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"The recovery of ignored histories functions as an invitation to others to take up the reframing of their own cultural past, articulating the relationship between the colonial past and the postcolonial present."

Art Education in Colonial India:
Implementation and Imposition

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Historical inquiry in art education forms the basis of any research undertaken in the field. It is on this path that we discover ignored moments and personalities and clarify challenging ideas, thus approaching history from multiple perspectives. This historical study attempts to reframe the past of colonial Indian art education within the broader context of art education histories. It raises questions about the teaching of drawing and negotiation of teaching practices in between the cultures of the colonizer and the colonized and analyzes the similarities and differences between the art education practices of England and India. The study offers a powerful reference point from which present day practices for teaching of drawing and issues of culturally embedded pedagogy in art schools in India can be examined. By *reframing* the colonial past, this study invites students, especially South East Asian students, to establish a relationship with their past in the postcolonial context. It is an historical, theoretical, and comparative analysis, providing an opportunity to examine Indian art education from the position of both the colonizer and the colonized.

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This historical study attempts to reframe the past of colonial Indian art education during the 19th century within the broader context of art education histories. Historical inquiry in art education has formed the basis of any research undertaken in the field. On this path, we may discover undocumented moments, undocumented personalities, and clarify challenging ideas, thus, approaching history from multiple perspectives. Historians and readers of history have not been 'outsiders' to the study, but 'insiders' in the history that interests them (Erickson, 1984). The process of historical research may lead us to better knowledge of our past, and our quest for research leads us to understand, in Graeme Chalmers's (1992) words, "how we came to be where we are" (p. 254).

Efland's (1990) chronological account of how German and English art education institutions, movements, trends, and philosophies influenced pedagogical practices in the United States offered a Eurocentric narrative. Insights into art education practices in other countries have been rare. The Penn State Seminars on the History of Art Education in 1985 and 1989 turned to several histories of art education, along with ideas on the importance of the process of selection and interpretation in historical research and writing in art education. The *Handbook of Research and Policy in Art Education* edited by Eisner and Day (2004) painted a broad picture of the history of art education in the 20th century, but there has been no specific historical account of art education dealing with South East Asia.[1] Bresler (2007), on the other hand, carved out a space for international histories of art education in her text, *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education*, bringing to light ways to explore diverse histories, perhaps for the first time in many years; yet, this text offered no reference to South East Asia. Every now and then, historical accounts have appeared in *Studies in Art Education, Art Education,* the *International Journal of Art and Design Education,* and the *International Journal of Education through Art.* One of the idiosyncrasies of much of the published American and European art education historical literature has been the nonexistence of accounts of art education from South East Asia. Despite the growing number of publications in the histories of art education today, there has been an absence of discussion on the impact of colonialism on Indian art education and an examination of the complex interrelationships between the histories of art education in India and England in mid-19th century. In the limited studies that have been carried out, according to Dewan (2001), art schools in India have been represented as ineffective, alienated, and insignificant colonial institutions.[2]

Tarapor (1977) was perhaps the earliest Indian scholar to explore the history of art education in India in her doctoral dissertation, *Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature.* While her study focused on comparative literature and John Lockwood Kipling's contribution as an illustrator of his son Rudyard Kipling's books, it also highlighted an early phase of the establishment of art education in India with reference to the art schools in Bombay and Lahore. Indian art schools were briefly addressed in Mitter's (1994) survey on colonial art. Mitter explained that, although the art schools were set up as major urban centers to train artisans in order to pre-

serve Indian decorative art, the schools failed to attract indigenous artists and craftspeople. On the other hand, Dewan (2001) studied Indian craftsmen, tracing the history of the Madras School of Art. She surveyed the role that 19th-century art education played in the production of knowledge in the discipline of South Asian art history. Dewan also highlighted the inadequacy of the way the body of scholarship on art education in colonial schools has been often mentioned in the introductory chapters of longer studies on Indian art, nationalism, and modernity. She argued that this tends to conflate the different histories of the art schools, focusing on a general fine arts curriculum and individual artists; hence, the schools and their individual histories have been poorly understood.

What is missing from several of these accounts has been a critical analysis of the pedagogy of teaching art at the Indian art schools, what was taught, who the teachers were, and how the intended curriculum institutionalized a conflicting set of pedagogical practices in 19th-century colonial India. What has been also missing is an account of how individual administrators, artists, and art educators reacted in response to the imposed system and sought to reframe and reclaim cultural histories in danger of being made invisible. This omission from the literature generated my curiosity and my quest for digging deeper into forgotten histories and murky archives in ex-colonies and the British Empire. While I cannot do complete justice to fill all the gaps outlined above, for the purpose of this article, I draw on postcolonial theories to frame the history of colonial art education in India and its relationship to South Kensington in the mid-19th century.

