

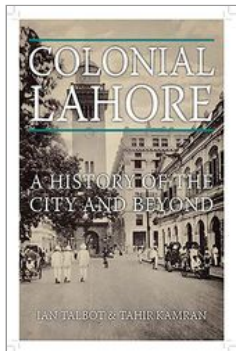
COLONIAL LAHORE

A HISTORY OF THE
CITY AND BEYOND

IAN TALBOT & TAHIR KAMRAN

University Press Scholarship Online

Oxford Scholarship Online



Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran

Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Title Pages

(p.i) Colonial Lahore **(p.ii)**

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OXFORD
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Published in the United States of America by
Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is
available

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran.

Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond.

ISBN: 9780190642938

Printed in India on acid-free paper



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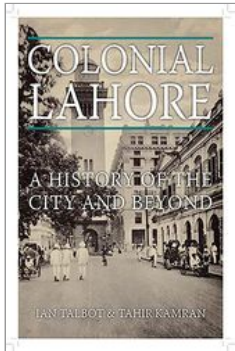
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(p.vii) Preface and Acknowledgements

There have been a number of studies of colonial Lahore in recent years. These have explored such themes as the city's modernity, its cosmopolitanism and the rise of communalism which culminated in the blood-letting of 1947. There has also been a study of how the city recovered from the socio-economic dislocation arising from the Partition of the Punjab. This work moves away from political history and the prism of the Great Divide of 1947 to examine the cultural and social connections which linked it with North India and beyond. It sees what may be termed as imperial globalisation intensifying long established connections of commerce and culture despite traditional portrayals of Lahore as inward looking and a world unto itself. The current volume is thus reflective of some of the concerns arising from the global history of Empire and the new urban history of South Asia. These are addressed in a series of thematic chapters, rather than in a narrative account of the city's development during colonial rule. This has already been done elsewhere to good effect. A number of previously neglected areas of Lahore's history emerge in this volume that are suggestive of new avenues for research.

The work builds on many years of academic engagement during which numerous academic debts have been accumulated. Foremost amongst these thanks are due to Professor Francis Robinson. Colleagues and friends over the years have provided inestimable encouragement and support: they include Professor Gurharpal Singh, Professor Eleanor Nesbitt, Professor Sarah Ansari, Dr Darshan Singh Tatla, Professor

Iftikhar Malik, Professor Yunas Samad, Professor Judith **(p.viii)** Brown and Professor Zahid Munir Amir. Thanks are also due to a younger generation of scholars including Dr Tahir Mahmood, Dr Ilyas Chattha, Dr Pippa Virdee, Dr Hussain Ahmed Khan, Dr Ali Usman Qasmi, Dr Ali Khan of Mehmoodabad, Umber bin Ebad, Shifa Sahir and Dr Rakesh Ankit.

We would also like to record our thanks to all those who attended a workshop on Colonial Lahore at the University of Southampton in April 2012, especially to Bapsi Sidhwa who delivered the keynote address. The workshop provided the basis for some of the ideas that are developed in greater detail in this volume. They were further refined in discussion with colleagues and supported by access to a wide range of libraries and archives in the UK, Pakistan and India. Dr Kevin Greenbank (Archivist) and Mrs Barbara Roe (Administrator) at the Centre for South Asian Studies at the University of Cambridge were especially helpful and supportive to both of us. Dr Paul Smith provided the perfect introduction to the Thomas Cook archive at Peterborough. We thank Michael Dwyer and his colleagues at Hurst for their encouragement at all stages of the project, from its inception to its final production. It is, as ever, a pleasure to work with Hurst.

Finally we are indebted to our families for their support and good humour during the lengthy production of the volume. We dedicate this work to Ayesha and Lois.

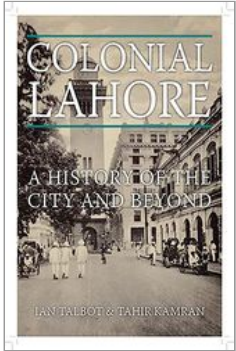
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(p.ix) Glossary

abadi

suburban development

adab

etiquette, code of conduct

akhara

wrestling arena

anjuman

association

baithak

drawing room

bazm

assembly

benami

without name; in colonial Punjab a transaction to exploit
loophole in the law preventing urban money-lenders

acquiring agricultural property

biraderi

brotherhood, patrilineal kinship group

chowk

crossroads, junction

crore

ten million

dalit

member of Untouchable caste

dand	push-up exercise
dangal	wrestling tournament
dargah	tomb, shrine of a Sufi saint
darvaza	door, gateway in a walled city
darvesh	religious mendicant
Dussehra	Hindu religious festival (September–October) celebrating the victory of good over evil
fatwa	ruling of religious law
gali	inhabited narrow alleyway
ghazal	a love lyric
ghi	clarified butter
granthi	ceremonial reader of the Sikh scripture
(p.x) gur	sweet natural product of sugarcane
hafiz	one who knows the Quran by heart
hakim	practitioner of Unani medicine
haveli	large enclosed residential dwelling for an extended family
Hindutva	Hindu nationalism
imam bara	Shi'ite Muslim sanctuary
izzat	prestige, honour, reputation
jihad	struggle for the sake of Islam ('lesser <i>jihad</i> ' alone traditionally refers to armed struggle)
katra	originally fortified market, a residential locality
khalifa	

head, authority

khanqah

hospice, alms-house of a Sufi saint

khatib

prayer leader

kothi

residential plot

kotwali

headquarters of city police

kucha

neighbourhood, residential quarters

kushti

wrestling

langar

public kitchen in which free food is served

lakh

one hundred thousand

mali

a gardener

madrasa

Islamic school (pl. *madaris*)

malamati

teaching within Sufism based on taking blame

mandi

market

masnavi

a love narrative poem

maulana

Muslim scholar learned in the Quran

maulvi

religiously learned Muslim

mela

a fair

mirasi

musician

mochi

cobbler

mohajir

refugee, traditionally a Muslim who has fled for religious

reasons

mohalla

a locality, neighbourhood

mujahidin

Islamic warrior
mullah
preacher
murid
disciple of a *pir mushaira* poetic symposium
nazm
poetry
(p.xi) nautch
female entertainer, dancer
pahlewan
wrestler
pakhavaj
two-headed drum
pir
spiritual guide
rais
an important or honourable man
qasida
ode
qawwali
Sufi devotional music
qazi
Islamic judge
sajjada nashin
custodian of a Sufi shrine
sardar
leader, tribal chief
sarod
lute like stringed instrument
serai
caravansary
shari'ah
Islamic law
sharif
noble, honourable
Sufi
Muslim mystic
swadeshi
home produced goods
tabla
percussion instrument
tibb
medicine, medical practice

ulama

(pl. of *alim*) Muslims learned in Islamic religion

umma

global Islamic community

urs

death anniversary of a Sufi saint

ustad

master

zor

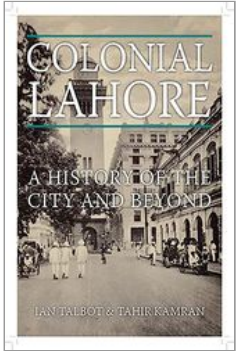
wrestling exercise

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Chronology of Buildings and Developments in Colonial Lahore

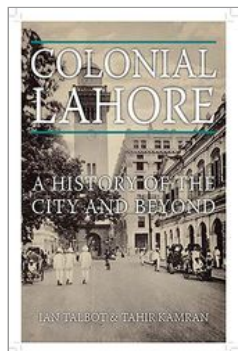
1859	Lahore Railway Station was opened.
1861	The neo-classical Lawrence Hall was constructed in 1861-2, along with the adjoining Montgomery Hall it drew visitors to its cold weather season festivities.
1865	Lahore Museum was originally established. It was to be later shifted to its present site on the Mall. The Museum thrived during the curatorship of John Lockwood Kipling drawing visitors to the city from other areas of India along with international tourists.
1866	Lawrence Garden, which used to hold the statue of Sir John Lawrence, was opened as a botanical garden.
1872	When Lahore Zoo was established on Mall Road as a visitor attraction, it was one of the first in North India.
1875	The Mayo School of Arts was opened. Its first principal was John Lockwood Kipling.
1878	Lahore Gymkhana Club was established in May to provide social recreation and sports facilities for residents and visitors to Lahore.

1880	European hoteliers established two of the colonial era's leading hotels, Nedous and Falettis.
1882	The Punjab University was opened as the fourth university in colonial India. It served not only the province but northern India.
1884	The Punjab public library was opened in the heart of the city.
(p.xiv) 1886	The foundation stone was laid for Aitcheson College to educate the heirs of the Punjab Princely States and large landed estates.
1887	The Anglican Cathedral was constructed on the Mall, opposite the Lahore High Court. The GPO building designed by Sir Ganga Ram was built as Lahore's main post office on Mall Road. The foundation stone of the Town Hall was also laid in celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden jubilee. The YMCA also dates from this period.
1891	Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia founded the <i>Tribune</i> newspaper.
1892	DAV College, the leading Arya Samajist educational institution which had links throughout the subcontinent was opened.
1900	Bradlaugh Hall was built. It was to become a symbol of Indian nationalist resistance to the Raj because of the meetings held there.
1935	The Punjab Assembly on the Mall was completed.



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Introduction

Ian Talbot

Tahir Kamran

DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0001

Abstract and Keywords

The introduction discusses the pre-colonial development of Lahore. In the Mughal era, the city's strategic location at the junction of roads to Kabul, Multan and Kashmir made it a seat of power to which poets, artists and traders flocked. Its wealth brought European merchant travellers that spread its fame. The city later expanded under the Sikhs with the growth of the Kashmir shawl industry. During Ranjit Singh's rule, such ex-officers from Bonaparte's army as Jean-Francois Allard, Jean-Baptiste Ventura and Paolo Avitabile were employed in military and administrative roles. Lahore's long and continuous history of transregional and transnational connections was overlooked by colonial writers.

Keywords: Mughal era, European travellers, Kashmir Shawl industry, Ranjit Singh, Jean-Francois Allard, Jean-Baptiste Ventura, Paolo Avitabile

Lahore is Lahore. This popular sentiment expresses both pride in the Punjabi city and a sense of its uniqueness. The notion has been popularised in writings influenced by Orientalist imagined geographies of a 'modern' colonial city and a 'traditional' walled city.¹ The latter is stereotyped as a maze of alleyways and jumbled dwellings which is inward looking, archaic and unique.² It is the 'old' Lahore that

continues to dominate the popular imagination with the emphasis on exceptionalism and encapsulated spatial development.³ It stands at odds with the 'relational' turn in urban studies with its focus on actor-networks and multiple social forms. The sense of the city as a closed environment, especially with respect to its inner heart, has been perpetuated by the continuing popularity of Syed Abdul Latif's late nineteenth-century study of Lahore.⁴ Nonetheless the presence of European merchants, adventurers and travellers in Lahore from the Mughal period, and reference to the city in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, should dispel too easy a vision of a city bounded by its immediate hinterland and uninfluenced by much wider flows of trade, ideas and power.⁵ With respect to the colonial era, the city also needs to be understood in the context of an international urban modernism.⁶ This can be explored not only in terms of state 'disciplinary' interventions in such areas as public health and policing, but also in the emergence of a public sphere as evidenced in the growth of associational life.⁷

Within the colonial realm, it is acknowledged that 'governmentality' was 'dislocated' from its European manifestation because of the absence of the subject's reciprocal political and social rights. Nonetheless it was **(p.2)** actualised in similar regimes of knowledge creation and disciplinary processes in colonial and European cities with the aim of maintaining healthy and productive populations.⁸ Urban spaces were governed by drawing on the knowledge constructed from maps, censuses and surveys.⁹ Anxieties over public health drove attempts to 'order' the Indian city just as in Europe. As early as 1842, the Conservancy Act empowered sanitary committees to be established in Calcutta to dispose of the rubbish which, it was believed, created the airborne miasmas that caused disease. Models of home construction, toilet facilities and even burial practices came in for intervention in Lucknow in the quest for improved public health.¹⁰ One of the most authoritative accounts of 'governmentality' is found in Stephen Legg's study of Delhi.¹¹ The concept has now become an established orthodoxy in what has been termed a new urban history of South Asia.

William Glover has recently explored the governmentality aspect of globalisation with respect to Lahore. He has shown how, after the 1861 cholera epidemic, the villages around the Cantonment were extensively surveyed to gather 'useful information' as a prelude to improving their 'cleanliness', thereby reducing the health hazard they presented to European troops.¹² Regulation through the Village Sanitation Act of 1891 formed what Matthew Hannah has termed the final moment in a cycle of social control initiated by observation.¹³

Transnational history has also informed work on the South Asian city, with particular emphasis on the 'port city'. While there have been doubts about transnational history's definition, numerous works have been produced which examine movements of people, ideas and commodities beyond the narrower confines of region and the nation state.¹⁴ Such writings have within the field of Empire contributed towards what has been called a 'New Imperial' history which sees the nineteenth-century period of European overseas expansion as the first phase of globalisation. The steamship, the telegraph, the popular press and movements of commodities and labour presaged the late twentieth-century global superhighway and the presence of transnational Diasporic communities. Writing on the British Empire has used phrases such as 'circuits' and 'webs' to portray the interconnectedness not only between metropolitan centres and their colonial peripheries, but between colonies themselves.¹⁵

(p.3) Linkages between British India and the wider world have been explored especially with reference to the Indian Ocean.¹⁶ Unsurprisingly, globalised accounts of Indian cities have focused on the 'colonial port city' with its polyglot populations, international trading links and mercantile activities. In one sense they can be seen as the forerunners of the contemporary global city. Considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to Bombay, which on the eve of the First World War was the third largest city in the British Empire and the largest port in Asia.¹⁷ Most recently, Nile Green has explored the city's significance as a travel hub for Muslim pilgrims, its attraction of Muslim industrial labour from as far afield as Africa and the Middle East and the emergence of an 'oceanic economy of religious exchange'.¹⁸

Lahore at first appears unpromising terrain as a zone of interaction and exchange in the era of imperial globalisation because of its inland location in north-west India and the established discourse of encapsulated historical spatial development which seems at odds with notions of porous boundaries and the long reach of global networks of trade and populations. This study argues, however, that its life throughout the colonial era was marked by the circulation of people, ideas and goods. Moreover, its interconnectedness was not confined to the 'modern' Lahore, but was present in the walled inner city. This aspect was ignored in much colonial writing both because of its pre-existing suppositions and because it took social forms that did not form the focus of the 'imperial gaze'. Even when more political trans-regional and trans-national manifestations attracted the attention of the

security state apparatus and found their way into the imperial archive, the appreciation of wider cultural and social connections was often lost.

It is important to realise that Lahore was a city connected through trade and movements of people and ideas centuries before the colonial era. The latter period speeded up communications and enabled the city to become linked globally. It did not, however, transform what had previously been a backwater. Lahore had been a seat of Mughal power long before the East India Company's annexation of the Punjab. This had left its mark on the city's built environment and had created a reputation for luxury which had spread as far as Europe. The British for their purposes of rule instead sought to emphasise the disturbed conditions which had followed both the dwindling of Mughal and Sikh power.

(p.4) Ghaznavid, Moghul and Sikh Lahore: The City and Beyond Throughout its history, Lahore had welcomed visitors and settlers. There are references to the city from the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang as early as AD 630, although the historical record becomes more detailed from the Muslim conquests at the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁹ Lahore was an important administrative and political centre which drew large numbers of officials, scholars, saints, traders and artisans to its expanding environs during the Ghaznavid (977–1186) and Mughal eras (1526–1752). The city's importance for the Turko-Persian Ghaznavid Empire was encapsulated in its title Ghazna-i-Khurd (Little Ghazni). The first Ghaznavid governor of the city, Malik Ayaz (d. 1041), rebuilt the fort and walls, later to be replaced by Akbar's brick construction. His tomb rests at Chowk Rang Mahal and is laid out as a Sufi shrine with oil lamps and covered in a green sheet. Malik Ayaz's Lahore was a smaller scale version of the later Mughal city with its bazaars, lanes and *mohallahs*. The golden Ghaznavid era for Lahore was during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1059–99) when his sons Mahmud and Masud were the viceroys of the Punjab.²⁰ It was during this period that Abul Han Ali al-Hujwari became the most famous resident of Ghazni to settle in Lahore. Popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh (The Master Who Bestows Treasures), he is today revered as Pakistan's most famous Sufi state. His mausoleum, built after his death in 1077, is the most frequented Sufi shrine in the city.

Hujwari had travelled widely like many Sufi saints, visiting Baghdad, Basra, Bukhara, Damascus, Bayt-al-Jinn (in Syria) and Khurasan, before settling in Lahore, where he established a *khanqah* which now adjoins his tomb. Travelling *dervishes* were frequent visitors to the *khanqah* and carried with them to other parts of the Islamic world accounts of the generosity they received. Later Sufi saints such as Moinuddin Chishti (1141–1236) visited the Data Ganj Bakhsh shrine in Lahore on their arrival in the subcontinent. Indeed, it is reported that it was there that Moinuddin Chishti received spiritual illumination and was directed to settle in Ajmer.²¹ Alongside his charismatic authority, under whose influence many Hindus were converted to Islam, Data Ganj Bakhsh displayed great scholarship which bore fruit in the important treatise on Sufism in Persian, *Kashful Mahjub* ('Revelation of the Veiled').²²

(p.5) Sufi saints also flocked to Lahore during the Mughal era. Akbar, who ascended to the throne in 1556, encouraged Sayed Muhammad Shah from Uch in Bahawalpur to settle in the city after the saint's prayers ensured the success of the Mughal emperor in the siege of Chittor. Mian Mir, one of Lahore's most celebrated saints, came from Thatta in Sindh during Akbar's reign. The British were to later build a cantonment close by to his shrine in the area of Lahore named after the

saint. The colonial rulers were also to convert into official use the mosque near to the shrine of Shah Chiragh Gilani. Gilani was also from Uch in Bahawalpur and had come to the city during Shah Jehan's reign (1628–58). Shah Jehan attracted artisans as well as Sufis from as far afield as Central Asia and Persia to produce exquisite carpets and shawls in the Royal Factory which he established.

A large area of palaces and gardens was constructed outside the walled city in the Mughal era. These were the residences of nobles and administrators. Artists, traders and poets were also drawn to Lahore which, for thirteen years of Akbar's reign (1585–98) and five of Jehangir's (1622–7), was the imperial capital. The city's strategic location at the junction of roads to Kabul, Multan, Kashmir and Delhi and its famed 'healthy' climate made it a centre of Mughal government. The Mughal *karkhana* (workshops) attracted skilled artisans from Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia. Their presence led to high quality productions. Abul Fazl (1551–1602), the court historian of Akbar's reign, recorded that carpet weaving in Lahore was of a higher quality than could be found in Persia and Central Asia.²³

While many of the palaces and gardens fell into decay in the disturbed conditions of the mid-eighteenth century, the city's fortifications, royal tombs and landmark mosques survived until the colonial era. It was not only the Mughal emperors who permanently beautified the city. The exquisite Wazir Khan Mosque inside Delhi Gate was built by the Punjab governor Wazir Khan in 1631. His family originated from Chiniot in the Jhang district and he had risen to the top of the Mughal service class. A later governor, Mardan Ali Khan, who had come to Lahore from Qandahar, began the irrigation canal which was to help water Shah Jahan's famous Shalimar Gardens with its marble pools and 410 fountains.²⁴ This was laid out in 1642 on land at Baghbanpura that belonged to a local Arain family who were to rise to **(p.6)** prominence in colonial Lahore. The gardens' elegance, sense of harmony and strong Persian influence marked the apogee of Mughal garden design. At the time, of the Shalimar Gardens' construction, Lahore was reputed to be the equal of the great Persian cities like Shiraz as the 'grand resort of people of all nations', with such luxuries as ice and musk melons available all the year round.

Mughal building projects encouraged an influx of artisans to the city. Here we can see similarities with later colonial building projects. Jehangir's red sandstone tomb at Shahdara on the right bank of the Ravi river with its massive gateways, enclosures and gardens, took ten years to construct (1627–37). A new locality named Mohalla Sangtarashan (Stone-Cutters' Locality) grew up nearby inhabited by

stone-cutters and other artisans.²⁵ Again as in the colonial era, merchants and traders from as far afield as Central Asia were drawn to the city, to such markets as Akbari Mandi, inside Akbar Gate, and the bazaar adjacent to the Wazir Khan Mosque, where there was an international trade in books and writing materials.²⁶

The city's wealth brought European merchant travellers to Lahore who reported on the splendour of the buildings and the extent of the city.²⁷ Akbar also encouraged Portuguese priests to come from Goa so that he could debate Christianity with them. It is from these accounts that the fame of Lahore spread back to Europe and was further embellished when John Milton referred to the city of 'The Great Moghul' in his epic poem *Paradise Lost*. Adam after the Fall in Book XI (1674, second edition) is shown by the Angel Michael the future great cities of the world in which Lahore is numbered. Armenian merchants settled in the city, adding to its cosmopolitan flavour. Armenians were also skilled in the arts of war as well as commerce. The Zamzama Gun, made famous by Rudyard Kipling, was cast in the city in 1762 for Ahmad Shah Durrani (c. 1722–72) by an expert Armenian gunsmith.

Lahore was once more a capital during the Sikh Kingdom (1799–1849) founded by Ranjit Singh (1780–1839), the formidable one-eyed lion of the Punjab. Neighbouring Amritsar, which he beautified with the Rambagh Palace and Mughal style garden, was the summer capital of a kingdom which at its greatest extent stretched as far as Peshawar and Kashmir. Lahore, which had suffered the depredations of a series of invaders from the Persian ruler Nadir Shah (1688–1747) onwards, **(p. 7)** recovered some of its old prosperity, although few new monuments were constructed. European travellers such as the Parisian botanist Victor Jacquemont (1801–32) and the Austrian fellow botanist and adventurer Baron Karl Alexander von Hügel (1795–1870) left important accounts of this period.²⁸ They were by no means the only Europeans at the Lahore court. Dr Johann Honigberger (1795–1869), who pioneered the treatment of cholera, was the court physician. In November 1841, he invited the Budapest artist August Theodor Schoefft (1809–88), who had acquired a reputation for portrait painting in Calcutta, to Lahore to paint the court of Maharajah Sher Singh (1807–43). His massive oil canvas provides a vivid portrayal of the Lahore court in the final years of Sikh power in the Punjab.²⁹

Ranjit Singh, 'a miniature version of Napoleon Bonaparte', as Jacquemont termed him, employed a number of ex-officers from Napoleon's army in the early 1820s to modernise his military. These included Jean-François Allard (1785–1839), who hailed from St Tropez and had been awarded the Légion d'Honneur, and Jean-Baptiste

Ventura (1794–1858). A Sikh painting from 1838 portrays Allard at ease with his Kashmiri wife and children. It clearly shows him wearing the Bright Star of Punjab honour devised by Ranjit Singh, just above his Légion d’Honneur.³⁰ Ventura played a key role in the capture of Peshawar. He rose rapidly in the Darbar and became the Governor of Lahore.³¹ He lived in an imposing residence in the precincts of Anarkali’s tomb which was later occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence (1806–57) when he was resident at Lahore.³² Paolo Avitabile (1791–1850), who had already spent six years training the Persian army after serving as an artillery officer, also took on an important administrative role as Governor of Peshawar (1837–43).

Ranjit Singh’s kingdom also provided opportunities for administrators and soldiers from elsewhere in India. The maharajah was eager to draw on as wide a pool of talent as was possible. The Kashmiri Pandit Dina Nath (1795–1857) was invited to Lahore in 1815 to work in the department of military accounts and rose to become finance minister within two decades. His residence (Haveli Dina Nath) is still standing inside Delhi Gate. Another court official, Diwan Kirpa Ram (d. 1843) from Kunjah in Gujrat, built magnificent mansions inside Mochi Gate. The current settlement of Sultanpur occupies part of the site of a mansion **(p.8)** and garden that he also constructed.³³ The most influential migrants were three Hindu Dogra brothers from Jammu, namely Gulab Singh (1792–1857), Dhian Singh (1796–1843) and Suchet Singh (1801–44).³⁴ They first came to Ranjit Singh’s attention as military commanders and then became the most powerful and influential courtiers in his kingdom. This brought them wealth and influence not only in Lahore, but in their native region. Dhian Singh became prime minister of the Sikh Empire in 1828 and was awarded the title ‘Raja of Rajas’. Gulab Singh, a close friend and confidant of Ranjit Singh, was recognised as ruler of Jammu. He also established links with the East India Company as the kingdom slipped into chaos following its founder’s death. Gulab Singh was ultimately to acquire Jammu and Kashmir from the British in a sale worth Rs7.5 million and to establish the Dogra monarchy. His brothers, however, ended up on the wrong side of the faction fighting which convulsed the *darbar*. Dhian Singh was assassinated in 1843, followed by his brother a year later.

The rise of the Dogra family coincided with the expansion of Sikh power in Kashmir, which was captured by Ranjit Singh’s forces in 1819.³⁵ The fearsome General Hari Singh Nalwa (1791–1837) played a key role in this process and served as Governor of Kashmir, then of Hazara and

Peshawar.³⁶ His extensive building activities, which included the Gurdwara Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdul in the Attock District, took place mainly outside of Lahore, although he laid out an extensive garden where King Edward Medical College and Mayo Hospital stand today.³⁷

The Sikh army's campaigning season always followed Dussehra (September–October), the celebration of good over evil associated with the Hindu figures Lord Rama and Durga. Indeed, in the early years of Ranjit Singh's reign the site of the official celebrations indicated the direction of military activity. If Lahore was the venue, expeditions were likely to be mounted towards Multan or Attock, whereas celebrations in Amritsar signified expeditions to the hill states.³⁸ The Dussehra festival was accompanied by a military review. Soldiers reenacted the battle between the forces of Rama and Ravana before the culmination of the burning of the effigy of Ravana at dusk.³⁹

The negative portrayal of the period of Sikh rule, initiated by British writers and perpetuated by Pakistan authors, obscures the city's continued **(p.9)** architectural development, trade connections and political importance.⁴⁰ The migrants to the city built *havelis* and laid out gardens, although many did not survive the British expansion of the city. Members of the Sikh ruling family also architecturally embellished the city. Ranjit Singh created the Hazuri Bagh in 1818 with a marble pavilion in its centre near the eastern gateway of the Badshahi Mosque. During the colonial era it was repaired and used as a students' boarding house. His grandson, Prince Nau Nihal Singh (1821–40), constructed a magnificent *haveli* as his private residence which the British subsequently converted into a public school for girls (Victoria Girls High School). Moreover, it would be wrong to view the Sikh heartland as closed to commerce, despite the tolls exacted on the established camel caravans from Afghanistan and the absence of long distance river traffic.⁴¹ The Kashmir shawl industry experienced increased production and exports during the period of Sikh rule (1819–46).⁴² During Hari Singh Nalwa's administration (1819–21) the number of shawl manufacturing outlets rose from 6,000 to 16,000. Kashmiri and Punjabi traders replaced Afghans' control of the external trade. Lala Sohan Lal Suri's detailed chronicle of the Sikh court in Persian, *umdat-ut-tawarikh*, lists the names of the growing number of Kashmiri traders who were resident in Amritsar and Lahore.⁴³ Amritsar grew in wealth and trade increased between it and its neighbour. Lahore's trade can be gauged by the large number of casual labourers and wheeled vehicles recorded as entering the city across the Ravi Bridge

of boats in the mid-1850s. This was not solely attributable to the post-annexation boom.⁴⁴

The collapse of the Sikh Kingdom in the succession struggles which followed Ranjit Singh's death on 27 June 1839 has been extensively documented.⁴⁵ There are also numerous works on the Anglo-Sikh Wars which culminated in the British annexation of the Punjab a decade later.⁴⁶ For our purposes, it is important to remember that the province and its capital Lahore were not a backwater, waiting to be opened to commerce, but possessed a long and continuous history of transregional and transnational connections. The brief century of colonial rule was to shape this in new directions with massive exports of wheat and growing markets for manufactured goods and foodstuffs, as well as traditional artisanal products. By the time the British departed, Lahore had also been demographically transformed.

(p.10) This study focuses on the colonial era, but is aware of the 'back history' described in the preceding paragraphs. It questions both the British portrayals of the city's past and interrogates the accounts of its 'modernisation' under colonial rule. These have encouraged the stereotype of an 'inward looking' inner city that is juxtaposed with the new colonial-era development. The volume argues that despite its built environment, the inner city had 'relational' and commercial linkages with the wider world that were also seen to epitomise the 'modern' colonial construction. Colonial-era writings, whether in official documents, memoirs or tourist guides, perpetuated stereotypes of a closed in environment which persist.

The volume draws on a range of sources in English and Urdu to explore Lahore's links at regional and transnational levels. The work examines such previously neglected aspects of the city's colonial history as tourism and pilgrimage. These were influenced by the communications revolution of the railways, ocean-going ships and print culture. Towards the end of British rule, communications were further transformed by the advent of air travel, although it was not until the 1970s that mass tourism and mass pilgrimage literally took wings.

The new medium of radio and the development of a Lahore-based film industry provided opportunities for talented musicians, actors and writers. Some of these were native to Lahore, but many were migrants. Migration both to and from the city was a crucial element in its development and this is linked with both improved communications and Lahore's emergence as a major administrative and political centre in British North India.

Further avenues for research are suggested, for example, in the links between Lahore's and Bombay's early film industries and the impact on the 'tourist gaze' of the consumption of both text and visual representation of India in photographs and newsreels. With respect to tourism, there is also a need to assess the range of sources available to travellers. Were illustrated travelogues in such popular publications as *The Listener* more likely to influence travel than the pages of guidebooks?⁴⁷

Contemporary Lahore's population is well over twelve times that at the time of independence. Nonetheless recent research has focused instead on the emergence of Karachi as a mega-city and on the birth of Pakistan's capital, Islamabad.⁴⁸ The epilogue argues that this dramatic **(p.11)** post-independence growth has some similarities with the colonial past because of the continuing importance of migration and transport links. Despite the rapid pace of change, the walled city, however, continues to stand for Lahore's historical self-awareness. Many of the Orientalist stereotypes surrounding it are perpetuated, now in the cause of conservation. **(p.12)**

Notes:

- (1.) The notion of a 'dual' colonial city in Lahore and other colonial urban centres was popularised in Antony King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).
- (2.) For an evocative post-colonial rendering of this stereotype see Samina Qureshi, *Lahore: The City Within* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1988).
- (3.) For a critique of South Asian urban exceptionalism see Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 206-36.
- (4.) Syed Muhammad Abdul Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, with an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade etc.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994).
- (5.) For a recent account of Europeans in Lahore at the time of Ranjit Singh see Bobby Singh Bansal. *The Lion's Firanghis: Europeans at the Court of Lahore* (London: Coronet House, 2010). Milton wrote:

To shew him all Earth's Kingdoms and their glory...

City of old or modern Fame, the Seat

Of mightiest Empire, from the destined Walls

Of CAMBALU...

To AGRA and LAHOR of great MOGUL

John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book X.

(6.) William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imaging A Colonial City* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); M. Daechsel, 'De-Urbanizing the City: Colonial Cognition and the People of Lahore' in Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (eds) *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 21-45.

(7.) Much of the writing on the interventions accompanying urban modernity are highly dependent on Michel Foucault for their conceptualisation.

(8.) On obscenity see the comparative study by Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

(9.) On the proliferation of information in the form of censuses, surveys and maps for the practice of governmentality in modern cities see chapter three of Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

(10.) James Heitzman, *The City in South Asia* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 131.

(11.) Stephen Legg, *Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

(12.) Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, p. 36 & ff.

(13.) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(14.) See, C. Bayly *et al*, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review* 111, 5 (2006) pp. 1444-64.

(15.) See John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

(16.) See Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in an Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2008).

(17.) In addition to Kidambi's work noted earlier see Chandavarkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City*; Sandip Hazareesingh, 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900–1925', *Urban History*, 28 (2), pp. 235–55. Preeti Chopra, 'Refiguring the Colonial City: Recovering the Role of Local Inhabitants in the Construction of Colonial Bombay, 1854–1918', *Buildings and Landscapes: Journal of Vernacular Architecture Forum* 14 (Fall 2007), pp. 109–25. Chandavarkar in fact disavows the taxonomy of the colonial port city.

(18.) Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 8.

(19.) Lahore's foundation is mythologically attributed to Lava, the son of Rama.

(20.) For details see, F.M. Anjum Rehmani, 'History and Architecture of Mughal Monuments at Lahore', University of Punjab unpublished thesis, 2002.

(21.) Masud-ul-Hasan, *Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh: A Spiritual Biography* (Lahore: Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh Academy, n.d.), p. 29.

(22.) *Ibid.*, p. 351 & ff.

(23.) Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015), p. 18.

(24.) Rehmani, 'History and Architecture', p. 491.

(25.) *Ibid.*, p. 199.

(26.) *Ibid.*, p. 602.

(27.) See, for example, William Finch's account of his 1611 visit to Lahore in William Foster (ed.) *Early Travels in India 1583–1619* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921).

(28.) See Baron Charles Hugel (trans. Major T.B. Jervis), *Travels in Kashmir and Punjab* (London: John Petheram, 1845); Victor

Jacquemont, *Letters from India: Describing a Journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, Cashmere during the Years 1828-1831* (London: Edward Churton, 1834).

(29.) The painting which was displayed at the 1855 Vienna Exhibition is now part of the Princess Bamba Collection at the Lahore Fort. Schoefft died bankrupt at the Hammersmith Institute in London. See F.A. Khan, *The Princess Bamba Collection* (Lahore: Government of Pakistan, Department of Archaeology, 1961).

(30.) Gurshan Singh Sidhu, 'From Gurus to Kings: Early and Court Painting', in Kerry Brown (ed.), *Sikh Art and Literature* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 43.

(31.) For further details see, Jean-Marie Lafont, *French Administrators of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Delhi: National Book Shop, 1988); Gulcharn Singh, *Ranjit Singh and his Generals* (Jalandhar: Sujjlana Publishers, 1976); Bobby Singh Bansal, *The Lion's Firanghis: Europeans at the Court of Lahore* (London: Coronet House, 2010).

(32.) On his career and that of his brother, who shaped the early British Punjab, see Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

(33.) www.sajjanlahore.org/corners/zim/lastman/part1/beautiiesof19.htm accessed 22 February 2015.

(34.) See, Satinder Singh Bawa, *The Jammu Fox: A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-1857* (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974).

(35.) R.K. Parmu, *A History of Sikh Rule in Kashmir 1819-1846* (Srinagar: Department of Education, Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1977).

(36.) See Autar Singh Sandhu, *General Hari Singh Nalwa: Builder of the Sikh Empire* (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1987).

(37.) Hasan Abdul, some thirty miles from Rawalpindi, remains a major site of Sikh pilgrimage because of the presence of a rock believed to have the handprint of Guru Nanak implanted on it.

(38.) Vanit Nalwa, *Hari Singh Nalwa: 'Champion of the Khalsaji' (1791-1837)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2009).

(39.) *Ibid.*

(40.) See, for example, the comments on the Sikh era in Punjab Government, *Lahore District Gazetteer 1916* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1916), p. 29.

(41.) For details see Clive Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus: The Limits of Western Technological Superiority in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 145–53.

(42.) Dewan Chand Sharma, *Kashmir under the Sikhs* (Delhi: Seema Publisher, 1983).

(43.) Nalwa, *Hari Singh Nalwa*, p. 59. Parts of the text covering the period 1839–46 have been translated into English. V.S. Suri (trans.) *Umdat-ut-tawarikh. Daftar IV (parts i-iii): 1839–1845 AD* (Chandigarh: Punjab Itihas Prakashan, 1973).

(44.) Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus*, pp. 221–2.

(45.) Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab 1839–1845* (Hoshiarpur: V.V. Research Institute, 1969); Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh* (New Delhi: Master, 1982); Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1962).

(46.) C.J.S. Gough, and A.D. Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars: The Rise, Conquest and Annexation of the Punjab State* (London: A.D. Innes & Co., 1887); Ajudia Arshad (trans. V.S. Suri), *Waqai-jang-i-Sikhan: Events of the (First) Anglo-Sikh War, 1845–46: Eye Witness Account of the Battles of Pheroshahr and Sabraon* (Chandigarh: Itihas Prakashan, 1975); B.S. Nijjar, *Anglo-Sikh Wars, 1845–1849* (New Delhi: R.K.B. Publications, 1976); E. Joseph Thackwell, *Narrative of the Second Sikh War in 1848–9 with a Detailed Account of the Battles of Ramnugger, the Passage of the Chenab, Chillianwala, Gujerat* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851).

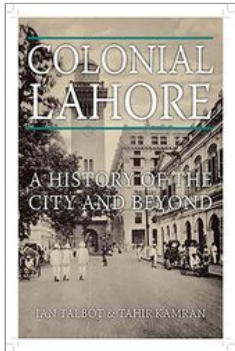
(47.) For some preliminary reflection on the late 1930s illustrated travel features on India in *The Listener* see Chandrika Kaul, *Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience: Britain and India in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 167.

(48.) See Hamida Khuhro and Anwer Mooraj, *Karachi: Megacity of Our Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad: The Birth of a Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).



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Oxford Scholarship Online



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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Colonial Lahore

The City and Beyond

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0002

Abstract and Keywords

Chapter one firstly discusses the spatial development of colonial Lahore with the creation of the Civil Lines, the Cantonment and the Mall.

These areas contained such imposing new buildings as the GPO, the High Court and the Museum. Later the prestigious suburb of Model Town with its well-ordered streets, parks and bungalows was created.

Secondly, the chapter looks at the migration to the city which led to its rapid growth in the colonial era. Lahore's administrative importance, its commercial development and its emergence as the leading educational centre for North India provided the context for migration.

The chapter reveals the role of migrants such as Lala Harkishen Lal in Lahore's commercial activities and Lala Lajpat Rai in its institutional and cultural development. The role of migrants from Delhi such as Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali is also discussed with respect to establishing the city as a major centre of Urdu culture.culture.

Keywords: Civil Lines, Cantonment, Mall, Model Town, Migration, Lala Harkishen Lal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Muhammad Hussain Azad, Altaf Hussain Hali, Urdu

The railway station was one of the earliest purpose built colonial structures in Lahore. Sir John Lawrence, (1811-79), Governor of the Punjab, laid the foundation stone in February 1859, and by the time it was completed three years later it had cost Rs500,000 to build. Its architect, William Brunton (1817-81), had designed an eye-catching edifice with tall machicolated towers and great round bastions. The trowel which Lawrence had used to break the ground for its foundation stone had been inscribed with the Latin motto *tam bello, quam pace* ('both war to peace'), which aptly described the station's façade, designed to be bomb proof and with its mock arrow slits providing lines of fire for a building that functioned as both a fort and station. The station served in the decades after its construction as both a hub to move troops during the Second Anglo-Afghan War and to facilitate the passage of goods, which from the 1890s onwards encouraged the emergence of Karachi as a major port. By this stage, Lahore was at the crossroads of rail lines linking Peshawar to the north, Delhi and Calcutta to the east and Bombay to the south. The station symbolised and acted as the link between Lahore and transregional and transnational centres of trade. It also welcomed the numerous migrants who transformed Lahore's life. Before looking at migration, we will turn first to the city's physical expansion.

(p.14) Lahore's Expansion

After buildings from the Mughal and Sikh period were initially used for administrative, religious and residential purposes,¹ the plain outside the walls filled up with the new administrative and residential areas of the Civil Station. The early residential development in the Lower Mall area was known as Donald Town after Donald McLeod (Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab [1865-70]). A new commercial area emerged outside Lohari Gate with the Anarkali Bazaar stretching for nearly a mile up to Nila Gumbad. Hindus owned virtually all of the shops.² The Central Mall area saw the development of the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection, the High Court Buildings, which were completed in 1889, and the Lahore Museum and Tollinton market. The Upper Mall was both an administrative and recreational area with the Government House and the Lawrence Gardens in which the Lahore Gymkhana Club was located. The imposing buildings of Chiefs College stood to the east.

The Central Mall area was known as Charing Cross; for half a century, until its removal to Lahore Museum in 1951, it was dominated by a bronze statue of Queen Victoria.³ The marble pavilion protecting the statue was designed by Bhai Ram Singh (b. 1858) of the Mayo School of Arts. Bhai Ram Singh had studied carpentry at the Mission School of Amritsar before travelling to Lahore to join the Mayo School of Arts, where his career was spent as a student, assistant master and ultimately as its first Indian principal.⁴ In 1891, in the words of his mentor, John Lockwood Kipling, the designer had embarked on 'a new life in a new world' when he spent months working on the creation of the Darbar room at Queen Victoria's residence at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight.⁵ Victoria's private secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby, informed Kipling in January 1892 that 'The Queen is delighted with it, it looks very well indeed.'⁶ Bhai Ram Singh had first come to royal notice when he worked with Kipling on the Indian Billiard Room of the Duke of Connaught at Bagshot Park in Surrey.⁷ Bhai Ram Singh designed many of Lahore's most iconic buildings, including the multi-tiered and domed Lahore Museum, the Punjab University Hall and Library, the Mayo School of Arts at the Central Mall and Aitchison College on its north side.⁸ They were actually constructed by Sir Ganga Ram whose period as executive engineer was termed Lahore's 'Ganga Ram' architectural period.⁹ Ganga Ram, like Dyal Singh, was a migrant to the city **(p.15)** whose philanthropic contributions to Lahore are still evident today. His most famous gift to the city was the hospital which was constructed in his name in 1921 in the Wachhowali area. He also built a medical college nearby. Other charitable activities included the establishment of

girls' high schools and a Hindu Widows' Home and school. These enterprises were managed by the Sir Ganga Ram Trust.

The British took pride in the new provincial capital, with its wide thoroughfares, gardens and mix of Classical, Gothic and Indo-Saracenic buildings. Charles Dilke, who visited the city as a young man in 1867, recorded that Lahore 'is far more English than Bombay'.¹⁰ A generation later, Lahore's Englishness was still being commented on. 'The city of Lahore,' the 1916 *Gazetteer* remarked, 'is the first place of the province as an [sic] European trading and shopping centre the Mall is lined with large European shops, some of which are local concerns and some branches of Calcutta and Bombay business houses.'¹¹ Ranken & Co. Tailors and Outfitters, whose shop was on the left hand side of the Mall, had branches, for example, in Calcutta, Simla and Delhi. Cutler, Palmer and Co. Wine Merchants nearby boasted branches in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Stiffle's on the opposite side of the Mall was noted for its afternoon teas. Janki Das and Devi Chand were two important department stores owned by local Hindus.

The city's imposing 'new developments', including Lawrence Gardens and the Racecourse, were given equal importance to the inner city 'exoticism' in guides which encouraged a growing number of tourists. Their previously unremarked presence will be examined in a later chapter. The 'frigidly classical' Lawrence Hall was the European population's major centre for entertainment before the development of theatres.¹² The Star Company staged music and drama there during its tours of North India in the late 1860s and early 1870s.¹³ In December 1878, a different kind of entertainment was provided when the professional billiards player John Roberts (1847-1919) played an exhibition match with another English professional during his Indian tour. Roberts, who later gained a reputation as a manufacturer of cues and tables, establishing a factory in Calcutta, potted his way to victory on a table lent by the Nawab of Bahawalpur.¹⁴

The GPO building standing at the junction of the Mall and Nabha Road, which was constructed in 1904 in Indo-Saracenic style, remains **(p.16)** a landmark to this day, although the protected building is threatened by the Orange Metro Line development. The threat remains until, the Punjab Government delivers on a promise to construct a tunnel that will safeguard the GPO which lies on the route of the Orange line which is due to be operational in 2018. Its colonnades are surmounted by a clock tower and four minarets. The clock tower was an architectural feature of the colonial state's modernity and middle-class regularity throughout India.¹⁵ The wealthy Indian timber contractor Bawa Dinga Singh (d. 1939) constructed an imposing domed three-storey clock

tower on the Mall in 1927 which housed one of the city's earliest electric lifts. Just a year earlier, Dinga's company (Spedding, Dinga Singh and Company) had signed a five-year contract with the ruler of Swat to fell the state's Deodar forests.¹⁶

The Central Mall catered for British tourists and businessmen who did not have access to the Punjab Club. The 1914 *Lahore Directory* recorded fifteen hotels in the Mall and surrounding areas. This was a considerable advance on the three mentioned in the 1876 guidebook, which admitted that 'Hotels in Lahore are poor.'¹⁷ Faletti's Hotel on Egerton Road boasted electric lights and fans in every room. Some British officials preferred to stay there when they first arrived in the city rather than at the Punjab Club.¹⁸ The hotel had its own bachelors' quarters behind the main building. Rooms could be had there for as little as Rs8 per day in December 1913.¹⁹ The Swiss-run Nedou's Hotel, which had a grand Indo-Saracenic façade to its block named after Louis Dane (secretary to the Punjab government in 1898), was, however, demolished in the 1970s. Its residents included many Indian tourists travelling the subcontinent with Thomas Cook and Son who were able to redeem their hotel coupons there.²⁰ Like other British areas in towns and cantonments, there were also a number of small photography studios where residents could preserve a record of their life in India, before the journey home. The commercial studios included those of Fred Bremner (1863-1941) whose vision of India in a career spanning forty years has grown in significance.²¹

Some six miles east of the city lay the Mian Mir Cantonment with its rectilinear roads, oval park, Church of St Mary Magdalene, West End Cinema and tennis courts. The whole Cantonment area covered over 1,300 square miles. British troops had been moved here from the **(p. 17)** barracks in Anarkali at the end of the 1850s to try to counteract the threat of cholera. Spatial segregation from the 'unhealthy' environs of the walled city failed, however, to prevent nearly a quarter of the troops dying in a cholera epidemic in 1861. Thereafter a secure piped water supply was constructed and the surrounding villages were extensively surveyed to uncover health threats.²² Many migrant labourers were employed in the Cantonment's construction. Robert Montgomery, the Lahore Commissioner, declared: 'Labourers of every kind are in great demand. There is more work than there are hands available.'²³ At that time, nearly 4,000 labourers were employed every day on the work. Muhammad Sultan (1809-75), a Kashmiri, was one of the most important contractors. The Muslim artisans came from the Arain, Mughal and Pathan *biraderis* and competed for jobs with the

Sikh Ramgarhias and Hindu Tarkhans (carpenters) and Lohars (blacksmiths). Casual workers included grass cutters (*malis*) coolies, washermen and *punkah wallahs* (the pullers of the rope connected to the old style fan which predated the use of electric fans in the summer).

Once completed, the native cavalry lines in the southern quarter of the city required blacksmiths, while the Sadar Bazaar provided further employment opportunities as milk, fodder and other goods were brought daily into the Cantonment from the neighbouring areas. Whilst Lahore's development was not as dominated by the Cantonment as that of Rawalpindi, Ferozepore or Ambala, the Cantonment area still had as many as 25,000 people residing in it, according to the 1921 Census.²⁴ As in other cantonments, its residents consumed vast quantities of alcohol, which comprised the major upstream cargo for the flotillas of steamboats which plied the Indus and its tributaries in the 1870s.²⁵

Travel accounts, district gazetteers and colonial-era histories had as their starting point the contrast between the 'modern' city and the 'traditional' walled inner city.²⁶ Few European residents ventured beyond the ancient gates which guarded it. They led into a maze of neighbourhoods (*mohallas*) linked by narrow alleyways (*galis*) that were demarcated along occupational, caste and religious lines. Narrow entrances led to large *havelis* with their traditional internal courtyards and fountains overlooked by double-storey balconies. Markets opened up from the *galis* each dealing in a speciality. Lohari Mandi is considered the oldest main market. Even today, Kashmiri Bazaar is known for **(p.18)** its woollen shawls and Landa Bazaar for its second hand clothes. While the real localities and lives of the walled city's inhabitants were a virtual *terra incognita* for the British, they constructed an Orientalist description of the walled city shot through with stereotypes of the exotic 'Other'. This had become firmly established by the end of the nineteenth century in such works as Rudyard Kipling's 'City of Dreadful Night' and in the early tourist postcards. These regularly featured street scenes and the gilt domes and minarets of the Golden Mosque in the crowded Dabbi Bazaar area and the heavily decorated gateway to Wazir Khan's mosque. When members of the Royal Family, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, visited the inner city to see the mosques in December 1884, they had left their car at Delhi Gate and like Oriental potentates had ridden on elephants.²⁷ Lahore's 'exoticism' continues to be reproduced in post-colonial writings on the 'Red Light' Hira Mandi district²⁸ and in literary anthologies as, for example, in the novelist Bapsi Sidhwa's evocatively named *City of Sin and Splendour*.²⁹

British writers and their Indian imitators spoke of raising a new city from the accumulated rubble of the 'desolate plain' outside the old city.³⁰ One of the clearest expressions of this sentiment is found in a travel guide of the late 1870s:

To the south of the city extend[ed] a vast ... uneven expanse interspersed with the crumbling remains of mosques, tombs and gateways and huge shapeless mounds of rubbish from old brick kilns. Within the last few years an immense change has taken place in this region, which was utterly waste and desolate ... after the annexation in 1849... The European houses and gardens in Donald Town, the metalled roads overshadowed by trees and the vegetation consequent upon irrigation have transformed a part of the artificial desert on this side of the city into a suburb which reminded a recent French traveller of Enghien or Passey near Paris.³¹

Some post-annexation settlement reports and district gazetteers focused overwhelmingly on the British space of the Civil Station, only just 'stopping short of pretending the walled city did not exist at all'.³² The contrast between the order of the Civil Station and the chaos of the walled city became such an 'established fact' about Lahore that it was 'mimicked' by Indian novelists as well as historians. The didactic novel *The Two Friends*, written by a member of the Hindu social reformist organisation Arya Samaj, commences, for example, with its 'modern' **(p.19)** student characters, Ram and Nath, strolling in the Lawrence Gardens and then later along the Mall, the central symbols of British Lahore.³³

Anthony King has since theorised the separation between the 'old town' and the new Civil Lines and Cantonment as a key aspect of the 'the dual city' of British India.³⁴ Recent scholarship has argued that this division overemphasises the transformative effects of the western impact. It also sees it as unreflectively reproducing colonial social and cultural categorisations concerning the need to 'modernise' and order the material environment.³⁵ Writers such as Markus Daechsel argue, however, that it is not the 'duality' aspect so much as a neglect of power relations that undermines colonial urban histories of Lahore. He points to the fact that the public buildings and grand thoroughfares of the Mall both symbolised British power and its enactment in the appropriation of space. 'While up to 100,000 Indians lived in the space surrounded by the city walls, literally a handful of Europeans,' he declares, 'occupied an area which was much larger in size.'³⁶ A survey undertaken in 1911 revealed that houses in the walled city occupied plots that were only 1 per cent of the average size in the Civil Station.³⁷

Moreover, not only was Lahore's modern development shaped by British power, but the discourse of raising a new city from the rubble and debris of a former Mughal metropolis legitimised the right to rule. In this sense Lahore was the urban equivalent of the waving fields of wheat in the canal colonies, in the paternalistic discourse of the Punjab as a 'model' colonial province.³⁸

Lahore also expanded in a southerly direction with the creation of the Krishan Nagar and Sant Nagar suburbs in the early 1930s. Their roads, unlike those in the city, were wide enough for vehicle access. The concrete houses were constructed in a modern style. The streets radiated from a commercial thoroughfare and were arranged in rectangular blocks. Krishan Nagar and Sant Nagar were initiatives which followed on from the 1922 Punjab Town Improvement Act. They were exclusively Hindu and Sikh localities. The Gawal Mandi area between the Nisbet and Chamberlain Roads was another Hindu dominated locality.³⁹ Amongst its famous features were the Bharat Building and the imposing building near Barfkhana Chowk which was the headquarters of Pandit Thakur Dutt's 'Amritdhara' ('current of nectar') quack medicine business.⁴⁰ Its regular advertisements in the *Tribune* had made it a well-known product throughout North India.

