



Industrial Art Education in Colonial Punjab: Kipling's Pedagogy and Hereditary Craftsmen



ahore, the capital of the Punjab,¹ became the center of arts and craft production in the sixteenth century, a focus initiated by the Mughal emperor Akbar and maintained until the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh's Lahore durbar in the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 16.1).² The

constant flow during this time of patronage from the royalty and other elite made the city a thriving hub of hereditary craftsmen, who vied with each other over the quality and design of their crafts. The abrupt decline of patronage after annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1849 forced these artisans to find new modes of survival and to acquire new forms of knowledge. This context is important to an understanding of John Lockwood Kipling's role as principal of the Mayo School of Industrial Art,³ because Lahore was very different from Bombay, where Kipling had spent the previous ten years (1865–75) teaching architectural sculpture at the Sir J. J. School of Art and Industry. Bombay, initially a small island developed by the Portuguese after they took possession of it in 1527,⁴ was, in short, a relatively new city established along European lines; Lahore, on the other hand, had been a seat of royalty for centuries, and as such, presented Kipling with a different set of cultural and social dynamics.

OLD LAHORE AND HEREDITARY CRAFTS

Few Lahoris today are familiar with the color and composition of the old city (fig. 16.2), now referred to as the Walled City, which lay within thirteen gates, only a few of which survive. Historically, clusters of artisans practicing specialized crafts inhabited different sections whose names reflect the wares made and traded within them: "Mahalla Musavvaran" (artists' quarter), "Soocha Bazar" (gold market), "Mahalla Teer-garan" (arrow makers' quarter), "Mahalla Kaman-garan" (bow makers' quarter),



Fig. 16.1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh in a bazaar, ca. 1840–45. Gouache on paper. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, on loan from Sir Howard Hodgkin, LI118.110.

and the "Kinari-Bazar" where the *kinari-baf* (metallic-lace makers) sold their goods.⁵ The *rangrez* (dyer), *darzi* (tailor), *mimar/tarkhan* (builder/carpenter), and *gilkar* (brick-and-tile maker), masters of their respective crafts who produced the best money could buy, all lived in and around the city, typically in separate neighborhoods. Like Lahore, most other Punjabi cities had their own specialties. Amritsar, for instance, was known for pashmina, silk, and gold and silver jewelry; Hoshiarpur and Sialkot for fine *lachas*, *lungis*,⁶ and *susi* cloth; and Gujranwala and Chiniot for wood carving.⁷

The list of crafts manufactured in the Punjab is extensive, but visual documentation, prior to the introduction of photography in the second half of the nineteenth century, is limited to



Fig. 16.2. "Street of Lahore," ca. 1880–81. Photograph. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, print from negative 11540.

descriptions in texts and depictions by artists. These include, to name just a few, accounts of embroidered pashmina shawls;⁸ bracelets studded with pearls; diamond rings; gold bangles; images or sculptures made of gold; brass and gold pots and plates; gold and silver chairs; and gold saddles encrusted with gems.⁹ Mughal and Sikh court chronicles, European accounts, and paintings on both paper and walls of extant buildings, especially those in Lahore, are laden with references. Nineteenth-century Urdu publications, including *Yādgār-e Chishtī* (1854), *Tehqīqat-e Chishtī: Tarikh-e Lahore ka Encyclopedia* (1867), *Tarikh-e Makhzan-e Punjab* (1877), and *Tarikh-e Lahore* (1884),¹⁰ all written at the request and encouragement of the British authorities, also provide useful information on crafts and craftsmen.

LOST PRIDE AND PATRONAGE

After the dissolution of the Sikh empire in 1849, many artists and craftsmen lost patronage and were forced to abandon their hereditary professions. In the district census report for 1865 (published in 1868), which documented a significant decrease since 1854 in the number of people living within the Walled City, the unnamed deputy commissioner noted, among several other reasons for the decline, that "the court tradesmen, jewelers, workers in gold and silver, armourers, & c., who flourished at Lahore in the time of the Sikh 'Darbar' under the patronage of the Court and the Chiefs and Sardars ... find little support under the less ostentatious rule of the British Government."¹¹

Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qureshi Lahori's account of the Punjab, published in 1877, describes the effects of this exodus upon those who continued to live in Lahore. *Gulbadan* and *darai*, two types of fine fabric manufactured in Lahore, fell drastically in both quality and price—from five rupees per yard during the Sikh period to one or two rupees, or even as low as fifty paisas (half a rupee), because the “present rulers” did not care for them.¹² Nonetheless, Lahori indicates that the craftsmen—specifically the “low-caste” blacksmiths, carpenters, builders, and load carriers (*lohar*, *barbaae*, *memar*, and *quli*, respectively)—were better off than the *Ashraaf*, or educated elite, who were reduced to absolute poverty.¹³ G. W. Leitner, a renowned scholar of Oriental languages who joined the Government College in Lahore in 1864 as its first principal, mentions a craftsman he knew who could “burn encaustic tiles in colors, for which the trade would ... pay thousands of pounds” but who applied “in vain” to the British Government for the small amount of twenty rupees per month to continue teaching his students. Leitner noted the trade was “now defunct.”¹⁴

All over India, craftsmen had to find ways to survive by catering to new customers, whether Indian or British-Indian, who had the money and power to offer patronage. In most cases, this meant either incorporating European designs into an existing repertoire or simply copying goods imported from the West. According to Cecil L. Burns, principal of the school of art in Bombay (1896–1918),¹⁵ “They have been called upon to supply patrons with articles of alien origin and use in place of those of traditional type, and to provide the decorative details to buildings concerning the architectural styles of which they are entirely ignorant as regards their origin, growth, or principles upon which those styles are based or have been developed.”¹⁶ Copying designs from cheap English catalogues was a means of survival for the craftsmen. To the British art enthusiasts who were keen to preserve hereditary crafts, these copies represented a loss of purity. Thomas Holbein Hendley, who helped to establish the Jeypore School of Art¹⁷ and Jeypore Museum, blamed this decay on a “violent contact with the West” due to “the rapid communication of the age.”¹⁸ Burns held the Suez Canal responsible for shrinking the distance between India and the West, making it impossible to keep craftsmen isolated from outside influences.

There was a general divide among the British officers regarding the best way to save Indian crafts. Burns called those who sought to revive them using European methods “practical men” as opposed to the “archaeologists,” who wished to arrest the deterioration by strict adherence to traditional practices.¹⁹ One of the great “practical men” was Baden Henry Baden Powell, who, in discussing leather goods, especially bookbinding, saddlery, harnesses, and English boots and shoes, claimed with pride, “Notwithstanding the general backwardness of manufacturing

skill, the commencement of European influence of the best kind on the manufacture is clearly perceptible.”²⁰

KIPLING AND THE MAYO SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL ART

At the time the Mayo School was founded, there was general dissatisfaction in official circles with the other major art schools, those in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.²¹ The great debate over the appropriate approach to art and craft education was due to a mixed agenda pursued by the British officials that lasted until the end of colonial rule. In Hendley's opinion, the schools had been founded to protect “the arts and artisans of the country from the extraneous and dangerous influences to which the conditions of modern life and the facilities of interchange of ideas had subjected them.”²² However, Dr. Alexander Hunter, who set up the Madras School of Arts in 1850 and remained its principal until 1872, “saw no merit in Indian applied arts and introduced western ideas with a view to improving their quality and competitiveness.”²³ At the school of art in Bombay, founded in 1856–57, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy sought to improve art manufactures and encourage a taste for European art, while Henry H. Locke, sent to the Calcutta School of Art as its first principal in 1864, wanted to “modernize” Indian applied arts.²⁴ To avoid this confusion, C. Pearson, the officiating director of public instruction of the Punjab, outlined a distinct plan of action: “Our School of Art is to be emphatically an industrial one. We do not wish to imitate the ceramic vases of Madras or the foliated capitals of Bombay, but to draw our experience rather from the royal workshops of the Mughals, from the best native specimens of Art and Industry in modern India. ...”²⁵ Kipling's appointment in 1875 as principal of the school, and what he was expected to bring to it and the province, can be gathered from the annual report of W. R. M. Holroyd, the new director of public instruction, who noted: “Since the close of the year under report, Mr. Kipling has arrived at Lahore to organize a School of Industrial Art, and it is a matter of congratulation that the services of so able a Principal have been secured. The School of Carpentry and any other Industrial Schools that may be established will of course be brought under the immediate influence of the School of Industrial Art, and will I hope assist in carrying into practical execution the principles taught in that institution.”²⁶

PUNJAB CRAFTS RISE AGAIN

More than the goal set out for him by the authorities, it was the clarity of Kipling's vision that gave the Mayo School a solid foundation and helped Lahore to reclaim its former prestige as the nucleus for the best crafts of the province. The thirteen gates of the historical city once again, after twenty-five years of discouragement, rejection, and confusion, welcomed hereditary



Fig. 16.3. Amir Baksh. The Chauburji, Lahore, ca. 1881–82. Watercolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2491-1883. Cat. 123.

craftsmen. Abundant material attests to Kipling's efforts to train his students, and to coach the craftsman who sought his help, with neutrality and sincerity.²⁷