The Colonizer, the Colonized, and the Relationship to Education

The process of colonization involves one nation or territory taking control of another nation or territory either through the use of force or by acquisition.[3] As a by-product of colonization, the colonizing nation implements its own form of schooling within its colonies. Two scholars on colonial education, Altbach and Kelly (1978), helped define the process as an attempt "to assist in the consolidation of foreign rule" (p. 2). The authors further argued that it is not only useful to look through the framework of colonialism to examine the educational experiences of former colonies, but also to comprehend the key elements of contemporary education. Understanding colonial education through a postcolonial lens lets us research the past and helps revise our understanding of the "colonial" (London, 2003, p. 291). In understanding the phenomenon of colonial education, it has been argued that schools that emerge in colonies reflect the power and the educational needs of the colonizers, and that there are significant differences between the education offered in the colony and the metropole (Altbach & Kelly, 1978). This study explores an historical narrative of the establishment of art schools in India and reviews the pedagogical practices used by the colonial bureaucrats in transferring the curriculum from the National Art Training School at South Kensington to government-run art institutions in India in the mid-19th century.

Art Education in 19th-Century Colonial India

Education was one of several means by which colonial powers sought to sustain and strengthen their authority over dependent cultures (Altbach & Kelly, 1978). Colonialism in India was displayed more openly and dominantly over a larger mass of humanity than in any other colonial territory (Basu, 1978). The British ruled India from 1757 to 1947, staying longer and exercising greater influence than any other European power. Besides India's economic and military might, there were numerous other reasons for making India an integral part of the British Empire. For example, Mitter (1994) argued, the British continued to feel

a moral obligation to bring the blessings of European progress to the colonies which led to the intervention through art to take on the task of improving the native taste. Further, introduction of new ways of teaching industrial design in London, the establishment of many provincial schools led by Henry Cole, and the Arts and Crafts movement by William Morris stressed the importance of how art was to be taught in relation to industry.[4] The aim was not to cultivate art for art's sake but, rather, to cultivate superior skills of ornamental design which would improve manufacturing. The combination of Britain's growing appreciation of Indian art wares after the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the ability to train and tutor in new and improved forms of design from South Kensington fostered an acute interest in preserving and developing traditional art industries in the colony by establishing formal art education (Guha-Thakurta, 1992).[5]

British Intervention in 19th-Century India

It is relevant to identify the fundamental objectives of the British policy on general education and arts and crafts in India in the latter half of the 19th century. The British formulated an overall education policy for India in 1835 using Lord Macaulay's "Minutes on Education" from 1834 (Viswanathan, 1995). A network of schools, colleges, and universities under Directors of Public Instruction was established throughout India. Macaulay's objective was to form a class of Indians with British taste in opinions, morals, intellect, and the capacity to serve as interpreters between the people and government (Viswanathan, 1995). Carline (1968) argued that this policy of Westernization was duly incorporated in the East India Company's Educational Dispatch of 1854 and, subsequently, confirmed when the government of India passed to the British Crown. In light of Macaulay's Minutes, the first step was to replace the traditional Indian languages by introducing English.

Viswanathan (1989) argued that English education was introduced for developing character, shaping critical thought, and forming aesthetic judgment. She further argued that the attention of the government was directed toward the importance of placing the means to acquire useful and practical knowledge within reach of the great mass of the people by replacing the local language with English (p. 3). Undermining Indian languages meant that the only alternative learning systems for Indians was English. Within this context of language, Owen Jones's 1856 text, *The Grammar of Ornament*, could also be seen as a kind of dictionary where various elements of design from all parts of the world were catalogued and recombined into a new language of design to be introduced in the colonial art schools. Art education in India can be viewed in this spirit as it was to be modeled on Henry Cole's South Kensington system of teaching drawing and design (Mitter, 1994). Like Viswanathan's (1989) study on English education, the teaching of drawing can be seen as a process of introducing moral character and the shaping of critical thought in Indian youth.[6]

Early English Influence in Indian Art Education

Formal art education in India dates back to 1798, well before the establishment of the Government School of Art and Design (GSAD) in London. Sir Charles Malet, a British resident, was responsible for establishing the first 'Western' art school in Pune.[7] The school allowed local Indian painters to assist visiting British artists. The school was run by James Wales (1747-1795), and closed after his sudden death (Mitter, 1994).[8] Forty years after the closing of the Pune School, Fredrick Corbyn opened the Calcutta Mechanics Institution in 1839, which later came to be known as the Calcutta School of Art. In 1852, Sir Charles Trevelyan proposed the setting up of four art and design schools in India in Madras (1850), Calcutta (1854), Bombay (1856), and Lahore (1875) (now in Pakistan). (See Figure 1.)

