The *Kipling Journal* is the quarterly magazine of the Kipling Society, a charity whose object is the advancement of public education by the promotion of the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling. The Journal is open to submissions of any length between 500 and 5000 words from students, scholars, professional academics, and Kipling enthusiasts. All articles are peer reviewed.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily correspond to those of the Editor or the Council of the Kipling Society.
THE KIPLING JOURNAL

published quarterly since 1927 by the Kipling Society
(31 Brookside, Billericay, Essex, CM11 1DT)
and sent free to all members worldwide

Volume 92 May 2018 Number 373

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 2

‘JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING: CHANGING WORLDS’ 4
CONFERENCE REPORT AND PROGRAMME
by Sandra Kemp and Alex Bubb

JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING, RAM SINGH AND THE MAYO 7
SCHOOL OF ARTS
by Nadeem Omar Tarar

THE VERBAL VERNACULAR: LOCKWOOD KIPLING AS 23
CURATOR OF FOLKLORE AND FOLK IDIOM
By Alex Bubb

OF BEASTS AND GODS IN INDIA: LOCKWOOD KIPLING’S 31
BEAST AND MAN AND RUDYARD KIPLING’S “THE  
BRIDGE-BUILDERS”
by Harish Trivedi

LOCKWOOD KIPLING AND AMERICA 46
by Christopher Benfey

TWO NEWS REPORTS FROM LAHORE  56
by Rudyard Kipling, ed. Thomas C. Pinney

BOOK REVIEW 59
by Monica Turci

COLLECTING THE ‘RAILWAY LIBRARY’ 63
by Bryan Diamond

ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY 64

Rudyard Kipling Copyright by The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or  
Natural Beauty.
Cover Image with Acknowledgements to Macmillan & Co Ltd

All rights are reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without prior permission  
in writing from the Kipling Society, London.
EDITORIAL

This Special Supplement of the Kipling Journal (whose cover, readers may have noticed, bears not our usual logo of Ganesh with lotus, but the bookplate designed by Lockwood Kipling for his son Rudyard), is inspired by the exhibition ‘Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts of the Punjab and London’, first at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (January- April 2017) and then at Bard Graduate Center New York (October 2017 – January 2018). The V & A exhibition prompted the conference ‘John Lockwood Kipling: Changing Worlds’ held at King’s College, London (4 March 2017), directed by Professor Sandra Kemp and Dr Alex Bubb, whose report begins this Supplement, followed by the full conference programme to inform those who couldn’t attend and to refresh the memories of those who did. Of the four essays published here, three are based on papers given at ‘Changing Worlds’ by Professor Christopher Benfey, Dr Alex Bubb and Dr. Nadeem Omar Tarar, together with Professor Harish Trivedi on Lockwood Kipling’s Beast and Man in India and his son’s story ‘The Bridge-builders.’

The title ‘Changing Worlds’ rightly suggests the international range and scope of Lockwood Kipling’s interests and influences. The three essays that deal with Lockwood Kipling in India emphasise, in their different ways, the ambivalence of his engagement with Indian art and culture; for Lockwood, if not precisely a ‘Two Headed Man’ like his son Rudyard, responded to Indian culture with a complex mixture of respect and prejudice. Nadeem Omar Tarar focuses on Lockwood Kipling’s work in Lahore as Principal of Mayo College who advocated traditional crafts, recruited the sons of local artisan families, and instructed them through the study of traditional examples of sculpture and decoration in the Lahore Museum. He points out the imperialism of Lockwood Kipling’s ‘adherence to Orientalising styles of art’, but also emphasises his support for local traditions, and his recruitment of boys from ‘artisan castes’ who would not otherwise have got an education in art, notably the Mayo School’s eminent alumnus Ram Singh, whose achievements included the design and supervision of Queen Victorian’s ‘Durbar Room’ in Osborne House (which features on the beautiful dust jacket of Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in the Punjab and London).

Lockwood Kipling is probably best known for Beast and Man in India (1891), which appears in two essays. Alex Bubb in ‘The Verbal Vernacular’ discusses Lockwood’s understanding of folklore in Beast and Man, focusing on the relationship between Lockwood and his son Rudyard and teasing out the complexities of Lockwood’s knowledge of Punjabi culture and idiom. (Unlike his reporter son, Lockwood Kipling
did know Urdu literature, and was also well versed in the idiom of the town craftsmen whom he drew and worked with). Harish Trivedi writes of the knowledge of Indian culture displayed in *Beast and Man*, which despite its dismissive first chapter shows the easy and affectionate relationships between Indians and creatures, especially birds. He also writes of the book’s discussion of Hindu mythology according to which each god has a ‘vehicle’, often an animal, like Shiva’s bull and Kali’s tiger. In the light of these discussions, Trivedi gives a critical but sympathetic reading of Rudyard Kipling’s story ‘The Bridge-Builders’, written while Lockwood was staying with his son’s family in Naulakha House, Brattleboro.

Naulakha House also appears in Christopher Benfey’s essay ‘Lockwood Kipling and America’, which explores Lockwood’s relationships with the Boston intellectual Charles Eliot Norton and the New York architect, his namesake Lockwood de Forest, whose different careers ‘show how the reception of Indian culture played out in different ways in the United States and Britain.’ Professor Benfey also describes the building of the Kiplings’ house Naulakha in Brattleboro, VT, designed for space and simplicity by de Forest’s colleague Henry Rutgers Marshall, and how both Lockwood Kipling and Lockwood de Forest contributed to the decoration of Naulakha.

Two uncollected newspaper reports by Rudyard Kipling in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, edited by Professor Thomas Pinney, shed a different light on Lockwood’s influence, and Monica Turci’s review of *Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts of the Punjab* shows the range and depth of the new work on Lockwood Kipling collected in this handsome volume. We conclude with a note from Bryan Diamond, who kindly lent his first editions of *Plain Tales from The Hills* (1888) and the 1888 Railway Library volumes of Kipling’s stories to the V & A exhibition. The cover illustrations of these books were designed by Lockwood Kipling, but attributed to the Mayo School of Art, Lahore.
The seeds for ‘Lockwood Kipling: Changing Worlds’, were sown on a warm summer day, from a bench in the tiny courtyard garden leading off the reception of King’s College London. Later, the young sprouts were sheltered and encouraged on a blustery autumn afternoon, as we shared two chilly metal folding chairs in Covent Garden Piazza because all the neighbouring cafes were full. The primum mobile lay, of course, with the V&A’s superb exhibition on the career of JLK (now touring in New York), and with the Study Day organized by Sandra at the Museum itself, which preceded our conference by one week. But our
intention by bringing discussion into a university forum, was to host a variety of different perspectives, drawn from separate academic disciplines (art history, literature, journalism studies) and from the different countries in which the Kiplings resided (Britain, Pakistan, and India), and bring them to bear on the many sides of Lockwood’s career and achievement. Study of the elder Kipling has hitherto focussed for the most part on simply recovering his personal biography, and we wanted to take the conversation beyond that into wider issues of curatorship and aesthetics, patronage and networks, politics and race, folklorism and philology.

Sandra Kemp, Alex Bubb

Programme

9.30am–10am
Registration

10am–10.30am
Opening Remarks and Welcome from Professor Evelyn Welch, Provost of Arts & Humanities at King’s College London and Julius Bryant, Keeper, Word and Image Department, V&A, and co-curator of the exhibition ‘John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in London and the Punjab’.

10.30am–12pm
Networks, partnerships and collaborations: keynotes.
Chair: Dr Alexander Bubb, Leverhulme Research Fellow, King’s College London.

Charles Allen (historian and broadcaster):
‘Kipling and Islam’

Andrew Lycett (biographer of Rudyard Kipling):
‘The Kiplings, a well-connected father and son: making the social, cultural and political links’

Professor Christopher Benfey (Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts):
‘John Lockwood Kipling’s North American Networks’

12pm–1pm
Lunch
1pm–3pm

Panel 1: Architecture and Pedagogy

**Chair:** Dr Howard Booth, Senior Lecturer, University of Manchester.

**Keynote** – **Professor Nadeem Omar Tarar** (National College of Arts, Rawalpindi) ‘Artisans in Indian Art Education’

**Diana Wilkins** (University of Sussex): ‘John Lockwood Kipling and Ram Singh: their roles in creating the Triple Arch at Hastings Museum

**Nadine Zubair** (University of East Anglia): From Architecture to Ornament: Tracing the Impact of Pedagogy and Printed Materials on Wood-Carved Architecture in Colonial Punjab

**Dr Cherie McKeich** (State Library of Victoria): ‘John Lockwood Kipling and T. N. Mukharji: Preservationist and Modernizing approaches to Indian art’

3pm–3.30pm

Tea & Coffee

3.30pm–5.30pm


**Chair:** Prof Sandra Kemp, Senior Research Fellow V&A and Imperial College London.

**Keynote** – **Dr Sarah Lonsdale** (City University): ‘Journalism and literary networks, 1890–1914’

**Patricia Allan** (Glasgow Museums): ‘Narratives of change: Glasgow and the art of Punjab’

**Nick Shaddick** (University of York): ‘Liberal universalism, empire and the Grammar of Ornament’

**Dr Alexander Bubb** (King’s College London): ‘The Verbal Vernacular: Lockwood Kipling as curator of folklore and folk-idiom’

We conclude with a note from Bryan Diamond, who lent his first editions of the 1888 Railway Library Plain Tales from the Hills

5.30pm–5.45pm

**Concluding remarks:** Dr Alexander Bubb and Prof Sandra Kemp
JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING, RAM SINGH AND THE MAYO SCHOOL OF ARTS, LAHORE

By NADEEM OMAR TARAR

Nadeem Omar Tarar is Director of the National College of Arts (NCA), Rawalpindi Campus, Pakistan. He is the co-Editor, with Samina Choonara, of The ‘Official’ Chronicle of the Mayo School of Art: The Formative Years under John Lockwood Kipling (2002). Ed.

ART AND INTRIGUE: THE MAKING OF THE MAYO SCHOOL OF ARTS

In 1872, when Lockwood Kipling, aged 35 years, was ‘a humble instructor in the J. J. School of Art’, busy sculpting the decorations of Gothic revivalist buildings in Bombay, Ram Singh was a young boy of 14, toiling away in his father’s carpentry shop in Amritsar. It was the assassination of the Viceroy of India, Richard Southwell Bourke, 6th Earl of Mayo, by a colonial Indian subject, which triggered the events that moved Lockwood Kipling to a prestigious post as the ‘head of the newly-founded Art School and also the curator of Lahore Museum’ and Ram Singh from the carpenter’s shop to the Mayo School of Arts, as one of its first intake of students. The assassination actually took place far away from the Indian continent, at the penal colony of Port Blair in the Andaman Islands. This curious fact of history was not lost on Lockwood Kipling’s mind; as his biographer Arthur R. Ankers observes, ‘he must have found it ironic that he owed his promotion to a Pathan assassin!’

The Andaman Island, commonly called Kalapani (Black Water), was a prison much dreaded by Indian convicts. As a leading Parliamentary authority in Westminster on penal reform, Lord Mayo was anxious to have the settlement become a self-supporting colony which would ultimately shelter about 20,000 or more life prisoners. This colonial ambition to construct a grand dungeon brought the Viceroy of India to Andaman Island, where on the concluding night of his tour, 8th February 1872, he was assassinated by a Pathan convict. The assassin Sher Ali Khan, aged 25, from an Afridi tribe, had been an orderly of the Commissioner of Peshawar. Employed with the Punjab Mounted Police, Sher Ali had served the British officers well in the Ambala campaign in 1863, against the followers of Sayyed Ahmad Brailwi, the 19th century Wahhabi leader. He was sentenced to life imprisonment on account of a murder which he had committed in Peshawar Cantonment, as part of a hereditary blood feud. Given his decorated career in the colonial army, he expected to be released without charge,
as he had committed no crime against the British. In killing his kin, he was following a tribal custom permissible, within the framework of customary law in the Punjab; but since the murder was committed in the British territory, he was held guilty of violating the rule of British law. Unexpectedly for him, the court sentenced him to the death penalty, which was later changed to life imprisonment at Kalapani. In 1869, he reached the Andaman Islands to serve his sentence. Over the next two years, he had behaved well at the prison, and had been placed among the ticket-of-leave convicts at Port Blair. But he did not forget his revenge; he had already made up his mind to kill ‘some European of high rank to restore his honor. Nobody knew that his target would be a Viceroy, the highest ranking officer in the British Empire.’

The murder of Lord Mayo sent shock waves throughout the British Empire. The leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities condemned the vengeful murder of an ‘enlightened moderator’ and offered their condolence to Irish Viceroy’s family. The British government feared a larger conspiracy against the Empire, and searched for links with the anti-colonialist Islamic movement, Teherak-e-Mujahideen. In the end, the murder was declared to be a lone act committed under homicidal impulse. Denied a political meaning to the assassination as a form of protest, Sher Ali was tried and hanged on Viper Islands on 11th March 1873. Unlike other assassins of the British officers of the Raj, who were transformed by the politics of independence into martyrs, Sher Ali did not attain national glory, despite his fatal success in striking at the heart of British Empire. Never hailed as a hero by Indian nationalists, he remains a common criminal in the annals of British Indian history.

In response to this shocking news, the Commissioner of Lahore, A. Brandreth, convened a public meeting on 30th March 1869 at Lawrence Hall, to be presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Davies (1872–77), ‘for the purpose of establishing some suitable memorial in honor of His Excellency, the slain Viceroy.’ It was agreed to form a committee to raise public subscription for ‘a memorial of a statesman who died in the discharge of his duty.’ A senior British civil servant, Sir Lepel Griffin, made the proposal to form an industrial school in Lahore. Through ‘an eloquent speech … in English and Hindustani, he proposed that the money should be spent on building a school of industry’. S. M. Latif, the colonial historian of Lahore, recounts that Sir Lepel Griffin’s proposal was unanimously adopted by the committee. His suggestion that the government should provide a matching grant in aid to build a school worthy of the name of the deceased Viceroy, was also conceded by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Henry Davies. The Secretary of State for India approved the recommendations of the Mayo memorial committee in his submission to
the Governor-General of India in Council on 24th September 1874. Following the dictates of the imperial Government, on 30th December 1874, the Finance Department of the Punjab endorsed the proposal for the establishment of the Mayo School of Arts.

