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Pride and Curiosity: British Encounter with Textile Products in the Second Punjab Exhibition, 1881-1882**

ABSTRACT

In nineteenth-century colonial exhibitions, cross cultural encounters between humans and things shaped people's ideas and transformed emotions. British curators' possession of Indian crafts through collecting, exhibiting and interpreting, in the Second Punjab Exhibition, held in 1881-1882, in Lahore, was aimed at invoking the emotion of pride over Empire among British colonials in India. However, this cross-cultural encounter in the exhibitionary space invoked curiosity and surprise, and British officials seemed possessed by the possession, as it were.

Keywords: *Pride; Curiosity; British Empire; Indian Textiles; Second Punjab Exhibition*

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** I began preparing this article in 2019 during my postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Cambridge, UK. The Punjab Higher Education Commission and the Government College University, Lahore provided me with generous funds for the project. I am grateful to Sandria B. Freitag, Samina Choonara, Zahra Shah, Sabrina Meneghini, Sara Iftikhar and editors and anonymous reviewers of the *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* for their useful comments.

The intersection of material culture and history of emotions provides us an opportunity to explore the cultural, material and emotional world of exhibitionary spaces. (Jaritz,2003) (Downes et al., 2018) (Holloway, 2019) By adopting this approach, we can also understand the British colonials' encounter with Indian crafts in the nineteenth century. Bill Brown's Thing Theory provides us with insights to explain human-thing relationship and "how inanimate objects enable human subjects (individually and collectively) to form and transform themselves". (Brown, 2001, 1-22) This materialist methodology which Brown uses, "takes objects for granted only in order to grant them their potency –to show how they organize our private and public affection". One point requires clarification: Brown differentiates between "objects" and "things". To him, objects perform their primary function for which they are designed, while things are objects that have stopped their primary function. The crafts displayed in colonial exhibitions were isolated from their context and had stopped performing their primary function, thus, can be called things.

For reading primary sources, I employ Carolyn Steedman's technique which suggests that archives are "places for feeling things, or at least, places in which many historians feel things". (Steedman, 2018) Historians can feel emotions, and hear whispers of older people, when they record notes from these files. I use this insight with William M. Reddy's suggestion of finding 'emotives' or Barbara Rosenwein's phrase, 'emotion words' in British colonial sources. (Reddy, 2016) (Rosenwein, 2016) Re-reading of nineteenth-century sources by analysing emotional vocabulary, which reflects the contemporary social and cultural context, helps us access the emotions of peoples of the past. Undoubtedly, the materiality of things, their appearance and composition, influence human beings, but if material objects are inaccessible or do not exist, we can reconstruct them through the written record. So, the design and composition of things, in our case of textile products, will not be discussed; my focus will be on how the interaction of British with Indian textile products changed their emotions from pride to curiosity.

Nineteenth-century British colonial sources mention pride as an emotion with both negative and positive meanings. In a negative sense, it was considered as "an unreasonably high opinion of one's own superiority; insolence; rude treatment of others resulting from inordinate self-esteem". In a positive sense, pride was "a good sense, the noble and exalted pleasure springing from a consciousness of worth, upright conduct, or acts of benevolence; generous elation of heart…". (Stormonth, 1881, 474) In my discussion, pride stands for an emotion of one's own superiority leading to a particular kind of conduct.

Neil Kenny's (2004) work on curiosity in modern France and Germany is equally insightful for explaining the meaning of curiosity in nineteenth-

century Britain. For Kenny, curiosity stood for "inquisitiveness", "desire for knowledge", "anxious desire for knowledge", sometimes, it was used in "contradistinction to desire for knowledge". Curiosity encompassed not only desire but also objects of desire that were called curiosities or curious objects. Curious objects meant " 'rare', 'exotic', 'excellent', 'fine', 'elegant', 'delicate', 'beautiful', 'noteworthy', 'select', 'collectable', 'worth buying', 'small', 'hidden', or 'experimental', and so on". (Kenny, 2004, 3-4) Curiosity also carried bad connotations: "A 'curious' object was sometimes understood as a 'useless', 'uncommon', 'expensive', 'exclusive', 'learned', or 'short' one, but conversely at other times as a 'useful', 'common', 'cheap', 'popular', 'unlearned', or 'long' one". (Kenny, 2004, 6) Ambiguity characterises all these meanings of curiosity. In nineteenth-century British sources on exhibitions, the word curiosity was used to show an emotion which could destabilise existing categories, identities, agreed-upon ideas and social regulations. I will employ the same meanings for the emotion of curiosity in this article.