(p.20) The Muslim suburbs included such areas as New Mozang and Mohammad Nagar. The Model Town development four miles to the south-west of the city was the most celebrated late colonial-era suburban development. It was not conceived as exclusive to any community, but wealthy Hindu capitalists owned about two-thirds of its properties. N. Varma planned Model Town's architectural layout in 1920, but it was another five years before the first home was completed. When finished, the Model Town scheme really took off as a result of the efforts of a lawyer, Diwan Khem Chand. Rabbits, jackals and deer initially shared the 2,000-acre tract of forest at Rakh Kot Lakhpat. Snakes were so great a menace that the Model Town Society, which looked after the residents' needs, paid anyone who deposited snakeskins at its office.⁴¹

A geometrical pattern of roads and housing blocks had been planted in this 'jungly' setting. The concentric circular roads were crossed at right angles by four main roads. Arterial roads radiating out from the inner circle divided the eight housing areas named after a letter of the alphabet into equal segments. The Model Town development combined elements of the new English architectural garden city/suburb design. The 'suburb salubrious' introduced the innovation of the flush toilet system. Houses conformed to strict planning restrictions. Two-thirds of each bungalow plot was set aside for gardens and lawns. Hedges rather

than boundary walls were *de rigueur*. The by-laws of the Model Town Society also prohibited the building of a cinema in its jurisdiction much to the chagrin of younger inhabitants.⁴² The suburb boasted, however, its own library and club buildings. From 1943 a regular bus service plied the route to the Shah Almi Gate of the walled city.

The unpublished memoirs of the British official Sir James Penny (1886–1978) provide snapshots of the city’s expansion during his itinerant career in the Punjab.⁴³ His first account from 1910 stands in marked contrast to that of a quarter of a century later. He linked the expansion with the advent of the motor car and ‘the tendency of Indians with sufficient means to move out of the city into less congested areas’.⁴⁴ Penny reveals that alongside pride at the colonial-era city development there were British yearnings by the 1930s for a quieter and more rural past. ‘It [was] no longer possible,’ he notes some-what wistfully, ‘to ride straight from the Mall to the racecourse.’⁴⁵ A keen huntsman, he observed that ‘there was now no question of meeting **(p.21)** at the nearest bridge over the canal as we used to do on New Year’s Day before the First World War. The pack had to be taken out in a lorry and riders came out by car.’ However, ‘as we could now meet so much further from Lahore, we covered greater area and had more variety of country.’⁴⁶ In the next section we shall explore the patterns and contexts of migration that transformed the city’s life.

Migration to Lahore and its Contexts

Patterns of Migration

During the closing six decades of British rule, Lahore’s population increased fourfold enabling it to eclipse neighbouring Amritsar as the most populous city in the Punjab. Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Jullundur were also growing rapidly at this time, but, like Amritsar, they lagged well behind Lahore. Migration was the key to Lahore’s growth.

Jullundur’s population, on the other hand, increased more as a result of natural increase. In All-India terms, Lahore had risen from the tenth largest city in 1891 to the fifth some thirty years later.⁴⁷ The final colonial-era Census (1941) recorded its population at 672,000.

As early as the 1881 Census, Lahore was recorded as having the highest percentage of ‘strangers’, those born outside the city and the district in the Punjab.⁴⁸ Thirty years later, the Census recorded that 463 out of every 1,000 Lahore residents had been born outside the district.⁴⁹ In this respect, Lahore shared some of the characteristics of such colonial port cities as Bombay, which in 1881 recorded only 27 per cent of its population as having been born in the city. Bombay, however, had a different pattern of long-distance migration and a more pronounced circular mobility of rural to urban migrants.⁵⁰ Despite their

inadequacies, it is clear from the Census records that seasonal migration was limited in Lahore to a relatively small number of Pushtuns and Kashmiris. The greatest number of migrants were from the neighbouring Punjab region and they saw the city as their final destination.

Most Pushtuns and Kashmiris were also permanent settlers. The 1931 Census enumerated them at around a quarter of the city's Muslim population.⁵¹ The Kashmiri population had increased in Lahore during the famine that had struck the princely state in 1878–9. Local migrants (p.22) included Arains and Gujjars who seized the opportunity to sell milk and vegetables to the growing population. A 1921 survey recorded that 90 per cent of the city's milk supply was provided by just over 500 Gujjars who lived within a twelve-mile radius.⁵² They were to be subsequently counted as Lahoris when the municipal boundaries were expanded in the 1923–39 period.⁵³ By the 1931 Census, Arains formed the largest Muslim *biraderi* in Lahore with over 138,000 inhabitants.⁵⁴ They were to compete with the Kashmiris for control of the municipality. The local Arain family of Baghbanpura Mians, headed by Mian Shah Din (1868–1918) and Mian Mohammad Shafi (1869–1932), was influential in community, city, provincial and All-India Muslim League politics. The family originally owned the land on which the Shalimar Gardens were built and handed this over to Shah Jahan in return for custodianship of the gardens. Mian Shah Din was appointed Chief Justice of the Punjab in 1917. The London-educated barrister Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869–1932) founded the Punjab Muslim League in 1907 and in 1919 became a member of the viceroy's Executive Council. His daughter Begum Shah Nawaz was active in Unionist and Muslim League politics. The left-leaning Mian Iftikharuddin (1907–62), who owned a house at 21 Aikman Road and who became the Pakistan minister for the rehabilitation of refugees and owner of the *Pakistan Times*, was another member of Lahore's leading political family.⁵⁵

Following the opening of the Punjab Legislative Assembly building at Lahore's Charing Cross in November 1938, the political life of the province found a new theatre in the colonnaded council chamber. Leading landlords set up their houses in the city so that they could be conveniently close to the legislature. The Unionist Party prime minister from 1944 onwards, Khizr Tiwana (1900–75) had a house at 22 Queen's Road. His father's house was at 21 Beadon Road, opposite Dayal Singh College. Mian Mumtaz Daultana (1916–95), a future prime minister of Pakistan Punjab, resided at 8 Durand Road.⁵⁶ Rulers of the

neighbouring princely states also had residences in the Civil Lines, which after independence were to become government offices.

Arora and Khatri Hindus formed a significant element in the colonial city's Indian elite. They were the first to move out from the walled city to the new suburbs. Sikhs also moved to the city, including the leading industrialist, philanthropist and founder of the *Tribune* newspaper, **(p. 23)** Dyal Singh Majithia (1848-98). He was born in Varanasi, but attended the Amritsar Mission School. He made his fortune in business and banking and was prominent in public life through his involvement with the Indian Association of Lahore and the Brahmo Samaj. Dyal Singh College and Dyal Singh Memorial Library remain a testament to his contribution to the city's life.

Alongside, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim migrants, there was a permanent British population which numbered just under 1,700 towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was to demand new standards of construction and consumption which had far-reaching effects. Colonial Lahore centred on the Civil Lines and the Mall which led eventually to the Cantonment. The growing, mainly migrant Indian elite population from the 1900s onwards aspired to the British lifestyle. Doctors and lawyers were the first to move into the Civil Lines, the latter concentrating in Fane, Lytton and Temple Roads. By the time of the 1901 Census, the population of Lahore's Civil Lines had reached 16,000. This was followed, as we have seen, by the creation of new suburban developments, such as Nisbet Road, Sant Nagar, Gawal Mandi and the prestigious Model Town.

The Indian elites adopted a western style of consumption that was catered to by the new retail shops and grocery stores opened in Anarkali and the Mall. A number of these were run by the migrant Parsi community whose numbers fluctuated at around 200 during the colonial era. This small community had its roots in Bombay and had been drawn to Lahore by the commercial opportunities in this growing colonial city. Parsi businesses were located in the Civil Lanes and the Cantonment, where Dinashawji Challa provided groceries and drink in several outlets. He resided there along with the Machliwallas and Ghadiallis Parsi families. A number of Parsis were wine merchants, including Framji Khajurina, who also was the proprietor of the Clifton Restaurant on Hall Road. The father of the renowned author Bapsi Sidhwa, Peshotan Bhandara (d. 1961) was a wine merchant. Dara Cooper owned the famous Ritz Cinema and a toyshop in the Commercial Building on the Mall, where many Parsi families resided. The Mall was a popular residential area because of its schools, amenities and proximity to Parsi businesses. Dr Barucha, who ran a

thriving medical practice, lived on McLeod Road. The Dajis and Rustomjis, prominent **(p.24)** lawyers, lived on Queen's Road. Bapsi Sidhwa was brought up at Warris Road with the Framroze Coopers as near neighbours.⁵⁷

There were even smaller migrant populations than the Parsis. They included Americans, Russians, Chinese, Czechs and Belgians. Certainly the Russian proprietor of the Stiffles restaurant and his partner, who was recorded in April 1947 as a 'dancer', added something to the city's colour. The Czechs clustered together in the compound built alongside the Bata Shoe Company, which was opened in 1942 at Batapur on the GT road. The Chinese, who were workers or merchants in the shoe industry, lived in common accommodation on Hall Road. Most Americans in Lahore were working for the Presbyterian Church and lived at the Forman Christian College. Similarly, Belgian nuns and priests resided at the Catholic cathedral or at the church in the Cantonment.⁵⁸

The missionary presence saw a quadrupling of native converts, reaching over 16,000 in Lahore by 1931. On the eve of independence the number of Indian Christians in the city was 30,000. The 'threat' of Christian conversion stimulated the rise of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh religious societies and reform movements. The Arya Samaj was especially influential amongst the affluent Hindu migrant population. There were considerable numbers of migrants amongst the Indian Christians who were drawn to the city's employment opportunities and its strong missionary presence.

Contexts for Migration

Colonial rule provided new opportunities as Lahore emerged as a leading administrative, educational and communications hub, not only for the Punjab, but for northern India. Not all towns in the Punjab, of course, prospered from British rule in this way.⁵⁹ Some were left behind because they were off the main railway network or because of a decline in their traditional employment. Lahore's political and administrative importance under British rule was the key factor in the city's growth. Commercial, and later industrial, development provided further contexts for expansion. The flow of goods and people was assisted by the communications revolution brought by the railways. The physical transformation arising from the construction of the Civil Lines and the Cantonment created further demands for labour. The later development **(p.25)** of the railway workshops further boosted employment. Migrant artisans were drawn from such communities as the Ramgarhias, Lohars, Tarkhans, Mughals and Arains. Pushtuns provided muscle-power for the labouring tasks. The unskilled labouring jobs were filled by single male migrants, but skilled workers brought their families with them. In 1923, for example, skilled blacksmiths and carpenters formed around one-third of the total labour force.⁶⁰ We have already seen the context of the successive building projects that encouraged migration. They included not only the construction of imposing public buildings, but suburban residential developments.

The city's physical expansion both encouraged migration and relied on a large number of immigrant labourers. These included skilled carpenters and bricklayers drawn from the service castes of the Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts.

The railways dominated long-distance trade by the 1880s and brought workers and goods to the rapidly expanding city. Later in the volume we will see how the improved communications encouraged movement through the city, as seen in the arrival of western tourists, and also from it with respect to international migration and pilgrimage. The first train service from Lahore to Amritsar ran in April 1862. The memoir of the reputed book publisher, Maulvi Feoze ud Din reveals that the journey was free for the first fifteen days of the line's operation.⁶¹ Whether it was this inducement, the novelty factor or, more likely, the speed and convenience, passenger traffic expanded rapidly on the line. From its opening until late 1863, over a quarter of a million passengers had travelled between the neighbouring cities.⁶² Robert Needham Cust (1821-1909), an official in the Judicial and Revenue Department of the Punjab government, wrote home to his mother early in April 1862: 'Our

railway is now in full force and Amritsar is only one hour and a half distant. One thousand three hundred Sikhs went off to bathe in the sacred tank [at the Golden Temple] one day last week: the people thoroughly enjoyed it.⁶³

The main railway station in the city was still to be completed when the line opened and the first trains had to use the goods sheds as a temporary station. The Grand Trunk Road had to be diverted so that the station could be built. It had been constructed by Muhammad Sultan, a Kashmiri government contractor whose career had begun **(p.26)** as a wrestler during the reign of Ranjit Singh.⁶⁴ He moved into construction in a big way with the building of the Mian Mir Cantonment. His business empire was to collapse, however, almost as rapidly as it had grown. For some this was not because he had over-expanded, but had been cursed for using bricks from old shrines and mosques for his constructions.⁶⁵

By 1870 Lahore was linked with Delhi and, as a result, a direct railway link existed between the city and the capital Calcutta. The city's transport links now expanded rapidly with a through route to Karachi by 1878 and one to Peshawar in 1883. Until the Karachi line was completed, goods and passengers went by steamer or country boat between Kotri and Multan, before completing the journey to the port city on the Sind Railway. Within the Punjab region, links were established with the new canal colony towns such as Lyallpur, which was connected by the railway in 1896, and Montgomery.⁶⁶ Lyallpur had a railway station solely for goods traffic; wheat from its two grain markets was transported by rail to the port of Karachi.⁶⁷ The network with the canal colony towns was completed with the opening of the Lahore-Shahdara-Sangla Hill-Khushab line in 1916.⁶⁸

While the trains that linked the Punjab's capital with other parts of the subcontinent were slow by international standards, they nonetheless revolutionised journey times. The speed of travel between Karachi and Lahore was only a modest average 22 miles per hour in 1878, but steamships on the Indus took thirty-four days to complete the stretch from Kotri to Multan.⁶⁹ By the close of the colonial era, trains had increased their speeds, so that the Sind Express had an average speed of 50 miles per hour on its 760-mile journey from Karachi to Lahore.⁷⁰ The trains not only carried passengers more quickly, but increased the numbers of people on the move. The average number of passengers crammed into a North Western Railway train by the turn of the century was 197.⁷¹ The North Western Railway system's last available figures (1943-44) reveal that there were annually over 5.5 million passenger miles.⁷² The more numerous third class passengers were carried for an

average distance of just over forty miles. First class travellers averaged six times this mileage. Goods were also carried in large quantities, from the Badami Bagh freight station, for distribution elsewhere in the region and to the port of Karachi for export. The revolution in **(p.27)** long-distance transportation saw the growth of Lahore's important grain market. Exports had reached their peak almost thirty years earlier, but the North Western Railway was still carrying over a million tons of wheat on the eve of the Second World War.⁷³

The North Western Railway headquarters were located in Lahore, initially at the main railway station. Maintenance was required for the locomotives, carriages and wagons. The first works were established on a 126-acre site at Naulakha. They were the largest of the nine workshops in the Punjab, and by the early 1880s employed over 2,000 men.⁷⁴ Many of these were migrants from the Mughal artisan class. Within thirty years the volume of work was so great that it was moved to a bigger 1,000-acre site at Moghulpura, on the eastern edge of the city. Here 4,500 men were employed to construct and repair rolling stock for the North Western Railways network that covered over 4,000 miles. The number had reached 6,500 at the outbreak of the First World War.⁷⁵ At this time there were over a thousand Europeans employed in supervisory roles. By 1929 the works sprawled over forty acres of covered accommodation with a workforce of over 12,000.⁷⁶ Small sub-contractors also offered jobs, as did industries which set up nearby. These included the Steel and General Mills Company run by the increasingly powerful Narang Brothers agency, established in 1936.⁷⁷ Carriages took around a month to be repaired in the workshops at this time; wagons would be ready in under a fortnight.⁷⁸

While the railway workshops employed fewer workers than those in Ajmer and Monghyr, they were the largest employer of industrial labour, not only in Lahore, but throughout the Punjab. Wages earned in the works increased the consumption of local food and clothing products, thereby having an economic multiplier effect. The huge complex was also important for the city's spatial development. The *Lahore Chronicle* as early as 1866 recorded how the Naulakha site 'had filled up' a great gap in the area between Anarkali and Mian Mir.

The Railway Board constructed three residential areas for its employees, with the best accommodation in Mayo Gardens provided for its senior officials.⁷⁹ Middle ranking officials lived along Mayo Road on the south-eastern side of the railway station. The large Anglo-India community which worked as clerks, foreman and draughtsmen in the railway yards resided in the Garhi Shahu to Shalamar Road area which, according **(p.28)** to one contemporary account, 'set among shabby

vegetable gardens, with grimy factories rearing their chimneys round about', was, 'no better than the outskirts of a midlands town', the inhabitants existing 'in the hopeless Eurasian half-world which is neither here nor there'.⁸⁰

Migration and Education

The colonial administration required educated Indian officials. Schools and colleges providing western education clustered around centres of government. Lahore was no exception. By the close of the colonial era, it had nearly 300 institutions. We will see in later chapters that the city emerged as the major centre for modern education not only in the Punjab, but the whole of North India. Lahore provided the educational opportunities to grasp new professional and administrative careers which were not present in other parts of the province. Students adopted the city as their own. Prakash Tandon, in his classic autobiographical insight into colonial Punjab, provides an insight into the pull of Lahore for the educated classes and its continuing influence on individuals' lives:

Lahore was the first town to start schools and colleges, and although educational facilities spread all over the Punjab, higher education in arts, science, medicine, law, engineering, teaching and veterinary science was concentrated in Lahore. Each generation, my grand-uncle, father, uncle and we ourselves studied at Lahore. When you settled in a profession or service, most of your colleagues were old friends from Lahore; you married into some family whose sons and daughters had been to Lahore. Gradually people also began to retire to Lahore. Thus Lahore came to acquire a very special position in our society. There was an overall class of Punjabi professionals who had been educated in Lahore, and this was not a caste of birth and inheritance, for in many Colleges, especially those started by charitable trusts, there was a large number of students from humble homes in towns and villages.⁸¹

Lahore's cost of living, higher than elsewhere in Punjab, meant that families of students from elsewhere had to scrimp and save. The famous Pakistan historian K.K. Aziz, who joined Forman Christian College in 1942 from his native Ambala, has left an account of the costs his family faced when it moved with him from Batala. 'New English dresses and transport had to be met,' he recalled, 'utility bills had to be paid... As **(p.29)** my father's financial position worsened so did the quality, size and location of the residence.'⁸²

Pran Nevile, who provided a moving obituary of Tandon in the *Tribune*, has attempted to keep the spirit of pre-Partition Lahore alive for Indian migrants.⁸³ Indeed, the notion of pre-Partition Lahore as the 'Paris of the East' owes much to him. Middle-class Hindu students stayed on in the city after education, some worked in administration and education, others turned to profitable careers in the legal profession or in commercial activities. By the end of the First World War, 50,000 people were working in the legal, educational, medical and administrative professions.⁸⁴ The headquarters of such companies as Amritsar Spinning Mills, Punjab Sugar Mills and Basti Sugar Mills, located on Temple and Montgomery Roads, also provided employment opportunities. With twenty bank offices, at this time Lahore possessed more financial institutions than any other Indian city. Nearly a third of these were Indian owned. The Sunlight Building at 14 The Mall housed the New Bank of India, with its lady assistant to attend to purdah clients, along with the Jupiter Investment Trust and the Sunlight Insurance Company itself.

The Punjab National Bank, which opened in a building in the Anarkali Bazaar on 12 April 1895, was the pioneering indigenous banking institution. It was part of the growing industrial empire of Lala Harkishen Lal, a Government College lecturer and entrepreneur, which included insurance companies, brick kilns, six or seven flour mills, electricity supply companies, saw mills and ice factories. Lala Harkishen Lal provides a micro-history of the wider impact of migrant Khatri in Lahore's colonial economic development. He had come to the city from Leiah in the distant Mianwali district to study at Government College. He did sufficiently well to be awarded a state scholarship to go to Trinity College, Cambridge. On his return to India in 1890, he worked briefly as a professor in the Government College before beginning a life of business with the floating of the Bharat Insurance Company. His rapid rise to economic prominence was checked by the 1913 financial crisis and his involvement in a conspiracy trial, most of which he slept through, in the wake of the April 1919 disturbances.⁸⁵ The industrial empire that had allowed him to be one of the first car owners in Lahore, and to ride in a similar camel **(p.30)** cart to the one used by the lieutenant-governor when attending the races, was once more built up, only to come crashing down in the aftermath of the 1931 Depression.⁸⁶ This reveals the impact of events far beyond the city's boundaries arising from Lahore's connectedness to the global economy.

Muslim students were more likely to go into teaching and the legal profession than commerce and industry after completing their education. Those who attended the denominational Islamia College, founded by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in 1892, were to be involved

in the Pakistan Movement in the 1940s. Hameed Nizami was a leading figure and founder of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. He had journeyed to Lahore in 1922 from Sangla Hill to study first at Islamia College and then at Forman Christian College, where he graduated with an MA in English. Nizami played a leading role in popularising the Muslim League movement with the launching of the *Nawa-i-Waqt* newspaper in March 1940. Before this time, he had worked in the press branch of the Punjab government and as the manager of the Lahore office of the Orient Press Agency.

The large student population boosted the publishing industry based in the city. Utter Chand Kapoor, Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh and Sheikh Barkat Ali all emerged as important textbook publishers. Ferozsons and Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons were publishers of the *anjumans* and together employed over a thousand people.⁸⁷ On the eve of Partition, there were thirty-nine printing presses in the city. The Indian owned press in Lahore had been pioneered by experienced printers from Delhi and the Northwest Provinces who had been encouraged by the East India Company to come to the city. Mohammad Azim, who had established a printing company in Delhi, came to Lahore shortly after its annexation to run the Chronicle Press. This published the *Lahore Chronicle*, a mouthpiece of the administration. Another experienced migrant printer, Hursookh Rai, accepted the government's invitation to establish the Kohinoor Press in Lahore early in 1850.⁸⁸

Native Lahoris were also naturally involved in commercial and economic development. A leading role was played by the family of Rai Bahadur Mela Ram, who lived in a *haveli* named Lal Kothi close to the Bhatti Gate. Mela Ram was one of the main contractors for the Lahore-**(p.31)** Amritsar railway. His business empire also included the Mela Ram Cotton Mills, established in 1898 on the Ravi Road. His son Rai Bahadur Suran Dass continued the family enterprises. On the eve of the British departure, the mills had as many as 16,670 spindles, 147 looms and 48 ginning machines in addition to bleaching and dyeing mechanisms.⁸⁹ Suran Dass was reputed to have introduced the first motor car into the walled city. It was initially accompanied by a bell-ringing runner to warn passers-by. Father and son patronised Lahore's cultural life, including the *urs* of Lahore's leading Data Ganj Bakhsh Sufi shrine revealing evidence of the surviving pluralistic approach to religion in the city.

Migrants and the Cultural Development of Colonial Lahore

Migrants drawn from all religious communities not only contributed to the city's economic development, but made immense cultural contributions to colonial Lahore. This took the form of literary outputs, poetry symposia and the establishment of associations, *anjumans* and *sabhas*. Lala Hans Raj (1864–1938), for example, was a leading figure in the development of the Hindu religious reform movement, the Arya Samaj, in Lahore. He moved to the city from Hoshiarpur when his brother, Mulk Raj, secured a job in the Posts and Telegraph Department. Hans Raj became a devotee of the Arya Samaj while studying at the Punjab University.⁹⁰ He was the first principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School (later college) on its foundation in 1886; a role which he continued to fulfil for a quarter of a century. During this time, the Arya Samaj-run college, situated not far from the district courts, attracted hundreds of high caste Hindus from the Khatri, Bania and Agarwal communities who sought modern education which would equip them for professional life, but within the confines of a reformed Hindu tradition. Members of the Arya Samaj played important roles in Punjab and national politics.

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1928), the leading Arya and nationalist figure, had moved to Lahore from Jagraon in 1880 to study law at Government College.⁹¹ Like Hans Raj, with whom he worked closely in the college faction of the Arya Samaj, he was influenced by the Arya viewpoint while a student.⁹² Lajpat Rai's impact on the life of Lahore stretched **(p.32)** beyond the Arya Samaj as he was involved in the creation of the Punjab National Bank, the Lakshmi Insurance Company and the National College, which met inside Bradlaugh Hall. This famous building, as we shall see in a later chapter, was at the centre of anti-colonial activities from its inauguration in 1900. The National College, which came into being during the 1920 Non-Cooperation Movement, was designed to provide an alternative to British colleges and numbered leading revolutionaries as its graduates.⁹³ To further the nationalist cause Lajpat Rai also founded in 1921 the Servants of the People Society. Its aim to 'enlist and train national missionaries in the service of the motherland' was a further link in the relational chain between Lahore and the rest of India which we explore in this volume.

Lala Lajpat Rai's legacy to the city extended well beyond his death at the time of the 1928 Simon Mission visit, as a result of the establishment of the Gulab Devi Memorial Hospital on Ferozepore Road. The trust to found a hospital for tuberculosis patients in memory of Lajpat Rai's mother had been set up in 1927, although the building was not completed until 1934. It was inaugurated by Gandhi, who earlier on Christmas Day 1929 had also laid the foundation stone for

Lajpat Rai's statue which stood at Gol Bagh in commemoration of the nationalist 'lion of the Punjab'. At Partition the statue was spirited away to India, where it was re-erected at Scandal Point, Shimla on 15 August 1948.

The Singh Sabha emerged as a major rival of the Arya Samaj. This Sikh reformist organisation originated in Amritsar. The Lahore branch, founded some six years later in November 1879, was, however, more activist. It pioneered publishing and educational work.

The Singh Sabha movement originated as a reaction to the Arya Samaj's attempts to 'reconvert' lower caste Sikhs to Hinduism through the *shuddhi* purification ritual. The Singh Sabha reformers addressed such issues as the need to remove Hindu images from Sikh shrines, to 'purify folk religion' and to establish a distinctive code of rites of passage for the community. At the heart of these activities was the riposte to the Aryas contained in the title of Kahn Singh Nabha's (1861–1938) famous tract published in 1897, *Ham Hindu Nahin* ('We are not Hindus').

The Lahore rather than the Amritsar branch of the Singh Sabha championed a 'tat khalsa' or 'true' Sikh faith because of its composition. The Amritsar branch drew on members of the traditional Sikh aristocracy. Its **(p.33)** Lahore counterpart reflected the growth of the new middle class elite active in the city's public culture. Many of its members had migrated to the city for education and career purposes. This is clearly evidenced in the careers of three of the Lahore Singh Sabha's early members: namely Bhai Jawahir Singh Kapur, Ditt Singh and Gurmukh Singh.

Bhai Jawahir Singh Kapur (1859–1910), who was initially an influential Sikh member of the Arya Samaj before he joined the Lahore Singh Sabha in 1885, came from a traditional family of *granthis* at the Golden Temple in Amritsar. At the age of seventeen, he had become employed in the accounts department of the Sind-Punjab and Delhi Railway Company at Lahore.⁹⁴ His early exposure to western norms of rationality, modernity and scientific knowledge and to the emerging print culture led him to a life of devotion to associational activities (he was a member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab) and to a 'zeal' for Sikh reform. He was joined in this task by a childhood friend Ditt Singh (1850–1901), who edited the weekly *Khalsa Akhbar* and became a prolific publicist and polemicist for the Singh Sabha movement. Ditt Singh like many of his generation was an educational migrant to Lahore. He entered Oriental College as a student and went on to be a college lecturer in Gurmukhi.⁹⁵ Gurmukh Singh (1849–98), a founding member of the

Lahore Sabha and its first secretary, came from the Sikh princely state of Kapurthala, where his father was a cook in the royal household. After local schooling, he was sent to Government College, Lahore. Although he failed to graduate, he joined the teaching staff of the Oriental College, where he successfully engaged in his first public campaign to petition its governing body to include the study of Punjabi language and literature in its curriculum.⁹⁶

Muslim migrants also played leading roles in Lahore's developing associational life. One such figure was Khan Barkat Ali Khan (1821–1905), who originally came from Shahjahanpur in the south-east of Uttar Pradesh. After settling in Lahore, he became a leading figure in the Anjuman-i-Islamia, founded in 1869. The organisation raised funds to repair the Badshahi Mosque, which had been used as a powder magazine during the period of Sikh rule, and to restore shops attached to the Golden Mosque. It also established scholarships for Muslim students. Barkat Ali stayed on in Lahore after his retirement and remained active in public life. His contribution led the lieutenant-governor in **(p.34)** 1902 to dub him 'the Patriarch of the Lahore Muslims'.⁹⁷ Another migrant, the Hungarian Orientalist Dr Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840–99), was the pivotal figure behind another leading Muslim organisation, the Anjuman-i-Punjab, which popularised the need for a university to be established in the province.⁹⁸ Leitner, after a period lecturing at King's College London, became the principal of Government College, Lahore. This immensely influential institution first opened its doors to a handful of students on 1 January 1864 in the *haveli* of Dhian Singh in the Chuna Mandi locality. Leitner's desire for a vernacular medium university was unacceptable in London, but the Punjab University began as an English language medium institution in 1882. Leitner was for a time its registrar. When he returned to Europe he founded both the Oriental Institute at Woking, supported by a donation from the Begum of Bhopal, and the Shahjahan Mosque in which its students could worship.⁹⁹

Lahore's emergence as a major Urdu cultural centre owed much to the work of Muslim literati who migrated from Delhi following the trauma of the 1857 revolt. Many would argue that the greatest work in the modern age of Urdu poetry was the product of the experiences in Lahore of Altaf Hussain Hali (1837–1914) after he was displaced from Delhi. His long poem *Madd o Jazr i Islam* ('The Flow and Ebb of Islam'), published in the city in 1879, is more popularly known as Hali's *Musaddas* because of its six-line rhyming stanza form. The poem evokes many of the themes of the Aligarh movement to which he was attached, such as the need to arouse Indian Muslims from their contemporary stupor, and to embrace western knowledge and the improvement of

society brought by British rule. The latter sentiment was summed up in the phrases, 'Peace and security hold sway in all the lands. No caravan has its way blocked.'¹⁰⁰ The Aligarh' movement's founder Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) declared of it:

Yes, it was I who urged you to write it, and I rank this so high among my stock of good deeds that when (on Judgement Day) God will ask me, 'What have you brought here?' I will say, 'I have brought the *Musaddas* which I got Hali to write: nothing more.'¹⁰¹

Another Delhi migrant, Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910), played a very different, but equally important, role in the popularisation of Urdu in Lahore. He was a poet, an organiser of modern style **(p.35)** *mushairas* in which poems were composed on such themes as 'Patriotism' and 'Civilisation' and an author of key Urdu text books and primers which gave the language a grassroots basis. With Leitner's encouragement, he became an active member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab and commenced a teaching career at Government College. He further contributed to the development of modern Urdu with the establishment of the Azad library in 1887. Lahore became a major centre of Urdu newspaper and book publishing. By 1883, eleven of the thirteen vernacular language newspapers published in Lahore were in Urdu. Four years later, the influential *Paisa Akhbar* began its career.¹⁰² This thriving Urdu culture was encouraged by the Board of Administration's decision in 1854 to make Urdu the official vernacular language for Punjab administrative purposes. Urdu was thus privileged over Punjabi and served as a direct replacement for Persian, which had been officially used in the Mughal and Sikh eras. While Farina Mir's recent work has revealed that Punjabi continued without state patronage to be a thriving literary as well as a colloquial language, Urdu's dominance resulted from the language policy of the British.¹⁰³

It was not, of course, only migrants who worked to create a new public culture in Lahore. Khalifa Hameed-ud-Din (b. 1830) who came from a long established scholarly family in the city was the founding president of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in 1884. His father, Khalifah Ghulam Ullah, taught Islamic subjects in a mosque situated in the Shalmi Gate area. He was highly respected and was 'always given a chair in the *darbar* of the Sikh raja'.¹⁰⁴ The Anjuman played an important role in the formation of Islamia College. It was also active in establishing education for girls and setting up orphanages. Its annual meetings were a high point in the cultural life not only of Lahore, but the whole of Punjab. Muhammad Iqbal's (1877-1938) readings at them, at the

beginning of the last century, were important in establishing his rising reputation.¹⁰⁵

The enhanced sense of Muslim identity in colonial Lahore became politicised in the twentieth century. A number of religio-political parties came into being including the Ahrars and the Khaksars, founded in 1929 and 1930.¹⁰⁶ The Ahrar movement grew out of the Muslim support for the Khilafat movement¹⁰⁷ and for a time, until the mid-1930s dominated Lahore Muslim politics from its headquarters at Delhi Gate. **(p.36)** It first came to prominence in a dispute in May 1931 surrounding the anti-Islamic remarks of Captain Whittaker, the British principal of the MacLagan Engineering College, but was soon to involve itself in much wider campaigns for Muslim rights in Jammu and Kashmir (October 1931) and against the 'heterodox' Ahmadi population. In March 1933, the Ahrar started a 'graveyard agitation' over the Ahmadi's use of Muslim graveyards.¹⁰⁸ The Khaksar movement, founded by the Cambridge educated mathematician Allama Mashriqi, which drew some inspiration from European fascism, expanded from its Ichhra suburban base to establish branches throughout North India and as far afield as Rangoon, Kabul, Aden, Bahrain, Cairo and Nairobi. The Bahrain branch, founded by Ghulam Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad Qureshi, remitted small sums of money to Lahore to support the Khaksars' Lucknow Campaign in January 1931, designed to halt Sunni-Shi'a sectarian conflict.¹⁰⁹

The Ahrar and Khaksar movements appealed especially to the lower middle-class urban population which could be mobilised for 'street politics', by charismatic leaders and preachers. The movements also reflected the militarisation of Punjab politics in the inter-war period, with their uniforms, drills and in the case of the Khaksars parading with *belchas* (sharpened spades) and axes. Migrants to Lahore played leading roles in their development. The Khaksar leader Allama Mashriqi (1888-1963) came from a distinguished Rajput family from Amritsar whose descendants had held positions in the Mughal court. He had first come to Lahore to study at Forman Christian College, and after a brilliant career there he went to Christ's College Cambridge. Mazhar Ali Azhar (1895-1974), who played a prominent role in the founding of the Ahrar movement in 1929 and later became its president, was yet another Lahore educational migrant. He came from a well-known literary family in Batala. He travelled to the city to study firstly at Government College and then Law College Lahore.

Conclusion

If colonial language policy and administrative demands help explain Lahore's cultural development and emergence as North India's leading educational centre, the Punjab's role as a security buffer zone and major **(p.37)** military recruitment centre provides the wider context for the presence of the Cantonment at Mian Mir, which, we have seen, stimulated the city's economic growth. The Punjab's strategic location at the heart of the British security state in North India also stimulated the early railway development which received further encouragement with the great expansion of wheat production for export in the irrigated canal colony regions. The British depicted the Punjab as a 'model' province. Lahore's built environment was designed to reflect this importance.

The backdrop of racial superiority and the desire for Britons 'abroad' in Lahore to uninterruptedly engage in 'at home' leisure pastimes such as tennis limited interaction outside of elite native circles. Nevertheless, the growing Indian middle-class population of professionals, bureaucrats and teachers shared in some of the patterns of life established by their British rulers. Wealthier Indians moved into the 'bungalow area' of the Civil Lines and later created the new suburban development of Model Town. Indian students were at home strolling in the Lawrence Gardens, visiting the zoo and congregating in the Gol Bagh. The privileged lifestyle of upper caste Hindu students, many of whom were migrants to the city, has perpetuated a Lahore 'nostalgia' in the post-independence period.

The British sought to ensure political stability in the 'sword arm' and 'bread basket' of India. They patronised the rural elites and sought to isolate the countryside from what they saw as 'disruptive', 'communal' and 'nationalistic' influences. When the commercialisation of agriculture threatened local landholders with expropriation, the 1900 Alienation of Land Act was passed. This designated communities as 'agricultural' and 'non-agricultural' tribes. The latter were unable to permanently acquire agricultural land. The measure privileged rural stability over *laissez-faire* economic principles. Lahore's commercial development cannot be appreciated without reference to this wider context. While writers have increasingly pointed out that Hindus and Sikhs played key roles in providing not only the expertise, but capital for commercial development, little has been written about the reasons for this investment choice. Capital was in fact diverted from the countryside to the city following the passage of the 1900 legislation. This is exemplified in the colourful career of Lala Harkishen Lal, who,

as we have seen, built up a commercial empire in Lahore based on banking and insurance until the bubble burst in 1913.

(p.38) A second period of capital inflow followed in the 1920s and 1930s. This was in response to the slump in agricultural prices brought by the Depression and an effect of renewed efforts by the then elected cross-community Unionist Government to curb moneylenders' influence by closing the loophole in the Alienation of Land Act exploited by what were known as *benami* transactions.¹¹⁰ This does not, however, mean that Lahore, in classic dependency theory analysis, hollowed out its surrounding peripheral countryside. What might be termed rural underdevelopment in the colonial Punjab and the inequalities in the countryside were not the result of capital flows to Lahore, but stemmed from the local power structure.

Another unintended consequence of the Alienation of Land Act was that it freed labour migration amongst the artisan classes who went to work on the construction sites of Lahore and at the railway workshops and the Cantonment. There is evidence that before the British annexation, Tarkhans and Lohars were acquiring agricultural land. This process intensified as monetisation undermined traditional rural social relations and encouraged occupational mobility. By the early 1880s, Tarkhans and Lohars owned over 8,000 acres of land in the Dera Ghazi Khan district.¹¹¹ The 1891 Census recorded 7,128 Tarkhans and Lohars throughout the Punjab as owner-cultivators and 15,421 registered as tenants.¹¹² The 1900 Alienation of Land Act halted in its tracks the movement of artisans towards agriculture. The Tarkhans' petition to be included amongst the designated agriculturalist tribes failed and formed the backdrop for some to migrate to Lahore.

The colonial state institutionalised the agriculturalist-non-agriculturalist divide in representative politics. The designated non-agriculturalists were unable to stand for rural constituencies, a legacy of the British suspicion of the impact of urban agitators which dated from the 1907 canal colony disturbances.¹¹³ The carefully constructed political arithmetic at the time of the 1935 Government of India Act left non-agriculturalists at little more than a quarter of total voters in a Legislative Assembly dominated by the ruralist Punjab Unionist Party, which was loyal to the British ruling presence. Only one in ten Punjabis was enfranchised because of the property qualifications.¹¹⁴ For a small number of individuals the resulting frustration, as we shall see in the concluding chapter, erupted into global revolutionary activities. **(p.39)** Networks of revolt were just one feature of the city's interconnectedness, contradicting the colonial trope of Lahore as a unique and 'bounded organic entity'.¹¹⁵ In the next chapter we shall

juxtapose Orientalist portrayals of the inner city encapsulated by the confined alleyways, walls and gates¹¹⁶ with the reality of cultural and political linkages across Punjab and beyond. **(p.40)**

Notes:

(1.) The tomb of the Emperor Jahangir's favourite, Anarkali, was, for example, successively used for clerical offices and as a church. Ranjit Singh's nearby barracks were initially used to house British troops before the development of the Mian Mir Cantonment.

(2.) Sahdev Vohra in his autobiography, *Lahore, Loved, Lost, Thereafter* (Delhi: Indian Publishers' Distributors, 2004) refers to a handful of Muslim neighbours by his father's cloth merchant's shop. These included Ali Main's 'AG Topiwalas' and Shikh Din's Saddler Store (pp. 46-7).

(3.) The pavilion now contains a bronze statue of the Holy Quran.

(4.) The Mayo School incorporated many of the ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain. For its history and John Lockwood Kipling's role in its development, see Samina Choonara (ed.) *"Official" Chronicle of Mayo School of Arts* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003).

(5.) John Lockwood Kipling to Mr de Forest, 31 March 1891 SXMS 38/1/2, Kipling Papers, University of Sussex Archives.

(6.) Ponsonby to Kipling, 6 January 1892 SXMS 38/1/15, Kipling Papers, University of Sussex.

(7.) Queen Victoria's third son had first met Kipling when he constructed an Indian pavilion at the International Exhibition in Calcutta in December 1883. The subsequent relations between him and the Connaughts, their two visits to the Mayo School of Arts and the commissioning of designs for the Indian Billiard Room can be followed in the journal kept by Princess Louise of Prussia, Duchess of Connaught. See RA VIC/ADDA15/84445: 6 December 1883; 20, 21 November, 21, 22 December 1884; 2, 3 November 1886; 12 October 1888, 9 March 1889. Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

(8.) On Bhai Ram Singh's design of many of Lahore's major buildings see Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2006).

(9.) On Sir Ganga Ram's remarkable career see Baba Pyare Lal Bedi, *Harvest from the Desert: The Life and Work of Sir Ganga Ram* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2003).

- (10.) C.W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travels in English Speaking Countries During 1866 and 1867* (London: 1886), vol. 2, p. 288.
- (11.) Government of Punjab, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, 1916, p. 160.
- (12.) This was Kipling's description of its architectural style. See, Lucy Peck, *Lahore: The Architectural Heritage* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 2015), p. 207.
- (13.) Colonel H.R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924), p. 25.
- (14.) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- (15.) A clock tower stood at the centre of the newly planned Punjabi market town of Lyallpur from which eight roads radiated to its main bazaars.
- (16.) Sultan-i-Rome, *Forestry in the Princely State of Swat and Kalem (Nort-Wes Pakistan). A Historical Perspective on Norms and Practices*, p. 71 www.nccr-pakistan.org/publications_pdfForests/Rome_swt.pdf accessed 4 March 2015. To set Dinga's activities in a wider context see Ruhi Grover, 'Rites of Passage: The Mobility of Timber in Colonial North India', *South Asia* 23, 1 (2000), pp. 39-64.
- (17.) F.S. Aijazuddin, *Lahore Recollected: An Album* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003), p. 157.
- (18.) A.C. Macnab of Macnab, 'Unto the Fourth Generation: An Episode in Indian History', typescript memoir, A.C. Macnab Papers Box 1, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, 1972, p. 155.
- (19.) Sir James Penny, 'Punjab Memories 1910-1945', typescript memoir, Penny Papers Box 1, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, 1971, p. 36.
- (20.) Aijazudin, *Lahore Recollected*, p. 158.
- (21.) The Scottish National Portrait Gallery exhibited a selection of his photographs entitled *Lucknow to Lahore—Fred Bremner's Vision of India* from October 2012 to April 2013.
- (22.) Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, p. 34 & ff. On the chequered history of public health policy and provision in the Punjab see John

Chandler Hume Jr., 'Colonialism and Sanitary Medicine: The Development of Preventive Health Policy in the Punjab 1860 to 1900', *Modern Asian Studies*, 20, 4 (1986), pp. 703-24.

(23.) Cited in Muhammad Ibrahim, 'Role of Biraderi System in Power Politics of Lahore: Post-Independence Period', unpublished PhD Thesis, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, 2009, p. 49.

(24.) On cantonments and urban development in Punjab see Rajit K Mazumder, *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

(25.) Clive Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus: The Limits of Western Technological Superiority in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 118.

(26.) See for example, T.H. Thornton, *Lahore* (Lahore: Civil Secretariat Press, 1876); Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, with an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, etc.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994).

(27.) Diary entry, Duchess of Connaught 22 December 1884, RA VICADDA 15/8445 Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

(28.) See for example chapter 7 of Pran Nevile's work, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993). For a sober assessment of the social hierarchies, inequalities of power and official and police 'corruption' which underpin its twenty-first-century manifestation see Rukhsana B. Tak, 'Prostitution and the Law in Pakistan: A Case Study of Lahore's Hira Mandi', unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2002.

(29.) Bapsi Sidhwa (ed.) *City of Sin and Splendour* (London: Penguin, 2005).

(30.) Latif, *Lahore*.

(31.) Thornton, *Lahore*, p. 2.

(32.) Markus Daechsel, 'De-Urbanizing the City: Colonial Cognition and the People of Lahore', in Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (eds), *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 23.

(33.) Dina Nath, *The Two Friends: A Descriptive Story of the Lahore Life* (Lahore: Virjanand Press, 1899).

(34.) A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pp. 33-4; 263-7. See also the more recent reiteration in Yasmeen Lari and Mihail Lari, *The Dual City: Karachi during the Raj* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

(35.) See William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 197-8.

(36.) Daechsel, 'De-Urbanizing the City', p. 23.

(37.) Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, p. 163.

(38.) There are a number of accounts which stress the 'beneficial' effects of British rule. See, for example, H.K. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers: An Economic History of the Punjab from the Earliest Times to the Year of Grace 1890* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928). On the tradition of paternalistic rule in the Punjab see, P.H.M. Van Den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1972).

(39.) This area was once called Mai Lado after the builder of a mosque there in the 1630s. Its present name reflects the fact that it was once a cattle market or milkmen's supply point. Ajaz Anwar, *Forty Years of Painting: Reminiscences of Old Lahore* (Lahore: Heritage, 2003), p. 125.

(40.) Nevile, *Lahore*, p. 128.

(41.) Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and Its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 13.

(42.) Anand recalls that occasional trips to Lahore's cinemas were his only 'real encounter' with the city. Model Town was self-sufficient in terms of its necessities which were brought in from the surrounding villages. Som Anand, *Lahore: Portrait of a Lost City* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998), p. 1.

(43.) Penny had a distinguished career within the Punjab serving as a settlement officer, district officer and financial commissioner development over the period 1910-45. For his reflections on the changing face of Lahore see, 'Punjab Memories', pp. 34-5; 115-21; 165-6.

- (44.) Penny, 'Punjab Memories', p. 120.
- (45.) *Ibid.*
- (46.) *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- (47.) Lahore District, Statistical Tables, File no K21 ® XV, (1936).
- (48.) See Jones, *Arya Dharm* p. 58.
- (49.) Punjab Government, *Lahore District Gazetteer 1916* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1916), p. 34.
- (50.) For details see Sheetal M. Chhabria, 'Making the Modern Slum: Housing, Mobility and Poverty in Bombay and its Peripheries', Unpublished Columbia University PhD thesis, 2012.
- (51.) The 1931 Census recorded Lahore's Kashmiri and Pushtun populations at 26,092 and 22,308 in number.
- (52.) Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry, 'A Paper on the Milk Supply of Lahore', Rural Section Publication 2 (1924), pp. 7-8; 28.
- (53.) Congress claimed at the time of the 1947 Boundary Commission that this had artificially increased the size of the Muslim population. Crucially for Lahore's future at the time when numbers counted, the late colonial era had seen the Muslim proportion of the population rise from 52 per cent at the time of the 1921 Census to 64 per cent in 1941.
- (54.) Gujjars were enumerated at just over 10,000.
- (55.) See Begum Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1971).
- (56.) List of Members & Addresses First Constituent Assembly www.na.gov.pk/uploads/fotmer-memerts/1stConstituentAssembly.pdf accessed 26 September 2012.
- (57.) The material in this paragraph was provided in an email correspondence of 9 October 2011 by Rati Cooper and Perin Boga of Lahore.
- (58.) Enumeration of British Subjects and Foreigners in Lahore R/ 3/2/106 IOR.
- (59.) For the British impact on urban growth and decline see, C.A. Bayly, 'Town Building in North India, 1790-1830', *Modern Asian*

Studies, 9, 4 (1975), pp. 483–504. Such towns as Dera Baba Nanak, Miani, Bilaspur and Pind Dadan Khan declined in the Punjab during the colonial era.

(60.) Harish C. Sharma, *Artisans of the Punjab: A Study of Social Change in Historical Perspective 1849–1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) p. 96.

(61.) Abdul Hamid Khan, *Jihan-i-Zindagi: Maulvi Feroze ud Din Sahib key Khud Nawashisht Halat-i-Zindagi* (Lahore: Ferozesons, 1959), p. 209.

(62.) See, Ian J. Kerr, *Engines of Change: The Railroads that Made India* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2007), p. 89.

(63.) Robert Cust to his mother, Lahore, 6 April 1862. Cust Papers 1828–1866, Royal Commonwealth Society Collection, University Library, Cambridge. This has also been cited in Kerr, *Engines of Change*, p. 90.

(64.) Aijazuddin, *Lahore Recollected*, p. 191.

(65.) See, Majid Sheikh, *Lahore: Tales Without End* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2008), pp. 190–2.

(66.) On the development of the canal colony towns see, Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).

(67.) On Karachi's linkages see Indu Banga, 'Karachi and its Hinterland under Colonial Rule', in Indu Banga (ed.), *Ports and their Hinterlands in India (1700–1950)* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992), pp. 337–58.

(68.) For the importance of the railway connections with the canal towns see, M.B.K. Malik, *Hundred Years of Pakistan Railways: Pakistan Western Railway 1861–1961. Pakistan Eastern Railway 1862–1962* (Karachi: Ministry of Railways and Communications 1962), p. 11.

(69.) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

(70.) Government of India, *Report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for 1939–40 Vol 1* (Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1941), p. 45.

(71.) Thomas Robertson, *Report on the Administration and Work of the Indian Railway* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing India 1903), p. 58.

(72.) *North Western Railway Statistical Record 1938-9 to 1943-4*, p. 12, W.L.D. Martyn Papers, Box II, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

(73.) *Ibid.*

(74.) See I.J. Kerr, 'Bombay and Lahore. Colonial Railways and Colonial Cities: Some Urban Consequences of the Development and Operation of Railways in India, c. 1850-c.1947', p. 12 www.docutren.com/archivos/aranjuez/pdf/07.pdf accessed 27 September 2012.

(75.) Aijazuddin, *Lahore Recollected*, p. 192.

(76.) Kerr, 'Bombay and Lahore', p. 14.

(77.) The Punjab politician, Sir Gokul Chand Narang headed the agency which by the late colonial era boasted fifteen industrial concerns and also its own bank which was founded in April 1943. Its head office was at 3 Montgomery Road.

(78.) *North Western Railway Statistical Record*, p. 18.

(79.) Farhat Gulzar, 'The Urban Fringe of Lahore: A Functional Study', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Punjab, 1976, p. 54.

(80.) Cited in Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, p. 82.

(81.) Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), p. 192.