**DESIGN TRADITIONALISM IN THE PUNJAB:**

**THE ROLE OF LOCKWOOD KIPLING**

John Lockwood Kipling was appointed in February 1875 as the Principal of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, which was established on 9th June 1875 with the following mission statement:

To give instruction in the Art of design, with special reference to the artistic industries *indigenous* to Punjab, and to the Architectural and Decorative styles of Art *peculiar* to the province. (My italics)

The stress on the ‘indigenous’ traditions of arts and crafts of the Punjab in the founding statement of the Mayo School of Arts, was the outcome of the strategic objectives of the British colonization of the Punjab, which Lockwood Kipling as a subordinate official was almost duty bound to follow. The indigenizing mission of the Mayo School of Arts was embedded in the political imperatives of indirect rule in the Punjab. The Punjab kingdom, founded and ruled by Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), was annexed by the British East India Company in 1849 as a non-regulation territory. The villages, perceived as elementary units of social organization, were made the centerpiece of the administrative and tax collection system. With the village as the central institution of the colonial state and the official unit of social and political organization, a policy of creating and maintaining an ‘indigenous’ social and political structure became crucial to the colonial governance of the Punjab. Given the imperial investment in the perpetuation of the traditional social and political order of Punjabi society, all tiers of British bureaucracy in the 19th century Punjab, including Lockwood Kipling and his contemporaries, were committed to the project of preserving traditional Indian culture. If Kipling articulated it through his pedagogic efforts to document and draw on the excellence of aesthetic indigenous craftsmanship, G. W. Leitner, associated with Government College and Punjab University Lahore, surveyed and published an account of indigenous education in Punjab and paid glowing tributes to the local systems of education based on *patshala, madrasas* and *mahjani* schools. Colonial knowledge of local customs and traditions formed the basis of revenue and judicial administration of the province, for which many British officers earned scholarly repute in the academic circles in Britain: Sir Denzil Ibbetson’s compendium of the castes of
the Punjab, based on the returns of the census, and Richard Temple’s three-volume collection of Punjabi folklore were critical to the building up of the colonial anthropology of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{15} A civil servant of the Punjab government and part time curator of Lahore Museum, Henry Baden Powell documented the first ever exhibition of art and industry in Punjab in 1865, which formed the original basis for the substantial collection in Lahore Museum.\textsuperscript{16}

Lockwood Kipling’s fascination with Indian decorative arts is a product of his formative visit to the Great Exhibition in Crystal Palace in 1851, and his early training at the South Kensington Museum (later the V & A), which found its best expression in the works that he produced as the Principal of the Mayo School of Arts.\textsuperscript{17} His influence as the key exponent of the Arts and Crafts movement in India was expressed through his scholarly and practical contributions to the recognition of Indian culture, which for one critic amounted to opposing ‘the tide of Victorian imperialism and its concomitant attitudes of cultural superiority’.\textsuperscript{18} His numerous statements about the almost ‘infinite’ capacity of indigenous art to develop itself by rationalizing its own traditions, are routinely cited as to foreground Kipling’s location in Ruskinian aesthetics and the ideology of the Arts and Crafts movement. According to Mahrukh Tarapor, ‘The critiques of Morris and Birdwood identify precisely the trends Lockwood Kipling’s new program at Lahore had set out to rectify. Its organization as a “craft” school, principles of workshop instruction and traditional native techniques were intended to establish the Mayo school as an outpost against further encroachments of the vulgar commerce Morris deplored.’\textsuperscript{19} Both the metropolitan idea of local roots and the pedagogic drive towards learning and applying indigenous methods of artisanal production at the Mayo School, were firmly planted in a political structure wherein adherence to the indigenous traditions of arts was the leitmotif of colonial policy in the Punjab. Lockwood Kipling himself stated the context of his ‘reforming’ mission in a preamble to his memorial written to the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab in quest of job promotion, about the revival of traditional artisanal industry: ‘In establishing a School of Art at Lahore in 1875, the idea of the authorities was rather the revival and encouragement of indigenous means of Art than the importation of European notions, and your Memorialist has wrought steadfastly on this idea.’\textsuperscript{20}

Kipling, along with other influential contemporary civil servants in late nineteenth century Punjab, recreated an image of ‘traditional’ India which was inspired as much from the romantic and idealist visions of the English aesthetes, as grounded in the ethnological discourses of the colonial state.\textsuperscript{21} As Thomas Metcalf argues in his analysis of the Art and
Crafts movement in India: ‘Those, like Kipling, who sought to sustain what they saw as India’s ‘traditional’ crafts drew upon a conception of ‘India’ grounded in the theories of such men as Maine and Metcalfe; hence what they set out to preserve, they sought in practice to remake in the image of these theories and in accordance with a large vision of empire that saw Britain presiding over a ‘traditional’ India.’

Through his meticulous connoisseurship of Indian arts and crafts, demonstrated through his curatorships of numerous crafts exhibitions, and his editorship of richly illustrated volumes of *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, intended to document and graphically preserve Indian crafts traditions, Kipling played a key role in visually recreating the colonial fantasies of traditional India. Such was the tenacity of the imperial commitment to the Orientalizing project that ‘a departure from what should be considered the guiding canon of the school, viz., adherence to Oriental styles of art, elicited a criticism of an unfavorable character from the Government of the Punjab’, Kipling reported in the annual report of the Mayo School of Arts.

The imperial project of the invention of the traditional Indian arts was created on an industrial scale through a vast public sphere of museums, trade fairs and exhibitions, spread all over the Empire. Through government regulation, the prices and quality of industrial arts were maintained by the public committees. Judged on the basis of workmanship, the best specimens were exhibited in local and provincial museums and sent for international exhibitions. The officials overseeing the public committees were instructed to check the ‘character of work and the nature of design or pattern in use’ and make sure that the designs were made strictly “to confirm to the canons of Oriental Art.” Any change in the use of color or the ornament was strictly discouraged to ‘keep the exotic difference of Indian goods in visual terms.’

THE CAREER OF AN EDUCATED INDIAN ARTISAN: RAM SINGH AT THE MAYO SCHOOL OF ART

Partha Mitter, one of the most celebrated historians of South Asian art, has substantially historicized the notion of colonially defined ‘Indian’ art and crafts, while questioning the elements of Orientalism inherent in such formulations. However, what gets reified rather than theorized in the disciplinary discourses of art history is the figure of the Indian artisan, which formed the mainstay of British educational and administrative discourses, providing ‘suitable boys’ for Indian art and technical education. Artisans appear at the margins of modern Indian art historical scholarship, as the ‘other’ of the ‘gentleman artist.’ Mitter (1994) disparaged the student ‘sons of artisans’ who ‘rolled in numbers’ into late nineteenth century art schools, ‘since no qualification was
required beyond the ability to follow instruction’. From his selective reading of Indian history, Mitter prematurely announced the eclipse of the figure of the traditional artisan as the sign of industrialization and modernization of Indian economy. ‘The government failed to recognize the profound shifts in the class composition of artists in India; the new western-educated, “gentlemen artists” spelt the end of artisans’ in the art schools.\(^{29}\) The figure of the ‘artisan’ did not, however, disappear with the bureaucratization of art education, ‘but rather appeared within it’ according to Dutta (2004).\(^{30}\) The bureaucratic apparatus of the colonial Punjab constituted a category of artisan from the customary frameworks of social and economic hierarchies; land settlement reports, census and surveys were the primary sites for the identification of the ‘artisan castes’, responsible for agricultural labor and artisanal industries of India.\(^{31}\) These were celebrated by Orientalist scholars in their imperial accounts of colonial arts and crafts exhibitions and world fairs, as well as in the chronicles of the Arts and Craft Movement praising the legendary ‘industrial classes’ of India.\(^{32}\)

Ram Singh has been seen as the personification of Lockwood Kipling’s ‘unswerving faith in the abilities of the Indian traditions and traditional craftsmen.’\(^{33}\) In his mission to salvage the Indian crafts and craftsmen, Kipling drew heavily on the colonial sociology of artisan castes, which he saw as repositories of an ancient artistic heritage, endowed with a hereditary aptitude for technical education.\(^{34}\) At the Mayo School of Art, students recruited from artisan castes were encouraged to take up studies related to the occupational work of their forefathers. Kipling firmly believed that training artisan students in the ‘principles of their own trade’ would make them more ‘skilled than their fathers’.\(^{35}\) Ram Singh, from the Ramgarhia caste of artisans, entered the school’s lexicon as ‘hereditary carpenter’ who conformed to Kipling’s ideal of the educated ‘native’ artisan, responsible for the continuity of Indian craft traditions. As a star pupil of the first batch of the Mayo School of Arts, he came to Kipling’s attention:

Ram Singh, from the school of carpentry, gives promise of becoming a very capable draughtsman and designer in his own craft, and he will be, as Mr. Kipling observes, a valuable assistant to an architect.\(^{36}\)

Having identified a student’s hereditary ‘line of work’ at his entry in the school, Kipling devised exercises relevant to the designated crafts for each set of students, based on the best examples from the visual past. In that sense, not only the choice of subject for the student but also its content was dictated by the traditions of Punjab arts and crafts. Kipling’s reports on the progress of the Mayo School are replete with examples of
students in subjects as diverse as woodcarving and photography, who were made to copy the museumized examples from Indian visual tradition. Thus, students in wood carving classes were instructed through studies of Indian designs from the monuments in the city, and the class of photography was engaged in completing a set of photographs of the ancient sculptures in the Lahore Museum. The mosque of Wazir Khan, famous for its extensive faience tile work, built by the Governor of Lahore, Shaikh Ilm-ud-din Ansari in the 17th century, was one of the favorite spots for scavenging historic styles of architectural decoration. Year after year, students were instructed by Lockwood Kipling to copy the fresco decorations of Wazir Khan mosque, which was considered to be “a school of design.”

Munshi Sher Muhammad has directed the advanced students in the work of reproducing the painted decoration of the interior of Wazir Khan’s Mosque. This beautiful building is in itself a school of design; but year by year less attention seems to be paid to its maintenance, and the painted work is in a deplorable state of neglect. Under these circumstances, it seems of the highest importance to secure careful copies for preservation in the Museum and School, and there could be no better training for our young decorators.37

While preparing for the design of the new building for the Mayo School of Art and Lahore Museum, Kipling expected that that this architectural commission ‘will give us work for which we are trying to prepare ourselves by the study of good examples. It is proposed that building shall be of brick and Saracenic in style’.38 (‘Indo-Saracenic’ style, as a preferred architectural and decorative style for institutional, civic and utilitarian buildings such as colleges, post offices, railway stations, rest houses and government buildings in India, became an expression of an imperial desire to see the British Raj in an uninter rupted succession of Indian Kings and Queens.) The studies of what were considered ‘good examples’ from India’s visual past were not an end in themselves but were deemed important for blending into a new design. The design repertoire of the ‘Indo-Saracenic’ style, which Ram Singh was to master, adorning the skyline of Indian cities and dazzling the imagination of Queen Victoria, was learned through a similar process, copying the motifs of leading examples of architectural history. The study of indigenous architecture and ornament through detailed drawings exposed students to various styles in the history of Indian art and architecture, which would allow them to develop the visual vocabulary for recreating traditional designs in Indian decorative arts.39
Born in Rasulpur village in the district of Gurdaspur on 1st August, 1858, Ram Singh moved with his family to Amritsar, where his father Sardar Assa Singh worked as a carpenter in a timber market, catering to the requirements of household furniture for the city élite. Ram Singh passed his elementary education at Mission High School in Amritsar and was admitted to the Mayo School in 1875. During 8 long years of extended education at the Mayo School, Ram Singh won several prizes in national and international exhibitions, including 3 prizes at the Melbourne Exhibition 1881, the International Calcutta Exhibition, 1883, and the Punjab Exhibition, 1882.

Ram Singh’s professional career began when he became an Assistant Drawing Master in 1883 at the age of 25. The position allowed him to work independently on architectural commissions as well as collaborate with Lockwood Kipling. It also gave him the freedom to take part in design competitions. The very first architectural project on which Ram Singh collaborated with Kipling was the building of the Mayo School of Arts and the Lahore Museum in the 1880s. He went on to create architectural wonders, such as the building of Punjab University Hall and Library, and Khalsa College Amritsar. Besides these commissioned projects, he also won many design competitions, including one from what was then Chief’s College (now Aitchison College), Lahore. He is credited with designing the Indian billiard room at Bagshot Park in Surrey, for the Duke of Connaught. In 1891, he was called to England on Her Majesty’s Service, to design and supervise the Queen Victoria’s Durbar Room at Osborne House, Isle of Wight. He also designed emblems for the flags of various Indian states and municipalities. In 1911, he prepared the architectural design and interior decoration scheme for the Coronation Hall in which the ceremonies for the crowning of King George V took place. He received the Kaisar-I-Hindi Medal (Second class) in 1903, the title of Sardar Sahib on 1 January 1907, the title of Sardar Bahadur on 25 June 1909], and, most prestigious honour of all, became a Member of the Royal Victorian Order on 12 December 1911. Ram Singh also undertook a number of architectural commissions and designed buildings in Lahore, Amritsar, and princely states of India, many of which, however, remained unattributed to him. Ram Singh was practising architecture in an era where the role of the architect was understood to be a matter of style or decoration, adding ‘picturesque’ dimensions to the building, whereas the building construction process was considered best left to the civil engineers. As a result of the domination of architects by engineers in 19th century India, architects were rarely named as designers and the buildings were often credited to the engineers.
Despite being a monumental figure in Indian art history, Ram Singh has remained an elusive character in the historical annals of Indian and Pakistani art and architecture, overshadowed by his mentor John Lockwood Kipling. Even those scholars in Pakistan who acknowledge him as ‘a native architect of a [high] caliber’, do so only to rebuke him for being ‘thoroughly Anglicized,’ although sympathetic mention has been made of Ram Singh as a ‘master craftsman’ of the Mayo School of Arts, and a historical account of Lockwood Kipling mentions a ‘certain Ram Singh’ a native craftsman, who excelled in his craftsmanship under the tutelage of Kipling and was responsible for the decoration of the Queen Victoria’s new Durbar Room at Osborne House.

Ram Singh designed the Durbar Room as an opulent place, decorated with plastered walls and ceiling with motifs of what he called a “Sikh Saracenic” style. From jharokas to corbels, Ganeshas to peacocks, every detail was moulded from hand carvings and carried the characteristic mark of Ram Singh, and his family of artisans at Amritsar (for when the scale of a commission exceeded the capacity of the school’s artisans, students and teachers, it was parcelled out; in such instances, Ram Singh relied on his family members). Without first hand information of the vast Indian Empire, the Durbar Room became a proxy India for the Queen Empress of India where she entertained non-European royal guests. Ram Singh’s imperial services were hyped up in the British press and he was referred to variously as ‘Professor of Art’ at Lahore, an ‘eminent Hindoo architect’, a ‘noted freemason from Lahore’, ‘the Indian artificer’, ‘Indian Artist’ and ‘a distinguished subject of the Queen Empress’. In his own lifetime, the spectre of Ram Singh as the Queen’s native architect came to haunt the British art school teachers in India at the Lahore Art Conference, which was convened in 1893, to discuss the future of art schools in India. The Secretary of State for India questioned the usefulness of expensively importing British teachers in India to teach Indian art to Indian students, citing Ram Singh as as an exemplary low cost substitute for British teachers:

…The principles and methods of decorative design in its application to the industrial handicrafts of India could be easily and cheaply taught in such schools by native masters of the stamp of Mr. Ram Sing of Lahore, who designed and executed the decoration in the Sikh [Saracenic] style of one of the public apartments of Her Majesty’s palace at Osborne.