Pride and Exhibits

The British administrators and curators in India envisioned nineteenth-century exhibitions and museums as spaces where they could proudly display their unique, valuable and unmatchable possession of exhibits. This possession could enable them to control the production, consumption and trade of crafts in India and Europe and to fulfill their aim to integrate Indian craftsmen into the global economy. Thousands of artefacts collected, classified, exhibited, interpreted, and celebrated through grand ceremonies, which distinguished the British colonial state from local craft patrons who had limited means to make a spectacular display of exhibits.

In 1881-82, John Lockwood Kipling (1837-1911), principal of the Mayo School of Art, proposed to organise the Second Punjab Exhibition in Lahore, the capital of British Punjab. It was the first exhibition in the Punjab after 1864. More than four thousand exhibits divided in eleven classes were exhibited to showcase industrial art manufactures to attract traders and to show the progress in the manufacturing of art and industry under the Raj.[1] The Exhibition remained open for twenty-eight days with an average attendance of 332 people each day. On one Sunday, fixed for women, 266 visitors were recorded. The total number of visitors was 8739, excluding the opening day. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 36) British, French and

[1] These classes include, Cotton Textile Fabrics, Woollen, Silk, Patoli, Embroideries, Leather, Metal, pottery, Glass, Woodwork and Design. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 42)

American tourists, a member of House of Lords and three members of the House of Commons also came to see the Exhibition.

In the Exhibition, the British asserted the pride of the patron who wished to protect local craftsmen from European goods. In his address on the opening day, Robert Eyles Egerton, Lt.-Governor of the Punjab (1877-1882), said that the Punjab, being a frontier province, experienced wars and rebellions for the past few centuries, and the people and the rulers focused on arms and agriculture. It had now found peace and security under the Queen and it was the time to focus on art and manufacturing. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 18) The Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, J.B. Lyall, said in his opening address: "we do not show today any of those monumental trophies of industry assisted by science, capital, and machinery, which are (the) glory of European exhibitions. The work here brought together is chiefly of a domestic character, bearing the mark of individuality which hand labour alone can bestow, –from the tissue wrought by the peasant's needle to the jeweled ornament worn by the noble, –and will be found to be in the main based on those canons and traditions of Oriental design which are at this moment earnestly studied in all parts of the world". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 14) B.H. Baden-Powell, officiating commissioner and superintendent of Amballa division, who curated the First Punjab Exhibition and wrote the prospectus for it, underscored the importance of encouraging and reviving genuine local craftsmanship. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 4-12) The curators claimed that they would guide Indian craftsmen in making suitable products for overseas markets without changing the quality and oriental design, and without imitating European designs.

Colonial sources on the Second Punjab Exhibition show how the British art administrators took pride over the superiority of European knowledge. Lyall mentioned in his address that the interest of European scholarship led to the revival of Oriental literature, and the interest of Europeans would also encourage the humble efforts of Indian craftsmen. The Mayo School of Arts, established in Lahore for reviving art and craft, would have an opportunity to display its progress. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 15) He compared the School's products with the locals to highlight the British patronage and invoke the emotion of pride among the British colonials. Similarly, Egerton asserted that this exhibition would introduce "true taste and a knowledge of the rules which govern correct design" among Indian producers and consumers, who were "more influenced by cheap price and fashion than by true taste founded upon study and knowledge". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 17-18) But more assertive opinion, reflecting British pride over their knowledge and patronage came from J.L. Kipling, who wrote: "Under European supervision surprising results are possible. The Jail Superintendent has control over men who by great pains are turned into

workmen, the agents of the great firms he supplies with carpet visit him from time to time and let him know their requirements as to pattern and colour. And if trade were all he had to think of, very large profits could be made…The whole system under which [the free workman works and] lives tends rather to obscure than to bring him before the public".[2]

The organisers displayed modern needlework of English ladies, such as Elizabeth Smyth, Rosalie Lancaster and Georgina Keeval, to educate the Indians in modern craft.[3] Kipling and his students showed this display to specially invited group of 121 artisans to emphasise "the best and most instructive examples of various handicrafts".[4] Similarly, Kipling's wife, Alice, decorated a bay to show a model of interior design of an Anglo-Indian house, and "it fairly served its purpose of calling attention to the subject, and was appreciated by the class for whom it was intended". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 35) Invoked by an emotion of pride over their knowledge and civilizational progress, the British curators used the display to instruct Indian craftsmen and visitors.

