

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay and Her Times

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Abstract

This article is about Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's contribution to the cause of handicrafts in India as well as at the global level in the context of decolonization, that is, the period between the 1950s and the 1960s. The article argues that these two were connected and attempts to show how the connections and the linkages between the two were intrinsic parts of the process of decolonization.

Keywords: Artisans, Handicrafts, Crafts, Craftspersons, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, India, Decolonization, Colonization

Decolonization and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay: 1960s-1980s.

This paper analyses the nuances of the exemplary personality of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay in the craft world in India in the 1960s in the background of decolonisation, one of the most significant political developments of the 1950s and the 1960s.¹ The decolonized situation in India, which also needs to be noted here, did not have any one dominant streak to it. It was often the confluence of many influences. And, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay represented the personification of these trends and discourses. To study the latter, however, means to discuss her life through an exhaustive literature that envelops almost her entire world spanning her entire lifetime, across the entire colonial period, going through the catastrophic partition of the Indian subcontinent, and thereafter, the post-colonial nation-building exercise.

The Life and Times of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's life and her contributions towards various facets of Indian life have been the subject of much research.² They comprise

¹ Prasenjit Duara, *Decolonization Perspectives from Now and Then*, (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 1-20.

² Ellen Carol Dubois, and Vinay Lal, *A Passionate Life Writings by and on Kamaladevi*

Chattopadhyay's works as well as others' works about her involvement in the various facets of life. This includes the cause of the identification, survival as well as institutionalisation of a wide range of unknown crafts in independent India. The latter was initiated by Chattopadhyay in the capacity of the Chairperson of the All India Handicrafts Board which was established in 1952 by Pupul Jayakar, and supported by Jawaharlal Nehru.

As the Chairperson, Chattopadhyay promoted the Toda embroidery from the tribal belt of the Nilgiris in Southern India. She recollects in her memoirs that the endeavour became one of struggle to rescue the embroidery from extinction as well as from distortion. The Board, thus, set up a special centre that was put under the charge of a female director with formal education although Chattopadhyay reminisces that she realized later that the intervention of formal education had unsettled the 'original taste' of the female director too. The ensuing struggle and enmeshing of the ideas of the modern and the traditional witnessed a turnout of a wide variety of items like garments, curtains, and bedspreads, all carrying the dazzling real Toda work yet very current and functional, recounted Chattopadhyay.³

Then, early in 1962, again as the Chairperson of the Board, Chattopadhyay organized an exhibition of tribal crafts of the North East with the help of a renowned anthropologist and a believer of world brotherhood, Verrier Elwin, the latter sharing his notes with her and also discussing the problems regarding the tribal crafts.⁴ She also undertook an eighteen-month-long trip, again on behalf of the All Indian Handicrafts Board, to different parts of the country along with her colleague and friend Lakshmi Chandra Jain to attempt the documentation of the country's varied crafting traditions in elaborate catalogues. The reports focused on developing crafts marketing, methods of production, and what the craftsmen most required for encouragement to their crafts. It was through one such tour that Chattopadhyay actually chose the "Horse" emblem from Bankura in West Bengal that was later accepted as the Central Cottage Industries Emporium insignia and has, since then, almost become the global face of Indian handicrafts.⁵

Chattopadhyay's stint as the Chairperson of the Board also witnessed her deep involvement with the rehabilitation work of the refugees from the then West Pakistan, with places to stay and work, through the cooperative path, post-Independence and the subsequent Partition of the Indian subcontinent. For this, she approached M.K. Gandhi with the rehabilitation print and her plan to register

Chattopadhyay, eds. New Delhi: Zubaan, 2017, 17-9; Soumhya Venkatesan, "Rethinking Agency: Persons and Things in the Heterotopia of 'Traditional Indian Craft'." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1 (March 2009), 83-5.

³ Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses Outer Spaces Memoirs*, (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2018), 88.

⁴ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 92-3.