The celebration of Ram Singh in the British press in the years preceding the conference as an ‘Indian artificer’ might have led to his
citation in the Secretary of State’s dispatch as the emblem of surviving traditions of hereditary craftsmanship in Punjab. However, the British art establishment in India questioned the training Ram Singh received as a hereditary artisan from his ancestors and challenged the very standing of Ram Singh as a ‘native master’, arguing that that he owed all his mastery to the instruction he received at the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, without which he could not have risen as a decorative designer.

With reference to paragraph 3 of the Dispatch of Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India, the following members of the Conference viz. Dr. Watt and Messrs Griffiths and Nicholl, having seen at Amritsar the original home of Mr. Ram Singh of Lahore, desire to place on record the fact that he owed his art education entirely to the School of Art at Lahore, and that without the training he received, he would have, in all probability, remained a village carpenter.49

While the status of Ram Singh as an educated designer was established as a legitimizing trope to ensure the future of art schools in India, the administrators unwittingly debunked the very edifice of discourse on design traditionalism and caste based craft education which supported their officials’ own practice.

Despite his early fame as an architectural assistant to Lockwood Kipling, and his role in the development of independent architectural practice in India and Britain, Ram Singh struggled for official recognition with little success. When Lockwood Kipling took an early retirement from the Mayo School in 1893, Ram Singh expected to succeed to the post of Principal, as he had officiated as the Vice Principal for several years. However, Frederick Henry Andrews (1864–1957), appointed Vice Principal by the Secretary of State in February, 1890, in 1893 became Principal of the Mayo School of Arts.50 Six years later, after the departure of Andrews in 1899, Ram Singh expressed his aspiration to sit on his mentor’s chair in a memorial to the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab. By that time, Ram Singh had been teaching architecture, drawing, carpentry, carving and metal work for more than 18 years at the School: the very fields of Indian decorative arts in which he excelled professionally. While asserting his professional status as equal to his ‘master’ Kipling, he poked fun at the racism inherent in successive denial of his right for promotion:

If my Master Kipling condescended now to be the Principal of the Mayo School of Art, at Lahore, would the post be denied to him?
No! If Ram Singh, who takes after him in all the important departure of the School of Art, can, by his own choice, be considered worthy of his master’s chair, should he be sent to the dogs merely because he is a little deep complexioned? Leaving the rest at the benevolent disposal of “The Truth”…

This passionate if provocative appeal went unheard; in 1899, Percy Brown (1872–1957) aged 27, newly graduated from the Royal College of Art, London, was appointed Principal of the School. Ram Singh waited another 10 years until after 27 years of educational service, he was finally ‘considered worthy of his master’s chair,’ becoming the first Indian Principal of the Mayo School of Arts on 25th September, 1910. He retired on 25th October 1913, after reaching the age of superannuation, and died in Lahore, three years later in 1916, aged 58, in relative obscurity.

Notwithstanding the racism inherent in the discourse of art in colonial India, the privileged access of the boys of the artisan castes to the Mayo School earned them social respect as educated youth, as well as affording them professional opportunities to grow as artists, architects and designers. Ram Singh’s extraordinary career as a Kipling’s protégé is not unparalleled at the Mayo School of Arts. In the early decades of the 20th century, Abdur Rehman Chughtai (1894–1975), a Lahore based artisan pupil of the Mayo School, emerged as a modern Indian artist and became an iconic figure for Muslim aesthetic nationalists in India. Hailed as the Painter of the East in Pakistan today, his works have been collected by all the major museums in the world, including the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Mayo School of Arts was restructured and renamed as the National College of Arts (NCA) in 1958. NCA is an equal opportunity employer, without any caste rights. In the zeal for independence from British colonialism, the name and contributions of the Mayo School were erased from the public memory during the process of up-grading the School in the 1950s. Renamed the National College of Arts in 1958, it closed the doors of art education to the marginalized artisanal communities, by becoming an equal opportunity employer, without even a nominal admission quota. The gap between the education and professional practice of the modern artist and the traditional artisan, which the Mayo School of Art under Kipling had struggled to bridge, became wider at NCA, foreclosing the possibility of another Ram Singh rising from the carpentry workshops.
WORKS CONSULTED


Henry Baden Powell Handbook of the Economic Products of the Punjab in 2 volumes (Lahore 1872).


——– The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Global Reproducibility, (Routledge, 2008).


Abigail McGowan, ‘All that is rare, characteristic or beautiful’: Design and the defense of tradition in colonial India, 1851–1903.” Journal of Material Culture. 10 no. 3: 263–287.


**ARCHIVAL SOURCES:**

Kipling Archives, Special Collections, University of Sussex, Box File: 3/11.

**NOTES**

2 Ankers, *op. cit*. p. 91
8 From A. Brandreth, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lahore Division, to the Secretary to Government of Punjab, Proceedings of the Government of Punjab, Home Department, March 24, 1873, NCAA Box File: PG07.


16 Henry Baden Powell undertook to re-organize and document the ephemeral display of the First Punjab Exhibition of Art and Industry in 1864, which was published in 1872 as *Handbook of the Economic Products of the Punjab* in 2 volumes.

17 The widely shared appreciation for Indian decorative arts and concerns with rural aspects of craft production, shared by South Kensington theorist Richard Redgrave and exponents of Arts and Crafts movement like John Ruskin and William Morris, was a response to the rapid modernization of European vernacular traditions caused by urbanism and industry in Great Britain. See Paul Greenhalgh, ‘The History of Craft’ in Peter Dormer (ed.), *The Culture of Craft: Status and Future: Status and Future*, (Manchester, 1997).


19 Tarapor, *ibid.* p. 72.

20 Kipling Archives, Special Collections, University of Sussex, Box File: 3/11.


26 Abigail McGowan, “All that is rare, characteristic or beautiful”: Design and the defense of tradition in colonial India, 1851–1903.” *Journal of Material Culture*. 10 no. 3: 263–287.


36 J. L. Kipling ibid.

37 J. L. Kipling ibid. p. 83

38 J. L. Kipling ibid. p. 38.


40 See Sajida Vandal and Pervaiz Vandal, Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh, (Lahore, 2006) for a biographical study of Ram Singh.

41 Kunhiyal Lal and Ganga Ram, who served as Executive Engineers of Lahore in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are routinely credited for the buildings in Lahore, many of which were designed by Ram Singh.

42 Mahrukh Tarapor, Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature, 1850–1947, Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1977).


46 The jharokha is a stone window projecting from the wall face of a building, in an upper story, overlooking a street, market, court or any other open space. It is supported on two or more brackets or corbelling, has two pillars or pilasters, balustrade and a cupola or pyramidal roof. It is technically closed by jalies, but generally partly open for the inmates to peep out to see passing processions. The jharokha is more formal and ornamental than English or French “oriel” and is one of the most distinctive characteristics of the façade in Indian architecture until the 19th century.

47 See School reports published in the Official Chronicle of the Mayo School of Arts. There are also letters in NCA Archives bearing the letter head RAM SINGH AND SONS, designer and supplier, based in Amritsar.

49 Ibid.

50 Trained as an artist, F. H. Andrews was a friend of Rudyard Kipling and an avid supporter of Arts and Crafts movement in Britain.

THE VERBAL VERNACULAR: LOCKWOOD
KIPLING AS CURATOR OF FOLKLORE AND
FOLK IDIOM

By ALEX BUBB

[Dr Alex Bubb, currently Research Fellow at Trinity College, Dublin, is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at Roehampton University. He is the author of Meeting Without Knowing It: Rudyard Kipling and W.B. Yeats at the Fin-de-Siecle (2016) Ed.]

Though my focus will be on Lockwood as a student of language and popular speech, I’d like to begin with a quotation from the younger Rudyard Kipling, in whose work aspects of style and quirks of description often offer suggestive insights into his influential father’s cultural mores and priorities. What initially appears a typical piece of weekly reportage – an account of the Mohurram commemorations in late 1887 – begins, as so many of Rudyard’s articles do, in an affected tone of boredom with the commonplace wonders and odours of parochial Lahore. That is, until the jaded observer’s curiosity is activated by a striking image of oral literary culture, undergirt by religious communality:

...one feature of the last night of the Mohurrum cannot be overlooked. In the broader streets, surrounded by the faithful, sat Maulvis reading the story of the death of the Blessed Imams. Their mimbars [pulpits] were of the rudest, but the walls behind them were in most cases gay, with glass lamps, cuckoo-clocks, vile ‘export’ trinketry, wax flowers and kindred atrocities... but, looking at the men who listened, one forgot the surroundings. They seemed so desperately in earnest, as they rocked to and fro, and lamented. The manner of the Maulvis’ preaching varied as much as their audiences. One man, austere, rugged-featured, and filthy clad, had sat down upon a shop-board in a side-alley and his small congregation were almost entirely provincial. He preached literally, as the spirit moved him, and whatever Power may have come upon him held, and shook his body. The Jats made no sign. Only one small child ran up and put his hand upon the preacher’s knee, unterrified by the working face and the torrent of words. Elsewhere, five massive wooden bedsteads had been piled one above the other to make a mimbar for one who read from a book. He was a strikingly handsome man, level in his speech and philosophical, it seemed, in his arguments. A dirty sheet had been thrown over the uppermost bedstead and by some sport of chance had draped itself ‘into great laps and folds of sculptor’s
work’ perfect and solid, so that the preacher looked as though he had been newly taken out of a fresco in a certain palace by the water.¹

It hardly needs saying that Lockwood’s paternal influence can be detected throughout the descriptive vocabulary that his son deploys in India. The journalism, and especially the Rajputana sketches collected as *Letters of Marque*, are replete with rather showy allusions to Gautier and Ruskin. Strolling the galleries of the new Jaipur Museum, Rudyard expatiates on the ‘House Beautiful’ movement; while in the Treasury of Bundi he composes an imaginary oil painting animated by a brass huqa, a red carpet, and the silvery faces of the palace accountants bent over their ledgers.² In fact, all through the 1880s, and culminating in his novel *The Light that Failed*, Rudyard Kipling’s artistic values are consistently articulated through painterly analogies. But Lockwood’s holistic vision of Lahori culture was linguistic as well as graphic. Whatever his proficiency in everyday spoken Urdu in comparison to Rudyard’s, I think we can safely assume that Lockwood was much better placed to shift his speech up a gear to the Persianate register necessary for conversing with men of breeding and intellect. More fundamentally, he was to a degree literate in Urdu, whereas his son, notwithstanding the short-lived ministrations of a Persian *munshi*, remained more or less illiterate. Thus Lockwood is capable, with not a little condescension of course, of bemoaning the cultural standards of Lahore’s decaying Muslim gentry – who in their race to acquire foreign scientific knowledge, he noted disapprovingly, reckoned ‘a smattering of Saadi, Hafiz, Zauk, and Nizāmi’ sufficient for a literary education.³ We should note the absence here of Omar Khayyam, and indeed of Firdausi: hardly omissions the educated reader in Britain of the time would be likely to make, if asked to name two or three representative poets of Iran. For Lockwood understands what the real classic canon of Persian writing is – or to be more exact and more pertinent, the canon as it had been tailored by Mughal India to serve the schooling of young noblemen. And yet here we are faced with an apparent contradiction in Lockwood’s outlook, a prejudicial turn of thought that he would pass onto Rudyard, and which would manifest and ramify itself in the latter’s writing. How do we reconcile Lockwood the Persian dilettante, with the man who habitually denigrates indigenous literate culture, and who conversely valorizes the spoken word in all its wit, force, shifting emphasis and, to borrow a phrase from one his son’s articles, its ‘abundant wealth of expression peculiar to the East’?⁴

Those remarks on the Persian classics, for example, form merely a side-note in the very interesting guidebook to Lahore which Lockwood Kipling co-authored in 1876. In contrast, this same work devotes
twelve pages to ‘vernacular’ poetry, including ‘the professional Mirásis or Bháts, a tribe of hereditary ballad singers, whose songs, ballads, and tales, recited at weddings and other festivities, are in reality the favourite literature of the day.’ ‘Reflecting the mind of the people with great fidelity’, Lockwood remarks – assuming of course this is Lockwood’s voice, and not that of his collaborator T.H. Thornton – this living bardic tradition is accorded much higher value than the Sanskrit classics that the writer now presumes to be wholly unread in the original.5 Lockwood pursued this sentiment in his magnum opus, Beast and Man in India. Effectively a work of social anthropology carried off with the vim of a memoir, this study of the myths, jokes, proverbs and idioms surrounding common fauna (supplemented, of course, with plentiful illustrations) is ostensibly a plea for the better treatment of domestic pets and beasts of burden. But of course Lockwood’s aims go much farther than that: ‘It has seemed to me that an elementary study of Indian animals, their treatment and usage, and the popular estimates and sayings current about them, though involving much that is commonplace and trivial, opens a side door into Indian life, thought, and character, the threshold of which is still unworn.’6 

Beast and Man is a hefty volume, and in its original form both difficult and expensive to come by today.7 But the effort to obtain it, and then to delve its strata for the richer seams, is richly rewarded. If we turn to the chapter on birds, for example, we learn that crows are associated variously with the flight of dead souls, with knavery, and also with pomp and vanity. Mothers tell naughty children the crows will fly away with them, and gypsies have a trick of trapping crows and then holding them hostage before the shop of a pious bania, threatening to wring the captive’s neck unless the Hindu shopkeeper will ransom it with a few pice. Thus we have custom, old saws, debased mythology, and a street-scene, blended together in conversational culture: a conversation, by the way, which is not confined to humans, as we discover in the section ‘What birds say’.