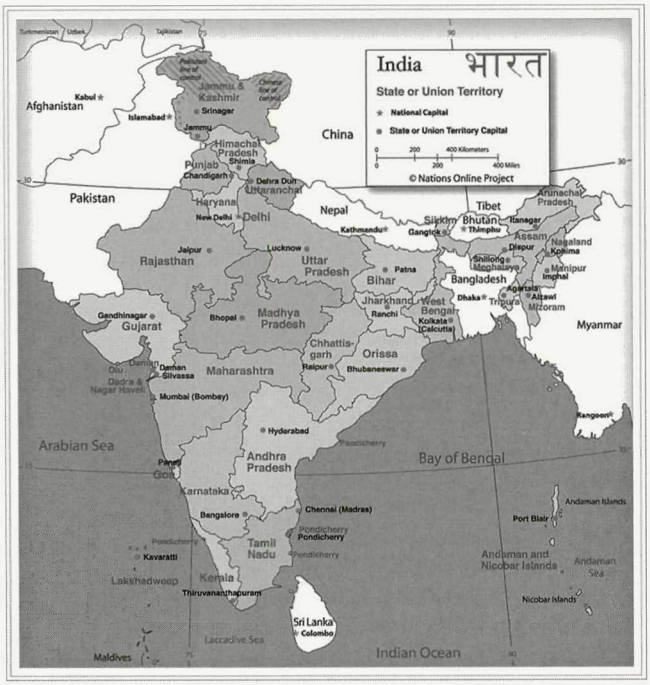

Figure 1. Map of India. (Retrieved from www.nationsonline.org/bilder/map_of_india50.jpg)

These territories were primarily seats for British trade rather than centers for Indian art and industry, thus they were chosen as venues for Indian art schools but were far apart from one another, as seen in Figure 1. This was done from an economic perspective, whereby art education within these schools would encourage the skills necessary to produce objects that fit with British taste. Goods would be produced that used Indian techniques taught by British officials and based on British aesthetic preferences. In other words, the rationale for establishing art and design schools was no different from that of the Government School of Art and Design (GSAD) in London, namely for developing designs for manufacturing by promoting Indian handicrafts and to adapt their designs to suit British tastes (Mitter, 1994). Dewan (2001) argued that the agenda to preserve rather than transform is the key to understanding colonial art education. Since art was systematically taught at the GSAD in London, it was to be used as a model for a School of Art in India. The national course of drawing instruction designed by Richard Redgrave for GSAD provided the curricular framework for Indian art schools. All students were expected to pass this curriculum which taught drawing, painting, modeling, and design.

Redgrave's drawing course consisted of 23 stages and was divided into two sections: (1) Ornament Stages; and (2) Figure and Flower Drawing Stages. Ornament Stages included five stages based on linear drawing with instruments and freehand drawing including drawing and shading from flat and round. Copying drawings from historical texts from the Renaissance constituted drawing from flat. Drawing from round was done using plaster casts of ornaments and figures. Figure and Flower Drawing Stages included human and animal figures from flat and round; flowers, foliage, and objects of natural beauty from flat and round; and nature, along with anatomical studies of humans and

animals. The painting course consisted of seven stages (stage 11-17) which included painting ornament from the flat and the cast, painting from nature, painting sketches of an object or a group as color composition, and painting the human figure. For example, painting the human figure was stage 17, and students had to learn to paint the human figure from flat copy, from nature, the nude, or draped, and also to learn timed sketches and composition (Ashwin, 1975; MacDonald, 1970). The modeling course consisted of four stages (stages 18-21) and included modeling ornaments, the human figure, animals, flowers, fruit or foliage, or objects of natural history from nature and time sketches in clay of the human figure or animals from nature. This course consisted of the last of the two advanced stages (stages 22-23), and the 23rd stage was known as the Special Technical Stage.

For those in the South Kensington Circle, a neat straight line was a first step to accuracy, and drawing was the power of expressing things accurately. Cole believed that drawing promoted the habit of correct observation. Geometry and technical drawing were considered very much a part of the pedagogy of teaching by the South Kensington circle, and similar to Dyce's philosophy, geometry was the basis of drawing and design education. In other words, the essence of what has been called the South Kensington System lay in the manner in which teachers and children were taught to exactly delineate planes and then solid geometrical forms, with nature drawing introduced at an advanced stage (Chalmers, 1990). The practical solution to establish art schools and use the systematic methods of teaching from South Kensington was chosen to preserve the local Indian crafts (Mitter, 2001).

