

Caricaturing Culture in India

Caricaturing Culture in India is a highly original history of political cartoons in India. Drawing on the analysis of newspaper cartoons since the 1870s, archival research, and interviews with prominent Indian cartoonists, this ambitious study combines historical narrative with ethnographic testimony to give a pioneering account of the role that cartoons have played over time in political communication, public discourse, and the refraction of ideals central to the creation of the Indian postcolonial state. Maintaining that cartoons are more than illustrative representations of news, Ritu Gairola Khanduri uncovers the true potential of cartoons as a visual medium where memories jostle, history is imagined, and lines of empathy are demarcated. Placing the argument within a wider context, this thought-provoking book highlights the history and power of print media in debates on free speech and democratic processes around the world, revealing why cartoons still matter today.

Ritu Gairola Khanduri is a cultural anthropologist and historian of India. She is Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Texas at Arlington. In addition to her research on media, she is currently completing a book on Gandhi and material culture.





Caricaturing Culture in India

Cartoons and History in the Modern World

Ritu Gairola Khanduri





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107043329

© Ritu Gairola Khanduri 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Khanduri, Ritu Gairola, 1969-

Caricaturing culture in India : cartoons and history in the modern world \slash Ritu Gairola Khanduri.

pages cm ISBN 978-1-107-04332-9 (hardback)

1. Indic wit and humor, Pictorial. 2. India – Politics and government – Caricatures and cartoons. 3. India – Social life and customs – Caricatures and cartoons. I. Title. NC1710.K46 2014 954.03–dc23

2014001811

ISBN 978-1-107-04332-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

	List of illustrations Acknowledgments	page vii x
Introdu	action: the empire of cartoons	1
Part I	Colonial times	43
1	Upstart <i>Punch</i> es: Why is impertinence always in the vernacular?	45
2	Gandhi and the satyagraha of cartoons: cultivating a taste	68
3	"Dear Shankar your ridicule should never bite"	93
Part II	National times	119
4	Becoming a cartoonist: Mr. Kutty and Bireshwarji	121
5	Virtual gurus and the Indian psyche: R. K. Laxman	146
6	Uncommon women and common men: pocket cartoons and "situated knowledges"	174
7	Artoons and our toons: the prose of an Indian art	208
Part II	I Global times	239
8	Crafty petitions and street humor	241
9	"All our gods and goddesses are cartoons"	271

v



vi	Contents
Conclu	sions: timeless myths and timely knowledge

Notes to the text306Bibliography327Index348

294



Illustrations

1.1	John Tenniel, "The British Lion's Vengeance on the	
	Bengal Tiger." Punch. 1857.	page 5
I.2	M. Verma, "Uncle Tom-Touchy and Untouchable	
	Child." Svang Chitravali: Caricature Album. n.d.	
	(c. 1929). Kanpur.	9
I.3	M. Verma. Svang Chitravali. (c. 1929). Kanpur.	11
I.4	"Pativrata (the chaste wife) and 'the selfish male	
	community." Vyang Chitravali. 1930. Calcutta.	32
I.5	"Broader Meanings of Democracy." National	
	Council of Educational Research and Training	
	(NCERT). 2012 (2006). New Delhi.	36
1.1	Cartoonist Chandi Lahiri at his home in Kolkata.	
	2003.	46
1.2	Popular Hindi cartoonist Kaak Sahib at home in	
	Ghaziabad. 2003.	47
1.3	"Happy New Year." Hindi Punch. 1904. Bombay.	53
2.1	"The March of Civilisation." <i>Indian Opinion</i> . 1910.	
	Natal, South Africa.	78
2.2	"The Steam-Roller and the Elephant." <i>Indian</i>	
	Opinion. 1908. Natal, South Africa.	81
2.3	Arthur Wynell Lloyd's cartoon on the British Empire	
	and Indians in South Africa. Punch. 1913.	84
2.4	Leonard Raven-Hill, "The Elusive Mahatma." Punch.	
	1931.	89
2.5	Shiv Narayan Mishra, "India and Bureaucracy."	
	Svang Chitravali: Caricature Album. n.d. (c. 1929).	
	Kanpur.	91
3.1	Famous Indian political cartoonist K. Shankar Pillai,	
	working in his studio, December 31, 1942.	95
3.2	Shankar, "Lords' Prayer." Hindustan Times. 1937.	
	New Delhi.	96
		, -