(82.) K.K. Aziz, *A Journey into the Past: Portrait of a Punjabi Family 1800-1970* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2006), p. 528.

(83.) See Pran Nevile, 'True Punjabi', *The Sunday Tribune*, Chandigarh, 24 October 2004.

(84.) R. Kumar, 'Urban Society and Urban Politics: Lahore in 1919', in Indu Banga (ed.) *Five Punjab Centuries: Polity, Economy, Society and Culture c. 1500-1990* (Delhi: Manohar, 1997), p. 181.

(85.) For details of Lala Harkishen Lal's chequered career see, K.L. Gauba, 'Lala Harkishen Lal', in N.B. Sen (ed.) *Punjab's Eminent Hindus* (Lahore: New Book Society, 1943), pp. 71-6.

(86.) Race meetings were held at Lahore every Saturday from December to April. The highlight was the Boxing Day meeting of the Punjab Governor's Cup Race.

(87.) *Ibid.*, p. 256. Referring to what?

(88.) Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2010), p. 33.

(89.) Abdul Aziz Anwar, *Effects of Partition on Industries in the Border Districts of Lahore and Sialkot* (Lahore: Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab [Pakistan]), 105, 1953, p. 19.

(90.) For the best general history of the Arya Samaj see K.W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1976).

(91.) Lala Lajpat Rai is the subject of numerous studies. See, for example, J.S. Dhanki, *Lala Lajpat Rai and Indian Nationalism* (Jalandhar: ASB Publications, 1990); Purushottam Nagar, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1977); Shyamnanda Shahi, *Lala Lajpat Rai: His Life and His Thought* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1986).

(92.) The Arya Samaj had split in 1893 into its college and vegetarian or Mahatma factions. The latter more militant faction was led by Guru Dutt and Munshi Ram, later Swami Shraddhananda. For Lajpat Rai's role in the college faction see Jones, *Arya Dharm*, p. 172 & ff.

(93.) Bhagat Singh, as we shall see in Chapter Six, was the most famous. For further details see Shalini Sharma, *Radical Politics in Colonial Punjab: Governance and Sedition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 38 & ff.

(94.) Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 286.

(95.) *Ibid.*, p. 290.

(96.) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

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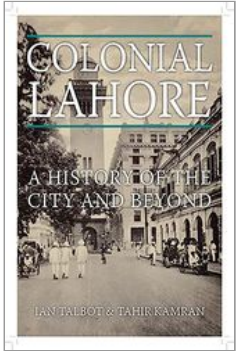
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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Darvarzas and Mohallas

Place and Space in Colonial Lahore

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0003

Abstract and Keywords

The chapter focuses on Lahore's famous *darvarzas* (gateways) and *mohallas* (residential localities). It provides a fine grain analysis of the cultural and commercial life that took place in these surrounding areas. The inner city has been traditionally understood as a closed in area, but the chapter argues that this stereotype neglects the regional and trans-national linkages and circulation of goods and people. The three case studies of Bhati Gate, Shah Almi Gate and Mochi Gate illustrate the interconnectedness arising from commercial, cultural and political exchanges. The chapter concludes with a description both of the importance of the Mochi Gate area for training of classical musicians in Haveli Mian Khan and the musical soirees of Takia Mirasian and of Bhati Gate's connections with the early film industry. All-India Radio Lahore which broadcast from December 1937 also provided a creative outlet for the musicians, writers and actors of Bhati and Mochi Gates and drew artists to the city.

Keywords: Darvazas (Gateways), Mohallas (Residential Localities), Bhati Gate, Shah Almi Gate, Mochi Gate, Classical musicians, Early film industry, All-India Lahore Radio, Haveli Mian Khan, Takia Mirasian

Globalisation trends have questioned the geographical specificity of cities. Scholars have called for an understanding which reflects the multiple spatial networks arising from virtual space and compressed time, diaspora connections and transnational supply chains that overlap with local dynamics.¹ Cities are no longer to be simply understood as geographical places, but to be 'read' relationally.² The old bounded territorial formation is replaced by a 'stretched' spatial connectivity. The city which in traditional urban sociology was understood as a fixed place is being reconceptualised as a space of a globalised nodal connectivity.³

Lahore in the age of imperial globalisation was never solely the bounded entity portrayed in its literature and perpetuated by subsequent urban studies. The city was marked by the flows of goods and ideas and the movement of people whether in the course of education, business, migration, tourism, sport or organised political militancy. Travel to distant places was made possible by the new communications networks of trains and steamships.

Lahore's famous *darvarzas* (gates) and their neighbouring residential localities form an important case study for the consideration of the city's connectedness. Traditionally writers emphasised the uniqueness and inwardness of the walled city. These understandings both reflected **(p.42)** colonial writing that juxtaposed the 'old' and 'new' Lahore and the physical environment created by congested spaces and narrow alleyways. The inner city thus has come to be represented as closed and confined, rather than outward looking.

Gates are, however, a means of egress as well as barriers. This was symbolised by the naming of two of the city's famous thirteen gates, Delhi and Kashmir, after the direction in which they faced. While the British seldom ventured into the inner city, there was a constant flow of people. Visitors to Lahore entered to do business in the specialist markets and bazaars; to address public gatherings, as when Pandit Mohan Malviya (1861-1946) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) attended the vast Sanatan Dharma Sabha complex in Wacchowali; to be entertained by the *nautch* girls of Hira Mandi; to participate in the literary gatherings and *mushairas*; or, in the later colonial period, to go to the Crown, Wellington and Diamond cinemas in the Bhati Gate area. The residents of the walled areas were linked to professional, cultural, commercial, religious and political networks which stretched far beyond the city.

The area around the gates could also form public spaces in which trans-local political identities and demands were raised. Mochi Gate was the gathering point for mass Muslim League rallies in support of the Pakistan demand in the 1940s. General histories of the Pakistan Movement have focused more on Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) at which the famous 1940 Lahore Resolution was passed. Pakistan was only actualised, however, through mass mobilisation. Mochi Gate was immensely important for the Muslim League breakthrough in the Punjab 'cornerstone' of Pakistan.

Bhati Gate, the self-styled Chelsea of Lahore,⁴ was as important for its cultural connections as Mochi Gate was for politics. It was in Bhati Gate that the Lahore cinema industry emerged. It drew on the skills of artists, musicians and writers who lived in the locality. They moved between the film studios in Lahore and those in Calcutta and Bombay, the two other centres of film production in the colonial era. Shah Almi, the third focus of the chapter, combines elements of the two other localities, as it was a neighbourhood that possessed both important political and cultural connections. All three localities coexisted as both bounded spaces and sites within transregional cultural, political and economic flows and networks.

(p.43) The worlds of poetry, music, popular culture and traditional medicine are largely ignored in colonial accounts of the city, which focus more on monuments, political history and the need to regulate its material culture. It was not the cultivated life of the walled city which attracted the colonial gaze, but its 'squalor'. By the 1890s, vernacular publications were mimicking British concerns about the dangers of such infectious diseases as plague and smallpox and linking them with the congested and dirty alleyways of the inner city.⁵ Literary and official documentary accounts of the walled city were similarly Orientalist in their foundation. Such accounts drew dichotomies between the colonial city and 'old Lahore'; between order and chaos, change and *statis*, modernity and tradition, space and confinement, the outward looking and the inward looking.

The Inner City

Kipling's classic account of 'the dreadful city of night' encapsulates the Orientalist characterisation of the inner city of Lahore. The narrator enters another world when, on a sweat-drenched night, he reaches the Delhi Gate from his home in the Civil Station. He almost physically recoils when he encounters a 'stifling' hot blast of foul air at 'the mouth' of the Delhi Gate.⁶ The otherness of the city and its excesses of heat and smells run through the story. There is also a sense of being unable to comprehend what is a world within a world. Unlike Kipling's narrator, few British residents ventured into the city. Fear of disease and of the assumed moral degradation arising from its cramped confines, an attitude brought from home, created an emotional barrier. Even those whose professional requirements led them there admitted to only a fragmentary understanding of its maze of alleys and narrow winding streets.

Crawford Roe, Lahore's sanitary commissioner in 1897, noted, for example, that 'There are practically no means of distinguishing one street or lane from another in many places, except by the name of some wealthy man's house which may be in its immediate vicinity.'⁷ The juxtaposition of wealthy residents with 'slum' conditions in fact challenged the colonial state's notions of order and hierarchy and further contributed to the walled city's sense of 'otherness'.

(p.44) The pioneering town planner Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), who briefly visited Lahore in 1917, argued against large-scale slum clearance on the European model. He instead preferred 'conservative surgery' which involved 'improving' old buildings and constructing 'quarters beyond' rather than simple demolitions. The latter would not only create congestion elsewhere, but privileged architectural vistas over 'human needs'. The colonial state's main town planning measures focused on Lahore's suburban areas. *Abadis* in nearby suburbs like Mozang were subject to sanitary reforms envisaged as a kind of cordon sanitaire between the British residences and the inner city.⁸ The 'suburban' *abadis* were seen as having the same haphazard surroundings and 'bad sanitary arrangements' as in the inner city. Ideas brought from Europe of good ventilation with houses on individual plots connected by broad streets for easy passage made no concessions to the region's heat and dust storms which were combatted by the traditional, 'huddled' building styles. The British urban planner Max Lock (1909-88), a disciple of Geddes, was to criticise much of late colonial Lahore's new housing in the 1950s because it appeared 'to be out of keeping with ... the traditional arrangements of Indian

communities either for the climate or for the social life of local communities'.⁹

The notion of the inner city as 'suffocating' and claustrophobic, rested on distinctive features of the inner city's life. These included high population density;¹⁰ a maze of neighbourhoods linked by narrow alleyways; market areas (*mandis*) which opened up from the narrow alleyways (*galis*) demarcated by the occupations and communities of their inhabitants. Narrow entrance-ways led to large *havelis* with their traditional internal courtyards and fountains overlooked by double-storeyed balconies.¹¹ These were inhabited by extended families in a secluded world almost invisible from the outside because of the surrounding buildings.¹² Markets opened out from the *galis* and specialised in various goods. Individual *mohallas* also possessed their distinctive socio-spatial organisation and cohered internally. They again were demarcated by the occupations and communities of their inhabitants. A number were named after the economic activity which was concentrated in them. There was Doctran-da-Mohalla in the Hindu locality of Wachowali, where medical practitioners including Dr Gopichand Bhargava (1889–1966), later a chief minister of divided East Punjab, (p.45) ministered to their patients.¹³ In Bhati Gate there was a street Naiyon ki Gali named after the barbers who worked there.

The residential localities which grew up around the gates had clearly defined ethnic and religious communities, as well as occupational characteristics. Bhati Gate at the south-western end of the city took its name from the Bhatti Rajputs. Mochi Gate, according to one rendering, was named after the large number of cobblers (*mochis*) who inhabited the area.¹⁴ Lohari Gate was named after the iron workers located in its vicinity. Other gates were named after Muslim rulers, for example Akbari Gate, Shah Almi Gate and Masti Gate, a corruption of 'Masjadi' Gate named after the mosque of Mariam Makani, mother of Akbar, situated nearby. The localities of Shah Almi formed the main Hindu residential heart of the walled city. Yakki Gate was also a corruption of Zaki, a saint who died defending the city against Mughal invaders. Mori Gate was used as an outlet for the city's refuse. Seranwala Gate was named as Khizr Gate in Mughal times after the patron saint of the waters which flowed nearby. Its modern name refers to the domesticated lions which the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh kept in the vicinity.

Communal tensions had earned the urban Punjab, the epithet of the 'Ulster of India' by the 1930s.¹⁵ However, amongst elite families living in the walled city there were cross-community ties of friendship along with religious and cultural patronage. Faqir Syed Iftikharuddin, who

came from the famous Faqir family of physicians and who had run the affairs of state during the reign of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, invited Hindu and Sikh bureaucrats and politicians to attend poetry readings at his house in Bazaar Hakiman.¹⁶ Another example is provided by the family of Rai Bahadur Mela Ram (b. 1832) and his son Ram Saran Das (b. 1876), whose immense wealth rested in part on his role as a contractor for the Lahore Railway Station.¹⁷ The family house Lal Koti (the site is now occupied by the Water and Power Development Authority headquarters) outside Bhati Gate was a regular meeting place for leading Muslim landowners and political figures when they were in Lahore.¹⁸ The Mela Ram family even financed the electrification of Data Durbar and also arranged *sabeels* (stalls to provide drinks and *haleem*—stew) during Muharram for the participants in the procession.¹⁹

(p.46) Bhati Gate

The Bhati Gate stands in the south-western part of the old city of Lahore, named after the old dwellers of the area—the Rajputs of the Bhati tribe. During the Ghaznavi rule, the Bhati Gate was the main entrance to the city. Much later, when Akbar expanded Lahore to the east and divided it into nine districts (*guzars*), the Bhati Gate and adjoining Bazaar became the boundary between the city's eastern and western parts.²⁰ The sixth Sikh Guru (Hargobind, 1595-1644) stayed for three days in 1619 in the house of Bhai Jivan at Chowmala Mohalla, inside Bhati Gate. The house was converted into a Gurdwara (Gurdwara Chowmala Sahib) which housed pilgrims. A fair was held nearby at the time of Basant (spring festival).²¹

In the colonial era, despite the growing attractions of the new developments in the Civil Lines and Model Town, many prominent literary figures resided in the inner city area of Bhati Gate. It was the locality in which numerous Urdu publications were produced and *mushairas* were held.²² The area was especially popular with writers and poets because of its proximity to Oriental College. Its literary residents provided the locality with connections and cultural influence which spread across not only the Punjab, but North India. The great poet-philosopher Mohammad Iqbal, for example, lived for a number of years in *Mohalla* Jalvatian; the famous musical maestro Akhtar Hussain Khan (1900-72) lived in the same *Mohalla* with his sons Amanat Ali Khan (1931-74) and Fateh Ali Khan (1933-);²³ Sir Chaudhury Shahbuddin, (d. 1949), the uncle of Mumtaz Daultana and a leading political figure in Lahore where he had settled from Sialkot, had his home in Sammion ka Bazaar, Bhati Gate; Syed Muhammad Latif (1850-1902), who has been claimed the greatest Indian historian of the colonial era, also used to live in the same bazaar.²⁴ Sir Abdul Qadir (1872-1950), a high court judge who rose to become a member of the viceroy's Executive Council in 1939 and played a leading role in the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, grew up in Moti Tibbi. He also edited the *Punjab Observer* in 1895 and six years later founded an Urdu magazine *Makhzan* in which Iqbal cut his teeth as an Urdu poet. Syed Mumtaz Ali (1860-1935) was another literary resident of the Kucha Tehsil area. In 1898 he founded a famous women's magazine *Tehzeeb-i-Niswan*, edited by his wife Mohammadi Begum **(p.47)** and with an All-India circulation. He also wrote, *Huquq un-Niswan* (Women's Rights), arguing that women were being denied the rights given to them by Islamic Law.²⁵

Mir Nazir Hussain Nazim was another important literary figure who lived in the Bhati Gate locality. He was known for his poetic excellence in the Lucknavi tradition of *Marsia goi*.²⁶ Similarly, when the famous Urdu poet Mirza Daagh Delhvi (1831–1905) came to Lahore he lived in Bhati, as did Muhammad Hussain Azad (1840–1910), who is considered one of the best nineteenth-century Urdu prose writers. Maulvi Muhammad Shafi (1883–1963), the principal of Oriental College, also lived in Koocha Parnigan.²⁷ The renowned playwright Agha Hashar Kashmiri (1879–1935), who has been dubbed the ‘Shakespeare of Urdu’, used to stay in a house adjacent to Hari Krishan Theatre just outside Bhati Gate during his frequent visits to Lahore from Calcutta.²⁸ The inner city’s rich cultural and literary life established connections across North India. The first meeting of the informal literary association named Bazm-i-Mushaira, held in Hakim Shahbaz Din’s *baithak* in Bazaar Hakiman in November 1895, for example, was attended by Amir Ahmad Minai (1828–1900), the Nawab of Rampur’s poetry tutor.²⁹ Iqbal recited his very first *ghazal* in the Bazm-i-Mushaira which was later published in its Urdu literary mouthpiece *Shor-i-Mehshar*. This magazine, edited by Khan Ahmed Hussain Khan, published all the poetry presented to the association.³⁰ It remained very active from 1895 until the death of Hakim Shahbaz in 1922.³¹ From the same bazaar, Hakim Ahmed Shuja (1893–1969) started his magazine *Hazar Dastaan* in 1919, which became increasingly prominent. In addition to poetic recitations, there were discussions on philosophy and education which included the founding fathers of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Hakim Ahmed Shuja combined his artistic activities, which we will see later extended to the early Lahore cinema, with an administrative career in the secretariat of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Much of our understanding of the artistic life of Bhati Gate is drawn from his memoir, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, published in 1967.

Further connections across North India were provided by the reputation of the inner city’s traditional medical practitioners. They seldom attracted the attention of the colonial authorities, but drew patients from far afield. Munshi Tahiruddin, who lived in Jogi *Mohalla* in the **(p.48)** Tibba locality, exemplifies this state of affairs. He worked initially in legal practice as assistant to Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869–1932) but subsequently joined Allama Iqbal and established a close friendship with him. It was, however, his creation of all-purpose medicine, *Dil Roz*, that established his fame and fortune.³² During the early decades of the twentieth century Hakim Shujauddin’s house in Bazaar-i-Hakiman was similarly crowded with visitors seeking medical

guidance. Members of this Hakim family (like Hakim Hussam ud Din) practised *tibb* in Amritsar (in Katra Hakiman) as well as in Lahore.³³

Astrologers as well as practitioners of *tibb* (traditional medicine practised by Muslim hakims) and *ved* (traditional medicine practised by Hindus) drew clients to the walled city. Pundit Raghbir Dyal Jotshi, who resided in Bhabron ki Tharrian in the Tehsil Bazaar of Bhati Gate, was especially renowned. It was reported that thousands of visitors from all corners of the Punjab flocked to his house for over fifty years. Such leading Muslim political figures as Sir Shahabuddin, who was president of the Punjab Legislative Council and Mayor of Lahore in the interwar period, consulted him. Aside from public life and his legal practice, Shahabuddin was a great Punjabi literary enthusiast who rendered *Musadaas-i-Hali* into Punjabi, an achievement that seemed like his own poetic composition.³⁴

Despite its name, it was not only doctors who lived in Tibbi Bazaar, with its magnificent mosque and Madrasa of Anjuman-i-Numania, where Islamic education was imparted.³⁵ Like other Bhati Gate localities, it had its share of literary figures. Maulvi Muharram Ali Chishti, the editor of *Rafique-i-Hind*, lived at the very end of the bazaar. He was a devotee of Pir Mehr Ali Shah (1859–1937) of Golra Sharif. Chishti's preaching and writing propagated the Barelvi viewpoint from Lahore across the Punjab. He combined a pan-provincial influence with a local standing in Lahore's municipal politics that earned him the epithet the 'king maker'.³⁶

It is no surprise given its rich literary heritage that Bhati Gate was at the forefront of both the production and consumption of film culture.³⁷ In the early 1920s, half of the city's cinemas were clustered in its neighbourhood. Even at the close of British rule, the locality accounted for around a fifth of Lahore's cinemas. The Plaza at Charing Cross was Lahore's most famous cinema, but Bhati Gate had popular venues in the Diamond, (originally Mahabhir) Wellington, Paramount **(p.49)** (originally Deepak) and Crown. Film auditoria introduced new modernist and art deco aesthetics to the monumental architecture of Lahore.³⁸ Such cinemas as Nishat in Lakshmi chowk and Sagar Talkies turned away from the neo-classical and Indo-Saracenic monumental architecture of government-sponsored buildings.

Students were ardent cinema goers. Ahmad Shah Bokhari (1898–1958), an alumnus of Government College and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who was a professor of English at Government College from 1935, and later became its principal, encouraged students to watch films and to act in the college's Drama Society.³⁹ Bokhari was born in Peshawar,

where he was educated at Islamia College before moving to Lahore. Bokhari acted in *Anarkali*, one of the first films produced in the city.⁴⁰ This Roy brothers' film was based on an Urdu play written in 1922 by Imtiaz Ali Taj. Films were able to attract a mass audience because of their publicity, affordability and music sound tracks. Cinema hoardings publicising productions emerged as a new art form. The hoardings in Lahore, painted by gifted artists such as Allah Bakhsh (1895-1978), were emblazoned around the city. Even in the early 1930s, tickets could be purchased for as little as 2 *annas*.⁴¹ A melodious sound track was the key to box office success. The compositions of Ghulam Haider (1908-53) sung by Noor Jehan (1926-2000) popularised the films of Lahore's three great colonial-era filmmakers, A.R. Kardar (1904-89), Roshan Lal Shorey and Dalsukh M Pancholi (1906-59).⁴²

The first Lahore film was made in 1925. This was the beginnings of what has recently become known as 'Lollywood'. The Bengali actor/producer Himanshu Rai (1892-1940) arrived in the city, accompanied by the glamorous actress Devika Rani (1908-94), Rabindranath Tagore's great-grandniece.⁴³ He forged ties with Emelka Konzern, a German production house, and convinced Seth Prem Sagar, the son of Justice Sir Moti Sagar of the Lahore High Court, to finance the silent movie *The Light of Asia* on the life of Prince Siddharta Gautama, who became the Buddha.⁴⁴ Prem joined Lala Diwan Chand (d. 1930), a Delhi-based entrepreneur and philanthropist, and B.P. Sharma, director of the Great Indian Film Corporation, to form an international consortium. Notwithstanding a royal command screening at Windsor Castle,⁴⁵ *The Light of Asia* fared poorly in terms of both critical acclaim and box office success.

(p.50) Rai moved to Bombay, where in 1934 he co-founded the famous Bombay Talkies movie studio with Devika Rani and Rajnarayan Dube (1910-90). Three of his colleagues, namely the brothers Charu and Prafulla Roy (b. 1892) and Niranjana Pal (1889-1959), stayed behind. These men were the real pioneers in establishing Lahori feature film production. Pal, the son of the Congress extremist leader Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932), wrote the scripts for at least three films, while in 1928, Charu and Prafulla Roy directed their screenplays. In 1928, the brothers Roy directed *Anarkali* ('The Loves of a Mughal Prince'). They all stayed until the late 1930s, when the Roys moved to Calcutta and Pal to Bombay, lured by the famous Bombay Talkies studio.⁴⁶

Bhati Gate emerged as the original heart of the Lahore filmmaking industry, although this later shifted to the Northern Studios of Roshan Lal Shorey and the Pancholi Art Pictures studio of Dalsukh M Pancholi (1906-59).⁴⁷ The latter's sprawling site in the Canal and Mall Road area

is today partly occupied by the National Institute of Public Administration. Bhati Gate's cinematic history began when a former officer in the North Western Railway, G.K. Mehta (b. 1899), directed *Ajji ki Batian* ('Daughters of Today').⁴⁸ The film was nearly four years in production before it was released in 1928. Its assistant director and star Abdur Rashid Kardar (1904–89) came from Khajur Gali in the Bhati locality. He had become known to filmmakers as he used his artistic skill to make posters for productions. Muhammad Ismail, his friend and fellow calligraphist, was another of the locality's residents. Ismail not only made posters for Kardar's films, but eventually appeared in some of them. Kardar and Ismail established the United Players Corporation in 1928 on the Ravi Road. In 1930 the studios produced *Husan ka Daku* ('Mysterious Eagle'). This was released at Deepak cinema, Bhati Gate, and had been locally publicised by draping a large publicity poster in Bhati Gate.⁴⁹ Two years later, Kardar directed the famous sound film *Heer Ranjha* produced by Hakim Ram Prasad. The latter distributed films through the Royal Pictures Distribution Company and was known as the 'king of the cinemas' as he owned five movie houses in Lahore. Muhammad Ismail appeared in *Heer Ranjha*; the starring roles were performed by Anwar Begum from Amritsar and Rafiq Ghaznavi. Kardar went on to have a hugely successful career in Calcutta and finally Bombay, where he set up his own studios and **(p.51)** Kardar Production Company. Begum and Ghaznavi, who married after the film, also moved to Bombay.

Bhati Gate's artistic community produced other writers and artists who made their name in movies. In the Mohalla Chomala there was a Shahi Hammam of Muhammad Din where the famous playback singer of Bollywood movies, Muhammad Rafi (1924–80), started work as a barber.⁵⁰ Rafi's family had moved to Lahore in the 1920s from Kotla Sultan Singh, a village in the Amritsar district. Rafi had grown up in the Bhati Gate locality and, it is claimed, began singing when he imitated the chants of a resident *faqir*.⁵¹ He was later to learn classical music from Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, who lived in Mochi Gate. Hakim Ahmad Shuja was already an accomplished writer and poet, but some of his poems were used as film songs by the early Bhati Gate cinema. He also worked on screen plays.

The early history of the Bhati Gate filmmaking reveals the strong artistic connections with Bombay. Actors, writers and directors crisscrossed between Lahore and Bombay during the 1920s and 1930s. The former city provided the ideal backdrop for costume dramas. Its writers and artists, dancers and musicians found new arenas to express their talent in Bombay's wider world. Local filmmakers like Kardar went to Bombay in the 1920s to gain technical experience before

returning to their native city to make further films there. It was only with Partition that the connections between Lahore filmmaking and Bollywood were sundered.

Shah Almi Gate

The Shah Almi Gate was named after Shah Alam Bahadur, son of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707), who died in the city in 1712. Just outside it there was a water tank, a *serai* and Shivala (known as Rattan Chand's temple). These had been constructed by Diwan Rattan Chand, a court favourite of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who served as an honorary magistrate in the British Lahore of the early 1860s. As with the other gates, narrow alleyways linked the neighbouring bazaars and residential quarters (*kutchas*). The area was dominated by Hindu-run businesses in the Gumti and Jaura Moti Bazaars and residences. The latter stretched from Shah Almi Gate to Rang Mahal. Just behind the Sonehri Mosque (**p.52**) built by vice-governor of Lahore Bikhari Khan in 1751, the three bulbous domes of which dominate Rang Mahal's bustling market, there was situated a well sacred to Guru Arjun Dev. Much of the Shah Almi area was destroyed in a massive fire on 21 June 1947. This was a key moment in the 'communal war of succession' in the city.⁵²

Shah Almi's wealthy residents had bonds that connected them, politically, commercially and religiously, with other areas of India. Chhotu Ram (1881–1945), co-founder of the Unionist Party and a leading figure in Punjab politics until his death in 1945, had for a time been a teacher in the Rang Mahal High School. His close associate, Seth Chhaju Ram (1861–1943), was dubbed the 'Jute King' because of his work as a commercial agent in Calcutta for the famous Andrew Yule and Company Management Agency house.⁵³ It was not only individuals, but also institutions which linked the locality with the wider world. The Rang Mahal School developed in the course of time into the Forman Christian College. As early as October 1852, Reverend C.W. Forman, of the American Presbyterian Mission, first applied to the government for the historic building. He eventually obtained it in lieu of Rs1,000.⁵⁴ F.C. College, as it came to be known subsequently, attracted students and faculty from all over North India.

Swami Ram Tirtha (1873–1906), the famous missionary of the Vedanta philosophy, was for a short time, a professor of mathematics at Forman Christian College.⁵⁵ Tirtha was born at Muraliwala in the Gujranwala district of the Punjab, where he was raised by his elder brother following his mother's death. He completed his education at Government College. It was while he was in Lahore in 1897 that he met Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission, who encouraged him to renounce his academic career and family to become a *sanyasi* and preacher of Vedanta.⁵⁶ He followed in Vivekanda's footsteps in lecturing on Hinduism in the United States, arriving there in 1902 from a trip to Japan. While in the United States

he organised Indian students and raised funds for scholarships. Tirtha returned to India in 1904, withdrawing from public life to meditate and write at Teri in the foothills of the Himalayas. It was here that he died on 27 October 1906.

The Arya Samaj Mandir in Shah Almi provided a string of itinerant preachers during the movement's rapid expansion at the beginning of **(p.53)** the twentieth century. The Mandir, like many other Hindu temples in Lahore, was destroyed in the Partition-related violence. Before that time it had been a vital element in the grassroots activities which drove the Samaj's educational and missionary aims. Between 1907 and 1912, the Arya Samaj was extremely active in 'converting' Jats in the Hissar-Rohtak-Delhi region.⁵⁷ The 1911 Census reported that 30,000 Jats had been 'purified or raised socially' in south-east Punjab.⁵⁸

The Arya Samaj's presence in colonial Lahore from 1877 onwards has been chronicled through the careers of its leading figures such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhananda (1856-1926) and Hans Raj (1864-1938), as well as its educational impact as a result of the activities of DAV College and School and its contribution to 'communalism'.⁵⁹ The latter aspect is linked with its vegetarian faction's attempts to 'reconvert' Sikhs and Muslims. The Lahore Aryas, as we have noted, were also involved in educational attempts to uplift rural Hindu Jats living in the south-east Punjab. The Ved Prachar Mandal combined traditional and modern outreach methods, using posters and circulars to advertise meetings, which included not only itinerant preachers, but renowned singers and musicians. Colonial officials praised the 'wonderful' system of propaganda. They also remarked on the activities of the first itinerant female missionary, Musamat Purani, who travelled from Lahore around the Hissar district in 1910.⁶⁰ The Lahore Samajists did not, however, merely confine themselves to work in the Punjab region, but were active as far afield as South India in striving to uplift *dalits*.

Along with other Hindu localities in Lahore, Shah Almi drew crowds from the city and its environs to witness the annual re-enactment each autumn of the life of Ram culminating in the battle with Ravana as recorded in the *Ramayana*. The Ramlila (life or play of Rama) was inaugurated by prominent processions which attracted spectators as *jhinkis* (floats) set up on bullock carts paraded through the locality. Singers and actors entertained the crowds, enacting scenes from Ram's life on the miniature stages of the floats.⁶¹

Along with amateur performances at festival time, Shah Almi had a tradition of popular theatre. Some of its performers went on to careers in the film industry, while the theatres were converted into cinemas. The Aziz Theatre in Taxali Gate, for example, became Royal Talkies (subsequently renamed Pakistan Talkies). Master Rehmat's well-known **(p.54)** theatre company presented its dramas in the Mahabir Theatre built near Shah Almi Gate in Bansan Wala Bazaar.⁶² The links between live theatre and cinema were maintained throughout the colonial era with songs being performed during intervals. In the 1930s, the future 'Melody Queen' Noor Jehan first sang as a child in a concert at the Mahabir Theatre.⁶³ Jehan came from a family of musicians in Kasur. Her mother sent her as a young girl to train in classical singing in Mochi Gate under the renowned musician Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan (1902-68). From 1932 to 1947, Noor Jehan made over sixty films, dividing her time between Lahore, Bombay and Calcutta.

Mochi Gate

Mochi Gate, like other areas of the walled city, can be understood as both 'place' and 'space'. It possesses an organic history, yet at the same time it is a site which has wider political, religious and cultural connections and networks. Little has been written, however, about these two elements in the locality's history. Like other *darvazas* the area is surrounded by historic monuments, residential areas with their large *havelis* and commercial areas. The latter include kebab shops and sweet shops which are famous with residents and visitors alike.⁶⁴ Masjid Muhammad Saleh and Lal Khooh (Red Well) are the locality's main historical monuments. The three-domed mosque, which is perched above shops, was completed in 1659. The Red Well was part of the *haveli* built by Chando Mal, diwan during Jahangir's reign. He is notorious for turning the Mughal ruler against Guru Arjun Dev (1563–1606), resulting in the fifth Sikh Guru's martyrdom. There are a number of important *havelis* in the locality; they include Mubarak Haveli, Nisar Haveli, Haveli Mian Fazal Din, Pathranwali Haveli, Haveli Mian Khan, Haveli Sher Singh and Haveli Haidar Shah.

Mubarak Haveli dates from the time of Muhammad Shah (ruled from 1719–20), when it was constructed by three *amirs* (nobles), namely Bahadur Ali, Nadir Ali and Babur Ali. Its completion coincided with the birth of Bahadur Ali's son, hence it was named 'Mubarak' (auspicious). The building of Mubarak Haveli represents a quasi-Mughal style of architecture. Hefty wooden gates lead into the foreyard connected by the passage with the main court yard which has a huge water **(p.55)** tank in its centre. The *haveli* mirrored Lahore's waning fortunes, occasioned by the decline of Mughal power. It was abandoned for a number of years in the late eighteenth century. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule, it was converted into a guest house. In the 1830s Prince Shuja ul Mulk of Afghanistan was put up here with his family and a few close associates by the Sikh ruler. It was here that the maharaja forced Prince Shuja to surrender the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond to him.⁶⁵ The Afghan resided in the *haveli* for almost three weeks before managing to escape, dressed as a women, to Ludhiana.

The *haveli* was to change hands several times thereafter, before the British handed it over to the 'loyalist' Qizilbash family, Shias of Afghan descent. Their career as 'collaborators' with the British dated from Nawab Raza Ali Qizilbash's services during the First Afghan War of 1839. Like other Punjabi landowners, the nawab was to again assist the British in the 1857 revolt, raising a troop of horsemen at his own expense, who were active in the siege of Delhi.⁶⁶ In recognition of these services, Tuluk Bari, comprising 147 villages in the district of Bhabraich Oudh, was granted to him, while his nephews, who had been sent to the

battlefield, were bountifully rewarded. On the death of Ali Raza Khan in 1866, the title of nawab was conferred on his eldest son, Nawazish Ali Khan. He was appointed an honorary assistant commissioner in 1877 and eleven years later received a knighthood. In 1886 Nawazish Ali Khan was granted proprietary right in Rakh Hangu, zilla Lahore, where he founded villages. He was nominated an additional member of the Legislative Council in 1887, and for three years he held the office of the president of the Lahore Municipal Committee. He died in 1890 at Karbala, leaving behind a minor son, Hidayat Ali Khan (b. 1878). Thus, Nawazish Ali Khan was succeeded by his younger brother, Nasir Ali Khan. The title of nawab was conferred on him on 1 January 1892. He passed away in 1896 and Haji Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash (1862–1923) stepped into his shoes as the head of the clan followed by Nawab Nisar Ali Khan (d. 1944).

Two important traditions were established during Nawab Raza Ali Qizilbash's time which were to establish the *haveli's* trans-local connections. The tradition of loyalism linked the family and its residence into a wider set of political networks. These culminated in the Qizilbash involvement with the Punjab Unionist Party.⁶⁷ This tradition continued **(p.56)** until the eve of the British departure from India. The Cambridge-educated Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, brother of Nawab Nasir Ali Khan Qizilbash, head of the family, was elected as a Unionist member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937. He remained loyal to the Unionist leader, Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, after his split with Jinnah in 1944. In the crucial 1946 Punjab elections,⁶⁸ Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash was one of the handful of Unionists who retained his rural seat (Lahore) as the Muslim League achieved the major breakthrough that made Pakistan possible. He became a minister in the rump Unionist Coalition Ministry headed by Tiwana.⁶⁹

Nawab Raza Ali Khan also originated the family's patronage of Shia celebrations. He was one of the originators of the *Zuljinnah* processions in the 1850s, which even to this day emanate from Mubarak Haveli, making it a prime locus of Shia activity during the month of Muharram. In 1928 the property was divided among the Qizilbash family, and following independence it was further divided; the part where the main Ashura procession commences was named Nisar Haveli, while the other part retained the name Mubarak Haveli. In Lahore, the Tazia Alam procession commenced from Mubarak Haveli early in the morning and culminated at Karbala Gamay Shah in the evening after passing through its traditional route.⁷⁰ In both 2010 and 2011, the processions were the targets of terrorist attacks.

The family of Mir Munshi, also moved into Mochi Gate from Jagraon in the Ludhiana region around the time of the Qizilbash clan.⁷¹ This was another leading Shia family that was to have an important impact on the locality's historical development. Syed Rajab Ali Shah (d. 1869) was its prominent figure. His career illustrates the mobility of many individuals in the late Sikh period and early years of British rule before much of the new infrastructural development usually linked with such mobility. It also reveals the pull of employment opportunities provided by the East India Company's rise to prominence and the significance of 'loyalty' in 1857 for the fortunes of many families. According to K.K. Aziz, Rajab Ali was undoubtedly 'a recognized scholar and a notable in official estimation'.⁷² Rajab Ali was born in 1806-07 in Tilwandi. A year later, Diwan Muhkam Chand, an influential minister in the Sikh government, 'confiscated their [the family's] property and they moved to Ludhiana'.⁷³ At the age of twelve, Rajab (p.57) Ali was sent to Lahore to be educated by Mulla Mahdi Khatai. In 1825 he was admitted to Delhi College, where after completing his education he also taught mathematics for five years. At Delhi College he was the pupil of Mawlvi Baqir Ali, Muhammad Hussain Azad's father.⁷⁴ Rajab Ali's quest for knowledge led him to different cities like Meerut, Agra, Gwalior, Hushangabad and Bhopal. From 1830 to 1833 he lived in the latter city, where he became known as a Shia polemicist. His mathematical expertise caused him to be appointed as the engineer in charge of canals in the Punjab princely state of Kapurthala. Shortly afterwards, he received a more lucrative offer from the British as a *munshi* (secretary) in Jamuna Satlaj doab. He rose to the rank of *munishi-i-maalik* (chief secretary). On the eve of his retirement in 1853, the estate of Jagraon was restored to him.⁷⁵ He interspersed time there with frequent visits to Lahore.

Further honours and land grants followed his loyalty in 1857. In recognition of his services, Rajab Ali was awarded a land grant and the titles of *Khan Bahadur* and "Arastu Jah" (Great as Aristotle) in 1858.⁷⁶ He performed Hajj in 1861, accompanied by some eminent *Ulama*. He was also known to be 'an ardent Shia missionary' whose efforts 'strengthened Shi'i morale'.⁷⁷ In his later years, Rajab Ali devoted his time to the propagation of Shia faith, and for the same purpose he established an Urdu press called the Majma' u'l-Bahrayn which published such books as *Tahyid-ul Mata'in* by Mufti Muhammad Quli.⁷⁸ Rajab Ali died on 27 September 1869 at Jagraon.

He had three sons among whom Hasan Ali was the eldest by Rajab Ali's second wife, who came from Lahore. Irked by the continuous tension and family wrangling and disputes, she left her husband and returned to Lahore, where Hasan Ali Shah was brought up.⁷⁹ He learned Arabic

and Persian, but it was a career in the police which beckoned. By the time he retired, he had risen to the rank of superintendent. Lahore rather than Jagraon was the centre of his activities.

Hasan Ali's son Ghulam Abbas joined the British Indian Army and reached the rank of *risaldar* major. After retiring from the army, Ghulam Abbas opened a general merchandise shop in the Commercial Building in Lahore, which he managed till his death.⁸⁰ Syed Abid Ali Abid (1906–70), his great grandson, made a name for himself as a poet, and literary critic. After beginning schooling in Dera Ismail Khan, Abid Ali Abid studied **(p.58)** at the Rang Mahal High School. His literary disposition was revealed when as a child he set up a library of seventy books. When he was thirteen he began composing poems for the *Naunihal* children's magazine. In 1923 he became the editor of *Hazar Dastan*.⁸¹ He taught in a school at Dera Ismail Khan for four years and simultaneously passed the *Munshi Fazil* examination in 1922 and graduated privately the following year. He took his Law degree in 1925 from Lahore University and subsequently completed his MA in Persian. He then went on to lecture at Dyal Singh College, securing a post through Iqbal's recommendation. The famous writer and journalist Chiragh Hassan Hasrat had introduced them.⁸² By the time of independence, Abid had risen to the position of college principal. Syed Abid Ali Abid contributed to Lahore's rich literary culture which, as we have seen, was renowned across North India. He edited literary journals like *Hazar Dastan*, *Adabi Dunyan*, *Sadiq*, *Dilkash* and *Afsana*.⁸³ Abid had a lifelong association with *Majlis-Taraqqi-i Adab* and edited its journal *Sahifa*.

Mochi Bagh

Mochi Bagh is on the immediate right of the entrance to the Gate. It has now been denuded of grass and trees to serve its purpose as 'speakers' corner'. During the late colonial era, it became a public space which drew huge crowds from the city and beyond to attend political rallies. Here locality and space dramatically intersected in the holding of mammoth political meetings which impacted on not only regional, but national developments. The tradition spanned independence. Almost all Pakistani political leaders of national standing from Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto have held huge rallies there; indeed, the success of the public rallies held at the Mochi *darwaza* was an index of politicians' popular standing.⁸⁴

Mochi Gate was the setting for the public recitation, after the evening prayers, on 30 November 1912 of the poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938)'s famous poem *Jawaab-e Shikwa* ('Response to the Complaint'). It was an important moment not only in Urdu literature, but in the Lahori population's response to the wider Pan-Islamic movement.⁸⁵ The poem's thirty-one stanzas called on Muslims to recognise their glorious past history and to confidently face **(p.59)** contemporary challenges in the Balkans. Significantly, the event had been organised by the Pan-Islamic supporter Zafar Ali Khan (1873–1956), the editor of the daily *Zamindar*. The poem was printed in advance and individual pages priced at Rs50 sold out immediately. The money was used for the Turkey *Imdaad* Fund. News of the political-literary event was printed in *Zamindar*.⁸⁶

Fourteen years later, Iqbal made Mochi Gate a focal point of his campaigning when he stood for a Punjab Legislative Council seat from Lahore in opposition to Malik Muhammad Din, an Arain from the inner city. Iqbal played an active role in the Kashmiri *anjuman* which traditionally competed for local political influence with the Arains.⁸⁷ However, in this contest, he secured support from a range of communities, including some Arains. Iqbal's October 1926 campaign was bookended by public gatherings in the Mochi Gate area. His opening speech was in Chauhatta Mufti Baqar and his final public gathering was at Katra Wali Shah in another Mochi Gate neighbourhood. This testifies to the locality's importance as a public space.⁸⁸ Its importance was seen later during both the 1935 Shahid Gunj agitation and the Pakistan Movement.

The dispute over the Abdullah Khan Mosque, which was adjacent to the Shahid Gunj Gurdwara, flared up when the courts dismissed the Anjuman-i-Islamia's claim to the site and confirmed the control of the

Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC).⁸⁹ Its intention to demolish the defunct mosque and build shops on the site led to widespread protests. When the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam stood aloof, in marked contrast to its activist role in the Kashmir movement, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan thundered against it on 14 July in a packed meeting at Mochi Gate, and afterwards founded the Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat to lead the Shahid Gunj protests.⁹⁰ Public opposition to the *Ahrars* was so great that they found it virtually impossible to hold a meeting in Lahore for the best part of a year.⁹¹ The Majlis-i-Ittehad-i-Millat held a series of public processions and meetings at Mochi Gate.⁹² On 20 July a large crowd gathered there from across the Punjab in a bid to reach the disputed mosque to offer prayers. Despite these efforts at mobilisation, the dispute remained unresolved.

Mochi Bagh was an important focus of the Pakistan Movement, especially during its struggle against the cross-community Unionist Party, which had ruled the future 'cornerstone' of Pakistan since 1923. **(p.60)** It was the rallying point for the massive processions which occurred during the Direct Action Campaign against the Khizr Tiwana government in late January and February 1947. A 10,000-strong procession took to the streets on 30 January. In an incident less than a fortnight later, 500 rounds of tear-gas had to be fired to disperse a crowd.⁹³

Musicians and Haveli Mian Khan and Takia Mirasian

The Mochi Gate area was also an important cultural centre, although this aspect of its history has been overshadowed by the attention devoted to Bhati Gate.⁹⁴ Haveli Mian Khan and Takia Mirasian in the Mochi Gate locality were important for the training of classical musicians during the colonial era.⁹⁵ Before examining their significance, it is important to note the role of the institution of *baithaks* (literally 'sitting places') in the promotion of musical culture in Lahore. In *baithaks* people used to meet in the evening to discuss music and relish the presentations of the finest exponents of classical music. It was in these *baithaks* that young musicians came and learnt from their seniors and knowledgeable connoisseurs.⁹⁶ Reputations could be forged if the latter approved of performances. The *baithaks* of Hakim Shahbaz Din and Fakir Syed Iftikhar ud Din were well known in the walled city.⁹⁷

Musicians of national repute, such as Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan (1902–68), who trained the young Noor Jehan, resided in Haveli Mian Khan inside Mochi Gate. The *haveli* was named after the son of Shah Jehan's prime minister (Nawab Sa'adullah Khan) who had completed its construction. The *haveli* was the tallest building in the city at the time of its completion and was supported by ten walls adorned with numerous halls, balconies, arched chambers and fountains. By the colonial period it had become dilapidated and had been divided into numerous private dwellings. The most beautiful remaining part of the *haveli* was given over to the United Presbyterian Church for the purpose of building a school for boys. Some parts were, however, designated for 'regular confabulations on music and exclusive concerts by professional musicians'.⁹⁸ A number of leading musicians lived in the *haveli* in the Ranjit Singh and colonial eras. Eeday Khan, Bade Ghulam Khan's grandfather, performed in the Sikh ruler's court.⁹⁹ Some musicians settled permanently, others stayed briefly. Those included Irshad Ali Khan, Hussain Bakhsh Piya, Ali **(p.61)** Bakhsh Kasuri and Haider Bakhsh Faloosa. More so, Hussain Bakhsh Dhaala, Niaz Hussain Shami, Nazakat Ali Khan-Salamaat Ali Khan and their brothers Akhter Ali Khan-Zakir Ali Khan and light classical singer Bashir Ali Mahi also resided at the *haveli*.¹⁰⁰

Takia Mirasian was located at Chamberlain Road, not very far from Mochi Gate and near Takia Tajey Shah. It originated from the Ranjit Singh period, although its exact date cannot be ascertained. Most of the musicians belonging to Lahore and mostly from Kasur lived in that vicinity.¹⁰¹ Up until the early modern period, *takias* were built as a prototype of a rest house for visitors where they could unwind or stay for a night if they liked before venturing into the walled city. They comprised of a set of two rooms, along with a well attached to the

bathroom. Afterwards *takias* were used as community centres or *panchayat ghars*, where disputes were settled. The musicians, as Prakash Tandon recalls, displayed elements of living in a close community while at the same time having widespread connections.¹⁰² *Mirasis*, classical musicians, are without exception urban dwellers, though more often than not they claim village origins. These urban *Mirasis* trace their classical music connections to Kalawants, usually two or three generations back.¹⁰³

Takia Mirasian became famous for its impromptu musical soirees during the colonial era. Performances were presented by musicians of All-India renown such as Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, Chhote Ghulam Ali Khan (1910–96) and Umeed Ali Khan (1910–79). The latter was a renowned classical singer who came from the Amritsar district and had been trained by his father Ustad Pyare Khan. Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, the vocalist who came from Kasur and played the Indian harp (*swarmandal*), was as renowned in Calcutta as in his native Punjab. Among percussionists the noteworthy performers at the *takia* were Mian Qadir Bakhsh (1902–62), who was so renowned a Pakhawaji (drum) player that he took its name, Ahmad Jan Thirakv (1876–1976), the legendary *tabla* player from Moradabad, and Inayati Khan, a close relative of Mian Qadir Bakhsh Pakhawaji. Abdul Aziz Khan (d. 1940) and his brother Habib Ali Khan (1898–1971) played the *veena* (stringed instrument) whereas Sohni Khan, Sadiq Ali Khan Mando and Alamgir Khan exhibited their skills on the clarinet.¹⁰⁴ Alamgir Khan, who appeared on both radio and the stage, was originally a native of Amritsar. Sohni Khan (1916–76) was the founder of the famous Sohni Brass Band in Lahore (**p.62**) and performed extensively for radio and film. Mando (d. 1999) like many musicians in the late colonial era, made his living primarily in the Lahore film industry and moved to the city from his native Kasur.

Saeed Malik, drawing on the information furnished by M.A. Sheikh in his work *Who's Who: Music in Pakistan*,¹⁰⁵ reveals that the famous Ustad Akhtar Husain Khan of the Patiala *gharana* (musical house/school) performed his first concert at Takia Mirasian in 1932. Sheikh also provided details about a *mehfil-e-shakkar*, a formal ceremony held to announce the apprenticeship of a musician, which took place at the *takia* in 1934 when Bade Ghulam Ali Khan became a formal disciple of both Akhtar Husain Khan and Ashiq Ali Khan simultaneously.¹⁰⁶ Right to the end of the colonial era, musicians travelled to perform at the *takia* from all over India. These included Pandit Narayan Rao Vyas (1902–84), the renowned vocalist from the Gwalior *gharana*, Ustad

Abdul Waheed Khan (d. 1949) from the influential Kirana *gharana* in the United Provinces, and Ustad Amir Khan (1912–74) of Indore.¹⁰⁷

All-India Radio Lahore

From its inaugural broadcast on 16 December 1937, the studios of All-India Radio Lahore provided a creative outlet for the musicians, writers and actors of Bhati and Mochi Gates and drew artists to the city. Lahore's cultural and administrative importance for northern India was reflected in the fact that the city hosted one of the nine All-India radio stations scattered across the subcontinent.¹⁰⁸ The ten-kilowatt transmitter enabled the Lahore signal to reach as far as Rawalpindi, Bahawalpur, Patiala and Jullundhur. Most of its broadcasts were in Punjabi, although there was an Urdu Department, along with departments for religious and classical music broadcasts. The Kashmiri pandit, Jivan Lal Mattoo, who initially spotted Mohammad Rafi's talent, headed the Music Department. Bhai Samund Singh (d. 1972) performed Sikh sacred music, travelling the fifty-four miles from Guru Nanak's birthplace at Nankana Sahib to make his recordings. The leading classical vocal artist Master Rattan travelled from Phagwara. The young Noor Jehan and Shamshad Begum (1919–2013), who later became a leading Bollywood playback singer, provided popular tunes. Mohinder Singh Sarna (a.k.a. S. Mohinder, b. 1925) was another future Bollywood musical artist who **(p.63)** first made his name through performances at All-India Radio Lahore. Sarna, whose father was a sub-inspector of police, moved around the Punjab as a child before settling in the Amritsar district. He was classically trained, but was to make his name as music director in the famous Filmistan Studio.¹⁰⁹ Pandit Ram Narayan (b. 1927) was another future star who first came to public notice through his radio broadcasts. A native of Udaipur, he had worked as a travelling musician before getting his break at Lahore in 1944 as an accompanist on the *sarangi*. He moved to Delhi in 1947 before working for a number of years in the Bollywood industry. He eventually embarked on an increasingly successful career as a solo artist in 1956.¹¹⁰

The radio station naturally had close ties with the Bhati Gate film industry as both studios drew on the same pool of talented writers, musicians and performers. The crossover is exemplified in the career of the character actor Om Prakash (1919–98) who combined radio work from 1937, where he was known as the personality 'Fateh Din', with roles in the Pancholi studio films such as *Dhamki* ('The Threat'), released in 1945. The radio station's links with Lahore's creative writers were strengthened by the role of Professor Ahmad Shah Bokhari, who in 1939 had been appointed director-general of All-India Radio in Delhi. We have noted his earlier pioneering role in the Lahore film industry and his contacts with Lahore's literati through his role at Government College. Bokhari encouraged the Lahore station to make

the most of its opportunities to draw on the creative skills of personalities from the city's literary scene. This was achieved so successfully that a list the station's managers and broadcasters is a roll-call of the pre-Partition Punjab's literary greats. The famous Punjabi writer Kartar Singh Duggal (1917-2012), who had moved to the city from his native Rawalpindi district to be educated at Forman Christian College, started work at the Lahore radio station in 1942. The prominent poet Amrita Pritam (1919-2005), originally from Gujranwala, took a job with All-India Radio Lahore in 1945-46. By this time she had produced a number of anthologies of romantic poetry and had struggled in a failing marriage with Pritam Singh, the son of Jagat Singh Kwatra, a leading retailer in Anarkali Bazaar. Amrita Pritam not only broadcast her writings, and presented sitar programmes, but recorded many Punjabi folk songs for the station.¹¹¹ In the mid-1940s she had become **(p.64)** increasingly influenced by the Progressive Writers' Movement, although she had never joined it.¹¹² One of its leading figures Rajinder Singh Bedi (1915-84) joined the Urdu Department of All-India Radio Lahore in 1943. By this stage he had already produced two collections of Urdu short stories. He only remained in this post for three years, but this was a productive period in which he wrote a number of radio plays. These included *Naki-i-Makaani* ('Moving to a New House') which Bedi adapted into the award winning film *Dastak* ('The Knock') in 1970.

