1770), as well as Louis Francois Roubiliac (1702-62) from France, was to have a profound impact (Bindman 238). The style they imparted to their work was a mixture of Classical and Baroque. These sculptors executed portrait busts and tomb sculpture using both reclining and allegorical figures which flanked the sarcophagus. The style for the figures was derived from Antique Roman and late Baroque sculpture. These figures, executed by the immigrant sculptors, replaced the previously depicted effigies who lay in prayer often stiffly supported by one elbow or who knelt in niches. Their style was one of increasing freedom in the treatment of the effigy (Bindman 236).

The continuing interest in studies of Classical and Renaissance sculpture was promoted by the Grand Tour as well as the collection and reproduction of Antique sculpture. In addition, the Grand Tour helped establish an aristocracy which became both connoisseur and patron for the sculptors who were witnessing a decline in court patronage following the Restoration in 1660 (Bindman 237). The aristocracy commissioned monumental funerary tombs, portrait busts and interior decorations. These patrons, inspired by the excellence of the works by foreign artists living in England as well as by Renaissance and Antique sculpture, discriminated both in the style of the monument they

commissioned as well as by the quality of workmanship. They preferred having the sculptor use richly coloured marbles in their work. In style, there was an increasing demand for a modified Baroque treatment accompanied by an abundance of carved detail (Bindman 237).

With the publication of James Gibbs' Book of Architecture in 1728, tomb sculpture became a co-operative venture between architect and sculptor. English architect, James Gibbs, had returned to England after spending four years studying in Rome. His book was a compendium of church and monument plans including his most famous and most copied church, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Gibbs sought to reinforce the idea that sculpture should be integrated with architecture. Included with the major church plans were detailed drawings for monumental tomb sculpture including variations on the medallion portrait, the reclining figure, the widow seated at her husband's feet, mourning ladies with urns as well as effigies silhouetted against pyramids set within columns (BM 62.i.12). Between 1720 and 1740, Gibbs along with other English architects, such as William Kent, worked in collaboration with many sculptors, including Scheemakers, attempting to create works representing the integration of sculpture into an architectural design.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, artists, and most especially the painters, began to unite to formalize an academy for England such as existed on the Continent at the Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in France, the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome and the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. The first formal academy for training artists to draw and paint from life was that of Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646/9-1723) founded on October 18, 1711 (Hutchinson 123). Located on Great Queen Street, the Kneller Academy of Painting and Drawing held drawing classes both from live models as well as Antique plaster casts. A fee of

one guinea was charged to help with the academy's expenses and the model's salary (Hutchinson 124). Kneller was elected as the first governor of the school being followed by the painter, Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734) in 1716. Several other academies began in the early eighteenth century in addition to Kneller's Academy of Drawing and Painting. These included St. Martin's Lane Academy founded by a former member of Kneller's Academy, John Vanderbank (1694-1739), in 1720. The group charged two guineas as a fee when the Academy opened in October, 1722. The first St. Martin's Lane Academy lasted only a few years. The treasurer was involved in embezzling the fees collected from the students; the landlord closed the Academy and seized all furnishings (Hutchinson 124). Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734) established another academy, after the demise of the first St. Martin's Lane Academy, near the playhouse at Covent Garden in 1725. Following the death of Thornhill in 1734, his son-in-law, William Hogarth (1697-1762), moved the academy to St. Martin's Lane Academy which flourished until the Royal Academy received its charter some thirty years later. Influential teachers at the second St. Martin's Lane Academy included the painters, Hubert Gravelot (1699-1773), Francis Hayman (1708-76), George Michael Moser (1706-83), the sculptor Louis Francois Roubiliac as well as Hogarth himself. The Academy had no official recognition and no charter.

Continuous moves by various social groups such as the Society Dilettanti, an elite group composed of members of English society who had travelled on the Grand Tour, and artist-run-academies and societies such as the Incorporated Society of Artists, the Society of Arts and the Free Society of Artists, furthered the interest in the establishment of a formal academy. The artists sought a permanent space where they could study from a live model. In addition, they wanted a more formalized annual exhibition. Their efforts resulted in King



George III's consent to establishing the Royal Academy which received its charter on December 10, 1768.

The Royal Academy elected as its first President, the painter, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92). The charter carried twenty-six paragraphs which defined the membership, the election and appointment of officers and professors as well as setting the conduct for the schools, library and annual exhibition. The training at the Academy was to be free, being paid for, with the exception of the first eleven years when it was supported by the Sovereign, through proceeds from the exhibitions and the receipt of trust funds (Hutchinson 127-8). Seventy-seven students originally enrolled in the Academy which was located in Pall Mall (Hutchinson 130).

#### State of Sculpture at the End of the Eighteenth Century

British sculptors beginning their careers in the latter part of the eighteenth century were heirs of the events that had occurred earlier in the century. The Royal Academy, having officially received its charter in December, 1768, established a school as well as an annual exhibition. Sculptural commissions, which had formerly gone to foreign artists working in Britain, were now commanded by native artists such as Joseph Nollekens (1737-1832) and John Bacon, Sr. (1740-99) (Cunningham 95). Aspiring young sculptors were able to serve their apprenticeships to master artists often studying and exhibiting with the Royal Academy Schools. Inspired by the ideals of ancient art, many of these sculptors, both master and student, travelled to Rome, when peace permitted, to study. Their work, affected by the classical ideals of ancient Rome, contains elements of Baroque, Romantic, Realistic and Neo-classic imagery.

Tomb sculpture continued to create the largest demand on the sculptor's workshop. Once an independent art form, the execution of funerary sculpture

had begun to be integrated into architectural settings with the publication of James Gibbs' Book of Architecture in 1728 (Bindman 238; Whinney 126-7). The execution of portrait busts also continued to create commissions for the artists as well as chimney decorations and ornamental objects.

#### New Interest in Public Monuments

The one major element of change in the lives of the sculptors at the end of the eighteenth century was in their patrons (Bindman 240). The end of the eighteenth century saw a decline in requests for privately commissioned monumental funerary sculpture. While the demand for large, privately commissioned memorials declined, a new interest in public monuments grew out of the nationalistic spirit created by the Napoleonic Wars (Bindman 240).

England's success at the end of the Napoleonic Wars furthered the spirit of nationalism. In 1796, Parliament voted a substantial amount of money for monuments glorifying British soldiers, statesmen and sailors (Bindman 240; Whinney 198); symbols of national and civic pride (Yarrington 326). Between 1802 and 1812, 40,000 pounds was spent by the British government, in addition to funds by the Corporations of London and other cities, on commemorative monuments (Whinney 197). These expenditures were often met with harsh criticism. The sentiments of the history painter, Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846), reflected these feelings in 1812 when he wrote:

You lavish thousands upon thousands on sculpture without effect. You refuse all assistance, all public support, all public opportunities to painting. You load your churches, your halls, and your public buildings with masses of unwieldy stone, and allow not one side or one inch of your room for pictures. Is this fair? is it just? is it liberal?...In no country under heaven has such patronage been met by such shameful, disgraceful indolence as in this. Masses of marble scarcely shaped into intelligibility; boots, spurs, epaulettes, sashes, hats and belts divide your favours and affections. If you

shower thousands on Sculpture and fatten her to idleness with one hand, scatter hundreds into the lap of painting also...No: year after year, and day after day, monuments and money are voted in ceaseless round, without discrimination and without thought (Haydon quoted in Whinney 197).

Although Haydon was writing in his own defence of painting, his image of the churches, halls and squares is realistic. Westminster Abbey was crowded with monuments to Britain's glorified. The hall of fame initially conceived for St. Paul's Cathedral to relieve the overcrowding at Westminster Abbey soon became a response to the French move of 1791 when St. Genevieve was recognized as Pantheon for French national heroes (Yarrington 318). To further display the sacrifice and moral virtue of British heroes, monuments were commissioned either by the State using central funds or by direct public sponsorship using voluntary subscription for public squares, village churches and parks throughout Britain (Yarrington 316).

One can perceive how important sculpture had become at the end of the nineteenth century. These monuments, whether they were commissioned and paid for by public funds or private voluntary subscription, advanced the art of sculpture. To mark the occasion and its importance, the Royal Academy established its first chair of Sculpture in 1810. John Flaxman (1755-1826) substantiated the role of sculpture when he spoke in his first lecture as Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy stating:

...the appointment of a professorship in that art was not required until the increasing taste of the country has given popularity to the art itself and native achievements had called the powers of native sculpture to celebrate British heroes (17).

### Sculpture for the Empire

The feeling of nationalism present in England at the end of the eighteenth

century extended to other parts of the Empire. British citizens in India, aware of the efforts in the homeland to create memorials to glorify both the State and the citizens who gave their lives for their country, also desired to honour their heroes. Commissioned works, either through voluntary subscription or East India Company sponsorship, from some of the very best British sculptors of the period, began to adorn churches, squares and public buildings. The largest numbers of these commissions for the Empire were sent to the Presidency towns of India, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Rupert Guinness in his book, Dictionary of British Sculptors, cites eighty-eight works being commissioned for India between 1791 and 1876. Thirty-seven of the works executed are listed as being commissioned for Madras. The majority of the memorials are located in two churches, St. Mary's in the Fort and Madras Cathedral. Two of the works listed by Guinness are public monuments, the marble statue of the Marquis Cornwallis by Thomas Banks (1798) (fig. 60-3) now located in the Fort Museum and the bronze equestrian statue of Sir Thomas Munro (1834) (nf) by Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-1841) on the Island.

#### Purposes of Commemorative Sculpture

Funerary monuments served several purposes. Privately commissioned memorials were dedicated to the personal loss of a member of one's family or a friend. Like the monument to Jane Amelia Russell (1808) (fig. 20-21) by John Bacon, Jr. (1777-1859) in St. Mary's Church, these memorials serve as remembrances. Other monuments commissioned through public subscription or directly by the East India Company honour the services of the deceased and are memorials to their memory. In some instances, there is an extended purpose to the monuments; they serve as tombstones, for many of the deceased are buried within the precincts of the church in which the monuments are installed.

John Butler in his book, Christian Art in India, has also stated that the

memorials serve to bring together those members of the contemporary congregation with its former members who are commemorated in the sculptures.

He states:

[The sculptures) introduce, as it were, a dimension of time, or rather, of eternity they remind us that we worship not only as the little company assembled here and now, but in unity with 'angels and archangels and all the company of heaven', including the blessed departed who worshipped in this same place in bygone days. This is the all too often forgotten doctrine of the communion of saints (40).

The monuments draw the present congregation together with those of its founding members. They are, in this light, concrete manifestations of the life of the Christian church in India. They acknowledge the sacrifices made by religious leaders and congregation members supporting and sustaining Christian beliefs.

The extensive epitaphs used on many of the church memorials serve as short histories of the life and times of these early European residents of India. In this way, the monuments act as recorded history readily available to all those who read and study them.

The public monuments differ from the funerary monuments in several aspects. Firstly, they had to appeal to a wider audience than the privately commissioned memorials. In a large number of cases, the final model for execution was chosen through a competition; the final selection would rest with an administrative body such as the Council of the Royal Academy or the Committee of Taste. Secondly, public monuments do not necessarily commemorate a deceased person. Two of the sculptures in Madras, the monument to Lord Cornwallis (fig. 46-7) and the memorial to Queen Victoria commemorated living beings. The public memorials glorify British values and nationalistic feelings. Cornwallis was

both a military and administrative hero. His monument was erected in gratitude for his services to the Company as well as a commemoration of an historic event, the first defeat of Tipu Sultan, the Tiger of Mysore, in 1792. This defeat made Cornwallis a contemporary hero. Queen Victoria, holding her orb and spear, symbolizes the British Empire which both protects and defends. She encompasses, in her dignity, all the noble values of British society. Sir Thomas Munro, like Cornwallis, was a military as well as an administrative hero. His depiction represents the values of a just society and the self-sacrifice of her heroes.

Hero-worship had become a dominant force in the spread of ideology, whether military or religious, in the nineteenth century. Alison Yarrington concedes that "Outside literature, sculpture...was one of the most efficient and popular means of directly transmitting such ideals to both present and future generations" (314). The French sculptor, Etienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-91), substantiated Yarrington's view when he wrote in 1781 that

[Statues of great men] revive in us the feeling of noble emulation, elevating our souls to the virtues which have prevented these great men from being forgotten by mankind (Falconet quoted in Levine 64).

The sculptors who sent works to India concentrated only on the stately nature of the individual. The monuments are symbolic effigies of imperialist virtue (Morris 185). In this sense, the statue of Cornwallis, for example, while not only representing the man and his accomplishments, is a visual image of the intangible values of British society: good government and Company administration, the power of the Company and its military officers, the value of landownership and the desire of the British to establish their dominion in India. These public images were used to unite the British in the causes of imperialism. They were also concrete statements to the natives of India of the might and power

of the British in their cause of promoting Western civilizing ideals. 15

## CHAPTER THREE

## EVANGELICAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE JUST RULE OF INDIA

The Evangelicals

The Evangelicals were a morally reforming group representing the most widely practised form of Christianity in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Spear 107). Evangelicalism transcended all religious sects (Spear 107). Its basis was Biblical; organized prayer, preaching and the strict observance of Sunday transcended a belief in religious sacraments and ritual (Spear 107). The highest valued virtue of the Evangelicals was moral self-improvement (Spear 107).

The leaders of the Evangelical movement were William Wilberforce (1759-1833), Charles Grant (1746-1823), Charles Simeon (1759-1836), and John Shore, Lord Teignmouth (1751-1834). The group, which became known as the Clapham Sect, was dedicated in part, to raising Indian society through rapid transformation from what they regarded as a degenerate state, hindered by their superstitious religious beliefs, to the level of a Christianized and civilized western country (Hutchins 6). The Evangelicals were responsible for pressing the British government and the Directors of the East India Company into allowing missionaries to officially enter British held territory in India in 1813. The Evangelicals not only hoped to improve Indian society by reforming its moral character through the Gospel (Hutchins 10) but also sought a complete altering of the existing native social structure (Embree 152).

The Evangelicals were highly moralistic in their standards of human conduct. As a product of the rising middle class in late eighteenth century England, they stressed the morality of the industrious individual.



### The Just Rule of India

The Evangelicals believed that India could serve higher purposes than just merchant profit (Hutchins 3). They were initially dissatisfied by the way in which Britain conquered her enemies (Hutchins 5; Thomson 30-1). Charles Grant, a member of Cornwallis' administration in Bengal, a founder of the Clapham Sect, Director of the East India Company, and member of Parliament, believed that the British had a responsibility in India

...a government unequalled...for administering justice, kindness and moderation, not merely of increasing the security of the subject and the prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness, of meliorating the moral state of men and extending a superior light (Grant quoted in Hutchins 5).

Grant's plea, based on his belief, that the nature of the Indian people was degenerate and that the British administrators had an obligation to them, would later, in fact, provide a justification for continued British rule in India (Embree 156).

While initially unhappy with the British occupation of India, the Evangelicals began to believe that Britain was the best country to rule India. The Evangelicals, although they thought Christianity would rapidly transform India society, felt that the moral character provided by the Christian religion would make the English better rulers and the Indians better subjects. In particular, Charles Grant openly voiced his opinion that the Christianization of India was a means of keeping subjects subordinate to British rule. He stated:

...in superiors, it would be equity and moderation, courtesy and affability, benignity and condescension; in inferiors, sincerity and fidelity, respect and diligence. In princes, welfare of its subjects: in subjects, loyalty, submission, obedience, quietness, peace, patience and cheerfulness...(99).

In Grant's mind, that of the East India Company Director and the Evangelical, Christianity would not only reform the morals of the natives but would also produce loyal and obedient subjects. This could, in the end, only assist trade, political administration and territorial expansion of the sub-continent by Britain.

The early arguments of the Evangelicals against the native practices of infanticide and sati along with the British support of various indigenous religions, temples and celebrations received support by Utilitarian leaders in India, such as Lord William Bentinck, in the 1830's.

Evangelical beliefs contributed support for the continuing presence of the British in India as the only country which had the right to rule India. The East India Company through its administrative reforms in land revenue settlements, legal and administrative reforms, expanded its territory in order to further British security and mercantile interests. The Evangelicals enjoyed the benefit of this territorial expansion in that they were able to extend their Christian influence to larger parts of the sub-continent hoping to create a mass of subservient subjects.

## CHAPTER FOUR CHRISTIANIZATION IN INDIA

### Background

The first Christian missionary to reach India is believed to have been St. Thomas the Apostle in the first century C.E. Likewise, the first Christian church of the Thomas Christians was founded on the Malabar Coast during the early centuries of the current era (Laird 2; Neill 44-5). Early missionaries came in search of Jewish settlers, who having been persecuted in Europe, established themselves in South India at Cochin. A pattern of trade and religious contacts would continue in the future missionary movements beginning in the fifteenth century.

The Portuguese arrived in India in 1498. Under three Bulls issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, the Portuguese were to seek "both Christians and spices" (Butler 40). These Portuguese traders and Roman Catholic missionaries were expected to convert the natives of India "both in and beyond Portuguese territory" (Butler 42; Neill 121). On August 15, 1534, Ignatius Loyola founded the Jesuit Order in Paris which was later confirmed by Pope Paul III in the *Regimini Militantis* bull. The Jesuit missionaries had as a priority the conversion of heathens to the Roman Catholic faith. During the sixteenth century, three Jesuit missions were sent by the Portuguese to Mughal courts, including those of Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 and Jahangir who ruled from 1605 to 1627 (Laird 2; Watson 120). In addition, the Portuguese built magnificent churches at India's western coast city of Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese empire in Asia. These churches include Bom Jesus which enshrines the body of Saint Francis Xavier (1596-52). Francis Xavier was one of the first companions of Ignatius

Loyola. Xavier arrived in India in 1542 as the representative of the Pope and the King of Portugal. He [Xavier] stayed in India, preaching and converting native Indians until 1548. Xavier is considered to be one of the greatest missionaries of the Christian faith (Neill 127).

### British Missionaries Arrive

British chaplains began arriving, after the first traders, at Surat, early in the seventeenth century (Gibbs 3; Watson 120). Their position, as chaplains sailing on Company vessels, was established in the Charter of the East India Company granted on December 31, 1600, which reads:

...and for that religious government doth best bind men to perform their duties, it is principally to be cared for that prayers be said every morning and evening in every ship and the whole company called thereunto with diligent eyes, that none be wanting; so that all may jointly with reverence and humility pray unto Almighty God to bless and preserve them from all dangers in this long and tedious voyage...(quoted in Gibbs 3).

Two early British chaplains were Edward Terry and Patrick Copeland. Copeland was a zealous missionary. Although the main purpose of the East India Company chaplains was to minister to the English and not the natives, Copeland began instructing a native Indian converting him to Christianity (Gibbs 4). The baptism of this native took place not in India, but in England, at St. Dionis Backchurch, London, on December 22, 1616 (Gibbs 4). King James I changed the name of the first native Anglican convert to Peter at the baptismal services (Gibbs 4).

By the end of the seventeenth century, there was an increase in the interests of the British in sending missionaries to India. With the renewal of the East India Company Charter in 1698, a clause was included that appointed

chaplains to all ports. These chaplains were to learn Portuguese and the native languages in order that they would be able to instruct the natives of India in the Protestant religion. Similarly, a place was to be set aside in each garrison for worship (Penny 95-8). By now, not only the Portuguese and the British had established commercial and religious ventures in India but also the French, Dutch and Danish governments.

### Religious Societies and Pietism

A renewed interest in missionary work was encouraged by the organization of numerous religious missionary societies. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the SPCK, was founded in 1698. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the SPG, received its Royal Charter. Coinciding with the founding of these mission organizations was a religious movement called Pietism (Neill 194). Pietism was represented by a belief in personal conversion, a holy and moral character, fellowship in missionary societies and the call to witness the Gospel among non-believers (Neill 194). The members, therefore, saw as their immediate goal spreading the word of God among the heathen thus hoping to raise them to a holy and moral character through conversion. These same ideals would be echoed in the Evangelical movement at the end of the eighteenth century in England.

### Danish Missionaries

At the end of the seventeenth century, King Frederick IV of Denmark established a mission in the Danish trading settlement at Tranquebar, south of Madras. Lacking any missionaries in Denmark, the king employed missionaries from the University of Halle, in the Brandenburg territory of Prussia (Neill 194). The missionaries trained at Halle came to India under the influence of the new religious movement, Pietism. The first of these missionaries at the Royal Danish

Mission were two Germans, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henri Plutschau. They arrived in Tranquebar on July 9, 1706 (Gibbs 13; Neill 194). From the beginning, the two missionaries held on to five basic principles: 1) that education through schools must accompany the establishing of churches if the members were to be able to read the Gospel; 2) the Bible must be translated into native languages if the "to be" converts were to be able to read God's message; 3) that as missionaries they must have a knowledge and understanding of the native population; 4) that, instead of group conversions, they would concentrate on individual personal conversion and 5) that as early as possible an Indian church with Indian ministers must be established (Gibbs 13; Neill 194).

The SPCK and the SPG, having difficulties in obtaining missionaries in Britain, took an early interest in the Danish Mission. The two missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, therefore, not only received encouragement but funds from the British SPCK and SPG to further their activities outside the Danish colony at Tranquebar (Gibbs 13-4). In addition, the SPCK provided Ziegenbalg with a printing press in order to publish the Tamil Bible. In 1712, the SPCK extended an invitation to the Danish missionaries to establish themselves in British settlements along the Coromandel Coast (Gibbs 14). The SPCK felt that through this move, conversions of the natives to Christianity in the British settlements would be enhanced (Gibbs 14). By 1716, the British chaplain at Madras, William Stevenson, was accompanying Ziegenbalg on his ministerial journeys.

Stevenson proposed to Ziegenbalg a scheme which would assist in uniting all of the missionary efforts, English, Danish and German. This merging of missionary efforts was never implemented in its entirety, perhaps due to Ziegenbalg's death, although the groups worked co-operatively together for a number of years (Gibbs 14). Ziegenbalg died in Tranquebar in 1719 leaving the

Danish mission under the command of John Schultze. Schultze had difficulties working with some of the newly arrived missionaries, eventually proposing to the British authorities that he move the mission to Fort St. George in Madras (Gibbs 14). His offer was accepted by the SPCK who again assumed responsibility for the support of the missionaries who were all Lutherans and mostly of German origin (Gibbs 15). The missionaries set up a chapel, a school and a mission house in Black Town where they began translating the Bible into Tamil (Gibbs 15). Schultze returned to the University of Halle in 1743, where he was to influence the most famous of all the SPCK missionaries to work in South India, Frederick Christian Swartz (1726-1798).

Frederick Christian Swartz was born in Brandenburg, Prussia, on October 8, 1726. He began his religious studies at Halle University, at the age of twenty, in 1746, where he met Schultze and began studying his translations of the Tamil Bible. On July 30, 1750, Swartz arrived at the Danish mission in Tranquebar. By 1762, he was making regular ministerial visits to Trichinopoly where he was eventually transferred in 1767 (Gibbs 16). In Trichinopoly, Swartz learned Urdu in order to be able to communicate with the representatives of the Nawab of Arcot. He also preached at the British garrison in Trichinopoly being paid one hundred pounds yearly from the Commissary General of Madras (Penny 587). In Trichinopoly, Swartz established a school for orphan children and preached daily to the British soldiers. A. Lehmann says of Swartz' work in Trichinopoly, "...he alone does the work of several missionaries, and we have found more here than we could have imagined" (156). Swartz was also busy with missionary work in Tanjore beginning in 1762, where he learned Persian and Marathi (Neill 199). In April of 1769, Swartz spent three weeks in Tanjore visiting mainly with the Raja, Tulaji (Lehmann 156). In 1772, Swartz received approval for a mission to be

established in Tanjore from Tulaji who considered Swartz his father (Pearson 185). A little later, the British and the Nawab of Arcot, in efforts to extend their territories, attacked Tanjore. Raja Tulaji was imprisoned by the British in Madras. Swartz, who visited the Raja frequently while he was in prison, influenced the British to eventually release and restore him to power (Warren and Barlow 138). For the remaining twelve years of Tulaji's life, Swartz exercised immense influence over him and the political affairs of his kingdom. Raja Tulaji was never fully converted due mainly to his fears of Muslim uprising if he did so. He, nevertheless, stated that "Christianity was a thousand times better than idolatry" (Tulaji quoted in Fenger 222).

As a condition of the Raja's restoration to power, the British placed a resident at Court, John Hudleston, and a garrison in the Raja's Fort. Swartz began to live permanently in Tanjore in 1777 acting as chaplain to the British garrison. He established Christ Church in Tanjore in 1780, and another church for the Indian congregation located approximately one mile from Christ Church.

Swartz was not only a missionary but also a diplomat. In July and August of 1779, he acted as emissary in the service of the Madras Government to Haidar Ali of Mysore (1722-82). Swartz reached Mysore on April 24, 1779, where he preached to Indian Christians, German and French troops in the tent of the German Captain, Buden, every Sunday (Pearson 317-8). Swartz returned to Seringapatam in August of 1779 on another diplomatic mission for the British (Ali 199). Swartz was again received with friendliness by Haidar Ali in spite of rejection of the British because of their failure to come to his aid in the past under the terms of the April 4, 1769 treaty (Majumdar 684). Ali paid Swartz three hundred rupees for his travel expenses and sent him away with a letter to Sir Thomas Rumboldt denouncing the British (Ali 199). When the Second Anglo-Mysore War broke out between the



British and Haidar Ali in 1780, Swartz helped in providing food for the people of Mysore (Gibbs 17).

Meanwhile in 1787, the Raja Tulaji, died childless. His adopted son, Serfoji, was left in the care of Swartz, who acting as ruler of Tanjore, intervened in decisions with the British over the heir to the throne. In 1796, the Madras Government acknowledged Serfoji as the rightful heir at Tanjore due to Swartz' influence.

Frederick Christian Swartz died on February 19, 1798, at Tanjore. In a tribute of love to Swartz, whom Serfoji considered a father and who had acted as his tutor in English while he [Serfoji] was held in Madras, the ruler of Tanjore wrote the first poem written in English by a native Indian (Gibbs 17; Neill 199-200).

It reads:

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,  
 Honest, pure, free from all disguise,  
 Father of orphans, the widow's support,  
 Comfort in sorrow of every sort  
 To the benighted dispenser of light  
 Doing and point to that which is right  
 Blessing to princes, to people to me,  
 May I, my father, prove worthy of thee!  
 Wiseth and prayeth Thy Sarobojee.

Frederick Christian Swartz lived a humble life but died a wealthy man. His income had come not only from his missionary allowance, but also from lucrative appointments by the Madras Government including his diplomatic appointment to the court of the Nawab of Arcot and to Raja Tulaji at Mysore (Gibbs 22; Neill 199). At the time of his death, Swartz gave a large amount of his accrued fortune to the SPCK and to the school he had established for orphans at Ramnad. The school, which still exists (in the 1980's) and is now called the Swartz High School, continues to supply an education based on Christian values.