vii



viii		List of illustrations	
	3.3	Shankar, "Reap the Whirlwind!" Shankar's Weekly.	
		1948. New Delhi.	99
	3.4	Shankar, "Bridging the Gulf." Shankar's Weekly.	
		1949. New Delhi.	100
	3.5	Shankar, "I Will Be Drowned." <i>Hindustan Times</i> .	100
	2.6	1939. New Delhi.	103
	3.0	Ahmed, "Separation, Not Liquidation." <i>Hindustan Times</i> . 1947. New Delhi.	109
	3 7	Jawaharlal Nehru receiving some books and badges	109
	5.1	from the Dean of Moscow University, USSR. 1955.	
		Cartoonist Shankar with Prime Minister Nehru's entourage	
		and Nehru's daughter, Indira Gandhi, in Moscow.	112
	4.1	Cartoonist Kutty at his home. 2002. Madison,	
		Wisconsin. USA.	125
	4.2	Kutty, "Chinese Dentist." Ananda Bazar Patrika.	
		1966. Calcutta.	131
	4.3	Cartoonist Bireshwar. 2004. Lucknow.	136
	4.4	Bireshwar, "Black Unrest." National Herald. n.d.	
		(c. 1978–9). Lucknow.	141
	5.1	R. K. Laxman with his Magsaysay medal at his home	
		in Pune, 2009.	147
	5.2	Sai Baba caricature for the Yuva Mahotsav cartoon	
		competition, 2003. New Delhi.	152
		Marmik cover. 1986.	155
	5.4	Cartoonist Sanjay Mistry caricaturing Sonia Gandhi.	150
		2009. Mumbai.	158
	5.5	R. K. Laxman, "On the Runway." <i>Times of India</i> .	166
	5 6	1960. Mumbai.	166
	5.0	Laxman's pocket cartoon on the beauty of statistics. Times of India. n.d. Mumbai.	170
	6 1	Cartoonist Maya Kamath. n.d.	175
		Manjula Padmanabhan, <i>Suki</i> . n.d. Mumbai and New	113
	0.2	Delhi.	183
	6.3	Mita Roy, "Sahiba." n.d. New Delhi.	184
		Maya Kamath, "Now, Now, You Can't Expect Me to	
		Quarrel with Daddy." Asian Age. 1999. New Delhi.	187
	6.5	Maya Kamath. Deccan Herald. 1993. Bangalore.	188
	6.6	Life-size cast of Laxman's Common Man sculpture	
		on Mumbai's Worli seafront. 2009. Mumbai.	191
	6.7	Kutty, "Smile Please." Ananda Bazar Patrika. 1965.	
		Calcutta.	193



	List of illustrations	ix
6.8	Kevy's "Gold Rush." Eastern Economist. 1978. New	106
(0	Delhi.	196
	Samuel, "Babuji." n.d. New Delhi.	197
0.10	Jagjeet Rana. Three phases of making <i>Tota Babu</i> . Dainik Jagran. 2003. New Delhi.	200
6 1 1	9 9	200
0.11	Cartoonist Rajendra Dhodapkar at his office. 2003. New Delhi.	203
7 1		203
	Cartoonist Samuel in his studio, 2003. New Delhi.	209
1.2	Samuel, "Vendor and Housemaid with Baby Sharing	210
7.2	a Light in the Park." Watercolor. n.d. New Delhi.	210
1.3	Abu Abraham, "Cartoonscope." <i>India Today</i> . 1976. New Delhi.	213
7.4	Abu Abraham, "Private View." 1975. New Delhi.	213
		218
	Cartoonist Kevy at his home in Kerala, 2003. Manjul in the <i>Times of India</i> office. 2003. New Delhi.	219
	Art critic Prasanta Daw at his home in Kolkata, 2003.	226
	Cartoonist V. G. Narendra at his office in Bangalore,	220
1.0	2009.	230
7.0	Sandeep Adhwaryu's "Tale of Generational Change	230
1.9	in Two Democracies." 2009. Bangalore.	231
7 10	David Low, "Water Jump." <i>Hindustan Standard</i> .	231
7.10	1945. Calcutta.	235
Q 1	Monthly meeting of the Press Council of India. 2008.	233
0.1	New Delhi.	250
8.2	Times of India advertisement, "Humpty Tumpty Has a	250
0.2	Great Fall." 1988. New Delhi.	255
83	Ravi Shankar. <i>Indian Express</i> . 1988. New Delhi.	268
	Yusuf, "Muslim World." Milli Gazette. 2004. New	200
,,,	Delhi.	280
9.2	Yusuf, "Indian Democracy." Milli Gazette. 2004.	
	New Delhi.	282
9.3	Yusuf, "Republic Day." Milli Gazette. 2003. New	
	Delhi.	283
Conclu	sion: Nicholas Garland, "Puss, Puss, Puss." Daily	
	Telegraph. 1997. London.	305