Good Muhammadans think the black partridge pious, since its call fits itself to the words “Shobhaan teri qudrat” “Thine, O Lord, is the power”; but more worldly ears distinguish the words “Lassoon, pyaaz, adrak” “Garlic, onions, ginger”; or, according to some, “Nun, tel, adrak,” – “salt, oil, ginger,” the chief condiments of curry. The Indian ring-dove (Turtur risorius) is similarly endeared to Muhammadans by its pious persistence in the cry “Yusuf kua” “Joseph is in the well,” which it first raised when the wicked brethren said he was slain and showed the grieving Jacob the blood-stained coat of many colours. Another dove is thought to say
“Allah! Allah!” The partridge says “Faqiri Faqiri.” A wild pigeon is thought to repeat “Haq sirr hu” “God knows the secret”; the ordinary rooster exhorts the thoughtless to remember God by crowing “Zikr’ullah! Zikr’ullah! ya ghaffar!” while the raven hoarsely cries “Char, Ghar,” as he did when he basely tried to betray Muhammad hidden in the cave of Jebel Thaur to his enemies the Khoreish, when the pious pigeon built her nest and the spider stretched her webs across the entrance. It is quite easy to hear these words in birds’ notes when you know them and they are at least as much like the original sounds as the renderings of those scientific ornithologists who have tried to express bird music in syllables. 8

Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the folk-idiom Lockwood sets out to record is not exactly that of peasants, but of the town craftsmen whose methods he observed closely when working at the series of drawings commissioned from him by Henry Rivett-Carnac. It is no accident that when Lockwood wishes to make the point that bird-fanciers across the empire share a common pool of experience, he cites the ‘Spitalfields weaver or Staffordshire potter’ – who Lockwood tells us, ‘if he could speak the language, would find himself quite at home’ in Lahore’s bird bazaar. And this link in turn moves Lockwood to make one of his sporadic reflections on the steady homogenization of metropolitan culture, the diminution of its expressive range and the abstraction of its metaphorical dimension from natural referents. London’s own bird market at Seven Dials, he remarks, is a sad affair compared to even one of the smaller of its India counterparts. But more than this, the idiom bartered and thrown about among the stalls there betrays the want of zest. This is directly in line with what his son would write, many years later in 1896, in a letter to the American psychologist William James. Rudyard describes how those who lose touch with craft tradition also steadily lose the full use of their tongues – and the consequent dilemma for writers, who necessarily dwell among the Sons of Mary. As he puts it, in the course of the nineteenth century, ‘We, the bourgeoisie [sic], became inarticulate or inept.’ 9

It must be noted that India itself is by no means excluded from this narrative of decline. Indeed, India in Lockwood’s mind is already fallen, which brings us back to the issue of literate versus oral culture, classical versus vernacular language. 10 Lockwood is perhaps not quite so severe and so ostentatiously philistine as Rudyard – we need think only of the latter’s biting review of Pratap Chandra Roy’s translation of that ‘monstrous midden’ the Mahabharata. 11 Rather than the Sanskrit epics, Lockwood targets the older Vedic texts, insisting that they are altogether ‘dead and done-with literature’, utterly alien to
the vast mass of ordinary modern-day Hindus, and really no better than a ‘dead horse’ which various oriental scholars are determined to flog. Henry Colebrooke (1765–1837) is the translator cited by name, though Lockwood is probably thinking chiefly of such contemporaries as Friedrich Max Müller, whose so-called ‘solar myth’ comes in for occasional jibes among his son’s stories such as ‘The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin’. He is also, no doubt, aiming a barb at his great rival in the Indian art world, George Birdwood, and he openly attacks Keshab Chandra Sen and Dayanand Saraswati, whose Arya Samaj movement was then attaining prominence in Punjab. All are engaged in what Lockwood calls a ‘sentimental... falsification of history’, by aiming to set up India’s most ancient literature as its most authentic, a spurious index to national life and character.12

This leads Lockwood into very interesting, and conflicted, territory. A combination of oriental scholarship and revivalist reformers are, he avers, conspiring to fix India in ‘a wonderful immutability’, when in actuality the history of Hinduism ‘is one long chronicle of protest, dissent and change.’ Thus the convinced imperialist ends up by positioning himself against liberal scholars who were – at least in Müller’s case – broadly sympathetic to demands for self-government, and whose reconstructions of the past would largely inform the Vedic ‘golden age’ of nationalist discourse,13 and proposing instead a reading of Indian culture founded on ‘dissent and change’.14 It is a very striking ideological alignment that may reawaken our sense of the complexities of colonial strategies of knowledge. For we certainly must set what appear rather modern views on Lockwood’s part within the context of Punjabi administration – an administration distinctly paternalistic in its operation, that had been early founded on the personal, charismatic rule of powerful district officers. Mastery of local idiom was a vital component of this. For evidence we need only look at those telling documents, the army handbooks that were issued to officers put in command of men who were typically grouped, regimentally, by caste or religious community.15 These handbooks lay great stress on linguistic competence, and more particularly a species of wit: which is to say knowledge of proverb, oath, regional folklore, and not least the ability to joke.

We should remember always that for all their unique qualities as a family of artistic collaborators, the Kiplings were not writing in a vacuum. Lockwood is drawing in his chapters in Beast and Man, both on his local informants and on the findings of a community of folklore-gatherers then active in north India, both British and Indian. Undoubtedly the most familiar to Lockwood would have been his Punjab contemporary Flora Annie Steel, who first published the stories she transcribed and reinvented in the Indian Antiquary, before
presenting them to the metropolitan audience in her 1884 *Wide-Awake Stories* and subsequent volumes. Lockwood illustrated her *Tales of the Punjab, told by the People* in 1894, a copy of which can be found in the library at Bateman’s, and the subtitle to that volume ‘told by the People’ is plainly kindred with ‘being stories of my own people’, the subtitle to Rudyard’s collection *Life’s Handicap*.

There is much on this point that could be said about Flora Annie Steel, but to retain my focus on father and son I shall finish by returning to where I started: that is, with where Lockwood leaves off and Rudyard begins. In June 1884, a proposal appeared in the *Civil & Military Gazette* for scrapping the incongruous lyrics of popular songs for pianoforte, and their replacement with something better fitted to a subcontinental setting. Despite its tone of facetious pedantry (‘Come under the Punkah, Maud’ is the alluring title of one ditty), it nonetheless appealed to a broader Anglo-Indian discourse concerning the withered decadence of English society in comparison with their own vigorous lifestyle. If my counsel is followed, Rudyard wrote,

> there will arise a race of virile poets, owning no allegiance to, drawing no inspiration from, Western thought, who will weave for the drawing-room of the future, songs as distinctly *sui generis* as an overland trunk or a *solah topee* and breathing in every word the luxuriant imagery and abundant wealth of expression peculiar to the East. To ensure this, however, our children must be trained from their cradles to discard the nursery rhymes of an effete civilization.16

The article foreshadows several of what would become prime concerns for Rudyard Kipling as a poet: childhood development; the solidarity of a colonial community; and more broadly the binding together of community through shared values expressed in literature – or even better, song. And most importantly, for our purposes, is the abnormally high value placed here and persistently hereafter on what is culturally *authentic*, with this authenticity underlined, and reinforced, by verbal plenitude – that is, by a language ample and evocative enough to comprehend the many strands of community life. Here is what Rudyard means by that telling phrase I quoted earlier, the ‘abundant wealth of expression’ found only in Asia. Note, furthermore, that semi-serious resolution to ‘discard the nursery rhymes of an effete civilization’. The implication is that the linguistic background and general mother-wit attained by colonial children will be inherently richer, ampler, more vigorous and more true to nature than that of their British-born counterparts. India, it seems, contains the potential for just that quality which had drawn him as a schoolboy to American dialect writers like Mark Twain, Bret
Harte and Joel Chandler Harris – writers who expounded localized linguistic traditions enriched by admixtures and intersecting registers, and inflected by the transactions of everyday, usually active life. It is the promise of a revitalized English, mutating under a regimen of ‘dissent and change’, and better fitted to serve the needs of a world in which, for Kipling, the surest omen of failure and decline is inarticulacy.

WORKS CONSULTED

John Lockwood Kipling, *Beast and Man in India: a Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations with the People* (1891; repr. London: Macmillan, 1904)

John Lockwood Kipling and T.H. Thornton, *Lahore* (Government Civil Secretariat Press, Lahore, 1876)

Rudyard Kipling, *From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel* (2 vols; London: Macmillan, 1900)

Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New York: John Day, 1946)


Flora Annie Steel, *From the Five Rivers* (London: Heinemann, 1893)

NOTES


7 Reproduction reprints of *Beast and Man in India* in paperback and as an online Ebook, are easily obtainable through www.abebooks.co.uk. Prices range from £4.57 to £11.62. [Ed.]


The notion of India being in a fallen state is something Lockwood shares with, and perhaps in part derives from members of the disenfranchised Muslim clerisy who dwelt morosely on the decline or abasement of thier society. We should remember, though, that all discourses of decline and exhaustion are culturally specific. In 1879 the Urdu poet Altaif Hussan Ali suggests that the contemporary ‘ebb’ of Islam may in time yield to a renewed ‘flow’. (See Christopher Shackle and Javed Majeed, *Altaif Hussain’s 1879 Musaddas on the Flow and Ebb of Islam: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Delhi, Oxford Universities Press, 1997.))


Lockwood Kipling, *Beast and Man in India*, pp.2–3, 214.

See, for example, Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New John: John Day, 1946), pp.78, 83.

Ibid., p.7.


Pinney (ed.), *Kipling’s India*, p.45.
OF BEASTS AND GODS IN INDIA: LOCKWOOD KIPLING’S *BEAST AND MAN* AND RUDYARD KIPLING’S “THE BRIDGE BUILDERS”

By HARISH TRIVEDI

[Harish Trivedi retired as Professor of English from the University of Delhi. He is the author of *Colonial Transactions: English Literature and India* (1995), has edited Kipling’s *Kim* for Penguin Classics (2011), and is currently co-editing with Jan Montefiore a volume entitled “Kipling on India: India in Kipling,” which is the book of a conference they co-directed in 2016 at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla. *Ed.*]

The contribution made by John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) in his day job as a teacher and promoter of the industrial arts and crafts during his career of twenty-eight years in India was significant in its own right. So was his subsidiary role as the curator of the Lahore Museum in its incipient stage, when it was acquiring Buddhist sculptures of the highest quality from excavations in the nearby region of Kandahar / “Gandhara” in Afghanistan -- a role in which he is glowingly portrayed in thin fictional disguise by his son Rudyard Kipling in the first chapter of his masterpiece, *Kim*. And yet it could be argued that Lockwood’s most enduring legacy remains, firstly, the personal and creative influence he exercised on the life and literary career of his son Rudyard Kipling, and secondly, the one book he published which has for its subject-matter neither arts or crafts nor sculptures and museums but the life, belief and attitudes of the common Indian people as evidenced in their treatment of their domestic animals. In this essay, I attempt to offer a reading of Lockwood’s unduly neglected book in terms of its strengths as well as ambivalences. I then proceed to connect the book with the son, by showing how it was exploited as a rich resource by Rudyard in a short story of his, “The Bridge-Builders,” which is one of his most profoundly challenging works about the British intervention in India and the local resistance to it.

**BEAST AND MAN**

In *Beast and Man in India: A Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations with the People* (1891), Lockwood aptly names beast first and man afterwards, for he is here concerned with the two species in that order. He seems to value beast first and foremost, and man only in proportion to how well and kindly he treats the beast. In his opening chapter, he declares that the “wholesale ascription of tender
mercy to India” is but part of “a wide and general misconception of Indian life and character” and is indeed a fanciful construction of the Orientalists, “scholars working from a dead and done-with literature.” (Beast 2) Such distant-reading of India results in a plain “falsification of history” (Beast 3), as the British who know contemporary India on the ground (like himself) have reason to complain. Even the reluctance on the part of many Indians to kill any animal, including the tiniest of insects, is “from a European point of view, a cause of needless suffering,” Lockwood argues, for in the case of injured or diseased animals, “euthanasia” would be better. (Beast 4) Nor does their vegetarianism confer any “moral superiority” on the Indians for its practice is often hypocritical. (Beast 7) The “languid prescriptions” of mercy in the Buddhist religion are obsolete and irrelevant, for Buddhism in India has been “dead and done with” (apparently a favourite collocation of Lockwood’s) for centuries. (Beast 7)

From Lockwood’s account, it may begin to appear that Indians can do hardly anything right, not only in regard to animals but even to themselves. He mounts a stern and thoroughgoing castigation of the callousness and cruelty of Indians, at the same time asserting British superiority. Writing this “Introductory” chapter (placed first but like many such chapters probably written last) far from India, in “an English house in the country” presided over by a “gracious…delicate and refined Englishwoman” (Beast 8), Lockwood takes up one vaunted claim after another of the Indians’ sacrosanct and ritually prescribed obligation of kindness to animals, only to pick holes in each one, and to refute or mock it. He remarks on the “topsy-turvy morality of the East” (Beast 9) which British colonial measures such as a new legislation for prevention of cruelty to animals, passed in 1890, are attempting to reform, thus furthering the White Man’s imperialist objective of “advancing civilization and morality.” (Beast 14).

Indeed, if an anthology were to be compiled of the most denunciatory passages about India composed by British writers in order to validate the presence of British rule, the first chapter of Beast and Man would be a fair contender for inclusion.

But then, in a surprising and pleasant reversal, Lockwood in the rest of his book sings a different and distinctly more amiable tune. In chapter after chapter, entitled “Of Birds,” “Of Monkeys,” “Of Asses” etc., he recounts the folklore and the proverbs associated with each of the animals in the various parts of India, and these turn out to show a solicitous and loving concern for the animals, often verging on reverence, on the part of the common Indians. Lockwood’s insider knowledge of rural and lower-class India is nothing short of impressive, and a book that set out to be a fierce defence of animal rights in an uncaring and uncivilized
land soon turns into a good-humoured treatise on faunology as well as anthropology, including Indian religious mythology with which the unlettered peasant all over the land appears to be as conversant as the pundit.

For example, in the first chapter following the introduction, on birds, Lockwood Kipling cites a three-line verse in Hindi (transcribed in roman with just one little error, dada for data) which parrots in Hindu households are trained to recite (Beast 19). “Working people in the cities of Northern India are great bird-fanciers,” he notes, and as they sit for hours weaving or shoe-making, they often keep with them a caged singing bird as “good company.” (Beast 22–23) Even the unlikely crow is cherished as the bird that announces approaching visitors, and is regarded as an ancestral spirit hovering around. Further, Lockwood tells the reader, crows are believed “to hold panchayets, caste-councils or committees, and inflict summary punishment on offenders” amongst them. (Beast 28) Into a short paragraph Lockwood packs in six vernacular proverbs or idiomatic sayings prevalent about crows, and then proceeds to quote a “popular cradle song” in his own “paraphrase” which manages to retain rhyme as well the nonsensical whimsy characteristic of the genre:

Crow, crow! Silence keep,  
Plums are ripe in jungle deep;  
Fetch a bushel fresh and cheap  
For a babe who wants to sleep. (Beast 30)²

Fully into his stride quite early in the book, Lockwood has already demonstrated that Indians love and honour all kinds of birds, and that he in turn appreciates the Indians for doing so.

Lockwood is on even more fertile ground in his chapters on animals such as monkeys and elephants, the two animals which are endowed with perhaps the richest mythology of all animals in India; both animals held a special appeal for Lockwood as well as Rudyard. Lockwood’s overall tone of genial amusement, wonder and admiration at the many distinctive permutations of the intimate relationship between beast and man in India is probably best conveyed in a couple of instances which occur towards the end of the book. In one of them a cheetah and his keeper are shown in a sketch drawn by Lockwood as sharing the same bed and “curled under the same blanket,” except that the animal is poking his head out at the foot of the bed while the keeper, still fully covered with the blanket stretched right over his face, “lazily stretches an arm out from his end of the cot and dangles a tassel [attached to a stick] over the animal’s head which seems to soothe him.” (Beast 296).
Beast and man are seen in this case not as strange bedfellows but rather, as united in an intimate bond transcending species.