In colonial exhibitions, the policy of giving prizes was based on British pride over their knowledge and experience of judging the "objects of merit". The jury nominated in the Exhibition comprised British civil and military bureaucrats and their local allies, "to point out where [the local craftsman] has erred in ill-understood adaptation or thoughtless imitation". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 14,15) The jury was supposed to award prizes to "purely native and traditional designs", and to give "special attention…to good and harmonious colouring in the old native plan", and to discourage "the use of gaudy and violent colouring". Baden-Powell's prospectus for the Exhibition provides us with clues of British pride in their knowledge of Indian crafts. This prospectus, which the British bureaucratic hierarchy approved, contained anecdotal information about local crafts that served as a guide for collectors and outlined the British intention to reject, revive and promote various crafts for local and overseas markets.[5]

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[2] From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honourary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1882, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, Letter No. 2018, dated Lahore 17th February 1883. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 48)

[3] *Catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition of Arts Manufactures held at Lahore, 1881-1882,* 49-50.

[4] Breakup of craftsmen was "Delhi sent 14, Umballa 27, Ludhiana 11, Hoshiarpur 23, Jullunddur 11, Jhelum 5, Gujrat 18, Rawalpindi 2, and Mooltan 10". From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1881, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, Letter No. 673, dated Lahore, March 1881. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 36)

[5] "Memorandum on the Exhibition of Industrial Art and Manufactures, 1881, by B.H. Baden Powell, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Umballa Division". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 4-12)

Thus for the Punjab's textile products, Baden-Powell asked the collectors to avoid selecting cheap cloth such as "ordinary dosuti," "very inferior gazi and other coarse cloth", which local weavers often used. To fulfill the responsibility of reviving the decaying craft, Baden-Powell stressed collecting the art of "chet" and "abras", cheap style of shawl-weaving, and old specimen of Persian rugs and carpets. To promote the trade, he proposed to display Kashmiri silk to inspire weavers in Punjab, and to collect fine patoli work such as *gota kaitun* and *kaitun-mothera-dar* and embroideries from Lahore, Hissar, Kashmir and Delhi, particularly the embroidery in silk and gold thread, embroidery in gold thread, embroidered gold on cloth and velvet. To educate the weavers and general public, Baden-Powell proposed to display fine quality of white fabrics, ornamented and without ornament coloured fabrics, especially "printed fabric with gold – leaf or with raised patterns in lac composition", such as darris and cotton pile carpets.[6] As policy guidelines, the Punjab government sent Baden-Powell's prospectus to a three-tiered structure for making arrangements to collect and exhibit objects. This three level structure consisted of a central exhibition committee, district committees in each district and local committees in each tehsil (an administrative subunit of district) of the province.

The British administrators also collected artworks from Indian elites to proudly display the pre-colonial crafts as their possession. The government circulated a notification requesting the local elite to contribute "indisputable Oriental manufacture, remarkable for quality of design, colour, skill, workmanship, historical importance, and valuable as object-lessons in Art".[7] The objective was to display old Oriental patterns to educate craftsmen and general public who were seldom privy to such viewings since these objects, which were largely confined to the palaces of rajas and maharajas. This

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[6] "Memorandum on the Exhibition of Industrial Art and Manufactures, 1881, by B.H. Baden Powell, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent, Umballa Division". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 7)