⁵ Dubois and Lal, "A Passionate Life", 299.

the cooperative as the Indian Cooperative Union (ICU). Gandhi assured Chattopadhyay of approaching Govind Vallabh Pant who was the First Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, on the borders of Delhi. However, even before Gandhi could do something concrete for the refugee rehabilitation lands, Chattopadhyay reminisces poignantly, that he was assassinated on the 30th of January, 1948, on his way to join his daily evening prayer meeting by a Hindu religious fanatic.⁶

With Gandhi's support gone, Chattopadhyay documents her painful experience with the Government's Relief and Rehabilitation Secretariat, where they finally offered her not only the land but also the entire work of refugee rehabilitation after she threatened to organize a sit-in *dharna* (a protest where people come and sit for hours refusing to leave before their demands are met) with the refugees. Thereafter, Chattopadhyay along with Ramachandra Rao, a Gandhian worker, gradually, initiated the first community project. This also included a theatre space to preserve the cultural moorings of the displaced population which was later converted into the National Theatre Crafts Museum. The success of the community project was such that Nehru himself, who had once dismissed the idea as utopian, requested Chattopadhyay's Cooperative Union to take over the Central Cottage Industries Emporium in 1952 that had been running in deficit since it was set up in 1948 by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the All India Handicrafts Board was set up. Both the institutions, thereafter, worked simultaneously to provide for the 'long-neglected' crafts persons of India. However, Chattopadhyay interestingly documented that both Faridabad⁷ and Cottage Industries Emporium were 'deflowered when they were blossoming, through a kind of vandalism under the title of Development'.⁸

Nevertheless, undaunted by the situation, as a Chairperson of the Handicrafts Board, Chattopadhyay, further, tried to revive the situation of the crafts in Rabindranath Tagore's educational abode, Santiniketan that had in May 1951, been converted into the Central University of Visva Bharati through a Parliamentary Act. To Chattopadhyay, the institution seemed to have been caught between a standardized conventional university and an attempt to maintain the uniqueness that Tagore had bestowed upon it. Chattopadhyay, however, carried with her good memories about the place as Sriniketan and Kala Bhavan, two art centres of the University of Visva Bharati, she recounted in her memoirs, were trying to rejuvenate themselves through some senior crafts persons working on the crafts.⁹

⁶ Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, "*Inner Recesses Outer Spaces Memoirs*", (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2018), 307-8.

⁷ Faridabad was a 'self-supporting, cooperatively rooted, community of refugees displaced during the Partition'. Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 15.

⁸ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 317-22.

⁹ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 106-7.

Contextualizing Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay: A Discussion through Decolonization

In one of her seminal works published in 1963, *Indian Handicrafts*, Chattopadhyay tried to situate the Indian craftsperson within the socio-cultural milieu of India. Crafts production in India, unlike the Western countries, implied self-expression, she argued, strongly negating the Western argument of the negation of self. She agreed with Gandhi here that spinning and weaving not only supplemented the meagre wages of agricultural labourers but these were forms of self-expression too. If Chattopadhyay's unwavering belief in the Gandhian ways¹⁰ till the very end of her life has to be contextualized, then it has to be situated amidst her determinant role regarding crafts production in India and through that, within the debates of decolonization.

Leaders like Gandhi had deep comprehended the varied contradictions of the colonial situations that had helped develop and achieve mass peaceful mobilizations of the people from the hinterland to fight their colonizers. Alongside leaders like Nehru, Gandhi realized and attempted to build a discourse for the creation of a modern nation-state of India based upon a new era of justice and equality. As Chattopadhyay quotes Gandhi, 'If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history.'¹¹ India would thereafter represent these ideals at the global level, it was envisaged, based upon the twin, and closely intertwined pillars of socialism and the new discourse of civilization.