In the other episode, which for some reason is not illustrated, a tiger escapes from the Lahore zoo and begins ambling on the Mall, the main street of the city on which the zoo is located. When the chief keeper finds out what has happened, he comes running and on catching up with the tiger, speaks to it as to a naughty child and makes it turn around. The keeper unwinds his turban, ties it round the tiger’s neck, and walks it right back, still “gravely lecturing as he led. Moti [the tiger] went like a lamb.” (Beast 357)

This true incident is a marvellous illustration of the theme of the book, and Lockwood aptly places it at its climax, in his concluding chapter. But Lockwood also inserts in his account an apparently unlikely and somewhat incongruous detail. He tells us that when the chief keeper found the tiger missing, he first ran to the Government House (where the Lt.-Governor lived) “demanding an official order from the Sirkar (government) for the arrest of the truant,” whereupon somebody gave him “a large official envelope with a big seal,” and only when “thus armed” did the keeper go looking for the animal. When the tiger was found, the keeper displayed to him “the Lord
Sahib’s order” and shook it in his face, which authoritative act led to the tiger’s instant submission. (Beast 357) This embroidered circumstance can be taken at face value only if we grant several large assumptions: that the tiger waited patiently for the due official process to be completed rather than strike clean out of the city, that the chief keeper was so bound by red tape, or so terrified of superior British authority, that he could not act on his own even in a potentially life-threatening emergency, and that the tiger knew how mighty the Lord Sahib was and could read English, or at least could make out an official envelope from an ordinary piece of paper. Thus narrated, the tale could have made a fanciful Departmental Ditty by the poet Rudyard Kipling, but in Lockwood’s factual narrative it only serves to strain the reader’s credulity.

The moral of the tale thus told is clearly to reaffirm the omnipresence of British rule and its omnipotent authority over beast and man alike in India. Apparently, neither tiger nor keeper could stir without official government approval! At the end of the book as at its beginning, Lockwood remembers to pay his dues as a well-paid and paid-up member of the British paternalistic imperial authority, but in its long and lively middle, he has taken the reader on a romp through the Indian countryside, and presented its inhabitants, both animal and human, as being not only on the friendliest of terms but tied to each other in genial hamorry. Rudyard’s Kim, and in particular the colourful scenes on the Grand Trunk Road, are rightly acclaimed as a joyous, celebratory depiction of multifarious India, but vast tracts of Lockwood’s Beast and Man can be said to achieve a similar effect quite as well if not better, for in his case it is a wider and more populous panorama in its normal quotidian state, and not just a passing peripatetic episode.

Through his career of nearly three decades in India, Lockwood had for students and colleagues Indians who came mainly from a rural lower-class/caste artisan background and normally spoke in the vernacular, for they had not much English, at least to start with. Rudyard, on the other hand, as a reporter, editorial assistant and then roving correspondent on two thoroughly pro-British newspapers for seven years at a callow age (from age seventeen onwards) got to see only what made news, and often high official news, such as ceremonial vice-regal occasions. His knowledge of the vernacular remained patchy, and his solitary slumming in Lahore on sleepless nights, sometimes on sexual adventures, hardly amounted to knowing India in its ordinary, normal routine. Lockwood in his only book shows an intimate and culturally nuanced knowledge of India and familiarity with the common ways of the country, not only better than Rudyard in
all his books about India put together, but also better than many other notable British writers on India, such as E. M. Forster (1879–1970) and Paul Scott (1920–78); only Edward Thompson (1886–1946) is a possible peer. Lockwood’s book may be hard-bound at both ends with stiff imperial grand-standing but its middle is soft and vibrant, with his finger firmly on the cultural pulse of Indians and their domesticated beasts in their homely ambience.

THE BRIDGE-BUILDERS
Rudyard clearly read *Beast and Man* before publication, possibly as Lockwood was still composing it, for he contributed verse epigraphs to several of its chapters. Not long after its appearance in print, Rudyard published the two *Jungle Books* (1894, 1895), and then, after a gap, the *Just So Stories* (1902), all three volumes marked by a preponderance of animals. It is tempting to see Lockwood’s general inspiration behind these works, but a closer look reveals basic differences between his work and Rudyard’s stories. In the *Jungle Books*, Rudyard portrays animals in the wild and by themselves, except for the single human, Mowgli who also behaves just like an animal while in the jungle. In contrast, Lockwood in his book was concerned with the correlation between domestic animals and the humans who owned them. He does have a brief reference to “the wolf-child stories” which he says are “universally believed” in India, with the “the famous Lucknow case” supported also by “the evidence of European witnesses.” But then Lockwood shuts the door on the theme which fascinated his son so much by adding that “the wolf is…as a wild beast, beyond the narrow scope of this sketch [i.e., volume].” (*Beast* 281)

If there is a specific instance of a close and clear influence of *Beast and Man* on any work by Rudyard, it may be argued that this is the short story “The Bridge-Builders” (1893) which he wrote within a couple of years of his father’s book coming out. This fairly long short story, first published in Kipling’s *The Day’s Work* (1899) where it runs to 47 pages, can be divided into the following parts:

i) the building of a bridge over the holy river “Gunga” at Banaras as a splendid technological feat on the part of British engineers (“Bridge” 1–11),

ii) the sudden and unseasonable arrival of a mighty flash flood in the river which threatens to wash away the bridge even before its inauguration by the Viceroy (12–25),

iii) a dream which the British chief engineer Findlayson and his Indian mate Peroo dream together under the influence of opium, after they are washed about fourteen miles downstream to a temple-island in
the river, in which the Indian gods, represented by their animal-vehicles, hold a council to decide whether the seemingly sacrilegious bridge should be allowed to stand or not and decide, after a long and vigorous debate, in favour of the bridge (25–43), and, iv) a short concluding section in which Findlayson and Peroo are rescued by a modern Raja going by on his modern steam-launch, with the Britisher now in broad daylight shrugging off and denying the vision, while Peroo interprets it (ambiguously) to mean that the old Gods are dead because such is the will of Brahm the creator. (43–47)

The story has been read, on the strength of its first part, as Kipling’s celebration of the work ethic of the British imperialists and the sense of moral purpose with which they bore the “White Man’s burden” in order to improve the lot of their backward subject peoples. In a perceptive interpretation, Jan Montefiore quotes C. S. Lewis’s characterization of Kipling as “first and foremost the poet of work” (cited Montefiore 2007, 48), and in her elaboration of this statement adduces at length “The Bridge-Builders” virtually as Exhibit A or the primary proof. She quotes at length Kipling’s grandiloquent description of the bridge at the beginning of the story as being a “lyrical prose-poem of labour,” contrasts it with the cosmically lofty Indian view of the bridge, as it being “‘but the shifting of a little dirt,’” and notes that for Kipling, labour is not something creative but only a means of “discipline” and a “defence” against the emptiness and indeed “nothingness” of life. (Montefiore 2007, 59–61) She recalls Brecht’s poem about the common labourers who built the Pyramids, to point out that when the egotistical Findlayson claims the massive piece of construction as his bridge, he is slighting the contribution of his foreman Peroo, whom she describes as “the most intelligent person in the story,” as well as that of the village, five thousand strong, of Indian labourers working on the site. (Montefiore 2007, 54, 62) It may here be added that on the contrary, what Kipling tells us about these “underlings” is that they were “not to be trusted,” that the second British engineer Hitchcock was granted “whipping powers” of a magistrate to keep them in order, and that there were occasions when “the native workmen lost their heads,” unlike the British, of course, who like true Men always kept theirs (‘Bridge’ 247–48) – as in the opening lines of Kipling’s later poem “If…”

In what is still probably the most extensive analysis of “The Bridge-Builders,” Ann Parry argues that Peroo’s role in the story signifies that the British Raj in India will pass away shortly but so will the ingrained Indian belief in religion: “India – it is implicit in this story – is becoming
a nation, shedding its ancient past; and in doing so is accommodating itself to the technology introduced by the Imperialists.” (Parry 1986a, 21) In her explicitly materialist reading in which she cites, with full approbation, Karl Marx as predicting in the 1850s a trajectory of historical development in India in which increasing industrialization will lead to the erosion of traditional beliefs and structures such as “the Indian castes” (Parry 1986b, 12) – a prognostication that is yet to come true – Parry pays scant attention to the part played by the Hindu gods in the latter half of the story.

But it is precisely the advent and intervention of the Hindu gods which distinguishes this story from any other by Kipling, or indeed from narratives by any other writer in all the depictions of the impact of British rule and the local resistance to it. The closely fought “Mutiny” of 1857 against the British rulers having failed, it is in Kipling’s vision apparently left to the gods to decide if the British imperial project in India will survive or be swept away. This is also the part of the story which clearly derives in a significant measure from Lockwood’s Beast and Man, and it may be worth contextualizing it in some detail so as to bring out its full significance.

An assembly of the gods is quite a rare occurrence in Hindu mythology and is necessitated only by a humanly irresistible rise of evil on earth which only the gods can put down, or of some other threat to the throne and supremacy of Indra, the greatest god, and it is always held in heaven and not on earth. Rudyard is right, therefore, not to have the temerity to depict the gods themselves, but instead to have them represented by their vehicles, all animals, which they ride to travel from one place to the another and which are an indispensable part of the iconography of these gods. This is a stroke of culture-sensitive invention such as not often associated with Rudyard – and may be explained by the fact that he seems to have derived his knowledge of the system of divine vehicles from Lockwood’s Beast and Man! In his account of the peacock, for example, Lockwood begins: “The peacock is the Vahan or vehicle, of Karttikeya, a god of war, and also of Saraswati, the goddess of learning, and is sacred.” (Beast 41) Similarly, he says later: “The bull receives high honours as the vahan or steed of Shiva, and as such is known as Nandi, the happy one.” (Beast 110) Several sketches in the book show these and other animals with gods riding them, a particularly delightful one being a family portrait, so to say, of Shiva riding a bull with the child Ganesh jauntily perched on it in front of Shiva, and with Shiva’s wife Parvati (also known as Durga or Kali) following a step or two behind on her tiger, holding in one arm a multi-faced baby who can only be little Kartikeya, another name for whom is Shanmukha, the six-faced. (Beast 210)
In contrast with Lockwood’s straightforward non-fictional account, Rudyard’s introduction of the gods’ vehicles in his story is distinctly dramatic. The cataclysmic flood continues unabated and “the rain and the river roared together” when the indigo plants underfoot suddenly crackle, there is a smell of cattle, “and a huge and dripping Brahminee Bull shouldered his way under a tree.” Few stage entries could be as spectacular as this one, on a dark and stormy night, of the holy Bull, spelt with a capital B, clearly not an “it” but a “he”, who can be seen as stamped with “the trident mark of Shiva on his flank.” Other beasts follow in quick succession, “coming up from the flood-line through a thicket” (“Bridge” 27), and the divine conclave has begun.

The meeting is by Peroo called a “Punchayet,” (29) a vernacular term Kipling apparently borrowed again from Lockwood, who used it, as seen in a passage cited above, for crows and not gods, and in a humorous way, for the word punchayet, more commonly spelt panchayat, is a richly connotative word of high import. It derives from Sanskrit from pancha, meaning “five,” and aayata, meaning “containing” or “to do with,” and thus signifies a committee or jury of Five Elders in an Indian village who traditionally get together as and when required to adjudicate and if necessary punish any misdemeanor by a fellow villager. In the small and thoroughly “knowable community” of a village, the facts of the case are seldom disputed as being known only too well already to everyone, so the function of the Jury of Five is to ascertain if there were any mitigating circumstances and then to determine the quantum of punishment, which is
This traditional practice was revalidated and championed during the Indian nationalist movement for freedom by Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), who thought it to be a procedure much preferable to the cumbersome legal system imposed on India by the British, of a remote judge and two partisan lawyers locked against each other in an adversary role, each trying to persuade (or hoodwink) the judge by any means of the justness of their own respective case. After independence, the government of India has officially supported the continuance of the *panchayat* system as a form of local governance; it even has a Ministry of Panchayati Raj. The best known literary representation of the *panchayat* is probably a short story by Premchand (1880–1936), the foremost writer of fiction in both Urdu and Hindi, which is titled simply “Panchayat” in its Urdu version but “Panch Parameshvar” in Hindi, which literally means “The Five Elders are [the Voice of] God.” It depicts two close friends in a village who disregard all personal considerations and pronounce against each other when they sit in turn on that sanctified jury. Peroo uses this term as a simple analogy to a practice he knows, but the connotation of such an assembly being the voice (or voices) of God happens to be literally true here.

Though Rudyard has so far been following in his father’s footsteps regarding both the vehicle-animals who constitute the assembly and the task of adjudication they take upon themselves, he is after this point quite on his own. And he begins in his ambitious and often overreaching way to complicate and confuse the situation and to muddy the waters almost immediately. He admits to the assembly not only animals on behalf of the gods but also some gods themselves in their human forms, notably Bhairon the drunk “Man,” the anthropomorphic monkey-god Hanuman, and last but not least Krishna. He incorrectly identifies the black buck as Indra’s vehicle (which is actually a magnificent white elephant named Airavata, as befits the chief of gods), repeatedly misspells the god of love “Kama” as “Karma” (which is the accumulative record of one’s good and bad deeds), portrays Hanuman as a “grey Ape” (28), whereas he is a red monkey, and has him say that he is “the oldest of the gods” (34) (whereas he is regarded not even as a god in his own right, but is revered mainly as a devoted assistant of the god Rama). Worse, Rudyard brings together here in one big disorder several different categories or clusters of gods from distinct phases of the evolution of Indian mythology who are hardly ever seen together in Indian accounts: the Vedic gods such as Indra; Shiv and other deities from his family such as Kali (Parvati) and Ganesh; and Krishna who arrives late so that the whole debate has to be replayed for him, and
claims to be the youngest of the gods who “alone of us all walk upon the earth continually” (“Bridge” 39) whereas he is the eighth of the ten avatars of Vishnu and at the end of a human life-span is known to have died like the other incarnations. Nor is he only “the idol of dreaming maids and of mothers ere their children are born – Krishna the Well-Beloved” (“Bridge” 36) – the aspect in which Lockwood had depicted the child and adolescent Krishna as a cowherd in his chapter “Of Cows and Oxen,” calling him “the comparatively modern god Krishna” (Beast 111–14). But he is the same Krishna who grows up to preach the doctrine of valiant action to Arjuna in the seven hundred verses that comprise the core Hindu scripture the Bhagavad-Gita (a doctrine that might possibly have been more appropriate in the context of the short story). In any case, Krishna is here on the wrong river, for it is not the Ganga but India’s second most sacred river the Yamuna which is primarily associated with him and his early exploits. Kashi, or Banaras, was and is the city of Shiva, known as Vishwanath, the Lord of the Universe – which Rudyard does not seem to know. But he seems to be aware that Bhairon, more formally spelt Bhairava, is considered to be a fiercer manifestation (or alternatively, creation) of Shiva; he is worshipped equally in Buddhism and Jainism.