Acknowledgments

At the core of this book lies the generosity of all the cartoonists, who shared their stories and pointed me to the rich history of their art in India. I am most indebted to cartoonists Kutty (1921–2011), Samuel (1925–2012), and Bireshwar (1920–2007), who accompanied me in this long quest and sadly, are not here to see this book. For extended and deliberate interaction, I am particularly grateful to Suresh Sawant, R. K. Laxman and Mrs. Laxman, Mario Miranda, Subodh Kerkar, Vins, Ashok Dongre, Mr. and Mrs. Phadnis, Mr. Sarvade, Raobail, Jagjeet Rana, Dhodapkar, Kaak, Sushil Kalra, Shekhar Gurera, Sudhir Dar, Ajit Ninan, Sudhir Tailang, Pran, Govind Dixit, Mita Roy, Manjul, Irfan, Abhijit, Sanjay Mistry, Reboti Bhushan, Rajinder Puri, Unny, Kevy, BJ, Yesudasan, Toms, Satya N. Govind, Pawan, and Triambak Sharma. Several more interactions, too numerous to list, helped me to navigate the cartoon scene and have left their impression in the chapters that follow.

An unaccountable degree of gratitude is reserved for the incredible staff at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the National Archives at New Delhi, the Lucknow State Archives, the University of Texas at Austin, the British Library, the cartoon archive at the University of Kent at Canterbury, the Library of Congress at DC, and the University of Texas-Arlington Inter-Library Service. Fieldwork and travel to various archives was sustained by generous fellowships from the Fulbright Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the Institute for Historical Research (University of London) Mellon Foundation. A timely Richard Carly Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation allowed me to revise and complete the book manuscript. At the University of Texas-Arlington, my colleagues shared feedback and supported my professional growth in more ways than I expected – for this good fortune, I thank Christian Zlolniski, Kim van Noort, Amy Speier, Karl Petruso, Ben Agger, Desiree Henderson, Beth-Anne Shelton, Mark Cichock, and Chris Conway. Amy, Joci Ryan, Christian and graduate consultants at the UTA Writing Center posed questions and offered suggestions that have made this a better book.

X



Acknowledgments

χi

Lucy Rhymer, Claire Wood, Sarah Payne, and Rima Devereaux at Cambridge University Press were a dream come true. I have tested the patience of this fine team of experts and thank them for their confidence in my book. Margaret Case offered much appreciated and vital input at the final stages of the manuscript's preparation.

Sarah Lamb, Mrinalini Sinha, Indrani Chatterjee, Laurie Graham, Gail Minault, Deepa Reddy, Lynn Kwiatkowski, Mithi Mukherjee, Donna Goldstein, Janice Leoshko, Kevin Dwyer, Lawrence Cohen, Purnima Mankekar and Lee Segal inspired ideas, provided helpful feedback, energized me through their writings, and on several occasions nudged me to take the next step. For this I am grateful.

My brothers Gaurav and Shaurav, and sisters Seema and Shalini and their families, my in-laws the late Drs. Sushila and Om Prakash Khanduri, and friends Charu Gauniyal and Sumita Shankar Garg provided a warm and welcoming home during my travels, allowing me to concentrate on my work.

At the University of Texas-Austin, James Brow, Gail Minault, and Kamran Ali shaped an earlier incarnation of this research in helpful ways. I am grateful to them and to Pauline Strong and Kathleen Stewart for always being available to read and comment on my work. Sandya, Nusrat, Nick, Chris, Keisha-Khan, and Jennifer provided friendship and much-needed helpful critique at important moments in my career.

Memories tend to evoke more memories, revealing surprising beginnings and connections. While engaging with cartoonists' stories about their past, my own stories about how and why I chose to research newspaper cartoons took me down several memory lanes. Neeladri Bhattacharya's fine mentoring and enthusiasm at the Jawaharlal Nehru University instigated this project, several years ago, when I wrote a seminar paper for his course in modern Indian history. I could hardly have anticipated Neeladri would be engrossed in NCERT cartoon debates as I finished writing this book! For thoughtful conversations, Ganga Dhabha chit-chat, and the short but lasting good times at the Jawaharlal Nehru University campus, I remember and thank Sumita, Prasanna, Anindita, Shikha, Chaitali, Archana, Ranjeeta, Chalapathy, and Niti.

My parents Usha and Krishna Gairola stood by me through thick and thin. Their trust and unconditional love is difficult for me to match. Pankaj has been a patient and supportive spouse. He took on more than his share of domestic chores and responsibilities while also offering liberal doses of love and affection. This book has grown with our daughter Vidula, who good humoredly tolerated my absences, accompanied me to India, showed what matters most, taught me a thing or two about patience and brought music into our life. Cissy and Lou lit up matters in



xii Acknowledgments

unexpected ways by insisting on an evening walk and by purring for undivided attention.

Cartoonists and their families, libraries, archives, and presses have my sincere gratitude for permission to use their images. Versions of Chapters 1, 2, and 3 have appeared in *History and Anthropology, Visual Anthropology Review*, and *Visual Anthropology*.

I dedicate this book to GM - historian, teacher, and feminist extraordinaire.