After five years as principal, Kipling organized the Punjab Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures of 1881–82, held in Lahore (see chap. 9).²⁸ The catalogue of the exhibition and the report Kipling submitted after the exhibition closed offer insights into his approach toward the local art traditions as well as his opinion on several artistic issues.²⁹ The catalogue is divided into twelve categories or "classes"; most Mayo School entries are to be found within "Class XI.—Design," which shows quite a few architectural draw-

ings by Kipling's students (fig. 16.3).³⁰ It is noteworthy that these drawings are not limited to the Mughal monuments generally taken to have been the focus of Kipling's inspiration. The list also features elevations of a "baradari, Gujranwala" and "Maharaja Ranjit Singh's tomb," by Nand Singh, and "Wasti Bhagat's Samadh," by Karpal Singh—each building a significant Sikh-period monument.³¹

The inclusion of these architectural drawings in the competition takes on additional significance when seen in the context of contemporary sentiment toward Sikh architecture. Many of Kipling's contemporaries ridiculed the Hindu iconography,

while others disparaged the “vulgarity” of Sikh-period art and architecture. *Lahore* (1876), a guidebook that Kipling coauthored with Thomas Henry Thornton after arriving in Lahore in 1875, is a testament to the difference of opinion. Kipling’s discussion of the recent additions to the Lahore landscape by the British in “Lahore: As It Is” is an objective narrative, whereas Thornton’s description of the historical structures in “Lahore: As It Was” is tainted by his conviction that all construction during the Sikh period was “tasteless” and “mongrel in design.”³² Kipling was convinced that the Sikh-period architecture taking inspiration from both Hindu and Muslim traditions in India “had already accomplished something, when they were overtaken by the English occupation.”³³ He found their wood carving to be of a unique character and remarked with appreciation, “Their foliage is elaborately lined and twisted, and small grotesque figures, human and animal, inadmissible in Moslem work, were beginning to appear.”³⁴

“Class XI.—Design” in the 1881–82 catalogue included “patterns and designs of all kinds, painting, drawing (decoration and pictorial), specimens of engraving, wood-cutting, lithography and illumination.”³⁵ Entries of miniature paintings by the Mayo School students were few, and first and second prizes in this category went to the Delhi artists. One entry on this list was of “pictures, chiefly mythological subjects” by Pandit Tota Rám, a Kashmiri artist residing in Lahore. This is Pandit Raja Rám Kaul Tota, son of Pandit Daya Rám Kaul Tota, both of whom were associated with the Lahore durbar as court painters. Tota Rám’s participation in the exhibition on the one hand and Kipling’s favorable remarks and the fact the artist’s work was purchased by the Indian Museum in Calcutta on the other, signify approval and encouragement provided not only to him but also to others in his position.³⁶ As stated in the exhibition report, the objective was to “revive what of good work is decaying for want of notice and commercial encouragement.”³⁷

Tota Rám’s paintings won second prize and Kipling’s remarks on their assessment by some jury members are important to understanding the conflicted opinions regarding contemporary Indian painting:

In the mythological pictures of Pandit Tota Rám, a Nakash of Kashmiri origin, the Jury notices much clearness and fineness of execution down to the smallest details. The same artist’s decorative work is praised. Mr. Baden-Powell indeed, while commending his ornament, considers his figure work “ordinary and not at all good mythological subjects.” Europeans are perhaps scarcely the best judges of representations of Hindu mythology, for the purely abstract and conventional treatment of strange and fantastic subjects allows no

hint of nature, while fancy and imagination are rigidly bound by tradition. The Reverend Mr. Tribe remarks that the coloring of this series was crude, a criticism which, it is to be feared, may be applied to most modern Hindu illumination.³⁸

Baden Powell’s opinion of Indian art is an example of the hegemonic sentiments with which Kipling disagreed. In volume two of the *Hand-book of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (1872), Baden Powell asserts that “all native pictures have the skies painted exactly alike;... if trees are introduced, their color and treatment is [*sic*] always the same, ... always is stiff, intractable, and regular;—conventional in its individuality.” He even goes so far as to say that “no native artist has any idea of using his eyes.”³⁹ Baden Powell finds the hereditary craft tradition objectionable, dismissing it as “mere empiric knowledge of certain rude processes [which] can be handed down as in this country from father to son, but never can lead to any advance or improvement.”⁴⁰ In sum, he attributes the deficiencies of the conventional style of painting to “that great curse of India—Custom.”⁴¹ Baden Powell was not alone in his opinions. Similar sentiments are expressed in “Papers Relating to the Maintenance of Schools of Art as State Institutions from 1893–96” (1898), a report that pities the disadvantageous position of an Indian child, whose lessons in art begin with looking at “mythological pictures of the usual terribly grotesque kind...,” as compared to the more fortunate position of a European child, who knows how “to see” from infancy as he grows up looking at the art in children’s “toy books.”⁴²

Kipling’s subtle criticism of Baden Powell and the Reverend Tribe’s assessment of Indian paintings highlight Kipling’s exceptional position with regard to the British art-education policies in India, which are generally held responsible for breaking the chain of hereditary craftsmanship. It also provides an excellent example of the key role he played in both reviving the traditional art practices in the region and giving the artists and craftsmen of older generations a chance to return to the mainstream.

KIPLING’S PEDAGOGIC PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

As principal of the Mayo School, Kipling, like his colleagues at the Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta schools, took up the challenging task of saving the dying crafts of India, of reviving them and then finding new markets for them. A comparison of the main subjects taught at all four schools to meet this end shows strong similarities. At the top of every school’s list is drawing. Thought by every British officer commenting on Indian art to be the very first and basic remedy, it was unanimously agreed to be the best way to help Indians to “see” afresh. Baden Powell, Sir

Richard Temple, Locke, and other educators were wary of the Indian artist's erroneous sense of proportion and perspective and saw salvation in the European method for developing eye-hand coordination.⁴³ Locke went so far as to urge the "Supreme Government" of India to introduce drawing as "an established and recognized element in all primary education."⁴⁴ Geometry was another mandatory subject taught at all four schools. This course progressed uniformly in each, from basic geometry to the higher practical levels leading to architectural and technical drawings. Development of language skills, especially English, was an equally important objective pursued by all the schools. The four schools followed comparable curricula, and Kipling, in conformity with the other principals, used books and other materials from South Kensington, made drawing and geometry compulsory for all students, and strove to motivate his students to learn English. What then, compared to the other three schools, which frequently needed "re-organization,"⁴⁵ helped the Mayo School to remain firmly focused on its goals and actually succeed in reviving Indian hereditary crafts?

Kipling's annual reports for the Mayo School are excellent sources for analyzing these questions as well as the concerns he raised, and for evaluating his approach and the teaching methods he employed to promote it. The study of this material helps in understanding Kipling's pioneering solutions for the revival of Indian hereditary crafts and for steering them in what he believed to be the desired direction.

The syllabus Kipling designed for the Mayo School comprised a variety of subjects, including drawing, practical geometry, modeling, painting and ornamental drawing, carpentry, blacksmithing, carving and joinery, repoussé, architectural drawing, and building construction, and was spread over five years.⁴⁶ The combination of subjects leading to a variety of fields shows that Kipling aimed to give his students a useful, well-rounded, and open-ended education, one that would lead to multiple areas of possible employment. His appreciation for the "widespread facility"⁴⁷ of the hereditary carpenter was due to his realization that "the best mistries of the old school are often skilful [*sic*] in several crafts, and have wonderful facility in designing ornament."⁴⁸ His statement that "the first thing to study is the actual work of the country, which alone can give a rational point of departure for variety of design and improvement of *technique*" is primary to understanding the guiding principles underlying his curricula.⁴⁹ He wanted the traditional designs, their application, and traditional techniques to serve as the foundation of his students' understanding, before the introduction of new techniques in compliance with changing times.

The starting point of Kipling's familiarity with and appreciation for Lahore's historical architecture may have been "Lahore: As It Is." It is apparent that he did not take long to understand

and value the Punjab's rich artistic heritage. Testimony to the fact that Kipling sent his students, from the beginning, to historical monuments to do studies may be found in Holroyd's comments on the very first annual report of the Mayo School, for 1875–76.⁵⁰ He states that "two full-sized copies of encaustic panels of coloured decoration from Wazir Khan's mosque" by Sher Muhammad,⁵¹ were excellent examples of the decorative painting taught at the school. His statement that no practice was "so instructive as that of studying existing architecture and ornament" and then "carefully drawing it" presents another interesting avenue by which to measure Kipling's influence—that of preservation of historical buildings.⁵² We do know that a number of his students found employment in the archaeology department and also that the curator of ancient monuments in India, impressed by their performance, proposed to the secretary of state that the school be associated with his office on permanent basis.⁵³

Lahore Central Museum was another excellent resource at Kipling's disposal for teaching traditional design elements (see chap. 8) and, in fact, he stated in his 1876–77 annual report that "whilst some of the more advanced boys were engaged in copying the fresco decorations of Wazir Khan's mosque [figs. 16.4, 16.5, 16.6]... the senior class was employed on studies of Indian design from objects in the museum. ..."⁵⁴ These steps embody the basic principles of his approach and teaching methods. He followed the pattern of British art education in the general sense, but his application of it was specifically designed to cater to the needs of his students. When teaching drawing, for instance, instead of burdening his Punjabi students with plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculpture or of aiming at "an intermarriage of the principles of the classic Greek and Indian styles,"⁵⁵—as was the practice at other schools—he encouraged them to develop a design sense more in accord with their own traditions.