Altogether, Rudyard with his usual youthful exuberance invokes ten different gods or divine vehicles to crowd this scene when he would probably have been more comfortable handling just five, the prescribed number for a panchayat. The over-all impression is that of a cacophonous jumble in which the same two or three opinions are constantly repeated, and each is eventually rendered irrelevant by the introduction of a yet newer god and his new point of view: Krishna with his love, and finally the invisible Brahm with his dream. (“Bridge” 43). Again, Brahm[a] is not found in India to be on the same page of the divine roster as say Indra or Krishna; he is in another class as the creator of the universe and forms a trinity with Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the destroyer. Rudyard’s way out of the divine confusion he creates here seems to be to confound it by throwing in new and newer gods into the mix as he bumbles along.

It may be readily granted that it can seem too literal-minded to pick such faults in what is after all a piece of fiction, but then, even the most fanciful of fiction must rest on some semblance of imaginative plausibility. Would not this story lose its whole point and creative coherence if the bridge across the Ganga were said to be built not in Kashi but say in Delhi or Agra – where another river flows, the Yamuna – or even in Patna, which is a big city on the Ganga but not celebrated as a holy place of pilgrimage in the same way as Kashi or Prayag because as E. M. Forster puts it with wry irony in the opening paragraph of A
Passage to India (1924), “the Ganges happens not to be holy here”? At the same time, Rudyard deserves credit for boldly sailing farther into the deep waters of Hindu mythology than any other British fiction writer on India before or after him. As we have seen, an initial chart for his voyage was supplied to him by his father, but he then ventured well beyond Lockwood’s mainly amiable anthropological folk-lore co-ordinates to impart to that knowledge a distinctly confrontational political orientation.

The gods are used by Rudyard mainly to voice three different opinions on the purpose and prospects of British rule as symbolized by the Bridge. Mother Gunga says she has been “defiled” (“Bridge” 30) by the British endeavour to shackle the river, and if the bridge is not washed away, the faith of the pilgrims in her purifying power to wash away the sins of all those who bathe in its holy waters will decline. Hanuman tells her that such bridges and the “fire-carriages” pulling trains across them will, on the contrary, serve to facilitate the visits of more and more pilgrims to the river, and Krishna agrees that the railways bring “a thousand pilgrimages where but ten came in the old years” (“Bridge” 39). This has already happened at the holy confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna at Prayag “black with thy pilgrims” (33). (This is a no less holy place of pilgrimage about eighty miles upstream, where a 12–yearly Kumbh festival still attracts the biggest congregation of pilgrims anywhere in the world. Here, the British had skirted the issue of bridging the Ganga by building instead a railway bridge across the other river that flows through the city, Yamuna, in 1865–66). And finally, Brahm as he dreams on signifies that from his cosmic perspective (one day of Brahm, commonly spelt Brahma, is believed to last for 4.32 billion solar years), it hardly matters if the bridge stands or not, for on that time-scale it will soon enough return to dirt anyhow. Correspondingly, if the days of the Hindu gods are numbered, as is suggested in the story, it may at this rate still be some considerable time before they pass away.

The exact and elaborate technical details of innovative engineering with which the opening pages of “The Bridge-Builders” are packed form a sharp contrast with the virtually infinite space-time perspective of the Hindu gods at the end of the story. It has been suggested that there is “a violent contrast between the two worlds” represented in the two halves of the story and that this disjunction is underlined by the fact that the transition from the first half to the second half itself is violent, in the form of the mighty flood. (Parry 1986a, 3). Such dire and polarizing contrast is surely part of Rudyard’s artistic intent and design, for he stages here a head-on confrontation between the realist, materialist British view of the world and a mythological ahistorical Indian
view, projected here by the gods themselves and perceived through
the phantasmagoric lens of the two main bridge-builders, Findlayson
the architect and Peroo the foreman. In several other places, Rudyard
is dismissive and contemptuous of such mumbo-jumbo, as it may be
regarded from a Western point of view. Early in his career in India, for
example, in his review of an English translation of the *Mahabharata*, he
had mocked “its monstrous array of nightmare-like incidents,” added
that the “fantastic creations of the Hindu mythology” and their doings
were “beyond the remotest pale of human sympathy,” and concluded
that “the working world of today has no place for these ponderous
records of nothingness.” (Kipling 1886, 177, 178)

As if excusing Rudyard and his callow attitude, Lockwood said it
had to be admitted “that to a fresh occidental mind there is nothing so
tiresome as a book of Hindu mythology.” (Beast 113) But now some
years on, Rudyard allows both the Western-realist and the Hindu-
mythological points of view to co-exist, perhaps in a mellower mood of
liberality, or possibly out of his own growing God-fearing apprehension
that the British empire too would one day soon join the long-vanished
empires of the past and “be one with Nineveh and Tyre.” (Kipling
“Recessional”, 1897) It may well have helped matters that when he was
actually writing “The Bridge-Builders,” he had his father Lockwood
living with him in his house in Vermont and thus “on hand to help his
son with [this] important story,” with its “more sympathetic attitude to
India” (Lycett 1999, 348) and its “fusion of opposites.” (Allen 2007,
335)

When Rudyard wrote “The Bridge-Builders” in 1893 and published
it with its *mélange* of strange gods in the Christmas number of the
Illustrated London News, few could have imagined that British rule in
India would pass away just eleven years after Rudyard himself did.
The bridge he so memorably described and politically problematized
still stands, as the Hindu gods in their superior wisdom and grace had
allowed it to stand, but, in a postcolonial development, it now bears the
name not of the Viceroy who eventually inaugurated it, Dufferin, but of
a major leader of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Madan Mohan
Malviya (1861–1946), who fought together with Gandhi and others
for India’s independence, was a strong believer in the Hindu religion,
and a founder of the Banaras Hindu University (est.1915). Two other
bridges over the Ganga at Banaras have been constructed, flanking
Rudyard’s “Kashi Bridge” on either side at a distance of about eight to
ten kilometres, both built by Indian engineers and without the slightest
remonstrance from man, beast or god.

Rudyard’s “The Bridge-Builders” itself may be said to stand as a
little literary monument to his exceptionally happy and harmonious and
creatively collaborative relationship with his father Lockwood. It also reflects his maturing and mellowing relationship with India in the years after leaving it, which is also apparent in his short story “The Miracle of Puran Bhagat” (1894), in the writing of which also “he drew heavily on his father’s knowledge and expertise” (Ricketts 1999, 217), though in a less directly demonstrable way. In turn, Rudyard right at the beginning of his novel *Kim* in his portrait of Lockwood as the Curator all but apotheosized his father, for the Curator appears to know as much about Buddhism as the holy Lama does if not a little more and the two instantly forge a friendship which the Lama describes as that “between priest and priest.” (Kipling 1901, 14) Lockwood certainly seems to have known a lot more about most matters Indian than Rudyard did, and to have given his son the full benefit of that knowledge. As G.C. Beresford, a close school-friend of Rudyard’s who too later served in India as a civil engineer in the Public Works Department like Findlayson the bridge-builder in Rudyard’s story, put it in his memoir *Schooldays with Kipling* (1936): “Native life, so staggering and bewildering and seemingly profound became like an open book – and all in the shortest time possible [owing to Lockwood’s guidance] so that [Rudyard’s] genius preserved all its pertness, its élan, its dash, its joy of discovery and creation” (Beresford, cited in Devadawson 2014, 25). From *Beast and Man* to “The Bridge-Builders” was a long and winding road, and the son and the father seem to have travelled together on it, arm in arm.

**WORKS CITED**


NOTES

1 For a fuller discussion of Lockwood Kipling’s influence on his son Rudyard, see my article “Paternal Legacy: Lockwood Kipling and Rudyard Kipling,” in Kipling in India: India in Kipling, eds. Harish Trivedi and Jan Montefiore, Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study (forthcoming).

2 This rhyme reappears, in a different translation, in Rudyard’s story “Without Benefit of Clergy” where Ameera soothes her baby Tota “with the wonderful rhyme of Aré Koko ! Jaré koko which says –
Oh crow! Go, crow! Baby’s sleeping sound,
And the wild plums grow in the jungle, only a penny a pound.
Only a penny a pound, baba…”
Rudyard Kipling Life’s Handicap. 1891 London Macmillan, p. 141. [Ed.]

3 The vehicles and the Gods associated with them are, in order of appearance, the Bull, the vehicle of Shiv[a]; the Parrot, associated with Karma (not Karma as spelt here by Kipling); a monstrous grey Ape, later identified as Hanuman; a drunken Man, later identified as Bhairon; a Crocodile, also called Mugger (Hindi word for crocodile), the vehicle of Mother Gunga; an Elephant, identified as Ganesha; the Ass, identified with Sitala Mata; Krishna; and Brahm[a], who is referred to by the Buck but neither appears nor is represented. Some of the vehicles speak for their gods, while some of the gods have no vehicles and appear and speak directly.

4 See NRG, note on line 22–24 of p. 42 of “The Bridge-Builders”
Rudyard Kipling’s four-year sojourn in New England, from 1892 to 1896, allowed his father, John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) – museum administrator, art teacher, and scholar of Indian craft traditions – to rekindle friendships with two influential figures of the American Gilded Age: Lockwood de Forest and Charles Eliot Norton. The foremost American Ruskinian of his time, Norton (1827–1908) was a prolific journalist, a translator of Dante, and the founder of – and longtime professor in – the Department of Art History at Harvard University. Similarly versatile, de Forest (1850–1932) pursued several parallel careers – as a landscape painter, a dealer in exotic furnishings, and a high-end interior decorator based in New York City.

The cultural reach of Lockwood Kipling’s work, as it extended into elite intellectual and commercial circles of the United States, becomes clearer as we examine his relations with Norton and de Forest, who became close friends of his son as well. The careers of the two well-placed Americans – both of whom had direct experience in India – also help us to understand how the reception of Indian culture played out in different ways in the United States and Britain. The United States had its own colonial past under the British crown, after all, as well as a long history of commercial exchange with India.¹

Boston’s lucrative East India trade was well advanced when twenty-two-year-old Charles Eliot Norton, fresh out of Harvard and seemingly destined for a merchant’s life, first traveled to India in 1849 – departing from India Wharf in Boston Harbor. He was sent to India to familiarize himself with merchants and markets in Madras and Calcutta. On board, he studied the Koran and read Edmund Burke’s parliamentary speeches on India. Passionately interested in archeology, Norton made a point of visiting ancient monuments as he made his leisurely way, on horseback and rail, from Calcutta to Bombay. He was disturbed by what he witnessed of the British treatment of natives, noting with oblivious self-satisfaction – he had apparently forgotten about the awkward fact of American slavery – that his own country was “free of such evils.”²

Eager to find examples of what he called “superior civilization” among the Indians themselves, Norton formed a friendship in Calcutta
with the merchant-physician Rajinder Dutt, whom he judged “the most intelligent and cultivated Hindu” he had met; he also befriended Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, about whom he wrote an admiring profile in the *North American Review*. Norton, who lectured frequently on India in Boston and elsewhere, hoped that Sir JJ’s civic-minded charities, including the eponymous art school in Calcutta where Lockwood Kipling would teach roughly fifteen years later, might inspire his own caste of so-called Boston Brahmins with kindred largesse.

It was on a later trip to London, during the Indian Revolt year of 1857, that Norton first met Lockwood Kipling. By this time, heavily under the influence of John Ruskin, Norton had decided to leave the merchant’s business behind for a life in the arts. He had embraced the Pre-Raphaelite circle around Rossetti, becoming an especially close friend of the painter Edward Burne-Jones, Lockwood Kipling’s brother-in-law, and his wife, Georgiana, sister of Lockwood’s wife, Alice. It was in the Burne-Joneses’ company, in 1869, that Norton first heard Edward Fitzgerald’s translation of the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyám*, read aloud by Georgie. Norton’s enthusiastic article in *The North American Review* is widely credited with inspiring the trans-Atlantic vogue for the Persian poet’s quatrains.

That summer, Norton made a return trip to India and stayed with the Kiplings at their hill-country retreat in Nassik, where Norton observed little Rudyard, three years old at the time, walking hand in hand with a local farmer and calling back to his mother in Hindi, “Goodbye, this is my brother.” Such vignettes of traditional village life remained Norton’s pre-Raphaelite ideal, in both India and the United States, in the face of encroaching cultural and industrial change.

Lockwood de Forest came from a very different world, the openly competitive and dynamic urban society of New York City at the height of the American Gilded Age. It was Mark Twain who first described that corrupt era of extreme wealth and equally extreme poverty as merely “gilded” – with a superficial veneer of prosperity and high culture concealing the dross beneath – rather than “golden.” After limited success as a landscape painter, and the downturn in the art market following the financial Panic of 1873, de Forest took up interior decoration instead, partnering with the great American designer Louis Comfort Tiffany, a leader in what has come to be known as the Aesthetic Movement, for its eclectic blending of varied cultural traditions. Inspired by the Japanese display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, Tiffany, a passionate exoticist, had dispatched the English designer Charles Dresser on a collecting trip to Japan. An Indian installation in Philadelphia, mainly borrowed from London’s India Museum, had also intrigued Tiffany, who sent his partner de Forest to India in 1880.
At a time when specialized scholarly interest in Indian literature was on the rise in the United States, there was little attempt, in the aesthetic and decorative realm, to differentiate between one Asian culture and another. The phrase Asian fusion, now used to describe restaurant fare, might best define many Gilded Age interiors of the kind in which Tiffany specialized. Fusion sometimes yielded to outright confusion, as when Emerson, as late as 1845, referred to the *Bhagavad-Gita* as “the much renowned book of Buddhism.” The sophisticated distinctions that Lockwood Kipling could bring to different Indian craft practices were largely missing in the United States. De Forest was given an opportunity to help right the balance.

De Forest’s 1880 passage to India was meant to be a buying trip of Indian crafts and furnishings for the Tiffany firm. It also happened to be de Forest’s honeymoon, for he had just married Meta Kemble, of the prominent du Pont family of gunpowder fame. In London, the de Forests toured the new Indian section of the South Kensington Museum, where Lockwood Kipling had begun his career in museum administration. There, de Forest met George Birdwood, Lockwood Kipling’s rival and the author of *The Industrial Arts of India*. One may assume that de Forest was also informed of Caspar Purdon Clarke’s concurrent buying trip to India for the Museum, which must have given de Forest a sense of both the timeliness of his own project and its urgency.