### The Swartz Monuments

The memory of Swartz is preserved in two monuments in South India. One of the most beautiful is located in St. Mary's Church, Madras (fig. 22-3). The large bas-relief memorial was executed by John Bacon, Jr., in 1806. The design for the monument was influenced by the *Samuel Whitbread Memorial* (Cardington, Beds) executed by Bacon in 1799 (fig. 49). Both of these memorials express Christian symbolism and ideals without classical allegory.

The monument by Bacon shows Swartz lying on his death bed saying goodbye to his adopted son, Raja Serfoji. Swartz, surrounded by his orphans, is pointing to an angel descending from heaven carrying a Latin cross in her left hand. Two Europeans witness the event. One of the figures is said to represent Caspar Kohlhoff who succeeded Swartz on his death at the Danish mission (Verger David, July, 1988). Carved below the main design of the memorial are three Christian symbols: the shepherd's crooked staff; the trumpet and an open Bible. The staff is representative of Christ the Good Shepherd and in this instance, the conversion of the native Indians to Christianity and the care extended them and the orphans by Swartz. The trumpet is symbolic of the angels, messengers of God, who blow their horns announcing Judgment Day when all believers shall unite in heaven. The Bible is God's word, significant in the movement of Pietism as in the Evangelical movement, as the way to God's salvation. Swartz' service in India is depicted by a finely carved window over the death bed looking out to an Indian dome and palm tree. The epitaph was composed by John Hudleston of the Madras Civil Service who was associated with Swartz while he [Hudleston] was Resident at Tanjore (Warren and Barlow 138). The memorial was commissioned from Bacon by the Directors of the East India Company under the direct request of Charles Grant. Stephen Neill has pointed out that "It is strange that the East India

Company, at that time engaged in strenuous efforts to keep missionaries out of other parts of India, set up at their own expense a memorial to Swartz in the Fort Church at Madras" (199). However, in light of the religious feeling in England at the time, coupled with Charles Grant's administrative duties at the East India Company Office, it is not surprising that the Company commissioned a memorial to Swartz. Grant had met Swartz on his first trip to India; they remained acquaintances. Swartz had, in addition, the trust of the princes and was able, as a Christian, to serve as a diplomat to the courts of Raja Tulaji and Haidar Ali, when the British were so distrusted that they were not able to deal directly with the rulers.

John Butler in his book, Christian Art in India, has erroneously credited the monument in St. Mary's, Madras, to John Flaxman (120). He may, in fact, have confused it with another memorial dedicated to Swartz in South India which is, indeed, by Flaxman. Flaxman's monument to Swartz, located in the Church in the Little Fort, Tanjore, is in the form of a rectangular sarcophagus. It has a low pedimental lid with a single palmette ornament on the top. The arrangement of the figures on the memorial is similiar to those contained on the monument to Swartz by Bacon. Flaxman's style is more flat and linear in execution and is thus related to the neo-classical style. In addition, Swartz is already deceased in the Flaxman memorial. Swartz, lying on his death bed, is attended by Raja Serfoji on the far side of the bed holding Swartz' hand. His fellow missionary, Kohlhoff, stands with an open prayer book while two of the Raja's attendants and four orphans witness the event. The monument is supported by brackets on which palm ornaments are carved. Flaxman's account book indicates that he was paid five hundred pounds by Serfoji for executing the monument to Swartz with the first payment, 166 pounds, being received by Flaxman in 1805 (Croft-Murray 78).

The inscription, written by Serfoji (Revenue Inspector Records, Tanjore) reads:

TO THE MEMORY OF THE  
 REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ  
 BORN AT SONNENBURG OF NEUMARK IN THE  
 KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA  
 THE 20TH OF OCTOBER 1726  
 AND DIED AT TANJORE ON THE 16TH OF FEBRUARY  
 1798  
 IN THE 72ND YEAR OF HIS AGE  
 DEVOTED FROM HIS EARLY MANHOOD TO THE  
 OFFICE OF  
 MISSIONARY IN THE EAST  
 THE SIMILARITY OF HIS SITUATION TO THAT OF  
 THE FIRST PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL  
 PRODUCED IN HIM A PECULIAR RESEMBLANCE TO  
 THE SIMPLE SANCTITY OF THE  
 APOSTOLIC CHARACTER  
 HIS NATURAL VIVACITY WON THE AFFECTION  
 HIS UNSPOTTED PROBITY AND PURITY OF LIFE  
 ALIKE COMMANDED THE  
 REVERENCE OF THE  
 CHRISTIAN, MAHOMEDAN, AND HINDU  
 FOR SOVEREIGN PRINCES, HINDU AND MAHOMEDAN  
 ELECTED THIS HUMBLE PASTOR  
 AS THE MEDIUM OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION  
 WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT  
 AND THE VERY MARBLE THAT HERE RECORDS HIS VIRTUE  
 WAS RAISED BY  
 THE LIBERAL AFFECTION AND ESTEEM OF THE  
 RAJA OF TANJORE  
 MAHA RAJA SIRFOJEE

Following the death of Swartz in 1796 and the missionary, Christian William Gericke, in 1803, the south Indian missions fell into a phase of decadence. Voltairian enlightenment had replaced pietism at Halle University; little interest was now taken in the Indian missions (Gibbs 22).

#### Growth of Protestant Missions

Meanwhile, the Protestant movement which had been established by Swartz in Tamil Nadu began to spread to the north of India. German Lutherans, again

financed by the British SPCK, began building missions in the north modelled on the Danish mission at Tranquebar. The interest in northern Indian missions was begun by the Baptist Missionary Society (Gibbs 3). The first of the Baptist missionaries was William Carey, who came to India reflecting the Evangelical movement in England. Carey arrived in Bengal in 1793 followed by two other Evangelical Baptists, Joshua Marshman and William Ward in 1799 (Neill 223). The three Evangelical missionaries, having been refused entry into Calcutta by the British, who feared reprisals in their commercial ventures, established a mission at the Danish colony of Serampore (Kumar 97; Neill 223). They preached and circulated tracts of the Bible which had been translated into over thirty Indian languages (Kumar 97). Through their missionary zeal, the three compiled dictionaries and grammatical texts from English into Bengali, Marathi, Chinese and Sanskrit; established schools to promote Christian knowledge; and spoke out against the Hindu religion and its practice of infanticide and sati (Kumar 97; Neill 224).

The first Anglican chaplain to arrive in Bengal under the 1698 charter of the East India Company was David Brown in 1787 (Gibbs 30; Neill 227). Brown, like Carey, Marshman, Ward and the British population of his day, was not only inspired by the Evangelical movement in England but as a religious orthodox was reacting to the later stages of the French Revolution and the French philosophers' atheistic attitude towards religion (Laird 4).

In 1790, Charles Grant, a member of the Board of Trade in the administration of Governor-General Cornwallis, returned to England after serving the East India Company in Bengal for twenty-two years (Gibbs 28). Grant, whose theological conversion to Evangelicalism took place in Bengal, was made Director and Chairman of the East India Company in 1794 (Gibbs 30). In England,

he joined with William Wilberforce and members of the Clapham Sect, the forces behind the Evangelical movement in England, in pressing the Board of Directors of the East India Company to officially introduce a clause into the charter, which was to be renewed in 1793, for the provision of schoolmasters and missionaries in India (Laird 3). This clause, which was passed by the House of Commons, was defeated by the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company who not only feared repercussions to their trade but also that Christian teaching and Western education would destroy any native allegiance to Great Britain (Embree 271). In 1794, Charles Grant settled in Clapham, residing near Wilberforce, to whom he gave advice on all matters pertaining to India (Gibbs 30).

Meanwhile, the Governors-General of India were sympathetic to the Baptists working out of Serampore. They allowed them to extend their missionary work despite the official clause in the Charter forbidding such activities, into British territory (Laird 3-4). In addition, some of the Anglican chaplains were actively involved in their own missionary work (Laird 4). Wellesley, who was Governor-General from 1798-1805, encompassed all the zeal of the Evangelical movement in England. He designated Christianity as the official religion of the government issuing strict orders for the observance of Sunday as a holy day. After the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799, Wellesley marked February 6, 1800, as a general day of Thanksgiving and the inauguration day of Christianity as the official religion of the British rulers in India (Laird 4). He appointed the Evangelicals, David Brown and Claudius Buchanan, to positions as provost and vice-provost, respectively, at Fort William College in Calcutta. Fort William College was established to train young British officers in the language and literature of India (Kumar 97). William Carey, the Serampore Baptist, was placed in charge of the Vernacular Department (Kumar 47). What all of this meant was that in

addition to learning Indian languages and literature, the young recruits from Britain would be directly influenced by the Evangelical movement.

Charles Grant and William Wilberforce continued their fight to establish British missionaries officially in India. They mounted a public campaign in an effort to lobby the House of Commons. The two wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as other prominent Evangelical clergy, praising territorial expansion as a means of spreading Christianity. In their battle to include missionaries in a future charter renewal, the two stated, "Among all the advantages accruing to Great Britain from the acquisition of Asiatic territories, the power of introducing the Light of Truth among them...has hardly been mentioned" (quoted in Gibbs 30). One estimate, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, was that 1500 groups sent petitions to members of Parliament in support of missionary activity in India (Embree 272).

In 1807, a committee of the Church Missionary Society, the CMS, an Evangelical body, was founded in Calcutta. In 1811, the British and Foreign Bible Society established itself. Meanwhile, Charles Grant, who, in 1802, had become a member of Parliament for Inverness, used his influence and position to have the Company appoint more Evangelicals as chaplains in India. Henry Martyn, a "missionary in the guise of a chaplain" (Laird 4), and Daniel Corrie arrived in Calcutta in 1806. Martyn, unlike the self-taught Serampore Baptists (Bearce 83) with whom he first lived, was highly educated. He had had the best philosophical training that eighteenth century England could provide at Cambridge, under the tutorage of Simeon (Neill 27). Martyn delivered his Evangelical message to crowds of people both in Dinapur and Kanpur during the next four years. A Muslim, Sheikh Salah, came into contact with Martyn and Corrie. Martyn baptised the Muslim in December, 1811. Salah took the Christian name, Abdul Masih (Gibbs 40).

Masih was later ordained by Bishop Heber into the Anglican clergy. Martyn, in his seven years in India, translated the New Testament into Urdu, and also Persian and began working on an Arabic revision (Neill 227). He died in Persia on his way home to England in 1812.

Thomas Thomason, a staunch Evangelical, replaced David Brown in 1812. Along with Daniel Corrie, Thomason would be the mainstay of the Evangelical movement in Bengal between 1806 and 1813 (Laird 5-6).

Between the years 1793 and 1813, a considerable amount of "missionary and quasi missionary work" (Laird 6) took place in India often with the "connivance rather than the official permission of the East India Company" (Laird 6). In September, 1808, the Court of Directors of the East India Company sent the following message to chaplains in India explaining their position:

We are anxious...that it should be distinctly understood that we are very far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines, but we have a fixed and settled opinion that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, and even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who are aiming at this very object...than any imprudent or injudicious attempt to introduce it by means which should irritate and alarm their [the native Indians] religious prejudices...The paramount power which we now possess in India undoubtedly demands from us an additional caution upon this subject; it imposes upon us the necessity, as well as strengthening our obligation, to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions, and to take care that they are neither harassed nor irritated by any premature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity...we rely on your discretion that you will abstain from all unnecessary or ostentatious interference with their proceedings...(quoted in Kaye 513).



As 1813 approached, however, the Evangelical movement in England united behind Charles Grant and William Wilberforce in a call for open missionary access to India. The former fears of the British, specifically of a reaction against their trading alliances if they were involved in spreading Christianity, had diminished. Wilberforce successfully introduced into the 1813 Charter of the East India Company a clause permitting missionaries to function under the auspices of their particular societies in India (53 George III, c155, sec xxxiii). Wilberforce's argument is worth stating for it represents the thrust behind the Evangelical movement.

...if the principles and morals of our East India fellow-subjects were indeed so admirable [as professed by the orientalist], if they were even better than our own, it would be a fact that would belie the experience of all other times and countries. When was there ever yet a nation on which the light of Christianity never shone, which was not found in a state of the grossest moral darkness, debased by principles and practices and manners the most flagitious and cruel...And can it then be maintained, that these must not have produced a proportionate degradation of their moral character? And is it in a British House of Commons, above all other places, where such a doctrine as this is maintained?...in truth, we find the morals and manners of the natives of India just such as we might have been led to expect from a knowledge of the dark and degrading superstitions, as well as of the political bondage, under which they have so long bowed down...common humanity, should prompt us to exert all legitimate methods for producing the discontinuance of them...(quoted in Marshal 187-8).

Wilberforce was not only supported in his argument by the general attitudes of the British population but also by a resolution of the Committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty on March 2, 1813. The resolution read:

That as men, as Britons, and as Christians, this

Committee continue to regard with anguish and with horror, the moral depression and religious ignorance of very millions of immortal beings, who people the plains of India, subject to British power. That their hearts are pained at the fearful penances, licentious rites, female degradation, human sacrifices, and horrible infanticide, which there prevail: and that, convinced by history, observation and experience, that Christianity would afford inestimable benefits, and that their diffusion is practicable, wise and imperative, they cannot but preserve eminently to desire its speedy and universal promulgation throughout the regions of the East...That motives, urgent and recitable, must therefore induce this committee still to deplore and condemn every obstacle which has been interposed to prevent the dispersion of gloom so lasting and so profound, by the irradiating beams of Christian truth (quoted in Marshal 185-6).

Thus, the East India Company Charter of 1813 included a clause which allowed missionaries officially into India in order to provide both useful knowledge and religious improvement (53 Geo III, c155, sec xxxiii). In addition, the Charter provided for a Bishop and three archdeacons to be established in the three Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Their salaries were to be paid out of taxes upon the indigenous peoples of India: 5000 pounds for the Bishop and 2000 pounds for each archdeacon (Gibbs 51). In short, the Hindus and Muslims were taxed to pay tremendously high salaries to the Christian church establishment.

### The Anglican Church Begins

The first Bishop of Calcutta was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, a High Churchman (Neill 227), who was appointed on June 8, 1814 (Gibbs 57). Middleton arrived in Calcutta in December, 1814 (Gibbs 57). His greatest achievement is considered to be the establishment of Bishop's College in Calcutta (Neill 227). Bishop's College was established to train men for ministry in the Anglican

church as well as school teachers.

Reginald Heber replaced Middleton as Bishop of Calcutta on May 3, 1823 (Gibbs 82). Heber was born April 21, 1783. After attending Brasenose College at Oxford University (Laird 14), he travelled with John Thornton, nephew of the prominent Evangelical, member of the Clapham Sect and friend of Wilberforce, Henry Thornton. The two travelled on an unconventional Grand Tour, due primarily to the Napoleonic Wars, to Sweden, Poland, Russia and Norway between 1805 and 1807. Heber's travel journals during this period express a romantic attitude towards the beauty of the landscape and a deep concern for the social conditions of the peasants. These feelings and concerns would later become important aspects of his missionary work in India. On his return to England in 1807, Heber replaced his father as Rector of Hodnet in Shropshire (Gibbs 81). Heber's interest in India was furthered when he married Amelia Shipley, niece of the wife of Sir William Jones, an Orientalist and founder of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1809 (Gibbs 81). When Heber was appointed prebendary of St. Asaph's Cathedral in 1817, his theological convictions, a mixture of Evangelical and Orientalist influences, took a middle ground between the right-wing Evangelical movement and the High Churchmen of the Anglican church (Laird 18). G.D. Bearce contends, however, that Heber "was [more] closely connected with the Evangelical wing of the Anglican church" (85), while George Smith describes him as "broadly evangelical" (55). The Evangelicals continued to stress the authority of personal religious experience based on the Scriptures while the High Churchmen emphasized "apostolic succession, the episcopal order, and the need for strict observance of the discipline, liturgy and sacraments of the Church of England" (Laird 18). The High Churchmen also believed in the importance of the indivisibility of the Church and State.

Reginald Heber wrote poetry and composed many hymns during his years as prebendary of St. Asaph. His hymns include *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; Brightest and best of the Sons of the Morning; God that Madest Earth and Heaven* and the missionary hymn, *Greenland's Icy Mountains*. He was a frequent contributor to the Quarterly Review and wrote a large text on the life of Jeremy Taylor, a seventeenth century Anglican divine (Laird 20).

On December 2, 1822, Heber was approached by an old friend, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, President of the Board of Control for India, about a possible appointment as Bishop of Calcutta (Laird 24; Gibbs 82). Heber accepted Wynn's offer on January 12, 1823, at the age of forty (Gibbs 82; Laird 24). The Letters Patent, dated May 2, 1823, appointed Heber to the post of Bishop of Calcutta which at that time included all the territories within the limits of the East India Company Charter, New South Wales and its dependences of Australia and New Zealand (Gibbs 82). He was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta on June 1, 1823, at Lambeth Palace Chapel, London (Laird 26; Gibbs 83). He was enthroned in St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, on October 10, 1823.

Reginald Heber, the second Bishop of Calcutta, spent his first six months in India organizing the Bishop's office in Calcutta. Through the Indian Bishops Act of 1823, he was given a house in Calcutta and a travelling allowance (4 Geo iv, c71). In addition, the Bishop was given the power to ordain Indians for service in the church (4 Geo iv, c71). One of Heber's first acts was to confirm Daniel Corrie as Archdeacon of Calcutta (Gibbs 83; Laird 27). He then licensed all CMS missions with Anglican orders (Gibbs 83) and continued the work begun by Middleton on Bishop's College in Calcutta (Gibbs 83). Under the Indian Bishops and Courts Act, he ordained a Tamil from Sri Lanka, Christian David, as deacon on Ascension Day and as a priest with Anglican orders on Trinity Sunday, 1824 (Gibbs 83).

Heber began using his travelling allowance in June, 1824. Along with Daniel Corrie, he visited northern India including Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi and Agra. In addition, they travelled to Bombay from where they sailed to Sri Lanka, returning to Calcutta by sea in August, 1825. During his fifteen month journey, Heber consecrated churches, delivered sermons and converted natives to Christianity. He visited both the East India Company's territories as well as many princely states including the court of the Maharaja of Baroda (Heber 364). His journals, written during the fifteen month period to his wife, record his love for the Indian landscape as well as for its people.

On November 30, 1825, Heber ordained as deacons a Muslim, Abdul Masih; a Eurasian, William Bowley, and a German Lutheran missionary of the CMS, Theophilus Reichart (Gibbs 87). On December 21, 1825, the three men became priests in the Anglican church (Gibbs 87).

Bishop Heber believed that British rule would prove "a benefit for India" (Heber quoted in Laird 22). However, he was often critical of the distribution of revenues feeling that the British were guilty of not providing proper public works for the benefits of the natives (Heber 371-2). In addition, he was critical of the exclusion of upper-caste Indians from civil service and military positions (Heber 371-2). It does not appear, however, that Heber had any reservations about the amount of his salary such as those voiced by his predecessor, Bishop Middleton, who felt he was unable to live on such a modest wage (Gibbs 58).

Bishop Heber's affections for the natives of India did not, however, include their religions. Instead, he reflected the Evangelical attitude towards Christianization on the sub-continent. Heber felt that the amiable qualities of the natives had arisen despite their religion stating:

All that is bad about them appears to arise either from the defective motives which their religion supplies, or

the wicked actions which it records of their gods, or encourages in their own practice (Heber, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Calcutta*, 18-9).

Still, Heber recognized the goodness in the natives encompassing an interest in every aspect of Indian life from the local peasant to the titular Mughal Emperor. In another charge to the clergy in Calcutta, Heber commented:

I have found a race of gentle and temperate habits, with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst for general knowledge, which the renowned and inquisitive Athenians could hardly have surpassed or equalled (Heber, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Calcutta*, May 27, 1824).

Although tolerant of Indian ways, excepting their religion, Heber's Evangelical tendencies made him ultimately hope to convert all of the natives of India to Christianity. In fact, he went so far as to suggest that the Baptists of Serampore should unite with the Anglican church in India for this purpose. If this occurred, Heber believed "the harvest of the heathen world would long be reaped, and the work of the Lord would advance among them with a clarity of which we now have no experience " (Heber quoted in Marshman 293). His interest in having the two movements united for the advancement of Christian beliefs did not happen, basically because of the theological divisions in the two ecumenical approaches (Neill 228).

The Bishop continued to preach, travelling throughout India. He left Calcutta for Madras on January 30, 1826. His intention was to settle questions which had arisen in the southern missions (Gibbs 88). The problems of the caste in the Church began when certain boys, attending the Veprey Church, were awarded a special seat each week near the pulpit for their interpretation of the

previous weeks' sermon (Gibbs 88). The division was between the Pariahs, "untouchables", and members of the congregation belonging to the Sudra caste. The Sudras caused more discord within the Church over the communion service. Fearing contamination, they [the Sudras] refused to drink from the communion chalice following a Pariah (Gibbs 88). Bishop Heber was unable to recommend any solutions to the problems which had arisen between the Pariahs and the Sudras due to the events of April 3rd. Heber arrived in Madras on March 9, travelling to Tanjore on March 25 where he delivered his Easter sermon. On March 31, Heber left Tanjore for Trichinopoly where he held a confirmation service on Monday, April 3 (Gibbs 89-90). Heber's love for the natives of India, fuelled by his Evangelical zeal for their conversion, was the impetus behind his travels and his devotion to the work of the Church. While in Trichinopoly, he delivered sermons and offered confirmation services which lasted in excess of seven hours in severe heat (Gibbs 89-90). "The gentle Bishop, who preferred to dress in white trousers and a white hat in public" (A. Heber 298) died later that day. Although his presence in India was to encompass only two years and six months, his influence was such that "he left a deep impression on the mind of India [more so] than any other man, with the possible exception of Francis Xavier" (Kaye 266). C.W. Le Bas continues the praise for Heber adding:

The singleness of his heart, the simplicity of his manners, the heavenly sweetness of his temper, the passionate devotion of all his faculties to the work of an evangelist, seemed to bend towards him the hearts of all the people, as the heart of one man. They who were, at first, surprised at the unostentatious plainness of his demeanour were soon impressed by his vast resources and genuine dignity of his mind (352-3).

### The Heber Monument

Bishop Heber was memorialized in a number of monuments executed by Sir Francis Chantrey (1781-1841). One is located in St. Paul's Cathedral, London (fig. 48), and another in Calcutta. The deeply carved monument in pure white marble to Heber in Madras Cathedral (fig. 35) was executed by Chantrey in 1830. Chantrey memorializes Heber's Evangelical tendencies toward the conversion of the natives in India. The Bishop, depicted in heavy cleric robes, kneels on a cushion blessing an Indian couple. The couple, with their heads bowed, kneel before Herber. An open Bible rests on a stand. The depiction, like Chantrey's other Bishops, is naturalistic and reflects the influence of the Elgin Marbles (British Museum, London) on the artist's style (Liscombe 34). There has been no attempt at classical allegory. The monument is, in fact, a larger version of the scene of the Bishop blessing an Indian couple executed on the back of the inscription tablet for Chantrey's Heber statue in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

The stance of the Bishop relates directly to the free standing sculpture by Chantrey in St. Paul's Cathedral, London (fig. 48). However, the figures in the Madras memorial are extremely out of proportion. The Bishop, as a symbol of the Church, towers over the natives making them appear to be quite small. In fact, the Bible is almost as large as the natives. Chantrey has symbolized the attitudes of the early nineteenth century Evangelical movement and the power of the Church in this depiction. The intent of the message, therefore, is related to the Evangelical desire to convert all the natives of India to the Christian religion; that they should prostrate themselves before the British church.

Chantrey's monument to Bishop Heber is the most direct of all the sculptures in Madras addressing the attitude of early nineteenth century Britain towards India. The monument not only shows the natives prostrating themselves



before the Church but shows the British attitude towards Indian females in the depiction of the Indian female as bare-breasted. In fact, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras from 1820-7, in his defence of native women, went to great lengths to point out this extreme prejudice to the British authorities (Krishnaswami 221). The figure by Chantrey, displaying British nineteenth century morality, is extremely prejudicial and like the depiction of the towering Bishop, is more related to Evangelical philosophy and the imperial aspirations of the British than to the life of Bishop Heber.

With the death of Bishop Heber, the charge of the Diocese of Calcutta belonged to Archdeacon Daniel Corrie until a new Bishop could be sent from England. Daniel Corrie was born in 1777, the son of the Reverend John Corrie, Vicar of Osbournby in Lincolnshire. Having decided early to enter the ministry, Corrie enrolled in Trinity College, Cambridge, where he came under the direct influence of Charles Simeon in 1799 (Gibbs 35). Simeon was one of the main supporters of Evangelicalism in England sending his young clergy to be "princes in all lands" (Neill 226). Corrie was ordained deacon in 1802 becoming intimate friends with Henry Martyn the same year (Gibbs 35). Corrie was ordained a priest in the Evangelical Anglican Church movement in 1804. Corrie, along with Martyn, arrived in Calcutta as chaplains for the East India Company in 1806 (Neill 226; Gibbs 35). In Calcutta, Corrie stayed with Reverend David Brown. In December, 1806, Corrie was appointed chaplain at Chunar and Parson to Behrampure (Gibbs 35). In addition to his duties as chaplain to the British troops, Corrie was an active missionary in the Evangelical movement. At Chunar, in 1810, Corrie laid the foundations for St. Mary's Sikraul, the oldest Anglican church in Uttar Pradesh which is still in use in the 1980's (Gibbs 67). Corrie acted as chaplain also at Agra where he established the Agra Mission as well as the

mission at Meerut. After a brief illness during which time Corrie returned to England, he was recalled to Calcutta as presidency chaplain (Gibbs 68). While in Calcutta, he served as secretary to the CMS and later as president of the Church Missionary Association. In 1823, as noted above, Daniel Corrie was made Archdeacon of Calcutta by Bishop Heber. When Madras and Bombay were made separate sees under the Charter Act of 1833, Corrie was appointed, by Bishop Daniel Wilson, as the first Bishop of Madras in November, 1834 (Gibbs 107). Corrie was installed as Bishop of Madras on October 28, 1835, in Madras Cathedral. M. Gibbs has stated that the installation took place in St. George's Cathedral (133). She is in error, for St. George's Cathedral is the Catholic cathedral in Madras; Corrie was an Anglican. In Madras, Corrie was responsible for establishing the Madras Grammar School which opened on July 1, 1836 (*Report of Bishop Corrie's Grammar School*, 1836). The objectives of the school were to provide a sound education based on religious principles. Tuition was 4 rupees per month for the first son and 3 rupees tuition per month for each subsequent male child enrolled. Female children did not attend. Bishop Corrie died in Madras on February 5, 1837. On his death, a public subscription was raised by the residents of Madras Presidency (Madras Cathedral Church Records). 12,000 rupees was set aside from the subscription for a scholarship fund in Corrie's name for students to attend Madras Grammar School (*Report of Bishop Corrie's Grammar School*, 1862). In addition to the scholarships, a monument was commissioned to be erected in Corrie's memory in Madras Cathedral.