[7] The British knew that the local Maharajas and Nawabs possessed valuable collection of carpets and rugs, especially gifted from Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. They also knew that the local elite possessed embroidered carpets for darbars, which were "in silk or in karchob, kamkhabs, and shawls". They also suggested to contribute: "gold and silver plate when engraved, enameled, jeweled or embossed; brass and bronze castings, such as images, lamps, etc.; jeweled and enameled hukas; arms and armour damascened or engraved; wood-work carved or inlaid with ivory or metal, lacquered or painted; illuminated manuscripts; Persian or Indian book binding of stamped and gilded leather; Persian or Indian pictures; jewellery generally; articles of jade, carved, gold encrusted or jeweled; musical instrument when inlaid, carved or painted; marble, alabaster or steatite inlaid or carved; pottery; *papier mache;* objects of crystal". "Circular inviting contribution to the Loan Section of the Lahore Exhibition, 1881". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 12-13)

display of exhibits even though on loan, was a means of establishing the superior status of the British over local patrons as the latter could never be able to collect and display such valuable objects on a grand scale.

At the same time, donating their valuable collection of crafts to the British administrators for display also invoked pride for Indian princes. Lt.-Governor, financial commissioner, judges of Chief Courts, civil and military bureaucrats, art connoisseurs, European journalists, tourists and local elites viewed and discussed the collections of Indian patrons. High rank officials thanked the Rajas and Maharajas, and their collections were also featured prominently in exhibition literature which was a source of pride for them. A large audience came to view these objects from all over India and the curators made photographs for printing in newspapers, magazines, art journals, and to use them for instructional purposes in museums and art schools across India.

Encounter and Curiosity

In the Second Punjab Exhibition, the cross-cultural encounter of the British officials with unknown objects invoked the feeling of curiosity. One characteristic of this feeling was that it challenged the existing categories and preconceived notions about Indian culture, leading the curious British into an unknown territory where their prior knowledge did not help them make sense of the objects they encountered. Exhibition publications show that the jurors viewed objects which they had never seen or thought about before and the organisers were not expecting such collection. Kipling in his report, mentions that, the Exhibition brought "many branches of industry which before were but vaguely known".[8]

In the Second Punjab Exhibition, the craftsmen were separated from their crafts. The juries' reports do not indicate makers' encounters with judges during their visits. This silencing of craftsmen gave a new context to the jury's experience to view, understand and interpret the exhibits. For a few days, "selective" craftsmen who displayed their craft were invited as silent observer. Rather, they were to view "instructive examples" and listen to Kipling and his associates. The jury, overwhelmed by the curiosity, could not understand the circumstances under which Indian craftsmen worked as Kipling mentions in a post exhibition publication.[9]

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[8] "From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honourary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1882, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 2018, dated Lahore, 17 February 1883". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 44)

[9]Kipling writes: "…irregular and somewhat sentimental conditions on which work is carried on are less noticed [by the jury and visitors] than they deserve". 46.

Most of the individuals in the juries comprising British bureaucrats (civil and military officials), English ladies and 'Native Gentlemen',[10] had little understanding of the style and type of exhibits displayed. The British bureaucrats on the jury such as J.B. Lyall (financial commissioner of the Punjab), Col. W.G. Davies (Commissioner and Superintend, Jullundur division), F.C. Channing (Land Settlement Officer), A. Brandreth (judge of Lahore Chief Court) had neither written any monograph, article or official report on Indian crafts, nor did their contemporaries refer to them as art commentators. Considering their administrative responsibilities, they probably had little interaction with Indian craftsmen. Baden-Powell is the only exception who had written on Indian arts and crafts.

F.C. Channing's report of the jury on cotton textile reflects how the jury comprising British bureaucrats and their wives struggled to suggest improvement in unknown exhibits.[11] If the printing was on Indian cloth, they suggested for it be on European and vice versa: "The floor cloths exhibited by Ratta of Sialkot are of good design, but the printing would probably have been better if executed on Indian cloth".[12] While, "Rohtak sends some excellent specimens of fine Muslin, well woven, and of good quality; No. 3, by Monawar-ud-din of Rohtak, is the best piece exhibited. The only fault found with it was a criticism by-the *Native members of the Jury*, to the effect that it ought to have been manufactured from Indian and not from European thread". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 49) And "the experiment made of printing in colour on English twilled cloth [by craftsmen of Amritsar] must be pronounced a failure". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 50)

The English ladies on the juries were mostly wives of high-ranking British officials and had limited access to Indian craft and craftsmen. For instance, Mrs. Davies, Alice Kipling, Mrs. Flora Steel and Mrs. Brandreth were wives of W.G. Davies, J.L. Kipling, Henry William Steel (ICS Officer), and A. Brandreth (the judge of Lahore Chief Court), respectively. Many of them accompanied their husbands to protect them from "going Native" as was the

[10]Discussion on the local jurors is not within the scope of this paper. These "Native Gentlemen" largely belonged to those families which supported the British during and post 1857 situation. Most of them were honorary magistrates in the Punjab.