The annual report discussing the work done at the school in drawing, painting, and lithography in 1879 clearly states that painting taught for decorative purposes was to revive practices "formerly in vogue."⁵⁶ One such practice was the watercolor technique used by *kamangaran* (the bow makers mentioned by Chishti) and the other gesso work used to produce embossed designs, on plain wood, that would subsequently be painted or gilded. Another point made in the report is that the designs were new and original; hence the objective clearly was not to restrict the students to hereditary practices but rather to teach them tried and true practices in combination with fresh ideas to create new designs. Therefore, when Kipling's students learned to draw, they built on the aesthetics and skills with which they were already familiar—unlike their counterparts at other schools, who had to start from scratch and struggle with clearing away the debris of their existing knowledge.

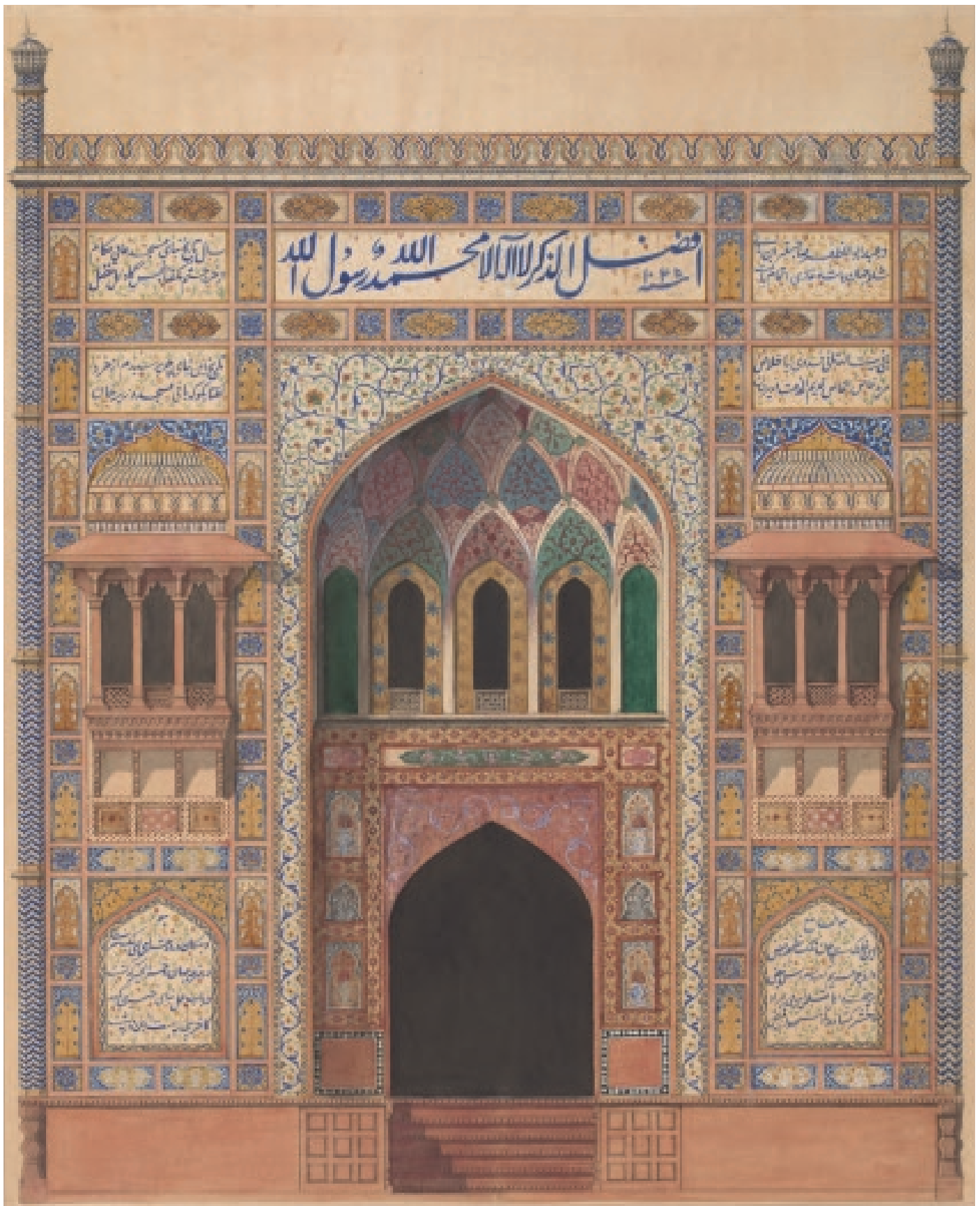


Fig. 16.4. Muhammad Din. Principal entrance to the Mosque of Wazir Khan, ca. 1880. Watercolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2492A-1883. Cat. 125.



Fig. 16.5. Mayo School of Industrial Art student. Quarter-size copy of a fresco panel in the Mosque of Wazir Khan, ca. 1881–82. Watercolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2496–1883. Cat. 127.



Fig. 16.6. Muhammad Din. Copies of fresco decorations in the Mosque of Wazir Khan, ca. 1881–82. Watercolor on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2495–1883, IS.2499–1883. Cats. 128, 129.

It is clear that Kipling designed his courses with the hereditary craftsmen in mind and that he wanted to expand the range of their learning. He aimed to cater to the *mistri*, or the working class, rather than to the boys who, wanting to pursue the career of a draftsman or that of a copyist and tracer in a public office, had a traditional prejudice against manual labor. Another prejudice he wanted to eradicate in his students was their aversion to clay works associated with the *kumhar*, or the potter or brick-maker, whose status was considered very low in the caste system. He wished that intelligent men belonging to higher castes in the Punjab, as in Bombay, could set aside their prejudice against the potter's trade and make "high profits"⁵⁷ from it, as he believed that terra-cotta would be the "chief decorative material of the future architecture of the Province."⁵⁸

The context of the occupational caste system in the Punjab is critical to understanding the logic behind Kipling's objectives and the selection of his subjects. The *mistri* and the *rangrez*, or

the dyer, mentioned by Kipling as his first preference for admission to the Mayo School, were members of the traditional hereditary occupational and caste institutions, who in pre-colonial times showed little tolerance for occupational mobility.

Kipling was most interested in the caste he refers to as the *mistri* caste, which included *Raj*⁵⁹ who were both masons and bricklayers and also connected to the carpenters or *thávis* of the hill states, who were stonemasons as well. The woodworkers called the *tarkhans*, *kháttis* (from *khát*, or wood), or *barbais* belonged to the same caste but were slightly superior to blacksmiths in social position. Another specialized woodworking field included in this category was the *kamángars* and the *tírgars*, or the bow-and-arrow makers.⁶⁰ Mostly residing in large towns and cantonments, they had turned to wood decorating when their ware ceased to be of practical use. In short, a skilled worker belonging to this caste was an all-rounder, with expertise not only in metal and woodwork but also in architecture as

well as decoration, or *naqqashi*. A review of the subjects listed in the core curriculum indicates that Kipling aimed to follow a traditional, holistic training, one that would prepare students for a variety of occupations.⁶¹ He used modern methods to achieve this balance, but at the same time, he provided his hereditary artisan students with training along familiar traditional practices.

To encourage hereditary craftsmen, Kipling ensured not only free tuition but also that promising students received a stipend. To understand the significance of this point, one must realize that, historically, hereditary craftsmen never paid fees for their sons to learn a craft, but instead only gave a token present to the future *ustad*, or master-craftsman teacher, of the young apprentice. And further, as soon as the boy had made some progress, he was granted a small wage, which would increase with his skill and usefulness.⁶² In this way the child started earning his living at a very young age and was not a burden to his family. Kipling's comments in the proposed plan for the Mayo School, part of his earliest correspondence as principal with the Department of Public Instructions of the Punjab and its dependencies, make clear that he changed his initial stance of charging a fee "as a matter of principle" to accommodating the craftsmen of the Punjab in every possible way.⁶³

The extent of Kipling's belief in the role of the *mistri* in reviving the local architectural heritage can be gleaned from Holroyd's 1879–80 *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab*, in which he mentions Kipling's comments after the principal of the Roorkee College of Engineering Major Brandreth's visit to the Mayo School. Upon learning that studies at Roorkee (spelled "Rurki" in the report) were "confined to English engineering, and yet the draughtsmen trained there design[ed] architecture" and that one of them was at the moment designing a palace for one of the Punjab chiefs, Kipling expressed his apprehension to the authorities. He found the local princes' imitations of European art in their buildings a "deplorable error," saying that "nothing is ... more certain than that the architecture of the future in India must be of the indigenous styles." Holroyd further states: "It is, the Principal considers, in the highest degree desirable, that more attention should be paid to the systematic study of Oriental architecture, the source and fountain head of all the Indian Arts ... The surest way of raising the standard of indigenous art is to interest not only the workman, who carries out details, but the architect and draughtsman."⁶⁴

Kipling's concern can be gauged from Holroyd's comment that Kipling planned to treat this subject as a separate proposal but was "so strongly impressed by its importance, that he could not refrain from mentioning it in his report." To address this issue, he convinced the authorities to transfer the engineering class at Oriental College—like Roorkee, a feeder institution for the Public Works Department whose curricula was missing