In April 1881, the de Forests arrived in Lahore. There, they met Lockwood Kipling, who promptly invited them to stay in his house as they prepared for a journey into Kashmir. The two Lockwoods (who were not, apparently, related) discovered a shared commitment to the preservation, improvement, and marketing of native craft traditions, even as they mildly disagreed regarding the proper place of industrial schools in the production of Indian handicrafts. “De Forest’s position,” as Roberta Mayer notes, “was that the influence of India’s art schools should be diminished in favor of trade museums to promote the native crafts.” At the same time, de Forest shared Kipling’s commitment to opening international markets to the work of Indian craftspeople, as well as his scorn for Birdwood’s static antiquarianism. De Forest wrote to Tiffany: “He [Kipling] is curator of the museum & director of the art school & by all odds the best informed & cultivated man in Indian art matters that I have seen or met. Much more than Birdwood who has no art education at all.” Drawing on Kipling’s advice, de Forest signed a contract with the Ahmedabad Wood Carving Company to provide architectural carvings and furniture for Tiffany and the American trade. It was the start of a lifelong friendship.

Indeed, so intimate were the two Lockwoods that Lockwood Kipling insisted that his son make a point of visiting de Forest in New
York, in 1889, at the end of twenty-three-year-old Rudyard’s epic transcontinental journey as the roving correspondent for the Allahabad English-language newspaper, the *Pioneer*. De Forest “received me for my father’s sake literally with open arms,” Kipling reported. Kipling was suitably impressed by de Forest’s astonishing New York townhouse on East Tenth Street, “one of the very luxuriousest houses I’ve ever seen,” he wrote.\(^{11}\)

*Lockwood de Forest’s New York townhouse\(^{12}\)*

Partially designed by de Forest himself and completed just the previous year, the house was primarily Indian in style, the first of its kind in the United States. It served a triple function: as de Forest’s residence, his artist’s studio, and the headquarters of his decorating business. Its most arresting feature was an imposing bay window, elaborately carved of teakwood, on the second story. The window was an exact copy of a balcony that de Forest had photographed in Ahmedabad for his 1885 book on *Indian Domestic Architecture*. With its polychrome courses of brick alternating with brownstone, the aesthetically hybrid de Forest home served yet another purpose as an eye-catching advertisement, to passersby, for de Forest’s design firm.\(^{13}\)
Lockwood Kipling himself arrived in Brattleboro, Vermont, in June of 1893, amid the construction of the architecturally ambitious house that Rudyard and his American wife, Carrie, were building on a hills-ide high about the Connecticut River. Named Naulakha, in memory of Carrie’s brother and Rudyard’s close friend Wolcott Balestier, the house was a hybrid of American shingle-style and Indian bungalow.\footnote{Lockwood was en route to Chicago, as a delegate to the World’s Columbian Exhibition, intended to celebrate, a year too late, the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus’s discovery of America. Such world’s fairs had figured prominently in Lockwood’s life; he seems to have first encountered Indian art in the London Exhibition of 1851, and prepared displays in many subsequent international fairs.}

In the United States, Lockwood Kipling made a point of introducing his son to his old friend Charles Eliot Norton, another invited guest of the Chicago fair. The Kiplings, father and son, visited Norton at his summer retreat in Ashfield, in western Massachusetts, a village that Norton had essentially adopted – contributing generously to civic projects and arranging summer lectures – as a model of an earlier American nativist virtue. This “Brahmin of the Boston Brahmins,” as Rudyard Kipling called Norton, liked to tell tales of old New England, in which the dominant idea was that before the influx of ignorant foreign hordes, American farmers were well read and culturally sophisticated. In one such tale, summarized by Rudyard in \textit{Something of Myself}, Norton and a fellow professor were taking a buggy ride in the countryside and halted by an old farmer watering his horse. The professors continued their conversation, and one of them launched into a quotation he attributed to Montaigne. “Voice from the horse’s head, where the farmer was holding the bucket: ‘’Tweren’t Montaigne said that. ’Twere Montes-ki-ew.’ And ’twas.” \footnote{From Norton’s fifty-acre estate of Shady Hill in Cambridge and his rural retreat in Ashfield, with their mementos of Norton’s far-flung travels, it would seem likely that Kipling garnered ideas about the furnishing of his own house. Another inspiring model was Mark Twain’s Tiffany-furnished “steamboat gothic” house in nearby Hartford, Connecticut, from which Kipling borrowed such details as a handsome billiard room – a masculine bastion on the upper floor. Lockwood de Forest had contributed to the Twain house, embellishing the mantelpiece in the main hall with carved woodwork from India.}

De Forest was actively involved in the interior design of Naulakha as well, contributing a sideboard for the informal dining room, with hand-carved teak panels that suggested the doorways and porticos of a luxurious bungalow, as well as arranging for two opalescent Tiffany windows for Kipling’s study. He also added a handsome cornice of
carved teak, of Kashmiri origin, in the library. Lockwood Kipling, for his part, contributed plaster bas-reliefs, one of which depicts a cat hunting birds. He also fashioned an inscription in plaster letters for the study mantelpiece, with the faintly ominous biblical injunction: “The Night Cometh When No Man Can Work.”

Lockwood Kipling, who probably knew more about Indian art, craft traditions, and furniture than anyone in the United States at the time, seemed happy with the Indian aspects of Naulakha. “I think the pater is pleased with this shanty,” Rudyard wrote, with self-deprecating wit, to his cousin Ambrose Poynter, an architect, “content de ce shebang.”

Many of the ideas for the overall architectural design of the house seem to have come from Rudyard Kipling himself, apparently in consultation with his father, and perhaps with de Forest as well. Especially intriguing, in this regard, is Julius Bryant’s suggestion that Kashmiri houseboats, one of the earliest of which Lockwood Kipling is said to have designed, might have provided a model for Naulakha. And who might build a bungalow-houseboat in the Vermont hills? “Someone who would have liked to do so,” Bryant suggests, “was de Forest.”

The architect Kipling actually chose for the project was Henry Rutgers Marshall, a student of the great American architect H. H. Richardson, best known for such rugged stone and brick structures as Trinity Church, in Boston, and for his more refined shingle-style houses in Cambridge and elsewhere. Marshall is always identified, on the basis of a remark by Kipling’s Brattleboro intimate Molly Cabot, as an old friend of the Balestier family, certainly a possibility. It seems more likely, however, that de Forest was the go-between; the two aspiring architects, Marshall
and de Forest, had been classmates at Columbia College. 20 “Marshall Sahib is coming to see us early in September I believe,” Kipling wrote Meta de Forest in mid-August, “and...he will sit on our site and tell us about the house.” The phrasing suggests already established familiarity between “Marshall Sahib” and the de Forests.

Interestingly, Henry Rutgers Marshall was not only a distinguished architect; he was also an even more prominent professional psychologist. What Marshall Sahib had to say about Naulakha can be surmised from the book of psychology and aesthetic theory that he was completing even as he drew up the plans for Naulakha. Titled *Pain, Pleasure, and Aesthetics*, the book was judged “almost ‘epoch-making’” by Kipling’s friend William James, another prominent psychologist and a visitor to Naulakha. 21

Published in 1894, Marshall’s book was based on an ingenious theory of the emotions. Pleasure, in Marshall’s view, was the result of efficient response to stimuli while pain derived from inefficient response. For Marshall, the history of art and architecture could best be understood as the progressive elimination of unattractive features, those inefficient barriers to pleasure. In architecture, he wrote,

> Each new work has made it possible to eliminate some form which had been displeasing in the last effort, to alter some unsatisfactory surface, to change some deficient shadow depth. In the final results we see the record of untold endeavor towards the attainment of beauty, mainly successful because time and experiment have effected the complete elimination of the ugly. 22

What this meant in practice was an architecture of radical simplicity. Marshall had designed other houses for wealthy clients, with the customary Gilded Age ostentation and obtrusive ornament. He had come closest to his own ideals of an architecture of “elimination” in his remarkable First Presbyterian Church in Colorado Springs, which – in its Richardsonian boldness, its expanses of native rock, and its majestic line of pillars – radiates a Western embrace of the open air. But just as Kipling’s friend (and companion on the first leg of his honeymoon) Henry Adams had given Richardson an opportunity to experiment with Japanese simplicity – what Frank Lloyd Wright would call “elimination of the insignificant” – in his home opposite the White House, Kipling gave Richardson’s disciple Marshall a chance to experiment with his own pared-down, spacious, open-air aesthetic. Sounding a similar note, Lockwood Kipling recommended the Indian bungalow – another model for Naulakha – to Americans, as a way “to ensure complete comfort, with a feeling of rusticity and ease.” 23
Named in memory of a beloved friend and brother, Naulakha was, to borrow Marshall’s own schema, a house to assuage pain. In this regard, it had properties in common with the “Wish House” in Kipling’s great story: a magical house to which people came who wished to lessen the suffering of others. For Kipling, a firm believer in Feng Shui, houses could bring pleasure or pain. In the latter case, a “House Surgeon” might be needed, as Kipling wrote in his detective story of that title published years after his departure from his wish house in Brattleboro.

The house perched on the Vermont hillside turned out to have healing powers for others as well. Kipling was aware of the suffering in the countryside around Naulakha. “It would be hard to exaggerate the loneliness and sterility of life on the farms,” he wrote of Vermont as he experienced it. A favorite jaunt for Rudyard and Carrie was to drive their horse and carriage across the Connecticut River, from the Brattleboro side to the flanks of Wantastiquet, their “guardian mountain,” on the wooded New Hampshire side. On one such drive, as they ascended the winding road and approached a farmhouse, they were met, Kipling remembered, “by the usual wild-eyed, flat-fronted woman of the place.” From that high vantage point,

looking over sweeps of emptiness, we saw our “Naulakha” riding on its hillside like a little boat on the flank of a far wave.

Said the woman, fiercely: “Be you the new lights ’crost the valley yonder? Ye don’t know what a comfort they’ve been to me this winter. Ye aren’t ever going to shroud ’em up – or be ye?”

“So,” Kipling concluded, “as long as we lived there, that broad side of ‘Naulakha’ which looked her-ward was always nakedly lit.”

NOTES

1 See David Weir, American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era through the Twentieth Century (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p. 32.
3 On Norton and Dutt, see Turner, p. 74. For Norton’s profile of Jejeebhoy, see The North American Review (July 1851).
6 It is in this reactionary light that Norton’s later anti-imperialist views become more comprehensible. Norton wished to preserve what he saw as the traditional values
of the American experiment, under threat, in his view, from imperial overreach and rampant immigration. Despite his own imperialist views, most clearly articulated, for American readers, in “The White Man’s Burden,” Kipling remained on friendly terms with Norton – who helped nurse him through the crisis in New York during the spring of 1898, when he lost his daughter Josephine to pneumonia and almost died himself – and with other prominent anti-imperialists including William James, Mark Twain, and Andrew Carnegie. The de Forests also supported the Kiplings during this difficult time; Josephine died in one of their Manhattan homes.


8 Weir, p. 57. Regarding American scholarship on India, especially philology, see Weir, pp. 75–82.


10 Roberta A Mayer, *Lockwood de Forest: Furnishing the Gilded Age with a Passion for India* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), p. 75. De Forest’s comment on Birdwood is on p. 76.


12 Photograph from https://commonwikimedia.org/wiki/File: Lockwood_de_Forest_House_7_East_10_Street_detail. Accessed 29 January 2018

13 For details of de Forest’s house, see Mayer, p. 13. The house survives, with its exterior features intact, as the Bronfman Center for Jewish Culture at New York University.

14 Rudyard and Wolcott had collaborated on a novel, partly set in the American West and partly in India, called *The Naulahka*.

15 Kipling reports, later in the same passage, that Norton shared his view that Abraham Lincoln had killed off too much of the hardy native stock in the American Civil War. Steamships had made the trans-Atlantic passage too easy for the immigrants who replaced them, and “human cargoes could be delivered with all their imperfections and infections in a fortnight or so.” *Something of Myself*, Thomas Pinney, editor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 75–76.


17 Detail of Lockwood Kipling’s motto carved into the bricks below the mantelpiece of Rudyard Kipling’s study in Naulakha, photographed by Mike Kipling and retouched by John Radcliffe to make the words more clearly visible. My warmest thanks to both Mike Kipling and John Radcliffe for their generous help with this illustration. [Ed.]


19 Julius Bryant, “Kipling as a Designer,” in *John Lockwood Kipling*, p. 140.

20 Records of Columbia undergraduate classes are available online.

21 Unsigned review in *The Nation*, v. 59 (1894).

Kipling recommended Marshall as “a delightful man – a New York architect who knows every one worth knowing.”


25 Kipling, *Something of Myself*, p. 70.
TWO REPORTS FROM LAHORE

By RUDYARD KIPLING

EDITED BY THOMAS C. PINNEY

These two uncollected reports from the Civil and Military Gazette come from the Kipling Scrap-books in the Keep at the University of Sussex. They appear in this number because both are concerned with Lockwood Kipling and his preoccupations. The 1885 report on the Journal of Indian Art refers explicitly to JLK; while the tone of weary experience about putting on exhibitions, plus the allusions to London’s Brompton Road, which JLK knew well from his years at the V & A, make it probable that he influenced and/or assisted his son’s report on the 1886 Indo-Colonial Exhibition.

(1) THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN ART

Civil and Military Gazette, 3 February 1885

The fourth number of the Journal of Indian Art has made its appearance; and is in every way equal to its predecessors. A couple of articles “on Punjab wood carving” and “Rustic Ornament” by Mr. J. L. Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art and editor of the Journal, make up the letterpress of this issue, which, as usual, is profusely and elaborately illustrated; the illustrations being in all cases the work of pupils of the Mayo School. Wood-carving is a craft in which the Punjabi artisan is beyond others excellent – as a morning’s walk in Lahore city will prove; but, unfortunately, his delicate skill and wealth of fancy is at the service of his own country-men alone. The moneyed middle classes of native society, whose objects in life are rather the profits of trade and usury than the otium cum dig.¹ of Government employ, are his best customers, and for them he will work cheaply and well. In accordance with time-honoured tradition he will charge the Englishman, possibly twice, and certainly half as much again for any work that may be demanded of him; [blank in original] on taking his own time over the job. Mr. Kipling says that into each bargain enter:--“a variety of obscure and not easily understood considerations;” that is to say, when the craftsman is working for, say, a bannia of his own town, “time is but of small account, while there can be no doubt, that in producing a work that will be seen daily by his fellow townsmen, the craftsman is often actuated by a spirit of emulation and a determination to do his utmost which would be absent in work done for a foreign market.”
These personal considerations, piques and prejudices completely block the market between the European buyer and the producer – to the despair of those who really appreciate good work and are willing to pay a good price for punctuality and dispatch, as well as deftly-cut detail and elaborate pinjra borders. What the Punjabi can do if left to himself is shown in five plates representing various old doors in the Lahore city, and a modern one which has just been completed at Bhera in the Shahpur district. The last mentioned specimen is carved in deodar; and its effect when set in an expanse of brick work, is, we are told, “rich and not wanting in refinement.” To an untrained eye, the elaborately carved jambs, the conventional foliage on the panels and the pinjra or pierced geometrical work above them is extremely rich indeed. The cost of such a door used to be about thirty-five rupees; but owing to the increased demand prices have been raised. As a matter of fact, a carved door which is at present being built for a wealthy bunnia in the town of Jullundur will cost two hundred rupees; and is in no way superior to the one which has just been described. It is impossible to treat at length here on a paper so full of information and suggestion as Mr. Kipling’s; and it is equally impossible to give any idea of the illustrations wherewith that paper is embellished. The Journal is its own best exponent.