The personality of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay has to be posited within the entanglement of this vibrant nation-building exercise in India, clearly argued forth in 'totality', that is, incorporations and contradictions, by Chattopadhyay herself in her memoirs *Inner Recesses Outer Spaces Memoirs*. Even in her disillusionment with the post-independent modern Indian economic and social scenario, she represented a significant diversion that the post-independent Indian policymakers had undertaken towards big industrialization and away from crafts-based production. For, she was not romantically inclined towards crafts production. Her long-standing commitment towards the latter and for crafts persons was based upon serious thinking through her life-long experiences through which she was constantly insistent about making crafts practice commercially viable without surrendering to the logic of the modern market because she had delved seriously with the history of crafts production to which she intrinsically linked the history of modern India and vice versa. This was primarily to argue in the context of the resurrection of the crafts and to give them a central place in the socio-economic scenario of India. It was with these serious convictions she actively involved herself in the establishment and promotion of institutions like Sangeet Natak Academy, the National School of Drama, the Crafts Museum, and the Theatre Crafts Museum in India in the 1950s and

¹⁰ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 47.

¹¹ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 71.

1960s.¹² The next section attempts to consider these aspects for discussion through snippets from her memoirs.

Placing Chattopadhyay through ‘Inner Recesses Outer Spaces’

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay’s *Inner Recesses Outer Spaces Memoirs*¹³ primarily elaborates on the making of her personal as well as material relationships through her varied lived experiences. For instance, the memoirs recount how her intrinsic relationship with the crafts had developed throughout her formative years’ relationship with the religious festivities in her house. The latter had art and aesthetic instincts, she explains, with an emphasis on homemade things like paper lanterns for Diwali (the festival of lights which is celebrated throughout India) or old dolls and artefacts that were made with natural garden materials like the banana tree from whose fibres several artefacts with exquisite workmanship could be prepared.¹⁴

The Hindu festival rituals of Mahasankranti, Janmashtami, or regarding the month of Shravan, or the Tulsi plant, or Gauri puja, are represented in her memoirs through the many hand-works that were used during the *puja* or the process of worshipping the various Gods and Goddesses. These included, for instance, ‘boats made from the trunk of the banana tree cut into pieces with a depression made in each by scooping out a little to stick into it broomsticks with the tips wrapped in oil-soaked wicks which were then lit’ during the festival of Mahasankranti. Further, during Janmashtami, as Chattopadhyay put it, ‘Krishna’s life was celebrated through representations in the tableau form with small statues, figurines, use of flowers, fruits, nuts, grass, scented roots, all ingeniously manipulated to form a variety of forms and many different attractive scenes’¹⁵.

The most poignant description, perhaps, comes through Chattopadhyay’s description of the Tulsi plant, ‘The Tulsi plant became the centre of rituals once a year when Tulsi’s marriage was performed and the platform was lit up with little clay lamps. The Tulsi plant had a permanent artistically structured platform, which was decked, and rituals were performed on it through the entire month of Shravan when we too decked ourselves. This has tied me to the Tulsi plant with an emotional link and made it a close companion. I would feel a sense of emptiness without it in my garden.’¹⁶ These descriptions strongly suggest that the basis of what Chattopadhyay has argued in her writings¹⁷, for instance, about there being no disjunction between ornamentation and decoration and the utility aspect of the crafts in the history of India, had a deep-rooted relationship with the

¹² Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 298.

¹³ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*.

¹⁴ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*. 3.

¹⁵ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*. 4.

¹⁶ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*. 5.

¹⁷ Chattopadhyay, *Crafts and the Future*, 5-14.

most formative years of life, that is, her childhood.¹⁸

Through the descriptions of her family, which comprised of large number of members from the extended family, she poignantly paints the picture of a home as an extension of the world, of the many influences that touched upon her through the lives of her grandmother and her mother and also her father. Foremost, among these ideas was that of freedom for women and for standing up for the rights of women, in myriad ways. Thus, ideas like that of feminism, Chattopadhyay could, easily showcase were not alien to that of the Indian 'culture', a concept which she also considered as the necessary determinant of any 'development' paradigm. In the latter years of her life, she very clearly accounts, that the basic reason for her disillusionment with the post-independent political and economic scenario of India was that the national policymakers had compromised with this idea. She periodically records her disenchantment and at times helplessness at the status of things in the India of the 1950s and the 1960s.¹⁹