Indian art and architectural studies—to the Mayo School in 1888 to "supplement each other's deficiencies" and ensure that the "future designers of municipal and other buildings" were trained to appreciate the "feeling for beauty" that he thought distinguished "all purely native buildings."⁶⁵

Clear about his goals and believing "Oriental architecture" to be "the source and fountain head of all the Indian Arts,"⁶⁶ Kipling designed and taught classes in carpentry, clay modeling, decorative painting, and several other subjects, with an overarching aim to improve architectural practices. He believed that the Punjab would soon be in a position to start building "like the rest of India" and wanted to ensure that well-trained craftsmen would be ready to take charge. Architectural projects sponsored by the Government, he believed, would effectively mold the public taste, which was as important as training the builders and decorators. "For it is by the public, after all, that we mainly hope to live," he stated, and "that the public, when it is prosperous, will follow the lead of Government..."⁶⁷

He expected to work toward this goal by giving his students a chance to demonstrate their skills on public projects. This, he thought, would on the one hand give them practical training to complement their theoretic knowledge and, on the other, address the deteriorating "methods of decoration" in current practice, establishing "an example" that "once set would be eagerly followed."⁶⁸ In defense of the student cause, he stated, "Considerations of cost, which are most important, adaptability to use, rapidity of execution, varieties of light and architectural condition, the prime essentials indeed of applied Art, are all lost sight of in the work that is done on the drawing-board in the school room."⁶⁹ Combining the two objectives, he sought Government permission to paint the corridor between the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls in 1877–78.⁷⁰ To emphasize his point, he mentioned that he would have used a wall in the museum, had there been one, for this purpose. Holroyd, in the next year's report, mentions that ten students from the decoration class had worked on the corridor from beginning to end, and had greatly benefited from this exercise.⁷¹

KIPLING'S TEXTBOOKS AND THE MISTRIS' GEOMETRIC PATTERN BOOKS

Whether admitted as sons of hereditary craftsmen or for their talent, Kipling's students came from different religious backgrounds. The beginning of every annual report enumerates the enrolled students as Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, or Christian. This context is important to keep in mind when examining Kipling's efforts to bridge the gap between modern and traditional modes of education. The Science and Art Department in the South Kensington Museum regularly sent Kipling books published in England, which were meant to assist him with imparting tradi-



Fig. 16.7. “Cup and Cover” and “Shield,” from Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, South Kensington Museum, *Illustrated Catalogue of Electrotypes Reproductions of Works of Art: From Originals in the South Kensington Museum*. London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1873, page 34. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

tional knowledge to his Indian students. One such instance is mentioned by Holroyd in his 1880–81 report, under the heading “Presents Received from the Science and Art Department.” The “presents” to which he refers were seventy-seven volumes that included illustrated catalogues, pamphlets, chromolithographs, and etchings related to objects in the South Kensington Museum, along with “forty electro-type examples of ancient Goldsmith’s work [fig. 16.7].”⁷² Instead of encumbering his students with extensive material in a foreign language, Kipling chose the sections most relevant for his purpose and translated them. Therefore, in 1885 one finds him mentioning that the “South Kensington series of Perspective examples is being enlarged, and their instructions translated into vernacular, or at least into that curious mixed language, which seems to be the only resort for technical instruction.”⁷³ In the next year’s annual report, he mentions that Sher Muhammad, assistant teacher, successfully taught geometry to twenty students using E. S. Burchett’s

Practical Geometry (1876), the South Kensington textbook.⁷⁴ He appreciates the fact that demonstrations for this course were given in the vernacular and found Sher Muhammad’s use of vernacular geometrical terms for explaining the ones in English to be interesting. He noticed that some Urdu terms needed Arabic words for explanation and that his Sikh students instead preferred “a smattering of English technical terms.” Kipling remarks that these diverse needs gave him reason to prepare “an elementary lesson book of geometry suitable to artizans [that] would be somewhat piebald in its language, and useful in proportion to the number of English words introduced.”⁷⁵

What were the possible reasons behind Kipling’s choice of a “piebald” language as opposed to a simple translation of these books into Urdu, the language officially recognized for educational and official purposes by the Board of Administration in the Punjab since 1854?⁷⁶ Leitner commented on the unsuitability of Urdu (“in which Persian and Arabic words abound”) for textbooks in the Punjab, arguing that it would be unintelligible for most of the Punjabi population. Moreover, Kipling’s comment that his Sikh students preferred “smattering” English terms to Urdu or Arabic presents yet another angle for investigation. The Ludhiana Mission Press, the region’s first Christian missionary printing press, set up in 1836, played an important role in assigning religious and political undertones to vernaculars. It was secluded from the Sikh-ruled larger part of the Punjab at the time of its inception, but its field of action covered the entire Punjab after annexation in 1849. By associating languages and scripts with particular religious communities—Punjabi-Gurmukhi-Sikh, Hindi-Devnagari-Hindu, and Urdu-Indo-Persian-Muslim—the press introduced a language bias hitherto unknown to the Punjabis.⁷⁷ Hence, there are strong reasons to believe that Kipling’s “piebald” method was effective in nullifying the bias that threatened to alienate his students from each other and to sever them from their shared history and heritage.

His efforts become even more commendable when one takes into consideration the multiple challenges facing Indian students in the nineteenth century, most particularly their struggle to learn English. Syed Ahmad Khan, author, activist, educationalist, and founder of Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (today Aligarh Muslim University), and other members of the British Indian Association, North-Western Provinces, submitted a memorandum on August 1, 1867, to the governor-general-in-council of India, drawing his attention to the difficulties of educating the masses in “English alone.”⁷⁸ The members implored the Government to allow Indian universities the possibility “of adopt[ing] a vernacular language as a medium better suited than a strange tongue for the general diffusion of knowledge... while maintaining and promoting English education.”⁷⁹

It is in this context that Kipling set himself the task of translating educational material and mixing languages for textbooks, an approach that addressed the complex situation in which students coming from a variety of backgrounds, belonging to different religions, and speaking more than one vernacular were brought together.

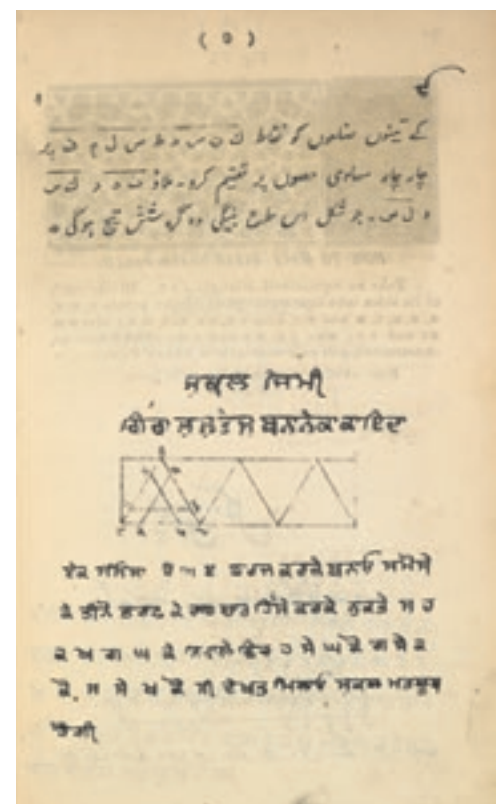
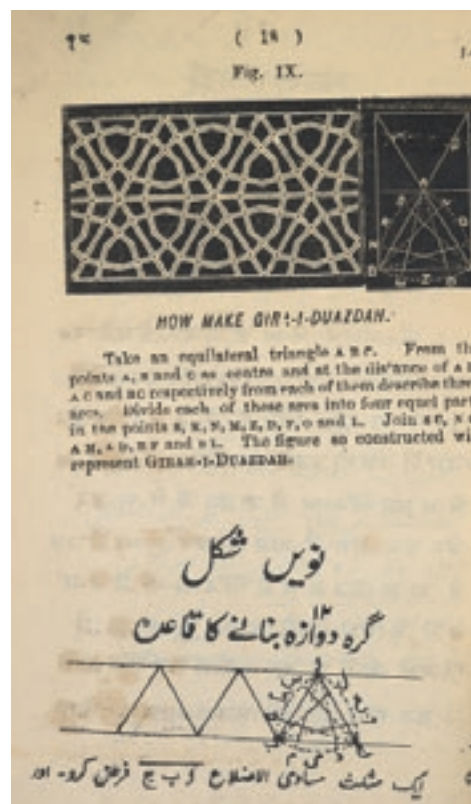
Kipling mentions several textbooks on which he worked but, unfortunately, none of them have thus far come to light.⁸⁰ One of his references is to “a set of elementary free-hand drawing examples, drawn to a large scale and especially suited for an Indian drawing school.”⁸¹ Then there was the first in a series of elementary freehand-drawing books, ready to be lithographed in 1885, which contained sixteen examples of conventional Indian flower forms in outline.⁸² Another was an enlargement of a series of perspective examples from South Kensington that was to be “translated into that curious mixed language, which seems to be the only resort for technical instruction.”⁸³ There is likewise no trace of the textbook Kipling was inspired to design in “piebald” language to explain Burchett’s *Practical Geometry*, which he had seen Sher Muhammad teach. But examples exist of the Urdu readers illustrated by Kipling in around 1877 (see figs. 13.3, 13.4), and there is also a small book on geometry, published in Lahore in 1893, the year that Kipling retired and went back to England, which can help readers to visualize what Kipling’s books on geometry must have looked like.