#### The Corrie Statue

The larger-than-life statue stressing the importance of Corrie as the first Bishop of Madras was executed by British sculptor, Henry Weekes (1807-77) (fig. 29), who received the commission in 1837 and completed the work in 1842. In her

book, The Anglican Church in India, 1600-1970, M. Gibbs has erroneously credited the work to Sir Francis Chantrey, the sculptor with whom Weekes apprenticed (138). Like the full standing figures of Chantrey's memorials, Weeks has presented Corrie as a solitary modern figure dressed in the conventional clothes of an Anglican cleric. The drapery is loose fitting and has deeply cut folds. Corrie stands with his feet apart; his left leg extends towards the viewer bending slightly. His right leg bears the weight of the statue. Corrie's left arm is draped over the back of the shoulders of the native who looks intently into Corrie's eyes. The Bishop holds an open Bible, which faces the native, in his left hand. The native has been depicted in a contemporary way; he appears barefoot with a loin cloth draped diagonally from his waist. Like his tutor, Chantrey, Weekes has executed the memorial to Corrie without allegorical symbolism. The statue, appearing more majestic due to its high elevation above the viewer, depicts the Bishop as a gentle man who helped found the Evangelical movement in India. The Gospel which Corrie holds out to the India youth was of fundamental importance to Evangelical philosophy and Corrie's view of Christian education which he fostered in the schools he founded.

Daniel Corrie's replacement as Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1834 was another Evangelical, Thomas Dealtry. Dealtry was born to a poor family in Knottingley, Yorkshire, in 1796. He was possibly related to William Dealtry, the Evangelical Rector of Clapham (Gibbs 118). Dealtry received no formal education as a youth. He began earning money as a tutor entering St. Catherine Hall, Cambridge, in 1825. He received his LL.B. degree in 1827-8. Dealtry was ordained in the Anglican church in 1828 where he worked as curate in St. Peter's Church, Cambridge. Dealtry met Charles Simeon, the fervent Evangelical, while at Cambridge. It was at Friday evening prayer meetings at Simeon's house that

Dealtry met Thomas Thomason who had recently returned from India. Under the influence of Simeon and Thomason, Dealtry accepted a posting as chaplain to the Old Church in Calcutta in 1829. In 1835, he replaced Daniel Corrie, the newly appointed Bishop of Madras, as Archdeacon of Calcutta (Gibbs 118). Dealtry, the staunch Evangelical, baptised more than five hundred converts in a single ceremony in 1839 (Gibbs 126). In 1848, Dealtry returned to England where he was given a position at St. John's Church, Bedford Row, London. In the following year, Dealtry was consecrated as the third Bishop of Madras being installed in Madras Cathedral on February 2, 1850. Dealtry assumed the post of Bishop of Madras at a time when the Church was firmly established in India. He stated in his *Primary Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Madras in 1850* that "how little reason there has been for any...misgivings. Let the present state of our church in India, compared with what it was when you took charge of it, emphatically bear witness..." (ii). Like his predecessors, Brown, Martyn, Thomason and Corrie, Dealtry combined his chaplaincy duties with an avid interest in missions. He was, while in Calcutta, the secretary to the CMS, contributing large amounts from his salary to various mission funds. Dealtry was satisfied with the amount of government support and the enhancement of Christianity in south India. In addition, he was pleased with the numbers of native Indians entering the clergy. On October 24, 1850, in an address to seven candidates he had ordained as Anglican priests, Dealtry said, "...with these candidates too the experiment is to be made to which the hopes of the friends of the Church are anxiously directed; viz. how far native pastors may be entrusted with the flocks already gathered in the fold..." (vi). It appears from Dealtry's statement, that regardless of his pleasure at ordaining the Indian natives, he still had questions regarding their ability to spread the word of God. Thomas Dealtry

continued to minister the gospel to British officers and troops and to carry on his missionary work converting the natives of south India to the Christian faith. The third Bishop of Madras, who is memorialized in a monument in Madras Cathedral (fig. 40), died in Madras on March 4, 1861.

#### The Dealtry Monument

The monument erected in memory of the Reverend Dealtry (fig. 31), third Bishop of Madras, was executed by Joseph Durham (1814-77) and commissioned by Dealtry's friends in India. The memorial is a deeply carved, multi-figured relief tablet constructed of pure white marble. The Reverend Dealtry, whose effigy has received a naturalistic treatment, is the central figure of the group. Dressed in cleric robes, he has his right hand raised in the act of blessing. Two Indian males, also dressed in cleric robes, kneel before Dealtry, the symbol of the British church in India. One of the natives is holding an open Bible, one of the cornerstones of the Evangelical faith, on which Dealtry places his left hand. The moment of the native ordination is witnessed by three Europeans. As such it points to the Evangelical belief of the conversion of Indians and ultimately, by the time of Dealtry's ministry, their active place as priests in the Anglican church. Like other Evangelicals, Dealtry wanted to eradicate idol worship and other heathen beliefs, maintaining that the natives would be better off under the rule of the British church and would overcome their past beliefs and enter into the house of God (iii).

The mass movement to native conversion in south India reached a zenith in the mid-nineteenth century. In the Telugu speaking area, north of Madras, a million converts entered the Protestant religion in thirty years (Neill 218). It was assumed, that regardless of the numbers of the converts, the foreign missionary, like Dealtry, would have his position as patriarch of the Church secured.

However, the mass movements towards Christianity in the nineteenth century would mean that changes would be needed within the structure of the church in order to accommodate the new converts.

### The Church Established

The Church and its missions, like British rule, was firmly established in India during Dealtry's reign as the third Bishop of Madras. Queen Victoria's proclamation, in 1858, while recognizing equality and toleration of all native religions, stressed that the official religion of the government of India was Christianity. The Queen stated:

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, We disclaim alike the right and desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our subjects. We declare it to be Our royal will and please that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law...(quoted in Neill 274).

The Queen's proclamation, while attempting to restore the confidence in religious freedoms of the Hindus and Muslims, also gave the same freedoms and rights to the Christian minority. All people, whatever their religious conviction, were to be free from prejudice and discrimination (Neill 274). Further, the religious policy of the new government of India, that of the British Crown as opposed to the East India Company, provided for the state establishment of chaplains for British residents while maintaining a "freedom of Christian missions on a voluntary basis" (Gibbs 205).

Changes in government policy and the implementation of new technologies had an affect on the Christian church and its missionaries. The introduction of a national system of education, by the British provided grants in

support of Christian colleges (Gibbs 206). The introduction of the postal system and the railways meant that visits by missionaries and correspondence between the clergy would be eased, "...there came about the railway chaplain and the railway parish with its church, parsonage, school..." (Gibbs 208). More British came to India which kept the chaplains busy with their "English-speaking" congregations and left them little time for missionary work (Gibbs 208).

Problems continued with the rise in numbers of India Christians. One was the issue of mixed marriages which was addressed in the first Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1864. The act allowed for marriages, reserving the chaplain's full nuptial blessing by an ordained minister, until both parties were baptized. The Act also addressed the issue of divorce. Permission to re-marry was given if the former spouse was deceased. This part of the Act was referred to as the Pauline privilege (Gibbs 213). In 1866, the Act for the Marriages of Converts was passed. While Hindus were included in the law, Muslims were not because of their law which dissolved any marriage if one of the partners reverted to another religion (Gibbs 214). The passing of these laws reinforced the place of the India Christian community within the pluralism of Indian society. The Christian church grew, but not to the extent that Charles Grant or William Wilberforce would perhaps have liked. B. Griffiths has attributed the small percentage of Indian Christian conversions to the fact that Christianity was presented to the natives of India as a western culture (Parekkattil 188). The problem began when Christianity was associated with being part of a European political system which desired to keep natives in subjection. It continued when the converts adopted westernized lifestyles, language and attitude. The converts became aliens in their homeland. Joseph Cardinal Parekkattil stressed that it was "the false impression that to be Christianised meant to be 'Westernised' that prevented more natives from

converting to Christianity (Parekkattil 188).



## CHAPTER FIVE

## CONCLUSION

Sculpture as an Expression of Society's Values

While commemorative monuments can, in a simple way, be viewed as part of a custom whereby a person was glorified in stone for his accomplishments and contributions to society, they are, in fact, more than that. Donald Reynolds in his book, The Cambridge Introduction to the History of Art: The Nineteenth Century, stresses that, in addition to reviving antique forms, the sculptors working in the nineteenth century felt an ethical need to impose in their work "man's spiritual needs, his most refined feelings...in addition to his ideas of moral and intellectual beauty" (29).

All of the memorials to the clergy serving in India are erected in the churches. They were intended as tributes to the services of these men in India in the spread of Evangelical philosophy. They act as reminders to other members of the congregation of the growth of the Church and the spreading of the Gospel and as John Butler points out they join all the faithful, the past and present, together in the "communion of saints" (40). The monuments carry the message, as in the work by Chantrey of Bishop Heber (fig. 35), that British religion was believed superior to that of the natives. All of the natives appear small beside the majestic monuments to the European clergy. In this regard, they are a statement of the assumed power of the Church which saw the conversion of natives, not only as a religious ideal but as a means to creating a subservient class of followers. The Church has used the Gospel to further its beliefs in British superiority and its right to the just rule of India.

In the monuments, executed for Madras, the sculptors have interpreted the dominant values of British society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; namely that of Evangelical philosophy and the just rule of India by a western society. These monuments, executed by artists that had never been to India, when analyzed can be said to represent the intangible values of contemporary eighteenth and nineteenth century British society. The effigies, while paying tribute to individual achievement, are perceptible statements about Britain and her values. Bishop Heber represents the patriarchal power of the Anglican Church and not merely the man. His image, that of the Church, towers over the natives and is representative of the Evangelical belief that Britons were meant to govern not only in administration but also in religious matters in India. Armed with the Gospel, the Evangelicals believed their religion to be the only true way to God's salvation as well as the means to moral self-improvement. The natives who prostrated themselves before the English church were not considered equal to the British. They would, as Charles Grant hoped, come into the Church believing in the Gospel to be loyal servants of Britain.

India was believed to be a society in need of radical change. In particular, the Evangelicals saw India as a fertile ground for the introduction of a western religion. The monuments commissioned for India reflect these values of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England in the stance of the individuals, the events depicted and the epitaphs for the sculptures. The monuments celebrate art at the service of philosophical beliefs. The British, exalting their Evangelical heroes, recognized themselves and their ideals in the works of sculpture. The natives, in turn, could reflect on British accomplishments for the works can be seen as propaganda espousing British religious ideals as well as the just rule of India by a western society.

### Sculptures Present in Madras

More British works of sculpture exist in Madras than previously reported. Rupert Guinness cites thirty-two works executed for Madras in his book, Dictionary of British Sculptors. There are, in fact, fifty-one existing works in Madras of this period. These include four public monuments. Three of them are in their original location, the bronze equestrian statue dedicated to Sir Thomas Munro on the Island, the bronze equestrian statue to Colonel Neill on Mount Road near the Cathedral and the bronze memorial to Queen Victoria (fig. 66) on the Madras waterfront. The marble statue to Lord Cornwallis (fig. 60-1) is now housed in the Fort Museum. There are twenty-five sculptures in Madras Cathedral of this period, nineteen in St. Mary's in the Fort, one sculpture in St. Thomas Garrison Church, one bust in St. Andrew's Kirk and one bust on the second floor of the Fort Museum of this period. With the exception of the Cornwallis statue, all works appear to be in original condition showing no signs of cracking or repairs. The Cornwallis statue appears to have been repaired several times, no doubt due to its numerous moves between 1800 and 1948.

### Comment on All the Madras Monuments

Many of the monuments, executed for Madras, like those designed for England, are variations on other designs executed by the artist, or in some cases, by another artist, which were popular. Notable examples are the monuments to Frederick Christian Swart (fig. 22) and Jane Amelia Russell (fig. 20-1) by John Bacon, Jr., which are variations of his *Samuel Whitbread Memorial* (Cardington, Beds) (fig. 49). Edward Richardson adopted design elements from John Flaxman's *Agnes Cromwell Memorial* in his small marble tablet dedicated to Catherine Lushington (fig. 39).

The quality of the workmanship varies dramatically between the artists

and within works executed by the same artist. Many of the sculptors employed assistants in their workshops. In some instances, these assistants would complete the final sculpture following the artists' original model. There is a dramatic difference in the quality of workmanship in monuments by John Bacon, Jr., *Keble Monument* (fig. 5-6), *Swartz Monument* (fig. 22-3), and (fig. 22-1), the *Jane Amelia Russell Memorial* and the monument to Davies and Nattes (fig. 3) signed by both Bacon and his partner, Samuel Manning. The latter is clumsily executed, lacking both skill in carving and in the overall design of the work. The flaws of the work cannot be attributed to Bacon, for by the time the work to Davies and Nattes was executed, Bacon was only a "silent" partner of the firm, Bacon and Manning. John Flaxman's memorials to Josiah Webbe (fig. 24) and Barry Close (fig. 1) are exquisitely carved showing Flaxman's mastery of both technique and design. Flaxman's memorial to Iohannis Mousley (fig. 44) is, however, both lacking in detail and fine carving. The inconsistency in Flaxman's work has been attributed to his inability to transpose his initial maquette into the final sculpture causing difficulties in the overall design. Thomas Banks' relief carving on the pedestal of the monument to Lord Cornwallis (fig. 47) shows the artists' ability with fine carving and detail. The statue of Cornwallis, in comparison, is poorly executed in both detail and surface handling of the material. Other monuments display inconsistent workmanship within the same memorial. One example is the monument to Joseph Moorhouse by Charles Peart (fig. 11-3). The carving of the main motif, Britannia riding her lion crowning the portrait bust of Moorhouse, is poorly designed while the carving between the central motif and the inscription tablet, along with other sculptural details such as the lion paw brackets, display both attention to detail and fine execution. Charles Harriott Smith's memorial to Charles Harwood Higginson (fig. 36-7) shows not only the sculptor's mastery of

technique but also his accomplished use of allegorical symbolism. The two free-standing sculptures by Henry Weeks in Madras Cathedral, the *Daniel Corrie Statue* (fig. 29) and the *Stephen Lushington Statue* (fig. 40), are the finest overall examples of three-dimensional marble sculpture in Madras. A number of the monuments are simply inscription tablets with a draped urn, the symbol of death, as the only sculptural detail.

#### Future Sources of Study

The monuments not only serve as examples of British philosophical thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth century but can be used to study British art of the period in loco. The works themselves exhibit the numerous stylistic ranges executed by artists working in Britain. This stylistic range could be utilized by local students of western art history to document the development of the neo-classical style, from that originally based on Roman copies to those works that display the influence of true Greek art present in Britain in the form of the *Elgin Marbles* (British Museum, London).

For students of colonial history, the men and women to whom the sculptures are dedicated share a common history between India and Britain. The epitaphs serve as historical records where information is scarce or non-existent.

Future research should focus on documenting all the works in India executed by British sculptors. Due to the number of errors made by writers on Indian topics who have never travelled to India, this research should be carried on in India. Numerous examples exist in Calcutta and Bombay, many of which have been moved from their original sites, as well as in smaller centres like Tanjore and Ootacamund. This information should be made available, not only to the Indian government for preservation consideration but also to the British. India contains a vast amount of undocumented works by some of the finest British

sculptors as well as beautifully executed works by many lesser known artists.

## APPENDIX A

## A HISTORY OF MADRAS FROM 1522 TO 1827

The Carnatic, a section of southeastern India on the Bay of Bengal, ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Vijayanagar, began to be populated along the Coromandel Coast by European trading nations when the Portuguese established a site at San Thome in 1522. The United East India Company of the Netherlands landed at Masulipatam in 1605. Their second factory was at Petapoli with their third being established at Pulicat. The Portuguese destroyed the unarmed fort of the Dutch at Pulicat on June 9, 1612 (Muthiah 12). It was rebuilt as an armed fortress by Wemmer van Berchem in 1613 and was called Geldria (Muthiah 12). Geldria became the centre of Dutch power on the Coromandel Coast with van Berchem as its Governor. The English landed at Masulipatam, under the command of Captain Hippon, of the *Globe*, in September, 1611. After two years, Hippon received a grant from the Nawab of Golconda in 1613, to establish a fortified factory at Masulipatam (Muthiah 14). Under a joint protection agreement, between the Dutch and British governments, the East India Company set up an agency at Pulicat in 1619. The Danes settled at Tranquebar in 1620 with the English setting up another factory at Durgarayapatam [Armagon] in 1628. The French were the last European power to establish a factory on the Coromandel Coast at Pondicherry in 1674. All of the countries were attracted to this coastal area because of trade advantages. The region was popular for its chintz material, a painted cotton cloth utilizing vegetable dyes whose colours became more vibrant with washing. The cloth, produced only at the time in India, was in great demand in Europe and England. In addition, the Coromandel Coast afforded good positioning for

Company ships sailing further East.

On August 22, 1639, Francis Day, Chief Administrator for the East India Company at Durgarayapatam [Armagon], landed at a site between the villages of Madraspatam and Chennapatam in the English ship, *The Eagle* (Muthiah 8). It was here that Day leased the present site of Fort St. George from the Naik of Poonamallee, Darmala Ayappa. The "firman", or agreement, signed by Day read:

...whereas Mr. Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promises often made unto him hath repaired to our port at Madraspatam and had personall conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that nation, concerning their trading in our territories and friendly commerce with our subjets, we out of our spetiall love and favor to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whosoever that Company by vertue of this firman, power to direct and order the building of a fort and castle in or about Madraspatam, as they shall thinke most convenient: the charges, whereof, until fully and wholly finished, to be defrayed to us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof...(quoted in Ramaswami 25).

The leasing of the land, in order to establish a fortified factory, was in response to Company troubles with both the Golcondas and the Dutch at the site of their first factory on the Coromandel Coast, Masulipatam. The new site at Madraspatam was about 5km in length and 2 km in width, located between the mouth of the Cooum River and the Buckingham Canal (Ramaswami 5; Muthiah 5). Its main disadvantage was the sites lack of a natural harbour.

Andrew Cogan, Agent for the East India Company, arrived with Day at the proposed fort site on February 20, 1640, along with several writers and twenty-five European soldiers (Lawford 2; Muthiah 9; Ramaswami 43). The fortified enclosure, named Fort St. George in remembrance of the patron saint on whose



day it was consecrated, April 23, 1640, cost 9250 pagodas (Muthiah 9). While the firman appears to read that the initial cost of building the fortified enclosure would be borne by the Naik, in fact, most of the funds contributed came directly from Francis Day. Day had had difficulties in raising monies from the English headquarters at Surat and in obtaining official permission and support to build the fort at Madraspatam from the Directors of the East India Company in London (Muthiah 9; Ramaswami 40-3). The Company, however, under Agent Cogan, officially moved to Fort St. George on September 24, 1641, from Masulipatam. Under further conditions of the firman granted to them, the Company was to receive half of the customs and revenues from the port while enjoying the benefit of not paying any customs on their goods landing by sea. Any goods carried over land, through the territories of the Naik, would be subject to half the customs duties paid by other merchants. The English were also given the right to mint coins (Ramaswami 26). In exchange, the Naik asked for horses and an annual use of Company ships so that he might bring "hawks, parrots, apes and suchlike baubles" to his kingdom. Lastly, the Naik asked for shelter in the fort if he was attacked (Lawford 20).

By the autumn of 1641, there were approximately three to four hundred families of weavers, from whom the English purchased chintz, settled in the area outside the Fort known as "Black Town" (Muthiah 17). "White Town", the area inside the Fort, had approximately seventy houses occupied by thirty-five European soldiers and a number of natives who were employed as Company peons (Lawford 24; Muthiah 17). The military officers of the Fort lived beneath the walls while the merchants and civilian population lived within the factory (Davies 24). Within sixty years, Fort St. George had grown into a major city with a population of 300,000 (Davies 24). The arrangement of the areas, known as "White

Town" and "Black Town", was on a planned grid-iron pattern of streets; this was the first example of English town planning in India (Davies 24).

Shah Jehan, the Mughal Emperor of northern India, directing the campaigns of Mir Jumla, eliminated the power of the Vijayanagars. Hindu rule in South India was replaced by the Mughal emperor, Aurangzib (1658-1707), in 1688. At that time, native power in the Carnatic was divided between the Mughals and Mahrathas. The Mughal Carnatic, which had previously been a province of the Golkonda, included the British settlement at Madras. The Company began, at this time, to pay an annual rent to the Mughals of one lakh of rupees, 6000 pagodas for the security of their trade in the region of Madras (Wheeler 94). The Mahratha Carnatic included the French settlement at Pondicherry. It was felt by the British, at the time, that their naval power would be able to avert any attacks by the Mughals. At this time, the Directors of the East India Company began to appreciate the Fort that had been established by Day and Cogan (Wheeler 89). A "balance of power" kept an uneasy peace between the Mughals, who were at war with the Mahrathas, and the British at Madras for seventy years (Wheeler 88).

In 1690, the British were able to establish another fort. A local noble, Raja Rama, sold them a semi-ruined edifice near Cuddalore, sixteen miles south of Pondicherry (Lawford 63). The new fort was named Fort St. David.

The Mughals and Mahrathas continued to volley for power in the Carnatic. In December, 1692, the Mughals, defeated by the Mahrathas, fled to Madras asking for protection from Elihu Yale, Governor of Madras. The British offered them protection and supplied their leader, Zulfikar Khan, with gunpowder and other military services in exchange for an additional firman for the Company (Wheeler 99). Zulfikar Khan defeated the Mahrathas at Tanjore in 1697 and went on to capture Jinji, the renowned fortress of the Carnatic, in 1698. Khan now demanded

additional rent from the British totalling 10,000 pagodas, or 4000 pounds sterling, in exchange for their trading monopoly at Madras, which the British paid (Wheeler 102).

The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzib, died in 1707. There ensued much rivalry between Mughal claimants to the throne; from 1707 to 1720, eight successors to Aurangzib reigned, with only one dying of natural causes (Lawford 51). Madras was ultimately included in the Mughal province of Arcot, an area from the Kistna River southward to the Kileron, bounded on the north by the Nizam of Hyderabad's territory, on the west by the territory of Mysore, on the south by the Hindu kingdom of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and on the east by the Bay of Bengal, which was ruled by the Nawab of Arcot. The Nawab of Arcot was, however, under direct control of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Chin Kulich Khan (Wheeler 135). Friction broke out between the Nizam and the son of the Nawab of Arcot, Subdar Ali who, had succeeded his father in 1740 (Majumdar 983). Subdar Ali, without consulting the Nizam, had offered the Mahrathas two million pounds sterling in exchange for the kingdom of Trichinopoly. Ali was murdered at Vellore; struggles for power continued amongst the Mughal leaders under the Nizam of Hyderabad

The main European rival to British trade along the Coromandel Coast was the French. Between 1720 and 1740, French trade was valued at 880,000 pounds, or half that of the East India Company (Spear 77). Wars in Europe, namely the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Years War (1756-63), placed Britain and France in opposite alliances and increased the problems between the two trading nations in India. In 1745, Joseph Francois Dupleix was Governor of Pondicherry when a British naval fleet consisting of three ships and a frigate armed with twenty guns, commanded by Commodore Barnet, captured several

French ships. Intent upon establishing a French empire in the Carnatic, French troops began to threaten Fort St. David in January, 1746 (Lawford 70). They withdrew when Barnet's ships were sighted off the coast. Again in 1746, a French fleet of nine ships carrying 2000 French and 1000 African soldiers, under the command of Francois Mahe La Bourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, appeared off the Madras coast (Lawford 70). The French, under previous orders by the Nawab not to attack Madras, did so in August of 1746. Le Bourdonnais landed his ships and began putting his men and equipment ashore near St. Thomas Mount while other soldiers marched north to Madras from Pondicherry (Lawford 71). On September 10, 1746, Fort St. George, with its 150 European inhabitants and 500-500 peons, surrendered to the French (Lawford 71). The treaty read:

Fort St. George and the town of Madras with all their dependencies shall today, 10 September, at two o'clock in the afternoon be put in the hands of La Bourdonnais...all the garrison and in general all the English who are in the fort shall remain prisoners of war;...the garrison shall be conducted to Fort St. David prisoners of war; and if the town of Madras be restored by ransom the English shall be free to take possession again of their garrison to defend themselves against the people of the country...Made and drafted in the French camp, 10 September 1746 (quoted in Lawford 75).

The French occupied Madras from October, 1746, to August, 1749. Fort St. David was made the seat of the British Presidency during this period. Madras was restored to the English, with the French getting Cape Breton Island in North American, under the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 (Wheeler 139). The French, however, continued to be a menace to the British in their attempts to capture Fort St. David during 1748.

The Nizam of Hyderabad died in 1748. The French and English began vying

to have influence, in the form of "puppet" rulers, in Hyderabad, Arcot and Trichinopoly.

In 1751, when Robert Clive arrived in Madras, as a captain in the British army, the French controlled Hyderabad and Arcot with the English in command of the ruler at Trichinopoly. The British at Fort St. George felt that Trichinopoly was in danger of a French attack. Clive mounted a campaign to capture the Nawab of Arcot with 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoy (Lawford 115). Clive and his army left Madras on August 27, 1751, marching through the monsoon and thunderstorms to reach Arcot (Lawford 115-6). Ten miles from Arcot, Clive received news that the garrison had been abandoned by the military; the residents believed that the British were being led by the devil himself to have come through such storms (Lawford 116). The citizens of Arcot, numbering 100,000, welcomed Clive. Clive held Arcot for more than fifty days resisting every assault by the enemy. The Mahrathas reached Clive's defense in November (Wheeler 145; Lawford 120). By the end of December, 1751, the British were in control of Trichinopoly and Arcot.

In March, 1752, the French once again began attacking British-held Trichinopoly. They were driven back in defeat by Stringer Laurence on June 3, 1752.

Peace was established with the French in 1754. It lasted until the arrival of Comte Lally de Tollendal in March, 1758, who beseiged Madras on December 14, 1758. Lally and his troops left in defeat in February, 1759. On January 17, 1760, Lally and the French captured Wandewash. The British, under Eyre Coote, took the French at Wandewash on January 28, 1760. By February 6, Coote had captured not only Wandewash but also Chittapet and Arcot (Lawford 265). In early March, Coote began his systematic attack on the French; his goal was Pondicherry. He

captured Valdavur, 11 miles north of Pondicherry, then Tiruvadi, 25 miles southeast. He then captured Cuddalore. Lally sought assistance from Hyder Ali who sent reinforcements to Pondicherry on June 4 (Lawford 270). On January 16, 1761, nearly a year after the seige on the French had begun, Coote took possession of Pondicherry demanding unconditional surrender from its 3000 inhabitants. The British held Pondicherry until 1765 (Lawford 275). Lally was returned to France where he was imprisoned in the Bastille for failing his King and his Company. He was executed in May, 1766 (Lawford 275).