It was inevitable that the emergence of formalized art education in India was grounded in the philosophy of South Kensington Circle with a dual purpose of preserving India's dying crafts and improving the quality of manufactured goods for the British market through the imposition of British methods of instruction. The history and development of each art school established in India was different and was approached from many perspectives. Though each art school overlapped and intersected in their pedagogical and theoretical practices under different British officials, each one also developed individual characteristics.

Art Education in the Calcutta School of Art

The first such school in India was opened by Fredrick Corbyn in 1839 and was known as the Calcutta Mechanics Institution.[9] The Calcutta Mechanics Institution was renamed as Calcutta School of Art in 1854 by the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Art. According to Fredrick Corbyn (cited in Mitter, 1994), the

> British felt duty-bound to introduce the arts of civilized life to the land. The school, expected to safeguard the morals of the youth and foster manliness in them, modeled itself on the British institutions that sought to wean artisans from improper habits, [and] to make them moral and open doors of knowledge. In India, the need was all the greater, he thought, because of the students' aversion to manual work, a scientific study of art would also instill reasoning habits in them. (p. 31)

The school's aim was to develop new sources of industrial occupation for the educated classes of the native population. Further, this could provide employment and introduce the idea of taste and refinement in the arts among the upper classes, thus, offering them the opportunity to invest in the arts at affordable prices (Rules of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Art, Calcutta, 1856).

Under the leadership of Henry Locke from 1864, Redgrave's drawing course was faithfully followed, commencing with elementary line drawing, freehand, shaded freehand, and geometrical drawing. Locke was also the first to introduce drawing from antique casts at

the school. He offered a specialization course in the visual arts: elementary painting, modeling and design, technical design, lithography, wood engraving, and photography. The aim behind this course was to train students to represent accurately by advancing from line to the solid object, then onto nature drawing (Mitter, 1994). Locke established the first art gallery at the school in 1876 with support from Sir Richard Temple and Viceroy Lord Northbrook. The purpose of the art gallery was twofold: first, to attract and develop interest in the masses about art, and second, to provide additional instruction through various art examples. In a sense, this brings us back to the original idea of the art schools, which was to study European methods of imitation and apply them to the representation of Indian art and architecture. The gallery housed plans and drawings of great engineering works from different parts of the world along with specimens of statutory and casts of antique works (Bagal, 1966). Locke's sudden death in December 1885 affected the instruction at the art school under the leadership of Jobbins. A new course of instruction was framed for each class with a focus on improving the fine arts of India, and the idea of holding annual examinations in freehand drawing, geometry, and perspective was introduced (Bagal, 1966).[10] Still-life painting was also introduced, which continued the move toward fine arts (Mitter, 1994).

Several incentives in the form of scholarships and prizes were awarded to meet the goal of improving the fine arts curriculum. Inspired by Cole, Jobbins introduced special classes for those wanting to become teachers. Jobbins's address on the use of schools of art as normal schools and the value of teaching drawing[11] was particularly striking. Like Walter Smith in 19th-century America, Jobbins argued for the need of making drawing a compulsory subject for all students, from those who appeared at university to middle school examinations in India. Similar to the South Kensington philosophy, Jobbins believed that the basis of all technical knowledge was drawing and felt that few understood the value of drawing for general education purposes. For Jobbins, if the teaching of drawing were made compulsory, it followed that teachers would be required. As these teachers would not necessarily be in the stamp of the ordinary art masters trained in the schools, it would be desirable to educate men up to the standard of pupil teachers for the special purpose of teaching in district schools. (Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department Papers Relating to Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions, 1893-96, p. 100).