Conclusion

We have delved into the bazaars, neighbourhoods and alleyways that clustered around three of Lahore's famous gates. This was an environment which the British seldom entered. They nonetheless produced stereotypes of a closed-in world that have persisted to today. The reality of the old city was of professional, political and cultural connections that spread across North India. These were autonomous of the colonial state, although its communication transformations strengthened these ties. The localities, their inhabitants, schools, religious establishments and literary associations were far from a world unto themselves. The *darvarzas*, rather than being impenetrable barriers, opened Lahore to a North Indian world of ideas and culture that its inhabitants did much to shape, whether it was through the melodies of Noor Jehan or the verse of Iqbal. The guidebooks which were to accompany the city's emergence as a centre for tourism chose, however, to emphasise the stereotype of a confined inner city.

Notes:

(1.) Saskia Sassen, (ed.), *Global Networks, Linked Cities* (London: Routledge, 2002); N. Thrift, *Spatial Formations* (London: Sage, 1996); A. Ong and S. Collier (eds), *Global Assemblages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

(2.) See, Ash Amin, 'Re-thinking the Urban Social', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Theory, Policy, Action* 11, 1 (April 2007), pp. 100-14.

(3.) *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.

(4.) See Hakim Ahmad Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea* (Lahore: Atish Fishan, 2006).

(5.) William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imaging a Colonial City* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 132.

(6.) Rudyard Kipling, 'The City of Dreadful Night', in *Black and White* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), pp. 34-45.

(7.) Cited in Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, p. 50.

(8.) *Ibid.*, p. 54 & ff.

(9.) Max Lock, 'Informal Report on Housing and Town Planning in India March 1952'. Max Lock Papers 16:8, University of Westminster.

(10.) According to the 1914 Lahore Directory, the old city covered 558 acres and possessed a resident population of 120,436. Cited in F.S. Aijazuddin, *Lahore Recollected: An Album* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003), p. 79.

(11.) For a series of evocative paintings of *havelis* in the walled city of Lahore, many of which are no longer standing because of commercial development, see Ajaz Anwar, *Forty Years of Painting: 'Reminiscences of Old Lahore'* (Lahore: Heritage of Pakistan, 2003).

(12.) For a post-independence account of the secluded lives of female residents of the walled area see, A.M. Weiss, *Walls Within Walls: Life Histories of Working Women in the Old City of Lahore* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

(13.) S. Kumar, *Lahore Nama* (Delhi: 2002), p. 8.

(14.) Another explanation of the name the area carries is that it is a corrupted form of the word *Morchi*, which means trench soldier. It is supported by the fact that that different *mohallas* in the vicinity are

called Mohalla Teergaran (arrow craftsmen) and Mohalla Kaman-garan (bow craftsmen).

(15.) See Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar 1988), p. 67 & ff.

(16.) The precious gifts the family received from the Sikh ruler are held in the private family museum, the Faqir Khana in Bhati Gate. For an account of the Faqir family written by a descendant see Faqir S Aijazuddin, *The Resourceful Fakirs: Three Muslim Brothers at the Sikh Court of Lahore* (New Delhi: Three Rivers Publishers, 2014).

(17.) The family also moved into cotton ginning.

(18.) Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (London: Curzon, 1996), pp. 37-8.

(19.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 24; Munir Ahmed Munir, *Ab Who Lahore Kahan: Interview with F.E. Chaudhary* (Lahore: Atish Fishan, 2011), p. 18.

(20.) Anna Suvorova, *Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 41.

(21.) Iqbal Qaiser, *Historical Sikh Shrines in Pakistan* (Lahore: Punjabi History Board, 1998), p. 264. The *gurdwara* no longer exists.

(22.) Sir Abdul Qadir, for example, founded the literary magazine *Makhzan* in 1901. Hakim Ahmad Shuja founded the less famous *Hazar Dastaan* in 1919.

(23.) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(24.) Ghafir Shehzad, *Lahore, Ghar, Gallian, Darwazey* (Lahore: Idraq Publications, 2002), p. 42.

(25.) For further details see Gail Minault, 'Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and "Huquq un-Niswan": An Advocate of Women's Rights in Islam in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies* 24, 1 (February 1990), pp. 147-72.

(26.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 32.

(27.) Shehzad, *Lahore, Ghar, Gallian, Darwazey*, p. 42.

(28.) *Ibid.*

- (29.) *Lahore and Lahories*, Sajjan Archives-Forum <http://www.sajjanlahore.org/corners/zim/lastman/part1/chelseaoflahore> accessed 20 May 2012.
- (30.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 45.
- (31.) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- (32.) *Lahore and Lahories*,
- (33.) *Ibid.*
- (34.) *Ibid.*; Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, pp. 41-2.
- (35.) *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.
- (36.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 31.
- (37.) Two unpublished seminar papers on the theme 'The Cinema in Lahore' by Nasreen Rehman have provided important insights. These were presented at the University of Southampton (11 April 2012) and the Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge (13 November 2013).
- (38.) Rehman, 'The Cinema in Lahore', 13 November 2013.
- (39.) Balraj Sahni (1913-73) attributed his acting development to the encouragement received while he was a student at Government College. See Balraj Sahni, *An Autobiography* (Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, 1979).
- (40.) Later Bokhari became known as an Urdu humourist, the author of *Mazameen-i-Patras*. Interview with Ghulam Murtiza Piracha, a former student of Bokhari, Lahore, 11 December 2012.
- (41.) Rehman, 'The Cinema in Lahore', 13 November 2013.
- (42.) For their biographical sketches see, Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Paul Willemen, *Encyclopedia of Indian Cinema* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 114; 201; for Pancholi see Mushtaq Gazdar, *Pakistan Cinema: 1947-1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press), p. 19.
- (43.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 23 December 1925. On Himanshu Rai see <http://www.upperstall.com/people/himansu-rai> accessed 16 February 2015.
- (44.) *The Light of Asia*, a.k.a. *Prem Sanyas* (dir. Franz Osten, 1926). See Gazdar, *Pakistan Cinema*, p. 5.

(45.) *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 1 May 1926.

(46.) Rehman, 'The Cinema in Lahore', 13 November 2013.

(47.) Shorey, who began his working life in the photolitho department of the Military Staff College, Quetta, settled in Lahore after training in photography in the United States. In 1924 he founded Kamla Movietone. Some of his early work was government-sponsored. Along with his son, Roop, he established filmmaking with the first feature length success being *Manju*(1935). Roop was to act in and direct a number of Bollywood films in the 1950s and 1960s. Dalsukh Pancholi studied cinematography in New York. His father was North India's major distributor of American films. Dalsukh had a number of box office successes in the late 1930s in part because of his films' musical scores and accompaniment by Noor Jehan. The extensive Pancholi studios were abandoned at the time of the Partition riots and Pancholi fled Lahore for Bombay.

(48.) *Heer Ranjha* was the first talkie, but it was not a great box office success in 1932.

(49.) Motion Pictures Archive of Pakistan, *History of Film Production from Lahore* www.mpaop.org/mpaop/pak-film-database/pakistan=film-history/pakcine-history accessed 15 December 2014.

(50.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 9.

(51.) Varinder Walia, 'Striking the Right Chord', *Tribune*, Amritsar, 16 June 2003.

(52.) For its significance see Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 11.

(53.) Nonica Datta, *Forming an Identity: A Social History of Jats* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 206.

(54.) Colonel H.R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924), pp. 23-24.

(55.) Puran Singh, *The Story of Swami Rama* (Ludhiana: Kalyani Publishers, 1974).

(56.) There is a vast literature on Vivekananda, his teachings and influence both in India and the West. For a useful collection of his speeches and writings see Amiya P. Sen (ed.), *The Indispensable*

Vivekananda: An Anthology for Our Times (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006).

(57.) Goulding *Old Lahore*, p. 67 & ff.

(58.) Cited in Datta, *Forming an Identity*, p. 71.

(59.) The best overview is still provided by K.W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1979). On Lajpat Rai see Feroz Chand, *Lala Lajpat Rai: Life and Work* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1978); on Shradhdhanand, M.R. Jambunathan (ed.) *Swami Shradhdhanand* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961).

(60.) Datta, *Forming an Identity*, p. 68.

(61.) See, 'Remembering Dussehra in Lahore', http://creative.sukhela.com/remembering-dussehra-in-lahore_610043_blog accessed 26 February 2015.

(62.) *History of Film Production from Lahore*.

(63.) Amjad Parvez, 'Melody Queen Noor Jehan—Part 1', *Daily Times*, Lahore, 2 June 2014.

(64.) Lahore's big chains of sweetshops, Fazal Sweets and Rafique Sweets, had their initial outlets in the Lal Khooh locality inside Mochi Gate.

(65.) For further details see Avtar Singh Gill, *Maharajah and the Koh-i-Noor* (Ludhiana: Central Publishers, 1982).

(66.) For the importance of 1857 in launching 'loyalist' family linkages with the British see Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj*, p. 49 & ff.

(67.) See chapters 5-10 of Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj* for the history of the Unionist Party.

(68.) For full details see Ian Talbot, 'The 1946 Punjab Elections', *Modern Asian Studies* 14, 1 (1980), pp. 65-91.

(69.) Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana*, p. 150 & ff.

(70.) The route of the procession included Imambargh Ghulam Ali Shah, Chowk Nawab Sahab, Mochi Gate, Lal Khoo, Fazal Haveli, Takia Nathay Shah, Koocha Shian, Chuhatta Mufti Baqar, Old Kotwali, Kashmiri Bazaar, Dabbi Bazaar, Sunehri Masjid, Paniwala Talab, Chowk Nogaza,

Chowk Tarannum Cinema, Chowk Tibbi, Bazaar Hakeeman, Chowk Novelty, Mohalla Jogian, Oonchi Masjid and Bhati Gate.

(71.) Nur Ahmed Chishti, *Tehqiqat-i-Chishti* (Lahore: Al Faisal, 2006), pp. 587-93. Also see Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isna' Ashari Shi'is in India*, vol. 2 (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1986), pp. 103-5.

(72.) K.K. Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore: A Memoir 1942-57* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2008), p. 121.

(73.) Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History*, p. 103.

(74.) Aziz, *The Coffee House*, p. 121.

(75.) Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History*, p. 104.

(76.) *Ibid.*

(77.) *Ibid.*

(78.) Akhter Rahi, *Tazkira-i-Ulema-i-Punjab*, vol. 1 (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rahmania, 1998), p. 192.

(79.) Abdul Rauf, *Syed Abid Ali Abid: Shakhshiat aur Fun*, unpublished PhD thesis, Bahud Din Zakariya University, Multan, 1981, pp. 5-6.

(80.) Aziz, *The Coffee House of Lahore*, p. 122.

(81.) For his early literary activity see Mehmood Nizami, *Malfuzat-i-Iqbal* (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1977), pp. 218-27.

(82.) Iqbal said when addressing Abid, 'You better write down whatever you deem appropriate and I will affix my signatures and endorse it.' This information was communicated by Professor Zahid Munir Amir, who gleaned some of the facts about Abid Ali Abid from *Sahifa Abid Ali Abid*. It is generally believed that Abid secured a part-time lectureship at Dyal Singh College through the recommendation of Maulana Tajwar Najibadi. For details see Abdul Rauf Shaikh, *Syed Abid Ali Fun wa Shakhshiat* (Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, 1993), pp. 37-43.

(83.) Rauf, *Syed Abid Ali Abid*, pp. 38-9.

(84.) Tahir Lahori, *Sohna Shehr Lahore* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994), p. 123.

- (85.) Iqbal had published his famous poem *Shikwa* (Complaint-to God) in 1909 as the Ottoman Empire faced rising ethnic nationalism in the Balkans. *Jawaab-e-Shikwa* was Allah's reply and not only extolled Islam's glorious past, but confronted its troubled present.
- (86.) Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan, 'Islam in North India and Beyond: Poetry, Politics and Religion, 1850-1950', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, chapter 2.
- (87.) Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood: Allama Iqbal ki Mukamal Swaneh Hayat* (Live River: Allama Iqbal's Complete Life Story) (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2008), p. 104.
- (88.) Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood: Iqbal ki Mukammal Swaneh Hayat* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel), pp. 366-7.
- (89.) For background see David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 100-7.
- (90.) Tahir Kamran, 'Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Islam: Religion, Socialism and Agitation in Action', *South Asian History and Culture* 4, 4 (2013), p. 478.
- (91.) Punjab FR for the second half of May 1936. 18/5/1936-Poll, National Archives of India.
- (92.) David Gilmartin, 'The Shahidganj Mosque Incident: A Prelude to Pakistan', in Edmund Burke III, and Ira M. Lapidus (eds), *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1988), p. 156.
- (93.) *Dawn*, Delhi, 11 February 1947.
- (94.) For a comparison of the musical centres in the Bhati, Taxali and Mochi Gates see Saeed Malik, *Lahore: Its Melodic Culture* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1998), p. 29.
- (95.) Saeed Malik, *Lahore: A Musical Companion* (Lahore: Babar Ali Foundation, 2006), p. 28.
- (96.) *Ibid*, p. 19.
- (97.) For the *baithaks* see Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, pp. 26-7.
- (98.) Malik, *Lahore: A Musical Companion*, p. 29.

(99.) *Ibid*, pp. 28-9.

(100.) *Ibid*.

(101.) *Naqoosh*, Lahore, no. 92, February 1962, p. 757.

(102.) Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), pp. 79-80.

(103.) Daniel M. Neuman, *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 130.

(104.) Malik, *Lahore: A Musical Companion*, p. 35. See also A. Hameed, *Lahore ki Yadain* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2000), pp. 210-19.

(105.) M.A. Sheikh, *Who's Who: Music in Pakistan* (Bloomington IN: Xlibris, 2012).

(106.) Malik, *Lahore: A Musical Companion*, p. 36.

(107.) *Ibid*.

(108.) For details of the development of broadcasting in India see Chandrika Kaul, *Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience: Britain and India in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 123-72.

(109.) See, Harjap Singh Aujla, 'S. Mohinder: The Soulful Musician', Academy of the Punjab in North America, www.apnaorg.com/articles/mohinder accessed 10 April 2015.

(110.) www.umusicindia.com/artist-48505 accessed 10 April 2015.

(111.) For insights into Amrita Pritam's time in Lahore see Nonica Datta, 'Transcending Religious Identities: Amrita Pritam', in Anjali Gera Roy and Nandi Bhatia (eds), *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement and Resettlement* (Delhi: Dorling Kindersley, 2008), pp. 1-26.

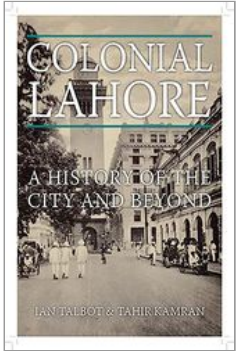
(112.) Her collection, *Look Peed* (People's Anguish), published in 1944, reflects the Progressive Writers' influence. On the movement see Rakhshanda Jalil, *Liking Progress, Loving Change: A Literary History of the Progressive Writers' Movement in Urdu* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014); Talat Ahmed, 'Literature and Politics in the Age of Nationalism: The Progressive Writers' Movement in South Asia

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University Press Scholarship Online

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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran

Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Travellers, Tourists and Texts¹

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0004

Abstract and Keywords

The chapter discusses the growth of western tourism to Lahore in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Tourism was made possible by the emergence of steam ships and railways and the opening of the Suez Canal. The pioneering role of the Thomas Cook Company is highlighted. The 1906 Royal visit of the future George V and the writings of Rudyard Kipling further increased interest in the city amongst the wealthy and leisured western classes. Travel perpetuated Orientalist stereotypes of the city. The chapter examines a range of guidebooks, including the *Newell Guide* and later motorists' guides produced by the Automobile Association of North India revealing how they reproduced the colonial official accounts of Lahore's history that played down its wider commercial connections. The chapter concludes with an examination of the more discerning view of the city in the 1912 unpublished travel account of the Fabian socialists Sydney and Beatrice Webb.

Keywords: Tourism, Thomas Cook, Suez Canal, 1906 Royal Visit, Rudyard Kipling, *Newell Guide*, Automobile Association, Sydney Webb, Beatrice Webb

Faletti's Hotel, located adjacent to the Punjab Provincial Assembly building, which was reopened in June 2013 after refurbishment, is the oldest surviving colonial-era hotel in Lahore.² It was opened in 1880 by the Italian hotelier, Giovanni Faletti. With its teak floors, manicured tree-lined lawns and ballroom with vaulted ceiling, it catered for an elite Indian as well as western clientele.³ The hotel's current Abu Dhabi-based owners continue to trade on the fact that Jinnah stayed in Room 18 on 14 July 1929 while attending a case in the Lahore High Court.⁴ Faletti's sister hotels included Flashman's in Rawalpindi and the Cecil in Simla. Advertisements for the hotels in 1913 emphasised that French, Italian and German were spoken. A further indication that they were catering for a growing international tourist clientele was provided by the assurance that motor cars were kept at Faletti's 'for the convenience of visitors wishing to visit Amritsar and other places of interest in the Punjab'. The same advertisement noted that Cook's hotel coupons were accepted.⁵ Pre-colonial Lahore had seen visits by European travellers,⁶ but it was in the imperial era that modern tourism emerged.

Lahore's antiquity, the monuments of the Mughal era and the romanticism of its history increasingly drew visitors to the city as the railways and steamships extended the opportunities for tourist travel.⁷ By the eve of the Second World War, Imperial Airways flew the route from **(p.66)** London to Karachi, Delhi and Calcutta and Indian National Airways operated a service between Karachi and Lahore. Nonetheless, few tourists reached the Walton aerodrome in Lahore. The limited seat room (usually no more than ten passengers could be accommodated) meant that costs were prohibitively expensive for a journey from Britain, which by air took a week as opposed to three by speedy liner. Indeed, in 1935 Imperial Airways carried nearly seven times more passengers on its European than Empire routes,⁸ and throughout its existence, it regarded mail rather than passenger services as its core activity. In the 1938 Christmas period, over 200 tons of airmail was carried by the airline.⁹ The age of mass tourist travel by air was still two decades distant when the British departed Lahore. The sites to which a later generation headed were, however, the same as those recommended by the guidebooks of the colonial era. Most importantly, these previously neglected texts, which are marginal in traditional histories of the city, provide further evidence for its interconnectedness, while at the same time reproducing Orientalist stereotypes of the city. The guides take their cue from the imperial gazetteers' rendering of Lahore's history in which the rational and ordered British rule is contrasted with the anarchy of the previous century which vandalised 'the resort of all the nations'. We shall reveal,

however, that it was not just these texts, also but the reporting of the Prince of Wales' 1906 visit to the city that established this understanding. The chapter concludes with the Lahore diary of the Fabian socialist travellers, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, which provides a different reading of the city. We shall turn first to the Indian tours arranged by Thomas Cook. They illustrate the new infrastructure which opened up Lahore to the gaze of western tourists.¹⁰

Cook's Tours, Guidebooks and the Packaging of Lahore

The role of the excursionist Thomas Cook (1808–92) in popularising leisure travel, initially in Britain, then in 1855 with a continental tour, has been well documented.¹¹ The guided tours to such countries as Switzerland and carefully constructed itineraries enabled middle-class travellers to take advantage of the railway transport revolution. Further afield, Thomas Cook & Son (or Cook's Tours) organised Nile journeys and excursions to Algeria.¹² Little has been written, however, about the **(p.67)** ways in which Cook's opened up opportunities for travel to India. This resulted in part from technological advances, but also depended on the ties forged with government by Thomas' son, John Mason Cook (1834–99). His involvement with the British Imperial project was seen in the role the company played in the transportation of military equipment and stores along the Nile at the time of the expedition mounted in 1884 to rescue General Gordon. The company's longstanding presence on the Nile enabled it to source twenty-seven steamers and 650 sailing boats necessary to carry the 16,000 troops and their supplies. Within India, John Mason Cook offered his services to transport pilgrims on the Hajj. We will examine the details in a later chapter. It is important to recognise, however, that while this enterprise lost money, even with a government subsidy, it cemented the links with British officials that enabled the company to run its commercial tours in close cooperation with the Indian railways. These links were assiduously cultivated by John Mason Cook from the viceroy down to station masters at key junctions. He ensured they were kept up in a detailed set of instructions presented to his son Frank Henry when he travelled to India prior to the company offering its services to transport pilgrims from Bombay to the Hejaz.¹³

Travel to the subcontinent had been revolutionised by the opening of the Suez Canal in July 1869. Thomas Cook, who attended the event, termed it 'the greatest engineering feat of the present century'.¹⁴ Within three years he had organised his first world tour which made use of steam technology and the Canal to compress time and space. The tour inspired Jules Verne's classic travel story *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). The future Edward VII, Albert Edward the Prince of Wales, partially emulated Phileas Fogg when he completed a royal tour to India and Nepal via Egypt and Aden in a six-month period from October 1875. The tour has been seen firstly as establishing the monarchy 'as a modern and globally mobile institution', secondly as strengthening its identification with Empire, and thirdly as bringing renewed attention in Britain to India.¹⁵ The prince, like later royal travellers, was accompanied by media correspondents who provided accounts of his visit for the metropolitan audience. Despite its royal

trappings, the tour shared features of the new tourism in India that Cook was developing with its reliance on the railway network to transport **(p.68)** the traveller to pre-selected places of interest. The beginnings of tourism in Lahore around sites linked with the city's royal Mughal and Sikh past were precisely those visited by the Prince of Wales, who like middle-class tourists arrived in the city by train from Amritsar, albeit *en route* for the Governor's House.

Thomas Cook was able to expand his excursions in India so rapidly because there were already well-established steamship lines to serve the needs of British residents, who until almost the close of the Raj journeyed back and forth on leave by sea rather than by air. Thomas Cook acted as the principal agents for all the steamship companies and provided sailing times in its India Guides. Reliability as much as speed was vital for the tour operator, while through ticketing made travel much easier for the tourist. In the early 1880s, the first class return fare from London with P&O was £132, but a cheaper first class deal from Liverpool to Calcutta on the Star Line could be had for £94 10/-. Second class return travel with P&O cost £66.12/-. Cheaper still was the option of travelling by train to Brindisi and then picking up an Italian ship to Alexandria and thence via Suez to Bombay. Interestingly, Thomas Cook's initial interest in India stemmed precisely from the fact that the company had been appointed by the Italian Government Railway Administrations as their representatives for securing passenger traffic for the Brindisi mail service.¹⁶ The Prince of Wales had followed the Brindisi route to Bombay in his 1875 journey, although he had picked up HMS *Serapis* at the Italian docks.

Alongside the steamboat, the railway was a vital element in the development of tourism. The Thomas Cook company reassured, 'well-to-do travellers' who 'had a strong desire to visit India' but were 'deterred through fear of difficulties they may encounter' that:

We have never travelled in any part of the globe where the [railway] carriages are better constructed for the peculiar requirements than those in India, and we say without hesitation that there is no station accommodation on any railway in the globe better adapted to meet the requirement of travellers, than the stations on many of the Indian railways.¹⁷

Similar to the first trips in England, the inaugural excursion in India in April 1881 was not intended as a commercial undertaking, but was rather intended to introduce the concept of leisure travel by railway to the Indian 'artisan' classes. The special cheap excursion on the Great **(p.69)** India Peninsula Railway took 100 tourists at the cost of Rs11

each from Bombay to Poona.¹⁸ The aim was always, however, to bring tourists from Europe to India and to provide tours of Europe and Great Britain for wealthy resident Indians.¹⁹ Cook's Tours opened its first office in India in 1880 in close proximity to the Apollo Bunder. Within eight years, it had expanded to include a reading room and a waiting room where travellers could see the latest telegrams and local newspapers. They could also pick up their correspondence and ensure that letters were despatched home in a forerunner of a twentieth-century internet café.²⁰ These 'cocoons' provided part of an overall package which played to the needs of the 'risk-averse' lone traveller in India. 'In an alien and often threatening environment, it was worth paying for the organization' that Thomas Cook could provide.²¹

Lahore was not included in the month-long Indian leg of Thomas Cook's 1872 round the world tour. Tourists were taken to Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Delhi, Allahabad, Jubbulpore and Bombay. Within a decade, Cook's had extended itineraries to include South India and Colombo. The company's newspaper *The Excursionist* publicised India as a travel destination, while its India Guide highlighted the 'facilities never before afforded for prosecuting a most delightful journey'.²² Lahore rapidly took its place in the advertised Indian tours. In the Indian Guides for 1881 and 1882 it featured in three circular tours of North India from Bombay. These were respectively of forty, thirty-three and twenty-seven days' duration. Even the shortest tours set aside two days in the city. The thirty-three-day tour advertised in 1889 included steamship travel from Bombay to Karachi with the British India Steam Navigation Company, with which Thomas Cook had signed an exclusive agreement in December 1884. The traveller did the remainder of the circular journey by train. The agreements with the various companies kept the first class return fare at £19, which could be reduced to £13 if the train travel was by second class.²³ Tourists on the longer (forty-day) itinerary had already been travelling thirty days from Bombay when they arrived in the city by train from Amritsar. Two days were devoted to sightseeing in Lahore before they continued their journey to Karachi via Montgomery. The return to Bombay was made by a British India Company steamship.

Lahore's emergence as a railway hub for north-western India and its connections with the port of Karachi made it a convenient destination **(p.70)** for the Bombay round trip itinerary. It was also on the route for travel to Europe. Even in the 1890s, there were only monthly sailings from Karachi to Europe (Plymouth and Antwerp). There were, however, connections from Karachi with the homeward bound P&O mail steamer from Bombay each Wednesday. Travel by rail to Karachi through Lahore was thus the best option for voyagers from Punjab and Sindh, especially

those whose booking arrangements permitted free steamer travel between Karachi and Bombay provided by the British India Steam Navigation Company.²⁴

In 1915 Thomas Cook entered into an agreement with the North Western Railway to ease the arrangements for 'bona fide' tourists. They no longer had to purchase tickets at the stations, but could instead be issued with coupons from the Company's offices. These entitled travel on all the railway company's lines including the Lahore to Rawalpindi and Peshawar route and the Delhi route to the latter destinations via Lahore. Coupons were also issued for the line from Kalka up to Simla. There were fare reductions on two-monthly and fourteen-day tickets on the Kalka-Simla route and the possibility of journey breaks on the others. The increased first and second class travel encouraged by the scheme was sufficient for the North Western Railway to allow Thomas Cook to charge a 10 per cent commission on the coupons for all single and return journeys on its lines.²⁵ Thomas Cook submitted a monthly statement of the number of coupons issued and raised a cheque respectively to the chief examiner of accounts and chief cashier of the North Western Railway at its Lahore headquarters.

Few tourists made the overland rail route to Europe, although it was popular with some officials returning on furlough. There was an added advantage for those working on the North Western Railways as they could receive up to half fare concession rates on other railways. The traffic managers of these railways had to be contacted well in advance to receive the necessary permits. In April 1938, W.L.D. Martyn, the deputy chief engineer of the North Western Railway, travelled from Lahore to London having received passes from the Iraqi, Turkish, Royal Hungarian, German, Austrian and Belgian railways.²⁶

Accommodation was second only to a transport infrastructure for the successful emergence of a tourist destination. Thomas Cook extended the hotel coupon scheme, which it had pioneered in its British and continental (**p.71**) tours, to India. Tourists could purchase coupons in advance which could be redeemed in return for board and lodging in hotels that participated in the scheme. In the first years of Cook's Tours which took in Lahore, the coupons could be purchased for the sum of 12/-6d per day. The 1882 guide lists the Caversham House Hotel and Refreshment Rooms as participating in the scheme in Lahore. It stood at the junction of Ferozepore and Mozang Roads and was run for a number of years by Mrs Hillier.²⁷ The coupon entitled tourists to a bedroom with lights and a bath and a day's meals including early tea and toast (*chota huzri*), a meat breakfast (*burra huzri*), *tiffin* and dinner.²⁸ For travellers not participating in the scheme, the guide

highlighted Montgomerie's Hotel and an excellent *dak* bungalow as the best accommodation. For the more affluent, accommodation could be sought at Lahore's most famous hotel, Faletti's. During the course of a hundred-year history it was to rank film stars and musicians as well the founder of Pakistan as its guests. Other hotels which regularly advertised in Thomas Cook publications in the early 1890s included The Charing Cross Family Hotel and Nedou's on the Upper Mall Road. *Cook's Oriental Travellers' Gazette* charged a rate of Rs30 per column inch.²⁹

Later nineteenth-century tourists, like their modern counterparts, recorded their travels in albums, photographs and collections of postcards. There were literally dozens of commercial photographers in towns and cantonments who catered both to residents' and visiting British tourists' desires to have a permanent visual record of their time in India. James Craddock (d. 1896?), whose main studio was in Simla, opened one of the earliest studios in Lahore on the Lower Mall.³⁰ He produced for European customers a range of topographical, architectural and portrait subjects from across North India. The well-known Scottish photographer Fred Bremner ran a thriving postcard business from his studios in Lahore, Bombay and Karachi.³¹

The *Cook's Indian Tours*, like later guidebooks, relied on the colonially constructed history of the Punjab contained in the official gazetteers to recount Lahore's past. Along with an essentialisation of religious identity, the official history juxtaposed a magnificent, but decayed, monumental past with the modernity of imperial rule. The tourists were alerted that the 'ruins' of Ranjit Singh's palace within the fort are thus evidence of 'the beauty that must have characterised the **(p.72)** whole'. The Mausoleum of Emperor Jehangir, 'notwithstanding much that has been to destroy this magnificent monument is still a work of art of great beauty'.³² Significantly, the narrative then shifts to the achievements of the colonial era as displayed in such buildings as Government House, Government College, the Lawrence Gardens, the Mayo Hospital and the Museum.³³ The latter, which was locally known as the *ajaib-gher* (wonder house) and was greatly developed during John Lockwood Kipling's curatorship, annually attracted in the later 1870s some 2,000-3,000 European visitors.³⁴ It is unstated, but the implication in the *Cook's* publication is that the vitality of the city and its future lies in the 'Empire Quarter'. It also, however, suggests that the Wazir Khan and Soneri Mosque within the walled city are 'worth a visit'. Contact with the congested surroundings of these buildings

would have reinforced notions of Indian 'otherness' and of Lahore as an 'inward' rather than externally connected city.

The Newell Guide to Lahore

In the early 1920s, an Indian Army lieutenant-colonel, H.A. Newell, published a number of city guidebooks. These were designed for the 'traveller' rather than the 'tourist'. Railway stations provided an important outlet for the publications. Their popularity is seen in the fact that the Lahore guide went through two editions. Newell follows closely the imperial gazetteer's account of Lahore's history and its places of interest. Even more markedly than with the Cook's guide, the emphasis is on the built environment to the exclusion of engagement with the everyday life of its indigenous inhabitants. For leisure time activity, once sightseeing has been exhausted, Newell recommends the visitor to come, although hotels and bungalows will be crowded, in the Christmas-New Year Lahore week, when 'race meetings are the order of the day and dances of the night... All the world and his wife, the latter dressed in her very best, eat, drink and make merry as long as the good time lasts.'³⁵

Throughout the guide, equal significance is given to Lahore's colonial buildings and its historical monuments. This is exemplified by the opening day of the four-day itinerary Newell recommends to his readers. The morning is devoted to a visit to Shahdara, but the first day's (p.73) afternoon is reserved for a visit to the Lahore Museum and the extensive Lawrence Gardens, where in addition to a 'number of good tennis courts', the band plays on three afternoons a week and there is 'dancing in the Montgomery Hall'.³⁶ Newell also lists the opening times of the public library and the churches, especially pointing out the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection, which 'occupies a commanding position near the Upper Mall facing the Punjab Chief Court'.³⁷ The reader is also encouraged to visit the Mayo School of Arts. Newell also points out, 'the modest bronze tablet on the outer wall of the editorial office of the Civil and Military gazette', which proclaims, 'Rudyard Kipling worked here 1882-1887'.³⁸

Newell nonetheless does not ignore the city's glorious history as reflected in its monuments. He describes the Mosque of Wazir Khan as 'the most beautiful building in Lahore, as a perfect example of fine mosaic it is without a rival in India'.³⁹ He also recommends visits to the tomb of Anarkali, the Sonehri masjid and the 'world-renowned' Shalimar Gardens. Newell comments, however, 'that little remains of the former glories of Shalimar ... shorn of its treasures of marble and mosaic by the Sikhs'.⁴⁰

'Now Lahore is one of the show places of India,' he enthusiastically tells his readers.⁴¹ The emphasis is, however, on the 'now'. For in the sentence before he has declared, 'Splendid new buildings have been erected and beautiful old ones restored.'⁴² Newell's guide was indispensable for travellers who wanted to explore the city of Lahore. Its knowledge and understanding of Lahore's history and culture, however, served a purpose in facilitating the wider imperial project. It projected an image of British India as a modernising heir to a decayed politico-economic order whose architectural expressions it now sought to protect.

Motorists' Guides to Lahore

Newell's guide to Lahore had begun: 'For those fortunate people to whom time is no object a *tonga* will do well enough to get about in, provided they are content to see the sights in a leisurely fashion. Others will find it infinitely more convenient and less fatiguing to hire a motor.'⁴³ This advice was increasingly heeded with the result that a new **(p.74)** kind of tourist emerged. The specific needs of the motoring sightseer were provided by the production of motorists' guides. One of the earliest of these was G.F. Hearne's *Motor-Car Guide for the Punjab*, published in 1918.⁴⁴ It confidently asserted, 'Every possible convenience awaits the motorist in the capital of the Punjab. Excellent hotels, first class motor firms and provision merchants will supply all the needs of the tourist.'⁴⁵ Hearne listed eight places to visit in Lahore which would have been familiar to the earlier generation of Cook's tourists. These were: the first Residency erected in 1845, 'now used as an office for the Civil Department'; the tomb of Anarkali, 'now used as a record room by the Civil Secretariat'; Jehangir's Mausoleum at Shahdara; Lahore Fort; the tomb of Sayad Ishaq in the quadrangle of Wazir Khan's Mosque; the Pearl Mosque; the Shalimar Gardens; the Imperial Mosque of Aurangzeb.⁴⁶ Here again, we see the linkage between the Mughal and colonial era that is common to the guide literature. Another common feature is the latter's drawing on the official history of the city as contained in the Imperial Gazetteer series. Indeed, Hearne specifically directs the tourist to the latter source, declaring, 'Space does not allow of a more detailed list to be given. Visitors would be well advised to obtain a copy of the official gazetteer of the Lahore district for 1916, if full information is desired in respect to the numerous antiquities of Lahore.'⁴⁷

Increased car ownership was reflected in the inauguration of the Automobile Association of North India (AANI) in April 1927. By the end of 1933, it had over 2,000 paid up members. These primarily included British residents. They indulged in motoring holidays during short leave periods, with a handful of the most adventurous driving back to Europe on their home leave. With these in mind, a Colonel Bogle produced a Lahore-London motor guide which contained comprehensive route maps, information on petrol prices and stations and hotels and passport requirements.⁴⁸ The route took in Quetta, Meshad, Tehran, Baghdad and Aleppo before arriving in Sofia via Istanbul. The AANI made this 'absolutely correct' and 'lavish' text available to its members at a reduced rate of Rs10. They also received the annual handbook for free which was sold to the general public for Rs5. The healthy membership figure and the revenue from advertisers not only for cars, bikes, trucks and engine oils, but even Frigidaire refrigerators, **(p.75)** paid for this

subsidy. Unlike Newell's guide, the handbook does not foreground its information with a historical introduction to Lahore. It rather maps the resources required by those who were visiting the city by car. This included listings of 'recommended' hotels and garages and the location of petrol pumps within the city. If we look beyond its prosaic approach in intellectual terms, the book can be regarded as an heir to the cartographic intelligence which underpinned imperial acquisition rather than, as with Newell's guide, to the official construction of India's past which legitimated the British conceptual image of their rule.

The 1934 AANI guide unsurprisingly rated Faletti's as the best hotel for its members. The hotel was recommended because of its high standard of accommodation at the relatively affordable rate of Rs20 for a double room. It was nonetheless convenient for motorists to have a Shell petrol pump in its grounds.⁴⁹ This was owned by Pearrylal and Sons Ltd, which also ran a pump in the sister Maidens Hotel in New Delhi. The three other hotels listed by the guide were Nedou's Hotel on the Mall, Sunny View Hotel, Kashmir House and Braganza and Sons Hotel, opposite the railway station. Readers were also directed to Lahore's various clubs in which the Punjab Club led the way. Accommodation could also be sought in less well-known surroundings such as the Murray Club in the Cantonment, the Northern India Flying Club and the Roberts Volunteer Club. It was not, of course, only tourists who competed for accommodation in Lahore. Nedou's Hotel in fact offered special terms to commercial travellers.⁵⁰

All four of the AANI approved garages were located on the Mall or adjacent to it. We have seen in an earlier chapter that this was where the large European stores kept their showrooms. Similarly, just over one-third of all the petrol pumps listed in the handbook were located in this central area. Historians have not previously commented on colonial Lahore's emergence as an important North Indian motoring hub. This is evidenced not only by the AANI's headquarters being located on the Mall, but the existence of a greater range of garages and petrol pumps than anywhere else in North India. Despite Amritsar's importance as a commercial centre, Lahore had four times more pumps than its neighbour. Even more striking is the fact that the AANI handbook lists more pumps for Lahore than the imperial capital New Delhi.⁵¹ The **(p. 76)** Hindu and Sikh dominance of Lahore's commercial life extended to this new commercial sector, with ownership of over 90 per cent of all the pumps. The economic ties between the 'twin cities' of Lahore and Amritsar also extended to this activity, with a third of all the latter's

pumps owned by the Lahore-based businesses G.L. Khanna & Sons and Naraindas & Co. Ltd. The latter also ran an AANI-registered garage on the Mall.

The handbook thus provides a new angle in understanding colonial Lahore's socio-economic development. In keeping with the theme of this book, it also emphasises the city's historically neglected interconnectedness. This could not be made clearer than by the chart which the handbook handily provides. This not only sets out the mileage between Lahore and nearby Punjabi towns, but between the city and Delhi (via Amritsar 317 miles), Quetta (644 miles) and Peshawar (271 miles).⁵² Finally it is a snapshot of the city in its colonial carefree motoring heyday, although one should not over-romanticise. By the end of the inter-war period, with over 20,000 vehicles in the Punjab competing with carts, bicycles and animals, it was reported that there was 'serious congestion' on the busiest routes.⁵³ Wartime petrol rationing and the increasing violence in the run-up to Partition were, however, to cast a much longer shadow for the Punjabi motorist.

The Royal Visit of 1906

Victoria's grandson, the future George V, followed the line of Princes of Wales who were to visit Lahore. He arrived with the future Queen Mary in February 1906 to the backdrop of mounting political unrest. Newspapers reported, however, that he received a 'cordial welcome', despite fears that he would be greeted by a *hartal*. The Prince and Princess of Wales were already seasoned travellers by this time and were later to be the only king-emperor and queen-empress to be crowned in a Darbar in India.⁵⁴ The itinerary of visits to the Shalimar Gardens, Wazir Khan's Mosque and Lahore Fort was now well established and would have been as familiar to the royal party as any Thomas Cook tourist.

Like the earlier royal tour, the Prince and Princess of Wales were accompanied by an army of correspondents. Improvements in printing, **(p.77)** photography and, most importantly, telegraphy made their visit more accessible to the British public than ever before. It is difficult to gauge the impact of these new technologies on tourism to India. Certainly, the 1911 Coronation Durbar was accompanied by a *Times* Empire Day Special with suggestions for 'Touring in India'.⁵⁵ The film footage of the pageant not only fixed India in the British public imagination, but provided 'a tremendous fillip to the popularity of newsreels within Britain'.⁵⁶

George Frederick Abbott (1874–1947) was one of the royal press party in 1906, working for the Calcutta-based *Statesman* newspaper. The Cambridge-educated correspondent had cut his teeth as a journalist while conducting research in Macedonia. In addition to his despatches for the *Statesman* Abbott rapidly brought out a book (*Through India with the Prince*) which was published before he had returned to England. Chapter 7 was devoted to the Lahore leg of the tour. It further fixed the city in the British imagination as one of the significant historical sites in the subcontinent. The work, however, was written in a manner designed to legitimise the imperial ruling presence. This was achieved in part by contrasting the colonial state's rationality with the city's chaos and claustrophobic character. This representation played to an emerging stereotype that denied Lahore's well established connection with the wider world.

Abbot prefaces his description of Lahore with a commentary on the journey of the royal train from Bikaner. It is used to highlight the progressive impact of British rule as a result of the vast irrigation works in the West Punjab that which created the canal colony development. The colonies have formed the focus of much writing on the economic impact of British rule and its environmental consequences.⁵⁷ 'The improvement in the peasant's lot is the best justification of British rule in India,' Abbott intones, 'were every other vestige of that rule to disappear, there would still be good reason for the Anglo-Saxon to congratulate himself, with a clear conscience upon the two million acres of scrub and waste land in the Punjab which has been converted permanently, into fertile fields by the Chenab and Jhelum canals. The combined area of the two colonies is close upon half that of the irrigated portion of Egypt a few years ago.'⁵⁸

While in Lahore, Abbott took time out of his coverage of the official engagements to wander as Kipling before him in the inner city. His **(p. 78)** descriptions reinforce the themes of British order and modernity and their juxtaposition with chaos and decline which feature in the imperial gazetteers. Lahore's inwardness as a city is highlighted and it is taken to exemplify motifs of disorder and degeneration. In what has since become a clichéd representation of the inner city, Abbott refers to the existence of 'a labyrinth of tortuous alleys, dusky and dusty, creeping warily between tall tottering houses which often shake hands overhead or even kiss each other across the street'.⁵⁹ 'Gloom and silence,' the author continues, 'sleep together in these crooked lanes ... until a sharp corner brings you into the bazaar and the multifarious pandemonium.'⁶⁰ Having set the scene, Abbott then goes on to make

his decisive intervention designed to distance British rationality from this supposedly chaotic and degenerated environment: 'I cannot even attempt to draw a coherent description [of a scene],' he declares, '...the very essence of which is delirious incoherency'.⁶¹

This statement echoes the official thinking of British rule which based its legitimisation partly on the introduction of order and rationality. This was symbolically displayed in the ubiquitous presence of clock towers in towns and cities. Indeed, the new Punjab canal colony town of Lyallpur (modern-day Faisalabad) was designed on a pattern of roads in the shape of the Union flag leading out from its central clock tower. One hundred and sixty five kilometres to the east, a Gothic clock tower erected to commemorate Lord Elgin's viceregal visit to Amritsar stood incongruously in the precincts of the Golden Temple. It symbolically stated the superiority of modern industrial time brought by British rule over the spiritual universe of a timeless and formless God. Neighbouring Lahore had no fewer than seventeen colonial clock towers, with the most striking examples being those at Government College and the railway station. Trains set off at precise times, although the punctuality of their destination arrival often left much to be desired. Railway time embodied the uniformity and regularity which were seen as the benefits of a modernising colonial state.

British rule, however, also justified itself as the upholder of tradition. This was politically expressed in the Punjab through the upholding of tribal customary law and the economic interests of the designated 'agriculturalist' community. The preservation of historical monuments formed a symbolic demonstration of this intent. When describing the **(p.79)** Lahore Fort and Jehangir's tomb, Abbott made it clear to the reader that he saw the 'hand of vandalism and decay' everywhere.⁶² This provides a cue for him to praise Viceroy Lord Curzon's attempts to restore Mughal monuments.⁶³

The Webbs in Lahore

Sydney and Beatrice Webb spent seven days in Lahore in February and March 1912 during the course of a world tour. Their intellectual partnership and eminence as Fabian socialists made them distinctive travellers who could not have been further removed from the 'escorted' tourists who had visited the city armed with their Cook's guidebook. The Webbs arrived on 29 February following a visit to Hardwar, before departing on 3 March for Peshawar and then Lyallpur. They returned on 9 March before leaving for a final time three days later to travel to Delhi. The entries on Lahore contained in their Indian diary were not intended for publication.⁶⁴ Indeed, in contrast with their prolific publications on politics, economy and society, no paper or book emerged from the trip.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the diary not only reveals a different kind of British engagement with the city, but also points to further aspects of Lahore's interconnectedness.

There are, of course, entries relating to visits to the Fort and Shahdara, but these are barely commented upon, other than that they were driven to the monuments by a prominent member of the Hindu reform organisation Arya Samaj. Far more space is taken up by accounts of meetings with leading figures involved in Lahore's educational and commercial life. The Webbs attended a garden party hosted by the prominent Punjabi industrialist Lala Harkishen Lal, met with leading Muslims at a judge's house and visited colleges.⁶⁶ This is a world away from Newell's recommendations for social interaction, or the carefully packaged list of places to visit set out for Thomas Cook's tourists. The Webbs did stay in a hotel, in all probability Faletti's although it is not mentioned by name, but this was not for reasons of comfort, but because they wanted 'to be free to see all sides', so did not take up offers to stay with Indians or English officials.⁶⁷

Throughout their Indian tour, the Webbs took a keen interest in educational development. In Lahore, they visited Aitchison Chiefs **(p. 80)** College, DAV College and Islamia College. They considered the last to be 'poor in spirit with inferior Moslem professors'.⁶⁸ As far as Aitchison, a bastion of loyalism reserved for the landed elite, was concerned, they detested the entourage of servants and retainers who were allowed to accompany the pupils.⁶⁹ Unsurprisingly, DAV College, which had been established to provide a modern education within a Hindu cultural framework, received their greatest approval.⁷⁰ Lala Lajpat Rai, the leading nationalist figure in Lahore who had been briefly deported to Burma three years earlier following the Punjab disturbances, accompanied them on a tour of the Arya Samaj-run college.⁷¹ Sydney Webb was to provide a preface in 1915 for Lajpat Rai's history of the Arya Samaj.⁷² Despite the briefness of their visit,

the Webbs also accompanied him on a visit to the Arya Samaj Sabha, although they confided in their diary that 'we failed to find time to utilise our introductions to the Anglican Bishop and the leading Anglican Deaconess'.⁷³ Much of their Indian tour was, in fact, in the company of Aryas. The All-India connections of the organisation, which despite its Gujarati beginnings had its main centre in Lahore, provided valuable introductions for the visitors. Significantly, Rambaj Dutt Chowdhri, who ferried the English couple around Lahore's sights, had first met them on their arrival in Calcutta from Burma.

Conclusion

The British perpetuated notions of Lahore's 'inwardness' because of Orientalist stereotypes tinged by exotic romanticism regarding the city's Mughal past. Tourist guides reproduced these understandings, which had been reinforced by Kipling's writings and accounts of royal visits. The guides established a package of visits which disconnected the growing number of western tourists from lived experiences within the walled city. The Webbs' experience reveals another side to the city's life in which organisations like the Arya Samaj radiated their influence throughout the subcontinent from the heart of the walled city. However, it was only when wider connections threatened stability in the capital of the British model province that they attracted the imperial gaze. Links arising from popular culture and pastimes, as we shall see in the next chapter, also went largely unremarked in colonial accounts.

Notes:

(1.) It should be noted from the outset that there have been numerous explorations of the difference between the traveller and the tourist. These focus on such issues as engagement as opposed to sightseeing and travelling to discover as opposed to see what is already known to be there. See L. Withey, *A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915* (New York: William Morrow, 1997), pp. viii-xi.

(2.) While the main colonial-era architectural features such as its verandahs have been retained, incongruous wooden screens have been added.

(3.) For a brief history see Shanaz Ramzi, 'Where History Meets Modern Comforts', *Dawn*, Karachi, 30 March 2014.

(4.) See falettishotel.com/rooms_quaid_e_azam_suite.php accessed 5 January 2015.

(5.) See, P. Nevile, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), p. 31.

(6.) William Finch's accounts of the city in 1611 during its Mughal heyday no doubt influenced Milton to refer to Lahore's splendour in *Paradise Lost*. Lahore had still retained its lustre when the Portuguese missionary Sebastien Manrique visited the city three decades later. He maintained that the riches of its principal street might vie with the finest mart in Europe. See William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921). Sebastien Manrique (C. Eckford Luard trans. and ed.), *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Hakluyt Society, 1927). The increasing number of accounts produced by Europeans who worked for the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh or were emissaries to his court, however, established a discourse around notions of decline. See Charles Grey, *European Adventurers of Northern India: 1785 to 1849* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1929); John Martin Honigberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East: Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments and Historical Sketches Relating to the Punjab and Cashmere etc.*, 2 vols. (New York: H. Bailliere, 1852). The German traveller Leopold von Orlich, for example, while admitting that Lahore presented a fine appearance from across the river at Shahdara, described the inner city as 'not ... worth seeing ... the streets are narrow and dirty', with the high houses having a 'mean appearance'. Leopold von Orlich (trans. H. Evans Lloyd), *Travels in India, Including Sindh and the Punjab* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1845) pp. 217-8.

(7.) It was not, of course, the only tourist destination in the Punjab for Victorian travellers. Cruises on country boats along the Indus were advertised which provided opportunities for shooting, fishing and the thrill of the Attock gorges. See Clive Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus: The Limits of Western Technological Superiority in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 105 & ff.