[11] Besides FC Channing, other British members of the jury were Lt. Richard C. Temple, wives of J.B. Lyall and Col. W.G. Davies. Though Alice Kipling was also the member but her voice was probably suppressed by the British officials and their wives who used to dominate Lockwood Kipling and Alice in the official gatherings. Alice Kipling's biographers suggest this on the basis of her correspondence with her parents.

[12] F.C. Channing, "Class I—Cotton Textile," Report of the Jury, dated 11 January 1882, Lahore, annexed to "From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honourary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1882, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 2018, dated Lahore, 17 February 1883". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 50)

tradition in the English middle-class families. After the War of 1857, the image of an Indian male emerged as a rapist and plunderer in Victorian literature, (Callanan, 2006) which probably changed the ways English ladies visited local markets and interacted with Indian males. The English ladies interacted with craftsmen through their Indian servants which limited their information about crafts. Like many other British jurors, these Englishwomen also experienced curiosity in the Exhibition, which we see through the examples of Alice Kipling (1837-1910) and Mrs. Flora Annie Steel (1847-1929).

Alice Kipling, who was the in-charge of the textile section of the Exhibition and had very limited exposure to Indian crafts till 1881. Although adventurous by nature, which her pre-marriage life and the decision to settle in India testify to, she could not adjust to the Indian way of life, weather, and hierarchy within the British officials' society. (Taylor, 1987, 85-101) (Flanders, 2001) In 1880, she wrote in a letter: "I am homesick worse than ever I was in my life—I cannot care for this country—or never seem to do". (Taylor, 1987, 88) Alice Kipling helped her husband in his work, and as a pastime practiced embroidery learnt from William Morris in England. She found Indian cloth "inferior" and requested her mother to send English cloth. (Taylor, 1987, 92) She dressed very plainly, wearing English cloth and a wedding ring in functions of British bureaucrats in Lahore, claiming that it was the style advocated by William Morris. (Taylor, 1987, 101) (Baldwin, 1960, 118) We do not find any evidence of her interaction with local craftsmen, although her husband was the principal of the Mayo School and curator of the Lahore Museum.

Alice Kipling's report, reflecting her voice and the sentiments of other jury members, shows that the British encounter with Indian textile products contested their preconceived notions. Alice believed that localities of "Hissar, Rohtak, Sialkot and Hazara were unsophisticated",[13] the idea probably borrowed from colonial bureaucrats who regularly interacted with her. But the fine exhibits from these districts invoked curiosity. They viewed woolen chopes of Hissar having "good" texture and "design remarkably effective and novel showing a combination of stitches". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 64) Similarly, Rohtak was "also excellently presented in colour design and work. All admirable". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 64) In the category of Phulkari, the variety of Hazara's needlework was "greater than any other", and designs were "novel and the choice of colours"

[13] Alice Kipling, "Classes III, IV, V—Silk, Patoli Work & Embroideries," Report of the Jury, dated 30 January 1882, Lahore, annexed to "From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honourary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1882, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 2018, dated Lahore, 17 February 1883. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 64)

was "invariably good…a specimen of drawn work on the commonest material was very beautiful, and a black and crimson scarf deserves special commendation". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 63-64) Two craftsmen of Amritsar, Davi Sahai and Chamba Mal, sent phulkari on white clothes, which for Alice and others, were the "most beautiful specimen of needle-work in the whole collection". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 64)

The British claim over scientific knowledge, shaped by observations and experiments, became subservient to their emotion of curiosity. With no criteria set for classifying old and new designs, Alice relied on her emotions: "Amritsar sends some good Phulkaris, of which nos. 33 and 34, both *apparently* old, are most deserving of commendation". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 63) In embroideries, a Delhi's craftsman, Manik Chand, sent an elephant's *Jhul*, "[which is] magnificent, *seems* to be old, finest specimen of its kind in the Exhibition". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 64)