French power in India was almost eliminated. They still had influence at the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad who, along with the Mahratha Confederacy, attacked Madras in 1780. They were defeated by British and native troops under the command of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Warren Hastings. The French would enter into future alliances with Hyder Ali and later his son, Tipu Sultan. In 1792, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Cornwallis, defeated Tipu Sultan in the First Mysore War dividing his kingdom and taking two of his eldest sons in ransom. British fears against the French mounted with the Egyptian campaigns of Napoleon. Wellesley again defeated Tipu, after three battles in two months, with Tipu being killed at Seringapatam in 1799. The British, under Wellesley, entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad thus bringing about an end to any French influence in South India.

By 1815, the British were in control of all of South India. The government at Madras was run by Sir Thomas Munro from 1820-27. During this period, educational institutions were established and a new land settlement scheme, the ryot wari system, was developed. Madras' importance as an imperial city, established in the 17th century, would be overshadowed by Calcutta by the middle of the 19th century.

APPENDIX B  
CHURCH HISTORIES

St. Mary's in the Fort

St. Mary's in Fort St. George, Madras, South India (fig. 50-2), is the oldest place of worship still extant that was built by English settlers in India (Morris 159; Warren and Barlow 9). Streyنشam Master, Governor of Fort St. George, 1677-1681, is credited with being instrumental in obtaining the funds necessary for building the Church. The ground breaking ceremonies took place on Easter Monday, April 1, 1678. St. Mary's was officially consecrated on Lady Day, October 28, 1680; hence the name, St. Mary's (Warren and Barlow 14).

The architect of the Church is believed to be William Dixon, Master Gunner at Fort St. George (Morris 159; Warren and Barlow 18). The design of the church has some unique properties. St. Mary's measures 80 feet long and 50 feet wide; it took two years to build. The Church consists of a nave and two aisles; the nave extends about twelve feet further east than the aisles forming the sanctuary. West of the nave is the tower and spire. The outside walls of the aisles are four feet thick; the inner walls, which separate the nave from the aisles, are three feet thick. Three semi-circular masses of brick, two feet thick, were built over the nave and aisles. They formed a bomb-proof roof of solid masonry. No wood was used except for the doors and windows. The floor is black and white marble.

Thirty-eight people contributed to building St. Mary's in the Fort which cost a total of 805 pagodas [400 pounds sterling] (Warren and Barlow 15). The major contributors were: Streyنشam Master, 100 pagodas; Joseph Hymner, 80 pagodas; Edward Hery, 80 pagodas; John Bridger, 60 pagodas, William Tearsay, 60 pagodas and Elihu Yale, 35 pagodas (Warren and Barlow 15).

Until the end of the eighteenth century, St. Mary's in the Fort was the only church in India to be built without East India Company assistance (Warren and Barlow 19). St. Mary's in the Fort is now a national monument maintained by the Archaeological Survey Office, Government of India. As a member of the Church of South India, St. Mary's still holds services each Sunday and continues missionary work in villages close to Madras.

### Madras Cathedral

Madras Cathedral (fig. 53-4) was built following the charter renewal of the East India Company in 1813. The new charter allowed for a Bishop to be appointed to Calcutta and three archbishops for the Presidency towns. The cathedral "was regarded as a necessity, for a great many 'garden houses' had sprung up in and about the Mount Road, in the area that was called the 'Choultry Plain' (Barlow 101). The Directors of the East India Company, feeling the necessity of British residents to attend Sunday services, built the Cathedral, which cost more than two lakhs of rupees, from the profits of the state lottery funds, in order that there would be no excuse to keep the residents away from services (Barlow 101).

Madras Cathedral, like many other churches erected in the Empire, was modelled after James Gibbs' St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London. Captain James Caldwell (1770-1863) was responsible for adapting Gibbs' plans for the new cathedral. He was assisted by Thomas Fiott de Havilland (1775-1866) of the Madras Engineers. de Havilland was in charge of the construction of the Cathedral.

Madras Cathedral measures one hundred feet wide and one hundred and eighty feet long (conversations with the CSI General Secretary, Madras, July, 1988). The Cathedral has a long nave with three bays, a simple chancel is at the east end. The portico is pedimented with long pilastered sides accompanied by galleries and side aisles. The apse is plain. The steeple, measuring 139 feet high,



is a precise copy from Gibbs' Book of Architecture (conversations with the CSI General Secretary, Madras, July, 1988). The west front has a large projecting portico with a double row of Ionic columns. The exterior of the cathedral is faced with polished white chunam. The Church was consecrated on January 16, 1816. The church became a Cathedral some twenty years later when Daniel Corrie, Archdeacon of Calcutta was consecrated as the first Bishop of Madras (Barlow 101). The floor of the Cathedral, like St. Mary's in the Fort, is black and white polished marble. A double row of eight Doric pillars support the roof. The seats are constructed of rattan and teak with the windows being louvered.

Madras Cathedral is situated in a large landscape compound adjacent to the United States Consulate on Mount Road. Like St. Mary's in the Fort, Madras Cathedral is now part of the Church of South India. Regular services are held on Sundays and throughout the week.

## APPENDIX C

## MONUMENT LISTING

## ST. MARY'S CHURCH MONUMENTS: DECEASED

- CLOSE, Sir Barry.** Unsigned. Attributed to Flaxman [1813].
- CONWAY, Thomas Henry Somerset.** Signed Ternouth, Sculptor, Pimlico, London [1837].
- DAVIES AND NATTES.** Signed Bacon, London on the left and S. Manning, Ft. on the right of the base [1818].
- GERICKE, Rev. Christian William.** Unsigned. Attributed to Flaxman [1803].
- HOBART, Lord Vere Henry.** Signed Noble [1875].
- KEBLE, George Gilbert.** Signed J. Bacon, Sculptor, London [1811].
- LESLIE, Rev. Richard.** Unsigned. Executed by Flaxman as contained in his Account Book, 1804.
- MCCURDY, Edward Archdall.** Signed J. Morton, Sculptor, London [1842].
- MCNEILL, Malcolm.** Signed D.W. Richardson, Sculptor, London, 1855.
- MOORHOUSE, Joseph.** Signed C. Peart, London [1791].
- MUNRO, Sir Thomas.** Attributed to Ternouth [1827].
- PEPPER, Hercules Henry.** Signed G. Clarke, Sculptor [1826].
- PRENDERGAST, Catherine Jane.** Signed J.H. Foley, Sculptor, London [1839].
- ROSS, Charles Robert.** Signed John Bacon, Jr., London [1816].
- RUNDALL, John William.** Signed R. Walker of Bath [1852].
- RUSSELL, Jane Amelia.** Signed John Bacon, Jr., Sculptor, London, 1808.
- SWARTZ, Frederick Christian.** Signed John Bacon, Jr., Sculptor, London, 1806.
- WEBBE, Josiah.** Signed Flaxman, Sculptor, 1811.
- WHISTLER, Godfrey Webster.** Signed Richardson, SCT, London [1843].

## ST. MARY'S CHURCH MONUMENTS: SCULPTORS

**BACON, John Jr.**

George Gilbert Keble 1811  
Charles Robert Ross 1816  
Jane Amelia Russell 1808  
Frederick Christian Swartz 1806

**CLARKE, George**

Hercules Henry Pepper 1826

**FLAXMAN, John**

Sir Barry Close 1813  
Rev. Christian William Gericke 1803  
Rev. Richard Leslie 1804  
Josiah Webbe 1811

**FOLEY, John Henry**

Catherine Jane Prendergast 1839

**MANNING, Samuel**

Davies and Nattes 1818

**MORTON, J.**

Edward Archdall McCurdy 1842

**NOBLE, Matthew**

Lord Vere Henry Hobart 1875

**PEART, Charles**

Joseph Moorhouse 1791

**RICHARDSON, D.W.**

Malcolm McNeill 1855

**RICHARDSON, Edward**

Godfrey Webster Whistler 1843

**TERNOUTH, John**

Thomas Henry Somerset Conway 1837  
Sir Thomas Munro 1827

**WALKER, R. of Bath**

John William Rundall 1852

## MADRAS CATHEDRAL MONUMENTS: DECEASED

- ANDERSON, Dr. James.** Signed Chantrey, R.A. Sct., London, 1819.
- BROADFOOT, George.** Signed E.P. Richardson, Sct., London [1851].
- CAMERON, Neville Somerville.** Signed Milligan, London [1833].
- CHAMIER, Anne Antoinette Evelina.** Signed Sibson, Sculptor, London [1837].
- CORRIE, Bishop Daniel.** Signed H.D. Weekes, London, 1842.
- DEMIERRE, Ferdinand.** Signed C.H. Smith, 5 Portland Rd., London [1821].
- DEALTRY, Rev. Thomas.** Signed Durham, SCT., London [1861].
- DENT, John.** Signed Weekes, London [1845].
- DICK, Robert Henry.** Signed E.P. Richardson, Sct., London, 1850.
- FFRENCH, Andrew.** Signed Sievier, SCT, London [1825].
- GARRARD, Lt. Col. William and Lt. William.** Signed Mallcott and Son, London.
- HEBER, Bishop Reginald.** Signed Chantrey, R.A., Sct., London [1826].
- HIGGINSON, Charles Harwood.** Signed Smith, C.H., 5 Portland Road, London [1824].
- LANE, Thomas Moore.** Signed J. Ternouth, SC, Pimlico, London [1844].
- LUSHINGTON, Catherine Jane.** Signed Edward Richardson, Melbury Terrace, London, 1863.

**LUSHINGTON, James Stephen.** Signed H. Weekes, 1836.

**MACLEAN, Lt. Col. Thomas.** Signed Thomas Denman [1840].

**MACK, John.** Signed Rennie, Sculptor, London [1832].

**MCTAGGART, William.** Signed Bedford, SC, London [1850].

**MOUSLEY, Iohannis.** Signed J. Flaxman, R.A., London [1823].

**PARRY, Thomas.** Signed Baily, R.A., Sculptor, London [1824].

**ROSS, John Maitland.** Signed Johnson, M.W., New Road, London.

## MADRAS CATHEDRAL MONUMENTS: SCULPTORS

**BAILY, Edward Hodges**  
Thomas Parry 1824

**BEDFORD of London**  
William McTaggart 1850

**CHANTREY, Sir Francis Legatt**  
Dr. James Anderson 1819  
Bishop Reginald Heber 1826

**DENMAN, Thomas**  
Lt. Col. Thomas MacLean 1840

**DURHAM, Joseph**  
Reverend Thomas Dealtry 1861

**FLAXMAN, John**  
Iohannis Mousley 1823

**JOHNSON, M.W.**  
John Maitland Ross

**MALLCOTT AND SON**  
Lt. Col. William and Lt. William Garrard

**MILLIGAN, J.**  
Neville Somerville Cameron 1833

**RENNIE, J.**  
John Mack 1832

**RICHARDSON, Edward P.**  
Major George Broadfoot 1851  
Sir Robert Henry Dick 1850  
Catherine Lushington 1863

**SIBSON, Henry**  
Anne Antoinette Evelina Chamier 1837



St. Thomas Garrison Church

**NOBLE, Colonel John.** Signed Chantrey, R.A., London, 1827.

St. Andrew's Kirk

**WYLIE, Dr. James (bust).** Signed E.P. Richardson, 1853.

Fort Museum, Second Floor

**DUKE OF WELLINGTON (bust).** Signed Turnerelli, Peter, SCT, London, 1814. (formerly in Governors Country Home at Gundy.

Fort Museum, Main Floor across from Entrance

**MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.** Executed by Thomas Banks 1793-98.

The Island

**SIR THOMAS MUNRO.** Signed Chantrey, R.A., Sct., London, 1834.

Mount Road near Madras Cathedral

**COLONEL NEILL.** Bronze equestrian statue. Artist unknown.

Waterfront near the University of Madras

**QUEEN VICTORIA.** Executed by Matthew Noble, 1872.

## APPENDIX D

## EPITAPHS

St. Mary's in the Fort**CLOSE, Sir Barry**

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED  
 BY THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
 IN THE MEMORY OF  
 MAJOR GENERAL SIR BARRY CLOSE, BART  
 IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR GRATITUDE  
 FOR HIS ARDENT ZEAL AND ENTIRE DEVOTION TO THEIR SERVICE  
 EQUALLY MANIFESTED  
 IN THE APPLICATION OF HIGH MILITARY ATTAINMENTS  
 AND OF PROFOUND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE  
 HIS CHARACTER  
 DERIVED ITS HIGHEST HONOURS  
 FROM THAT UNION OF CONCILIATION AND FIRMNESS WHICH  
 AFTER CONTRIBUTED TO TERMINATE A SUCCESSFUL WAR  
 WAS EMINENTLY DISPLAYED IN INFUSING THE DELIVERANCE OF  
 PEACE  
 OVER A NUMEROUS NATIVE POPULATION  
 WHO WITHOUT BEING SUBJECT TO WRITTEN RULE  
 FELT THE PROTECTING INFLUENCE OF BRITISH COUNSELS  
 IN THE MILD ADMINISTRATION OF AUTHORITY  
 WHICH BEFRIENDED THE RAJAH  
 OF MYSORE  
 HE DEPARTED THIS LIFE APRIL THE 18TH 1813  
 AGED 50 YEARS

**CONWAY, Thomas Henry Somerset**

THE SOLDIERS FRIEND

ADJUTANT GENERAL  
 OBIT  
 13TH MAY 1837  
 ERECTED BY THE  
 ARMY  
 AND BY THE  
 PUBLIC

**DAVIES, Lt. William and NATTES, Lt. John William**

IN RESPECT OF THE LIVES OF  
 LIEUTENANT THOMAS DAVIES  
 WHO FELL AT THE SEIGE OF MALLEGAON ON THE 18TH OF MAY  
 1818  
 AND OF  
 LIEUTENANT JOHN WILLIAM NATTES  
 KILLED AT THE SEIGE OF MALLEGAON  
 THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED  
 BY THEIR FELLOW OFFICERS OF THE MADRAS ENGINEERS

**GERICKE, Rev. Christian William**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 THE REV. CHRISTIAN WILLIAM GERICKE  
 DESTINED TO LABOUR ON A PECULIAR VINEYARD  
 TO THE CONVERSION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA  
 HE FULFILLED HIS SACRED OFFICE  
 WITH PRIMITIVE SIMPLICITY AND PURITY  
 BENEVOLENT COMPANION OF THE VENERABLE SWARTZ  
 WITH WHOM HE TOILED THROUGH LIFE  
 WITH TEMPERATE ZEAL  
 EVERY ACCESSIBLE SOIL THE  
 PROMOTION OF CHRISTIANITY  
 AND WITH LOVE OF CHILDREN  
 THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY  
 FOR THE PROMOTION OF  
 CHRISTIAN KNOWLEGE

**KEBLE, George Gilbert**

GEORGE GILBERT KEBLE  
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
 ON THE 25TH DAY OF AUGUST 1811  
 AGED 56 YEARS  
 A NUMBER OF APPRECIATIVE FRIENDS  
 HAVE CAUSED THIS MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED  
 IN HIS MEMORY

**MCCURDY, Edward Archdall**

LIEUTENANT COLONEL  
 EDWARD ARCHDALL MCCURDY  
 OF THE 27TH REGIMENT, N.I.

DIED ON THE 28TH OF DECEMBER, 1842  
 AT RUSSELL KONDAH  
 HIS BROTHER OFFICERS HAVE CAUSED  
 THIS TABLET TO BE ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY  
 IN RECORD OF THEIR AFFECTION AND ESTEEM

**MCNEILL, Malcolm**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 MALCOLM MCNEILL  
 COLONEL OF THE MADRAS LIGHT CALVARY  
 WHO DIED AT RANGOON DECEMBER 8TH 1852 AGED 32  
 FROM THE EFFECTS OF A COUP DE SOLEIL  
 SUSTAINED WHILST COMMANDING THE 2ND BRIGADE OF MADRAS  
 TROOPS  
 AT THE CAPTURE OF PEGU  
 HIS NUMEROUS FRIENDS AND BROTHER OFFICERS  
 DESIROUS TO MARK THEIR RESPECT AND ESTEEM FOR HIS  
 GALLANTRY AND WORTH  
 HAVE CAUSED THIS MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED

**MOORHOUSE, Joseph**

BY ORDER OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS  
 OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
 TO COMMEMORATE THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICES  
 OF THE LATE  
 JOSEPH MOORHOUSE, ESQ  
 LIEUTENANT COLONEL OF THE COAST ARMY  
 WHO WAS KILLED AT THE  
 ATTACK OF THE PETTAH GATE OF  
 BANGALORE  
 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OF MARCH  
 ANNO DOMINI  
 MDCCXCI

**MUNRO, Sir Thomas**

MAJOR GENERAL  
 SIR THOMAS MUNRO BART AND K.C.B.  
 GOVERNOR OF MADRAS  
 DIED AT PUTTECONDAH ON THE 6TH OF JULY 1827  
 AND WAS INTERRED AT GOOTY  
 WHERE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS  
 HAVE ERECTED A MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY

HIS REMAINS WERE AFTERWARDS  
 REMOVED TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT  
 AND HIS WIDOW HAS RAISED THIS STONE  
 TO MARK THE SPOT  
 WHERE THEY ARE DEPOSITED

**PEPPER, Hercules Henry**

TO  
 LT COL HERCULES HENRY PEPPER 34TH L INFANTRY  
 WHO DIED AT FORT S GEORGE 25TH JULY 1826 AGED 42  
 DISTINGUISHED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS BY A RARE ENERGY OF  
 CHARACTER AND ARDENT ZEAL AND DEVOTED GALLANTRY  
 THESE QUALITIES  
 HE PARTICULARLY DISPLAYED, WHILST COMMANDING  
 A BRIGADE OF THE MADRAS ARMY IN PEGU IN THE BIRMESE WAR  
 AND TO  
 LT COL CONTROY 3RD L INFANTRY  
 CAPTAIN CURSHAM 1" EUR REG  
 CAPTAIN STEDMAN 34TH L INFANTRY  
 LIEU ADAMS 3" L INFANTRY  
 WHO, ANIMATED WITH THE SAME SPIRIT AND EMULATING  
 THE EXAMPLE OF THEIR INTREPID LEADER WERE KILLED  
 AT SETONG IN JANUARY 1826  
 THIS MONUMENT  
 IS RAISED BY SEVERAL OF THEIR FRIENDS IN THE  
 COAST ARMY

**PRENDERGAST, Catherine Jane**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 CATHERINE JANE  
 WIFE OF GUY LUSHINGTON PRENDERGAST, ESQUIRE  
 OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE  
 AND DAUGHTER OF JAMES [?], ESQUIRE  
 BORN THE 28TH OF JULY 1804  
 DIED THE 10TH OF AUGUST 1939

**ROSS, Charles Robert**

THE SWEET REMEMBRANCE OF THE JUST SHALL FLOURISH

CHARLES ROBERT ROSS  
 OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE  
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER 1816

AT THE EARLY AGE OF THIRTY THREE YEARS  
 HE FILLED HIS STATION WITH DIGNITY AND HONOR  
 YET HUMBLY  
 HIMSELF TO HAVE ALWAYS A VOID OF OFFENCE  
 TOWARD GOD AND OTHERS  
 CHARITABLE, BENEVOLENT, FRANK AND GENEROUS  
 HIS BREAST GLOWD WITH UNIVERSAL TRUTH  
 HE WAS A DUTIFUL SON, AN AFFECTIONATE BROTHER AND A  
 SINCERE FRIEND  
 AN UNSPEAKABLE KINDNESS  
 FLOWED FROM HIS HEART  
 REGULATED HIS ACTIONS AND INSPIRED RECIPROCAL GOOD WILL  
 IN HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AFFAIRS  
 INTEGRITY WAS HIS GUIDE  
 AND WHILE HE DID JUSTICE TO HIS EMPLOYERS  
 HE PROTECTED AND SUPPORTED THE FELLOW CREATURES  
 COMMITTED TO HIS CHARGE  
 THE NATIVES OF THE KURPAH COLLECTORATE  
 WILL LONG CHERISH HIS MEMORY AND MOURN HIS LOSS  
 DESERVEDLY DISTINGUISHED BY HIS SUPERIORS  
 HE ADVANCED RAPIDLY ON THE ROAD TO SUCCESS  
 IN THE MIDST OF HEALTH AND IN THE BLOOM OF LIFE  
 HE WAS CALLED TO A BETTER WORLD  
 A CONSISTANT CHRISTIAN  
 IT IS HUMBLY HOPED  
 HE IS GONE TO RECEIVE HIS REWARD  
 PROMISED BY THE REDEEMER TO HIS FAITHFUL SERVANTS  
 THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY A FRIEND WHOM  
 THE REMEMBRANCE OF HIS VIRTUES WILL EVER BE DEAR AND SACRED

**RUNDALL, John William**

TO THE MEMORY OF  
 JOHN WILLIAM RUNDALL  
 LIEUTENANT AND CAPTAIN  
 OF THE MADRAS ENGINEEERS  
 AND COMMANDER OF THE SAPPERS AND MINERS  
 WHO DIED IN FOREIGN SERVICE  
 AT PROME  
 ON THE 12TH OF NOVEMBER 1852  
 AGED 40 YEARS  
 THIS TABLET IS ERECTED  
 BY THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR SORROW  
 FOR THE LOSS OF A BROTHER OFFICER  
 WHOSE MANY EXCELLENCES AS A MAN, A SOLDIER, AND A  
 CHRISTIAN  
 ENDEARED HIM TO HIS FRIENDS  
 AND COMMANDED THE ADMIRATION AND RESPECT

## OF ALL WHO KNEW HIM

**RUSSELL, Jane Amelia**

IN MEMORY OF  
 JANE AMELIA, WIFE OF HENRY RUSSELL  
 AND SECOND DAUGHTER OF J.H. CASAMAJOR  
 WHO WAS BORN AUGUST 30TH 1789  
 MARRIED OCTOBER 20TH 1808  
 AND DIED DECEMBER 29TH 1808

COULD I, DEAR SAINT, TO THIS COLD STONE IMPART  
 EACH DEEP IMPRESSION ON THY HUSBANDS HEART  
 COULD I IN LANGUAGE TO MY SORROW JUST  
 RECORD THIS LOST AND TRIBUTE TO THY DUST  
 EVEN STRANGERS THEN, WHO READ THE FAITHFUL LINE  
 SHOULD PAUSE IN SOLEMN SILENCE AT THY SHRINE  
 SHOULD MOURN WITH ME MY LATE BELOVED BRIDE  
 UNTIMELY SEVERED FROM HER RUSSELL'S SIDE  
 TORN FROM THE NUPTIAL ALTAR TO THE TOMB  
 SERENE IN VIRTUE, DIGNIFIED IN TRUTH  
 FIRM WITHOUT ROFSREFS, GENTLE WITHOUT FEAR  
 SEDATE THO CHEERFUL, POLIFIED YET FINCERE  
 SO WIFE, YET FOFT, FO GAY, YET FO REFIGND  
 SO FAIR IN PERSON AND FO PURE IN MIND  
 SHOULD HAVE CONTEMPLATED WITH ADMIRING EYE  
 A MODEL HOW TO LIVE, ALAZ--AND HOW TO DIE

**SWARTZ, Rev. Frederick Christian**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 THE REVEREND FREDERICK CHRISTIAN SWARTZ  
 WHOSE LIFE WAS A COMMITTED EFFORT TO CHRIST  
 THIS EXAMPLE OF HIS MASTER  
 EMPLOYED AS A MISSIONARY FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF DENMARK  
 AND IN THE CHARACTER TO THE SOCIETY IN ENGLAND FOR THE  
 PROMOTION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE  
 DURING A PERIOD OF FIFTY YEARS  
 "WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD"  
 IN RESPECT TO HIMSELF AND FROM OTHERS VIEWS  
 BUT EMBRACING EVERY OPPORTUNITY OF PROMOTING BOTH THE  
 TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL WELFARE OF OTHERS  
 IN HIM RELIGION APPEARED NOT WITH A GLOOMY AIR  
 OR WITH FORBIDDING MANNER  
 BUT WITH GRACEFUL FACE AND PLACID DIGNITY  
 AMONG THE MANY EVENTS OF HIS DISTINGUISHABLE LIFE WAS

THE ERECTION OF THE CHURCH IN TANJOUR  
 THE SAVINGS FROM HIM WERE FOR MANY YEARS DEVOTED TO THE  
 PIOUS WORK  
 AND THE REMAINDER OF THE EXPENSE SUPPLIED BY INDIVIDUALS  
 AT HIS SOLICITATION  
 THE CHRISTIAN SEMINARIES AT MADRAS AND IN TANJORE WERE  
 INDEBTED TO HIM  
 BELOVED AND HONOURED BY EUROPEANS  
 HE WAS IF POSSIBLE HELD IN STILL DEEPER ESTEEM  
 BY THE NATIVES OF THIS COUNTRY OF EVERY CASTE AND SECT  
 AND THEIR UNBOUNDED CONFIDENCE IN HIS INTEGRITY  
 AND TRUTH  
 WAS ON MANY OCCASIONS RENDERED HIGHLY BENEFICIAL TO THE  
 PUBLIC SERVICE  
 THE POOR AND THE INJURED LOOKED UP TO HIM AS AN  
 UNFAILING FRIEND AND ADVOCATE  
 THE GREAT AND POWERFUL  
 CONCURRED IN YIELDING HIM THE HIGHEST HOMAGE  
 EVER PAID IN THIS QUARTER OF THE GLOBE TO EUROPEAN  
 VIRTUE  
 THE LATE HYDER ALI CAWN  
 IN THE MIDST OF A BLOODY WAR WITH THE CARNATIC  
 SENT ORDERS TO HIS OFFICERS  
 TO PERMIT THE VENERABLE SWARTZ ENTRY  
 AND TO SHOW HIM RESPECT AND KINDNESS  
 "FOR HE IS A HOLY MAN, AND MEANS NO HARM TO MY  
 GOVERNMENT"  
 THE LATE RAJAH OF TANJORE  
 WHEN ON HIS DEATH-BED  
 DESIRED TO ENTRUST TO HIS PROTECTING CARE HIS ADOPTED SON,  
 SERFOJEE  
 THE PRINCE RAJAH WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALL AFFAIRS  
 OF HIS COUNTRY  
 ON A SPOT OF GROUND GRANTED TO HIM BY THE SAME PRINCE  
 2 MILES EAST OF TANJORE  
 HE BUILT A HOUSE FOR HIS RESIDENCE AND MADE IT AN ORPHAN ASYLUM  
 HERE THE LAST 20 YEARS OF HIS LIFE WERE SPENT IN THE  
 EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN  
 PARTICULARLY THOSE OF INDIGENT PARENTS  
 WHOM HE GRATEFULLY MAINTAINED AND INSTRUCTED  
 AND THERE, ON THE 15TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1798  
 SURROUNDED BY HIS INFANT FLOCK  
 AND IN THE PRESENCE OF SEVERAL OF HIS DISCONSOLACE BRETHREN  
 ENTREATING THEM TO CONTRIVE TO MAKE RELIGION THE FIRST  
 OBJECT OF THEIR CARE  
 AND IMPLORING WITH HIS LAST BREATH THE DIVINE BLESSING OF THEIR LABOURS