Written by the Sikh wood engraver and carpenter J. Kishen Singh (in English; Kishen Singh Jandu in Urdu),⁸⁴ this book is entitled *Geometrical Patterns with Their Descriptions in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi*.⁸⁵ Each page includes a finished geometric pattern in white, set against a black background, with English text beneath it, and a working drawing in black outline, with Urdu and Gurmukhi text above and below it. The formation of sentences, the clarity of expression, and the detailed geometric patterns all reflect a high level of competence (figs. 16.8, 16.9). The “Notice” that serves as the preface to the book appears on the Urdu and Gurmukhi side as “*Ittela*” (Information). The Urdu text contains a passage missing in its English counterpart: “The expertise of *girah* [geometric patterns in wood carving] lay with the few old masters who would not teach except to very few of their favored students, and the situation prevails without much change; firstly there is a scarcity of men who are familiar with this craft and secondly, they do not readily teach it, hence, I have collected the best patterns and have laid down the technique in such simple and clear language that even a child can follow with the help of an *ustād* [teacher].”⁸⁶ It is signed “Banda [Your Servant] Kishen Singh” and dated “August 23, 1893.”

In its grammatical errors and misspellings, the English-language “Notice” is a far cry from the text inside the book, which flawlessly explains complicated geometric patterns in English:

RIGHT: Fig. 16.8. J. Kishen Singh. *Geometrical Patterns with Their Descriptions in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi*. Lahore: Oriental Press, 1893, fig. 18. © The British Library Board, Asia, Pacific & Africa 14117.a.33.

FAR RIGHT: Fig. 16.9. J. Kishen Singh. *Geometrical Patterns with Their Descriptions in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi*. Lahore: Oriental Press, 1893, fig. 9. © The British Library Board, Asia, Pacific & Africa 14117.a.33.



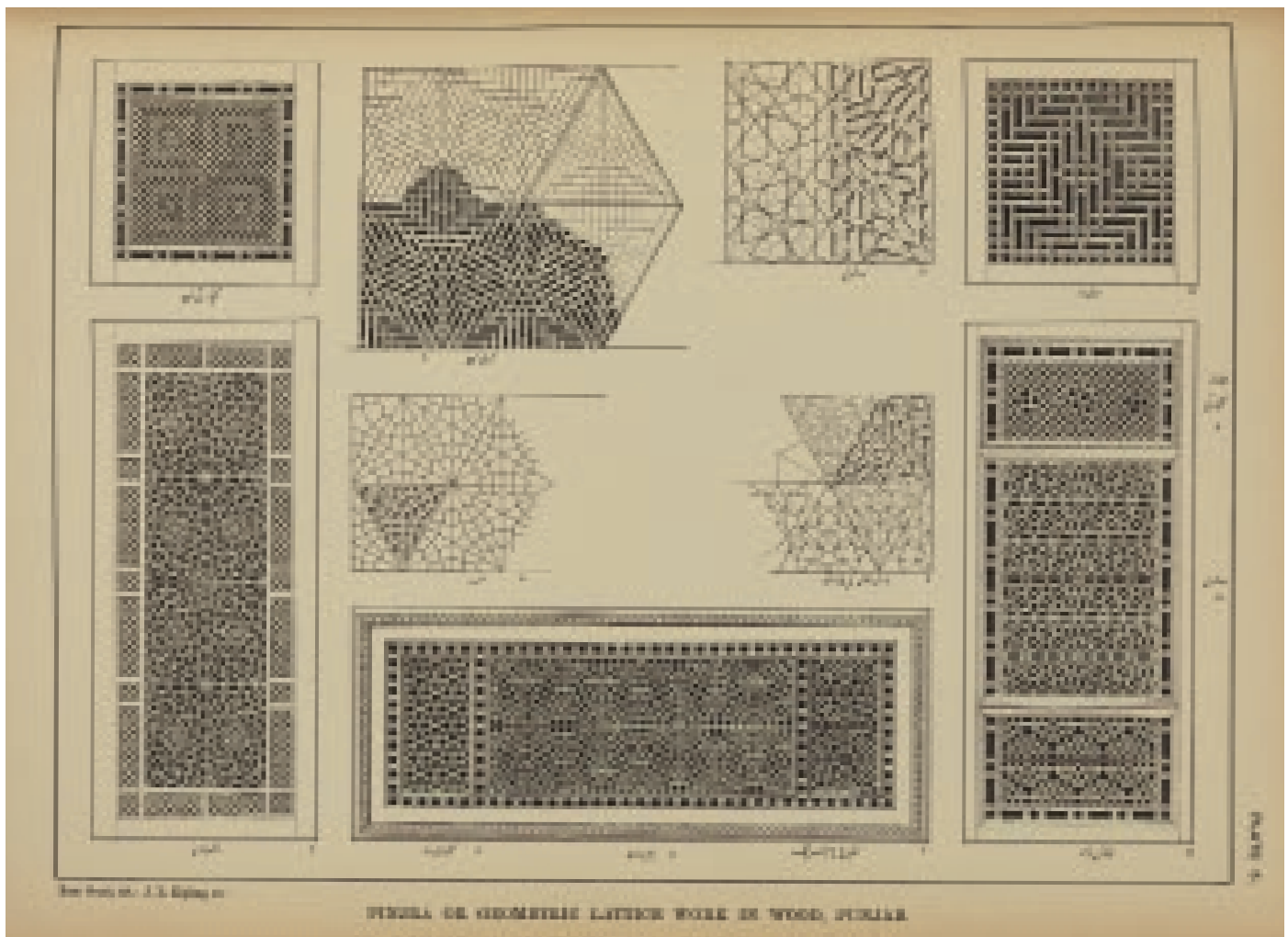


Fig. 16.10. [Bhai] Ram Singh and John Lockwood Kipling. "Pinjra or Geometric Lattice Work in Wood, Punjab," from "Punjab Wood-Carving," *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 4 (October 1886): plate 5. Bard Graduate Center, New York.



Fig. 16.11. Sher Muhammad and John Lockwood Kipling. "Old Door, Lahore City. Detail of Ornament over Door," from "Punjab Wood-Carving," *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 4 (October 1886): plate 3. Bard Graduate Center, New York.

The sole object of the Author [*sic*] in publishing this Book to benefit his countrymen by laying before them those rules of Lattis [*sic*] work in such simple and easy language as would be intelligible to every person having some knowledge of English, Urdu or Gurmukhi. No one before this had ever attempted to publish such rules or geometric Patterns and those who were fond of learning had to spend a good deal of money and also much time in order to acquire some ability in drawing such figures. The Author earnestly hopes that the public in general and persons taking great interest in this art in special will value this work and encourage him in bringing out the other five parts of this book in a very short time. Kishen Singh, Wood Engraver and Carpenter [*sic*], Anarkali. Lahore.



Fig. 16.12. Panel made in Chiniot, Punjab (today Pakistan), ca. 1881–82. Shisham wood. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2370-1883. Cat. 181.

The book was probably inspired by Kipling's article "Punjab Wood-Carving," published in the *Journal of Indian Art* (figs. 16.10–12).⁸⁷ The thirteen patterns shown in plate 5 of this article, for example, are similarly executed with vernacular titles explained in English in the text: *Hasht-Panchak* ("for eight and five"), *Bara-Tool* ("an oblong of twelve"), *Deh-Túl* ("an oblong of

ten"), or *Shash-Tota* ("a pattern of six pieces"). Kipling's use of the vernacular names for geometric patterns is indicative of his readiness to incorporate as much of traditional practices and vocabulary into his pedagogy as was possible and further evidence that his teaching methods were formulated along traditional lines. His use of English books was thus not an attempt to



Fig. 16.13. Ghulam Rasul, possibly after Mayo School of Industrial Art designs. Koftgari-work salver made in Gujrat, Punjab (today Pakistan), ca. 1881-82. Steel, damascened in gold and silver. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2060-1883. Cat. 132.

replace the local knowledge system but rather to supplement it with advanced techniques of the trade. One example of this is the inclusion of Burchett's *Practical Geometry*, together with the traditional geometry and titles with which his students and artisans were familiar. He realized that his students belonging to the carpenter class had a "rule of thumb knowledge of Geometry," but that due to insufficient understanding and practice, it usually failed where it began "to be useful."⁸⁸ Kipling's reference to Sher Muhammad's use of vernacular terms in this report and his own interest in using the same for a book that he was preparing to cater to "learners at home and in other schools" clearly indicate that instead of trying to replace the traditional knowledge systems with the modern ones, his efforts were geared toward integrating one into the other with a vision to build on existing foundations.⁸⁹

By 1929 there was a flood of such books, whose authors claimed to be hereditary craftsmen, shedding the "secretive master' syndrome"⁹⁰ and declaring their endeavors to share unique and absolutely rare knowledge with the public. Laden with nationalist sentiments, the prefaces to these manuals recall the brilliant past, express a firm belief in the revival of the fading crafts described, and extend an invitation to every reader, irrespective of his caste or creed, to benefit from the particular book's instructions.⁹¹

Some of these manuals survive in private collections in Lahore and Amritsar.⁹² Although by different authors and published in different cities by a variety of printing presses, they share elements that bear a debt to Kipling's didactic approach. Kipling, in his inclusion of multiple vernaculars—his "piebald" texts—sought to help his artisan students understand instructions in

English, the language he desperately wanted them to learn in order to be able to compete for better opportunities. The surviving manuals likewise combine all three vernaculars—Gurmukhi, Urdu, and Sanskrit—with some English terminology or, in some cases, combine Urdu and Gurmukhi with English. But it is not only in their “piebald” language that these instruction manuals echo Kipling’s didactic approach. They also share similar layouts, designs, and titles that reflect Kipling’s systematic instructions, which include finished diagrams, whose connecting points are labeled with letters of the alphabet,⁹³ and a precise rendition of each pattern in what appear to be white etched lines on a black background, as in plate 5 of Kipling’s article.