Sometimes referred to as "female Rudyard Kipling", Flora Annie Steel had some interest in Indian crafts. Arriving in India in 1868, Steel learnt local languages. In her novels and short stories, she shows no empathy with Indians. Mostly published in the 1890s and after, she advocates the "civilising mission" of the British Empire and uses racial categories and prejudices, asking English women to avoid unhygienic Indian cooks, she represented Indians as backward, a peoples who opposed modern reforms while English women defended Empire. (Susmita, 2017) Despite leaving behind a wealth of literature, she did not write on Indian crafts. In the Exhibition report, she mentions collecting samples of embroidery during her visit to various parts of the Punjab but does not indicate any encounter with Indian craftsmen, leading us to believe that her husband's staff interacted with craftsmen and shopkeepers.

Flora Steel wrote a separate note with the jury report, which enables us to understand her curiosity about the colour and design of the exhibits. The colours used for phulkari amazed her: "…positively appalling results obtained in some of the exhibits from Lahore, Delhi, Hoshiarpur and Amritsar [which] teach us a lesson of caution. Even those who cavil at the mysteries of high art, and see no beauty in the grey green goose on a green grey ground, must surely feel the relief afforded to the eye when after looking at some of the Turkey red, light blue and emerald green abominations, it turns to rich golds and warm madder browns of unsophisticated phulkari".[14] Like Alice Kipling and other

[14] Mrs. Steel, "Notes on Phulkaris, Chopes and Baghs," annexed to "From J.L. Kipling, Esquire, Honorary Secretary, Punjab Exhibition, 1882, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 2018, dated Lahore, 17 February 1883". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 65)

members of the jury, she struggled to classify modern and primitive colours of phulkari. To be modern, she suggested a "hard-and-fast rule that no colours except green, yellow in two shades, crimson, white, black and dark olive green" should be used in phulkari on silk, because she had not seen work other than this, and these colours were easily available in the market. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 66) As for design, "…nothing to reform. Some are perhaps scarcely worth the labour entailed in working them". For her, woolen *chopes* from Hissar had "good texture and the design remarkably effective and novel", and petticoats from Hissar "struck me as being worthy of mention", and phulkari of Jhelum was "unrivalled for even workmanship". (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 1883, 66)

Nineteenth-century exhibition reports mention many instances of disagreements among jurors, suggesting the contrary emotions of curiousity and appreciation invoked in Indian and British jurors. While evaluating jewellery and seal engraving in the Second Punjab Exhibition, the Indian and the English jurors disputed the results. Indians supported the awards to the exhibits from Delhi and Multan, while the English appreciated the works that came from the villages. Also in leather-work, the Indian jurors admired saddlery which the English did not find noticeable. (Report of the Punjab Exhibition, 68, 71-72)

In the juries' reports, the expressions of surprise and curiosity suggest a continuous struggle of the organisers to understand local cultures. Due to this reason, they often showed reluctance to comment on the exhibits. Theoretical knowledge of art, which the British claimed to possess, could not help them in grasping every craft on display. This emotion of curiosity draws a line between colonial knowledge and the local cultural domain, and defines a space where the colonial state was not able to pursue its Utilitarian interests.

Conclusion

In the Second Punjab Exhibition, the British officials and exhibits were entangled with each other. The British set up large exhibitionary space in an attempt to possess the objects as a legitimising tool by invoking the emotion of pride. In the pre-Exhibition correspondence and publicity material, patronising pride shaped official discourse. The British officials took a series of measures from defining the criteria for the award of prizes and collection old crafts of Indian elites, to arranging a grand opening ceremony. However, during the course of the Exhibition, the emotion of pride over possessing things transformed into curiosity as the British encountered, in Kipling's words, "vaguely known" objects. As we have discussed with the example of textile products, the objects overpowered the British and invoked an

unexpected emotion of curiosity leading them to think as they never thought before. The British claim over scientific knowledge and preconceived notions about Indian culture and crafts were challenged by this encounter, which altered the intended objectives of the colonial exhibition of invoking pride over the possession of British empire.

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