(8.) The figures were 48,642 passengers on European services and 7,103 on Empire routes, which by this time extended via Singapore to Brisbane, a three-week odyssey from London. See Peter Lyth, 'The Empire's Airway: British Civil Aviation from 1919 to 1939', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 78, 3-4 (2000), p. 873.

(9.) *Ibid.*, p. 874.

(10.) For the conceptualisation of the 'tourist gaze', which borrows from Foucault, see John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze, Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990).

(11.) See, Paul Smith, *Thomas Cook and the Origins of Leisure Travel*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 1998).

(12.) Peter Lyth, 'Carry On up the Nile: The Tourist Gaze and the British Experience of Egypt, 1818-1932', in Martin Farr and Xavier Guegan (eds) *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, *Travellers and Tourists* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 180-7; Kenneth J. Perkins, 'So Near and Yet So Far: British Tourism in Algiers, 1860-1914', *Ibid.*, pp. 227-30.

(13.) Notes for Mr F.H. Cook's Guidance re. Pilgrimage Arrangements in India 4 October 1886. 9.2.2. GB 27 The Mecca pilgrimages 1886-1894, Thomas Cook Archives, Peterborough.

(14.) Cited in J. Pudney, *Suez: De Lessep's Canal* (London: Dent, 1968), p. 31.

(15.) See Joe De Sapio, 'Technology, Imperial Connections and Royal Tourism on the Prince of Wales's 1875 Visit to India', in Farr and Guegan, *The British Abroad*, pp. 56-73.

(16.) 'Cook's Indian Tours', *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* 1 February 1882, Thomas Cook Archive.

(17.) *Ibid.*

(18.) *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 21 April 1881, Thomas Cook Archive.

(19.) *Ibid.*

(20.) *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 11 August 1888, Thomas Cook Archive.

(21.) On the importance of convenience for 'risk-averse' European and Indian travellers see Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus*, pp. 107-8.

(22.) Thomas Cook and Son, *Cook's Indian Tours* (1881), p. 9.

(23.) *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 7 September 1889, Thomas Cook Archive.

(24.) *Cook's Oriental Travellers' Gazette*, vol. 2, no. 6, June 1890, Thomas Cook Archive.

(25.) See Agreement with North Western Railway, 12 March 1915. Agreement Books, vol. 10, p. 242, Thomas Cook Archive.

(26.) The passes and the correspondence relating to them and to Martyn's journey can be found in the W.L.D. Martyn Papers, Box 1, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge.

(27.) The hotel later became the private residence of Sir David and Lady Masson. For details see Colonel H.R. Goulding, *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1924), p. 51.

(28.) Thomas Cook, *Indian Tours* (1882), p. 91.

(29.) See *Cook's Oriental Travellers' Gazette*, vol. 2, no. 5, May 1890, Thomas Cook Archive.

(30.) Goulding, *Old Lahore*, p. 50.

(31.) Sheila Asante, 'Lucknow to Lahore: Fred Bremner's Vision of India', *Asian Affairs* 44, 1 (2013) p. 90.

(32.) Thomas Cook, *Indian Tours* (1881) p. 64.

(33.) For the official role given to the Museum in 'places of interest' in the city see Punjab Government, *Lahore District Gazetteer 1916* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1916), p. 247 & ff.

(34.) Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015) Appendix, Table 7, p. 132.

(35.) Lt.-Colonel H.A. Newell, *Lahore: Capital of the Punjab. A Guide to Places of Interest with History and Map*, 2nd ed. (Bombay: H.A. Newell, 1921), p. 14.

(36.) *Ibid.*, p. 41

(37.) *Ibid.*, p. 74,

(38.) *Ibid.*, p. 73.

(39.) *Ibid.*, p. 59.

(40.) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(41.) *Ibid.*, p. 80.

(42.) *Ibid.*

(43.) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

- (44.) G.F. Hearne, *Motor-Car Guide for the Punjab: A Handbook for the Use of Motorists and Officials* (Lahore: Mufid-i-'Am Press, 1918).
- (45.) *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- (46.) *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- (47.) *Ibid.*
- (48.) Colonel A.S. Bogle, *Lahore-London: The Motorist's Vade Mecum*.
- (49.) H.J. Martin, *Automobile Association of Northern India Handbook* (Lahore: Automobile Association, 1934), p. 161.
- (50.) *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- (51.) See the listing of petrol pumps in North India from p. 154 onwards of the handbook.
- (52.) *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- (53.) Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus*, p. 199.
- (54.) See John Fortescue, *Narrative of the Visit to India of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary and of the Coronation Durbar Held at Delhi 12 December 1911* (London: Macmillan, 1912). For an assessment of the durbar as a media event see Chandrika Kaul, *Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience: Britain and India in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 19-71.
- (55.) Kaul, *Communications*, p. 39.
- (56.) *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- (57.) See David Gilmartin's work, for example, 'Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, 4 (1994), pp. 1127-48; 'Migration and Modernity: The State, The Punjabi Village and the Settling of the Canal Colonies' in Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi (eds), *People on the Move: Punjabi Colonial and Post-Colonial Migration* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 3-20.
- (58.) G.F. Abbott, *Through India with the Prince* (London: Edward Arnold, 1906), p. 78. For a more critical understanding of the impact of the canal colony development see Imran Ali, *The Punjab Under*

Imperialism 1885-1947 (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988).

(59.) Abbott, *Through India*, p. 85.

(60.) *Ibid.*

(61.) *Ibid.*

(62.) Abbott, *Through India*, p. 87.

(63.) *Ibid.*

(64.) Sydney and Beatrice Webb (Niraja Gopal Jayal ed.), *Indian Diary* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. xlii.

(65.) For an overview of the Webbs' public career and involvement with Fabian socialism see Lisanne Radice, *Beatrice and Sydney Webb: Fabian Socialists* (London: Macmillan, 1984).

(66.) On the rise and fall of Lala Harkishen Lal's business empire see K.L. Gauba, *The Rebel Minister: The Story of the Rise and Fall of Lala Harkishen Lal* (Lahore: Premier Publishing House, 1938).

(67.) Webb, *Indian Diary*, p. 108.

(68.) *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

(69.) On the history of Aitchison College see F.S. Aijazuddin, *Aitchison College Lahore: 1886-1986 The First Hundred Years* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1986). See also Zahid Munir Amir, *Char Mausam Aitchison College Mein* (Lahore: Malik & Company, 2004).

(70.) On the history of the Arya Samaj movement in the Punjab see, K.W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1976).

(71.) On Lajpat Rai's deportation see Chand Feroz, *Lajpat Rai: Life and Work* (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Publications Division, 1978); Ganda Singh (ed.), *Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh* (Patiala; Department of Punjab Studies, Punjabi University, 1978).

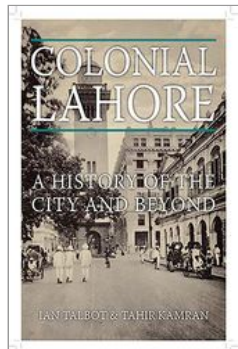
(72.) Lala Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj: An Account of its Origin, Doctrine and Activities with a Biographical Sketch of the Founder* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915).

(73.) Webb, *Indian Diary*, p. 137.



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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Poets, Wrestlers and Cricketers

Patronage and Performance in Lahore and Beyond

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0005

Abstract and Keywords

Chapter four discusses the impact of colonial rule on traditional cultural and sporting pastimes and the new activities that emerged, most notably cricket. There are three case studies of *mushairas* (poetic contests), wrestling and cricket. The chapter reveals how their key participants in Lahore were able to perform on a wider stage because of the communications revolution. Nonetheless, they remained rooted in the *mohallas* and local institutions of the city. Lahore's *mushairas* of the 1870s which received contributions from Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali are seen as possessing an important impact on the evolution of Urdu poetry in North India. Competitions took Lahore's most famous wrestler Gama from his *akhara* (wrestling arena) in the city to England. Many of Lahore's most famous colonial era cricketers lived in the Bhati Gate and Mochi Gate area. The fierce rivalry in the 1920s and 1930s between Islamia College and Government College drew talent from across the Punjab. Cricket was not divided on communal lines, Lala Amarnath the future Indian test captain who toured England in the 1930s played for the Crescent Club based at

Minto Park which was patronized by the middle class Rana family of the Mochi Gate locality.

Keywords: Mushairas, Wrestling, Akharas, Gama, Government College, Islamia College, Crescent Club, Lala Amarnath

Sports and pastimes did not form the stuff of tourist guides, nor the imperial gazetteers from which they took their cue. Poetry and wrestling contests were, however, emblematic of Lahore, especially its walled areas, and predated colonial rule by many centuries. Poets and wrestlers depended on the patronage of local notables so that they could devote their time fully to their art. While poets sang the praises of their patrons, wrestlers symbolised their political might. Akbar's cousin, Mohammad Qasim Khan (d. 1600), in addition to wrestling himself, populated an entire *mohalla* in Mozang with wrestlers.¹ The Governor's Residence was later to be built around Qasim Khan's tomb, which was traditionally called the Wrestler's Dome (Gumbaz-e-kushtiwala).² Also during the Mughal period, poets presented their newest compositions in *mushairas* (poetic symposiums) in *havelis* and palaces throughout Lahore. Poets were supported by noble patrons and rewarded with gifts when their compositions were particularly well received. *Mushairas* continued into the colonial era, with Urdu replacing Persian as the language of composition. Those held in Lahore were rivalled only by the events in Lucknow. The *mushairas* held in the city in 1874-75, with the encouragement of the colonial authorities, played a significant All-India role in the critiquing of classical Urdu poetry and the call for the adoption of modern aesthetics.

(p.82) The *mushaira* and the *akhara* were important aspects of Lahore's cultural and social life and were embedded in its localities. They were never, however, confined to them because of wider patronage networks for wrestlers and poets. We shall see in this chapter that one of Lahore's legendary wrestlers, for example, was in the service of the Sikh Maharajah of Patiala for sixteen years.³ Modern communications enabled wrestling tournaments (*dangal*) involving Punjabi *pahlewans* to be held across India and beyond its shores.

Cricket does not predate colonial rule, but like the pastimes we have referred to above became closely associated with Lahore's culture. In the early twentieth century, cricket increased in popularity as it spread from the Cantonment to the city's colleges and clubs. Improved travel enabled Lahore-based teams to participate in regional and national competitions. A handful of talented sportsmen were able to perform at

the highest level of the imperial sporting connection and represent India on cricket tours to England.

Mushairas and the Culture of Lahore

Mushaira is a modified form of the Arabic *musa'ara*, which is reciprocal in reference⁴ and according to Steingass, its primary meaning is 'contending with, or excelling in poetry'.⁵ In Persian *mushaira* denotes a poetic contest in which two persons or groups exchange couplets back and forth; each one is required to respond with a couplet beginning with the letter with which the opponent's couplet ends, usually known in South Asia as *bait bazi* (the game of couplets). *Mushaira* refers exclusively to a gathering of poets for the purpose of poetry-recitation before the audience.⁶ Shibli Numani, in his monumental work *Si'ru'l'ajam*, maintains that the *mushairas* began in the Persian milieu at the end of the fifteenth century.⁷

Urdu *mushairas* can be dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. They took place in the homes of individuals or at Sufi *dargahs*. *Mushairas* became increasingly popular in Delhi and Lucknow. Lahore, as it emerged as a leading North Indian centre of Urdu culture, also became an increasingly important venue for *mushairas*. They have become regarded in contemporary Pakistan as 'traditional' expressions of the city's culture and as further examples of the uniqueness and **(p. 83)** inwardness of the walled areas. Such localised portrayals ignore their role within an emerging North Indian Muslim cultural milieu. This was marked by the growth of print culture in which poetry was an increasingly important medium for both reflecting a new communitarian ethos, concerned with the condition, and especially the notion of the decline, of the Muslim community. The latter was spurred by the suppression of the 1857 revolt and the replacement of East India Company rule by a fully-fledged colonial system. The *mushaira's* traditional poetical contestation was turned to new purposes in the debates about the future of Urdu and its role in the regeneration of Indian Muslim society. Lahore, at the heart of a region with rich Punjabi cultural traditions, appears an unusual setting for these Urdu-focused debates. As we saw in Chapter 1, the suppression of the 1857 revolt in Delhi destroyed the old networks of literary patronage. Poets came to Lahore in search of employment, with Delhi having been relegated to 'the status of a provincial town'.⁸ Shortly before the revolt, the Punjab Board of Administration had decided to use Urdu as the language of governance in the newly annexed region. This was a crucial decision that continues to impact on contemporary Pakistan. The move was prompted by British perceptions of Punjabi as a 'rustic' language.⁹ John Lawrence went so far as to term it a 'barbarous dialect'. It was certainly more convenient for British officials posted from the Urdu-speaking North-Western Provinces to have the language used in Punjab.

Another consideration may have been the anxiety that using Punjabi would have helped 'prompt a Sikh resurgence'.¹⁰

Thereafter, British officials patronised Urdu's development, while educated Punjabis turned to it for professional purposes and as the language of the emerging public sphere in Lahore, the administrative centre of the region. Punjabi was never totally eclipsed from Lahore's literary scene, but works in this language had to survive without government patronage. The colonial language policy thus created the circumstances for Urdu to become the dominant language of Lahore's print culture. It gradually became associated with specifically Muslim interests, although Sikh and Hindu Lahoris spoke the language down to Partition. A crucial element in the 'communalisation' of Urdu was the notion put forward by such Muslim modernist reformers as Syed Ahmad Khan and Hali that Urdu's 'renewal' would go hand in hand (p. 84) with the 'renewal' of the Indian Muslim community. The calls for a 'reformed' Urdu language were influenced by Orientalist criticisms of classical Urdu's 'decadence' arising from its highly stylised form and the dominance of the theme of the lover (*aashiq*). However, as Iqbal Singh Sevea has appositely remarked, 'the demand for reforms in literature was not simply a call for the adoption of modern aesthetics, but rather an attempt to shape a poetics which could be used both for social criticisms and to impart a social, religious, ideological and political message'.¹¹ The *mushairas* sponsored by the Anjuman-i-Punjab in Lahore in 1874-75 were at the forefront of this movement.

Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Mutalib-i-Mufida-i-Punjab, 'The society the diffusion of useful knowledge', was the full name of the Anjuman-i-Punjab which was formed on 21 January 1865 at Shiksha Sabha Hall, Lahore.¹² The Anjuman set up a *Madrassa* in a building of a *path shalla*, established by Lahore Shiksha Sabha to teach Hindi and Sanskrit. The Anjuman took possession of that building and added Arabic and Persian to the curriculum.¹³ Thus a school was set up which later on became Oriental College. The Anjuman was formed with the twofold object of reviving the study of ancient Oriental learning and, as its name succinctly suggests, of diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of Urdu.¹⁴ Leitner, was its 'dictator' and the Byronic British Official Lepel Griffin (1838-1908) its secretary.¹⁵ Significantly all thirty-five of its founding members were in government employment. As Aslam Furrukhi succinctly states, 'the whole Anjuman was called into being by Government fiat'.¹⁶ Its journal, Anjuman-i-Punjab, had specific aims of acquainting the local populace with English thought and the

expectations of government and current affairs, and of familiarising the government with the needs and requirements of the people.¹⁷

The Anjuman was instrumental in establishing a free library and reading room, holding public lectures and compiling educational texts and rendering them into Indian languages. Its greatest achievement was the establishment of Oriental College in 1872. Leitner served as its first principal.¹⁸ Scholars of extraordinary merit like Faizul Hassan Saharanpuri and Maulvi Abdul Hakim Kalanauri came to teach as a result of Leitner's persuasion. Saharanpuri imparted instruction in Arabic at Oriental College for seventeen years until his death in 1887. Kalanauri's association with Oriental College lasted from 1872 to **(p. 85)** 1916. Abdullah Tonkvi was another scholar of Arabic who served Oriental College for thirty-four years in various capacities.¹⁹ Iqbal too worked at Oriental College for almost four years after his appointment on 13 May 1899 as McLeod Reader in Arabic.²⁰ While Oriental College was undoubtedly a feather in the Anjuman's cap, the establishment of the translation service provided by the Punjab Book Depot was also significant.²¹ It threw up a new source of livelihood for such exceptional poets as Muhammad Hussain Azad (1837-1914) and Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914) who could no longer turn to courtly patrons. We have already seen earlier in the volume how their migration to Lahore was a crucial factor in the city's Urdu development. Under the watchful eye of the colonial state, they were to introduce new forms and themes into Urdu poetry, 'consistent with modernity'. To carry out this transformation, a series of *mushairas* were convened in 1874 under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Punjab.

Migrant Literati: Azad, Hali and *Mushairas*

The importance of Lahore's cultural connection with Delhi, the city it was to replace as North India's leading Urdu centre, is revealed in the careers of Muhammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali. Azad's father, Muhammad Baqir, had been a prominent figure in the Urdu literary world of Delhi, where he founded the *Dihli Urdu Akhbar* (Delhi Urdu Newspaper) in 1837. The paper was at the forefront of Muslim social and religious reform.²² Baqir was one of the 'rebels' in 1857 and was executed when the city was retaken by the British forces. Azad left Delhi and settled in Lahore at the age of thirty-four.²³ He initially managed to secure a temporary job at the Post Office. Later on, he obtained a petty job in the Education Department at the recommendation of Pandit Man Phul.²⁴ He supplemented his meagre salary by tutoring English officials in Urdu. This in 1864-65 fortuitously involved teaching Leitner, who formed an excellent opinion about

him.²⁵ Leitner became an influential patron, and Azad became a regularly paid lecturer on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Punjab in 1866. Within a year he was its secretary.²⁶

Azad worked assiduously. He read numerous papers at its meetings, which were, generally speaking, well received. The Anjuman published 142 papers out of which twenty-two were Azad's. From March to **(p. 86)** December 1867, he produced thirty-six lectures and essays which encompassed cultural and social issues facing Indian society. He also edited the *Anjuman's* journal and wrote *Qisas-i-Hind*, a school textbook comprising stories from the Indian past.²⁷ On Leitner's recommendation, he was appointed as assistant professor of Arabic at Government College. In 1870 he started editing the Anjuman's newspaper *Huma-i-Punjab*,²⁸ which in some quarters was perceived as 'being English-influenced to an unacceptable degree'.²⁹ Colonial patronage moved to a new dimension in May 1874, when 'the Punjab Government made an abortive attempt to renovate poetry'.³⁰ Earlier the retired governor Sir Donald McLeod (1810-72) had recommended that selections from Urdu poetry should be included in the syllabi for higher and secondary schools.³¹ Azad addressed a predominantly official audience³² in which he critically evaluated Urdu poetry in the light of the principles of English poetry. His address served as the foundation stone for the Movement of Modern Urdu Poetry.³³ Shams ud Din Siddique describes it as the starting point of modern literary criticism.³⁴ Equally important but more widely quoted is the speech of Colonel Holroyd (1835-1913), the Director of Public Instruction, in which he spoke at length about the decadent state of Urdu poetry and invited the attention of those present at the meeting 'to find ways and means for the development of Urdu poetry'.³⁵ He also read a letter from the secretary, Punjab Government:

I have been directed to ask you if it is not possible to include in the curriculum of our secondary and high schools as a selection of Urdu poetry, aiming at moral instruction, and presenting a natural picture of feelings and thoughts. And, further, if a selection of this nature could be compiled from the works of Mir Taqi, Miskin, Zauq, Ghalib and others... If in this manner, with the help of schools, an indigenous poetry of a non-sectarian character were written and were gradually to replace the poetry now in vogue, it would really be an important step forward.³⁶

In the same speech, he announced the holding of *mushairas*, which would have a distinctive feature of assigning a subject to the poet who was supposed to compose the poem. He also urged the poets to write poems instead of *ghazals* in the rhyme of a given hemistich.³⁷ Colonel

Holroyd unfolded a plan of convening monthly meetings and then he announced a topic, 'Bargha Rut' (rainy season),³⁸ for the poets to write **(p.87)** on for the next meeting. The poet, however, was at complete liberty to adopt any form of verse whether *mathnavi* or *musaddas*.

Ab-e-Hayat ('The Water of Life'), which was finally published in 1880, is Azad's *magnum opus*.³⁹ The work, which runs into two volumes, has been described as 'one of the most important canons of modern Urdu literature'.⁴⁰ The first volume focuses on the evolution and growth of Urdu language and the second specifically deals with Urdu poetry.⁴¹ In the particular field of Urdu language and its development, Azad was without any shadow of doubt the pioneer.⁴² Regarding his Urdu poetry in the second volume, he underscored the Persian influence on the development of Urdu language and literature. The old *Tazkiras*, oral information obtained from friends and relatives and material secured through correspondence, are the sources on which Azad based his narrative.⁴³ Besides these books Azad also wrote *Nairang-i-Khayal* (1880) and *Darbar-i-Akbari*, which failed to make any impression. Generally Azad's prose is looked at suspiciously because of the abundant use of imagery, metaphor and simile. However, Sadiq commends Azad for adorning Urdu prose with the common/colloquial idiom of Delhi's *Shurafa* (genteel class).⁴⁴ Hence after Ghalib and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Azad contributed significantly in reorganising Urdu prose on modern lines. The locus of this unique development in Urdu prose was Lahore. He was conferred the title of Shams ul Ulema for his services to education and literature in 1887.⁴⁵ 'It is due to him,' S.M. Ikram declares, 'more than any other single individual that Urdu took root in the Punjab and Lahore became the Actual heir of Delhi.'⁴⁶

Another migrant from Delhi to Lahore, Altaf Hussain, also played a crucial role in the new Urdu literary movement.⁴⁷ Altaf Hussain, who composed poetry under the *nom de plume* of Hali,⁴⁸ was born into a middle-class Muslim family of Panipat.⁴⁹ He was educated at home and mastered Persian and Arabic besides learning the Quran by heart at a very early age. His early education, as he modestly described it later, consisted of 'nothing more than a haphazard study of the most elementary Arabic and Persian texts which any Muslim child of the time was expected to read'.⁵⁰ His father Khawaja Izad Bakhsh died prematurely in 1845, depriving him of paternal love and care. We have seen in Chapter 1 how he was displaced from Delhi in 1857. He returned to the city five years later and became acquainted with Mustafa Khan Shaifta (1804-69), **(p.88)** Nawab of Jahangirabad in Bulandshehr district, who wanted a tutor for his son, Naqshband Khan. Hali went to Jahangirabad where he worked for seven years. He imbibed his patron's poetic vision and style and later attributed his

success as a poet to the nawab. Shaifita's death in 1869 robbed him both of patronage and inspiration. Like other poets, he found a new patron in the colonial state. He journeyed to Lahore and took up a job with the Punjab Government Book Depot as assistant translator. His assignment was to edit works that had been translated from English.⁵¹ Hali subsequently acquired 'a general feeling for English literature', and 'somehow or other my admiration for Eastern—and above all Persian literature—began gradually to diminish.'⁵²

In Lahore, Hali made Azad's acquaintance.⁵³ Prompted by Leitner, he occasionally participated in *mushairas*. During the four years of his stay in the city, Hali participated in four *mushairas* and recited his poems, in *masnavi* form. The themes of his poems were *Barkha Rut* ('The Rainy Season'), *Nashat-i Ummid* ('Pleasures of Hope'), *Hubb-i Watan* ('Patriotism') and *Munazara-i Rahm-o-Insaf* ('Dialogue between Clemency and Justice').⁵⁴ Hali's poems were extolled and he was eulogised as 'the only glory of these gatherings'.⁵⁵ His poem on patriotism was especially praised. In these *mushairas*, Hali seemed to have eclipsed Azad. The latter's poetry was found wanting and in need of *islah* or 'correction'.⁵⁶ Thereafter, the relationship between the two poets became uneasy.

In 1875, driven by both poor health and homesickness, Hali returned to Delhi. He took up the offer of employment at the Anglo Arabic College where he was to teach for twelve years.⁵⁷ During that time he met Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Coupled with the influence that he imbibed from Lahore, Sir Syed's galvanising effect brought the very best out of Hali in the form of *Musaddas-e Hali* in 1879. The poem called *Madd o jazr-e Islam* ('The High Tide and Low Tide of Islam') consists of 456 six-line stanzas which were published first in Sir Syed's *Tahzibul-Akhlaq*. Hali poetically deplored the declined state of Indian Muslims.⁵⁸

Hali also pioneered biographical writing, displaying as in his poetry a simple style of expression. He started with *Hayat-i-Saadi*, ('The Life of Saadi'), an account of the thirteenth-century Persian poet published in 1886. Subsequently he wrote biographies of Ghalib (*Yadgar-i-Ghalib*, which Ralph Russell considers 'his best prose work')⁵⁹ in 1897 and Sir **(p.89)** Syed Ahmed Khan (*Hayat-i-Javed*) in 1901. Hali also broke new ground in Urdu literature by adding through *Muqadma-i-Sher o Shairi* (1893) literary criticism to its repertoire. The work originated as an introduction to his collection of poetry, but was subsequently published in book form. It was not only the first attempt at literary criticism but according to Pritchett, 'by far the most influential work of Urdu literary criticism ever written'.⁶⁰ Hali's poetry and prose were undoubtedly

influenced by his years in Lahore. He exemplified the Urdu poet who sought to express through a new style of composition concerns about the decline of the Muslim community.

Hali briefly returned to Lahore in January 1887 as *Musahib* (deputy superintendent of the Aitchison College Hostel).⁶¹ The people from the college administration, as Malik Ram surmises, probably knew him from his previous stay in Lahore; therefore they extended him an offer, which 'bespeaks very highly of his character and integrity'.⁶² Hali, however resigned in June 1887. Nonetheless, Lahore had exerted a major impact on his career. His services to education and literature were acknowledged when the title of *Shams ul Ulema* was conferred in 1904.⁶³

Mushairas the City and Beyond

The eleven *mushairas* held in Lahore in 1874–75 are famous because of the presence of such luminaries as Azad and Hali and their impact on the evolution of Urdu poetry in North India. They nonetheless evoked a mixed contemporary response, not just because of the merit of their verse, but also because of their conflicts and personal rivalries. Sadiq pronounced the whole exercise of holding the *mushaira* series an abject failure because ‘the academic verse it produced failed to touch the heart of the generation to which it was addressed’.⁶⁵ Leitner’s prognosis was slightly different, as might be expected. Generally the *mushairas* marked the waning of the Persian sway on Urdu compositions, giving way to influence from the English literary tradition regarding their genre and poetic style.⁶⁶

The *mushairas* held at Lahore undoubtedly made a significant contribution in widening the scope of Urdu poetry, by introducing new themes, with Hali’s poem *Hubb-i Watan* as a case in point and which can be termed as the precursor of Iqbal’s *Tarana-i-Hindi*. Thereafter, natural **(p.90)** objects became the themes which were very often broached by the poets, like Iqbal’s *Himala, Pahar aur Gulehri* and *Aik Perinda aur Jugnu*. Literary journals like *Nairang-i-Khayal, Dilgudaz, Shor-i-Mehshar, Shabab-i-Urdu* and *Maghzan* had a profound resonance with the modern literary movement started at Lahore. Many poets, namely Ismael Merithi, Benazir Shah, Na’azir, Sarwar, Mohsin, Mehroom, Brij Narain Chakabast, Auj, Shauq and Hadi, came forward as the representatives of new poetry and published in newly established Urdu journals. Nonetheless the *mushairas* were criticised. Munshi Muhammad Hussain Mehmud Nehthorvy Bijnori, for example, composed Mathnvi ‘Kaul-i-Faisal’ in 1885 in which he chaffed at Azad and Hali’s smugness toward traditional poetic genres.⁶⁷ Similarly, Munshi Gorkun Lal and Munshi Gobind Rai, from Lucknow, also issued condemnatory statements against their denunciation of *ghazals* and their contents in particular.⁶⁸ Importantly enough, even in Lahore such *mushairas* in which *ghazals* were recited continued under the patronage of Arshad Gorgani Delhvi and Mir Nazir Husain Nazim Lucknowi.⁶⁹ Mostly these *mushairas* were held at Hakim Amin ud Din’s house in Bhati Gate.⁷⁰ Thus the influence of Delhi and Lucknow added colour and variety to the literary activities of Lahore. They were copied elsewhere in North India. A ‘Nazm Society’ was founded at Merith; similarly in Delhi, a ‘Delhi Society’ started organising such *mushairas* where ‘Nazms’ were recited.⁷¹ Even more important was Munshi Sajjad Hussain (the editor of *Awadh Panch*) and Mirza Hadi Ruswa’s (1857–1931) foundation of *Daira-i-Adabiya* in 1895 at Lucknow. The *mushairas*

of 'Nazms' were institutionalised under the auspice of *Daira-i-Adabiya*, in an otherwise antithetical ambience for that genre.⁷²

Not all Lahore poets wrote in Urdu or were engaged in the debate about its linguistic evolution. Punjabi poetry continued to be recited, traditionally, at different fairs (*melas*). The Shalimar Gardens was one of the most important venues. The format of poetry recitation was like *bait bazi* (the game of couplets). But that practice underwent a change in the wake of 1874 and Punjabi *mushairas* started taking place on a similar pattern to their Urdu counterparts. Such notable Punjabi poets as Illahi Bakhsh Rafique, Ustad Gamu Khan, Agha Ali Khan Hakim, Arora Rai (the author of *Baran Mah*, 1864) and Syed Fazl Shah (d. 1890) participated in them. These *mushairas* were held at Nawab (p. 91) Ghulam Mehboob Subhani's *haveli*, located in Bhati Gate, and also in Chowk Mati in Mochi Gate and in a garden just outside Delhi Gate. Subsequently the Hazuri Bagh became the most popular venue of the Punjabi *mushairas*.⁷³ Hamdam Maqbul, Hafiz Bakhshi and Feroze Din Feroze were also renowned for their Punjabi poetry and they participated in the *mushairas* very regularly.⁷⁴

The cultural connections between Delhi and Lahore did not, however, stop with Hali and Azad. Lahore was influenced by the 'Delhi Renaissance' whose principal educational object was to impart western science and philosophy through the medium of Urdu. This task was forwarded through the Society for the Promotion of Knowledge in India, generally known as the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society. It published Urdu translations of a huge number of English books of various disciplines such as philosophy, economics, history, constitutional law, mathematics, astronomy and physical sciences. The role of Hindu writers in the Delhi Renaissance has been rarely acknowledged, even in such excellent accounts as Muhammad Hussain Azad's *Ab-e Hayat*. Raja Kalyan Singh Ashiq (1752-1821), Raja Raj Kishan Das (1781-1823) and Daya Shankar Nasim (1811-44) all played important roles. They were followed by Ratan Nath Sarshar (1846-1903), Jvala Parshad Barq (1863-1911), Shankar Dayal Farhat (1843-1904) and Lala Sri Ram (1875-1930).⁷⁷ Two prominent Hindu writers Master Ram Chandra (1821-80) and Master Piyare Lal Ashoob (1834-1914) helped transmit the Delhi Renaissance to Lahore.

Ashoob was born, in Delhi and was an alumnus of Delhi College.⁷⁸ After graduation, he became secretary of the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society and worked diligently in diffusing western knowledge (literature) among the people of his city. Like Hali and Azad, he came to Lahore to further his professional career in the Department of Education, where he translated English works into Urdu. He immersed

himself in Lahore's emerging Urdu cultural sphere, producing literary works of great merit like *Qisas-e-Hind*, parts 1 and 3, *Rusum-e-Hind* and *Tarikh-i-Inglistan*. *Qisas-i-Hind* was written for a prize competition, which was Colonel Holroyd's initiative; a collection of stories about India was undoubtedly Ashoob's masterpiece.⁷⁹ Ashoob's career, like those of Azad and Hali, reveals the important cultural connections between Delhi and Lahore which help to explain the latter's role in the emergence of a new and reformed poetical and prose Urdu form.

(p.92) The foregoing narrative interrogates accounts which emphasise the limits of colonial cultural influence by focusing on Punjabi as an autonomous sphere of resistance to the state.⁸⁰ Certainly, Urdu poets did not just follow officials' lead in calling for a new Urdu aesthetic. Nonetheless, the debates amongst Lahore's *mushaira* participants can only be fully comprehended in terms of both the city's wider educational and professional connections and the context of the colonial state. Its language policy in Punjab,⁸¹ which led to the opening up of a new public intellectual sphere in such cities as Lahore, together with the political and religious challenges it posed, ensured that rather than representing art for art's sake, the *Anjuman-i-Punjab* sponsored *mushairas* that were the site for the discussion of the reform of Urdu literature which possessed profound consequences for Muslim community development.

It is tempting, to juxtapose the elite world of Lahore's Urdu poets with the subaltern environments of its wrestling pits (*akhara*) and gymnasia.⁸² Yet the *akharas* possessed their own aesthetics⁸³ and the wrestlers (*pahlewan*) were traditionally accorded moral attributes which contained *sharif* characteristics.⁸⁴ Although in more recent times, wrestlers have been linked with the criminalisation and communalisation of politics in South Asia,⁸⁵ in colonial Lahore the pastime was sufficiently esteemed for the young Iqbal to wrestle in a pit dug in the corner of a classmate's house.⁸⁶

Wrestlers and Akharas: The City and Beyond

Indian wrestling has two primary antecedents, the indigenous form of the art and the one brought from Iran during Mughal rule. The indigenous form dates back to at least the eleven century AD. Modern wrestling is a blend of these two traditions. Wrestlers' expensive milk product diets⁸⁷ and hours of conditioning⁸⁸ and practice (*zor*) required the financial support of wealthy patrons. From Mughal times, nobles patronised wrestlers to increase their prestige. They also donated the land on which the wrestling pit and its adjacent buildings were laid out, if it was not attached to a Sufi shrine or Hindu temple. Elite patronage continued into the colonial era with wealthy merchants joining the traditional aristocratic supporters of wrestling. Indian princes were amongst the keenest patrons, especially the Gaikwar of Baroda, and the **(p.93)** Rajas of Kolhapur, Indor, Patiala, Jodhpur and Datia. The *Lahore Gazetteer* of 1893-94 reveals that some of the wrestlers were receiving handsome pensions, amounting to Rs200 a month or even more, from their wealthy patrons. The two most renowned wrestlers of that period were Buta Pehalwan, who was designated the champion of India, and Karim Baksh, who had defeated a celebrated English wrestler Tom Cannon in 1892 in Calcutta.⁸⁹ Rich patrons competed for the best wrestlers in some ways reminiscent of the modern football transfer market. Ghulam Muhammad (1878-1960), the great Kashmiri world champion wrestler who fought under the name of Gama, was patronised initially by the ruler of Datia (Madhya Pradesh) and later by the Maharajah of Patiala. At a less elevated social level, the Indian Army also patronised wrestling, which throughout the British period was thriving as a popular sport; indeed, early post-independence India was ranked as one of the top ten countries in the field of wrestling.⁹⁰

The princes organised contests for their favourites. The young Gama, for example, was invited to fight in Baroda in 1899. Two years later he was rewarded with a jewelled necklace, by the Maharajah of Gwalior when he defeated Lala Agrawala.⁹¹ He was similarly rewarded by the Maharajah of Patiala after defeating the Polish champion Stanislaus Zbyszko in a contest in Patiala in 1928 which drew an audience of over 40,000 spectators.⁹² By this stage the Lahore-born Gama was internationally famous. During a visit by the Prince of Wales to India, he gave Gama a silver mace as a reward for being world champion. Wrestling (*kushti*) had developed from its roots in rural festivals and fairs into a commercial sport with promoters and match makers. The contests were followed by avid spectators who would cast wagers on the outcomes.

Gama was undefeated throughout his career. His legacy in contemporary Lahore is the *akhara* on the western bank of the River Ravi that bears his name. He allied strength, based on a prodigious exercise regime and copious amounts of food, with technical expertise. He would engage in practice bouts with seventy to eighty wrestlers.⁹³ A young healthy wrestler can do more than 1,000 *dands* and 1,500 *bethaks* a day. Gama when he reached twenty-five years of age used to do four times this amount of exercises.⁹⁴ By this stage, he had already defeated all the prominent Indian wrestlers and fought out a draw with the **(p.94)** Indian champion.⁹⁵ He would also perform the exercise known as *chakki* from 2pm until 7pm each day to strengthen his upper body.⁹⁶ All told, he was reported to have exercised for fifteen hours daily.⁹⁷ Even when he was in middle age, in the late 1920s, his body was described as being carved like a block of granite.

Wrestlers traditionally follow specific diets. At the age of fifty, Gama's daily diet involved eating the meat extract of either three chickens or five pounds of mutton into which a quarter pound of *ghi* was mixed. Wrestlers would typically practise moves and counter moves for up to two hours under the vigilant eye of an *ustad/khalifa*. Gama once divulged to his biographer that the total number of wrestling moves was 365 to his reckoning. However, he recalled that he only used twenty-eight in actual wrestling matches.⁹⁸

Improved travel along with print culture commercialised wrestling. By the late nineteenth century, tournaments were being organised across North India. Gama took part in bouts as far afield as Allahabad, Calcutta and Lucknow. These were held in parks and other open spaces where a rectangular pit could be ceremonially laid out. Events were publicised in hand-bills and pamphlets, some of which survive in the galleries set up in buildings beside the wrestling pits.⁹⁹ Wrestling competitions took Lahore's most famous wrestlers across the world. In 1910 a troupe of Indian wrestlers, including Gama, went to London to fight European champions as part of a commercial undertaking supported by *John Bull* magazine.¹⁰⁰ Gama became known as *Rustam-i-Zamana* (World Champion) after he defeated Stanislaus Zbyszko in England in 1910. In the same visit to London, his younger brother, Imam Baksh (1883-1977), defeated the English champion Tom Cannon. Alongside these professional developments, wrestling continued as a rural Punjabi popular pastime. There were also matches at *melas* associated with Sufi saints. The bouts at the Sakhi Sarwar fairs were designed to entertain the large crowds which flocked there. The matches were stage managed and included comic interludes.¹⁰¹

Lahore, was the wrestling capital of the Punjab, although such cities as Multan and Amritsar also had important traditions. Indeed, there were intercity competitions, especially between Amritsar and its neighbour.¹⁰² Colonial Lahore boasted numerous *akharas*, each with its own patrons, *khalifas*, *ustads* and star wrestlers who drew followings of fans **(p.95)** (*dafdar*). The *akhara* was controlled by the *khalifa*, a retired champion wrestler. The key relationship was that between the junior wrestlers and master wrestler (*ustad*) which had elements of the wider guru-disciple and Pir-Murid relationship. The *ustad* being an ideal figure and teacher of the *akhara* had the authority to 'prescribe each wrestler's individual regimen by delineating the number and sequence of exercises, the types and number of moves to be practiced, the content and quantity of diet, and the time and amount of rest.'¹⁰³ Junior wrestlers were called *pathas*, and they could only take part in practice bouts after receiving the *ustad's* permission.

There were three main groups of wrestlers in colonial Lahore, each of which had *akharas* attached to them. These were the Kalu Waley, a group founded by Ustad Kalu, the Noorey Waley, founded by Ustad Noora, and Kot Waley, founded by Ilahi Baksh. Kalu Waley's important *akharas* were Akhara Khalifa Buta, Akhara Takiya Tajey Shah, Akhara Chanan Kasai, Akhara Ustad Sheesh Gar and Akhara Nazd Pul Misri Shah. Akhara Khalifa Buta, also known as Khai wala Akhara, was the most prominent. It produced wrestlers such as Buta Pehalwan and Goonga Pehalwan who won All-India awards (*Rustam-i-Hind*) although none could match Gama's reputation.

Buta Pehalwan, like Gama, never lost a contest. The State of Baroda awarded him a *Jagir* and quite a generous stipend. Similarly, Feroze ud Din alias Goonga (so called because he was deaf and dumb) Pehalwan was a personification of physical power and wrestling ability. He was the only wrestler who defeated the legendary Imam Baksh in the 1930s. The contest between them was witnessed by thousands of spectators who gathered in Lahore from all corners of India. Besides these two nationally famed wrestlers, Mithi Reni wala and Chuha Pehalwan (brother of Buta) were the pride of Akhara Khalifa Buta.

Akhara Chanan Kasai was situated in the Landa Bazaar quite close to the railway station. This location made it of easy access for out of town spectators who came to watch the daily wrestling exercise. It also assisted its recruitment of talent from outside the city. The *akhara* was thus well placed to nurture a formidable group of wrestlers. These included such star names as Chanan Pehalwan Kasai, Natha Changar and Jamal Changar. Chanan Pehalwan Kasai was such a remarkable

wrestler that he was in fact given the title of *Sitara-i-Hind* (Star of India).

(p.96) Kot Waley had several *akharas* functioning under its aegis, Akhara Ghodu Shah being the most prominent. It was situated between Lahori Gate and Mori Gate at the Circular Road in close proximity to Takiya Godhu Shah. It boasted such prominent wrestlers as Hakim Bhai Gulab Singh and Hakim Madho Singh as its *khalifas*. In the first half of the twentieth century, world-renowned wrestlers like Gama, his younger brother Imam Bakhsh and former prominent *pathas* like Jeeja Gheeye wala, Phajee Tondi, Bala Jhevar, Ghulam Moheyudin, Jani Pehalwan, Khuda Bakhsh Hathi wala and Ashiq Pehalwan were produced and nurtured by the *akhara*.

Vayam Shala was another *akhara* associated with Kot Waley group. It was located outside Taxali Gate on Mohni Road. The *akhara* was specifically meant for Hindu wrestlers. After Partition, it was taken over by Gama. Imam Bakhsh and later such leading wrestlers from his family as the former Indian champion Bholu Pehalwan (1922–1985), used to practice there.

Akhara Bhorey Shah was another important *akhara* of Kot Waley. It was situated slightly outside Taxali Gate near Takiya Bhorey Shah. Yousaf Pehalwan Panan wala, Lal Pehalwan Painja and Ashiq Pehalwan Booti wala exercised in the *akhara*. They were joined by Karim Bakhsh Popli wala, who was the court wrestler of the Maharaja of Jodhpur—yet further evidence that wrestling by the late colonial era had developed transregional linkages. Akhara Takiya Sher Ali, Akhara Peer Maki and Akhara Takiya Peer az Ghaib were other *akharas* associated with the Kot Waley group.

The Noorey Waley group also had a number of *akharas* associated with it. Akhara Bander Shah was one of them, located just outside Mochi Gate. Chiragh Pehalwan was its most famous wrestler. Akhara Khalifa Hussaina was on Dil Muhammad Road and it produced Khalifa Miraj Din Pehalwan and Khalifa Ghulam Mohiuddin Pehalwan. The latter, almost as formidable as the great Gama and Imam Bakhsh, was another wrestler who practised and performed in Lahore while being patronised by a princely state. He was associated with Kohlapur State for fifty-two years. Akhara Nathey Shah, Akhara Khotian Wala, Akhara Chowk Baraf Khana and Akhara Balmikian were other important *akharas* linked with the Noorey Waley group.

While the wrestlers from these *akharas* fought all over India and in some cases beyond, their home city was an important venue for tournaments (**p.97**) because of its large crowds. Imam Baksh was involved in an epic contest, early in January 1919, with Ghulam Mohiuddin in Serai Data Ganj Baksh, Bhati Darwaza, which is still remembered today.¹⁰⁴ It was not just the skill and excitement of the contests, but the ceremonial trappings surrounding them that drew large crowds to the tournaments in Lahore. This was orchestrated by the judge of the show and its promoter (*thekedar*). The wrestlers would be taken out in ornate and attractive horse-drawn carts. They wore turbans made of beautiful cloth and colourful metallic threads.¹⁰⁵ They were dressed in fine white muslin tunics, wearing golden amulets and lockets around their necks, and would wear *dhotis* and *lungis* with broad borders as well as shoes with ornate patterns that glimmered in the light. Scarves were draped across their shoulders to complete their glamorous appearance. A musical group such as Master Sohni's Band would lead the procession and the carts would slowly follow behind.¹⁰⁶

The wrestling match also had its unique traditions which helped generate popular interest. Drumming, as in modern day football matches, built up the crowd's expectations. Wrestlers made a theatrical grand entrance into the arena, slapping their arms and chests and shouting out slogans. The crowd was by this time at fever pitch and roared its approval. The wrestlers then breathed a silent prayer, touched the sand three times and lifted some of it to their brow, after which they leaped up and down in the open, slapping their thighs with a resounding smack. This was followed by further preliminaries, after a formal handshake, including press-ups and a squat or two to relax their legs. Finally the opponents smacked their biceps before facing each other in a crouching position.

At first, the wrestlers from Kalu Waley and Kot Waley did not wrestle between themselves. They instead used to fight against the wrestlers from the Noorey Waley group. It was not to the 1930s that a *thekedar* arranged for a match between Imam Bakhsh (from the Kot Waley group) and Goonga Pehalwan (Kalu Waley group) at Minto Park, Lahore. Before this event, the *dangal* between Kikar Singh and Kalu Pehalwan, fought on 14 March 1904, and the contest between Gama and Rahim Sultaniwala in 1910 were the most important in public memory. In this earlier period, bouts were less commercialised and owed their popularity more to the fact that wrestling was an integral part of the culture of the city's (**p.98**) inhabitants. One should not, however, equate commercialisation with an inevitable decline in the values and ethics of the practice of wrestling. The earth of the *akhara* continued to be considered sacred by the wrestlers, and every Thursday

they light up the *akhara* with earthen lamps.¹⁰⁷ Even at the end of the colonial era, wrestlers would visit the Data shrine to seek blessings before an official competition.¹⁰⁸

If poets and wrestlers traditionally formed integral parts of Lahore's social life while at the same time as linking the city with a wider world, the colonial importance of cricket also grew to share these characteristics. In the final section of this chapter, we will examine how cricket developed within Lahore and the All-India and international connections that it brought.

Cricket: The City and Beyond

British soldiers brought cricket with them to Lahore. There are reports of service matches as early as 1846.¹⁰⁹ These were held under the walls of the Old Fort. It was not until 1880, however, that the British built the Lahore Gymkhana Club. Initially its membership was restricted to civil and military officers. Lower ranked officials competed in their own Anarkali Cricket Club.¹¹⁰ Lahore Gymkhana soon earned a reputation as one of the best cricket grounds in India and became a fixture for tour matches by teams of English amateurs.

Even at the turn of the twentieth century, they were playing against almost entirely British teams.¹¹¹ Cricket was, however, emerging as an Indian pursuit as a result of its place on the curriculum of the city's burgeoning schools and colleges. Aitchison College provided the best pitches for its students who were the scions of princely and noble families. There was some echo of the princely role in cricket seen elsewhere in India with the support given to the game by the Maharaja of Patiala. The Nawab of Mamdot in the late colonial period was to patronise his own club, which fought for supremacy in Lahore with the Crescent Club, based at Minto Park and patronised by the middle-class Rana family from the Mochi Gate neighbourhood.¹¹² The main rivalry at the college level in the interwar period was between Government College and the increasingly dominant Islamia College, which was to provide a number of stars for the future Pakistan team. Gul Mohammad (1921- **(p.99)** 92), Nazar Mohammad (1921-96), Imtiaz Ahmed (b. 1928) and Pakistan's future captain A.H. Kardar (1925-96) all lived in the same locality close to Bhati Gate.¹¹³ Both colleges, however, drew students and cricket stars from all areas of the Punjab. Jahangir Khan (1910-88), Imran Khan's uncle, who was to play in India's first test match at Lord's in June 1932, had starred for Islamia College and the Mamdot Club on his arrival in the city from Jullundur in 1927.¹¹⁴ There were no fewer than eight future Pakistan test players in Islamia College's team that in 1941 trounced Government College in the Punjab University collegiate final. Fazal Mahmood (1927-2005), who was to play a starring role in Pakistan's inaugural test match victory at The Oval in 1954, took five wickets in this victory.¹¹⁵ The matches between the two colleges by this date drew large crowds of spectators.

Local Lahore rivalries were the fiercest, whether at club or college level, but as cricket developed it established more widespread connections. Government College, for example, played matches against Aligarh College from the early 1880s. Cricket promoted a muscular Islam at the latter institution, analogous to the muscular Christianity of English public schools.¹¹⁶ We should not, however, fall too readily into seeing cricket as the flip side of a colonial-inspired communal

modernity. Gandhi opposed the Bombay Cricket Quadrangular (Pentangular from 1937–38) precisely because the teams of ‘Hindus’ and ‘Muslims’ reinforced communal identities and rivalries. The 1944–45 final between the Muslims and Hindus was watched by a crowd of over 200,000. Karachi followed a similar cricketing festival pattern with communal teams and one in which, like in Bombay, Parsis were the initial dominant force. Lahore cricket in contrast was organised along the lines of clubs, colleges and, as we shall see later, regional contests.

While Islamia College and the Crescent Club had many students who were committed to the Muslim League cause, Lala Amarnath (1911–2000), who starred for the Crescent Club, was a Hindu resident of the Shah Almi area. The future Indian test star was discovered by Tawakkal Majid, a leading figure in the Crescent Club, playing cricket in the street and taken under the Rana family’s wing to the extent that he went to live with them in the Mochi Gate locality in the early 1920s. His natural talent was honed and he progressed to become a star for their Crescent Club. He toured England with India twice in the 1930s and within a **(p.100)** decade was the Indian captain. A Lahore-based sportsman had now progressed to the top of the imperial sporting ladder. By the time that Lahore burst into flames and his family home in Shah Almi was destroyed, Amarnath was attending a national training camp at Poona in preparation for his leading the 1947–48 Indian tour party to Australia.

Lala Amarnath not only starred for the Crescent Club but also in the Northern Indian team which was based in Lahore during the national Ranji Trophy. This was launched in 1934 and continued intermittently until 1947. Northern India’s first match in Lahore in December 1934 was against the Indian Army. Muslims made up seven of the team, reflecting their community’s dominance of Lahore cricket, Lala Amarnath notwithstanding. The team was captained during its years in the competition by the future first captain of Pakistan, Mian Mohammad Saeed (1910–79). Northern India never won the Ranji Trophy but its mixed team questions claims that colonial cricket and communalism went hand in hand. Eventually the team was to be overtaken by political developments when it had to withdraw from the February 1947 semifinal in Indore, as Lahore spiralled into disorder.

Conclusion

The *mushairas*' refined atmosphere and the earthier environment of the *akharas* have traditionally been seen as contrasting elements of Lahore's self-contained culture. Both instead reveal the city's interconnectedness and the ways in which colonial rule shaped its public life. The British language policy encouraged Lahore's emergence as a centre of Urdu culture, which increasingly eclipsed Delhi from which it drew litterateur migrants. The famous *mushairas* of the 1870s left an impression on Urdu poetry and prose which stretched throughout North India. The burgeoning of Lahore's *akharas* was also created by the influx of wrestlers and crowds from outside the city's narrow confines. It was not by chance that one of the leading *akharas* was located near to the station, which was the hub of the famous North Western Railway. The leading wrestlers were not just renowned in their localities, but were celebrities with All-India reputations. They could count on the patronage of royal enthusiasts from as far afield as Rajasthan.