KIPLING’S VISION AND SUCCESS ACCLAIMED

It did not take long for Kipling to establish the Mayo School’s reputation as a center for the advancement of Indian art and craft practices and his own repute as its spearhead, whose coaching was available to any craftsman in the province in need of his advice. Holroyd’s comments attest to this when he noted, “The Principal makes it a point, when consulted by any workman, to aid him with suggestions and sketches, and to show him examples, just as freely as if he were a regular student of the school.”⁹⁴ Kipling himself was glad to state that “the school continues to be recognized as a sort of authority by workmen in the bazaar, who frequently refer to us for advice and assistance.”⁹⁵ Within six years of the school’s establishment, designs prepared there were supplied to a *kofigar*⁹⁶ at Gujrat (fig. 16.13) and a Bombay supplier for a silver vase made at Cutch, carpet designs were sent to Qasur and Hoshiarpur Industrial Schools, sketches for ivory and wood inlay to Hoshiarpur (fig. 16.14), and suggestions and designs for lacework to the women’s industrial school in Delhi.⁹⁷ Kipling acknowledged that his students benefited from his interaction with the craftsmen outside the school as it brought them into contact with the best workmen and methods, giving “that practical turn to our work which is so easily missed in theoretic teaching.”⁹⁸ Although focused on bridging the gaps between theory and practice, he never allowed his school to be run like a factory in which the students were constantly engaged in working on outside demands.⁹⁹ Frustrated with the load of outside work, he complained in the 1883–84 report that the school was more of “an atelier” and “less of a school,” calling this a “cardinal fault,” but expressed hope that in time the issue would be resolved.¹⁰⁰ He reiterated his dissatisfaction again in the 1886–87 report, saying, “A school of Art cannot well be conducted on the factory or jail system . . . So our earnings, as a school, must and ought to be limited.”¹⁰¹ Projects were chosen for the scope of the learning they provided and not for the money they generated for the school. One such example, cited in the annual reports, is the drawings and models prepared, free of cost, for the artisans of

Hoshiarpur and Kotli Loharan and the architectural details made for the Public Works Department, as “the work was good practice for students.”¹⁰² Clear proof of the triumph of Kipling’s vision for designing suitable courses, his effective teaching methods, and his advice to craftsmen who approached him can be gathered from the yearly assessment reports published by the Education Department. The reporting officers acknowledged and praised Kipling for the influence the school was gradually spreading in various directions, primarily as it was countering “the tendency so often deplored, to debase Oriental Art by the introduction of inferior designs of European origin.”¹⁰³

KIPLING’S LEGACY

In the 1897–98 to 1901–02 five-year report, Robert Nathan, the undersecretary to the Government of India Home Department, discussed the art schools at the very end of a chapter entitled “Professional and Technical Education.”¹⁰⁴ Nathan criticized the Calcutta School of Art for promoting the kind of “art education” found in England rather than following the Government objective of reviving the traditional crafts. In his opinion, the



Fig. 16.14. Octagonal table made in Hoshiarpur, Punjab (today India), ca. 1881–82. Shisham wood, inlaid with ivory and ebony. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2376-1883. Cat. 194.

school lacked a manufacturing or industrial side and the study of design had been ignored. In 1896 this “defective” system was addressed by a reorganization that developed two distinct streams of instruction: division one offered courses to artisans, to technical art teachers, to designers for art industries, and in drawing; division two offered drawing, painting, and modeling courses to students opting for careers as painters or sculptors.¹⁰⁵

A comparison of the list of courses taught at the Mayo School from day one with those introduced after 1896 at the Calcutta School underscores Kipling’s influence. Moreover, Nathan’s evaluation of the Mayo School, by citing its mission statement, offers further proof of the effectiveness and success of Kipling’s pedagogic principles: “The object of the school is to give instruction in the arts of design with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to the Punjab, and to the architectural and decorative styles peculiar to the province.”¹⁰⁶ This and subsequent reports are proof of both Kipling’s success in running the Mayo School and the fact that he instituted practices that allowed the school to function smoothly long after his departure.

At the same time Nathan’s comments in this report show that the general ambivalence in the Education Department regarding how to manage the art schools would gradually affect the Mayo School, too. After listing the courses, Nathan mentions that the policy of passing all courses was being revised and that, in future, students would be given the option of choosing their subjects. He states that the majority of students belonged to the artisan and trading classes, but in his opinion, the chosen occupations of most of the recently passed twenty-eight students—drawing and carpentry masters, draftsmen, lithographers, a litho-draftsman, a sub-overseer, a surveyor, and a label-writer in the Lahore Central Museum—were “a failing of the school.” He did not recognize Kipling’s vision of an all-round training for the Punjab craftsmen, in the style of a traditional *mistri*, or their “widespread facility,” which Kipling so admired, and so did not see their connection to local crafts.

The next five-year report, for 1902–07, again confirms that Kipling’s vision was still the guiding principle for the school as it devotes lengthy paragraphs to the other three schools, but addresses barely four lines to the Mayo School’s performance: “The Lahore School of Art has been very briefly noticed in the provincial report. The number of its students, now 301, remained practically the same throughout the quinquennium. It is more fully developed on the industrial than on the artistic side, and turns out students suitable for employment as draftsmen, drawing masters, carpentry teachers, decorators, modelers and metal workers.”¹⁰⁷

Another important source in this case is the brief history of the Mayo School given in the *Directory of Technical Institutions in India* (1909). Percy Brown was the principal of the Mayo School



Fig. 16.15. Sami Ullah Mughal, fourth generation lacquer artist, and his son, from Dera Ismail Khan, Pakistan, 2016.

at the time of its compilation and publication, having succeeded F. H. Andrews, who had followed Kipling in 1893 and then resigned in 1897. The following statement speaks strongly of the role Kipling had played in the school’s formulation and the thirty years that followed: “The arrangement of classes now in vogue in the school is practically the same as that at first inaugurated by Mr. Kipling, although the enormous increase in the number of students and the extended sphere of work in the present day have led to certain modifications in the curriculum.”¹⁰⁸

Today Kipling is remembered in his official capacities as curator of the Lahore Central Museum and principal of the Mayo School. In 1958 the school was renamed the National College of Arts, and the Lahore Central Museum, whose temporary quarters Kipling maintained with great difficulty, is now known as the Lahore City Heritage Museum, where temporary exhibitions of arts and crafts are regularly hosted.¹⁰⁹ Kipling left Lahore in 1893, having placed Punjabi crafts on the world map and opening international markets for Punjabi craftsmen. The remaining gates of Lahore’s Walled City, which Kipling reopened for the hereditary craftsmen in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, are still host to thriving *karkhanay*, or workshops (fig. 16.15). Fleming Road, at the western end of Shah Alam Gate, and Ichra, are centers for wood carving and furniture; Mori and Bhati Gates for metalcraft; and Shahdara near Lahore for marble works, to name just a few.¹¹⁰ Kipling’s statement that “the school has undoubtedly been the means of creating and fostering an appreciation of Indian art, which is spreading, and will continue to spread,”¹¹¹ carries all the conviction and confidence he brought to Lahore to reinvigorate the Punjabi crafts and re-energize the hereditary craftsmen.

NOTES

Archival materials held in the British Library, London, can be identified by the abbreviation “BL”; “IOR” stands for India Office Records.

1. Punjab was divided at the time of India's Partition in 1947, east and west, between India and Pakistan respectively, but Lahore has enjoyed its status as the capital of this province continuously since Mughal times. The capital of the Indian state of Punjab is located in Chandigarh.

2. See the *Ain-e Akbari* [Institutes of Akbar], a sixteenth-century record of the administration of the territories of Emperor Akbar, written by his vizier: *The Ain I Akbari by Abul Fazl 'Allami*, trans. H. Blochman (Calcutta: Printed for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873), 1:87–88: “The imperial workshops in the towns of Láhór, Ágrah, Fathpúr, Ahmadábád, Gujráat turn out many master-pieces of workmanship ...”; 1:92: “His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Láhór also there are more than a thousand workshops.”; 1:55: “His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; ... All kinds of carpet weavers have settled here, ... especially in Ágrah, Fathpúr, and Láhór.”

3. Regarding the variation of the Mayo School's name in the British official correspondence, see Nadeem Omar Tarar, “From ‘Primitive’ Artisans to ‘Modern’ Craftsmen: Colonialism, Culture, and Art Education in the Late Nineteenth-Century Punjab,” *South Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (September 2011): 204. For Kipling's simultaneous role as the curator of the Lahore Central Museum, see chapter 8 in this volume.