1) THE OPENING OF THE INDO-COLONIAL EXHIBITION

Civil and Military Gazette, 6 May 1886

The opening of the Indo-Colonial Exhibition by Her Majesty will excite no great enthusiasm in this country – for the reason that we are a selfish and self-contained people, taking small interest in arts and manufactures, or anything beyond the groove of our every-day duties. Nor can we expect the public at home to be more than superficially moved by the display of carved screens, copper-wares and raw products – be these arranged never so tastefully and written of never so profoundly. For a year, or it may be two years, Indian trifles will command a larger sale than they did before; exactly as Japanese curios came into the market with the appearance of the Japanese village in London. Our brothers at home have their own interests to see to; their own absorbing political conflicts to watch. They will accept, gladly and unresponsively, as is the wont of the Great British Public, the latest novelty provided for their entertainment. They will stroll from Court to Court, and from Province to Province, with the fine indiscriminating indifference which is invaluable at Exhibitions; and, despite elaborate skeleton maps, and
the clearest of labels, will depart with hopelessly tangled notions on all matters, men, and wares Indian. The *Pioneer* can hardly imagine an Englishman going through the Exhibition without coming away inspired with a sense of the vastness and importance of India – an importance which ought, to his mind, to “dwarf the petty wrangling of Parliamentary politics.” The notion is a pretty one; but it is sad to think that a fire engine, hurrying towards Knightsbridge, or a cab-horse on his knees in the Brompton Road is, to the average Englishman, a subject of livelier interest and discussion than an exhibition full of unintelligible wonders. He understands and knows about the engine and the cab horse, having seen both many times; and, it may be, having been run over by one of the other. These things have a personal interest for him which “gods and brass-ware” (under this comprehensive heading does he group all Indian manufactures) do not possess. The exhibits, he will say, are quaint. Very curious indeed. He must get some little Indian things for his drawing room. Everybody will get “little Indian things” for their drawing rooms. Several gentlemen will lecture on “India and the East.” He will attend several lectures, because India is the fashion; and he desires, moreover, to pronounce those queer names correctly. Several more gentlemen will write about “India and the East.” He will read their writings first with zeal, later with impatience, and lastly with despair. He will return, eventually, laden with “Indian things,” to the fire engine and the cab-horse, to the Police Court and the stump-orator – to “old Gladstone” and “Joey.” Thus the tide will ebb, leaving a residuum of bad Benares brass-work and Birmingham Swami jewelry on the mantelpiece of his home and the necks of his women-folk. The Police Court and the stump-orator only are eternal. They have survived the interest of many exhibitions.

NOTE

1 *otium cum dignitate*: leisure with dignity.
BOOK REVIEW


This volume, published in conjunction with the exhibition Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in Punjab and London hosted by the V&A (London) from 14 January to 2 April 2017 and the Bard Graduate Center Gallery (New York) from 1 September to 7 January 7th 2018, marks an important reassessment of a long neglected artist. Though a major figure in the British-Indian Arts & Crafts movement, better known British contemporaries have overshadowed Lockwood Kipling’s work and career. Lockwood is best known as the father of Rudyard Kipling; even Arthur R. Ankers, his sole biographer, referred to him as “The Pater”. The essays collected in this volume go some way to addressing this unfortunate neglect, showing that Lockwood’s influence was not only important in his own time, but, as Abigail McGowan notes, significantly exceeds the context of the British colonial rule in India in which he worked, and endures through to Indian post-independence and the post-liberalization era of the 1990s and 2000s. Besides providing excellent illustrations of the exhibition, individual chapters deal comprehensively with the many extraordinary and varied aspects of his life and career making this volume the first extensive study of Lockwood Kipling’s life, works and legacy.

As well as providing a cogent contextual framework for understanding and assessing Lockwood Kipling’s’s œuvre, the essays examine his diverse careers. In addition to teaching at the Sir J.J. School of Art and Industry in Bombay and later at the Mayo School of Industrial Arts in Lahore, he was a translator and illustrator of educational art textbooks. While teaching in Bombay, he ran an atelier that devised projects for the city’s new buildings; in Lahore he built up the collections and curated the Museum of Art. In this capacity as curator, he organized the Indian section installations for several national and international exhibitions and was both a co-founder of, and a contributor to, the Journal of Indian Art and Industry, as well as a journalist and special correspondent for The Civil and Military Gazette and The Pioneer. Lockwood Kipling’s writings include short fiction, a guide book to Lahore and the miscellany entitled Beast and Man in India. On retirement from India in 1893 he embarked upon his final career as decorative illustrator of books, including most famously his son’s The Jungle Books and Kim.
The catalogue’s opening chapters examine the formative years of Lockwood Kipling’s career and the extraordinary trajectories it followed. Julius Bryant outlines the intertwined cultural and mercantile routes that, in the second half of the nineteenth century at the height of the British Empire, connected the then South Kensington Museum, its Department of Science and Art and a network of art schools all over England, to the South Asian subcontinent. Examining the early period down to his departure for India, Christopher Marsden looks at Lockwood’s years as a factory apprentice and art student in the Staffordshire Potteries, through to his time as an apprentice sculptor, designer and decorator in leading London ateliers. As Marsden shows, the skills acquired and connections forged in these years were crucial in preparing Lockwood for his subsequent careers as a teacher and practitioner of sculpture, architecture and design in Bombay and Lahore, careers extensively explored by Julius Bryant later in the catalogue.

Though Lockwood Kipling was a product and agent of the Empire, the picture of him that emerges is of an artist whose fascination with, and understanding of, Indian art went well beyond that of his contemporaries. What set Lockwood apart from more famous artists and intellectuals of his time, such as George Birdwood, John Ruskin and William Morris, was in part his ‘South Kensington-style’ down-to-earth approach combined with a rare first-hand encyclopaedic knowledge of Indian art and culture. The catalogue explores at length the complex development of Lockwood’s attitude to Indian art from his Bombay years (1865–1875) to the final period of his career in India in Lahore (1875–1893). As Nadhra Shahbaz Khan remarks, it was here in Lahore that Lockwood was fully confronted with the rich artistic traditions of Indian arts and crafts, which were fast declining by the time he arrived, and began to absorb more fully the indigenous style he encountered in the city. It was also during this period that, in attempting to revive traditional Indian arts and crafts practices, Lockwood’s teaching took an exciting and original turn. Drawing on reports from the Mayo school, Khan outlines Lockwood’s contribution to an unusually hybrid syllabus that combined the teaching of traditional arts and crafts with the fundamentals of a British art education. This was implemented through multilingual illustrated translations of English textbooks, undertaken by Lockwood’s senior students under his supervision.

However, Lockwood Kipling’s influence went well beyond his teaching at the Mayo school. Peter Hoffenberg shows his pivotal role in the foundation of the Journal of Indian Art and Industry in the early 1880s, which provided a space for the discussion, dissemination and preservation of traditional Indian village crafts. Hoffenberg notes that the Journal became the stage for conflicting modes of engagement with
and understanding of these indigenous traditions, ranging from the nostalgia and broad generalisations that permeated the understanding of Indian arts and crafts of Birdwood and Ruskin, to the viewpoints of those whose interest in these traditions was much more complexly poised between their historical contextualisation and preservation and the desire to renew their relevance for the present in relation to contemporary developments and non-indigenous traditions. Lockwood Kipling was among the latter group; his view of traditional Indian crafts eschewed the desire to isolate a pure and unadulterated tradition. As well as expressing appreciation, he engaged in constructive criticism; his vision encompassed the need to preserve and improve, to protect and revive.

One major way that Lockwood Kipling contributed to an original reassessment of Indian art and reasserted its contemporary relevance was, as Susan Weber states, as organizer, curator and juror for national and international exhibitions, who also commissioned work from artisans and students for these events. As Weber states, despite the strong reservations he expressed both in his journalistic pieces and personal correspondence about the benefits of such exhibitions, many of which he felt pressured to undertake, Lockwood participated in no less than twenty-eight shows between 1865 and 1900. Driven by commercial and economic motives, these exhibitions nevertheless crucially contributed to the development of collections of Indian art and the inauguration of specialized museums in British and colonial cities, thus playing a key role in the international legitimization of Indian arts and crafts. As Bryant argues, in a chapter that discusses Lockwood Kipling’s most famous commissions, it was the Indian section of the Calcutta International Exhibition (1883) that fired the imagination of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and led to Lockwood’s collaboration with Bhai Ram Singh on the Indian Billiard Room at Bagshot Park, followed by the Durbar Hall at Osborne.

Book illustration is a further important and often neglected aspect of Lockwood Kipling’s work. Elizabeth James’ essay provides a wide-ranging account of his fascination with this medium. Though he came to book illustration relatively late in life, Lockwood pursued it indefatigably. James persuasively argues that for him, book illustration was the natural consequence of a life-long obsession with observing and recording nature, one that often led him to combine word and image. James usefully charts the many books illustrated by Lockwood Kipling, beginning with an obscure Urdu reader for elementary schools published back in 1877 and culminating with his famous illustrations for the Outward Bound edition of *Kim*. Lockwood Kipling’s intermixing of writing and the visual, and in particular both his natural
propensity towards illustration and his eye for vividly realistic and
detailed imagery, is further built upon in Sandra Kemp’s exploration of
Lockwood’s influence on his son’s art. For Kemp these same qualities
are to be found in his son’s uniquely visual and kinaesthetic literary
style, in the plot of *The Light that Failed* and the very structure of the
*Just So Stories*, the only book that Rudyard himself illustrated and
undoubtedly one of the most daring and modern experiments in the
Edwardian Golden Age of children’s literature.

Exceptionally well presented and researched, this volume offers
a wealth of archival material, much of it previously overlooked, and
asserts the importance and significance of Lockwood Kipling’s life and
work as artist, teacher, curator and illustrator, opening up many further
possible areas for research.

*Dr Monica Turci,*
*University of Bologna*
COLLECTING THE ‘RAILWAY LIBRARY’

In the 1970s I began collecting second-hand books, especially of Kipling, stimulated by a friend who also did so, and my collection grew extensively over the years. Some are rarities, including periodicals and original drawings. I would put in prior bids in auctions in Sotheby’s or Hodgsons Rooms in Chancery Lane near my office, visit a number of booksellers, and also buy from catalogues and at book fairs in Bloomsbury hotels. There was a fascination in tracking down a wanted volume and getting what I believed was a “bargain”. As to the Railway Library volumes, collected over many years, the best of which I lent to the V & A exhibition, I may have got some from a bookseller’s barrow in Farringdon Road. I have other copies, later impressions or in poorer condition (they are fragile, the covers easily detached). I don’t think I paid more than £5 for any of that genre.

Bryan Diamond
Highgate, London
ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY

The Kipling Society is for anyone interested in the prose and verse, and the life and times, of Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936). It is one of the most active and enduring literary societies in Britain and, as the only one which focuses on Kipling and his place in English Literature, attracts a world-wide membership. (Details from the Society’s web-site and membership forms from the Membership Secretary, Kipling Society, 31 Brookside, Billericay, Essex CM11 1DT. The forms quote the minimum annual subscription rates. Some members contribute a little more). The Society is a Registered Charity and a voluntary, non-profit-making organisation. Its activities, which are controlled by a Council and run by the Secretary and honorary officials, include:

• maintaining a specialised Library in the Haileybury, Hertfordshire, and Special Collection, Sussex University
• answering enquiries from the public (schools, publishers, writers and the media), and providing speakers on request,
• arranging a regular programme of lectures, and a formal Annual Luncheon with a Guest Speaker,
• running the web-site at www.kipling.org.uk for members of the Society and anyone else around the world with an interest in the life and work of Rudyard Kipling,
• and publishing the Kipling Journal, every quarter.

The Journal of the Society aims to entertain and inform. It is sent to subscribing paying members all over the world free of charge. This includes libraries, English Faculties, and ‘Journal – only’ members. Since 1927, the Journal has published important items by Kipling, not readily found elsewhere, valuable historical information, and literary comment by authorities in their field, following Kipling, whose own diverse interests and versatile talent covered a wide range of literary writing – letters, travel, prose and verse. For the serious scholar of Kipling, who cannot afford to overlook the Journal, a comprehensive index of the entire run since 1927 is available online to members or in our Library. Apply to: The Librarian, Kipling Society, 56, Chaplin Drive, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9TN, England, or email to jwawalker@gmail.com.

The Editor of the Kipling Journal publishes membership news, Society events, the texts of talks given by invited speakers, and articles on all aspects of Kipling and his work. She is happy to receive letters and articles from readers. These may be edited and publication is not guaranteed. Letters of crisp comment, under 1000 words, and articles between 500 and 5000 words are especially welcome. Write to: The Editor, Kipling Journal, 36, St Dunstan’s Street, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 8BZ, U.K., or email jem1@kent.ac.uk
MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION RATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscription Type</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Joint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK (payment by Standing Order)</td>
<td>£27</td>
<td>£37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK (payment by cheque)</td>
<td>£29</td>
<td>£39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Joint – two members, same address, one <em>Journal.</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK Young Members (under 23)</td>
<td>£14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe, airmail</td>
<td>£31</td>
<td>€43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World, surface mail</td>
<td>£31</td>
<td>US$48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World, airmail</td>
<td>£35</td>
<td>US$54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Universities and libraries are £2 (or the currency equivalent) more than the corresponding individual rate.

Cheques are accepted made out to the Kipling Society and drawn on British banks in pounds, on US banks in dollars or on European banks in Euros. For other currencies please use either a Bank Draft or a Bank Transfer in pounds sterling. Transfers should be made to the Kipling Society account at Lloyds TSB, Old Bond Street, London, using our International Bank Account Number (IBAN) GB18LOYD30962400114978 and the Bank Identity Code (BIC) LOYDGB21014.

Members who pay their subscriptions from UK taxed income may increase the value of their subscription to the Society by completing a Gift Aid Declaration, available from the Membership Secretary. This enables the Society to reclaim from H.M. Revenue and Customs the tax paid on subscriptions.

**John Lambert, Membership Secretary**, can be contacted at **31 Brookside, Billericay, Essex, CM11 1DT, U.K.**

or by e-mail: john.lambert1@btinternet.com