Cricket reveals a similar pattern. From 1934 to 1947, the Ranji Trophy brought teams and their supporters from elsewhere in India to **(p.101)** Aitchison College, Lahore, Gymkhana Club in the Lawrence Gardens and to Minto Park. Seven away fixtures were completed by the Lahore-based team before the walkover defeat against Holkar at Indore. Lahore's stars such as Lala Amarnath and Jahangir Khan became national stars for the newspaper reading public. College matches draw large crowds of spectators from the city and beyond. Amateur teams from England had toured and, in the words of one Oxford University wicketkeeper, played at Lahore Gymkhana, 'one of the most charming [grounds] in India'.¹¹⁷ By 1932 Amarnath and Khan had climbed to the pinnacle of the imperial game of cricket by representing India at Lord's.

The college teams in Lahore which battled for bragging rights did so with the latest equipment, unlike today's street cricketers. Bats, balls and pads, as we shall see in the next chapter, formed one small part of the spread of 'modern' consumer items into the city. **(p.102)**

Notes:

(1.) Jurgen Wasim Frembgen and Paul Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers: Traditional Sports and Pastimes in Lahore* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 9.

(2.) Anna Suvorova, *Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 215-6.

- (3.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, p. 10.
- (4.) C.M. Naim, *Urdu Texts and Contexts: The Selected Essays of C.M. Naim* (Delhi: Permanent Black), p. 108.
- (5.) F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: 1892).
- (6.) C. M. Naim, 'Poet-audience Interaction at Urdu musha'iras', in *Urdu and Muslim South Asia: Studies in Honour of Ralph Russell*, Christopher Shackle ed. (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), p. 167.
- (7.) Shibli Numani, *Si'ru'l'ajam*, vol. 111 (Azamgarh, 1945 reprint), p. 17, cited in *Ibid.*
- (8.) Narayani Gupta, *Delhi between Two Empires (1803-1931): Society, Government and Urban Growth* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 104.
- (9.) See Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2010).
- (10.) *Ibid.*, 51.
- (11.) Iqba Singh Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) p. 75.
- (12.) Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920s: A Case study of Muslims* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), pp. 11-12. Also see Hakim Ahmad Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea* (Lahore: Atish Fishan, 2006), pp. 37-8.
- (13.) *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- (14.) Syed Mahmood, *A History of English Education in India: 1781-1893* (Aligarh, 1895), p. 90.
- (15.) Tim Allender, *Ruling through Education: The Politics of Schooling in the Colonial Punjab* (Elgin IL: New Dawn Press, 2006), p. 137.
- (16.) Aslam Furrukhi, Muhammad Hussain Azad (Karachi: Anjuman-i-Taraqi-e Urdu, 1965), pp. 164-90, cited in Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of*

Awareness: Urdu Poetry and its Critics (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 32.

(17.) *Ibid.*

(18.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 23.

(19.) *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

(20.) Iqbal used to teach history and economics to intermediate students. It was here that he authored *Ilm ul Iqtisad*. Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood: Allama Iqbal Ki Mukamal Swahneh Hayat* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2004), p. 112

(21.) Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 319.

(22.) See Margrit Pernau, 'The Delhi Urdu Akhbar between Persian Akhbarat and English Newspapers', *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 18 (2003) pp. 105-31.

(23.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 31.

(24.) Muhammad Sadiq, Muhammad Hussain Azad in *Tarikh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind* (Lahore: Punjab University Publication, 2012), pp. 118-9.

(25.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 32.

(26.) *Ibid.*

(27.) For Azad's life in Lahore see Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 38.

(28.) Azad remained editor of that weekly publication until February 1871, when under instructions from Leitner he handed over charge to M. Muhammad Latif. See Malik Ram, *Hali: Makers of Indian Literature* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1982), p. 20.

(29.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 33.

(30.) Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.

(31.) Ram, *Hali*, p. 20.

(32.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 34.

(33.) Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Urdu Shairi Ka Siyasi aur Samaji Pas-i-Manzar* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1998), p. 334.

- (34.) Shams ud Din Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar' in *Tareekh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind: 1857-1914*, vol. IV, Khawja Zakariya ed. (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 43.
- (35.) Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.
- (36.) *Ibid.*
- (37.) Ram, *Hali*, p. 21.
- (38.) Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 377.
- (39.) Ralph Russell also considers *Ab-e-Hayat* as 'his best prose'; see Ralph Russell, 'Changing Attitudes to Poetry: Azad and Hali', in Ralph Russell (ed.), *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature: A Select History* (London: Zed Books, 1992), p. 122.
- (40.) Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal* ftn 59, p. 75.
- (41.) Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 382.
- (42.) For further details see Tahir Kamran, 'Urdu Migrant Literati and Lahore's Culture', *Journal of Punjab Studies* 19, 2 (Fall 2012) pp. 173-92.
- (43.) Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad', p. 129.
- (44.) *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4.
- (45.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 37.
- (46.) S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan 1858-1951* (Lahore: Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, 1970), p. 212.
- (47.) Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad', p. 348; Kamran, 'Urdu Migrant Literati', p. 184 & ff.
- (48.) See also Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi, 'Maulana Hali', in Muhammad Tufail (ed.), *Naqoosh: Lahore*, no. 90, Lahore, October 1961, pp. 1091-2.
- (49.) Khawja Izad Baksh lived a modest life, 'earning a pittance hardly sufficient for himself and his family'. He was working on a minor job in the Permit Department of Provincial Government. See Ram, *Hali*, p. 9.
- (50.) Altaf Hussain Hali, trans. K.H. Qadiri and David J. Matthews, *Hayat-i-Javed* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979), p. xi.

(51.) *Ibid.*, p. 76. After retiring from Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, Hali was granted a pension for life by Sir Usman Jah, Chief Minister of Hyderabad State.

(52.) Altaf Hussain Hali, Shaikh Muhammad Ismail Panipati (ed.), *Kulliyat-e Nasr-e Hali* (The Complete Prose Writings of Hali), vol. 1. (Lahore, Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab, 1968), p. 339, cited in Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 33.

(53.) Kamran, 'Urdu Migrant Literati', p. 184.

(54.) Abdul Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', in *Tareekh-i-Adbiyat-i-Muslamanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind: 1857-1914*, vol. IV (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 76. See also Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Urdu Shairi Ka Siyasi was Samaji Pass-i-Manzar*, (Lahore: Punjab University Publication 1966), pp. 339-46.

(55.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 37.

(56.) *Ibid.* also see Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar', pp. 42-3.

(57.) Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', p. 76.

(58.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 42.

(59.) Russell, *The Pursuit of Urdu Literature*, p. 126.

(60.) Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, p. 43.

(61.) For details see Zahid Munir Amir, *Char Mausam Aitchison Mein* (Lahore: Malik & Company, 2004), p. 50.

(62.) Ram, *Hali*, pp. 30-1.

(63.) Qayum, 'Altaf Hussain Hali', p. 76.

(65.) Muhammad Sadiq, *Muhammad Hussain Azad, His Life and Works* (Lahore: West-Pak Publishing Co., 1974), p. 39.

(66.) Siddique, 'Adabi Manzar', p. 37.

(67.) Ali Jawad Zaidi, *Tarikh-i-Mushaira* (Bombay: 1992), p. 205.

(68.) Arif Saqib, *Anjuman-i-Punjab key Mushairey: Tehqiq wa Tadween* (Lahore: Al Waqar Publications, 1995), pp. 17-31.

(69.) Shuja, *Lahore ka Chelsea*, p. 42.

(70.) Javed Iqbal, *Zinda Rood*, p. 104.

(71.) Zaidi, *Tarikh-i-Mushaira*, p. 204.

(72.) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

(73.) Mian Maula Baksh Kashta Amritsari 'Punajbi Shairan Da Tazkira, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers 1988) p. 19.

(74.) Tahir Lahori, *Sohna Shehr Lahore* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994), pp. 162-4.

(77.) Sham ur Rehaman Faruqi, *Early Urdu Literary Culture and History* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 52.

(78.) It was established as an Oriental College, supported by voluntary contributions from Muslim gentlemen for the study of Persian and Arabic. But due to the attenuating circumstances of its patrons, the college was closed down and reopened in 1825 under the Committee of Public Instruction and in 1829 it was endowed by a munificent bequest of Rs170,000 from Nawab I'tmad-ud-Daula, prime minister of the King of Oudh. See *Ibid.*

(79.) *Qasis-i-Hind's* second part was written by Muhammad Hussain Azad. See Muhammad Sadiq, 'Muhammad Hussain Azad', in *Tarikh-i-Adabiyat Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, vol. 4, 1857-1914 (Lahore: Punjab University, 2010), p. 122.

(80.) See Mir, *The Social Space of Language*.

(81.) See Christopher Shackleton, 'Punjabi in Lahore', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1970), pp. 230-67.

(82.) *Akhara* is a site where wrestling or *kushti*, as it is locally known, takes place. It includes the rectangular pit and the buildings, or platforms, which surround it. The affairs of the *akhara* are overseen by a wrestling guru/*ustad/khalifa*. Some *akharas* have been named after a former renowned wrestler. Also in some cases they have a Sufi shrine attached to them. Many of Lahore's original *akharas* are around the gates of the city. Usually *akharas* are equipped with their own water source like a well where wrestlers bathe before and after their daily exercise, called *zoor* or *joor*. Bathing at the *akhara* is like a daily ritual and marks the formal beginning of a wrestler's regimen.

(83.) Joseph Alter, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1992), p. 26.

(84.) These included generosity, honour and courage. See Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, pp. 11; 14.

(85.) See Paul R Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (Seattle WA: University of Washington Press, 2003) pp. 89–93; Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947–57* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006) pp 35; 160; 171.

(86.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, p. 4.

(87.) In addition to regular meals, they consume huge quantities of milk, *ghi* and almonds. The consumption of the quantity of food is usually contingent on each wrestler's individual needs but is typically two litres of milk, a half litre of *ghi* and a kilogramme of almonds per day. These items of food are regarded as nutritious and also thought of as cooling and calming by nature for a body that has been heated and agitated through rigorous exercise.

(88.) They range from rope climbing to pulling buckets of water up from the well but the most common are *dands*, a kind of jack-knifing push up, and *bethak*, deep knee bends. The other exercise is known as *chakki* or *hasli* and is typical of Lahore wrestlers. It involves the lifting and rotating of a heavy slab of stone or iron which has a hole in the centre big enough so that it can be worked around the neck. Picking it up is used to strengthen the bicep and shoulder muscles.

(89.) G.C. Walker Esquire, *Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 1893–94* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2006), p. 66.

(90.) www.indianetzone.com/68/history_wrestling_india_hm

(91.) Farid Azam, *Gama Pehlewan and Imam Bakhsh* www.oocities.org/world-dwebb/bholu_brothers1 accessed 10 January 2015.

(92.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, p. 10.

(93.) Faheem ud Din Fahmi, *Swehneh Hayat, Rutam-i-Zaman, Gama* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2012), p. 46.

(94.) Joseph Alter, *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 136.

(95.) Gama was just seventeen when he had first faced Raheem Bakhsh Sultani Wala, the Indian champion, who came from Gujranwala.

- (96.) Faheem ud Din Fahmi, *Swehneh Hayat, Rutam-i-Zaman, Gama* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2012), p. 72.
- (97.) Alter, *Gandhi's Body*, p. 137.
- (98.) Fahmi, *Swehneh Hayat, Rutam-i-Zaman, Gama*, p. 72.
- (99.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers* p. 29.
- (100.) Farid Azam, *Gama Pehlewan and Imam Bakhsh* www.oocities.org/world-dwebb/bholu_brothers1 accessed 10 January 2015.
- (101.) M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Fair at Sakhi Sarwar', *Calcutta Review* 60, (1875), p. 90.
- (102.) Anil Sethi, 'The Creation of Religious Identities in the Punjab c. 1850–1920', unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge 1998, p. 37.
- (103.) Joseph S. Alter, *The Wrestler's Body: Identity and Ideology in North India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) p. 19.
- (104.) *Ibid.*
- (105.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, p. 29.
- (106.) *Ibid.*
- (107.) Tahir Lahori, *Sohna Shehr Lahore*, p. 201.
- (108.) Frembgen and Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers*, p. 30.
- (109.) Peter Osborne, *Wounded Tiger: A History of Cricket in Pakistan* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2014), p. 44.
- (110.) Colonel H.R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924), p. 35.
- (111.) *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- (112.) On the Rana family's cricketering patronage and wider connections including the controversial umpire Shakoor Rana see Osborne, *Wounded Tiger*, p. 66 & ff.
- (113.) *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- (114.) *Ibid.*, p. 63

(115.) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

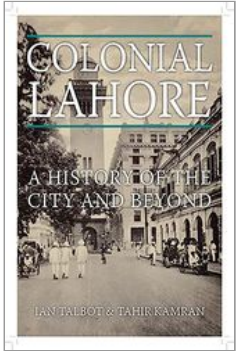
(116.) *Ibid.*, p. 54.

(117.) Cecil Headlam, who toured in 1902-3 with the Oxford Authentics (the University second XI, cited in Osborne, *Wounded Tiger*, p. 50.



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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

A World of Goods

Consumption of Foreign Goods in Late Colonial Lahore

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0006

Abstract and Keywords

The chapter discusses Indian elites' emulation of European consumption patterns. The new suburban developments furthered this process with the demand for imported fans, baths and cars. The student population of Lahore created a demand for bicycles, pens, sports goods and watches. They also were consumers of both imported and locally produced medical products. Even poorer Indians exhibited new consumption patterns with everyday use of tea and cigarettes. The chapter discusses the role of advertising in encouraging consumer needs as well as the extent to which these sources can shed light on the social life of the colonial city. There are case studies of the advertisements featured in two leading English language newspapers, which were published from Lahore, namely *Tribune* and *Eastern Times*.

Keywords: Consumption, Cars, Bicycles, Advertisements, Tribune, Eastern Times

Anarkali Bazaar, which stretched for nearly a mile outside Lohari Gate, had become the most fashionable shopping centre in North India by the late colonial era. Landowners from as far afield as western Uttar Pradesh came to buy its wares, patronising the famous Central, Imperial and Delhi Muslim hotels which had grown up in the locality.¹ Anarkali's recreational attractions also included celebrated restaurants such as Standard, Kailash and Sindhi. The locality was not without political as well as commercial influence. In 1929 it was the scene of Jawarharlal Nehru's famous procession on horseback at the time of the Congress annual session. In later years, the dominant Hindu trading presence came to symbolise non-Muslim predominance in the commercial and economic life of the city.² The leading cloth merchants, for example, were Dunichand and Sons, Raja Brothers, Mohanlal and Sons and Durga Das and Co. Despite the Gandhian campaigns, they sold a wide range of English and Japanese imported materials.³ The most famous jewellers (Girdhari Lal and Co.), booksellers (Uttar Chand Kapur and Sons), general merchants (Jagat Singh Kwatra) and chemists (Beliram and Sons) were all Sikhs and Hindus. A well-known account of colonial Lahore exhaustively cites the shops, and the goods from **(p. 104)** Germany, England and Switzerland as well as from elsewhere in India that they stocked. Imported fountain-pens and watches were especially in demand by students. The shop which attracted the largest crowds however was HMV, where gramophones 'blared out popular hits'.⁴

In recent years, there has been growing research on colonial India's consumption history. This not only provides the 'back story' of the contemporary rise of middle-class materialism, but sheds light on the use of consumer goods as instruments of middle-class self-fashioning.⁵ In this respect, urban modernity in South Asia can be viewed in a comparative light with Europe, America and Japan, where participation in new forms of consumer behaviour in metropolitan settings was seen as a key characteristic of the constitution of middle-class identity.⁶ Another universal research focus recently addressed in the South Asian context has been the role of new products, practices and consumer spaces in the articulation of gender identity.⁷ Ammara Masqood, with respect to contemporary Lahore, has focused on the expression of a modern Islamic gender identity by middle-class women's purchasing of head scarves and *abayah* in Islamic shops.⁸ Their fashion tastes have been influenced by friends and relatives in the diaspora. This consumption pattern, along with the growing popularity of Islamic Barbie dolls and Good Word Children's books, is part of a modern trend around the subjectivity of 'global Muslims' in which, as Emma Tarlo has

pointed out, there is a separation of transnational producers and local consumers.⁹

This chapter examines the creation through advertising of the consumption of overseas products in Lahore in the closing decades of colonial rule. It sheds light in passing on the social history of Lahore's middle-class inhabitants. Here it reinforces the points made by Markus Daechsel, firstly that the colonial economy's constraints generated an environment in which middle-class self-expression through consumerism could never be entirely 'satisfactory' or authentic; secondly, that the prevailing reformist discourse of 'self-improvement' encouraged a 'use-value' advertising discourse; thirdly, that thwarted social middle-class experiences were individualised frequently in terms of corporeal experiences of unease and anxiety.¹⁰ The latter point helps to explain the volume of advertisements for 'self-help' medical products.

The distinctive colonial experience of the marginalisation of the Punjabi middle classes and their subordination to the landed elite has **(p.105)** been the focus of considerable research.¹¹ Its manifestation in terms of what Daechsel calls 'a politics of self-expression', espoused by such a variety of individuals as Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi and Bhagat Singh, is also picked up in the closing chapter of this volume. Here we will focus on the relationship between consumer products and the expressions of social identities. However, it is important initially to remind ourselves that wealthy Lahoris from the Moghul era had access to material goods brought from afar with which to affirm their status.

Abul Fazl's Persian text *Ain-i-Akbari*, along with the accounts of such early European travellers as William Finch and Edward Terry, attest to Lahore's importance as a trading centre in its Mughal heyday. Indeed, Terry, who visited the city in 1616–19, termed it the chief city of trade in all India.¹² Given that upwards of 12,000 loaded camels passed through Lahore every year at the time, this was not an exaggeration. The stimulus for trade came from the city's road and river links, improved security and the abolition of local customs duties brought by Akbar. Dried fruits were part of Lahore's brisk trade with Kabul. Afghanistan was also a source of horses, some of which came originally from Persia. They were usually brought to Lahore through Multan and the river route. Camels were also transported in this way from Multan before being sold on to Agra. Lahore in its turn acted as the entrepôt for goods from Bengal and South India to reach Multan.¹³ Lahore's most lucrative activity as an entrepôt before the East India Company's advent was as a market for indigo. Merchants travelled from as far afield as Aleppo to deal in it. From there it was traded with Europe, and

indeed for a time so dominant was Lahore's role in this transnational enterprise that indigo in Europe came to be called Lahori.¹⁴ By the early seventeenth century Lahore had developed a European trade in tobacco, broad cloth and musical instruments. The Dutch also exported spices into the city which were received from Agra. Finally, Lahore had developed trading links with Tibet, the chief commodities being shawls and blankets of camels' wool.

The volumes of trade, the range of goods and the speed with which they could be transported were to greatly increase in the nineteenth and twentieth century. In the Mughal era, trade by roads was especially cumbersome because of their wretched conditions in the rainy season. River trade was not, however, a substitute. It tended to be more localised than **(p.106)** long-distance up until the colonial era. According to official statistics for 1833–38, for example, only nine boats a year crossed the frontier between Punjab and Sind.¹⁵ Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to see the imperial era of globalisation as introducing wealthy Lahore residents for the first time to goods produced outside the region.

The extent to which steamboats on the Indus and its tributaries revolutionised the volumes of goods carried and the speed of carriage has recently been questioned. Country vessels, especially on the downriver route, outperformed the steamboats which never captured more than a fraction of the trade.¹⁶ The latter were subsidised by the colonial state in terms of both passenger travel and goods before they gave way to the railways. The railways were ultimately to have a transformative effect, although country boats continued to thrive until the end of the British Punjab in its western districts and as a result of the increased volumes of trade. Railway development was also slower than is sometimes portrayed. It was only in 1878, for example, that the Delhi to Karachi line was completed, linking Lahore with Western India's emerging sea port. By the 1890s Karachi was regularly served by five shipping lines. Although it never eclipsed its rival Bombay, it had emerged from humble beginnings to be, by the end of the colonial era, India's third largest port.¹⁷ It exported wheat, some of which was grown in the Lahore district's area irrigated by the Bari Doab Canal, and cotton and oilseed which had been freighted by the North Western Railway from Lahore and the great Victoria Jubilee Grain Market in Amritsar.

The completion of the railway link between Karachi and Lahore accompanied the great commercialisation of agriculture and wheat exports. Long-distance traffic destined for Lahore, whether of imported cotton piece goods from Lancashire or manufactured goods and

foodstuffs, had to be transferred onto boats or camels for the 590-mile journey upriver from Kotri to Multan, before being loaded onto trains for the remaining 220 miles to Lahore.

The railway development from the 1870s onwards maintained Lahore's position as an entrepôt, although it faced stiff commercial competition from neighbouring Amritsar. Five railway lines converged on the city, connecting it with Delhi, Peshawar and Karachi. Both overseas commodities and Indian piece goods, including cloth manufactured in Bombay and foodstuffs such as *gur*, were transported to the **(p.107)** city either for local consumption or transit to other parts of the Punjab. Europeans were the initial consumers of overseas commodities. The city possessed a reasonably large European population for an upcountry city of its size. For many years, Jamsetji and Sons, which was established in 1862, possessed a monopoly for the sale of general European stores. William Ball, a former superintendent of the Government Printing Press, moved from bookselling and printing into running the first European-managed general store. It was based in a bungalow on the Lower Mall.¹⁸

Indians emulated the Europeans' consumption patterns, whether in the elite's purchase of cars, the middle classes' turn to western clothing, or the poorer population's everyday use of tea and cigarettes. The new elite housing developments, epitomised by Model Town which was sold as an inviting oasis away from the inner city bustle, created demands for a range of consumer products including electric fans and imported bath tubs. Ved Mehta (b. 1934), the famous essayist and writer, recounts how his father-in-law, the Arya Samajist¹⁹ lawyer Durga Das Mehra (1872–1973), moved from an austere house near Shah Almi to a new spacious bungalow on Mozang Road, which he equipped with its own private water supply and 'western-type sink'.²⁰

Lahore's student population supported cinema-going in the city and created a kind of 'youth culture' which has been more usually associated with such cities as Bombay.²¹ The future actor and writer, Balraj Sahni, freed from the constraints of Rawalpindi and 'his own master' living in the College Hostel at Government College in 1930, attended three American films a week. His biography also reveals how students' familiarity with foreign consumer products through their education could impact their whole family's consumption of material products. The Sahni household acquired western furniture and chinaware after Balraj began attending college.²²

The new 'industrial time' necessitated punctuality. The railways also, according to a writer in the *Lahore Chronicle*, shortly after the opening of the line to Amritsar, taught time keeping, for 'that grim monster, the locomotive—aptly called 'John Lawrence'—waits for no man, least-ways for Rambuksh stopping to take a whiff of his hookah'.²³ Factory hooters and the ubiquitous clock towers were supplemented by individual time pieces. Students, according to Pran Nevile, were eager **(p.108)** purchasers of Swiss wristwatches of the Favre-Leuba, Secondus and Titus makes for around Rs25–30 in the late colonial period. Few of them could afford the more expensive Zenith and Omega makes. K.C. Raj and American Watch Co., the famous watch dealers in Anarkali Bazaar, also did a good trade in Jaz timepieces from Germany and the English Smith clocks at this time.²⁴

Finally, the Punjab's connection with early overseas migration, arising from military service, gave its rural population exposure to 'modern' products such as umbrellas, tea-pots, whisky and bicycles, and importantly supplemented the cash brought by rising agricultural prices to acquire them. Lahore thus emerged as an important market for a range of commodities manufactured or shipped from abroad in the colonial era. This is not to argue that indigenous products were destroyed as a result. Far from it, Indian products always dominated the growing consumer market.

Insights into colonial Lahore's history of consumption can be derived from a range of sources. Markus Daechsel has drawn attention, for example, to an Urdu 'reformist' self-improvement booklet directed at Muslim housewives which first appeared in 1913.²⁵ It pedagogically advised its readers on domestic matters as well as religious observance. In pursuit of hygiene, a 'new material culture based on Western imports' was recommended. This involved replacing earthen pots with metal ware, purchasing hygienically sealed storage jars and meat boxes, and most importantly the 'wide-scale use of detergents and disinfectants'.²⁶ This type of pamphlet was also produced by religious reformers in the Hindu and Sikh traditions as they sought to fashion the 'new' middle-class women. It is not surprising that advertisements for disinfectants featured prominently in the press. A good example is that for the product Phenoid which was made by Little's in Doncaster. Its advertisement regularly appeared in *Tribune* in the early 1920s with the claim that it safeguarded against all infectious diseases and was 'the best disinfectant for the bubonic plague'.²⁷

Another source for uncovering the growth of everyday imported products is dowry inventories. These include the legal inventories and agreements as part of customary laws by communities relating to

acceptable limits for wedding expenditure, especially relating to the level of *daaj* (dowry) and its description. Such gifts not only included **(p.109)** jewels, but a range of household items. These were drawn up in response to the colonial state's concerns that indebtedness and female infanticide were caused by high wedding expenditures.²⁸ The wealthy Khatri community of Lahore in fact kept entertaining at weddings to a minimum.²⁹ Autobiographical accounts reveal that relatives from elsewhere in Punjab who were used to feasting and having the *daaj* displayed commented unfavourably at the Lahoris' practices.³⁰ Despite frugality, dowries were a source of modern pieces of furniture and utensils for the household. The simple domestic utensils of the 1850s had been embellished by outlays on such items as china dinner services and tea sets imported from England.³¹ These could be imported directly or purchased through British-owned shops such as the famous Whiteaway and Laidlaw store in Lahore.³² Ved Mehta recalls that all the furniture in the Mozang Road bungalow his father-in-law moved into in 1926 had come from the dowry of the wife who was his aunt by marriage. This included western cutlery and tea sets.³³

In this study, we will focus on advertisements in newspapers, although they were also carried in trade magazines and the *Lahore Guide and Directory*.³⁴ Aside from the edited volume, *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia*, most academic studies using newspaper advertisements have focused on the post-colonial period.³⁵ There are, however, extensive advertisements in colonial-era newspapers. Before turning to their examination, however, it is important to acknowledge that one cannot straightforwardly read from newspaper advertisements actual consumption patterns. Nonetheless, advertisers, even if they were experimenting and testing consumer tastes, would not have persisted in their campaigns if they did not believe that they were increasing product sales. Moreover, even if advertisements cannot tell us who bought products, they can shed light on their range, cost, place of production, systems of retailing and the advertising discourse.

Advertisements here are drawn from two leading English language newspapers, which were published from Lahore, namely *Tribune* and the *Eastern Times*. Urdu and Punjabi papers also carried advertisements, but if one wants to track attempts to create markets for transnational products, these efforts will be seen in their most concentrated form in the English language press. *Tribune* newspaper was founded as a daily in 1881 by the leading landowner, businessman and philanthropist Dyal **(p.110)** Singh Majithia. It was the first English language newspaper started by Punjabis. During the later colonial era, it developed a wide circulation in the Punjab and North

India, mainly because of the high esteem in which its Bengali editor, Kalinath Ray (d. 1945), was held. His fearless editorials produced from the paper's office adjacent to Mayo Hospital got him into trouble with the British, especially at the time of the 1919 Martial Law. They assured *Tribune* an avid Indian readership for close on three decades. Exact figures are difficult to obtain, but the circulation was around 5,000 daily copies in the 1920s and double that a decade later.³⁶ As with all Indian newspapers, circulation figures underestimate the actual readership. *Tribune* appealed especially to the upwardly mobile Khatri communities who have been termed 'trend-setters' in terms of consumption of consumer products.³⁷ *Tribune* thus forms a good vantage point for assessing the foreign commodity environment in Lahore. There is some justification for the banner it frequently ran reading, 'The Best Medium for Advertisements in Northern India.' *Civil and Military Gazette*, the other leading English language paper published in Lahore, was certainly read by Indians, but its prime audience remained the British official and business class in the city and beyond. It is thus a less useful source for tracking the changing Indian consumption environment.

A survey was undertaken of all the advertisements in *Tribune* for the years 1920-23. The first year marked a return to normality for the paper after it was asked to furnish a security of Rs2,000 and its editor briefly imprisoned at the time of the Rowlatt *Satyagraha*. Although the *swadeshi* campaign was in full force at this time, *Tribune* continued to insert advertisements for foreign produced goods, and indeed there is some evidence over the three years of certain types of international brands penetrating the Indian market place. The findings from *Tribune* are compared with those arising from a survey of advertisements in *Eastern Times* at the close of the colonial era (December 1943-August 1947). The years were marked by the impact of the Second World War on the availability of consumer goods, economic planning for the postwar era and the mounting campaign for Pakistan. This saw endemic violence in Lahore from March 1947 onwards.

Eastern Times was an English language daily founded in 1942. In its early years it supported the Unionist Party, but from 1944 onwards it **(p.111)** switched political allegiance to the Muslim League. It thus provides a contrasting insight into efforts to sell brand name products geared to the Muslim urban middle class. It also provides opportunities to assess the extent to which, on the eve of Partition, lifestyle choices had become communalised. Did non-Muslim Indian-owned businesses, for example, advertise in a 'Muslim' paper? To what extent did *Eastern*

Times' political preoccupations crowd out advertising for commercial products, especially given the wartime shortage of newsprint?

Newspaper Advertisements

Tribune, 1920-39

Any attempt to assess the penetration of foreign brand name products needs first to contextualise the marketing of consumer goods by means of advertisements in *Tribune*. From its foundation, *Tribune's* management was ambivalent concerning advertisements. Commercial considerations rubbed up against the paper's primary educational orientation. For several decades, advertisements were limited to the last two or three pages. By the 1920s, insertions were appearing in the first three pages as well. The display of news items, however, had precedence, and commercial insertions were never made in the editorial page. Strict guidelines were adhered to regarding the text of advertisements in order to maintain a truthful and 'dignified' approach.³⁸ The costs for insertions in the 1920s were still modest, with a weekly contract for six whole column advertisements costing Rs150. A single one-sixteenth column insert could be purchased in March 1921 for as little as Rs5.³⁹ Interestingly, while 'foreign' brands did make use of illustrations, local manufacturers also sought visual impact. Indeed, some of the largest spreads and designs accompany the advertisements for the Lahore-based Amritdhara medical products. We have noted in an earlier chapter how this company established a North Indian presence through its aggressive marketing. A typical Amritdhara advertisement in 1922, for example, included a sailor looking through a telescope towards the sun on which was emblazoned the word, 'Health'. The opening line read, 'I always see health through Amritdhara BECAUSE this marvellous panacea cures all the diseases the human flesh is heir to.'⁴⁰

(p.112) Foreign advertisers in the early 1920s competed with national as well as local manufacturers. Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta businesses regularly advertised in *Tribune*. Their products ranged from roofing tiles, as supplied by Sajan and Co. from Bombay, through to the confectionary items of the Delhi Biscuit Company and the 'Himani' ladies' toilet soap produced by Sharma Banerji & Co. of 43 Strand Street, Calcutta. The latter product not only drew on traditional images of the purity of Himalayan snow, but used a *swadeshi* appeal, proudly declaring that it was equal to 'the most popular imported snow and was made with Indian raw materials, with Indian brain and money labour'.⁴¹ *Swadeshi* appeals were also included in F.N. Gooptu's advertising of their pens, pencils and nibs; hair dye produced by Nawaratna and Son of Bombay; and were even used to promote the 'country' spirits of the Amritsar Distillery.⁴² The advertising of the 'Kuntaline' hair oil produced by K. Bose of Calcutta is interesting as it combines a *swadeshi* appeal with the endorsement of the leading Punjabi nationalist Lala Lajpat Rai, whose portrait is prominently displayed

rather than an illustration of the product itself.⁴³ Nationalist politicians' support in marketing campaigns was in fact quite commonplace.⁴⁴ A *Tribune* advertisement for Himani Toilet Soaps and Perfumes in January 1930 carried an endorsement from the Congress president, Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴⁵

It is, of course, impossible to know whether *swadeshi* appeals gave products an extra advantage in the market place. A leading import-export company based in Lahore, the Asiatic Export and Import Company, was sufficiently concerned to run an advertisement on 1 September 1921 headlined, 'You Cannot Non-Co-operate with Machinery for Swaraj is impossible without industrial development.'⁴⁶ The following long list of products which it dealt in, however, included as many consumer goods (for example, bicycles, sewing machines, electric bulbs) as machine goods. Ultimately many consumers were probably more influenced by quality and price than place of production, as *swadeshi* companies themselves acknowledged in the wording of their advertisements.

Before turning to how advertisements promoted foreign brands, and what they can reveal about changing consumer preferences, two more areas of contextualisation need to be addressed. Firstly, what were the most frequently advertised products and, by inference, most competitive (**p.113**) market areas? Secondly, do the advertisements provide clues as to whether there was a distinctive Lahore, or Punjab, market for goods? Advertisements concerned with health, hygiene and personal appearance form a majority of the products featured throughout 1920–23. The *Tribune* issue of 8 February 1921 is typical in this respect, with six of the eleven advertisements having some kind of 'medical' content. Despite the regular marketing of Dongre's Balamrit Children's Tonic by a Bombay-based company, 'medical' advertisements were directed at adults and primarily men. We have already referred to hair oils, soaps and universal panaceas. Frequent advertisements were also made for homeopathic and ayurvedic medicines. C. Ringer and Co. from Calcutta advised readers when new deliveries of 'rare books' and 'high potency' homeopathic medicines had been made.⁴⁷ Hiteshi Homeopathic Hall advertised a, 'Body Battery' to be worn when there is 'a lack of animal electricity'.⁴⁸ Zandu advertised catalogues of its ayurvedic preparations.⁴⁹ Amogha, created from an ancient Tantric recipe and available from Ayurveda Mandir, Calcutta, promised its users 'The Secret of Perpetual Youth.' Pills for dieting (Obeso-Thin) and, interestingly, to put on weight, were also advertised. The latter featured a thin European man saying to a fat woman, 'I wish I was as fat as you.'

'Yes you can try,' the advertisement goes on to say, 'Mitsuwa Cod liver oil drops these are the latest invention and a wonderful fat producer besides it is just like sweetmeat to taste.'⁵⁰

Most popular of all, however, were tonics and elixirs dealing with male sexual dysfunction. They are to be found in every issue of *Tribune*. Advertisements for such products as 'Nervo-Tone' talked in delicate terms of 'giving everlasting youth'.⁵¹ Others, as for example for 'Fibroma', were far more explicit.⁵² 'Viriline' was sold as 'an unrivalled remedy for the lost treasure of manhood'.⁵³ Traditional belief in the restorative and aphrodisiacal quality of gold compound was captured in the advertisements and brand name of the Goldine tonic. The product was declared as the 'invigourator [sic] in the cases of Bodily weakness, due to mental or physical strain. As a sexual tonic it has no rival.'⁵⁴

The frequency of advertisements and range of products reveal that this was a highly competitive market. This resulted in part from the clash between indigenous medicine, as represented in *Tribune* by the Zandu Pharmaceutical Works, Bombay, and the practitioners of modern **(p. 114)** medicine in India. Regular advertisers of the latter type were N. Powell and Co. Manufacturing Chemists of Bombay, who boasted that their 'fully equipped laboratories were the biggest in India'.⁵⁵ The obviously large customer base can be understood not just in terms of individual concerns, but also in terms of what Daechsel terms the 'unhappy state of being' of the middle class.⁵⁶ Economic insecurities, political marginalisation and the communalised environment of the Punjabi middle-class world all contributed to an anxiety focused on the individualised body. Moreover, surviving Victorian notions of male 'sexual health' linked adult impotency with youthful excesses and experiences. This is directly alluded to in the 'Fibroma' advertisements. Overarching all these influences was the colonial discourse of the 'effeminacy' of upper-caste Hindus.

It is tempting to see these influences possessing special salience in Lahore. This was a city of students, many of whom had settled to live within it after graduation. Many would have engaged in the very activities in their youth deemed to be a source of later impotency. A large proportion of the city's propertied classes was drawn from the upper castes. The Punjab Government, as is well known, stereotyped the indigenous population. The rural population of the 'manly' Jats and Rajputs, who were martial race recruits to the Indian Army, were compared favourably with the 'effete' upper caste Hindus of the cities. It was particularly from the latter group that *Tribune* would have drawn its main readers. There is a danger, however, of over-determining both the colonial discourse and the uniqueness of the Lahore setting.

Concerns about 'virility' could have been occasioned as much by a sense of greater Muslim potency than by colonial stereotypes. Swami Shraddhananda's calls for Hindu self-strengthening and fears that Hindus were 'a dying race', also expressed in the 1920s, are well known. Moreover, while colonial stereotypes were pronounced in the Punjab, they were present throughout the subcontinent. The upper castes of Central and Western India and of Bengal were also portrayed as effeminate. It is no surprise, therefore, that studies of advertisements in publications primarily read by Hindus in Bombay and Uttar Pradesh reveal similarly routine advertisements for tonics and elixirs designed to promote male sexual potency.⁵⁷ What one can find in *Tribune* is by no means unique. What is perhaps specifically Punjabi (**p. 115**) given the well attested gender preference for boys, is the advertising of a male child tonic.⁵⁸

Advertisements are, of course, most effective when they address local as well as universal product requirements. Unsurprisingly, large numbers can be seen to reflect Lahore's demographic and social milieu. Advertisements by the sports goods firm Uberoi for hockey sticks, 'perfecta' cricket balls, bats, tennis rackets and presses are clearly linked, for example, to Lahore's student population.⁵⁹ Tennis rackets retailed at Rs40 in late 1923.⁶⁰ The most direct product appeal to students, however, was the Branio brain tonic advertised under the heading, 'a boon to students.' The advertisements continued: 'It is a boon to students preparing for examinations these days who constantly complain of brain fag, loss of memory and sleeplessness and indigestion.'⁶¹

The number of advertisements for life insurance both reflect Lahore's commercial importance and the risks of financial shocks, brought home for example by Lala Harkishen Lal's bankruptcy in 1931, arising from the city's integration into a global capitalist market. Similarly, advertisements for pens, stationery and typewriters attest to the large numbers of *Tribune* readers who would have worked in government and private offices. The demand for fans, light bulbs, lamps and bicycles, motorcycles and cars which, as we shall see later, was met by imported goods, was a consequence of affluent Indians moving into new suburban areas. Lower down the social scale, military service provided rural Punjabis with both exposure to 'modern' products such as cigarettes, lanterns, tea-pots and, bicycles and, importantly, the cash with which to purchase them. A handful of advertisements in *Tribune* refer specifically to the army, either claiming that their products are of

army 'quality' or securing the endorsement of lower rank Indian officers.⁶²

We turn now to advertisements for European products. It is difficult to quantify their frequency in comparison with Indian-made goods, as some companies sold both indigenous and foreign goods. However, a sample of all the advertisements, featured in *Tribune* for the months April-July 1920 reveals that 17 per cent of the products were clearly foreign in origin. They included such international brands as Beecham's Powders and Goodyear Tyres. Within a couple of years, they were joined by HMV, which was selling gramophones, priced up to Rs2,000 and Nestlé, which was selling its baby milk Lactogen product.⁶³ Robinson's (p.116) Barley provided a competing 'health food for baby'.⁶⁴ It is also by late 1923 that the first cinema advertisements appear. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, starring Rudolph Valentino, was, for example, showing at the Elphinstone Theatre over the Christmas period of that year.⁶⁵ International brands thus encompassed both 'luxury' goods and everyday items of mass consumption. Despite the depressed early 1930s, *Tribune's* range and number of advertisements grew throughout the decade. A number of new international brands emerged in the late inter-war period. These included both well-known overseas goods along with more obscure products such as the beauty cream Mercolized Wax.⁶⁶ The former numbered, for example, in January-July 1939, GEC radios, Phillips, Raleigh and Humber bicycles, Capstan cigarettes, Kodak, Eveready, Colgate, Gillette, Opel and Siemens electric motors.⁶⁷

Before assessing what insights can be derived into the circulation of foreign goods from such advertisements and how, aside from marketing, the gap was bridged between local purchasers and transnational products, we will briefly examine the ways in which manufacturers and their agents sought to grow a market for them. It is important to note here that it was often local merchants/agents, rather than distant producers, who communicated about the product.

This was helpful in instances when non-co-operation was threatening a foreign concern's particular market. Hence, for example, immediately beneath an advertisement for the self-proclaimed Indian-run Hindustan Co-operative Insurance Society, there ran an advertisement, 'Insure with Chopra.' Only when reading the small print does it become clear that he was a local agent for UK-based companies.⁶⁸

Product quality, reliability and sturdiness were usually stressed when western consumer goods were advertised. The German-made Adler Sewing Machine, for example, emphasised its 'solidity' and 'high

working capacities'. The Whiteaway and Laidlaw store, when alerting customers to its stock of 'Marvel Curtains', pointed out that they were, 'good, strong Nottingham Lace'.⁶⁹ Its boys' suits were similarly 'good hard wearing tweeds', while its all wool socks were 'best English manufacture, they will not shrink and the dyes fade.'⁷⁰ Robinson's Barley Water, in an August 1923 advertisement, claimed to be 'the last word in Hot Weather drinks'.⁷¹ A number of advertisements for cycles specifically stressed that they were British-made, leaving an unstated but implied message to the **(p.117)** reader that they were therefore good quality.⁷² The up-to-date nature of equipment was also stressed, as was the simplicity of handling. There were thus branded 'Pioneers Sewing and Hosiery Machines and 'Simple Typewriters'.⁷³ Science was also brought into play to popularise products. 'Chlorodont' toothpaste was declared to be 'a scientifically perfect toothpaste' prepared by 'German Scientists'.⁷⁴

For high range goods, their status as luxury items was stressed. G.D. Chandio & Sons, the Lahore agents for German manufacturers, repeatedly used the word 'luxury' to announce the expected shipment in January 1922 of motor cars and bicycles.⁷⁵ The marketing of such American cars as Chevrolet and Buick, however, concentrated less on their luxury and more on their affordability through hire purchase schemes. Naraindas, the sole agents for Chevrolet, ran a campaign in December 1923, for example, which required a deposit of Rs1,200 and monthly instalments of Rs240 for those who could not pay the cash price of Rs3,600.⁷⁶ Earlier in the year, doggerel verse had been employed to attract customers:

If a car for work or play
If for night or if for day
If for rough work or display
Buy the 1923 Chevrolet
If you doubt what's here to say
Come to our showroom prompt today
See third consignment in month of May
Of the new superior Chevrolet.⁷⁷

In addition to hire purchase, there was early experimentation with 'buy one and get one free', but in this case 'Asiaticus Brand' promised a twelfth bicycle free, if eleven friends could be persuaded to purchase. In a one-month introductory campaign clearly directed at Lahore's student population the advertisement read, 'Do You Want a Free Bicycle?'⁷⁸

Chevrolets were by no means the most expensive American vehicles on the market. Advertisements from two years earlier see a Maxwell⁷⁹ priced at Rs4,000 and a Big Six Touring Car Studebaker⁸⁰ at Rs9,000.⁸¹ A BSA motorcycle was priced at Rs 1450, while a Raleigh bike was Rs180.⁸² Ved Mehta recalls the sentiment that 'cars were toys for the England-returned'.⁸³ These were the sons of the wealthy Lahori propertied class who had studied in Oxford, Cambridge and London **(p. 118)** University.⁸⁴ He also interestingly reveals that in some families at least, cars had replaced traditional dowry items. His father had been bought a 1924 Chevrolet by his in-laws, 'in place of jewellery and finery'.⁸⁵

The number of cars on the road by the eve of the Second World War, when taken alongside the size of the European population, clearly reveals that motoring was by no means a European preserve. The Punjabi official, Sir James Penny, reveals that the car nonetheless impacted on British social life in Lahore, as 'instead of congregating in the Gymkhana or the Punjab Club in the evening, people used to look in on their friends in their bungalows'.⁸⁶

There is evidence of the classic advertising ploy of creating new needs and playing on objects of desire in the marketing of electrical items and cigarettes. Generally, however, the point that Daechsel has made holds good: that even foreign brands did not appeal to pleasure and enjoyment, but to the 'usefulness' of the product on offer.⁸⁷ A number of advertisements for lamps, electric light bulbs and flashlights state that there is no need to be in the dark; and that such 'troubles and worries about candles, oil and matches' can be abolished with 'indispensable' products such as an independent electric night lamp. This was available for Rs30 at the Eastern Electrical Trading Company, Charing Cross, Lahore. An Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department advertisement for telephones accompanied a picture of an elegant sariclad lady holding a headset with the motto, 'Your home is incomplete without a telephone'; similarly with utilitarian product provisions the message was, 'Saves life, saves time, saves money.'⁸⁸

For once, a utilitarian approach was abandoned by the sole importers of Wills' Scissors cigarettes. They celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the brand's importation in March 1921 with a prize draw worth Rs50,000. In order to enter competitors had to post the cut out fronts of packets. In addition to entry, they were promised 2 annas for every fifty they submitted.⁸⁹ In a further sales drive, a new advertising campaign had just been started which had the 'allure' of a short-skirted European woman dressed as a flapper drawing on a cigarette while sitting on a giant size pair of scissors about to cut open a packet of Scissors

cigarettes.⁹⁰ Both the financial incentive and the appeal to a sense of the modern and faintly erotic were designed to evoke a strong reaction from the potential customers.

(p.119) Foreign goods were primarily available through Indian dealers. K.N. Rohilla & Sons and import and export business based in Hamburg advertised for agents to represent their business not only in Lahore, but Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Delhi.⁹¹ Local dealers competed for the right to be sole agent for the import of such items as bicycles, motorcycles, cars and fans.⁹² Lahore-based Indian agents advertised in *Tribune* for *mofussil* sub-agents. Despite fears that non-cooperation would damage its trade, the Asiatic Export Agency was doing so well by June 1923 that it opened showrooms on the Mall.⁹³ The company dealt in electric fans, light bulbs and bicycles.⁹⁴ Eastern Electric Trading Company was another frequent advertiser in the early 1920s. It was a direct importer and wholesale dealer for fans, cycle and motorcycle lamps, motors, pumps, torches and lanterns. We have already referred to Narain's promotion of Chevrolet cars. The Lahore Cycle and Motor Agency, based in the Market Buildings on the Mall, was a rival dealer which was offering American Willys-Knight seven-seat tourers for Rs8,800 early in 1920.⁹⁵ In November 1920 it was still claiming to be the sole agent for the Oklahoma-based Geronimo Car Company which had been forced to close three months earlier following a disastrous factory fire. A more secure tie-up involved the Swift Motor Company, which manufactured vehicles from its Quinton Works in Mile Lane, Coventry.⁹⁶ The Motor Agency was just one of a number of motor car showrooms at the western end of the Mall.⁹⁷

It was, of course, only a tiny section of Lahore's Indian population that had the purchasing power to buy vehicles. Overseas manufacturers of soaps, medicines, light bulbs and fans had a bigger market. It was also, as we have seen, a crowded one, especially with respect to the producers of medicines. It was therefore only in certain niches that overseas products were able to dominate Indian produced and marketed goods. Consumer purchasing power increased following the recovery from the Depression. International brands continued to sell themselves in terms of their efficiency and value for money rather than appealing to luxury and conspicuous consumption. The improved Austin Seven, for example, was sold as 'the cheapest, safest and simplest to drive' and was hailed in 1937 as a 'better investment today than at any other time in its long and proved history!'⁹⁸

The onset of the Second World War generated increased wealth for farmers, soldiers, and government contractors. Those on fixed incomes **(p.120)** suffered the effects of inflation brought by the shortages of

consumer goods. Car owners had to leave their vehicles in garages because of petrol rationing, or risk slippery ferry crossings, rather than take long detours to cross the Punjab's rivers by bridge.⁹⁹ Even senior British officials had to resume cycling to get from their bungalows to the Secretariat, or wait for a lift in a police van.¹⁰⁰ Longer official tours were now undertaken by lorry rather than car. 'We had to have a [bus],' the Commissioner of the Jullundur Division recalled. 'My wife sat in front with the driver. I sat in the next row of seats with my stenographer and the senior members of my staff and the others further back. Our luggage was piled on the top of the bus. I was only allowed enough petrol for the shorter journeys by car.'¹⁰¹ The problems for motorists during the war and its aftermath are reflected in the newspaper advertisements of the period.

Eastern Times, December 1943–August 1947

A survey of all the advertisements featured in *Eastern Times* for the months December 1943, June 1946 and July 1947 was undertaken to capture the impact of the war period and the troubled eve of Partition era. Advertisements were also sampled in issues throughout late 1943 to March 1948. A number of important findings emerge which provide a context for an examination of how international brands sought to create consumers amongst *Eastern Times*' Muslim readership and for the insights which such advertisements can provide concerning the circulation of international brands in late colonial Lahore.

Firstly, *Eastern Times* possesses fewer total advertisements than did *Tribune* a generation earlier. This reflects the fact that even when more goods became available it did not aggressively seek advertisers. It was a paper that needed the income generated by advertisers, but its primary aim was to present the Muslim League's political standpoint. Hence it forwarded the 'nation-building' aims of the All-India leadership by providing space in its columns for the Mogul Shipping Line and Orient Airways.¹⁰² Ispahani Tea also features regularly in its columns.¹⁰³ The Eastern Times Book Department had a daily advertisement for collections of speeches by Jinnah and for academic books on Islam and the Pakistan idea.¹⁰⁴ The paper also generated advertising income by **(p.121)** carrying Government of India and United States Government notices in the war period.¹⁰⁵ On 30 December 1944, for example, the paper published a notice concerning how consumers were protected from profiteering by the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance.¹⁰⁶ The National War Front on 24 October 1944 issued an advertisement praising the efforts of the Indian

Air Force 'Boys': 'We have proved that we *can* Beat the Japs,' it proclaimed, 'and we *are* beating them back.'¹⁰⁷

Secondly, the paper's political stance did not mean that non-Muslim-run businesses were unwilling or unable to advertise in its columns. Indeed, even while Lahore was spiralling into violence, Amritdhara was advertising in *Eastern Times*.¹⁰⁸ Hind Machines placed regular advertisements, as did Tata for its Agrico Tools¹⁰⁹ (it was still regularly advertising after independence).¹¹⁰ The smaller number of advertisements than in *Tribune* reflects more the wartime legacies of rationing and shortages than the paper's politics. Daechsel indicates, however, that in Urdu papers there may have been significantly more advertisements with 'a Muslim twist'.¹¹¹

Thirdly and unsurprisingly, there are far fewer advertisements for international brands in *Eastern Times* than there were two decades earlier in *Tribune*. In December 1943, for example, just 10 per cent of all advertisements were for foreign products. The post-war figure rose slightly but it still fell short of the *Tribune* count. Moreover, most of the international brand products were produced by Indian subsidiaries. Dunlop, Brooke Bond and Lipton Teas were regular advertisers.¹¹² There are hardly any car advertisements, reflecting the fact that they became unobtainable during the war years. Even with respect to such items as medicines and toiletries, there are far fewer advertisements.