**WEBBE, Josiah**

TO THE MEMORY OF JOSIAH WEBBE  
 FOR MANY YEARS CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS  
 AND AFTERWARDS RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF SCINDIA  
 WHERE HE DIED ON THE 9TH OF NOVEMBER 1804  
 KIND BY NATURE LOFTY ENERGETIC  
 TO AN INDEPENDENCE AND PATRIOTISM NOT UNWORTHY  
 THE BEST DAYS OF GREECE AND ROME  
 DESPISING THE LITTLE ACTS OF PRIVATE INFLUENCE OR VULGAR POPULISTS  
 AND ERECT IN CONSCIOUS INTEGRITY HE RESTED HIS CLAIMS TO PUBLIC HONOURS  
 PRIVATE MERIT  
 AN EXTENSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF EASTERN LANGUAGES FORWARDED  
 HIM  
 ROSE TO STATIONS OF HIGH TRUST WHERE  
 HIS AMBITION WAS FIRED TO EXACT THE HONOURS AND  
 INTERESTS OF HIS COUNTRY  
 BUT IN THE MIDST OF A CAREER THIS USEFUL AND  
 DISTINGUISHED  
 PREFERRING THE PUBLIC WILL TO PERSONAL SAFETY  
 HE FELL A MARTYR TO AN UNGENIAL CLIMATE IN THE PRIME OF  
 LIFE  
 BELOVED WITH FERVOR BY HIS FRIENDS  
 PARTICULARLY LAMENTED BY THE GOVERNORS OF INDIA

Madras Cathedral Monuments**ANDERSON, James**

JACOBUS ANDERSON SCOTO BRITANNIUM, M.D.  
 IN NIM OPIS PRIMARIUS PER ANNON 1 OPTIME MERITUS  
 PER ANNOS XXV SOMMOS IN ARTE SUA HONORES OCCUPAVIT  
 ET SUATISSIMA MORUM SIMPLICITATE ORNAVIT LUCRUM SPERNENS  
 BENEVOLUS SEMPTER ET INDEFFESUS BENEFACIENDO  
 NON ACCRIS MODO SED OPPRESS OMNIBUSQUE INFELICIBUS  
 CERTISSIMUM PERFUGIUM  
 HIC MINUS PUBLICE UTILITATIO AD EXTREMIUM VITAE HALITUM  
 STUDIOBUS  
 OBRT VIE DIE AUGUSTI AD MDCCCIX AETATIS SUAE LXXII  
 SUMNI MERETISSIMI VIRI MEMORIAM VENERATI  
 ET NOBILE EXEMPLUM POSTERIS COMMENDARE AVENTES  
 HANC IMAGINEM COMMUNIBUS SUMPTIBUS POSUERUNT  
 OMNES MEDICI IN HIS REGIONIBUS MERENTES  
 ANNO POST EJUS OBITUM XI

**BROADFOOT, Major George**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 MAJOR GEORGE BROADFOOT, C.B. 34TH MADRAS LIGHT INFANTRY  
 OF KIRK WALL IN THE ORKNEYS  
 AND OF LONDON  
 HIS VALOUR, FORESIGHT, AND SCIENCE  
 MAINLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE  
 GLORIOUS DEFENSE OF JELLALABAD AND IN THE ENSUING  
 AFGHAN CAMPAIGN  
 HE WITH HIS BRAVE CORPS OF MOUNTAIN SAPPERS  
 ACQUIRED ENDURING RENOWN  
 HIS DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY SERVICES OF THE PROVINCES  
 AT A MOST IMPORTANT CRISIS OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE  
 CALLED FORTH THE ELOQUENT ULOGY OF SIR H. HARDIGE  
 THAT HE WAS AS BRAVE AS HE WAS ABLE AND SECOND TO NONE  
 IN ALL THE GREAT QUALITIES OF AN ACCOMPLISHED OFFICER  
 HE FELL AT THE BATTLE OF FEROSHAHAR  
 DECR 21ST 1845 IN HIS 39TH YEAR  
 ACTING AS AIDE-DE-CAMP AT THE MOMENT OF CNO  
 THE LAST OF THREE BROTHERS WHO DIED FOR THEIR COUNTRY  
 ON THE BATTLE FIELDS OF ASIA  
 RAISED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION THROUGHOUT THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS

**CAMERON, Neville Somerville**

VIRO OPTIMO INTEGGERIMO  
 PARENTIBUS, CONSANQUINEIS, AMICIS, SOCIIS  
 DELICETISSIMO  
 DE PATRIA BENE MERITO  
 CANARAE PRIMUM DEINDE MADURAE  
 IN HAD REGIONE ORIENTALI  
 PRAEFICTO  
 NEVILLE SOMERVILLE CAMERON  
 MORTE HEUI IMMATURA SURREPTO  
 NON UXOR SED DESPOUSATA VIRGO  
 NON VIDUA, TAMETSI VIDUATA NIMIS  
 P.C.  
 FLENS, FIDEUS, SPERANS  
 VIXIT ANNOXXLI OBIIT MDCCCXXXIII

**CHAMIER, Anne Evelina**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 ANNE ANTOINETTE EVELINA  
 THE BELOVED WIFE OF

HENRY CHAMIER, ESQUIRE  
 THAT EVER AFTERWARD HONOR FEMALE VIRTUE  
 AT THE GRAVE  
 BORN DECEMBER 18TH 1793  
 DEPARTED THIS LIFE AT MADRAS NOVEMBR 18TH 1837

**DEALTRY, Rev. Thomas**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
 OF THE RIGHT REV THOMAS DEALTRY, D.D.  
 LORD BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE  
 WHO LABOURED FAITHFULLY IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL IN INDIA  
 HE WAS APPOINTED A CHAPLAIN IN THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT  
 IN THE YEAR 1829  
 AND SUBSEQUENTLY HELD THE OFFICE OF ARCHDEACON OF CALCUTTA FOR 14 YEARS  
 HE ENTERED INTO REST ON THE 8TH OF MARCH 1861  
 IN THE 66TH YEAR OF HIS AGE  
 AND THE TWELFTH OF HIS EPISCOPATE  
 THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY FRIENDS IN INDIA  
 IN WITNESS OF THEIR APPRECIATION WHICH HIS EARNEST AND DEVOTED  
 LIFE SPENT IN SPREADING THE GOSPEL IN INDIA

**DE MIERRE, Ferdinand**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 FERDINAND DEMIERRE, ESQRE  
 OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE  
 WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE AT BOMBAY ON THE XXI OF MARCH  
 MCDDDXI  
 AGED XXIV YEARS AND V MONTHS  
 THIS MONUMENT IS THE PERSONAL TRIBUTE OF A GRANDMOTHER  
 AND A FEW OF HIS FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES IN INDIA

**DENT, John**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 JOHN DENT ESQRE  
 CIVIL SERVANT AND PROVISIONAL MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THIS PRESIDENCY  
 HE DIED AT CALCUTTA, ON THE 17TH OF JANUARY 1846  
 IN THE 50TH YEAR OF HIS AGE  
 LAMENTED IN HIS PUBLIC CAPACITY  
 AS ONE WHO IN THE COURSE OF 30 YEARS UNINTERRUPTED SERVICE  
 HAD GAINED THE COMPLETE CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT  
 OF THOSE OFFICIALLY CONNECTED WITH HIM  
 THE DISTINGUISHED APPROBATION OF BOTH THE HOME AND

INDIAN GOVERNMENTS  
 IN PRIVATE LIFE BY HIS AMIABLE AND GENEROUS DISPOSITION  
 HIS OVERFLOWING KINDNESS, HIS UNTIRING ZEAL FOR THE GOOD  
 OF ALL CLASSES  
 AND HIS HIGH INTEGRITY OF CHARACTER  
 HE WON THE HEARTS OF ALL WHO KNEW HIM

**DICK, Sir Robert Henry**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 MAJOR GEN SIR ROBERT HENRY DICK, K.C.B.-K.C.H.  
 OF TULLEYMET, N.B.  
 ONE OF THE HEROES OF THE PENINSULA WAR  
 WHO AFTER DISTINGUISHED SERVICES IN H.M. 42ND ROYAL  
 HIGHLANDERS  
 WHICH REGIMENT HE BROUGHT OUT OF ACTION AT QUATRE BRAS  
 CLOSED A LONG AND BRILLIANT MILITARY CAREER  
 ON THE MEMORABLE FIELD OF SABRAON  
 FEBRUARY 10TH 1846  
 RAISED IN GRATEFUL ADMIRATION BY THE PUBLIC  
 OF THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS  
 WHERE FOR SOME TIME HE HELD THE CHIEF MILITARY COMMAND

**FFRENCH, Andrew**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 CAPTAIN ANDREW FFRENCH  
 CAPTAIN JOHN SPOLTISWOOD TROTTER  
 CAPTAIN THOMAS HOWELL  
 CAPTAIN JOHN RANDALL  
 LIEUTENANT PHILLIP COOKE  
 JOHN COCKRANE, ESQ., M.D.  
 OF THE 18TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY  
 THE SOLDIERS WERE KILLED ON THE 18TH OF MARCH 1848  
 IN THE ATTACK OF THE FORTIFIED FIELD OF ASSAM  
 THE SOLDIERS FELL VICTIM TO THE FERVOR WHICH IN 1834 AND 1841  
 /  
 THIS TABLET HAS BEEN ERECTED BY THEIR FELLOW OFFICERS

**HEBER, Bishop Reginald**

M.S.  
 VIRI ADMODUM REVERDENDI ET IN CHRISTO PATRIS  
 QUI AB IPSA STATIM ADOLESCENTIA INGENII FAMA HUMANITATIS

## CULTU

OMNIGENAEQUE DOCTRINAE LAUDE ORNATISSIMUS  
 SE SUAQUE DEO HUMILLIME CONSECRAVIT  
 IN SANCTISSIMUM EPISCOPATUS ORDINEM ADSCRIPTUS  
 ECCLESIAE APUD INDOS ANGLICANAE INFANTIAM  
 USQUE AD VITAE JACTURAM ALUIT FOVIT SUSTENTAVIT  
 ADMIRABILI INGENII CANDORE SUAVISSIMA MORUM SIMPLICITATE  
 DIVINAQUE ANIMI BENEVOLENTIA ADEO OMNES SIBI DEVINXERAT  
 ECCLESIA UNIVERSA PATREM ETHNICI PATRONUM CARISSIMUM  
 DESIDERAE  
 SUBITA MORTE PRAEREPTUS JUXTA URBEM TRICHINOPOLIM  
 MORTALES EXUVIAS DESPOSUIT APRILIS DIE III  
 ANNO SALUTIS MDCCCXXVI AETATIS XLIII EPISCOPATUS III  
 MADRASENSES NON SOLUM CHRISTIANI SED ET ETHNICI  
 PRINCIPES MAGNATES PAUPERES  
 AD HOC MARMOR EXTRUENDUM UNO CONSENSU ADFUERUNT

**HIGGINSON, Charles Harwood**

SACRED  
 TO THE MEMORY OF  
 CHARLES HARWOOD HIGGINSON ESQRE  
 SENIOR JUDGE OF THE COURT OF APPEAL AND CIRCUIT  
 FOR THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THIS PRESIDENCY  
 WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE AT TRICHINOPOLY  
 THE XVIII DAY OF JULY MDCCCXXIV AGED XL YEARS  
 DRIVEN WITH A DEEP SENSE OF DUTY TO HIS CREATOR  
 HE LIVED IN THE TRUE SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY  
 WITH MEEKNESS AND HUMILITY  
 HE WAS A DUTIFUL SON AN ATTACHED AND AFFECTIONATE  
 HUSBAND  
 A TRUE AND MERITORIOUS MASTER, A WARM AND SINCERE FRIEND  
 THESE WERE HIS VIRTUES IN PRIVATE LIFE  
 IN THE ROLE OF HIS PUBLIC DUTIES HE EVINced  
 A SOUND JUDGMENT DILIGENT AND UNWEARIED ATTENTION  
 BUT MERCIFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE MERITS AND DEMERITS  
 OF THINGS WHICH IT WAS HIS DUTY TO JUDGE  
 PURE AND UNCORRUPTIBLE INTEGRITY

**LANE, Thomas Moore**

THOMAS MOORE LANE, ESQRE  
 A MEMBER OF THE MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT  
 AND PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MOST NOBLE  
 THE MARQUIS OF TWEEDENDALE, K.T. AND C.B.  
 GOVERNOR OF FORT SAINT GEORGE

HE WAS SUDDENLY CALLED TO HIS REST  
IN THE MIDST OF HIS HONORABLE LABOURS  
ON THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER 1841  
AGED 47 YEARS

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED AS A MEMORIAL  
OF AFFECTION AND RESPECT FOR A BELOVED FRIEND  
WHO BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH  
BOTH IN THE EXAMPLE OF HIS LIFE AND THE BLESSED  
TESTIMONY

HE HAS LEFT OF THE EXTENT OF HIS FAITH AND HOPE  
I DESIRE ON THIS SOLEMN OCCASION TO RECORD MY HOPES OF A  
RESURRECTION THROUGH FAITH IN THE ATONING BLOOD  
OF MY DEAR REDEEMER BEING JUST BY FAITH I HAVE  
PEACE WITH GOD BEFORE WHOM I SHALL STAND IN JUDGMENT  
DAY NOT IN MY OWN RIGHTEOUSNESSES WHICH ARE INDEED AS  
SAND BUT IN THE PERFECT AND IMPIETED RIGHTEOUSNESS  
OF CHRIST JESUS MY LORD AND MY GOD THIS IS THE ANCHOR OF MY SOUL

**LUSHINGTON, Catherine Jane**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
CATHERINE  
RELICT OF CHARLES MAY LUSHINGTON, ESQRE  
OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE  
BORN 11 OCTOBER 1795 DIED AT CALCUTTA 22 JUNE 1861  
THIS TABLET HAS BEEN ERECTED BY HER CHILDREN  
AS A TOKEN OF THEIR GRATEFUL AFFECTION  
TO A BELOVED MOTHER

**LUSHINGTON, James Stephen**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
JAMES STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, ESQ  
OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE  
WHO DIED SEPTEMBER 12 1832 AT THE EARLY AGE OF 28 YEARS  
SECOND SON OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE S.R. LUSHINGTON, M.P.  
AND OF  
ANNE ELIZABETH, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF GEORGE, LORD HARRIS  
DISTINGUISHED ON HIS FIRST ARRIVAL IN INDIA  
BU SUPERIOR TALENTS AND ACQUIREMENTS  
AND PASSING WITH RAPID SUCCESS THROUGH HIS STUDIES  
IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM  
CN1  
INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL WORTH WHICH IS RECORDED  
WITH ADMIRING FRIENDSHIP BY THE PIOUS AND ACCOMPLISHED  
HEBER

AND WHICH HIS SHORT BUT BRILLANT CAREER IN THE  
 PRESIDENCY  
 DEVELOPED AND MATURED  
 AS THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR  
 HE ACQUIRED BY HIS IMPARTIAL COURTESY  
 THE ESTEEM OF EVERY BRANCH OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE  
 WHILE HIS MAIN VIRTUES AND ENDEARING QUALITIES SECURED  
 THE APPROBATION  
 AND REALIZED THE HOPES OF HIS AFFECTIONATE AND BEREAVED  
 FATHER  
 THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY  
 WHICH HE ADORNED AS A JUST TRIBUTE TO HIS DEPARTED  
 EXCELLENCE

**MACLEAN, Thomas**

SACRED  
 TO THE MEMORY OF  
 LT. COL. THOMAS MACLEAN OF THE MADRAS ARMY  
 LATE RESIDENT OF THE COURT OF TRAVANCORE  
 WHO FELL AT COIMBATORE ON THE 31 JULY 1841  
 IN THE 57TH YEAR OF HIS AGE  
 THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY HIS CHILDREN  
 IN TOKEN OF THEIR LOVE TO THE MEMORY OF  
 A MOST TENDER AND INFLUENTIAL FATHER  
 AND OF THE GRATITUDE FOR THE TASK WITH WHICH  
 FOR THEIR SAKE HE SACRAFICED HIS HEALTH  
 AND AS IT ULTIMATELY PROVED HIS LAST  
 BY AN UNINTERRUPTED SERVICE IN INDIA  
 OF MORE THAN THIRTY SEVEN YEARS  
 HIS REMAINS ARE INTERRED AT OCTACUMUND  
 IN THE SAME GRAVE WITH THOSE OF HIS BELOVED WIFE  
 WHICH HE LOST AFTER A HAPPY UNION OF THIRTY YEARS  
 AND WHICH HE MOURNED WITH A SORROW  
 WHICH TIME ONLY KNOWS

**MACK, John**

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
 JOHN MACK, ESQRE  
 SURGEON GENERAL AND PROVISIONAL MEMBER OF COUNCIL AT  
 THIS PRESIDENCY  
 HE DIED AT CALCUTTA ON THE 17TH OF JANUARY 1846  
 IN THE 50TH YEAR OF HIS AGE  
 LAMENTED IN HIS PUBLIC CAPACITY AS ONE  
 WHO IN THE COURSE OF 30 YEARS SERVICE

HAD GAINED THE COMPLETE CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT  
 OF THOSE OFFICIALLY CONNECTED WITH HIM  
 THE DISTINGUISHED APPROBATION OF BOTH THE HOME AND  
 INDIAN GOVERNMENTS  
 IN PRIVATE LIFE BY HIS AMIABLE AND GENEROUS DISPOSITION  
 HIS OVERFLOWING KINDNESS, HIS UNTIRING ZEAL  
 FOR THE GOOD OF ALL CLASSES  
 AND HIS HIGH INTEGRITY OF CHARACTER  
 HE WON THE HEARTS OF ALL WHO KNEW HIM

**MCTAGGART, William**

SACRED  
 TO THE MEMORY OF  
 WILLIAM MCTAGGART  
 OF THE FIRM OF MCTAGGART IN MADRAS  
 WHO DIED AT SEA  
 ON HIS RETURN FROM EGYPT TO MADRAS  
 MARCH 15 1850 IN HIS 37TH YEAR  
 AND OF CHARLOTTE, HIS WIFE  
 THIRD DAUGHTER OF  
 THE LATE WILLIAM RAYNSFORD TAYLOR  
 OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE  
 WHO ALSO DIED AT SEA  
 ON HER PASSAGE HOME TO ENGLAND  
 APRIL 27TH 1850 IN HER 29TH YEAR

**PARRY, Thomas**

IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PARRY, ESQUIRE, WHO DIED AT PORTO NOVO  
 ON THE 14TH OF AUGUST 1824, AGED 56 YEARS  
 IN HIM WERE HAPPILY UNITED THOSE QUALITIES WHICH ELEVATE  
 AND ADORN  
 THE HUMAN CHARACTER, WHETHER IN THE EXERCISE OF LIBERAL  
 AND ENLIGHTENED PRINCIPLES  
 OR IN THE PRACTICE OF THE SOCIAL VIRTUES  
 TO WHICH HIS URBANITY AND EXTENSIVE ATTAINMENTS GAVE A  
 GRACE AND ATTRACTION  
 BEYOND THE ORDINARY REACH OF MEN  
 DURING A RESIDENCE OF THIRTY SEVEN YEARS IN MADRAS HIS  
 UNBLEMISHED REPUTATION  
 HAD JUSTLY OBTAINED FOR HIM THE RESPECT, ESTEEM, AND  
 VENERATION  
 OF ALL CLASSES OF THE COMMUNITY  
 AND ALIKE ENDEARED TO THE NATIVE AND EUROPEAN  
 INHABITANTS



HIS LOVE IS IRREPARABLY FELT, AND UNFEIGNEDLY DEPLORED  
HIS REMAINS ARE INTERRED IN THE MISSIONARY CHURCH AT CUDDALORE

Public Monuments

**MARQUIS CORNWALLIS**

THIS STATUE IS ERECTED BY A GENERAL VOTE  
AT THE JOINT EXPENSE OF THE PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS OF MADRAS  
AND OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVANTS OF THE EAST INDIA  
COMPANY  
BELONGING TO THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE  
AS A GRATEFUL TESTIMONY OF THE HIGH SENSE THEY ENTERTAIN  
OF THE CONDUCT AND ACTIONS OF THE  
MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS  
DURING THE TIME HE HELD THE HIGH OFFICES OF  
GOVERNOR GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
OF ALL THE FORCES IN MADRAS

APPENDIX E

SCULPTURE ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1 Barry Close Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 2 Conway Statue, St. Mary's, Madras

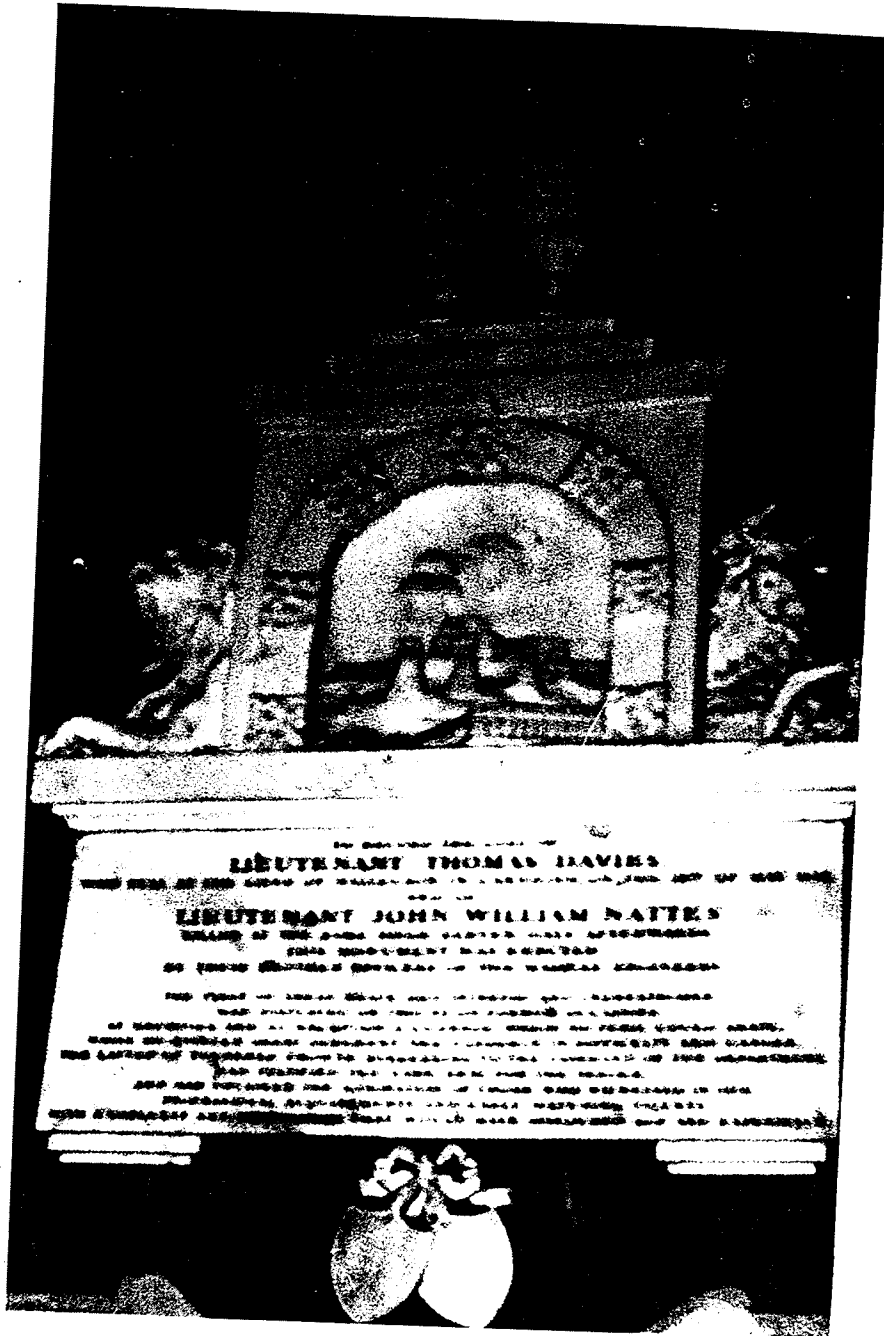


Fig. 3 Davies and Nattes Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 4 Gericke Memorial, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 5 Detail of Keble Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 6 Detail of Keble Monument, St. Mary's, Madras





Fig. 7 Leslie Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

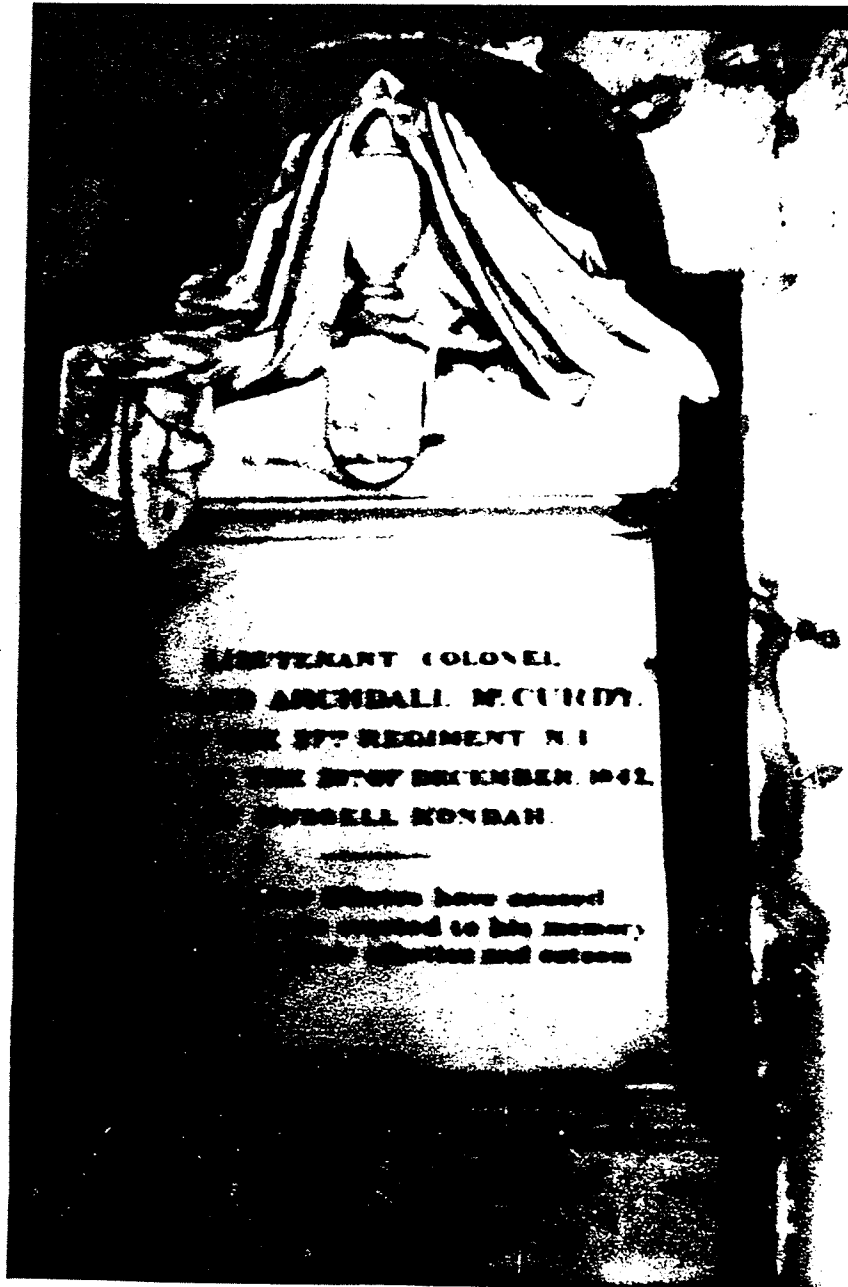


Fig. 8 McCurdy Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 9 McNeill Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 10 Detail of McNeill Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