Jobbins took a long leave of absence in 1895 due to ill heath, and perhaps his departure set in place a final phase of reorganization and reorientation of the art school under E. B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore who were responsible for making a shift to an emphasis on Indian art as the basis of all instruction at the school.[12]

Art Education at the Madras School of Arts

In Madras, Dr. Alexander Hunter, who was a resident surgeon, established the first art school in 1850. Hunter's objective was to improve the taste of the native public in regard to beauty of form and finish in their articles of daily use (Tarapor, 1981, p. 92).[13] He ran the school at his own expense with the idea of improving native taste through the humanizing culture of the fine arts. He also opened another school of industry in 1853 to produce domestic articles. The schools were later incorporated into a government institution called the School of Industrial Arts and consisted of two departments, one artistic and the other industrial. The artistic department taught drawing in all its branches while the industrial department offered instruction in crafts such as silverwork, metalwork, jewelry, cabinet making, carpet weaving, and pottery (Tarapor, 1981, p. 92). Similar to Henry

Cole's *Journal of Design and Manufacturers* (published monthly by Chapman and Hall beginning in 1849), the Madras School of Arts published two journals: *Indian Journal of Arts, Sciences & Manufacturers (IJASM)* and *The Illustrated Indian Journal of Arts (IIJA)* in 1851. I reviewed both the journals in their original form at the National Art Library in London. The journals document Alexander Hunter's early thinking about the establishment and working of the art school. Most often, the articles were written by Hunter himself and included geological and botanical studies, technical advice on art production, the state of Indian art, progress on the art schools, and so on. The *IIJA* was meant to be a supplement to the *IJASM*. The *IIJA* consisted of instructions in drawing figures, landscapes, and ornamental drawings. The journals were also inspired by the *Illustrated Art Journal*, published in England since 1839, which disseminated ideas about art education in Britain (Dewan, 2001, p. 24).

The other journal, *IJASM*, also published in Madras, focused on the idea of improving resources in India, which would lead to better manufacturing of Indian artware. The journal had two informative sections. The first one was titled, "amusement for idle hours"; the second, "hints for the improvement of the resources of India."The introduction section has some intriguing assumptions about the idle life in India in general, and though this journal was published in Madras, its use could have extended to other art schools as well for multiple educational and manufacturing purposes.

Other faculty appointed after Hunter were responsible for continuing to revive India's craft traditions at the art school in Madras. The workshops at the school produced tiles, bricks, and terracotta ornaments, making the school a chief supplier to local industries and the government. Subjects like woodwork, pottery, metalwork, and jewelry were also introduced, and students were assisted by local artisans. Modeling in the round and nature drawing were always encouraged as they were essential for good design skills. Classes were offered for both artisans and draughtsmen (Mitter, 1994). While the revivalist schemes were going on in Madras, Indian artware and design continued to receive considerable praise in England. This success and praise of Indian artware led Jijibhai Jamshedji, a Parsi industrialist from Bombay, to donate funds for opening an art school in Bombay. He envisioned an institution "for the improvement of arts and manufacturers and the habits of industry of the middle and lower classes" (Mitter, 1994, p. 31).

Art Education in Sir. Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art and Industry in Bombay[14]

Sir. Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art and Industry (Sir. J.J. School of Art) in Bombay opened in 1856, and drawing lessons began a year later (Mitter, 1994, p. 31). Jijibhai's aim was to form local tastes and improve the applied arts. The first appointee, James Payton, and the two teachers Joseph Crowe and George Wilkins Terry instilled the love of European art in the students. Crowe, with his background in academic art and the history of the Renaissance, took over the leadership of the Bombay school after Payton. He taught orthographic projection and geometrical and figure drawing at the school as well as offered private lessons in watercolor. Given the history of ancient Indian art and the use of fine arts, he argued that Indian students had much sensitivity for using the eye and the finger and would make excellent copyists. Hence, the curriculum of the foundation course included freehand drawing from copies and outline from foliage, drawing from copies, light and shade from ornament, and drawing from the round, perspective, and geometry. Once students had mastered these techniques, they were sent to advanced classes of drawing from life.

In 1865, John Lockwood Kipling and John Griffiths arrived from South Kensington to take charge of the decorative sculpture and painting

classes at the school. The curriculum for drawing, modeling, painting, and metalwork as well as drawing from antique casts followed a similar structure to that of Redgrave's 23-stage drawing course from South Kensington. Drawing books by William Dyce from South Kensington were also imported for the students at the Bombay School. It was under the leadership of Kipling and Griffiths that the use of relief sculpture in decorating public buildings thrived at the school. Bombay was rather unique in including architectural design on the syllabus and was the only art school to be involved in urban planning (Mitter, 1994). For example, during that time, the art school students completed the decoration on the historic Victoria Terminus Train Station—now known as Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST)—Crawford Market, and Rajabai Towers.