International brands used different techniques in an age of austerity. The glamour of Scissors cigarettes was replaced by the almost ascetic air of Wills' Bristol brand.¹¹³ This may in part have reflected sensitivity to the susceptibilities of *Eastern Times*' readership, but may also have been a legacy of a more widespread wartime culture in which utilitarian values were stressed.¹¹⁴ Dunlop, for example, claimed that its unique 'Duracord' allowed giant tyres to carry 'greater loads' and provide a 'longer mileage'.¹¹⁵ The safety issue of tyres for motorists was illustrated by a drawing of a car in a rain storm underneath the announcement, 'The Monsoon is Here'. The advertisement **(p.122)** continued: 'Have YOU examined YOUR TYRES? For perfect road grip fit Dunlop.'¹¹⁶

Advertisements for Brooke Bond and Lipton both stressed the quality of their teas. Brooke Bond's 'Plough Brand' carried a picture of a farmer to give it a local identity, while at the same time announcing that 'It was the taste of freshness' because 'it is delivered direct to the dealers and teashops straight from our factories'.¹¹⁷ Lipton's White Label Brand simply called itself 'India's Indispensable Beverage', 'Finest Among Indian Teas'.¹¹⁸ Horlicks, on the other hand, linked itself in

advertisements with the wartime situation, which it termed 'this time of national emergency'. Its advertisement showed a clerk in an office surrounded by papers and with a phone in his hand and a uniformed driver. Under the heading, 'When Every Minute Counts', it went on to claim that the product would 'build up nerves' and give 'fresh energy' for those working 'abnormal hours' during wartime.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

Advertisements in both *Tribune* and *Eastern Times* shed light on the range of international products available in colonial Lahore and the ways in which the distance between producer and consumer was reduced. Lack of purchasing power and later lack of availability combined to limit the market for foreign goods. Nationalist commitments had less impact on the purchase of western-produced consumer goods by the wealthy Hindu propertied classes. The chapter has also revealed the connection between the local and the global in consumer activity. The city's dramatic suburban development increased the market for larger western-produced electrical goods and sanitary equipment. 'England-returned' sons encouraged elders to abandon horse-drawn Victorias for cars which could even become dowry items. Even in the supposedly impenetrable alleyways of the walled city, there was a globalised circulation of goods through the consumption of tea, cigarettes and the purchase of 'old, reliable' Dietz tin lanterns for night lights, processions and illuminations.¹²⁰

It has been claimed that visiting Anarkali Bazaar in the inter-war period was considered a status symbol.¹²¹ Shopping there for the middle classes and above was part of popular culture, with the emphasis **(p. 123)** as much on recreation as the purchase of goods. The shops were stocked with goods from around the world and drew customers not only from the city, but from the Punjab and beyond. Other bazaars were less glamorous and dealt in more locally produced goods, such as the footwear in Juti Bazaar. They also produced products for sale, ranging from utensils to jewellery and embroidery. There was a market, too, for religious books, calendars, calligraphy, rosaries and incense burners. These products were bought not only by locals, but, as we shall see in the next chapter, by pilgrims who thronged the Data Durbar, the mausoleum of the Sufi saint Data Ganj Baksh. **(p.124)**

Notes:

(1.) See Pran Nevile, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993), p. 23.

(2.) Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 15.

(3.) Nevile, *Lahore*, pp. 26–7.

(4.) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

(5.) For approaches influenced by Weber see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Mark Liechty, *Suitably Modern: Making Middle-Class Culture in a New Consumer Society* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

(6.) On the role of consumption in the constitution of middle-class identity in early twentieth-century Tokyo see Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

(7.) See Anne Herrmann, ‘Shopping for Identities: Gender and Consumer Culture’, *Feminist Studies* 28, 3 (Fall 2002) pp. 539–49; Mary Lou Roberts, ‘Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture’, *American Historical Review* 103, 3 (June 1998), pp. 817–44.

(8.) See A. Maqsood, ‘“Buying Modern”: Muslim Subjectivity, The West and Patterns of Islamic Consumption in Lahore, Pakistan’, unpublished paper.

(9.) Emma Tarlo, *Visibly Muslim: Politics, Fashion, Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

(10.) See Markus Daechsel, ‘Being Middle Class in Late Colonial Punjab’, in Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir (eds), *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture and Practice* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 320–56.

(11.) For a classic exposition see Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849–1947* (Delhi: Manohar, 1988).

(12.) Cited in Muhammad Akbar, *The Punjab Under the Mughals* (Lahore: Ripon Press, 1948), p. 240.

(13.) *Ibid.*, p. 242.

(14.) *Ibid.*, p. 241.

(15.) Clive Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus: The Limits of Western Technological Superiority in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 141.

(16.) *Ibid.*

(17.) Sarah Ansari, *Life After Partition: Migration, Community and Strife in Sindh 1947-1962* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 25-6.

(18.) Colonel H.R. Goulding, "*Old Lahore*": *Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924), p. 49.

(19.) The Arya Samaj was a Hindu reform movement founded by Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83) in 1875. It developed a strong base in Lahore.

(20.) Ved Mehta, *Daddyji and Mamaji* (London: Picador, 1984), p. 281.

(21.) See Kaushik Bhaumik, 'At Home in the World: Cinemas and Cultures of the Young in Bombay in the 1920s', in D.E. Haynes *et al*, *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 136-53.

(22.) Anil Sethi, 'The Creation of Religious Identities in the Punjab c. 1850-1920', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998, p. 116.

(23.) *Lahore Chronicle*, Lahore, 31 January 1863, cited in Ian J Kerr, *Engines of Change: The Railroads that Made India* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2007), p. 89.

(24.) Nevile, *Lahore*, p. 28.

(25.) The booklet written by Maulvi Muhammad Amin was called *Arsi: The Mirror of Good Housekeeping*. See Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class', pp. 336-7.

(26.) *Ibid*.

(27.) See *Tribune*, Lahore, 16 July 1920.

(28.) See Veena Talwar Oldenburg, *Dowry Murder: The Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 84 & ff.

(29.) See Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century 1857-1947* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), p. 183.

(30.) Mehta, *Daddyji and Mamaji*, p. 93.

(31.) Talwar Oldenburg, *Dowry Murder*, p. 84 & ff.

(32.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 9 December 1923.

- (33.) Mehta, *Daddyji and Mamaji*, p. 281.
- (34.) Pran Nevile illustrates his work, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* with advertisements from the latter source.
- (35.) Haynes *et al*, *Towards a History of Consumption*.
- (36.) See, Prakash Ananda, *A History of the Tribune* (New Delhi: The Tribune Trust, 1986), p. 291.
- (37.) For the newspaper's history see Prakash Ananda, *History of the Tribune* (Chandigarh: Tribune Trust, 1986).
- (38.) *Ibid.*, p. 293.
- (39.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 29 March 1921.
- (40.) *Ibid.*, 7 June 1922.
- (41.) *Ibid.*
- (42.) *Ibid.*, 28 January 1922.
- (43.) *Ibid.*, 24 April 1921.
- (44.) Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class', p. 348.
- (45.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 23 January 1930.
- (46.) *Ibid.*, 1 September 1921; 8 February 1921.
- (47.) *Ibid.*, 30 January 1922.
- (48.) *Ibid.*, 19 December 1923.
- (49.) *Ibid.*, 6 September 1921.
- (50.) *Ibid.*, 19 January 1921
- (51.) *Ibid.*, 6 September 1921.
- (52.) *Ibid.*, 7 September 1921.
- (53.) *Ibid.*, 19 May 1921.
- (54.) *Ibid.*, 24 April 1921.
- (55.) *Ibid.*, 8 February 1922.
- (56.) Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class', p. 345.

(57.) See Madhuri Sharma, 'Creating a Consumer: Exploring Medical Advertisements in Colonial India', in Haynes *et al*, *Towards a History of Consumption*, pp. 213-28; Douglas E. Haynes, 'Creating the Consumer? Advertising, Capitalism and the Middle Class in Urban Western India, 1914-40' in *Ibid.*, pp. 185-223.

(58.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 31 December 1921.

(59.) For typical advertisements see *Ibid.*, 8; 15; 19; 23 December 1923.

(60.) *Ibid.*, 8 December 1923.

(61.) *Ibid.*, 23 December 1937.

(62.) See, for example, the testimonial for Ab-i-Hayat Pharmacy elixirs by two Subedar majors. A Wills advertisement for the Scissors brand of cigarettes, for example, carried the slogan, 'Special Army Quality.' *Ibid.*, 8 February 1921.

(63.) For HMV advertisements see *Ibid.*, 26 August 1923; 30 December 1923; and for Nestlé milk products, 19 November 1922; 21 January 1923.

(64.) *Ibid.*, 27 December 1923.

(65.) *Ibid.*, 25 December 1923.

(66.) See *Ibid.*, 3 August 1939.

(67.) I am grateful to Rakesh Ankit for undertaking this survey.

(68.) *Tribune* (Lahore) 14 August 1923.

(69.) *Ibid.*, 9 December 1923.

(70.) *Ibid.*, 27 November 1923.

(71.) *Ibid.*, 8 August 1923.

(72.) See for example, *Ibid.*, 7 March 1920; 2 April 1920.

(73.) See *Ibid.*, 3; 7 February 1920; 9 February 1923.

(74.) *Ibid.*, 19 November 1921; 26 November 1921; 24 December 1921; 25 June 1922.

(75.) *Ibid.*, 24 January 1922.

(76.) *Ibid.*, 19 December 1923.

(77.) *Ibid.*, 8 June 1923.

(78.) *Ibid.*, 15 November 1922.

(79.) Maxwell produced cars from 1904 until 1925, when they were taken over by Chrysler.

(80.) Studebaker produced cars from its South Bend, Indiana, headquarters from 1902. It was only in 1911 that electric cars were discontinued in favour of gasoline. The Big Six Touring Car was a popular line.

(81.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 6 August 1920.

(82.) *Ibid.*

(83.) Mehta, *Dadyji and Mamaji*, p. 265.

(84.) For an account of the social status of the 'England Returned' see Sumita Mukherjee, *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities: The England Returned* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

(85.) Mehta, *Daddyji and Mamaji*, p. 93.

(86.) Sir James Penny, 'Punjab Memories 1910-1945', typed memoir, pp. 120-1, Penny Papers, Box 1, University of Cambridge.

(87.) Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class', p. 342.

(88.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 17 March 1937.

(89.) *Ibid.*, 3 March 1921.

(90.) *Ibid.*, 18 February 1921.

(91.) *Ibid.*, 5 December 1923.

(92.) K.P. Thukral & Co., based at Kutchery Road, Lahore, for example, proudly announced that they were sole agents for the Birmingham-based Calthorpe's motorcycles and bicycles. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1921. Narain Das & Co. was the sole Punjab agent for Buick. *Ibid.*, 3 August 1923.

(93.) For notices about the new showrooms see *Ibid.*, 24; 26 June; 13 July 1923.

(94.) *Ibid.*, 24 June 1923.

(95.) *Ibid.*, 16 January 1920.

(96.) *Ibid.*, 12 November 1920.

(97.) Tandon, *Punjabi Century*, p. 194.

(98.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 19 March 1937.

(99.) See for example, Dewey, *Steamboats on the Indus*, p. 223.

(100.) Sir James Penny, 'Punjab Memories 1910-1945', typescript memoir, Penny Papers, Box 1, Centre of South Asia Studies, University of Cambridge, p. 212.

(101.) A.C. Macnab of Macnab, 'Unto the Fourth Generation: An Episode in Indian History', typescript memoir, A.C. Macnab Papers, Box 1, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, 1972, p. 233.

(102.) For advertisements of these companies see *Eastern Times*, Lahore, 17 December 1943; 6 June 1946; 26 February 1947.

(103.) *Ibid.*, 17 December 1943; 18 July 1944; 18 October 1944; 6 January 1946.

(104.) *Ibid.* See, for example, 30 December 1944.

(105.) An advertisement placed by the US Government at the time of the threat of a Japanese invasion of Eastern India proclaimed it as the arsenal of democracy that fights for freedom. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1942. The Indian Navy advertised for volunteers in October 1944; *Ibid.*, 14; 18 October 1944. Government of India Prize Bonds and National Savings Certificates were advertised on 19 December 1943, 8 October 1944 and 7 December 1946.

(106.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 30 December 1944.

(107.) *Eastern Times*, Lahore, 24 October 1944.

(108.) *Ibid.*, 9 March 1947.

(109.) For Hind Machines see, for example, *Ibid.*, 23 November 1946; 18 April 1947; TATA Agrico Tools see 17 August 1946; 17 January 1947.

(110.) See *Ibid.*, 25 December 1947; 28 February 1948; 6 March 1948. TATA Steel placed advertisements on 21 December 1943; 4 September 1947 and 20 March 1948.

(111.) Daechsel, 'Being Middle Class', p. 342.

(112.) For Dunlop see *Eastern Times*, Lahore, 9, 16, 30 June 1946; 20 March 1947; 7 August 1947; 16 October 1947; 6, 25 November 1947; 4 December 1947; For Brooke Bond Tea see, for example, *Ibid.*, 11, 21 December 1943; 15 July 1944; 12 June 1946; For Lipton see, for example, *Ibid.*, 27 December 1942; 20 August 1944; 24 December 1944.

(113.) *Ibid.*, 26 November 1942.

(114.) This argument is, of course, contrary to Haynes' view that shortages encouraged advertisers to stress fantasy and pleasure. Haynes, 'Creating the Consumer', in Haynes *et al*, *Towards a History of Consumption*, p. 216.

(115.) *Eastern Times*, Lahore, 9 June 1946.

(116.) *Ibid.*, 14 August 1947.

(117.) *Ibid.*, 21 December 1943.

(118.) *Ibid.*, 24 December 1943.

(119.) *Ibid.*

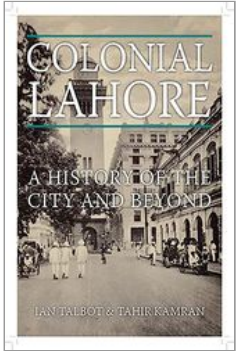
(120.) *Tribune*, Lahore, 29 August; 5 September 1913.

(121.) Nevile, *Lahore*, p. 21.



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Oxford Scholarship Online



Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Pilgrims and Shrines in the Colonial Age

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0007

Abstract and Keywords

The chapter discusses the ways in which colonial rule transformed the circumstances of pilgrimage for Lahore's residents both as a result of improvements in communication and the perceived health and security threats from a British perspective. There is examination of pilgrimage within the Punjab, pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Islam and the increased pilgrimage to the leading Sufi Shrine within the city of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh. The chapter makes use of Hajj travelogues of Lahori residents such as Maulvi Feroze ud-Din who travelled to Mecca and Medina. It also uncovers the role of Thomas Cook and the Pilgrimage to Mecca during 1886-93 and how the Company's withdrawal from the Indian pilgrim traffic opened the way for rival specialist shipping companies.

Keywords: Pilgrimage, Holy Places of Islam, Thomas Cook, Maulvi Feroze ud-Din, Shrine of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh

Colonial rule transformed the circumstances of pilgrimage in South Asia. In this chapter we will firstly examine its impact for those pilgrims from Lahore to the Hijaz,¹ before turning to pilgrimage within Punjab. Given the eclectic nature of religious expression, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs would visit the same Sufi shrines and fairs attached to them.

These practices were increasingly criticised by 'orthodox' religious movements such as the Singh Sabha Movement and the Deobandi and Ahl-i-Hadith reformers who used print technology and the creation of a new public sphere to launch attacks on 'superstition' and idolatry.² What has been termed the 'enchanted universe' of Punjabi pluralistic religious practice was never overwhelmed by orthodoxy in the colonial era.³ Nonetheless, the movements for reform impacted on pilgrimage in some urban contexts, as we shall see in the closing section of this chapter which focuses on the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh, 'the patron saint' of Lahore.

Swifter and cheaper travel to the Hijaz also followed on from the replacement of sail by steam; travel in the Indian Ocean was no longer regulated by the monsoon. By the 1880s, the journey from Bombay to Jeddah could be undertaken in just over three weeks.⁴ The contraction of space enabled 'more Muslims to make the Hajj than had gone in the previous twelve centuries'.⁵ Less remarked upon, but also significant, the Pax Britannica ended the depredations of pirate attacks on pilgrim **(p.126)** ships in the Indian Ocean, which had increased in frequency in the seventeenth century. Earlier still, safe conduct had been required to prevent pilgrim ships setting out from the south Indian port towns from being attacked by Portuguese naval commanders in the Red Sea. The *Akbarnama* attests to the Mughal Emperor's concerns that a party of royal women undertaking the Hajj during the winter monsoon of 1576 might be waylaid by the Portuguese.⁶ Pilgrim ships carrying spices, textiles and precious stones for onward carriage to Damascus and Cairo, and silver and gold bullion on their return journeys from Arabian ports, were attractive targets.⁷ The alternative overland route in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been risky for Sunni pilgrims who had to traverse Safawid Iran. They also had to risk attacks by Bedouin bandits.

The increasing numbers of poorer pilgrims from British India and the Dutch East Indies, and their overcrowded conditions, created the circumstances for the spread of cholera. The first major epidemic of 1865 claimed over 15,000 victims in the Hijaz and was carried to Europe by way of Alexandria. By the late nineteenth century, a regime of passport regulations, and health controls, including the quarantining of pilgrims, had been introduced at the behest of Ottoman and western authorities.⁸ After a Baluchi tribesman assassinated Sharif Husayn in 1880, the Ottomans required a passport and visa for all foreigners entering the Hijaz.⁹ These transformations have formed the focus of much recent research.¹⁰ Bombay's importance as the main port of embarkation has also been examined along with the pilgrim trade's impact on its economic and cultural life, including its emergence as a

major centre for Islamic publications.¹¹ Less has been written about the growing number of Punjab pilgrims and their passage through Lahore to the ports of Bombay and from 1911 when it was established as a pilgrim port Karachi. Pilgrimage narratives, made possible by the new print culture, provide glimpses of travel through Lahore as well as from the city to the Hijaz.

Pilgrims sought to maintain the connection with the heartland of their faith in the religious souvenirs which they brought home with them. The commodification of these souvenirs and their presence in homes within the walled city is another set of interactions which has yet to be explored. The most popular souvenirs in the colonial era were **(p.127)** containers of water from the Zamzam well, located near to the Kaaba, and (*masala*) prayer mats which were rubbed against it or against the gate of the Prophet's Mosque so as to capture its blessing (*Baraka*) and distinctive perfume. With Saudi control over the Holy Places from the mid-1920s, Punjabi pilgrims were restricted from touching the screen around the Prophet's tomb in Medina. They still however returned with *kiswa*, small squares of black silk that had draped the Kaaba. These were cut up after the Hajj ceremonies and sold to the faithful.

We will begin the chapter with a brief examination of the little known subject of Tibetan nineteenth-century pilgrimage to Lahore. This was part of a modern Tibetan reinvention of Buddhist India. The extended Buddhist sacred geography owed much to the emerging Pax Britannica in the western Himalayas.

Tibetan Pilgrims to Lahore

The Tibetan lama, on a quest to find the legendary river of the arrow in order to secure personal enlightenment, is one of the best-loved characters in Rudyard Kipling's famous novel *Kim*.¹² He was not, however, a product of the author's imagination. He had in fact been inspired by a Tibetan pilgrim who had met Rudyard's father, Lockwood Kipling, in Lahore.¹³ What was the attraction of this cosmopolitan colonial city to Tibetan pilgrims? The preceding century had seen a revival of Tibetan Buddhist contacts with Bengal, but the attention shifted to the hills and ultimately the plains of the Punjab in the aftermath of the 1792 Gorkha-Tibetan War.¹⁴ Frontier controls were laxer in the western Himalayas and British control over the Hill States made travel safer. New holy places including Lahore, dedicated to the figure of Padmasambhava, thus became accessible.

Padmasambhava is a nebulous but highly influential figure in Tibetan Buddhism, best described as a kind of 'Second Buddha', albeit in Tantric form, who is commonly known as the 'Precious Guru' (Guru

Rinpoche).¹⁵ There are a number of Tibetan holy places, both across the Tibetan plateau and in India, that are said to have been visited by Padmasambhava in various emanations. Zahor (which Tibetan pilgrims linked to Lahore) was part of this sacred geography. It was here that the Precious Guru seduced the nun-princess Mandarava. Her outraged **(p.128)** father, the King of Zahor, sought to burn Padmasambhava to death. The latter, however, miraculously transformed the pyre into a lake from which he emerged unscathed upon a lotus.¹⁶ The monasteries of the Nyingmapa (or 'Ancient Ones') Tibetan Buddhist School celebrate this episode on the tenth day of the third Tibetan lunar month.¹⁷ The kingdom of Zahor is traditionally located in Tibetan histories as being in eastern India, but in the nineteenth century it became popularly connected with Lahore. Other Punjab sites associated with this legend were Rewalsar Lake in the Mandi district (now in Himachal Pradesh) and the tank in the Golden Temple at Amritsar. British accounts note 'great numbers' of Tibetan pilgrims visiting the latter Sikh shrine, which, in addition to the burning lake, was believed by some to be the origin lake of the Precious Guru.¹⁸

Thomas Cook and the Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1886–93

Thomas Cook & Son, as we have seen, had been providing tours and excursions in India from the early 1880s and had also offered its services to the British expedition to rescue General Gordon in the Sudan. Its involvement in the Hajj pilgrim traffic formed part of John Cook's (1834–99) strategy for the company's international expansion following his father's retirement in 1878. The Viceroy Lord Dufferin (1826–1902) carefully considered John Cook's offer in October 1884 to undertake the conveyance of pilgrims from India to Jeddah (the port for Mecca). Despite the establishment of the office of the Protector of Pilgrims at Bombay and the special provisions in the Native Passenger Ships Act of 1879, many pilgrims still experienced hardships and privations.¹⁹ The involvement of a company of Cook's repute not only offered the prospect for improved conditions on their ships, but of driving up rival shippers' facilities. Owners crammed in as many pilgrims as they could on ageing vessels in order to make the most profit in the short season. Thomas Cook and Son's role in providing through fares and tickets and acting as representatives in the issue of passports, which the Home Department of the Government of India had initiated in 1882, replicated its successful tourist procedures. If not a door to door service, the company would convey pilgrims from the chief stations of India to Jeddah and back.²⁰ Lahore's position as the headquarters **(p.129)** of the North Western Railway ensured that it was an important departure point in this integrated travel system.

The company's statistics of passports it issued reveal that Punjabis accounted for around a fifth of the pilgrims from India. The annual numbers of pilgrims in the period in which the company operated varied from 9-12,000. At its peak in 1890, the company carried 4,420 pilgrims, just under 45 per cent of the total number.²¹ There was a Cook's representative on every ship. According to John Cook, the fixing of fares and the arrangements with boatmen at Jeddah and Yaboo had saved pilgrims Rs2,500,000 during the seven years of the company's operations.²²

John Cook sent his adventurous eldest son on a five-week tour of India late in 1886 to explore Muslim opinion on the company's involvement in the Hajj and to make the necessary connections with railway and civil officials which were vital to the enterprise's success. Frank Henry Cook (1862-1931) went out with a detailed set of instructions which he followed to the letter.²³ He visited twenty-one places in all, but stayed longest in the areas of North Western India where the bulk of the pilgrims lived. Lahore took up a week of this time. His father had stipulated that while in the city he should meet 'Mr Kipling the head of the School of Art' and his son, 'the Manager or Editor of the chief newspaper of the district, the *Civil and Military Gazette*'. He further identified Colonel C. Gordon, agent and manager of the North West Railway system, and Mr Broughton, the traffic manager, as important contacts, along with the military secretary Major Davidson, who could provide an introduction to the Punjab Governor. John Cook had met Davidson during an earlier visit to Lahore. At that time, Davidson was living at Hillier's Boarding House. 'Hillier's,' Cook informed his son, 'is a man who has travelled almost over the whole of India, is well up in the language and is the one man who would go with you to Cashmere if you have the opportunity.'²⁴ The Hillier's Boarding House was one of the first hotels used in Lahore by Cook's for its circular tours.

Frank Cook arrived in Lahore on 15 December 1886. The following day he called on the district commissioner who introduced him to Extra Assistant Commissioner Barkat Ali Khan (d. 1905), who was a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Six days later there was a well- (p. **130**) attended meeting at the Anjuman-i-Punjab in which Frank Cook noted in his diary, 'people were particularly well disposed' to the company's proposed travel arrangements for the Hajj. A few days later he was to receive similar support at a meeting at the Aligarh Institute in which Syed Ahmad Khan 'made a very good speech and explained everything himself'.²⁵ Such goodwill tours came at a cost. At the end of the company's arrangement with the government, John Cook calculated that the firm had spent about £3,000 'that could not be brought into the account with the Government'.²⁶ He noted somewhat bitterly, 'I feel

bound to place on record the fact that under the agreement with the Government of India it was quite impossible for my firm to receive the slightest pecuniary benefit.'²⁷

The Dutch-owned Kongsji Tiga (Trio Line) shipping conglomerate²⁸ had a much more harmonious working relationship with the colonial authorities in its transportation of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to Jeddah. Recent research has revealed that long-term colonial concerns about the threat of Pan-Islamic subversion from the Hijaz encouraged the authorities to work closely with the shippers to control the Hajj passage.²⁹ This not only involved surveillance, but the separation of Indonesian Muslims from other nationalities, especially Arabs, during the three-week passage to Jeddah.³⁰ In return for this assistance, the government enabled Dutch shippers to maintain a monopoly on the pilgrim traffic up to the Second World War. This thwarted the efforts of the reformist Muhammadiyah organisation to charter ships to Jeddah under the name of the Penolong Hadji (Pilgrim Helper) line in the early 1930s.³¹ Malay pilgrims travelled via Singapore in the British Blue Funnel Line vessels.

Cook's withdrawal from the Indian pilgrim traffic opened the way for rival specialist shipping companies. These were wholly European, until Seth Jan Mohammad Chotani (1883–1932) set up a Muslim shipping company.³² The Pan-Islamist leader Shaukat Ali (1873–1938) became a pilgrim broker in order to ease the hardships of impecunious pilgrims. There was intense rivalry between the British-owned Mogul Line and the Scindia Navigation Company (also known as the Hajj Line).³³ It ran a new steamer called the *El Medina*. The companies' attempts to undercut each other drove down passenger fares and increased the number of Hajjis. By the 1920s, the numbers of pilgrims (**p.131**) from India and Malaya carried by British flag vessels had risen to over 50,000.³⁴ High rubber prices encouraged the number of pilgrims from Malaya, while the competitive fares stimulated Indian pilgrims.³⁵ A return ticket from Karachi could be purchased for under Rs30 at the beginning of 1938.³⁶ This encouraged the long established pattern of a preponderance of pilgrims from Punjab and Sindh. The Second World War, however, closed down this pilgrim traffic.

Conditions on some of the pilgrim ships remained grim, even in the late 1920s. The voyage on the rust bucket SS *Zayani* to Jeddah in February 1929 was particularly harrowing. The ageing vessel was already overcrowded when it picked up a further 200 passengers at Karachi following a 500-mile journey from Bombay. In all probability some of these unfortunates were from Lahore. The thousand pilgrims were crammed between decks, in a space 'just six feet by three'.³⁷ The

'stifling holds' were 'inadequately' ventilated and infested with insects. The pilgrims had to prepare their own food on deck, as none was provided. 'The only requisite provided for them by the Indian shipowners were wood fuel and a water ration issued twice daily by brutal guards.'³⁸ For those too weak to survive the conditions an unceremonious end awaited. Bodies 'were swiftly sown in poor quality hessian' and weighed down with a discarded fire-bar 'to ensure that the corpse stood a chance of sinking before fouling the ship's propeller'.³⁹ The return journey was even worse than the outgoing voyage as a fire broke out on the vessel when it was 700 miles south-west of Karachi. This took two days to control by which time the ship was listing badly in heavy monsoon storms. The account of what the press was to dub a 'Death Ship' comes from a British wireless officer on board. Pilgrims themselves have left narratives of their journeys, some of which were equally dramatic. It is to these that we will now turn.

Hajj Pilgrims and their Travelogues

There are references to royal pilgrimages in Ottoman sources dating from the early Mughal period.⁴⁰ The early eighteenth century saw religious accounts produced, along with biographies of the Sufis and scholars staying in Mecca and Medina. The most notable works were produced by the great religious reformer Shah Waliullah (1703–62).⁴¹ It is **(p.132)** only in the late eighteenth century that travel accounts as such emerged. The speeding up of travel as a result of steamships and the impact of print culture both increased the number of South Asian pilgrims and the narratives they produced in the nineteenth century. Travelogues appeared alongside religious treatises, providing insights regarding local populations, shrines, topography, weather and the dangers and inconveniences of travel. A few of these were provided by female pilgrims, most notably by Sikander Begum (1816–68), the ruler of Bhopal.⁴² A further sign of the growing popularity of Hajj literature was provided by an increasing number of Urdu magazines and journals devoted to the pilgrimage.⁴³ There were also texts providing guidance for would-be pilgrims, as for example *Aaina-e-Hajj* written by Syed Fazal Mahmud, a former deputy inspector of schools in Punjab.⁴⁴ By the twentieth century, a number of accounts possessed a clear Pan-Islamic theme which, to the consternation of the British authorities, reflected the emergence of the Hijaz as a centre of political resistance. The Deobandi scholar Maulana Mahmud-al Hasan's (1851–1920) pilgrimage to Mecca in September 1915, as we will see in the next chapter, was the prelude to the Silk Letters conspiracy which linked Lahore to revolutionary struggle during the First World War. Less significant than Hasan's *Safarnama-i-Shaikul Hind*, but still displaying the impact of Pan-Islam on Hajj writing, was Abdul Majid Daryabadi's *Safar-i-Hijaz*.⁴⁵

The politicisation of the Hajj was also seen in the founding of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba (Society of The Servants of the Ka'aba) by Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal (1878-1926) and the Ali brothers.

The travelogues cannot, however, provide insights into the experiences of the poor pilgrims. Yet we know that even in Akbar's day there was a town quarter in Mecca inhabited by considerable numbers of poor Indian pilgrims.⁴⁶ Historians increasingly view the nineteenth-century, largely middle class-produced travelogues as an important source for investigating the impact of the effects of colonial attempts at regulation on pilgrimages. They have also been understood as 'modern experiments in religious self-consciousness', the product of changes in interpretations of both religious symbols and concepts of individuality.⁴⁷ Hajj travel writing viewed in this light is a modern literary genre.

Residents of Lahore have provided a small number of Hajj travelogues. These reveal details of their travel from the city and the difficulties (**p. 133**) they experienced during their pilgrimage. Muhammad Beg, for example, provides a graphic account of the dangers he faced from Bedouin tribesmen during the overland journey from Jeddah to Medina in August 1922. He recalled that 'We were all thunderstruck, as bullets were passing over our heads like showers of rain. One bullet came in my *shughduf* [double-slung litter], but by a miracle, after tearing some clothes, remained stuck in the bag tied to the side... We reached Rabigh on the 28th at about 12 noon and were proceeding when there was trouble again and shots were fired from the surrounding hills.'⁴⁸ Beg's account recalls two other occasions in which his caravan was fired on and instanced episodes of robbery, bribery and cramped conditions in the coastal steamer to Jeddah. His comment that 'People now saw the difference between British rule and Mohammadan government' perhaps helps explain how his eyewitness account found its way into the annual British consular report on the Hajj.⁴⁹ More widely, this account illustrates the point that the concern with the individual and the focus on participatory experiences and feelings marks out Hajj writing as a form of 'modern literature'.⁵⁰

Maulvi Feroze ud-Din (1864-1949), who owned the Feroze Sons book publishers in Lahore, has also provided an account of his pilgrimage in 1930.⁵¹ The piece, edited by his son Abdul Hamid, is in a 'modern' autobiographical genre. Feroze-ud-Din is at the centre of the narrative from the outset, reflecting on his feelings about Hajj and the decision not to adopt the title of 'Haji' after its completion. There is also commentary on the Saudi authorities' imposing a Wahabbi imprint on the rituals at Mecca. There is a careful itemisation of the costs of

lodging, of motor transport in the Hijaz and of the different types of animal for sacrifice. The round journey by car from Jeddah to Medina and Mecca, for example, cost Rs300. It was somewhat cheaper for pilgrims who went by lorry (Rs185). Poorer pilgrims walked, or had uncomfortable camel journeys. It is even noted that the Saudi authorities had put a Rs3 state tax on the water collected from the Zamzam well.⁵²

Much of the account contains familiar travelogue features. These include the discomfort of the sea voyage from Karachi to Jeddah, made more bearable by bribing a policeman at Karachi so that he could take a deck space near a water pump. The vicissitudes at the hands of 'avaricious' boatmen when the pilgrims had to disembark from the steamer (**p.134**) some three miles from the shore are detailed in the account. One pilgrim was actually thrown overboard when he refused to meet the boatmen's extortionate demands. There is also a familiar account of the tensions over the costs of food and lodging between the *mutawwif* (guides) and the pilgrims. Alongside these themes, there are numerous personal touches. Feroze-ud-Din, for example, befriended a poor pilgrim from his *mohalla* on the train journey from Lahore to Karachi and provided financial assistance to augment the meagre Rs500 the man had to cover the whole of his pilgrimage. He also took a large number of provisions with him on the train, including cloth for his own personal burial, if this was required in the Hijaz.⁵³ The account reveals the colonial authority's attempt to maintain control over the Hajj process with the system of passports and immunisation against smallpox at Karachi. Like other 'rite of passage' travelogues, the homecoming to Lahore station climaxes the account. Feroze-ud-Din was met by his family and garlanded. The 'triumph' of the homecoming was, however, tempered by the onset of dysentery.

Feroze-ud-Din was a follower of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh. This helps explain some of his jaundiced comments regarding the Wahhabi influence on the pilgrimage practices at Mecca. It is difficult to assess the longer term influence of his experiences in the Hijaz on his attitude to religious expression at the Data Shrine. Certainly the growing number of Punjabi pilgrims encouraged greater Muslim religious orthodoxy, although this was not as significant as the impact of print culture.⁵⁴ The intercessory aspects of shrine culture were criticised by religious reformers and by a growing number of revivalist shrines.⁵⁵ For shrines like that at Sakhi Sarwar, as we will see in the next section, there was mounting criticism from both Muslim and Sikh reformers.

Pilgrimage within Punjab

Max Arthur Macauliffe (1841–1913), whose six-volume (1909) study on Sikhism was to exert a profound influence on Sikh reformism, attended the *urs* of Hazrat Syed Ahmad Sultan, known as Sakhi Sarwar (d. 1174) in 1875. The shrine, at the foot of the Sulaiman Mountains at Nigaha in the Dera Ghazi Khan district of south-west Punjab, dated from the thirteenth century and was subsequently renovated by two Khatri brothers, Lakhput (p.135) Rai (d. 1748) and Jaspat Rai (d. 1746) who were ministers and courtiers of the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore, Zakriya Khan (1726–45) and Yahya Khan (1745–47). Macauliffe noted the cross-community and transregional identities of the devotees who were collectively known as Sultanis. They included significant numbers of Sikh and Hindu Jats. Indeed, at the time of the 1911 Census, 79,085 ‘Sikhs’ identified themselves as followers of Sakhi Sarwar, despite the efforts of reformers such as Ditt Singh (1850–1901) to discourage such association.⁵⁶

Ditt Singh, a professor of Punjabi at Oriental College from 1886, was a prolific writer and leading Singh Sabha reformer. He is often seen as a forerunner of the renowned Bhai Vir Singh (1872–1957) in using Punjabi literature to forge a Sikh Khalsa identity.⁵⁷ Ditt Singh was the editor of the reformist Punjabi weekly *Khalsa Akhbar Lahore*. While most of his work was to refute the Arya Samajist outlook towards the Sikhs, in 1896 he published a popular pamphlet entitled *Sultan Poara*, which was constantly republished. In the tract Ditt Singh sought to undermine the appeal of Sakhi Sarwar to Sikhs.⁵⁸ He not only criticised the practices at the shrine, but the influence of Muslim ‘pir brothers’ from the bharai community on the travelling ‘Sikh’ pilgrims. Pilgrimages were so institutionalised that *diwans* were held to administer justice for the travelling pilgrims.⁵⁹ They traditionally slept on the ground at the halting points (*chaukis*, posts) on the routes to the remote shrine.⁶⁰

The Lahore-based Singh Sabha reformers did not only have to counter Sikh association with the Sakhi Sarwar shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan, but also its manifestation within the city. There was an annual fair in February held in his honour at Anarkali Bazaar (*kadmoun ka mela*, ‘fair of the feet’) at the spot where he was believed to have meditated. The fair, in addition to the usual attractions, had a weightlifting competition.⁶¹ Followers of the saint also took out musical processions in which children were carried to receive the *pir*’s blessing.⁶²

Sakhi Sarwar was not the only Sufi saint whose shrine attracted large numbers of Hindu and Sikh devotees. They also attended the famous Mela Chiragan (Festival of Lights) held on the last Saturday and Sunday of March at the shrine of Madho Lal Husain (1538–99) at

Baghbanpura, adjacent to the Shalimar Gardens on the outskirts of Lahore.⁶³ There are reports of 40,000 visitors in the 1860s.⁶⁴ Shopkeepers closed temporarily in the city to set up their stalls selling toys and sweets at the **(p.136)** shrine, while artisans displayed their crafts. There were also entertainments provided by snake charmers, acrobats, and *kanchini* (dancing women).⁶⁵ The small shrine (behind the present day law courts) marking the spot where Punjab's leading Sufi saint Bab Farid (1173-1265) resided in Lahore had a fair organised nearby which was attended by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.⁶⁶ The Bhadarkali Mela at Thokar Niaz Beg was another important *mela* in the environs of Lahore which was a shared sacred space. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it reportedly attracted 'several tens of thousands devotees'.⁶⁷ Further afield, Muslims were attracted to another festival in the Lahore district at Thamman (the Ram Thamman Mela) that was annually celebrated in Vaisakhi and thronged with participants.⁶⁸

There are fewer travelogues covering these shrines than there are of the Hajj. John Campbell Oman (1841-1911), a British lecturer at Government College in the 1880s and 1890s who wrote extensively on Indian culture, did, however, record his experiences of visits to the Chiragan Mela and the Bhadarkali Mela. 'On a Chirangan fair day,' he recalled, 'the whole distance [from Lahore to Shalimar] seems for hours to be almost blocked with the traffic ... vehicles of many descriptions [carry] sight-seers or pleasure-seekers to the *mela*.'⁶⁹ His account reveals the array of entertainment which was provided, including the performance of a Punjabi romance. 'As I made my way around the fair I came upon a man seated on a chair of European pattern at a small table reciting, for the benefit of a small knot of attentive listeners, the story of the Loves of Magnoon and Leila.'⁷⁰ This is one of the few existing accounts of Punjabi poetry being publicly performed in Lahore. At the Bhadarkali Mela, Oman also attended a Punjabi theatrical performance, providing a vivid account of its staging, which included 'much singing and dancing' and accompaniment of a *sarangi* and *tabla*. He described the people on the way to the Kali Temple as a 'living stream' which included Muslims and Hindus. However, the *mela* was 'particularly significant' for Lahore's wealthy Hindus who were able to mark their status through the commissioning of stalls to distribute water free of charge to the attendees.⁷¹

The Dussehra festival was also an important event for Lahore's Hindu population. It drew large numbers of people to share in the spectacle of the burning of the effigies (*bhutts*) at dusk. By the late **(p.137)** colonial period these had become costly constructions paid for by local communities. They took anything up to a month to make, with as much as 350 metres of cloth along with quintals of paper, bamboo and jute

required for the ninety-foot effigy of Ravana.⁷² The specialist effigy makers were involved in kite construction at other times of the year. Dussehra was staged in open spaces across the city, but the most popular venue was outside the Lahore Fort.⁷³ Considerable numbers of sadhus came from elsewhere in North India, camping out during the festival period. While the colonial authorities did not attempt to control this influx, naked sadhus were prevented from entering the city, where they might cause a 'nuisance'.⁷⁴

Festivals, *urs* and fairs were impacted by the broader colonial landscape although not as much as the Hajj. We have already noted that reformers turned to print to discourage Sufi shrines from serving as shared sacred spaces. The colonial state adopted a neutral attitude on this issue, save when reformers threatened (as, for example, in the Gurdwara Reform Movement) to undermine the custodians of shrines who had been co-opted to underpin British local authority.⁷⁵ The large numbers of people attending shrines posed a potential hazard to public health and order. However, because of the Punjab's strategic importance to their interests, the British attempted wherever possible to exert a light touch, so as not to stir up animosity. There were nonetheless improvements to some shrines, as the British military official and pioneering writer on Punjabi folklore, Richard Carnac Temple (1850-1931),⁷⁶ noted with respect to Sakhi Sarvar. Writing in the *Calcutta Review* in 1881, he reported that 'the matter of the water-supply had been improved under English occupation, probably for reasons of public health'.⁷⁷

The railways impacted on pilgrimage to shrines within the Punjab, just as the Damascus to Medina railway opened in 1908 had transformed the overland Hijaz route for pilgrims from Syria. As early as June 1863, the Sind, Punjab and Delhi Railway ran special trains from Amritsar to carry Hindus and Sikhs to the Bhadarkali Mela at Niazbeg, some seven miles south-east of Lahore.⁷⁸ Ease of transport to major festivals could also adversely affect the numbers at local events. The Vaisakhi celebration at Ram Thammam gradually lost its immense popularity as the railway link encouraged travel instead to the main **(p.138)** Vaisakhi Mela in Amritsar each April.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, police intelligence reports indicate that the last *mela* before Partition attracted around 35,000 people, many of whom came on special trains from Lahore, Amritsar and Ferozepore.⁸⁰

The vast majority of shrines were relatively accessible, even in the pre-colonial era. As in Bengal, Sufis had won converts to Islam by living alongside local populations and shifting their *khanqahs* with the patterns of agricultural population. The *khanqah* and later tomb of the

Punjab's leading Sufi saint Baba Farid was at Pakpattan, an important ferry crossing of the Sutlej river.⁸¹ The new communications brought by British rule thus did not bring about as fundamental a transformation in pilgrimage to the Punjab's shrines as it did to the Hajj, although cheaper travel did lead to the rise of what may be termed 'peasant-pilgrims.'⁸²

The Shrine of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh

Data Ganj Bakhsh is Lahore's leading Sufi saint. This, together with the evidence of increasing orthodoxy at the shrine in the colonial age of print culture, makes it an important case study. The complex around his marble mausoleum has grown over the centuries as rulers, including Ranjit Singh, added to it. In the post-independence period, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto erected a golden gate, while in the 1990s Nawaz Sharif oversaw major developments to the complex which has its own mosque that can accommodate 50,000 worshippers, and a hospital. The shrine is Pakistan's largest in terms both of its size and its numbers of annual visitors. While the *urs* celebrated on the twentieth day of the Muslim month of Safar attracts massive crowds, the sprawling courtyard is filled every day with thousands of people. In the narrow lanes outside its precincts are large numbers of beggars who increase in numbers at the time of the *urs*.⁸³

Both through his writings and their translation and through pilgrimage to the shrine located outside Bhati Gate, the saint's influence has spread way beyond the city over the course of the centuries. The highlight of the spiritual year is the three-day *urs* celebrations which can attract up to a million followers. These were on a smaller scale in the colonial era, but still involved large crowds. Hindus and Sikhs traditionally participated in the processions, in which the saint and his city (**p.139**) were linked with the carrying of fabric cloths (*chaddars*) through the neighbouring streets before they were laid on the grave. However, by the late nineteenth century the shrine was becoming more associated with religious orthodoxy. The closer control of the state over religious shrines in independent Pakistan since the 1960s has intensified this process. The *urs* in recent years has been increasingly accompanied by free public lectures on Islam and *naat* (poems honouring the Prophet Muhammad) recitations.⁸⁴

Before examining the shrine's historical development we will first trace the life of its founder, Ali bin Uthman bin Ali al-Jullabi al-Ghaznawi al-Hujwiri, who became known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, the 'bestower of plenty'. Given the saint's later popularity, there are relatively few hagiographical accounts dating from the 'medieval' Muslim period. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dahlvi completely ignores Hujwiri.⁸⁵ Among those who mentioned him in their *tazakiras* are Jami in his *Nafhat ul Anis*, and the Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh in his *Sufinat ul Aulya*. Thus *Kashful Mahjub* is the only source that furnishes us with some information about his early life. Hujwiri's father, Usman bin Ali Jalali Ghaznavi, was the disciple of Sheikh Abul Fazl bin Hassan Khutbi, a Sufi of *Junadia* order. Ali Hujwiri received a traditional Muslim education and at an early age exhibited the faculty of a religious writer

and a vocation for Sufism. Like many Sufis, Ali Hujwiri travelled extensively in a quest for knowledge and for spiritual interaction with the mystics from different parts of the Muslim world, visiting such cities as Damascus, Baghdad, Khurasan, Bukhara and Fars before finally settling in Lahore where he spent the remaining thirty-four years of his life. He was buried in 1072 AD (1465 AH) close to the mosque that he himself built around 1010.

The mausoleum was built by Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi and a certain Hajji Nur Muhammad Faqir, 'who supposedly erected a dome over the burial vault'.⁸⁶ The local tradition reveals that Rai Raju (deputy governor of Punjab on the behalf of the Ghaznavids) became Hujwiri's disciple and eventually embraced Islam and became known as Shaikh Hindi. His descendants continued to serve as *mujawirs* and *khadims* (guardians and attendants) of the shrine until the end of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ It was during Akbar's reign that the *dargah* complex was completed, although it has been subsequently expanded and reconstructed. Ranjit Singh confirmed (p.140) the revenue-free status of land grants (*muafi*), including several wells which remained attached to the shrine for quite a long time. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries also saw work which centred on the mosque rather than the mausoleum, reflecting the rise of religious orthodoxy. In 1888 a timber merchant by the name of Jhandu bore the cost of repairs to its roof. In 1921 Mian Ghulam Rasul Kathwala sponsored the extension and refurbishment of the shrine that cost him Rs100,000.⁸⁸ There was further extensive reconstruction work in the next few years. This coincided with the arrival of Syedana Shah Abul Barkat Syed Ahmed Lahori (1901-78), a disciple and *khalifa* of Ahmed Reza Khan, as a *khatib* and *imam masjid* (prayer leader).⁸⁹ He was born in 1906 in Alwar, a princely state in Rajasthan, and after receiving early instruction from his father Deedar Ali Alwari went to Muradabad to read *Dars-i-Nizami* from Syed Muhammad Naeem ud Din Muradabadi. For some time he worked with Ahmed Raza Khan before taking up *Khitabat* of Jamia Masjid Agra. In 1922, at the behest of his father, he came over to Lahore to be a prayer leader at the mosque of Data Durbar. After a few years he also joined the madrasa of Masjid Wazir Khan but soon had to leave because of the dispute that erupted between him and the caretaker of the mosque.

The shrine's transregional linkages in fact date back much earlier than the twentieth century. Followers were drawn to the *khanqah* from the wider Punjab region during Data Ganj Bakhsh's life. They came for spiritual blessings. Pilgrimage expanded after the saint's death as his charisma remained vested in the shrine and its descendants. Within less than a century of his death, the shrine's repute was so great that it

was visited by other Sufi saints. The future leading Chishti saint of the Indian Subcontinent Moin ud Din Chishti (1141–1236) stayed for forty days at the mausoleum in seclusion and meditation before he settled at Ajmer.⁹⁰ After that period was over, he was, it is said, deeply affected by the graces showered upon him at this holy place, and he repeated the following verse while standing at the foot of the tomb out of respect for the saint:

Ganj Baksh do alam Mazhar-i-Khuda
Kamilan ra pir-i-kamil Naqissan ra rahnuma
The bestower of treasure (Ganj Baksh) in both worlds,
reflector of the splendour of God,
An accomplished spiritual guide for the learned and a
guide for the ignorant.⁹¹

(p.141) Anna Suvorova maintains that Baba Farid Ganj Shakar and Mian Mir (c. 1550–1635), the Qadri Sufi who was Dara Shikoh's spiritual instructor, also meditated at the Shrine of Ali Hujwiri. Similarly, leading a life of a mendicant, the *malamati* poet Madho Lal Hussain lived at the shrine. Mystics of the Punjab such as Sultan Bahu (1631–91) and Bullhe Shah (1680–1752) deferentially mention Ali Hujwiri in their poetry.⁹² John A. Subhan observes that 'certain Sufis believe that, though dead, Ali-Hujwiri continued to hold supreme authority over the saints of India, and that no new saint entered the country first obtaining permission from his spirit.'⁹³ Thus the saints who came to India from outside first visited his shrine.

The shrine's reputation also spread because of the importance of Hujwiri's writings. He was a prolific author not only in prose but also in poetry. He wrote the masterpiece work *Kashaf ul Mahjub*, 'the first known manual of Sufism written in Persian'.⁹⁴ It was completed very late in his life, drew upon the vast source material available in Arabic and 'is a most authoritative exposition of Sufism according to Junaid's school'.⁹⁵ It became known to a western audience through the 1911 translation by the Cambridge Orientalist Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (1868–1945). Importantly, unlike other Punjabi Sufis who expressed their mysticism in poetry, Hujwiri wrote about his thoughts and esoteric experiences in prose. Nicholson chose to translate *Kashaf al Mahjub* because it could be rendered better into English, and the work attracted further Orientalist commentary once it had become known through the translation.⁹⁶ Indeed, because it was translated into English before it was into Urdu, its resonance was initially greater among educated enquirers into Sufism in the West than in its author's native Lahore.

John Gilbert Lennard (1915–78) and his brother John William Lennard (b. 1913) were two important British disciples. They were so profoundly influenced by Nicholson's translation that they converted to Islam, adopting the respective names, Shahidullah Faridi and Faruq Ahmed.⁹⁷ They took up permanent residence at the Data Shrine in 1936.⁹⁸ Before coming to Lahore they took *bait* (oath of allegiance) at the hands of Syed Zauqi Shah, a Sufi saint of Hyderabad Deccan. Faruq Ahmed is buried within the Data Durbar.⁹⁹ Shahidullah, who spent his final days in Karachi, immersed himself in Sufi thought and practice. He published a translation of *Kashaf al Mahjub* in which he claimed in (p. 142) the preface that few people had fully understood its mystical complexities. Shahidullah contested Nicholson's understanding of the limited role afforded to *shariat* in *Kashaf al Mahjub*. He instead saw *Kashaf* in complete consonance with *shariat*. Indeed, the real power of the shrine lay in the orthodox teachings of *Kashaf al Mahjub*.¹⁰⁰ This interpretation reflects the influence of Muhammad Din Fauq's biographical account of Ali Hujwari in Urdu, *Hazrat Data Ganj Baksh*, published in 1914 in Lahore. This popularised the saint's reputation amongst orthodox Muslims and helps to explain the shrine's continuation as a major focus for religious activity in Lahore, which was a centre of Islamic revivalism in the late colonial period.