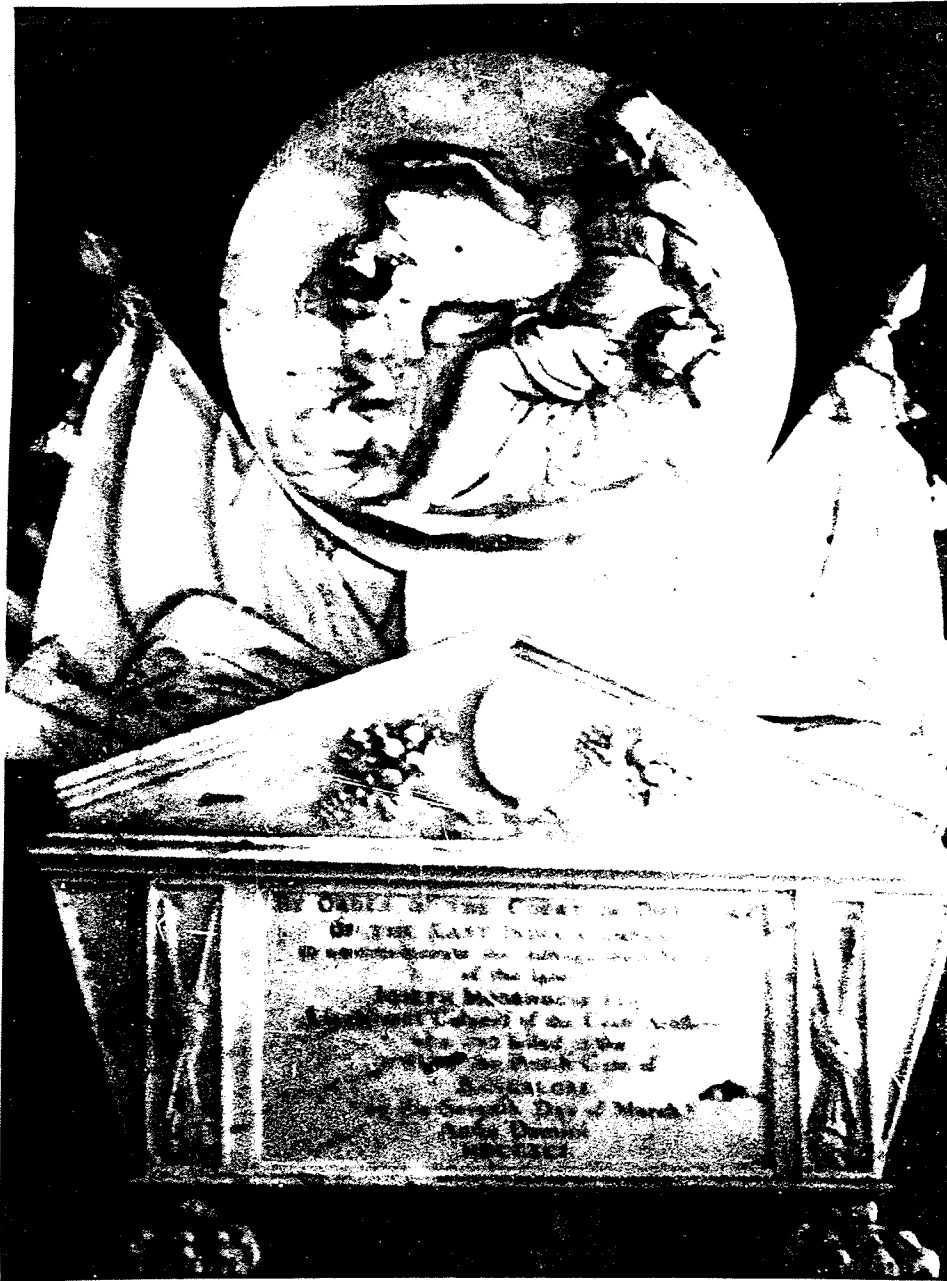


Fig. 11 Moorhouse Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 12 Detail of Moorhouse Monument, St. Mary's Madras



Fig. 13 Detail of Moorhouse Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

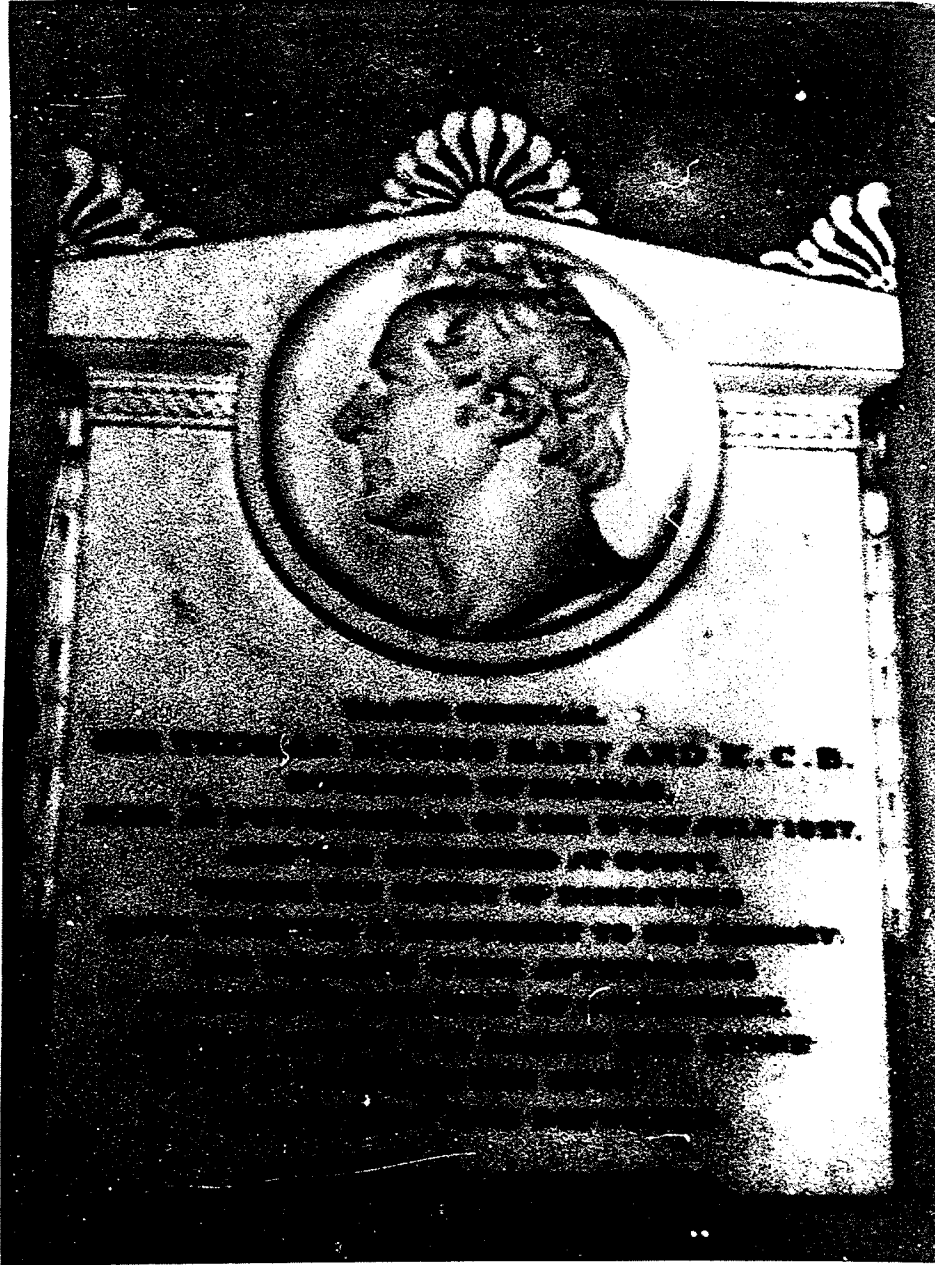


Fig. 14 Munro Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



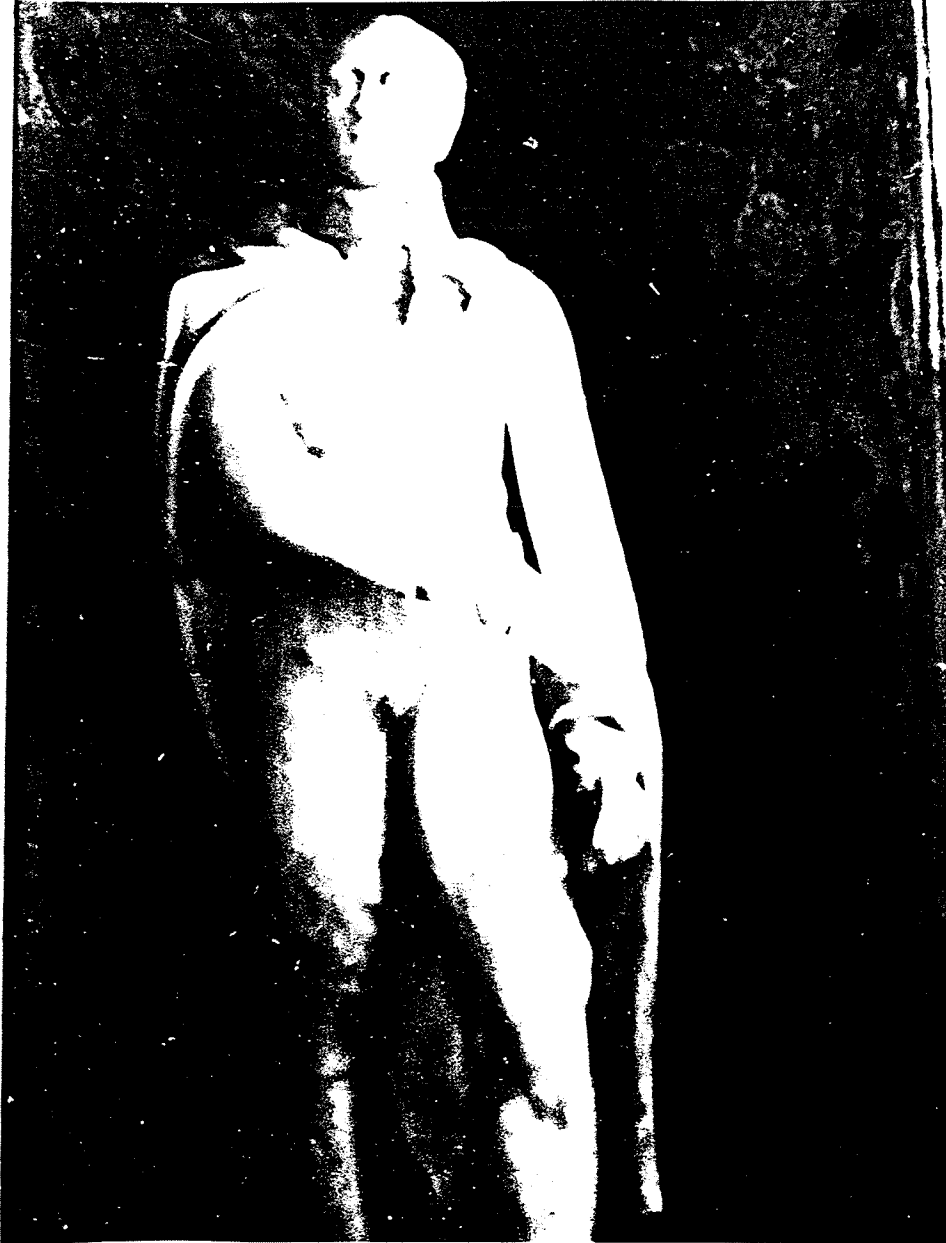


Fig. 15 Pepper Statue, St. Mary's, Madras

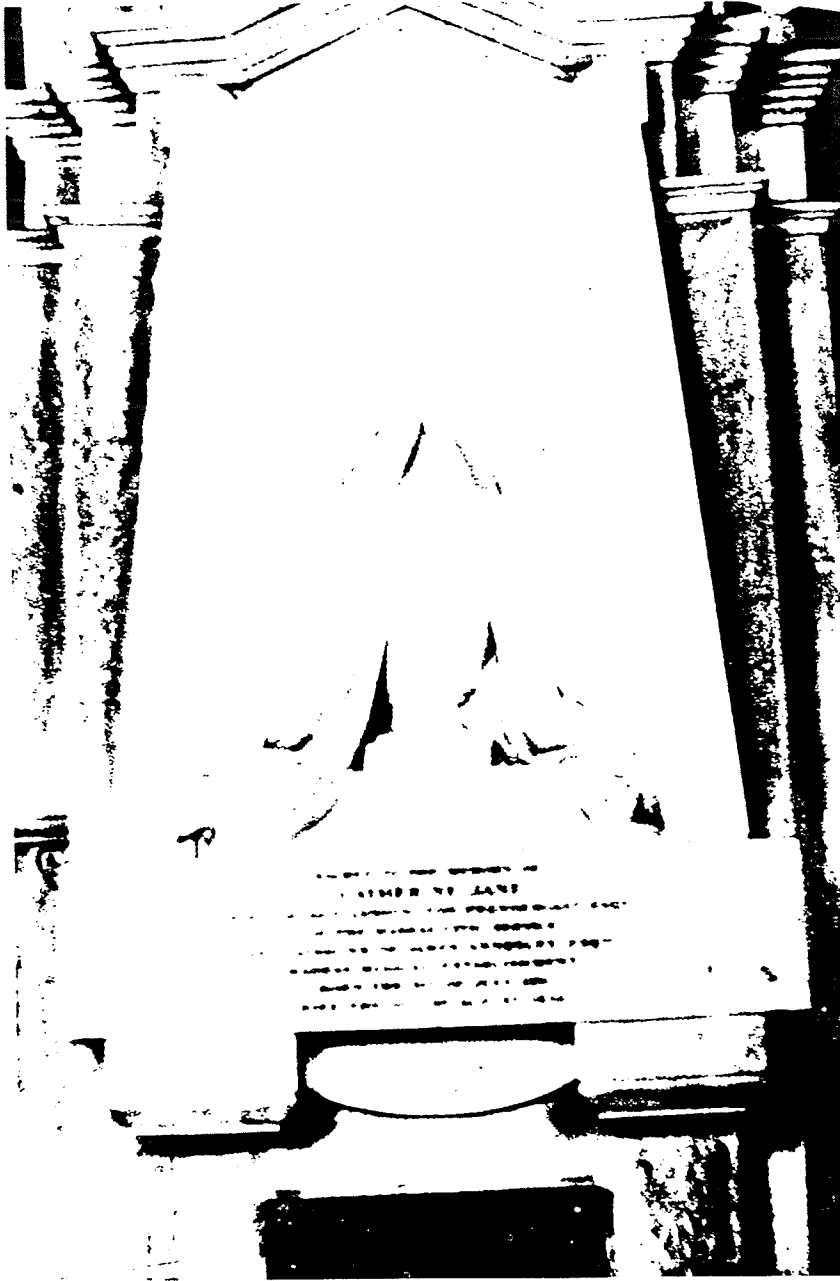


Fig. 16 Prendergast Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 17 Ross Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 18 Detail of Ross Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

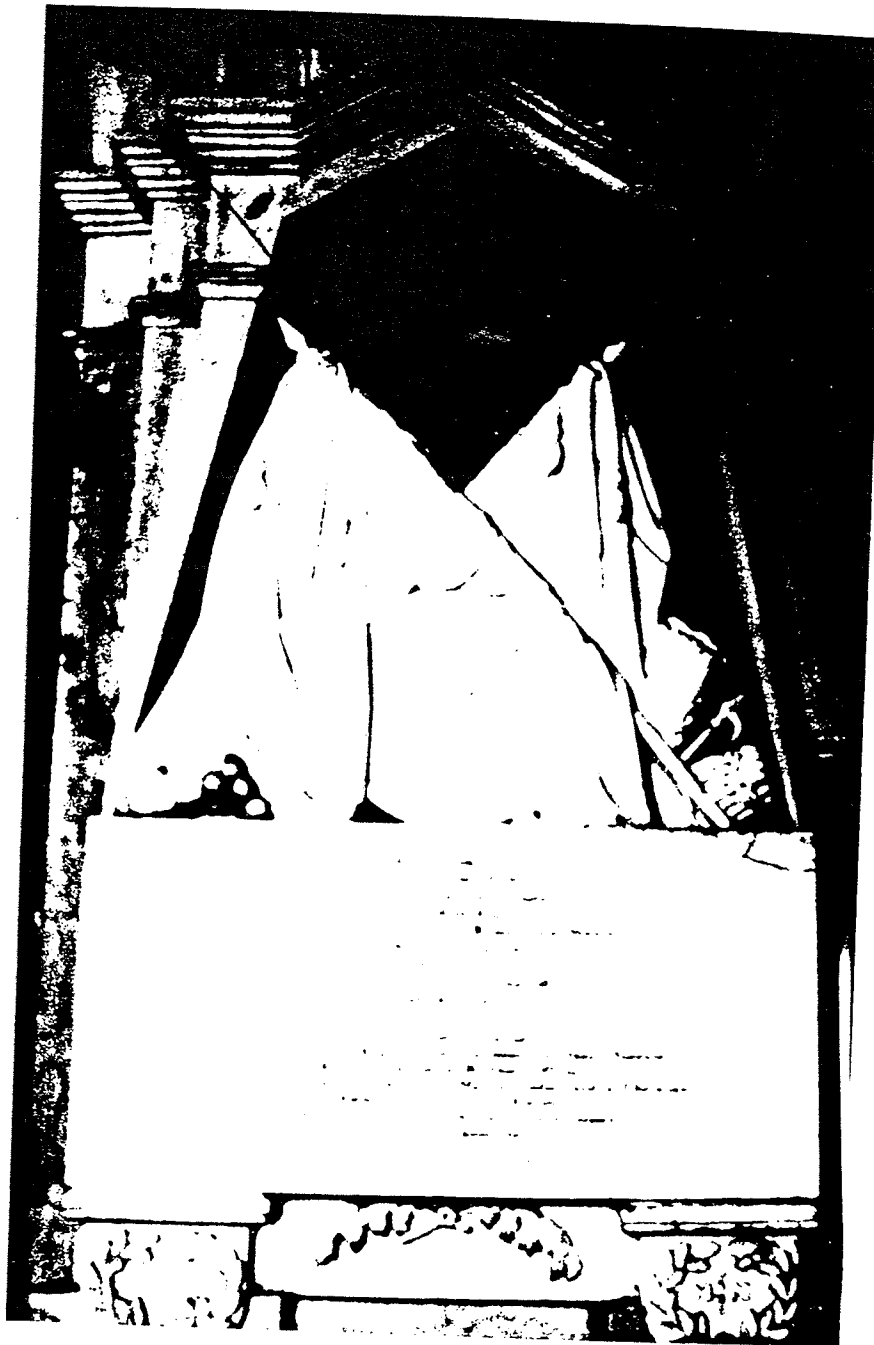


Fig. 19 Rundall Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 20 Russell Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 21 Detail of Russell Monument, St. Mary's, Madras



Fig. 22 Swartz Monument, St. Mary's, Madras





IN THE MIDDLE OF THE MONUMENT  
WHICH WAS THE FIRST ONE IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY'S  
ERECTED IN 1780 BY THE REV. FATHER JOHN SWARTZ