Many other projects and changes took place at the Bombay School in the 1870s. For example, the most remarkable project then was an extensive monograph on the Ajanta Caves executed under Griffiths with the assistance of several of his students (Solomon, 1924).[15] Under Griffiths's direction in 1872, paintings of the Ajanta Caves were copied for the first time in a detailed manner by a group of art school students.[16] The foundation course was turning into a preparatory course for painting and sculpture, and the word "industry" was removed from the school's title in 1873. The Bombay Art Society was also formed in 1888 with the idea of helping artists and encouraging the students of the art school (Burns, 1910). In 1890, similar to South Kensington, Edwin Greenwood introduced regular art examinations. Bombay School flourished under Gladstone Solomon at the turn of the century, where, like Calcutta and Madras, moves to restore Indian art were carried out. Later, the school was known for the progressive artist group that revolted against the traditional method of Indian art education.[17]

Art Education Systems in the Colony: Success or Failure?

Engaging deeper in a comparative analysis to understand the dynamic of colonial art education in India and England in the postcolonial present, the purpose of the art schools in India has become exceedingly clear. South Kensington system and its pedigrees tended to be associated with art education for social control, with instruction in the arts serving the economic needs of the colonizer (Stankiewicz, 2007). The British believed that providing formal training in drawing and design based on the precision and detail involved in science would improve student design skills, thereby influencing the quality of goods produced and increasing revenue for the colonizer. Stanckiewiz argued that art education contributed to cultural imperialism by teaching young people in colonial societies that their traditional arts were not as highly ranked in an aesthetic hierarchy as European arts, nor their artistic taste as finely cultivated as that of European experts. The early schools in India operated largely as vehicles for a kind of cultural imperialism in which curiously misplaced models of Western academic art were imposed on Indian students to the detriment of any training whatsoever in native techniques (Tarapor, 1980, p. 62). Given this, drawing instruction in the art schools in India revolved around precision and accuracy so that it could be transferred to improve Indian crafts. However, it has been difficult to understand how a European drawing master, trained in England, and therefore naïve in the knowledge of Indian indigenous arts and crafts or culture, could be thought competent at the time to effectively teach the application of Western methods to Indian traditions. To understand the phenomenon of colonial education, we need to recognize that schools that emerged in colonies reflected the power and educational needs of the colonizers, and that significant differences

existed between the education offered in the colony and in the metropole.

David Thistlewood (1986) argued that Britain's system of compulsory art education, devised and implemented in the mid-19th century, was justified primarily on the grounds of commercial significance. It was a deliberate and successful attempt to affect uniform standards of art and design workmanship in place of regional peculiarities so that goods made in Britain would have guaranteed qualities recognizable in all the markets of the world. Thistlewood further argued that the common workman, as a result, would receive some of the rewards of the resulting export-induced prosperity, and would thus gain the means to better his social circumstances. The British art school systems were minutely regulated and relied upon imposed conventions determined by central authority (Thistlewood, 1986). Similarly, in India, the art schools established and governed by the British colonizers were also micromanaged. There was a dual purpose in establishing the art schools in India: aesthetic (a revival of Indian crafts), and economic (related to the manufacture and sale of art).

England had 23 schools of art, well supported by public grants as well as the government. The schools had a total staff of 400 professors and instructors, each a highly trained practitioner in a special subject and competent to teach. In India, with its population close to two hundred million, there were only four schools of art, each separated from its nearest neighbor by a distance averaging 900 miles (see Figure 1). The burden of the entire school administration rested upon one European official for short periods and offered no support from public grants. Cecil Burns (1910), Principal of the Bombay School of Art, argued in his review on the functions of the art schools in India that since the principals were expected to fulfill other administrative duties outside of the school, it isolated them from the task of managing the art schools fully. In addition, the only assistants in the Indian art schools were local workmen who could not read or write English and who were thus unable to effectively make use of the Western textbooks used to teach some of the mechanical skills.

Another major difference between the two countries may be found in a lack of opportunities for practical art training in India as opposed to Britain. In England, opportunities for practical training of art students outside the art school were buttressed by the studios and workshops of large and wealthy firms. These studios and workshops were led by designers possessing high artistic talent and ably assisted by well-trained craftsmen. The students at these studios were able to supplement their studio and workshop practice by attending evening classes at the local art schools. Thus, studios, workshops, and schools worked in a synchronized fashion, each supplying what the other lacked—thereby preparing designers to take the place of the elder men as they retired or providing reliable expertise for new enterprises as they were started (Burns, 1910). Further, there was an unlimited supply of trained designers in England, and capitalists investing money in the industry got the best talent to work for them. In India, on the other hand, this was not possible as there were neither trained designers nor workshops to supplement what the others lacked. Hence, the Indian students were continually deprived of practical training, and thus unable to find employment. The British government did make an effort to identify opportunities of increasing practical training experiences for the Indian art school students outside of the art school. For example, the officers found it essential to establish a drawing office and studios with workshops where art school students would have the opportunity to design and execute work for decorating public buildings. These facilities would be run by faculty from the art schools and officers from the Public Works Department,

thus establishing a link between the art schools and practical craftwork. Further, this connection would open up possibilities for employment for students. As a result, more students would join the art schools and industrialists would eventually privatize the workshops (Burns, 1910). While Burns outlined these possibilities at a meeting of the officials in 1910, there was no evidence found about execution of the same in any of the reports reviewed at the India Office Library and Records in London.