Chattopadhyay and Annie Besant, G. Venkatachalam, M.K. Gandhi: Understanding the Completeness of Crafts

The ideas of freedom, human rights, being close to nature, and defining any kind of developmental paradigm through the vectors of nature, comprised the philosophy of the world of the likes of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay. It can further be argued that within this ideological framework, can be placed her deep associations with personalities like Annie Besant, for instance, with whom she drew close because the latter tried 'to reassert the core of our ancient philosophy and teachings as current and purposeful in practice, not distant and abstruse'. She further details that her attraction towards traditional things in clothes, ornaments, articles of everyday use, and personal and exterior décor, were important for her drawing towards the personality of Besant. For Chattopadhyay, handicrafts were more satisfying in their presentations and their production—'the chaste lines, the elegant shapes, pleasant to the touch'. They always had a special feeling, confessed Chattopadhyay, further elucidating that the starting blend of colours, 'none of which confirmed to the new ideas and norms that English education was injecting into our systems, laying a heavy hand of disapproval across the past as primitive', a reason for her attraction towards the 'complete' education of Tagore and Gandhi.²⁰

Chattopadhyay's attempts to broaden the idea of crafts to include within its definition, theatre, puppetry,²¹ pottery, music, etc. in post-colonial India, were

¹⁸ Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 300.

¹⁹ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 307.

²⁰ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 35.

²¹ Chattopadhyay wrote extensively in Marg and in one her writings she talks about puppetry and suggested that puppetry could be used as a form of expression to spread awareness amongst the people regarding the environment. Chattopadhyay's extensive writings about the various

again due to her deep involvement with these fields in the formative years of her life. For instance, in her youth days, she was deeply involved with designing costumes and experimenting with tie-dye to stain fabrics.²² It was through her involvement in the theatre world, she writes, that she came across G. Venkatachalam who was part of the Theosophical Society and possessed a vast knowledge of different Indian cultural expressions and forms like philosophy, literature, music, dance, sculpture, architecture, handicrafts. Later in post-independent India, he assisted the National Art Purchase Committee and served as a member of the boards of art studies in various universities, and as a member of the Central Museum Committee. His important contribution was in shaping the content and the structure of the three National Academies, and the formation and setting up of the Craft Design Centers for the Handicrafts Board in various regions for the reorientation of craft objects. Chattopadhyay especially appreciated Venkatachalam's creativity for promoting the continuous process of transformations in the 'objects of utility', in other words, the call for adaptations within the 'objects of utility' without damaging their basic beauty, an idea with which she was so deeply involved with.

Although Venkatachalam was instrumental in initiating Chattopadhyay's deep interest in handicrafts through exhibitions etc., it was Gandhi's influence, which revealed to Chattopadhyay the deep relationship of handicrafts with our daily lives. It was also during one of her visits to Gandhi that she was exposed to the conversations between him and James Cousins, the noted Irish poet and theosophist about the need for the use of hands that Gandhi propounded as 'one of our chief mediums for creative expression'.²³ Gandhi expounded that it was an association that was the essence of the relationship that endeared articles of everyday use to the user. This endearment found ways of enhancing the aesthetic values in these articles. The audience needed and loved to embellish their homes. And, it was here that the crafts persons employed their ingenuity through creative imagination. To this, Gandhi further propounded that the process of this creation is important because when we created something with our own hands it stimulated deep chords within us. Thus, in the Indian tradition, craftsmanship to Gandhi did not mean making novel and exotic articles to please one's fancy, but endowing everything we used in our daily life with that of beauty. Therefore, nothing was created without a purpose.

Influenced by Gandhi, Chattopadhyay began practising spinning and weaving and practised it while experiencing its subtler nuances. Since our ancient teachers, as Chattopadhyay puts it, had rejected imitation or copying, each time an artisan formulated an image, no matter what the object was, it had to be a fresh

handicrafts of India discuss the shawls of Kashmir, pile carpets, different styles of embroidery etc. found in the various parts of India. Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 300.

²² Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 66.

²³ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 67.

creation. 'Even where an existing scene or object was to be depicted, the artist or craftsman had to dwell on it, absorb the essence or *rasa*, then create'.²⁴

Gandhi aimed to give practical shape to his socio-economic ideas through his constructive program to incorporate them within the broader politics of the country. As has been discussed above, to promote his ideas, Gandhi had set up an elaborate village industries complex in Wardha for training in and demonstration of Khadi and Village Industries (Khadi is a kind of Indian homespun cotton fabric). Shri J.C. Kumarrappa helped to make the institution an important centre for several experiments and dedicated work that drew the attention of several social scientists from India and abroad. In this Wardha institution, there were experiments with biogas or alternative energy, and literature was issued to explain and propagate the ethics and pragmatic value of these experiments. These were part of Gandhi's program of encouraging the concept of totality or completeness. Moreover, this program of totality also encouraged exercises for physical relaxation and mental concentration through craftsmanship, with emphasis on spinning which everyone would practice. In this context, he emphasized basic education for the total development of the growing child through the free functioning of all its faculties. And, this was to be done through the handling of familiar functional objects of everyday use, instead of introducing strange new objects unrelated to daily use. The simple traditional machines in current use in crafts and small industries were to be improved both to accelerate the speed and make operations less burdensome.²⁵

Gandhi's ashram drew workers who propagated '*khadi*', and village industries and worked amongst Harijans, tribals and other oppressed social elements.²⁶ This creativity had been the essence of Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan too, where he had incorporated ideas from neighbouring Asian countries like China. Also, he had tried to make the basic need for total rural development essential to cultural growth, thus, trying to stimulate a sort of totality to education and through it to life which had been a sufferer in the Western emphasis on specialization.²⁷

Chattopadhyay and New Education

Chattopadhyay was also part of the Sevagram ashram for a small intimate discussion organized by *Nai Talim* (Basic Education). This program had similarities with the New Education System in Europe that, Chattopadhyay throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, had surveyed.²⁸ During this period, she attended several international conferences regarding 'New Education' in Europe, for instance, the one in Copenhagen, Denmark, organized by the New Education

²⁴ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 68.

²⁵ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 178-9.

²⁶ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 192.

²⁷ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 106-7.

²⁸ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 193.

Movement. The basic idea of this Movement was to bring out from within the child her/his talents and not to impose anything from outside. This again had parallels with the experimentations at Tagore's Shantiniketan, that is, at the core of the education process was the belief that the child had all the potential within her/him that required stimulation in the formative years itself.²⁹

She also visited some schools inspired by 'New Education' in England and Germany. There was the Rudolf Steiner School movement, initiated by the famous artist-educationist and scientist Rudolf Steiner who had aimed at developing the pupil balanced and total personality, Chattopadhyay documents in her memoirs. Other attempts into this movement were at Salin, on Lake Constance, run by the educator Kurt Hahn with the support of Prince Maximilian of Baden. There was a school in Geneva conducted by Emil Jacques Dalcroze that focused on the coordination of the brain, nerves and muscles by music as students experienced greater and finer depths along with total sensitivity and absorption. Several schools in India called upon her where she would practice her craft and some adults also formed groups to practice with her. Chattopadhyay also joined one of her courses, when she was in a school in Trichur in Kerala. Rhythm was an essential part of Tagore's education program too. He had explained to Chattopadhyay that the only aspect in which he had received training since his young days, was in rhythm. Chattopadhyay also recounts her interactions with the Home Science Institutes in Europe that comprised of students from both sexes. As the general secretary of the All India Women's Conference, she included some of these experiences in her work, she explained, and towards building a special Education Fund Association towards this objective.³⁰

Crafts, Embroidery, and Design: Chattopadhyay's Connections through History

Thus, the concepts of 'totality' or completeness, rhythm, connections with history and building contexts are important elements of Chattopadhyay's works. They also exhibit that she, through these concepts, which she had imbibed from Tagore and Gandhi, uses these in almost all her works. For instance, in her book *Indian Handicrafts*,³¹ and further in her article, 'Crafts and the Future'³² significantly, and interestingly, Chattopadhyay connected the history of Indian handicrafts with the antiquity or the beginnings of the history of humankind, 'helped by a vigorous folk tradition, a benign culture and an age when individualism was cherished and detail and precision were valued'.³³ Her strong arguments can be contextualized in her zeal to resurrect them and to provide a central place to the

²⁹ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 126.