Fig. 23 Detail of Swartz Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

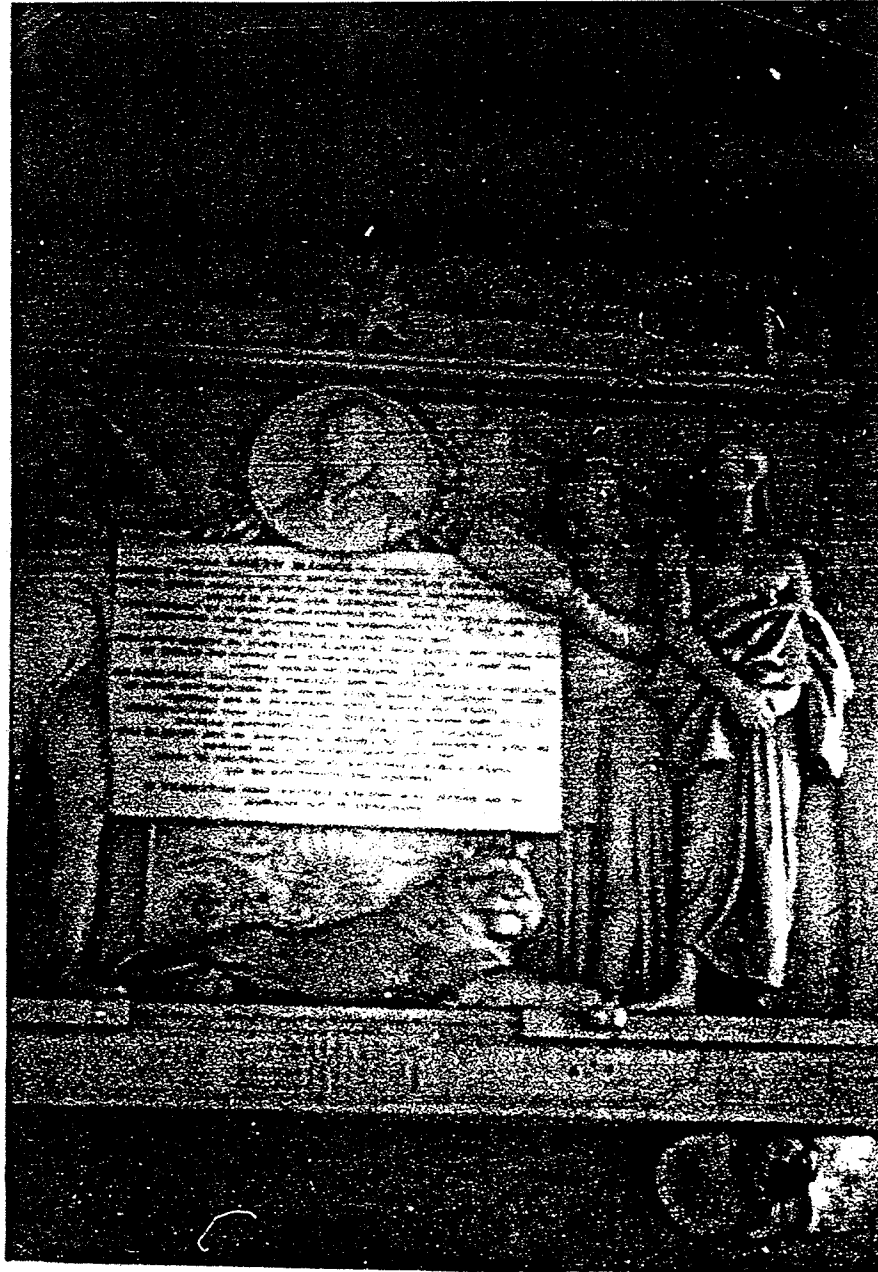


Fig. 24 Webbe Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

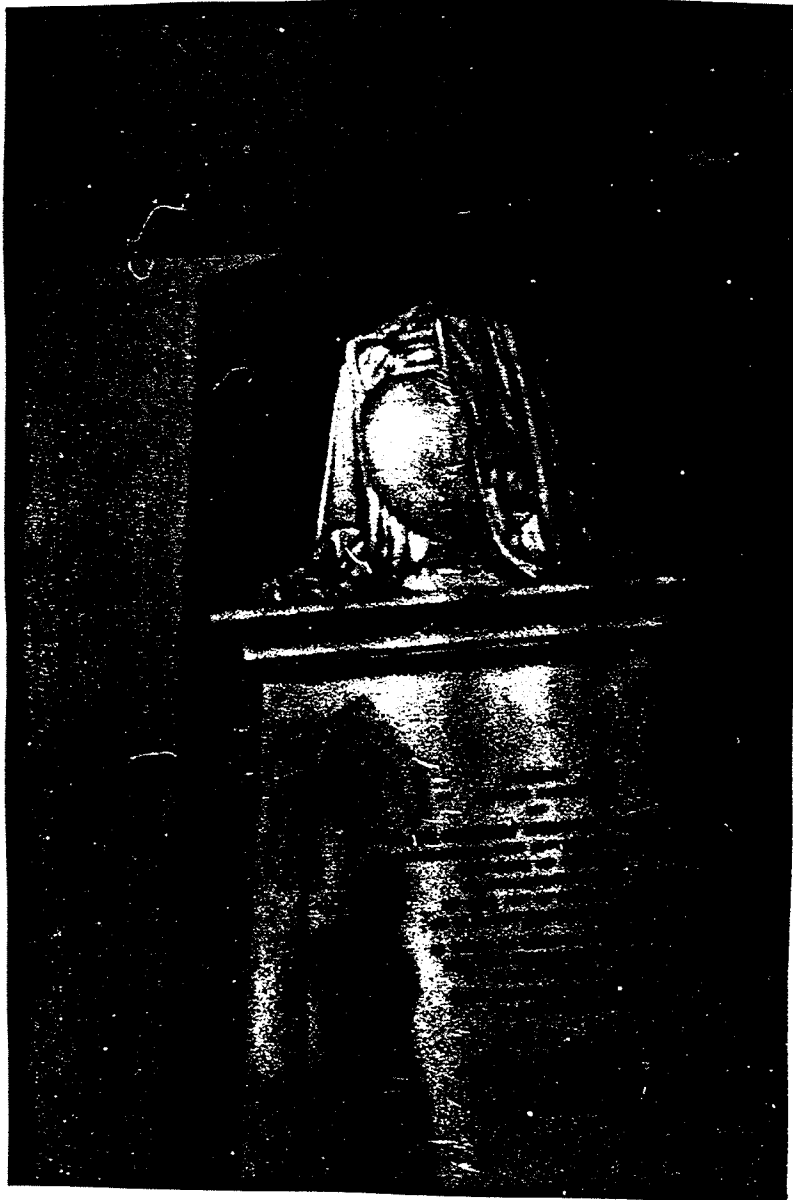


Fig. 25 Whistler Monument, St. Mary's, Madras

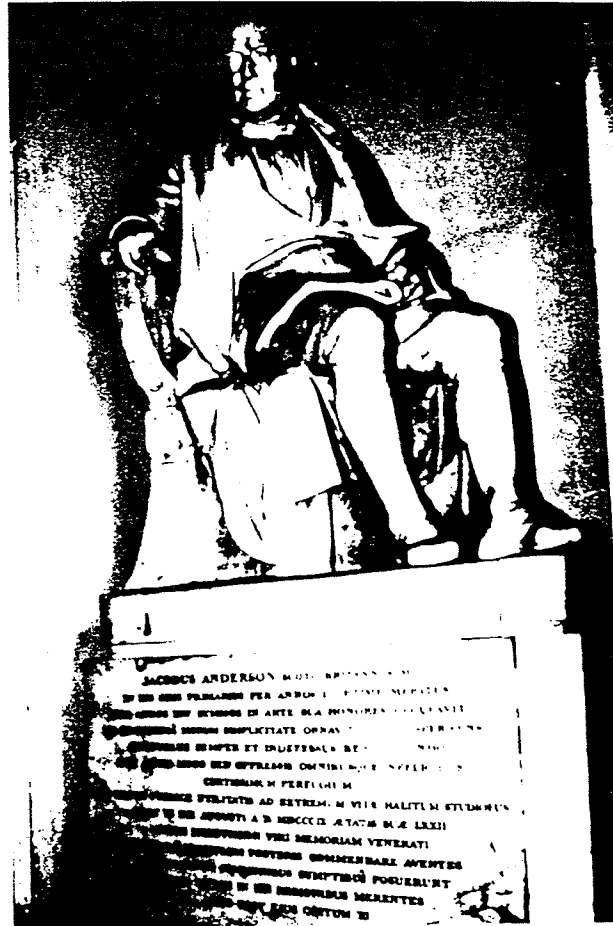


Fig. 26 Anderson Monument, Madras Cathedral, Madras



Fig. 27 Detail of Cameron Monument, Madras Cathedral, Madras



Fig. 28 Chamier Monument, Madras Cathedral, Madras



Fig. 29 Corrie Statue, Madras Cathedral Madras

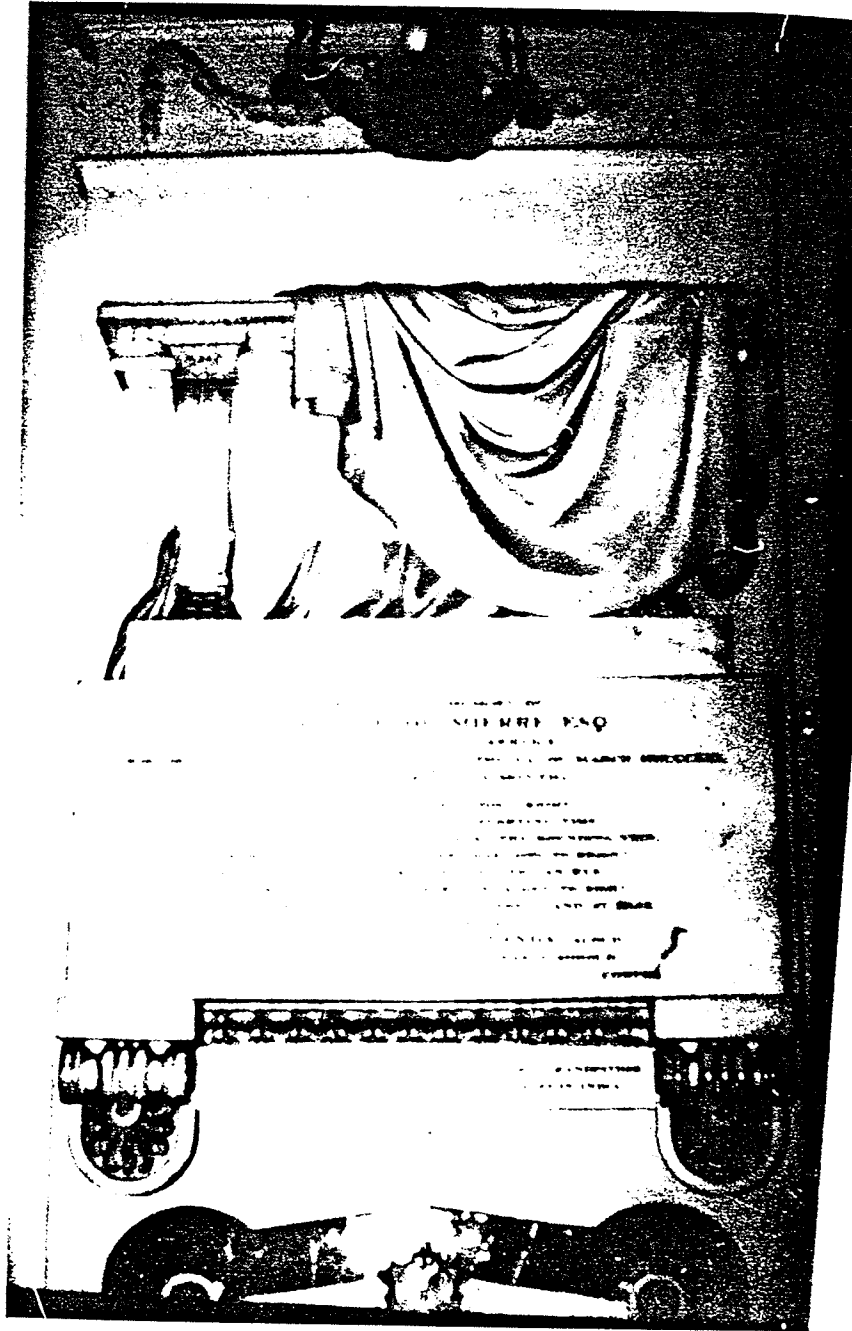


Fig. 30 deMierre Monument, Madras Cathedral Madras





IN MEMORY  
OF  
THE  
REVEREND  
FATHER  
IN  
CHRIST  
JOHN  
DEALTRY  
D.D.  
BORN  
AT  
NEWCASTLE  
UPON  
TYNE  
IN  
THE  
COUNTY  
OF  
DUREE  
IN  
SCOTLAND  
ON  
THE  
18TH  
OF  
MAY  
IN  
THE  
YEAR  
1706  
AND  
DIED  
AT  
CALCUTTA  
IN  
THE  
YEAR  
1781  
IN  
THE  
65TH  
YEAR  
OF  
HIS  
AGE  
AND  
IN  
THE  
18TH  
YEAR  
OF  
HIS  
EPISCOPATE  
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY FRIENDS IN INDIA  
AND IN GREAT BRITAIN WHOSE NAMES ARE ENGRAVED  
HEREON

Fig. 31 Dealtry Monument, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 32 Dent Monument, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 33 Dick Monument, Madras Cathedral

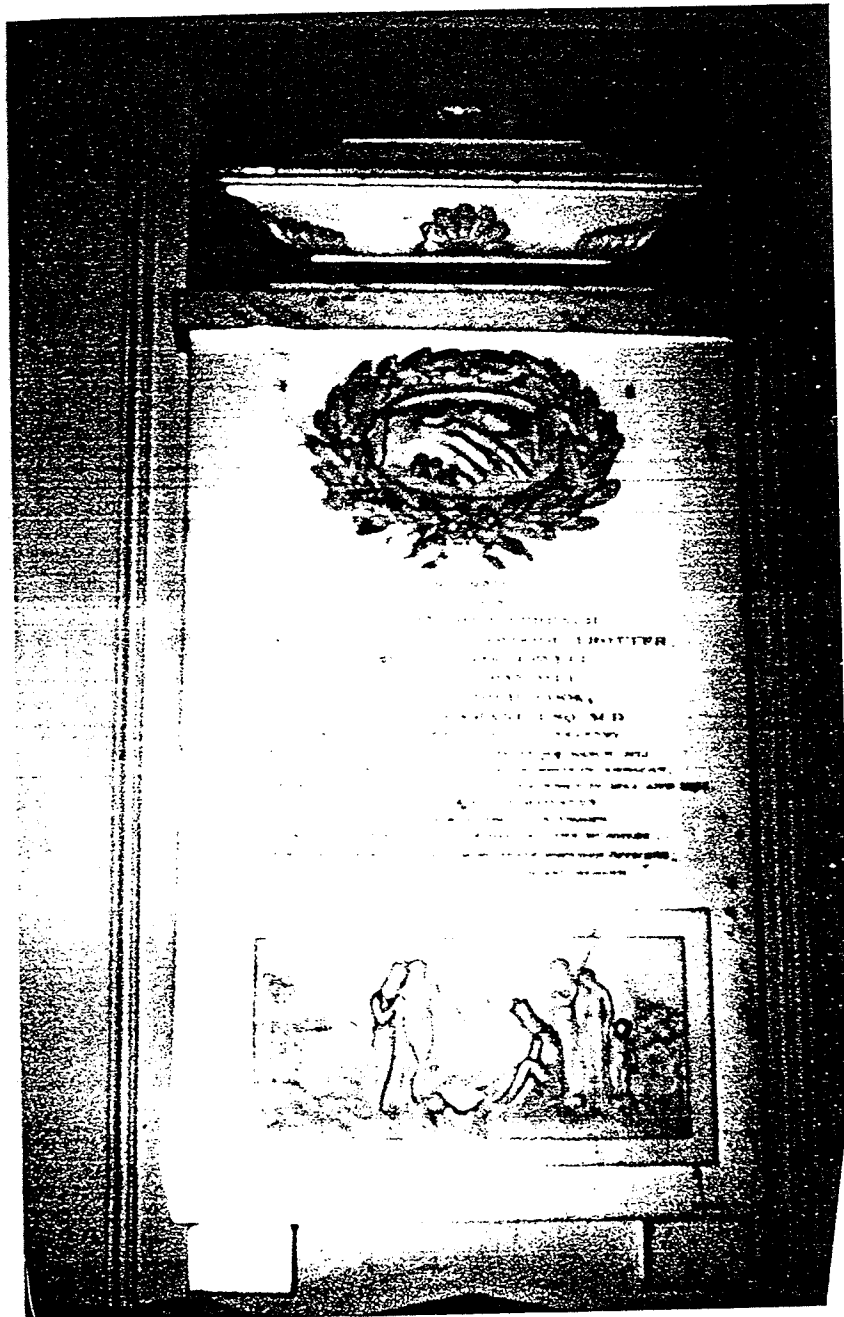


Fig. 34 French Monument, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 35 Heber Monument, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 36 Higginson Monument, Madras Cathedral

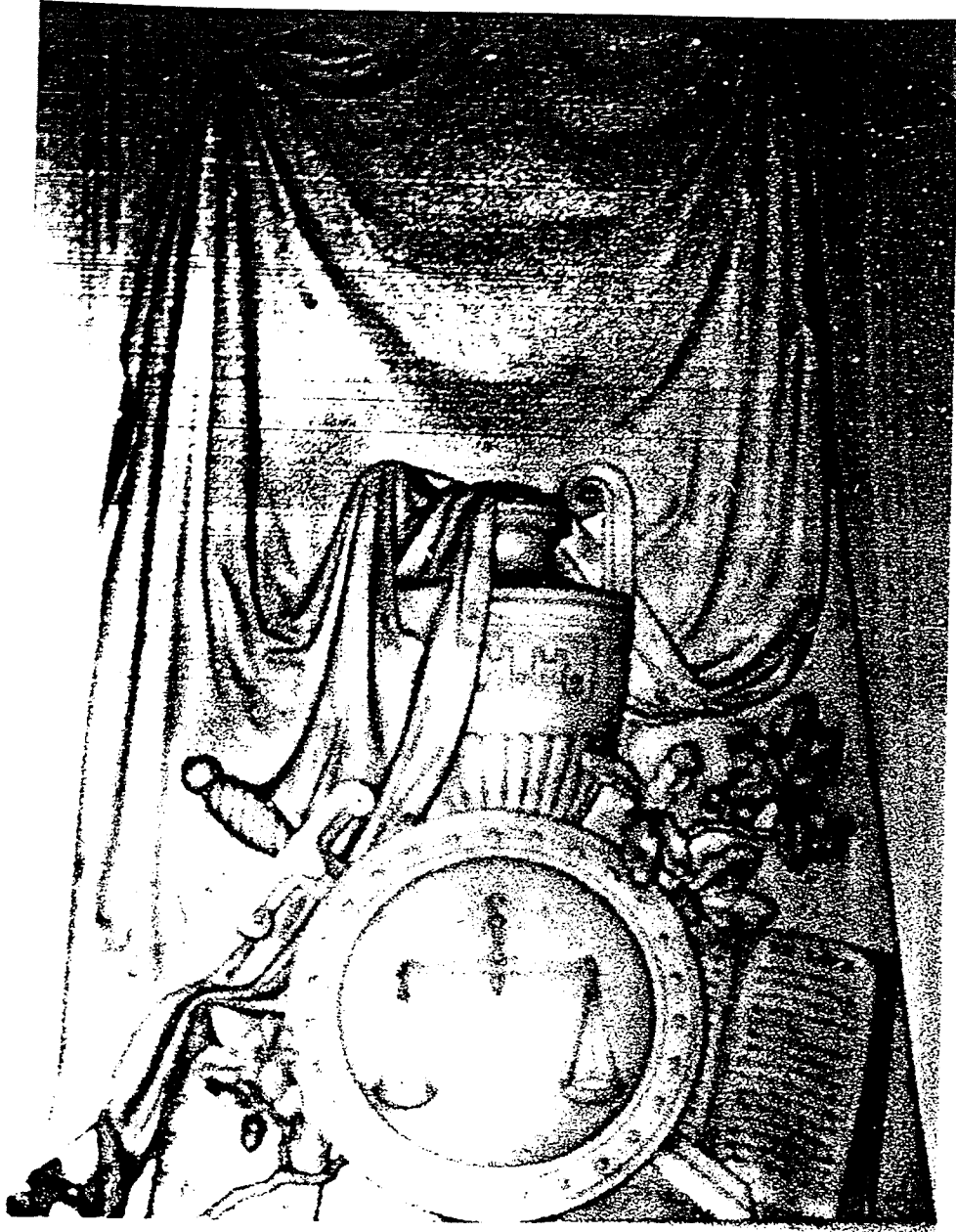


Fig. 37 Detail of Higginson Monument, Madras Cathedral

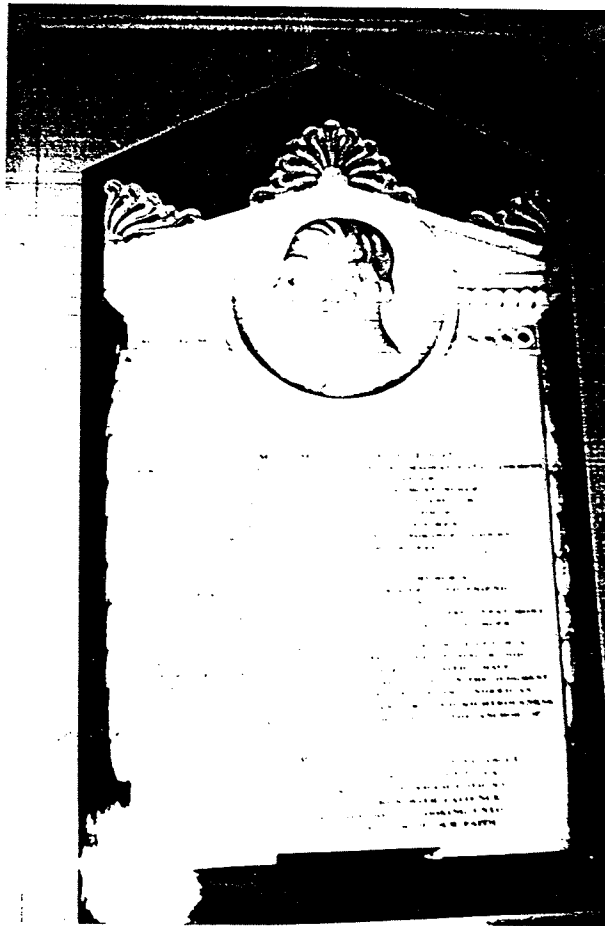


Fig. 38 Lane Monument, Madras Cathedral



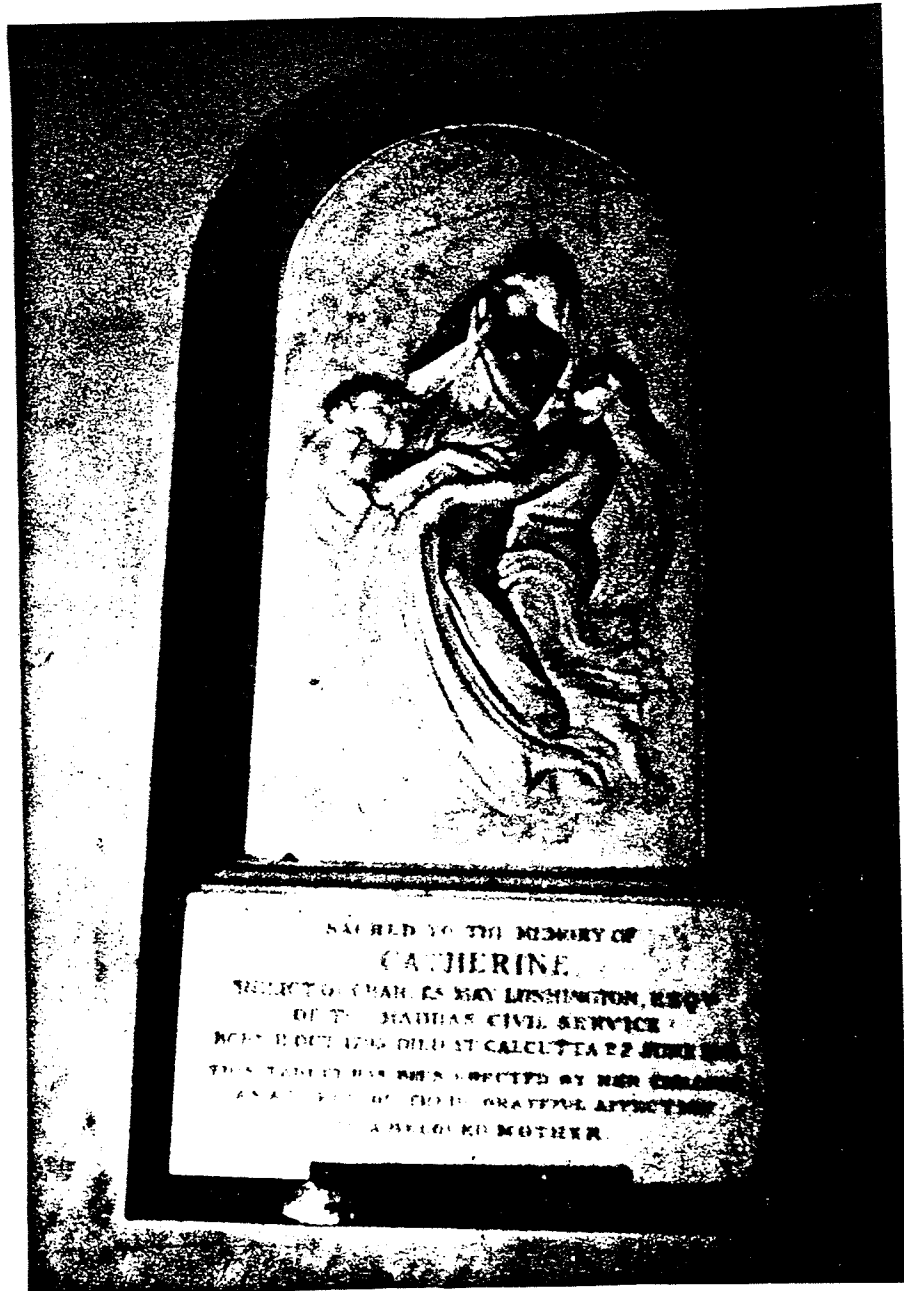


Fig. 39 C. Lushington Madras Cathedral



Fig. 40 S. Lushington Statue, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 41 McLean Monument, Madras Cathedral