The training regimes for artisans also differed markedly in both countries. The fine artist in England was trained in the academy where the life-drawing course provided the core of the training. Britain solved the problem of training artisan designers by devising a two-tiered system of professional art education (Efland, 1990). Benjamin Hayden's system had a great advantage over that practiced by William Dyce and Richard Redgrave. Hayden's proposal of the "figure first," at the very least, ensured that students were capable of drawing before being allowed to continue with their studies. By contrast, in India, an amalgamation of these two tiers existed in the art schools, with ensuing rivalries between the art and the industry departments. While the native artisans had great capacities for art, the schools of art failed to attract sons of the working craftsmen who were not able to perceive the advantage of learning systematic methods of drawing and their application to their work. Hence, the schools admitted sons of the wealthy who were simply interested in learning the academic drawings of the French ateliers and taking advantage of literary education provided by the British. Hence, the schools became repositories for academic art and institutions for the elite. Also, the debates between fine and decorative art deepened in the 1890s and called into question the very existence of these schools.

Conclusion

When viewed from the multiple perspectives of researcher, historian, and art educator in the postcolonial present, the pedagogical practices that unfolded in the educational system in the British Empire and the Indian colony were necessarily influenced by the cultural context of the time. In that context, the European was generally prized over the Indian, and the economic over the aesthetic, so that the original aim of introducing the teaching of drawing into Indian art schools—that of reviving moribund Indian crafts—was swiftly set aside. This raises the question, whose interests did the art schools really serve?

The teaching of drawing was a central method in the use of art education as a colonizing tool. Whereas nature and art were considered suspect, copybook and academy drawing was seen to be especially useful to the 19th-century Indian student of the colonial art schools. Drawing was considered to be a good training method as it was thought to encourage the development of self-discipline, a quality that British colonizers commonly believed Indians lacked. For the growing commercial and Indian elites, drawing in the 19th-century Indian art schools was seen as a valuable tool for helping to produce efficient, well-trained, peaceful, neat, well-behaved, compliant workers. Consequently, along with other aspects of the curriculum, the teaching of drawing served as a powerful means of social control. From the histories of art education in the Empire and the colony, it is clear that the 19th-century entrepreneurial class, both British and indigenous, supported an industrially based system for teaching drawing to the extent that such a system served their own economic self-interest. Making sense of the dissemination of British art education in a postcolonial context, I concur with Stankiewicz (2007), who argued that the South Kensington system and its descendants tended to be associated with art education for social control. Art instruction

served the economic needs of the dominant culture, treating learners in the art schools as future workers, as "human capital that needed to be civilized through acquiring a patina of cultural capital" (p. 18).

This research illustrates the crucial role that ignored histories of art education play in shaping art education histories. What implications does this kind of study hold for the writers of education histories in general, and of art education histories more specifically, which have mostly excluded South East Asia? Can the recovery of ignored histories of art education play a significant role in the making and writing of South Asian history? I argue that a further investigation of these histories opens up fresh and promising avenues and perspectives for research in general. The recovery of ignored histories functions as an invitation to others to take up the reframing of their own cultural past, articulating the relationship between the colonial past and the postcolonial present. Postcolonial scholarship enables scholars of South Asian art education to view Indian art education in a different light, reexamining it from the perspective of the present.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Typically, 'South East Asia' would include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, as these countries have a shared history of colonization and claim some cultural overlaps in language, religion, cuisine, and cultural practices. The term has been in use to describe studies of the region since colonial times. For the purpose of this study, 'South East Asia' refers to the Indian sub-continent.

[2] Art education in Britain's former colonies, especially India, has also been omitted from the textbooks on the history of art and design education in Britain, such as Quentin Bell's *The Schools of Design* (1963); Gordon Sutton's *Artisan or Artist* (1967); Richard Carline's *Draw They Must* (1968); Stuart MacDonald's *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (1970); and Clive Ashwin's *Art Education: Documents and Policies 1768-1975* (1975). It is also intriguing to note the absence of commentaries on Indian art education from the scholarly surveys and textbooks on Indian art history, such as Roy C. Craven's *Indian Art: A Concise History* (1997) and Vidya Dehejia's *Indian Art* (1997).