³⁰ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 133.

³¹ Chattopadhyay, *Indian Handicrafts*, 1-9; Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 301-322.

³² Chattopadhyay, *Crafts and the Future*, 5-14.

³³ Chattopadhyay, *Indian Handicrafts*, 1-9; Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 301-322.

craftsmen, which had been ruptured with the coming of the machine age in India with the colonial intervention, as she put it.

The reason for Chattopadhyay's associating crafts and history, or rather, contextualizing the production of crafts in Indian history, probably came from her exposure to crafts as an essential part of the culture, in the countries like Sri Lanka, America, Japan, New Mexico, etc.³⁴ Chattopadhyay was tremendously impressed with the artisans of Japan, for whom she not only had appreciation but also homage. Moreover, as she put it, they still had the ancient *guru-shishya* (roughly translated as teacher-student apprenticeship) relation pattern.³⁵ The point of making these global connections through her reminiscences is to exhibit the reflection of these ideas in all her works. Her discussions about the self-sufficient village life of India from the times of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, urbanization from around the second millennium BC, the arrival of busy metropolitan commercial centres in India, as centres of economic and cultural influences over a wide range of areas, all contributed to her concept of totality.³⁶

Conclusion

To sum up, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's life, as has been proposed and discussed through this article, or rather as this article attempted to put it, can well be analyzed through India's transition from the process of colonization to decolonization.³⁷ It is in the confluence of these ideas of the emerging trends of nationalist history writing since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that Chattopadhyay's writings, reflective of her life experiences, be placed. It is for this reason that some of her ideas of an idyllic, 'unchanging' village life of rural India be placed and contextualized, although society in India can never be analyzed without the reference to caste and Chattopadhyay's writings were often bereft of these analyses. This was, perhaps, Chattopadhyay like other nationalists, defending the rights of the Indian people, especially those of the Indian craftsperson. However, what the writings contained, as far as the debates about post-colonialism have often concerned themselves with, is the incompleteness of the process of decolonization because the new nation-states like that of India often modelled their institutions in a similar approach as that of their colonial masters. This was perhaps also reflected through her silence about the Bandung Conference of 1955 in Indonesia that expressed solidarity amongst the newly decolonized Asian and African nations against racism and for economic and

³⁴ Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 232-234, 244-245.

³⁵ In Chattopadhyay's *Inner Recesses*, the name provided is National Crafts Museum which should be Japan Folk Arts Museum. Soetsu Yanagi passed away in 1961 before the establishment of the National Crafts Museum in 1977. Chattopadhyay, *Inner Recesses*, 258-260.

³⁶ Chattopadhyay, *Indian Handicrafts*, 1-9; Dubois and Lal, *A Passionate Life*, 301-322.

³⁷ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Decolonization in South Asia Meanings of Freedom in Post-Independence West Bengal, 1947-52*. (New York: Routledge Studies in South Asian History, 2009), 1-8.

cultural cooperation amongst these nations.³⁸ Anyhow, to conclude, one can say that the global influences that shaped Chattopadhyay's world and the likes of her who envisaged modern India are reflected through her writings. And, for them, the completeness or the rhythm of the decolonization process always remained unachieved.

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³⁸Duara, *Decolonization*, 1-20. The Conference had led to the initiation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961 but it soon was jolted due to the Indo-China conflict in 1962 and after the dissolution of the socialist block and the end of the Cold War in 1989, the non-aligned movement itself had become irrelevant.

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