Fig. 42 Mack Monument, Madras Cathedral

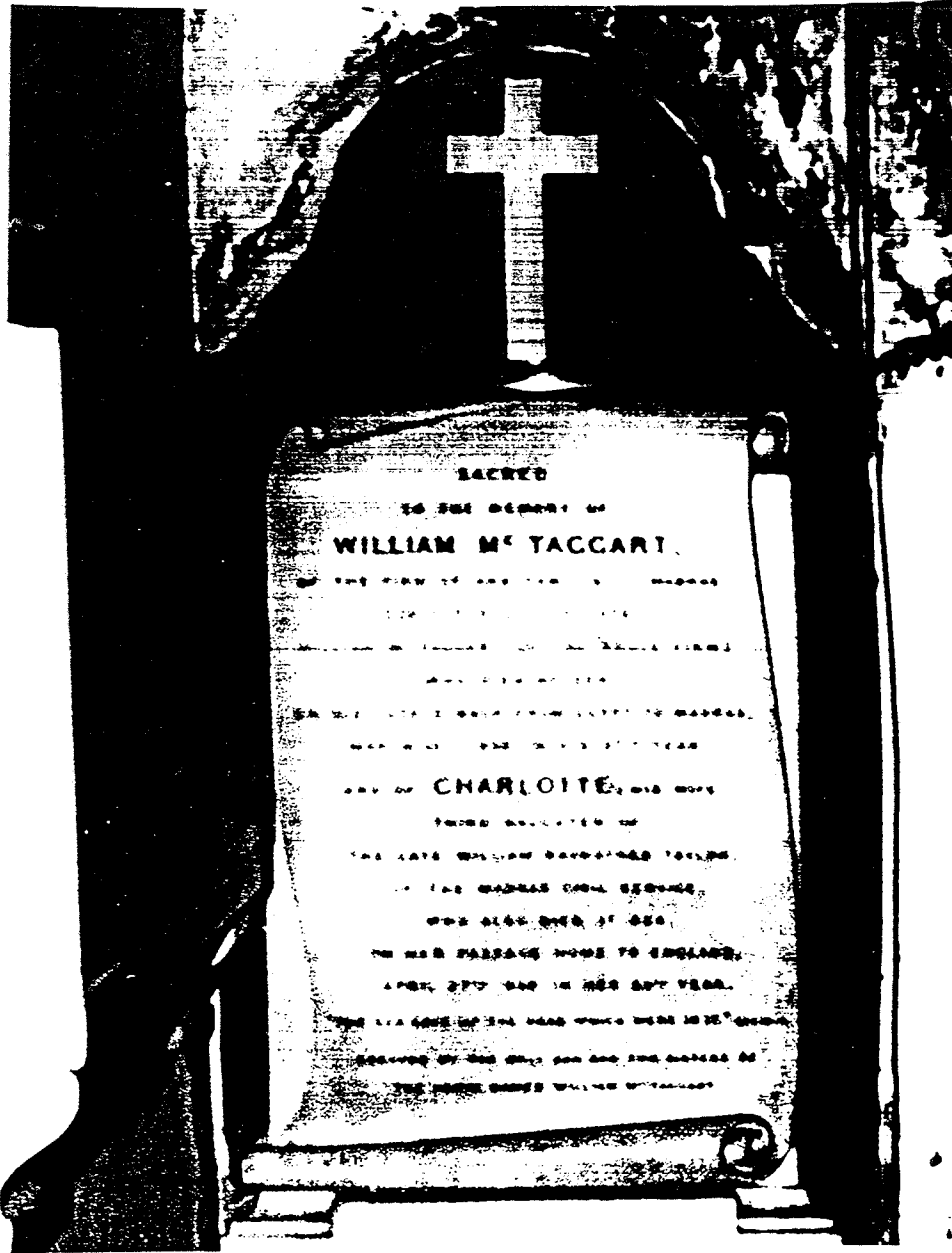


Fig. 43 McTaggart Monument, Madras Cathedral

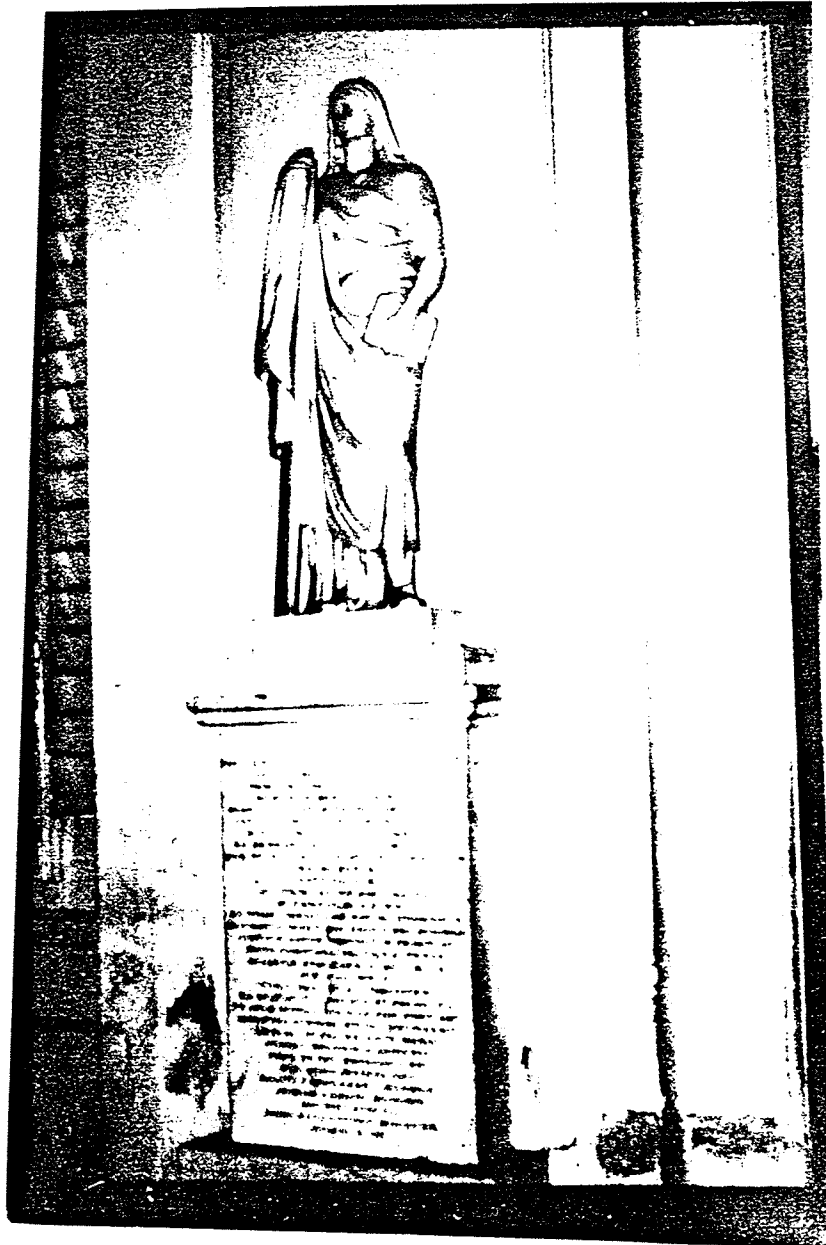


Fig. 44 Mousley Monument, Madras Cathedral

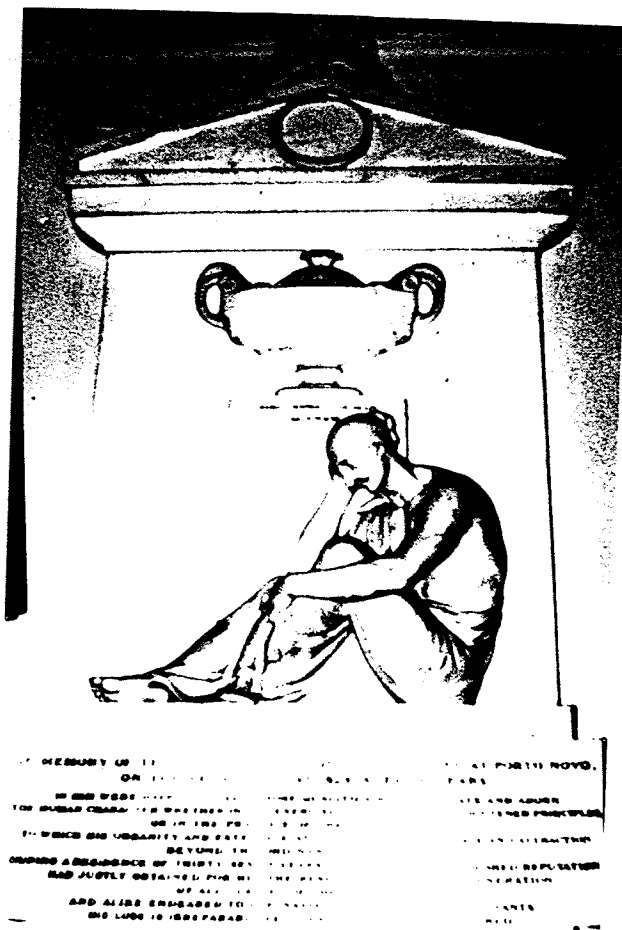


Fig. 45 Parry Monument Monument, Madras Cathedral

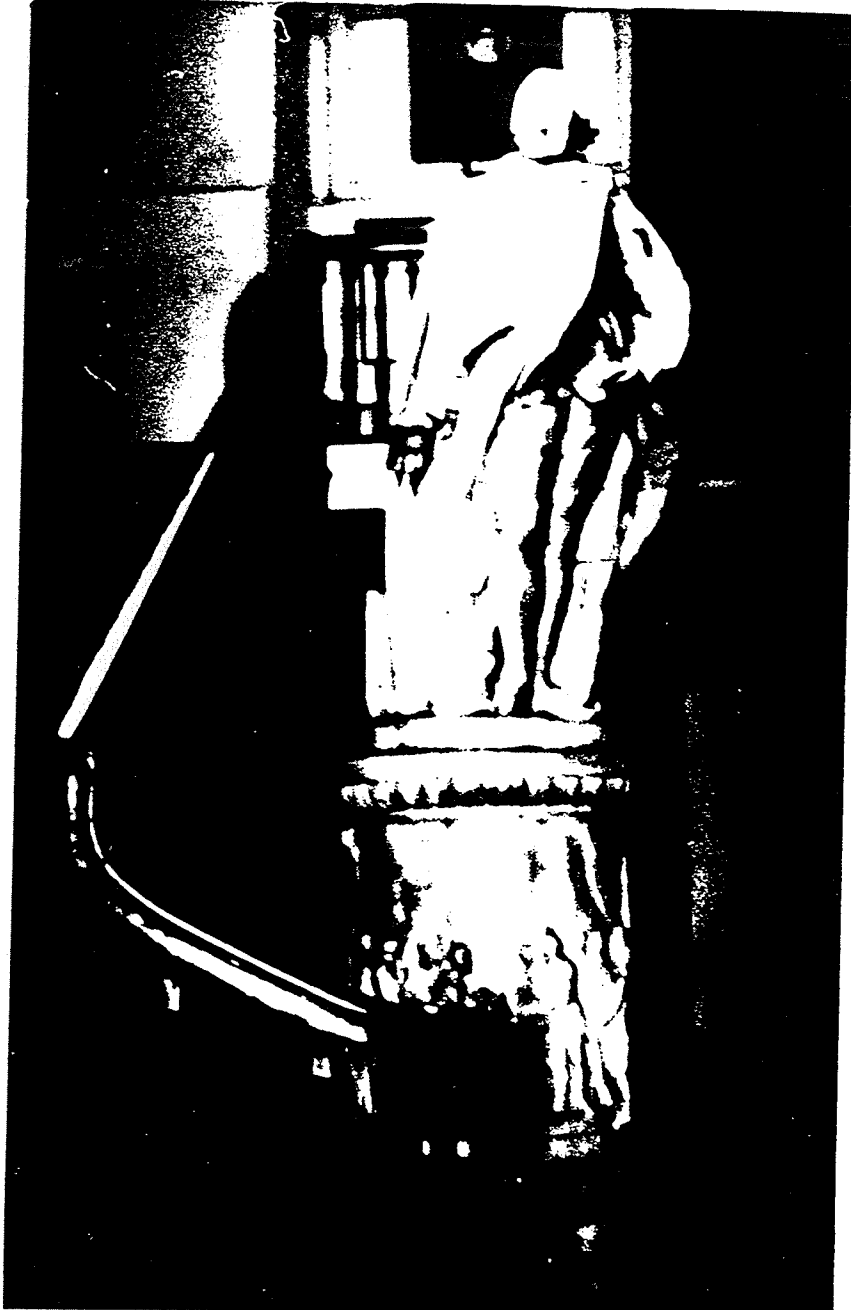


Fig. 46 Cornwallis Statue, Fort Museum, Madras





Fig. 47 Detail of Pedestal Base, Cornwallis Statue, Fort Museum, Madras



Fig. 48 Heber Statue, Crypt, St. Paul's, London



Fig. 49 Samuel Whitbread Memorial, Cardington, Bedfordshire, UK

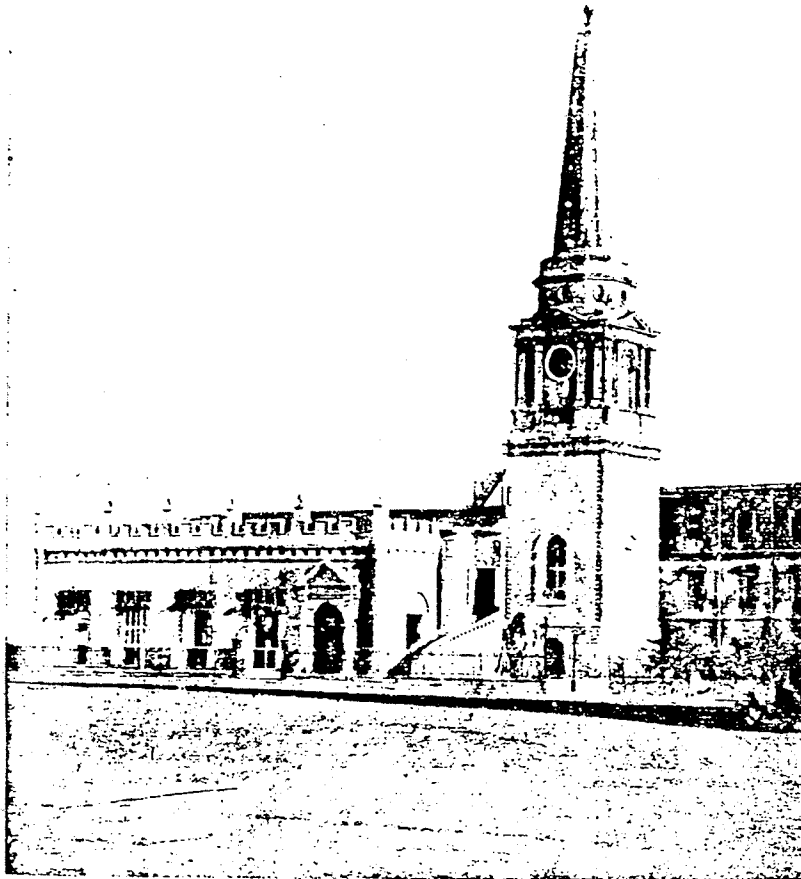


Fig. 50 St. Mary's Church, 18th century. Taken from Barlow



Fig. 51 St. Mary's Church, 1988

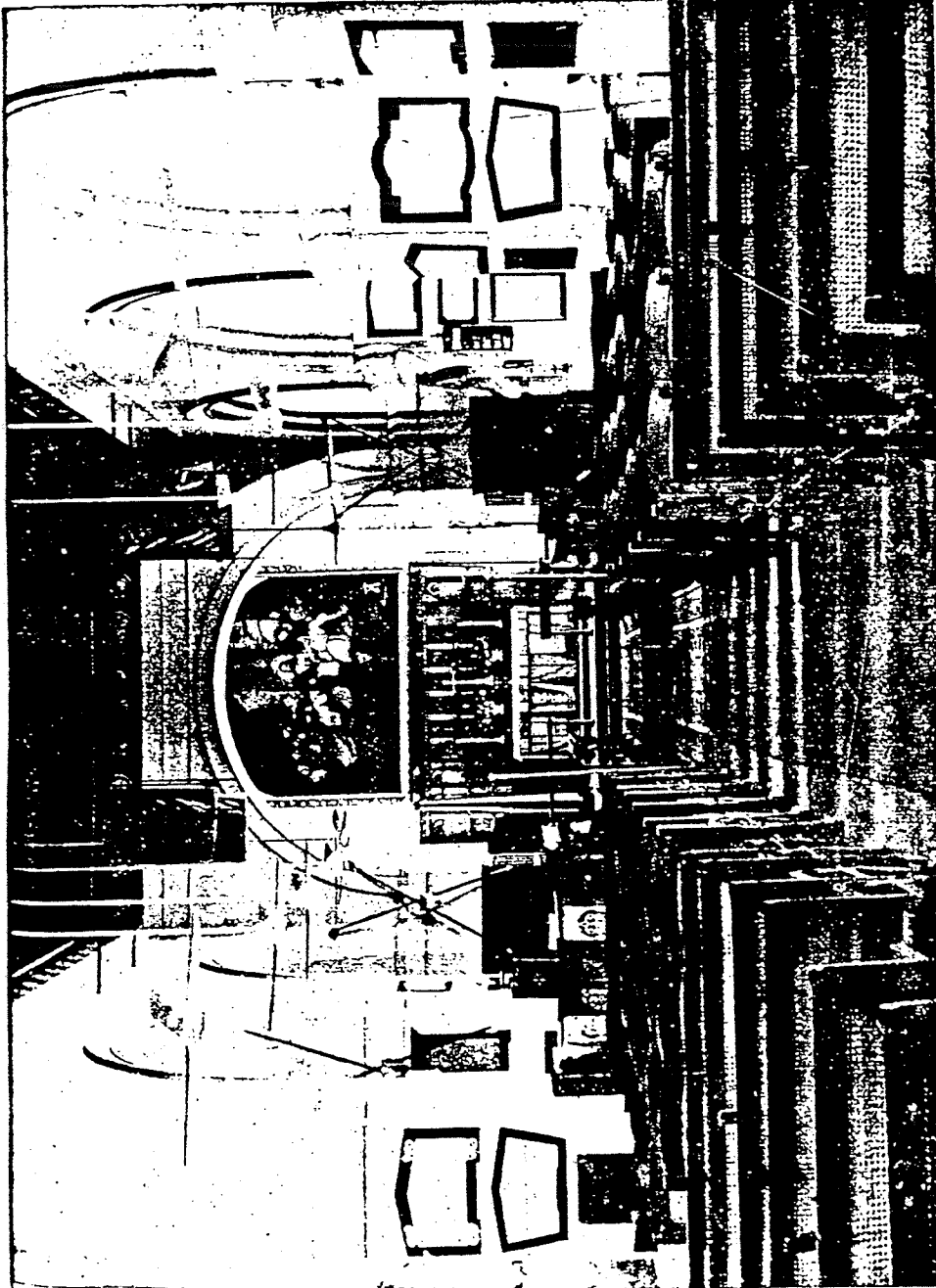


Fig. 52 Interior, St. Mary's Church, Madras



Fig. 53 Madras Cathedral, 1988

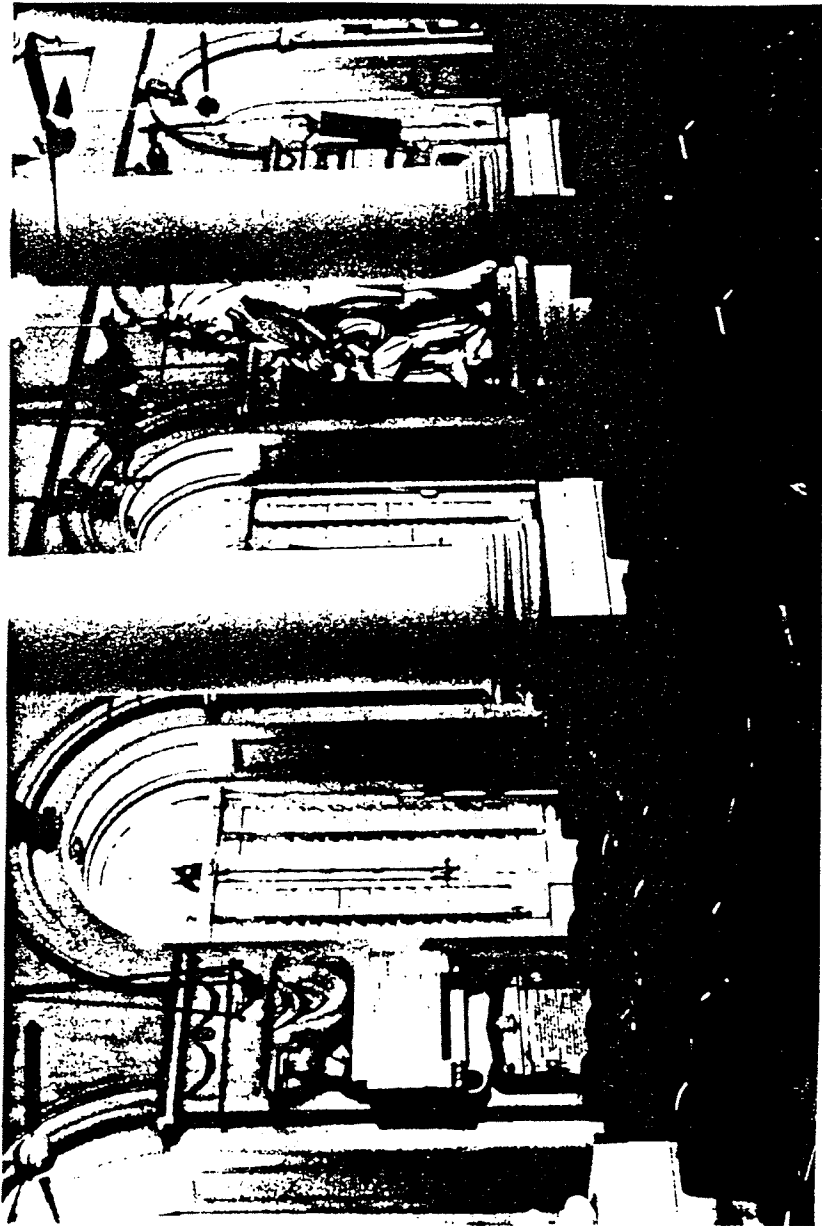


Fig. 54 Interior, Madras Cathedral, 1988



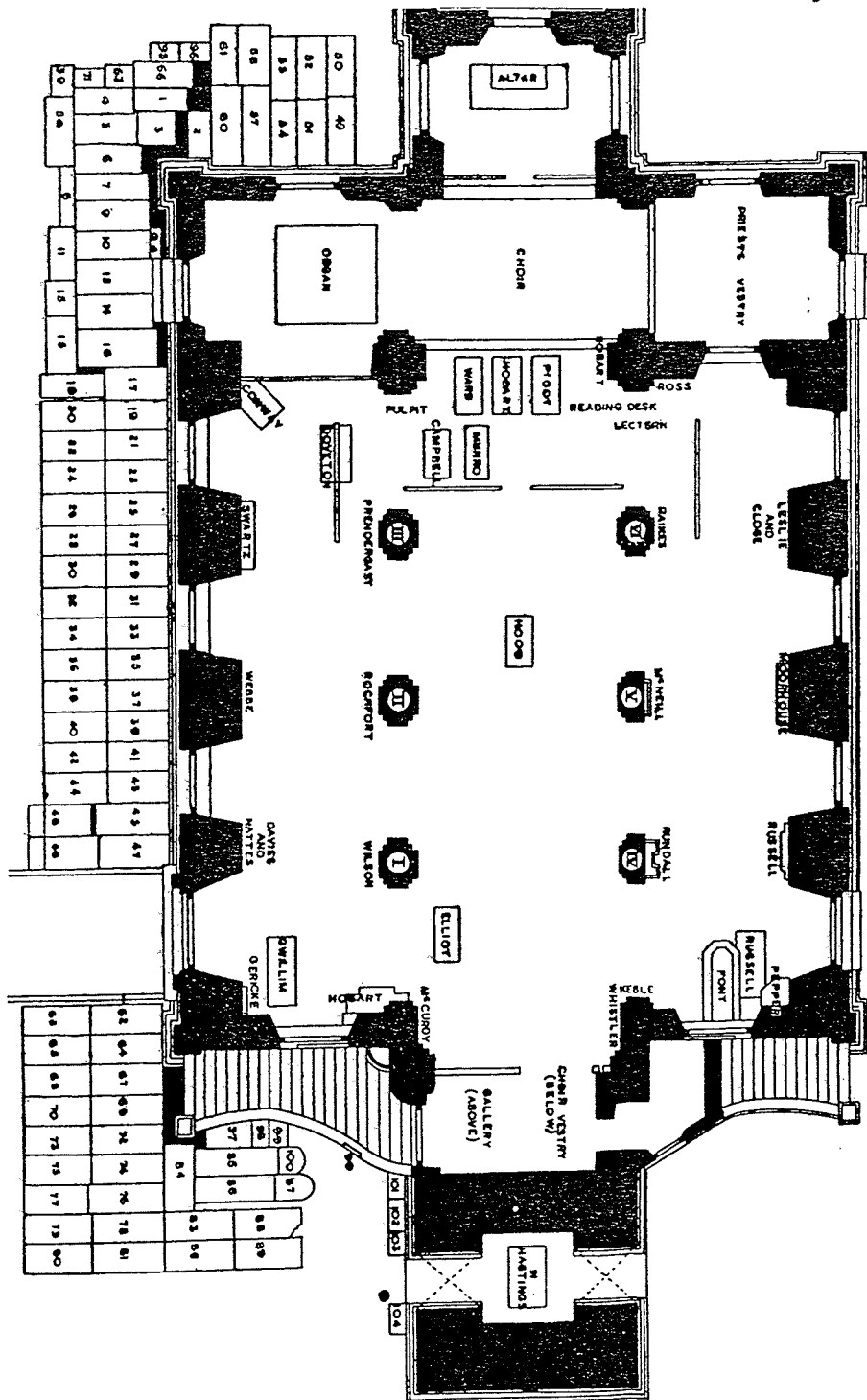


Fig. 55 Floorplan showing Monuments, St. Mary's, Madras taken from Barlow's *A History of St. Mary's in the Fort*

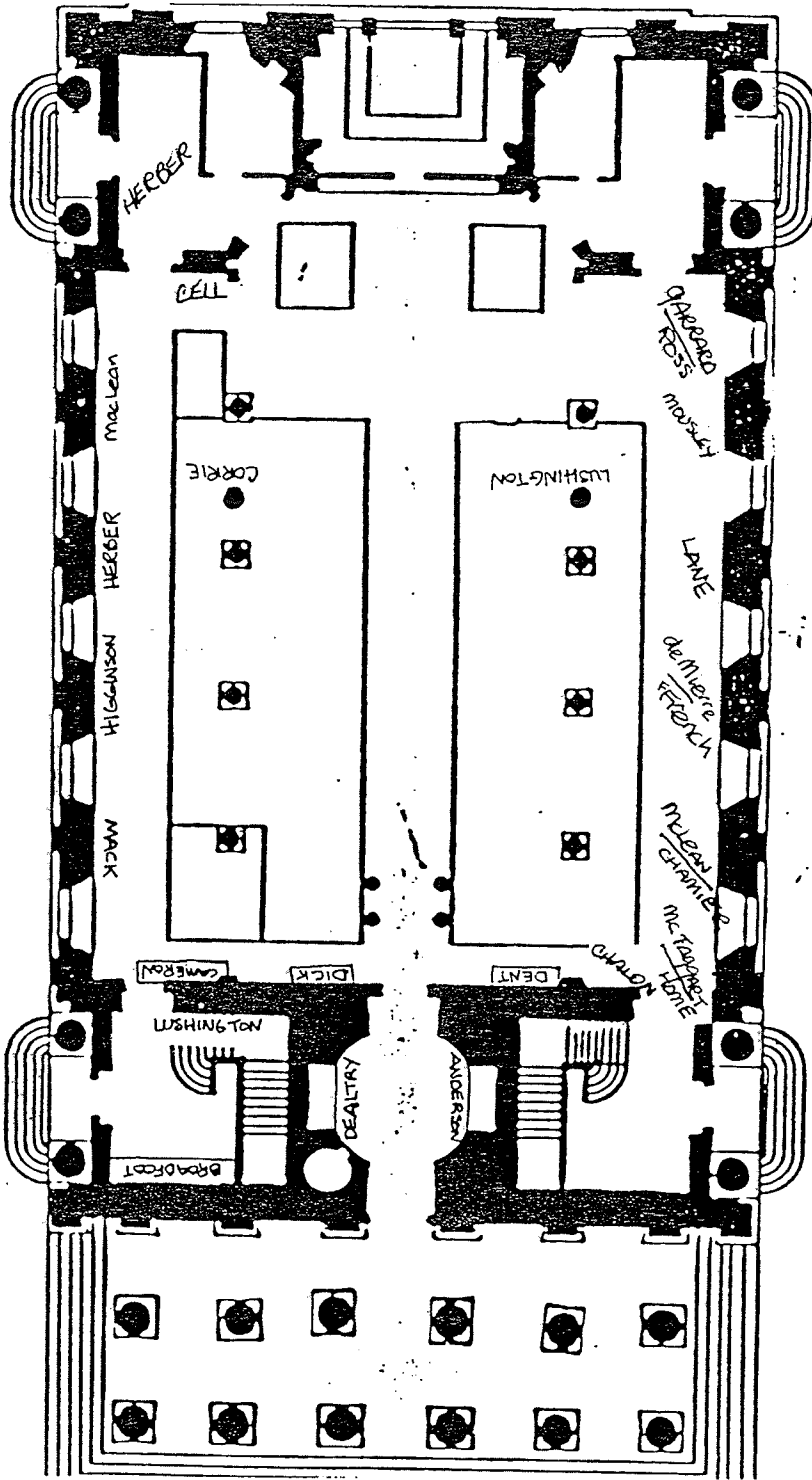


Fig. 56 Floorplan showing Monuments, Madras Cathedral

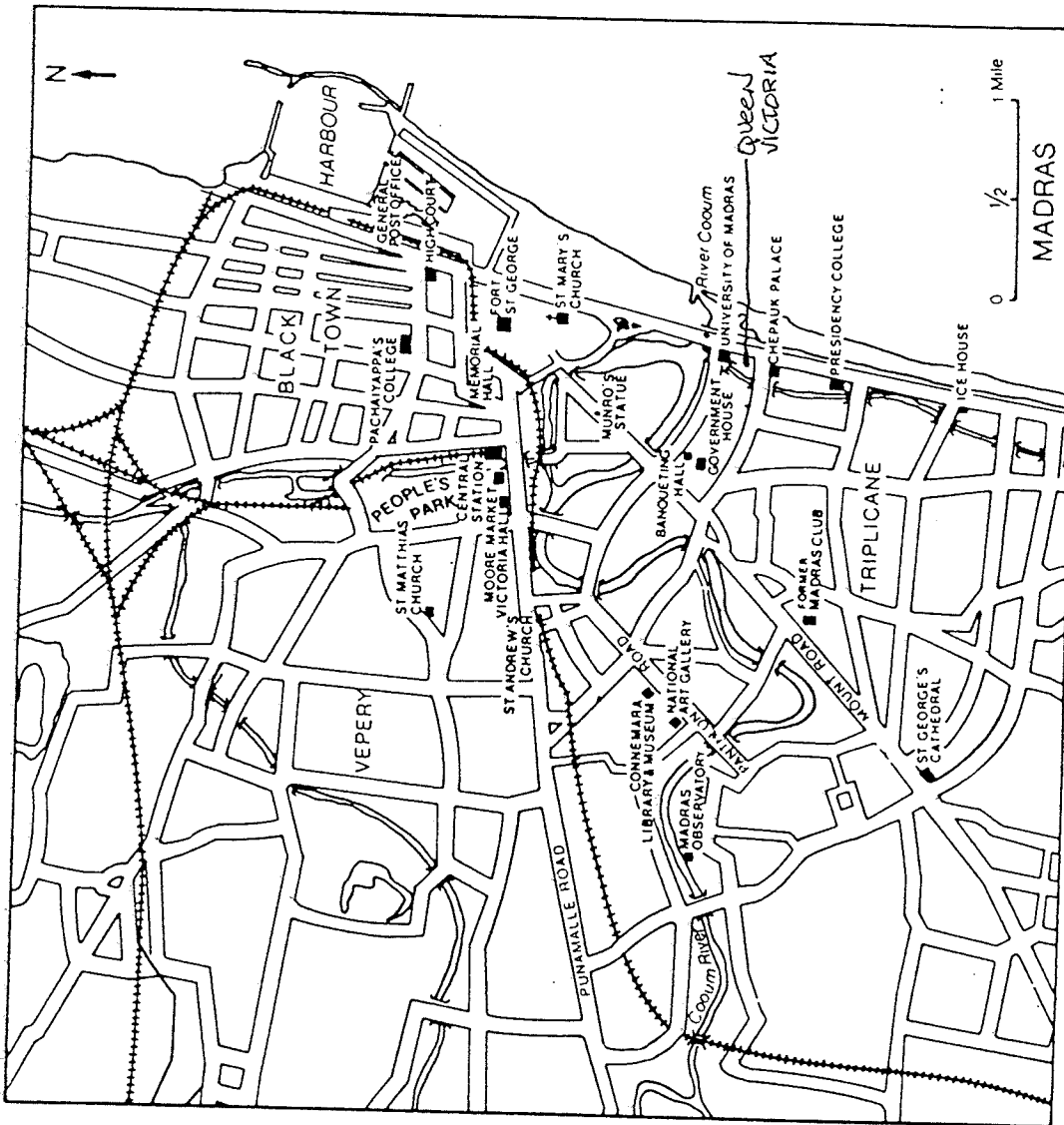


Fig. 57 Map of the City of Madras

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