4. Jonathan Gil Harris, *The First Firangis: Remarkable Stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans & Other Foreigners Who Became Indian* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2015), 29.

5. For more on *kinari* (gold or silver edging, border, trimming, or lace) and the *kinari-bafs*, see Noor Ahmad Chishtī, *Yādgār-e Chishtī* [Chishtī's Memories] (1854; Lahore: Majlis-e Taraqqi-e Adab, 1975), 135. Title translation from Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

6. A *lungi* is loose fabric that is still worn around the waist by both genders in villages.

7. Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective (1849–1947)* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1996), 36.

8. According to Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qureshi Lahori, in *Tarikh-e Makhzan-e Punjab: Punjab ka Qadeem Encyclopaedia* [History of the Treasures of Punjab: Ancient Encyclopedia of the Punjab (title translation by author)] (1877; Lahore: Aman Publications, 2010), in the nineteenth century, Kashmir, Lahore, Amritsar, and Nurgpur all had workshops that manufactured pashmina for export to far-off lands. The fine quality of Kashmiri pashmina was incomparable; although production in Lahore and Amritsar was also the work of the

Kashmiri craftsmen, climatic conditions there caused differences in terms of fineness and color (see p. 577). Lahori also mentions hundreds of factories producing cotton and silk fabrics in Lahore, Amritsar, and Multan (see p. 579).

9. Qadir Yar's *Seh-Harfi* (verse form used in his epic poem eulogizing Ranjit Singh) given in Bhola Nath's *Tarikh Shehr Lahore* [History of the Lahore City] (1933; Lahore: Graph Publishers, 1998), 158, is an excellent source of information on contemporary material culture, especially his description of the jewel-studded saddles, awnings, and tents woven with gold thread and decorated with pearl tassels, and the exquisite costumes of Ranjit Singh's courtiers.

10. Chishtī, *Yādgār-e Chishtī*; Noor Ahmad Chishtī, *Tehqiqat-e Chishtī: Tarikh-e Lahore ka Encyclopedia* [Chishtī's Inquiries: An Encyclopedia of Lahore's History (title translation from Mir, *The Social Space of Language*)] (1867; Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashran, 2006); Lahori, *Tarikh-e Makhzan-e Punjab*; Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-e Lahore* [History of Lahore (title translation by author)], (1884; Lahore: Book Talk, 2006).

11. Government of the Punjab, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883–84*, ed. Denzil Ibbetson (1884; Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications, 1989), 192–93.

12. Lahori, *Tarikh-e Makhzan-e Punjab*, 579.

13. Ibid., 161. See also Kanhaiya Lal who on the one hand admires the ability of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, and builders to follow *vilayati* designs (a term generally used for designs from overseas and here referring specifically to English or European designs) and on the other bemoans the decline in use of local fabrics such as *gulbadan* and *darai*, once great favorites, due to exports from *vilayat* (overseas) and Bukhara. See Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-e Lahore*, 45.

14. G. W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab since Annexation and in 1882* (1883; Patiala: Language Department, 1971), 145.

15. Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1922–1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 182.

16. Cecil L. Burns, “The Functions of Schools of Art in India,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 57, no. 2952 (June 18, 1909): 632.

17. Established in 1866 by Maharaja Ram Singh II to cultivate local art traditions unlike the three British art schools (Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay), where the main focus was on drawing—a Western skill. For more details, see G. H. R. Tillotson, *Jaipur Nama: Tales from the Pink City* (Jaipur and New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 139. For more on the importance given to drawing as a teaching and “colonizing tool” in Indian art schools, see Ami Kantawala, “Art Education in Colonial India: Implementation and Imposition,” *Studies in Art Education* 53, no. 3 (2012): 208–22.

18. Thomas Holbein Hendley, in “Discussion,” in response to Burns, “The Functions of Schools of Art in India,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 57, no. 2952 (June 18, 1909): 649.

19. Burns, “The Functions of Schools of Art in India,” 631.

20. Baden Henry Baden Powell, *Hand-book of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, vol. 2, *Hand-book of the Manufactures & Arts of the Punjab, with a Combined Glossary & Index of Vernacular Trades & Technical Terms*. . . (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1872), xv, xxi.

21. For a detailed discussion of contradictory discourse in the official circles, see Tarar, “From ‘Primitive’ Artisans to ‘Modern’ Craftsmen.”

22. Hendley, in “Discussion,” 649.

23. Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50.

24. Ibid., 43–50.

25. C. Pearson, *Report on Popular Education in the Panjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1872–73* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1873), 54, IOR/V/24/932, BL.

26. W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1874–75* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1876), 70, IOR/V/24/932, BL.

27. As discussed by Arindam Dutta in *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2006), and Hussain Ahmad Khan in *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), Kipling was not untouched by the British paradoxical attitude toward Indian art and craft education. Since Kipling's personal “initiative” and “innovation” far outweigh his “systematic” duties (borrowing Dutta's vocabulary), this chapter highlights the former.

28. *Catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures Held at Lahore 1881–82* (Lahore: 1882). The catalogue's title page (see fig. 9.39), designed by Sher Muhammad, features interesting symbols, including elements of a British coat of arms flanked by two male figures, one a Sikh and the other a Muslim, each holding a sword as a staff. The shield in the center has five waves representing the Punjab—or the land of five rivers (“Punjab” literally means “five waters”)—with a band at its base across which is a Latin inscription that translates “Grows Out of the River.” The sun rising in the upper section of the shield, behind the waves, and the sheaves of wheat and corn at the feet of the two men allude to the fertility of the land but also appear to elevate them to a position above their agricultural occupations. The objects on each side, like the arched screen, a hammer and chisel on the left and a metal jug and glass, placed on a table on the right, are symbolic invitations to the two prominent religious groups in the Punjab to participate in industrial progress but at the same time to guard their traditional practices.

29. *Report on the Punjab Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, 1881–82* (Lahore: Punjab Government Secretariat Press, 1883), in a volume titled *Punjab Exhibition 1881–82. Report & Awards of*

Juries with Photographs of Selected Exhibits (Lahore: n.p., 1883), A.47.5, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The very first paragraph of this report gives the following information: "The Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor has had under consideration a proposal made by Mr. J. L. Kipling, Principal of the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore, for holding an Exhibition of some of the Arts and Manufactures of the Punjab at Lahore during the last week of 1881." The two objectives listed hereafter are to compare the progress made in improving the quality of local Indian industry since the Punjab Exhibition of Arts and Industry of 1864 and "to encourage further effort in the Punjab in the direction of genuine Native work of original Oriental design."

30. *Catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures Held at Lahore, 1881-82*, 165-72.

31. *Ibid.*, 168.

32. [Thomas Henry Thornton and John Lockwood Kipling], *Lahore* (Lahore: The Punjab Government Press, 1876), 157-58.

33. J. L. Kipling, "Punjab Wood-Carving," *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 4 (October 1884): 1.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Report on the Punjab Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, 1881-82*, 11.

36. Pandit Daya Rām is known for his *Shiv Puran*, a Shaivite sacred text with illustrations, now in the Central Library Patiala's collection. For more details, see R. P. Srivastava, *Punjab Painting: Study in Art and Culture* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1983), 34. *Gulgash-i Panjab*, an illustrated manuscript dealing with the general history of Punjab from 1469 to 1849 is attributed to his son Tota Rām, but the date of this manuscript is not clear. According to Jean-Marie Lafont, "It is sometimes dated 1849 and sometimes 1860 A.D." See Jean-Marie Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Lord of the Five Rivers* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 159. Through Srivastava's account, we learn that Tota Rām's paintings of Hindu mythological characters, including *Vamanavatar*, *Narasimhavatar*, *Sita in Captivity in Asok Vatika*, *Varahavatar*, and *Great Battle of Kurukshetra*, were purchased by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the late nineteenth century (see Srivastava, *Punjab Painting*, 27-34 and plates 39-43).

37. *Report on the Punjab Exhibition of Arts & Manufactures, 1881-82*, 11.

38. *Ibid.*, 88. The jurors for the Class XI.—Design were General C. Pollard, R.E.; Mr. Kirby; Colonel W. G. Davies, C.S.I.; Mrs. Steel; Mr. J. B. Lyall; Sardar Bhagwan Singh; and Mr. B. H. Baden Powell. Reverend Tribe was not a juror for Class XI but served on the Class III, IV, V.—Silk, Patoli Work and Embroidery, and Class X.—Wood-Work juries committees.

39. Baden Powell, *Hand-book of the Manufactures & Arts of the Punjab*, 342-44.

40. *Ibid.*, xxi.

41. *Ibid.*, 343.

42. "Papers Relating to Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions from 1893-96," in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department* no. 356, Home Department Serial no. 23 (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1898), IOR/V/23/73, no. 356, BL. Quoted in Mahrugh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India," *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 61.

43. To learn more about Baden Powell's views on Indian art and reformatory role of British art education, see Tahir Kamran, "Lockwood Kipling's Role and the Establishment of the Mayo School of Art (1875-1898)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, no. 3 (July 2016): 5.

44. H. H. Locke, "Memorandum by H. H. Locke, Esquire," dated 23 July 1873, in "Industrial School of Art and Design at Lahore," *Punjab Proceedings* (January 1875), 17, IOR/P/139, BL. Reprinted in Samina Choonara and Nadeem Omar Tarar, eds., Appendix 2 in "Official" *Chronicle of Mayo School of Art: Formative Years Under J. L. Kipling (1874-94)* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003), 152.