[3] Colonialism can be defined as a political-economic phenomenon whereby various European nations explored, conquered, settled, and exploited large areas of the world. For the purpose of this study, art education under the British colonial rule in India is explored from multiple perspectives of pedagogy and culture and not with the idea of redefining the term colonialism.

[4] Henry Cole: The period from 1852 to 1873, during which Henry Cole directed public art education in England, saw the greatest increase in art institutions in modern British history. During this time one saw the establishment of the first training schools for art masters; the first government art examinations and teaching certificates; the first state art education in public day schools and training colleges; the first art masters association; and the first great museum of applied art, later to become the Victoria and Albert Museum. A national system of art education, which later came to be known as the "South Kensington System," was set up with such precision and rigidity that it earned the name "cast iron" (Frayling, 1987).

[5] Since the purpose of this article is to chart the evolution and development of art education in 19th-century colonial India, ancient art education practices prior to colonization have not been discussed. Samuel Parker (1987) offered an overview of the same in his article, *Artistic practice in India: A historical overview.*

[6] It is important to note here that it was primarily men who attended these institutions, and that women were excluded as they were from many such processes during the 19th century, not only in India but in other parts of the world. Boys and young men attended the classes at the art schools in India and there is no evidence of women going to the art schools in India during the mid-19th century in any of the archival documents examined for the study. MacDonald (1970) mentioned briefly about ladies attending the South Kensington School in England where they were segregated to a special Female School of Art under Henry Cole's leadership.

[7] Pune: A city in Maharashtra-India.

[8] There is no indication of the reasons for the school's closing in any of the primary and secondary sources reviewed. It appears to have occurred between 1798 and 1800.

[9] Colleges of Art and Technology in England and its colonies have their origins in the local Mechanics Institutes of the early 19th century. During this period, local institutes, art societies, literary, and philosophical societies came together to take on a professional character, building large premises housing galleries, theaters, and classrooms. However, they were restricted to the rich, and the children of the laboring poor did not have an opportunity to attend. This led to the establishment of the Mechanics Institutes, which multiplied over time to offer a chance for artisans to learn drawing, until the formal establishment of schools of design (MacDonald, 1970, p. 38).

[10] As the purpose of the study is documenting the pedagogical practices in art education, I do not get into a debate about the fine arts and decorative arts at the school.

[11] Found in the *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department Papers relating to Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions-1893-96* in the India Office Library and Records, London.

[12] Abanindranath Tagore and E. B. Havell both pursued their quest to understand India's indigenous arts, culture, and methods of education in the context of the intricate mesh of social, economic, and historical events of their time at the Calcutta School of Art during late 19th century. Their different cultural backgrounds from the Occident and the Orient perhaps assisted them in this process of engaging in an historical conversation with India's past through their powerful writing, teaching, and artmaking, thus carving a space for themselves and Indian art education within contemporary postcolonial scholarship. They were both responsible for a revivalist scheme of art education in India at the turn of the century.

[13] Deepali Dewan (2001) provided a detailed history of the Madras School of Arts in her dissertation and outlines the role of Dr. Alexander Hunter in depth, along with complete details of the teachers and students at the art school.

[14] Sir. J. J. School of Art is my alma mater. I studied there as well as taught there. This research is indirectly responsible to the figure drawing and antique classes I took at the art school in the 1980s. While taking a class in the history of art education at Teachers College and seeing the work of South Kensington, I was able to establish the connection between my training and South Kensington which later encouraged me to research the history of art education in India, thus leading to this study. I obtained a degree in painting and a degree in metal craft from the school.

[15] Ajanta: The first Buddhist cave monuments at Ajanta date from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. During the Gupta period (5th and 6th centuries A.D.), many more richly decorated caves were added to the original group. The paintings and sculptures of Ajanta, considered masterpieces of Buddhist religious art, have had a considerable artistic influence.

[16] The reproductions from Ajanta caves by the students at the Bombay Art School were photographed, and then exhibited at the Town Hall and were later sent to the Indian Museum at South Kensington where they perished in a fire (Dalamia, 2001).

[17] For more information on the progressive artist group, refer to Yashodhara Dalamia (2001), *The Making of Modern Indian Art: The Progressives*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press. A full account of Solomon's contribution is accessible through his text, *The Bombay Revival of Indian Art* (1924). A complete history of Sir. J. J. School of Art can be found in *Story of Sir. J. J. School of Art, 1857-1957*, Bombay (1957).