45. For more details, see volume 1 of R. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), IOR/V/24/4430, BL.

46. J. L. Kipling, "Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884-85," Appendix F in Denzil Ibbetson, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1884-85* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1885), xix-xxiii, IOR/V/24/934, BL.

47. J. L. Kipling, "Punjab Wood-Carving," 3.

48. J. L. Kipling, "Indian Architecture of To-Day," *Journal of Indian Art* 1, no. 3 (July 1884): 2.

49. J. L. Kipling, "Report of the Principal, School of Art, Lahore, for 1882-83," Appendix A in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on the State of Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1882-83* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1883), iv, IOR/V/24/934, BL.

50. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, quoted in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1875-76* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1877), 73, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

51. Sher Muhammad rose to become Kipling's assistant teacher and then vice-principal of the Mayo School.

52. J. L. Kipling, "Report of the Principal, School of Art, Lahore, for 1882-83," iv.

53. W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1879-80* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1880), 73, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

54. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, quoted in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1876-77* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1878), 75-78, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

55. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *The Bombay Revival of Indian Art: A Descriptive Account of the Indian Room Constructed and Decorated by the Staff and Students of the School of Art* (Bombay: W. E. G. Solomon, 1924), 132.

56. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1879-80*, 73.

57. J. L. Kipling, "Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884-85," xxi.

58. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1879-80*, 73.

59. *Raj* is the title given by the guilds of bricklayers and masons to their headmen; the corresponding Persian word is *Mimār*. For more details, see Sir Denzil Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (1916; Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1974), 314.

60. As mentioned earlier (see p. 469), the Walled City of Lahore still has residential quarters named after the craftsmen who once resided there, including artists, bow-and-arrow makers, metallic-lace makers, and others.

61. J. L. Kipling, "Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884-85," xxii.

62. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02*, 1: 286.

63. J. L. Kipling, "Memorandum by J. Lockwood Kipling, Esquire, Bombay," in "Industrial School of Art and Design at Lahore," *Punjab Proceedings* (January 1875), 17, IOR/P/139, BL. Reprinted as "Appendix 2: Proposed Plan for the Organisation of Mayo School of Art by J. L. Kipling, Esquire (1875)," in "Official" *Chronicle of Mayo School of Art*, eds. Choonara and Tarar, 158.

64. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1879-80*, 74.

65. J. L. Kipling, "Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1883-84," Appendix D in Denzil Ibbetson, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1883-84* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1884), xiii, IOR/V/24/934, BL.

66. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1879-80*, 74.

67. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, quoted in Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1876-77*, 77.

68. He observed, "It is in such matters as the preparation of wall surfaces for decoration, the proper mixing of colours, the use of different vehicles for tempera and oil painting, that the native workman is most deficient." Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, quoted in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1877-78* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1879), 80, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.* The two halls stand next to each other in the Lawrence Gardens, Mall Road, Lahore.

Lawrence Hall was built in 1861–62 as a memorial to Sir John Lawrence and chiefly served as an assembly room for public meetings and theatrical entertainments. Montgomery Hall was erected in 1866 in honor of Sir Robert Montgomery and was used for grand balls and durbars. For more details, see Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, with an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, Customs, &c.* (1892; Lahore: Mercantile Guardian Press, 1957), 309–10.

71. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, quoted in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1878–79* (Lahore: W. Ball, 1880), 73–74, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

72. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1880–81* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882), 54, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

73. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884–85,” xix.

74. Kipling engaged his best students as assistant teachers, and the two most prominent among these were Sher Muhammad and Bhai Ram Singh, both of whom rose to become vice-principals of the Mayo School; Ram Singh went on to serve as principal (1909–13). The former belonged to a family of *lohars*, or iron-smiths, and the latter to the Ramgarhia *misl*, “a distinct group in the Sikh community consisting mainly of carpenters. . . .” For more on Ramgarhia, see H. S. Singha, *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism* (New Delhi: Hemkunt Publishers, 2000), 171. See also J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1885–86,” Appendix F in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1885–86* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1886), xv, IOR/V/24/934, BL.

75. Ibid.

76. Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language*, 41.

77. Ibid., 84.

78. B. S. Goel and S. K. Saini, *Mother Tongue and Equality of Opportunity in Education* (Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1972), 19. Quoted from J. P. Naik, ed., *Selections from Educational Records*, vol. 2, *Development of University Education, 1860–87* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India for the National Archives of India, 1963), 21–28.

79. Naik, ed., *Selections from Educational Records*, vol. 2, *Development of University Education, 1860–87*, 25.

80. It appears that these books were lithographed only to be used in the school as no copies have been found in libraries in Lahore. The revised edition of the *Alphabetical Catalogue of the Punjab Public Library* (Lahore: Victoria Press, 1894), lists Kipling's *Beast and Man in India* (London, 1891) and *Lahore* (Lahore, 1876), which was coauthored

by Thornton, but none of the books he mentions in his annual reports.

81. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884–85,” xix.

82. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1885–86,” xv.

83. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884–85,” xix. The catalogue of the National College of Arts Archives lists Henry James Dennis's *Elementary (Second Grade) Perspective: Theory and Practice*, first published in 1878 in London, but the British Library catalogue lists another book by the same author, *Third Grade Perspective: Theory and Practice*, published in 1877. The *Second Grade*, which includes twelve plates as well as woodcuts, was especially designed for art students while the *Third Grade* focused on “Angular and Oblique Perspective, Shadows and Reflection”; Kipling may have used both. See *A List of Books and Pamphlets in the National Art Library, South Kensington Museum on Drawing, Geometry and Perspective* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), 76. Other books on this topic published in London in 1884 include E. F. C. Clarke's *Handbook of Perspective* and G. S. Clarke's *Perspective Explained*.

84. Resident of Koocha Phala Nanak, Bazar Lohari Mandi, Lahore.

85. J. Kishen Singh, *Geometrical Patterns with Their Descriptions in English, Urdu and Gurmukhi* (Lahore: Oriental Press, 1893). I am grateful to Mehnil Zia for sending me images of the book and to my students Syed Zia Husain and Syed Khurram Farrukh at LUMS for tracing old publications for me. Reference to this publication can also be found in Vibhuti Sachdev, “In a Maze of Lines: The Theory of Design of *Jaalis*,” *South Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (2003): 141–55.

86. Translation by the author.

87. J. L. Kipling, “Punjab Wood-Carving,” 3, plate 5.

88. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1885–86,” xv.

89. Ibid.

90. Tirthankar Roy, “Out of Tradition: Master Artisans and Economic Change in Colonial India,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 4 (November 2007): 987.

91. These are very similar to the sentiments expressed by writers of *Budhiprakash*, a journal published in Gujrat, and other publications in the Bombay Presidency during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, discussed in detail by Abigail McGowan in “Demanding Knowledge, Documenting the Body,” in *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

92. I am grateful to Professor Dr. Abdul-Rehman in Lahore and Sandeep Singh in Amritsar for allowing me to study the manuals in their collections.

93. As in E. S. Burchett, *Practical Geometry* (London; Glasgow: William Collins, Sons and Co., 1876).

94. W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the*

Year 1880–81 (Lahore: W. Ball, 1881), 52, IOR/V/24/933, BL.

95. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1881–82,” Appendix A, in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report on the State of Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1881–82* (Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882), iii, IOR/V/24/934, BL.

96. Duncan Forbes translates this as “inlayer” in his *A Dictionary, Hindustani & English: Accompanied by a Reversed Dictionary, English and Hindustani*, 2nd ed. (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1858), 151.

97. Extracts and paraphrases of a report by J. L. Kipling, in Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the year 1880–81*, 51–52.

98. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, for 1884–85,” xix.

99. See Robert Nathan's comments for the Madras School where the industrial department had “little special connection with decorative art” in Nathan, *Progress of Education in India 1897–98 to 1901–02*, 1:282.

100. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1883–84,” x.

101. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1886–87,” Appendix F in W. R. M. Holroyd, *Report Public Instruction in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1886–87* (Lahore: W. E. Ball, 1887), xx, IOR/V/24/935, BL.

102. Ibid.

103. Holroyd, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1880–81*, 53.

104. Nathan, *Progress of Education in India 1897–98 to 1901–2*, vol. 1.

105. Ibid., 1:283–84.

106. Ibid., 1:284.

107. H. W. Orange, *Progress of Education in India 1902–1907* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909), 1:212, IOR/V/24/4430, BL.

108. *Directory of Technical Institutions in India Including Agricultural, Industrial, Technical, Commercial and Science Schools and Colleges* (Allahabad: Standard Press, 1909), 169.

109. J. L. Kipling, assisted by his student Bhai Ram Singh, designed the present Lahore Museum building, which was completed in 1894, after Kipling's departure from India. Kipling repeatedly mentions in his annual reports for the museum the difficulties he faced in the temporary building with regard to protecting the collections from adverse weather conditions.

110. I am indebted to Mr. Rashid Makhdum, consultant architect for the Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan (AKCSP), and Mr. Talib Hussain, former director, Cultural Heritage, Walled City of Lahore Authority (WCLA), for their endless support in providing architectural information.

111. J. L. Kipling, “Report on the Mayo School of Art for 1883–84,” x.



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