Murids, however, have claimed direct connection with the saint during meditation 'sitting in full view' of his tomb. They have compared the spiritual energy (*faizan*) that radiates from the saint's tomb during meditation to 'an intense electric current surging through their body'.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

Trains and steamships revolutionised pilgrimage both to the Hijaz and within India. Pilgrimage to the former was popularised through travelogues. Another modern literary form, the novel, was used by Sikh reformers to discourage pilgrimage to Sufi shrines. It was, however, the 'boa-constrictor' of Hinduism that formed the main focus of the Khalsa Tract Society's thousands of pamphlets produced in the new era of print culture. Its output from its foundation in 1894 until 1911 was so immense that 400 tracts and one million copies had been produced.¹⁰² Competitive revivalism, in an environment in which colonial Census reports and political patronage encouraged sharper community identity, impacted on the 'enchanted universe' of Punjabi religious pluralism. Some Sufi shrines shifted from being shared sacred sites for intercessory worship to being centres of Islamic knowledge.

The growing numbers of pilgrims to the Hijaz posed health and security threats from a British perspective. Disease and disorder were constant imperial preoccupations. Cholera and the rise of Pan-Islamic sentiment made the Hajj appear especially dangerous. Surveillance accompanied regulation. Imperial involvement was also prompted by the impact on imperial prestige of large numbers of 'pauper pilgrims.' **(p.143)** The Hijaz by the eve of the First World War was seen as just one of a number of hubs for Indian revolutionaries. The final chapter turns to the imperial archive to trace the networks of revolt which linked Lahore with not only the Hijaz, Afghanistan and the tribal areas adjoining it, but also North America's Pacific Coast. **(p.144)**

Notes:

(1.) For a pre-colonial account of the Hajj see Suraiya Faruqi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj Under the Ottomans, 1517-1683* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); also see, M.N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1500-1800* (Princeton: Markus Weiner, 1996).

(2.) See Harnik Deol, *Religion and Nationalism in India: The Case of the Punjab* (London: Routledge, 2011).

(3.) Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

(4.) The advent of the steamship saw Jeddah's population rise to around 25,000 by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.

(5.) James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (eds), *Global Muslims in the Age of Print and Steam* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2014), p. 3.

(6.) Mushirul Hasan and Rakhshanda Jalil, *Journey to the Holy Land: A Pilgrim's Diary* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

(7.) Faruqi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 133.

(8.) A quarantine was opened for Indian pilgrims at Qamaran Island by the Ottoman authorities near the straits of the Bab al-Mandab, some 500 miles south of Jeddah. The Government of India, because of political and trading considerations, trailed behind European demands for medical regulations and Acts which emanated from the International Sanitary Conferences in the wake of the 1865 outbreak. See Saurabh Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics and Pestilence: The Hajj From*

the Indian Subcontinent 1860–1920 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 8–9; 16; 24–8; 61–5.

(9.) F.E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 273.

(10.) Martin Thomas, 'Managing the Hajj: Indian Pilgrim Traffic, Public Health and Transportation in Arabia, 1918–1930', in T.G. Otte and Keith Neilson, *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire, 1848–1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 173–92; Eric Tagliacozzo, 'Hajj in the Time of Cholera: Pilgrim Ships and Contagion from Southeast Asia to the Red Sea', in Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*, pp. 103–21. John Slight has recently pointed out how cheaper long distance travel also gave rise to 'pauper pilgrims' whose desperate conditions in the Hijaz was another factor alongside health and 'security' concerns in increasing imperial involvement with the Hajj. John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj 1865–1956* (Cambridge Mass; Harvard University Press, 2015).

(11.) Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

(12.) On the lama see, for example, Fred Reid and David Washbrook, 'Kipling, Kim and Imperialism', *History Today*, 32, 8 (August 1982), pp. 14–20.

(13.) Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 243.

(14.) This sealed off the regular pilgrimage routes along the frontiers of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. For more details see Huber, *The Holy Land*, pp. 233–4.

(15.) *Ibid.*, p. 238.

(16.) *Ibid.*, p. 239.

(17.) *Ibid.*

(18.) *Ibid.*, p. 242.

(19.) The provisions related to the fitting and provisioning of pilgrim ships and the carrying of a qualified medical officer if there were more than 100 pilgrims on board.

(20.) See 'The Mecca Pilgrimage', *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, 11 June 1889, Thomas Cook Archive. Once in Jeddah, pilgrims were at the mercy of the demands of the pilgrim-guides and camel-brokers for their travel to Mecca and Medina.

(21.) *Times of India*, Bombay, 19 January 1895.

(22.) John Cook to the Under Secretary of the Government of India, n.d., file 9.24 GB 27 The Mecca Pilgrimages 1886-1894, Thomas Cook Archive.

(23.) Notes for Mr F.H. Cook's Guidance re. Pilgrimage Arrangements in India, 4 October 1886, file 9.2.2. GB 27 The Mecca Pilgrimages 1886-1894, Thomas Cook Archive.

(24.) *Ibid.*

(25.) *Ibid.*

(26.) John Cook to the Under Secretary of the Government of India, n.d., file 9.24 GB 27 The Mecca Pilgrimages 1886-1894, Thomas Cook Archive.

(27.) *Ibid.*

(28.) This was a joint venture between the Netherlands Steamship Company, the Rotterdam Lloyd, Limited and the Netherlands Ocean Steamship Company.

(29.) Kris Alexanderson, "'A Dark State of Affairs': Hajj Networks, Pan-Islamism, and Dutch Colonial Surveillance during the Interwar Period', *Journal of Social History*, 47, 4 (Summer 2014), pp. 1021-41.

(30.) *Ibid.*, p. 1026. The segregation on board reflected the segregation of Hadrami Arabs in *Kampong Arab* (Arab Villages in the Dutch East Indies) until 1919.

(31.) *Ibid.*, p. 1031.

(32.) On Chotani's involvement with the Hajj see Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 210-11.

(33.) Hasan and Jalil, *Journey to the Holy Land*, p. 16.

(34.) Peters, *The Hajj*, p. 334.

(35.) Depression-induced price falls for such commodities as rice, rubber and jute in the late 1920s led to a fall in the number of pilgrims from Java, Malaya and Bengal. Mishra, *Pilgrimage, Politics, Pestilence*, p. 39.

(36.) Hasan and Jalil, *Journey to the Holy Land*, p. 18.

(37.) 'The Death Ship'. Being a Narrative Account of the Pilgrim Trade to Mecca in the Years 1929-30 as Seen Through the Eyes of a Ship's Radio Officer', Plunkett Papers Small Collections Box 19, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge, p. 3.

(38.) *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

(39.) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

(40.) Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 131.

(41.) Hasan and Jalil, *Journey to the Holy Land*, p. 26.

(42.) Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, *A Princess's Pilgrimage: Nawab Sikandar Begum's "A Pilgrimage to Mecca"* (Delhi: Women Unlimited, 2007); Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, pp. 82-4. Sikander Begum's granddaughter, Sultan Jahan Begum, also published an account of her performance of the Hajj which took place in 1903.

(43.) See Hasan and Jalil, *Journey to the Holy Land*, p. 27.

(44.) *Ibid.*, p. 30.

(45.) See, Homayra Ziad, 'The Return of Gog: Politics and Pan-Islamism in the Hajj Travelogue of 'Abd al-Majid Daryabadi', in Gelvin and Green, *Global Muslims*, pp. 227-48. A useful introduction to Daryabadi's narrative is provided in Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 221-32.

(46.) Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 132,

(47.) See, for example, Barbara D. Metcalf, 'The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Hajj', in Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1990), especially pp. 85-8.

(48.) Cited in Peters, *The Hajj*, p. 341.

(49.) *Ibid.*

(50.) B.D. Metcalf, 'The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Haj', in B.D. Metcalf (ed.), *Islamic Contestations: Essays on Muslims in India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 297.

(51.) Abdul Hamid Khan, *Jihad-i-Zindagi: Maulana Maulvi Feroze ud Din Sahib kay khud Nawisht Halat-i-Zindagi* ('The Struggle of Life: Maulana Maulvi Feroze ud Din's Autobiographical Account') (Lahore: Feroze Sons, 1959), pp. 110-50.

(52.) *Ibid.*, p. 147.

(53.) *Ibid.*, p. 113.

(54.) See Francis Robinson, 'Technology and Religious change: Islam and the Impact of Print', *Modern Asian Studies* 27, 1 (1993) pp. 229-51.

(55.) On the emergence of the Chishti revivalist shrines and their political influence in the Pakistan struggle see David Gilmartin, 'Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab', *Modern Asian Studies* 13, 3 (1979), pp. 485-517.

(56.) The blurred religious identities of Sakhi Sarwar's devotees in the colonial era have been the focus of research. See Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 147 & ff; Anil Sethi, 'The Creation of Religious Identities in the Punjab c. 1850-1920', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998.

(57.) Bhai Vir Singh used the new literary form of the historical novel to develop a sense of a Khalsa Sikh identity. See his novels *Sundari* (1898) and *Bijay Singh* (1899).

(58.) Ditt Singh trivialised the miraculous powers attributed to Sarwar and contrasted the follies of 'worshipping' the *pir* with the richness of the Sikh tradition.

(59.) Sethi, 'The Creation of Religious Identities', p. 36.

(60.) This ritual was known as *chaukhi bharna*. Pilgrims also did not wash their hair or clothes until the pilgrimage was complete. See Gibb Schreffler, 'Music and Musicians in Punjab: An Introduction to the Special Issue', *Journal of Punjab Studies* 18 1 & (2011), pp. 21-2.

(61.) Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Punjab* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), p. 58.

(62.) Sakhi Sarwar was especially venerated by women who believed that the saint's power could cure infertility.

(63.) On Madho Lal Husain see, A.R. Luther *et al*, *Madho Lal Husain: Sufi Poet of the Punjab. A Study* (Lahore: Sh. Mubarak Ali, 1982).

(64.) Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines*, p. 108.

(65.) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

(66.) Iqbal Qaiser, *Historical Sikh Shrines in Pakistan* (Lahore: Punjabi History Board, 1998), p. 298.

(67.) *Lahore District Gazetteer 1904*, p. 84.

(68.) Ram Thamman was a relative of Guru Nanak, who spent his life as a *prapti* Sadhu (powerful Sadhu with immediate Yogic powers). His shrine included both a Gurdwara to commemorate Guru Nanak's visits, a tank and a temple at the main gate of the large water pool. For a brief account see Punjab Government, *Lahore District Gazetteer 1916* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1916), p. 84.

(69.) John Campbell Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. 211-12, cited in Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2010), p. 114.

(70.) *Ibid.*

(71.) Oman, cited in Mir, *The Social Space*, p. 115.

(72.) 'Dussehra Effigy Maker' <http://rashmitalwar.blogspot.co.uk/2008/10/dussehra-effigy-maker.html> accessed 26 February 2015.

(73.) Punjab Government, *Lahore District Gazetteer 1916*, p. 85.

(74.) Abdul Hameed, 'Hindu Yogis and Sadhus in pre-1947 Lahore', <http://www.apnaorg.com/columns/ahameed/column-1.html> accessed 26 February 2015.

(75.) On the Gurdwara Reform movement see, M.L. Ahluwalia, *A History of Sikh Politics and Gurdwara Reforms* (New Delhi: International Publishers, 1990); Richard G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1985). On the British and Muslim shrines see David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1988) ; Customary Law and *Shari'at* in British Punjab', in Katharine P Ewing (ed.) *Shari'at and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1988) pp. 43-62; 'Shrines, Succession and Sources of Moral Authority', in Barbara Metcalf (ed.), *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 221-40.

(76.) See, R.C. Temple, *Story of My Life*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1896).

(77.) R.C. Temple, 'A Song About Sakhi Sarwar', *Calcutta Review* 73 (1881) p. 254.

(78.) Ian J. Kerr, *Engines of Change: The Railroads that Made India* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2007), p. 90.

(79.) *Lahore District Gazetteer 1904* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1905), p. 84.

(80.) Haroon Khalid, 'Celebrating Vaisakhi at Ram Thaman', *Lahore Nama* <https://lahorenama.wordpress.com/2011/04/08/celebrating-vaisakhi-at-ram-thaman-by-haroon-khalid> accessed 15 February 2015.

(81.) For the attraction of the shrine throughout the Punjab see Tahir Kamran and Amir Khan Shahid, 'Sharia, Shias and Chishtiya Revivalism: Contextualising the Growth of Sectarianism and the Tradition of the Sialvi Saints of the Punjab', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 24, 3 (July 2014), pp. 479-80.

(82.) We have referred earlier to the links across continents established by the international migration of disciples during the colonial era. This will be explored further with respect to the shrine of Hazart Datta Ganj Bakhsh. The 'loyalism' of the Sufi *pirs* of the Punjab meant that there was less surveillance of *urs* than of the Mecca pilgrimage from the 1910s onwards.

(83.) Sheba Saeed, 'Begging in Lahore around the Shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh' unpublished paper, RGS-IBG Annual Conference, London, 27 August 2014.

- (84.) For accounts of the contemporary *urs* celebrations see Aslam Nasreen, '960th Urs of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh (RA) in Lahore from April 9th', *Pakistan Times* www.pakistantimes.net/2004/03/23/metro1.htm accessed 5 January 2015.
- (85.) Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwar* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2005), p. 12
- (86.) Anna Suworova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia: The Eleventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 53.
- (87.) Mohammad Tazeem, 'Theory and Practice of Islamic Mysticism: An Exposition by Ali bin Usman Hujwiri', in Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (eds). *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2009), p. 180.
- (88.) *Naqoosh*, Lahore, no. 92, February 1962, p. 540.
- (89.) Akhter Rahi, *Tazkara-i-Ulema-i-Punjab*, vol. 1, (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rahmania, 1998), pp. 75-6.
- (90.) John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines, An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India* (Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1938). pp. 128-9; 200.
- (91.) Syed Muhammad Abdul Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities with an Account of its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade Etc.* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994), p. 179.
- (92.) Suworova, *Muslim Saints of South Asia*, p. 54.
- (93.) Subhan, *Sufism*, p. 128.
- (94.) Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1 (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1978), p. 113.
- (95.) *Ibid.*
- (96.) There were works on *Kashaf al Mahjub* by Arberry and Subhan.
- (97.) Robert Rozehnal, *Islamic Sufism Unbound: Politics and Piety in Twenty-First Century Pakistan* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 60.
- (98.) Captain Wahid Baksh, *Sharah-i-Kashaf ul Mehjub* (Lahore: Al Faisal, 2009), p. 27.
- (99.) *Ibid.*

(100.) Umer bin Ibad, 'The State and Shrines in Post-Colonial Central Punjab (1947-2007)', unpublished PhD thesis, Government College University, 2012, pp. 55-6.

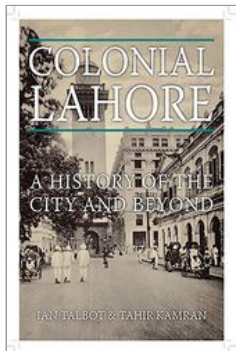
(101.) Rozehnal, *Islamic Sufism*, p. 200.

(102.) Mir, *The Social Space*, p. 84.



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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Martyrs, Migrants and Militants

Lahore's Transnational Revolutionary Networks

Ian Talbot

Tahir Kamran

DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0008

Abstract and Keywords

Chapter seven discusses the emergence of revolutionary networks in the first decade of the Nineteenth Century and the activities of leading figures and movements during the First World War. The student population of the city provided recruits for militant groups that sought to overthrow the Raj. There are case studies of the Ghadr Movement, of iconic revolutionary martyrs such as Bhagat Singh, Udham Singh and Madan Lal Dhingra and of 'absconding' students to the trans-border camps in Chamarkand of what the British termed the 'Hindustani Fanatics.' The Muslim students became involved in Obaidullah Sindhi's *jihadist* struggle in 1915 and in the *hijrat* movement to Afghanistan of March-August 1920. Some were to replace Pan-Islamic fervour with attachment to Communism inculcated at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

Keywords: Ghadr Movement, Bhagat Singh, Udham Singh, Madan Lal Dhingra, Chamarkand, Obaidullah Sindhi, Hijrat Movement, Pan I-Islamic, Communist

The Shadman chowk (roundabout) occupied the execution ground of the Lahore jail. This chilling reminder of the Raj's coercive power was demolished in 1961. Bhagat Singh (1907–31), India's most famous revolutionary, had gone to the gallows, with his accomplices Shivram Rajguru (1908–31) and Sukhdev Thapar (1907–31), at this spot on 23 March 1931.¹ After years of candlelit vigils and demands for the recognition of his sacrifice, early in October 2012 the Pakistan authorities agreed to rename the roundabout Bhagat Singh chowk. Peace and civil society activists, including theatre groups, hoped that this symbolic gesture would reinvigorate the stalled Indo-Pakistan peace process.² There were, of course, other martyrs to the freedom struggle and many other angry young men in late colonial Lahore who sought to overthrow the Raj. None of them achieved similar acclaim of being 'world renowned',³ but some, unlike Bhagat Singh, spun global webs of revolt. Colonial rule extended Lahore's historical long-distance networks of trade, pilgrimage and cultural exchange. The railways, steamships and telegraph lines which carried goods, people and ideas to the Raj's profit also transported its opponents and enemies. Punjabis' migration in the age of imperial globalisation as soldiers, policemen, labourers, lumberjacks, traders and farmers has been well documented. **(p.146)** It eclipsed all other Indian overseas migration with the possible exception of the Gujarati population. Punjabis' mobility in anti-colonial struggle, the Ghadr movement excepted, has however been relatively neglected.⁴

During the early years of the twentieth century, the Raj's opponents extended the freedom struggle far beyond its borders, with 'India Houses' acting as meeting places for revolutionary students in London, Paris and New York. By 1914, such activities had spread to the Pacific Coast of North America and as far afield as Tokyo.⁵ The First World War and the Russian Revolution further stimulated transnational revolutionary networks. Constantinople, Berlin, Kabul, neutral Stockholm and revolutionary Moscow emerged as new centres.⁶ The German wartime conspiracies to ship arms to India gave prominence to Batavia, Bangkok, Shanghai and briefly Hilo in Hawaii.⁷

This chapter reveals Lahore's largely overlooked role in the international revolutionary struggle against the British Empire. The greatest attention has focused on the Ghadr Party, which was primarily made up rural Sikh Jat migrants to North America. Analysis of the *Ghadr Directory* compiled by the Government of India's Intelligence Bureau in 1934 reveals, for example, that of those persons engaged in overseas seditious activity, just 7.8 per cent came from the Lahore district, whereas 22.9 per cent, 19 per cent, 13 and 10 per cent originated respectively from the Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and

Ludhiana districts respectively.⁸ The party's founders had, however, been educated in Lahore. One aim of this chapter will be to reconnect the Ghadr Party with the city. Another is to reveal the Lahore connection of Madan Lal Dhillon (1883-1909), nowadays less revered than Bhagat Singh, but who was the Punjab's first twentieth-century revolutionary martyr. Lahore's revolutionary transnational linkages, however, were also forged by Muslim students who migrated in 1915 and 1920 to Afghanistan, from where some embarked on revolutionary journeys which led them across Europe, and from Pan-Islamic to communist ideals. Relatively little has been written about this transnational element in the city's life and the circumstances in which some Lahore students became engaged in *mujahadeen* activities.⁹

(p.147) The Ghadr Movement

The transnational revolutionary struggle of the Ghadr movement has been extensively researched.¹⁰ Standard accounts portray it as being predominantly supported by Punjabi Sikh Jat migrants whose experience of increasing racial exclusion in Canada and North America impelled them into an abortive attempt during the First World War to overthrow the Raj.¹¹ Perhaps as many as 15,000 Punjabi Sikhs lived in British Columbia and California's Imperial Valley during the first decade of the twentieth century. The meeting place for Ghadrists, the Gurdwara at Stockton and the Ghadr Party headquarters at 5 Wood Street in San Francisco, continue to serve as iconic symbols of the struggle, as does the celebrated episode involving the returning Sikh migrants on the *Komagata Maru*.¹² The imperial archive reveals, however, that the Ghadr movement developed a worldwide reach from Panama to Persia, from Afghanistan to Argentina, and that there were considerable numbers of Muslims involved in the movement. Sikandar Hayat Khan (1892-1942), who later led the loyalist Punjab Unionist Party, was, for example, attracted to the Ghadr Party while he was a student in England. His family cut short his stay abroad under compulsion from the Government of India because of his participation in its activities.¹³ Maulvi Barakatullah (1854-1927) from Bhopal was the most celebrated Muslim Ghadrite.¹⁴ His revolutionary career in Japan had been cut short when British diplomatic pressure had denied him tenure as a professor of Urdu at Tokyo University. Barakatullah had popularised and published Pan-Islamic and radical Indian nationalist propaganda, including the important monthly *The Indian Sociologist*. When he shifted to California, he was quickly engaged in Ghadr activities. Barakatullah subsequently moved to Berlin and Kabul, where he became prime minister of the Provisional Indian Government briefly set up in December 1915 by the eccentric Hindu Raja Mahendra Pratap (1886-1979). We shall see later that some Punjabi students who had

'absconded' from Lahore took their place in this government. They were also involved in a parallel attempt to seek German and Turkish support for an invasion of India from the tribal belt, an initiative which has gone down in history as the Silk Letter Movement because of the yellow silk cloth on which appeals for help from its Deobandi leaders were written.¹⁵

(p.148) The mercurial Har Dyal (1884-1939) pioneered the Ghadr movement.¹⁶ He was an educational migrant to the Punjab who had travelled to the city in 1903 to attend the Punjab University. His academic excellence secured him a prestigious State Scholarship two years later. This enabled him to travel to England to study at Balliol College, Oxford. He soon came into contact with revolutionary Indian students who were based at India House in Highgate. Radicalized, he refused to accept any further the 'tainted money' of the State Scholarship following the news of the 1907 disturbances in the Punjab. The following year he returned to Lahore taking up residence in Sutar Mandi, where for a time he lived austere, dressing like a sadhu. His charismatic appearance and radical message attracted a student following which alerted the British authorities. Anticipating arrest, he left the city and after a period of time in Paris where he edited the *Bande Mataram*, he journeyed to Algiers, Martinique and Honolulu, where he lived as a renunciate. The Arya Samajist missionary and militant nationalist Bhai Parmanand (1876-1947) encountered him there and as we shall see later encouraged Har Dyal to go the United States.

Har Dyal was able to take up the baton of revolutionary leadership in California because he brought together on the Ghadr platform, idealistic revolutionary students and seasoned Sikh labourers whose outlook had been shaped by racial discrimination. Sohan Singh Bhakna's career may be seen as representative of the latter, largely hidden experience, although Bhakna (1870-1968) had been involved in political agitation in the 1906-07 canal colony protests in Punjab before he migrated to the United States.¹⁷ Bhakna was to eventually work closely with Har Dyal in the establishment of the Ghadr Party, acting as its first president. He came from a peasant farming background in the Amritsar district and had married into a landlord family in the nearby Lahore district. When he arrived in Seattle in April 1909, he worked as a labourer in a timber mill. Bhakna returned to India in October 1914 to raise revolution, but was promptly arrested and tried under the First Lahore Conspiracy Case. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he spent a number of years as a prisoner in the

Andaman Islands before eventually being transferred to Lahore Central Jail.

Har Dyal realized that the Pacific Coast revolutionaries needed to communicate directly with the Punjab homeland. The conservative **(p. 149)** newspapers established by the Singh Sabha and Chief Khalsa Diwan could not serve this purpose, so he founded a new paper in San Francisco. The Ghadr famously raised the standard of revolt. It transmitted back to Punjab an urgent battle cry:

Time for prayer is gone,
take the sword in the hand,
Time is now to plunge in a battle,
mere talk serves no purpose,
Those who long for martyrdom.
will for ever as shining guideposts.¹⁸

In a series of meetings at Fresno and Sacramento in August 1914, Har Dyal personally called on Indians to return home to overthrow the Raj. An initial burst of enthusiasm saw 3,000 Indians inspired to make the journey. The plan was to undermine the Raj in advance of a major uprising, by encouraging the largely Punjabi recruited Indian Army to revolt as it had done in 1857. Revolutionary publications were smuggled into India through Pondicherry, with Ghadr joining earlier works such as *Bande Mataram* and *Madan's Talwar*. As well as Sikh soldiers, following Turkey's entry into the War on the side of the Central Powers, Muslims were targeted in propaganda. The hope of a general army mutiny was unfulfilled, although four Rajput companies of the Indian 5th Light Infantry in Singapore did mutiny on 15 February. The unsuspecting British needed to call on French and Russian naval assistance before reinforcements could arrive from Rangoon. Even then, it was only after a fierce battle that the mutineers were defeated. Forty-seven *sepoys* were executed after a subsequent court-martial. This event provided both a warning to the British and sustained hope amongst their revolutionary opponents. The 'Hindustani Fanatic' leader from Lahore, Maulvi Abdur Rahim, alias Mulla Bashir, issued a circular letter to *sepoys* in March 1919, calling on them to desert with their weapons.

The Ghadrites' cause was doomed when they arrived in India not only to find that there was no general uprising or mutiny, but that local villagers were ready to turn them in to the British to face trial. Eighteen of the returnees were hanged and a further fifty-eight were transported. The setback was compounded by a police raid on the movement's headquarters in San Francisco. Its occupants subsequently stood trial in the famous San Francisco Conspiracy Case.¹⁹ Har Dyal

(p.150) managed to escape arrest in America and travelled to Germany where he worked for a time with revolutionaries on what became known as the Berlin Committee. He soon became disillusioned and departed for neutral Sweden. His account of this period, *Forty Months in Germany and Turkey*, published in 1920, was seized on for propaganda purposes by the British authorities. After many years of poverty-stricken exile, Har Dyal was permitted to return to London in 1927 where he lived under the surveillance of the India Office. Har Dyal turned to a life of study, accumulating a 5,000-book library in his Edgware home and a doctoral degree from the School of Oriental and African Studies.²⁰ He was never permitted to return to India and instead saw out his final days in the United States, passing away in Philadelphia early in March 1939.

Bhai Parmanand was another early Ghadr Party leader who had been educated in Lahore at the Punjab University. He came from the Jhelum district and was a descendant of the famous martyr Bhai Mati Das, a companion of Guru Tegh Bahadur and executed before him in Delhi in 1675 by being sawn in two. Parmanand was a dedicated member of the Arya Samaj throughout his life and first came to Lahore for education at the Dayananad Anglo-Vedic College to which he maintained a life-long attachment. From there he studied at the Punjab University, where he was a few years senior to Har Dyal. Parmanand's overseas activities were initially linked with lecture tours for the Arya Samaj. In 1905 he visited South Africa, where he stayed for a time with Gandhi. Five years later he visited Guyana which was the centre of the Arya Samaj's outreach to the Indian population in the Caribbean. He famously persuaded Har Dyal to abandon his Waikiki Beach retreat in Honolulu and take up activism in San Francisco. Parmanand joined him and became a founder member of the Ghadr Party. He returned to India in 1915 as part of the Ghadr uprising with the intention of raising revolt in Peshawar. Parmanand was initially sentenced to death after his conviction in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case. This was commuted and he served a sentence in the notorious Circular Jail at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands until his pardon in 1920.²¹

Parmanand returned to a life of activism in Lahore connected both with the DAV College and with nationalist struggle. This initially took the form of becoming chancellor of the National College, set up in 1920 by Lala Lajpat Rai. Like other 'Vidyapiths', its aim was to boycott the colonial-run institutions and to inculcate 'patriotic' ideas in its students.

(p.151) Bhagat Singh famously attended the National College in Lahore. Parmanand also engaged in a prolific writing and publishing

career. By the beginning of the 1930s, he had rejected the 'pseudo-nationalism' of Congress for the pure milk of *Hindutva*. He joined the Hindu Mahasabha and became its president in 1933.²² His son was to become a prominent figure in post-independence Hindu nationalism.

Members of the Ghadr Party moved between it and a variety of organisations from the Akali Dal to the Kirti Kisan Party and Communist Party of India. Sohan Singh Bhakna, for example, was involved with both the Kisan Movement and the Communist Party following his release from prison in July 1930. These political associations were often accompanied by remarkable transnational movements. The well-known figure Teja Singh Swatantar (d. 1976) spent time in Afghanistan, Turkey, California, Canada, Panama, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Argentina and Germany before his return to India and eventual arrest in January 1936.²³ In the early 1930s Teja Singh sought to buy land in Argentina to provide bases for the military training of Ghadrites.²⁴ Teja Singh was another of the early Ghadr leaders who, although not a native of Lahore, had been educated at the Punjab University. By the 1930s the main imperial concern was about Ghadr activities in Kabul. The party in the city had close links with the Soviet Embassy and with the Indian Muslim revolutionaries who still remained there. Investigations revealed that the Ghadr Party leader Gurmukh Singh (1888–1977), who originated from the Ludhiana district, was receiving funding both from the Ghadr Party in America and the Soviet Embassy. Sikh transporters were clandestinely sending letters and papers from Amritsar to Kabul in their lorries which plied the Peshawar-Kabul road.²⁵ The other leading Ghadr figure in Kabul, Rattan Singh (alias Ishar Singh), had arrived there in December 1930 from Canada via Persia, Herat and Kandahar.²⁶ Following an Afghan government crack-down the following year he was deported to Russia, while Gurmukh Singh disappeared from public view.²⁷

Revolutionary Martyrs

Revolutionary martyrs hanged following individual acts of terrorism were as much part of a 'cosmopolitan' Punjabi revolutionary tradition **(p.152)** as was the Ghadr movement. Their thought drew not only on indigenous histories of 'martyrdom' and the 'vocabulary of a religion-alism', but also on European anarchism and socialism. Despite their local rootedness, such figures as Bhagat Singh, Udham Singh (1899–1940) and Madan Lal Dhillon acted in a global spatial and ideological context. The latter two 'spread anarchy' on the global sites of imperial power directed against symbols of its oppression. Bhagat

Singh's murder of Deputy Superintendent of Police Saunders in the heart of Lahore reverberated around the world at the time of his trial.

The iconic Punjabi revolutionary nationalist Bhagat Singh²⁸ is seen as following in the 'secular democratic' tradition of the Ghadr movement. Bhagat Singh's career, it is claimed, was inspired by the martyrdom of Kartar Singh Sarabha (1896-1915), who had returned to Punjab from California to participate in the abortive Ghadr uprising of February 1915. Sarabha was one of the forty-six Ghadrites executed following the first Lahore Conspiracy Trial. His youth and intellectual ability (he had enrolled to study chemistry at Berkeley) made him the most prominent of those tried.²⁹ The high esteem Bhagat Singh held for the Ghadrites can be seen in the fact that under various pseudonyms he penned articles on their martyrdom for such publications as *Chaand* (its November 1928 Executions special edition).³⁰ He also anonymously wrote an essay in 1928 extolling the 'martyrdom' of Madan Lal Dhingra as part of a series entitled, 'Martyrs for Freedom'.³¹

Bhagat Singh's revolutionary 'dedication' has recently been seen as inextricably linked with the 'sense of himself as a citizen of the world'.³² By this is meant not only his interest in Marxism and anarchism, but his engagement with contemporary events in Europe, the US and Japan. The 'fissures' within Europe following the First World War and its aftermath, it is claimed, gave him a 'hope' for revolutionary change that not just in India, but internationally, would overturn the suffering of the weak and powerless. The death and sacrifice of revolutionary-assassins were not to achieve this end, but Bhagat Singh's 'Hope in a World at War' has been seen as 'displaying an astonishing cosmopolitanism'.³³

Bhagat Singh's statements supporting Marxist ideology in his trial appearances in Lahore in 1929 'brought his predicament to the world stage' as a result of the writings of communist sympathisers.³⁴ The Communist Party of Great Britain called for protests at his impending **(p.153)** execution, while the New York-based *Daily Worker* reported his hanging. This global support meant that eulogies such as that in the Tamil song *Congress Keerthanai*, which described Bhagat Singh as 'world renowned', were not mere hyperbole.³⁵

Udham Singh holds second rank only to Bhagat Singh in the annals of Punjab's revolutionary martyrs. Revolutionary action, rather than ideas and influence brought him onto the world stage. His shooting of the former Punjab governor Michael O' Dwyer (1864-1940) at a public lecture in Caxton Hall in London in March 1940 is regarded as revenge for the Amritsar Massacre nearly twenty-one years earlier, when

O'Dwyer was governor. According to Udham Singh's biographies which frequently verge on the hagiographic, he had been serving water to the crowd at the time of the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre and reportedly took a vow at the Golden Temple to avenge the episode, which he blamed on O'Dwyer.³⁶ Udham Singh had first become involved with Ghadrite revolutionary activities in the United States in 1924 while he was living in New York. He was imprisoned on his return to India three years later for possessing unlicensed arms and seditious material, including the Ghadrite paper *The Voice of Revolt*. After living for a time under an assumed Muslim name in Amritsar Singh spent a number of years in England working as a carpenter and pedlar. He travelled extensively in Europe in the 1930s.

Madan Lal Dhingra completes the trinity of Punjab's revolutionary martyrs. We have already referred to Bhagat Singh's eulogising of his 'martyrdom'. Dhingra was in fact as revered in pre-war revolutionary circles, as were Udham Singh and Bhagat Singh a generation later. Like Udham Singh, he brought revolutionary terrorism to the heart of the British Empire. Dhingra's shooting of Sir Curzon Wylie, political aide-de-camp to the secretary of state for India, appears to have been prompted by the sentence of transportation meted out to Savarkar's elder brother Ganesh by A.M.T. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik.³⁷ Dhingra's career lacks Bhagat Singh's current prominence, but is worth exploring in a little more detail, as it reveals the important links which were established between Punjabi students and the revolutionary India House in London.

India House was a hostel in Highgate for nationalist students whose scholarships were paid for by its patron, Shyami Krishna Varma (1857-**(p.154)** 1930).³⁸ Varma was a former Balliol student whose militant nationalism was inspired by the Arya Samaj and the philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). The 'seditious' newspaper, *The Indian Sociologist* which was produced from India House had as its masthead motto, Spencer's quotation 'Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative.'³⁹ During the period 1905-10, the activities at India House grew increasingly radical with students engaging in bomb making and rifle practice.

India House's lectures were not just attended by its twenty-four permanent residents but by such visitors as Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Har Dyal and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (1880-1937).⁴⁰ Chattopadhyaya, the younger brother of the famous female Indian Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949), graduated to a lengthy revolutionary

career in Europe and was a leading figure in the German Mission to Afghanistan in 1915.⁴¹

Varma's anti-colonial views had been sharpened by the controversy surrounding the Viceroy Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal in 1905. The same year Varma established India House using his personal fortune to subsidise its residents, newspaper and the Indian Home Rule Society (IHRS), which met on the premises. In order to qualify for a fellowship, students had to follow Varma's example by promising not to work for the colonial bureaucracy. Within two years, in the face of increasing state surveillance, Varma had upped sticks to Paris where the redoubtable Parsi lady Bhikhaji Rustom Cama (Madame Cama, 1861-1936) had formed a branch of IHRS and developed links with the Socialist Congress of the Second International.⁴² She later brought out the short lived *Talwar* newspaper as a tribute to the 'martyrdom' of Madan Lal Dhingra. Varma's departure ushered in an even more radical period in India House's history as it fell under the influence of the nationalist firebrand Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966).⁴³ The disciple of Tilak and the populariser of the notion that the 1857 uprising was the first war of Indian national liberation, he formed an inner group of ardent followers called *Abhinav Bharat* (Young India) which met regularly at the Highgate premises on Sundays. Madan Lal Dhingra regularly attended these sessions. The British belief that Savarkar had instigated Dhingra's terrorist act led to his deportation, but not before a daring attempt had been made to rescue him from a prison van in May 1910.

(p.155) Madan Lal Dhingra had arrived in London four years earlier to study engineering at University College. Like the majority of the thousand or so Indian students in the imperial capital, he came from a wealthy upper caste Hindu family. His father Sahib Ditta Mal had acquired Punjab canal colony land and numerous houses during the course of a profitable medical career in both government and private practice.⁴⁴ It was but a short step from his home in Amritsar to study at Government College. Madan Lal Dhingra, however, was expelled before completing his degree. He subsequently ran away to sea. Ditta Mal and his brothers later claimed that this revealed the mental instability which prompted the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie, who was a family acquaintance.⁴⁵

Dhingra spent seven months living at India House during 1908 and 1909. This coincided with Savarkar's increasing radicalism. Fearing that their diffident and wayward son was falling under the older man's spell, Dhingra's parents removed him to a house in Bayswater in April 1909. He persisted in attending meetings of the *Abhinav Bharat* at India

House and, it later transpired, practised shooting at a range in Tottenham Court Road. He had, in fact, already purchased the murder weapon. Wyllie had left the main Jehangir Hall of the Institute of Imperial Studies after a meeting of the National Indian Association on the evening of 1 July. Dhingra confronted him on the landing outside and shot him four times at point blank range. Dhingra offered no defence at his short Old Bailey Trial and was hung at Pentonville Prison on 17 August. Many Indians had earlier condemned Dhingra's action, including Gandhi who was in London at the time. Following Savarkar's arrest and deportation, India House was closed. Chattopadhyaya went to Paris, from where he immediately tried to smuggle weapons to India. Revolutionary activities now switched to Paris, New York and Tokyo where India Houses were established.⁴⁶

The First World War increased the opportunities for transnational revolutionary activity. These were seized, as we have seen, most dramatically by the Ghadr movement. A strong anti-imperialist sentiment, which had been growing as a result of Pan-Islamic sentiment, also led some Lahore students to engage in *jihad*. It is to this episode and its background that we shall now turn.

(p.156) 'Absconding Students' and the 'Hindustani Fanatics'
The tiny numbers of Muslim overseas revolutionaries encourages a biographical approach to their formation focusing on personality traits and family influences.⁴⁷ Despite the idiosyncrasies of revolutionary travellers, we argue that it is important to understand their activities in the larger context both of Lahore's educational, cultural and political development and of western encroachment on the Muslim world from the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 onwards. This created an ideological environment in which appeals to Indian Muslims to resist European imperialism in the name of Islamic universalism could be nurtured.⁴⁸

Lahore's emergence as a major centre of reformist Islam, education and publishing is dealt with elsewhere in the volume. These factors provided an ideological and spatial context for Muslim involvement in *jihad* in the contingent circumstances of a world war which threatened the holy places of Islam. Here it is important to stress that the city had a number of Deobandi mosques influenced by the increasing anti-western sentiments of the Sheikhu'l Hind, Maulana Mahmud al Hasan. His objective was not merely to awaken Indian Muslims to western aggression against the *ummah* but to enlist support from Afghanistan in a revolt against the Raj. These ideas were to be actualised with the help

of Mahmudal Hasan's close follower Obaidullah Sindhi (1872-1944) during Britain's imperial wartime crisis.

Family ties reinforced those of discipleship, helping to establish networks of influence for *jihadist* activity. Obaidullah's nephew Maulvi Ahmad Ali, who administered the Madrassah he had established along reformist lines in Delhi in 1913, was, for example, a relative of Maulvi Abu Muhammad Ahmad, a classmate of Obaidullah at Deoband. Maulvi Ahmad was the *imam* of the Sufianwali Mosque in Kashmiri Bazaar in Lahore, from which, as we shall see later, he organised collections for the *mujahidin* in the tribal areas. Maulvi Ahmad was a close associate of Obaidullah and had first visited the Asmas *mujahidin* camp with him in 1910.⁴⁹ He was to later provide a rather unflattering account of the 'very dull' parade of infantry and cavalry. His small Lahore mosque provided the meeting place for such key figures in the wartime transnational plots as Obaidullah and Maulvi Abdul Rahim. It was also at his Sufianwali (p.157) Mosque that the plans were discussed for students to abscond from their Lahore colleges to take part in *jihad*. Maulvi Abdul Rahim, who was to take the alias Mulla Bashir, was the son of the *imam* of the radical Chiniyan Wali Mosque in the Siriyan Wala Bazaar, which was at the forefront of disputes between the Ahl-i-Hadith and Ahl-i-Quran.⁵⁰

The first decade of the twentieth century had seen a growth in Pan-Islamic sentiment as the Balkan Wars pressed in on the Ottoman guardians of the Holy Places of Islam. Pro-Turkish sentiments were trumpeted by the *Zamindar* newspaper published from Lahore.⁵¹ *Paisa Akhbar*, another popular local paper echoed them. This paper, which had been launched in 1887 had a residential locality of the city named after it.⁵² The two papers reported on the Balkan Wars and raised funds for the Red Crescent Society's medical aid efforts for the Ottoman forces. In 1913-14 *Paisa Akhbar's* proprietor Maulvi Mahbub Alam (1863-1933) visited both Cairo and Constantinople, where according to intelligence reports he indulged in anti-British sentiments.⁵³ The outbreak of world war encouraged further disaffection amongst sections of the Indian Muslim population as the Ottoman caliph who controlled the Holy Places of Islam, was pitted against the British with their considerable numbers of Punjabi Muslim soldiers.⁵⁴ Small groups of Lahore students sought to join the Ottoman forces to fight against fellow Punjabis. Like the Ghadrites, Pan-Islamists in the imperial crisis of the First World War looked beyond Punjab, to Afghanistan and to the Ottomans and Berlin for assistance against the colonial state.

In 1915, Mahmudul Hasan, the head of the Deoband school of Ulema requested Maulana Obaidallah Sindhi to go to Afghanistan to secure support from Emir Habibullah Khan (1872–1919). Obaidallah's involvement in Pan-Islamic causes dated back to the Balkan Wars.⁵⁵ Despite its neutrality, Afghanistan was a centre of German and Turkish intrigues. Mahmudul Hasan journeyed to the Hijaz under the pretext of pilgrimage to secure support for *jihad* against the British. Ghalib Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief provided a proclamation of jihad (the so-called *Ghalibnama*). Obaidallah, in letters woven into yellow silk handkerchiefs, sent secret details to Mahmudul Hasan for the formation of an Army of God (*Hezbollah*). These were intercepted in August 1916 thwarting what the British termed the Silk Letters Conspiracy. Mahmudul Hasan was arrested in Mecca and spent the next three years imprisoned in Malta.

(p.158) One of the absconding Lahore students, Abdul Haq, following his interception as an emissary in the Silk Letters Conspiracy, provided a statement to the Intelligence Bureau which yields vivid insights into the circumstances of the students' departure from Lahore early in 1915. Haq was a Hindu convert (he had been born into the Arora Caste as Jiwan Das) who had fallen under the influence of Abdul Majid Khan and his friend Allah Nawaz Khan, who were students at Government College. Along with a handful of other Government College students they determined to go to Turkey so that they could engage in *jihad*.

They were influenced by the *Ghalibnama* and by *fatwas* issued by the Lahore-based Maulvis Abdur Rahim and Fazal Ilahi.⁵⁶ According to Ayesha Jalal, they were also inspired by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's anti-colonial vision.⁵⁷ Although Maulvi Fazal Ilahi was a native of Wazirabad, he knew Lahore well, having received instruction in Sufism at the shrine of Sufi Wali Mohammad of Fatuhiwalla in the district.⁵⁸ He had qualified as a draftsman after education at the Scotch Mission School in Wazirabad. After a short period working in the Canal Department and the North Western Railway, he devoted his life to Islamic activism. Abd-Allah Safdar acted as his link with the students of Government College, while Mubarak Saghir performed a similar role at Islamia College.⁵⁹ Fazal Ilahi had first visited the camp at Asmas of the 'Hindustani Fanatics' in 1905. A decade later he accompanied the Lahore students there.⁶⁰ Asmas was to be a staging post on their journey to Turkey via Afghanistan.

The journey from Lahore was made by train to Haripur and then on foot to the trans-border region. They crossed the Indus on a raft supported

by inflated skins (*jala*) before completing the remainder of the arduous journey to Asmas on foot.⁶¹

Haq names the fifteen students who absconded, seven of whom came from Government College. Four students were in their third year at Lahore Medical College, including Sheikh Khushi Muhammad, Khoja Shuja Ullah, who was the relative of a prominent Lahore doctor, Allah Jawaya and Rahmat Ali, whose father worked in the Commissioner's Office, Lahore. Haq, whose father was a village cloth trader in the Shahpur district, and an Islamia College student Muhammad Hassan, whose father worked in the Paisa Akhbar Office, had the most ordinary backgrounds among the 'absconders'.⁶² The Lahore students **(p.159)** were to be later joined in Kabul by a smaller group from Peshawar High School.

Asmas

The students' first stopping place, Asmas, was the main 'Hindustani Fanatic' centre in the trans-border Buner region. It dated back to 1900, but the 'Hindustani Fanatics' presence in the region, as Hopkins and Marsden have recently revealed, commenced with the *jihad* against Sikh rule in the 1820s by Syed Ahmad Shaheed of Rae Bareilly (1786–1831) and his followers.⁶³ The British also labelled the colonists as 'Wahabis' from time to time. The 'Hindustani' element of the label reflected the fact that the *mujahidin*, as they termed themselves, were not Pashtun tribesmen, but came originally from Bengal, the Patna area of Uttar Pradesh and increasingly from Punjab. The 'absconding students' from Lahore, followed in an eight decades-old pattern of the 'regular arrival and departure of recruits from British territories'.⁶⁴ They spent around five weeks in the colony before departing for Kabul, meaning that Abdul Haq was later able to provide a detailed account for the British authorities of the camp and some of its leading figures.

Haq described the expansion of the camp onto the plateau adjoining the hill caverns which gave the camp its name (the correct word was *Samaste*, meaning caverns). He estimated that there were around 200 members who spent their time drilling daily, clad in black from head to foot. He also provided an account of the regular guard over the ammunition and the supplies of medicine and water from a nearby spring called Brando, which was vital to the camp's long-term survival.⁶⁵ According to Haq, the students soon became bored by camp life as they were unable to meet the *mujahidin* freely as a precaution against there being a British spy amongst them.⁶⁶ When they arrived in Kabul they faced weeks of virtual house arrest. It was only when Maulvi Abdur Rahim arrived in October 1915 that restrictions began to be lifted. They were unable, however, to continue to Turkey. Their *jihad* role had to be one as emissaries between Kabul, the tribal areas and India, or in minor roles in Mahendra Pratap's Provisional Indian Government in Kabul.

(p.160) Da Mujahideeno Kaley and Mulla Bashir/Abdur Rahim Da Mujahideeno Kaley (village of Mujahideen) lies just three miles from the Pakistan-Afghan border in the Chamarkand area of the Bajaur tribal region. There are a dozen or so dwellings and the mosque of Mulla Hadda. To its west is a small graveyard which houses the tomb of Abdur Rahmin/Mulla Bashir. This son of the *imam* of the Chiniyan Wali Mosque in Lahore devoted his life to transnational revolutionary activities. A slender man whose grizzled beard and smallpox pitted face made him instantly recognisable, he had made the Chamarkand camp his revolutionary headquarters from its foundation in 1915 as an offshoot of the main 'Fanatic' colony at Asmas, to his savage murder there twenty years later. The Chamarkand was established some five or six months after the Lahore students left Asmas for Kabul. It was a distance of around ten days' journey, or around 200 miles away. The Intelligence Bureau noted Chamarkand's strategic value as a nodal point for anti-British intrigue:

Chamarkand is especially adapted as a centre of intrigue... [It has] close touch with Extremist leaders in India; equally close touch, through Jelalabad which is only 42 miles distant with Kabul and is situated practically on the undemarcated portion of the Durand Line and in a tract which is neither under Afghan [control] and direct political relations with the Indian Government. Moreover Chamarkand is accessible from Tashkent via eastern Bokhara, the Badakhshan-Pamir border and the Kumar Valley. A route which could be freely used by individuals without exciting any comment in Kabul.⁶⁷

At its peak, the houses and mosque were home to around 200 *mujahidin*. They used the large area in front of the mosque as a parade ground where they could assemble a formidable array of weapons including rifles, pistols and a 'Belgian rattlesnake' Lewis light machine gun. The complex also possessed a printing press which had been bought for Rs4,000.⁶⁸ Mulla Bashir frequently travelled to Afghanistan to raise supplies and cash and to engage in anti-British intrigue in Kabul. He also travelled extensively through the tribal belt in efforts to stir revolt which, he believed, would encourage the insurrection in India which would bring the Raj to its knees.

The imperial archive bears testament to the Raj's surveillance capabilities. 'Fanatics' such as Mulla Bashir generated lengthy reports which **(p.161)** enable historians to chart their activities. We can thus read reports in 1915, and again in 1919, of Mulla Bashir's attempts to raise tribal revolt in Buner, Swat and the Mohmand area around Chamarkand. Two years later, he spent time in Makin in South

Waziristan, again encouraging tribal resistance. These areas, of course, have been the centre of contemporary Taliban activities. The reports also reveal that little has changed in terms of the close connections between developments in Kabul and those across the Durand Line. Mulla Bashir visited the Afghan capital on numerous occasions. In October 1919 he met with Obaidullah Sindhi. The following year he was again in Kabul but displeased the amir by accusing him in an anonymous letter of lacking 'zeal' for Islam. The next three years were spent moving his headquarters from Chamarkand to Pashat and back, and with further trips to Kabul and Jalalabad. In November 1926 Mulla Bashir was back in Kabul, where British agents reported that he attended a tea party given by Raja Mahendra Pratap. During 1931 he was reported to be living in Kabul in the house of Mohammad Hassan, one of the students who had 'absconded' from Lahore in February 1915 and who had established close contact with one of the most influential persons in Afghanistan, General Shah Mahmud, working as his translator and confidential secretary.⁶⁹

Imperial records also provide evidence of Mulla Bashir's propaganda activities. In 1932, for example, he issued a number of revolutionary pamphlets in the tribal belt, including *The Call for Action*.⁷⁰ At the time of the 1932 tribal rising in Dir, he issued a four-page letter in Persian calling for a general tribal rising.⁷¹ Both in the mid-1920s and again shortly before his death, Mulla Bashir competed with Maulvi Fazl Ilahi for leadership of the Chamarkand colony. The clashes involved differences of attitude towards Russian support, but at heart they were a struggle for the prestige and funding which went with the leadership of the 'Hindustani Fanatics'. It may well be that Maulvi Fazl Ilahi instigated Mulla Bashir's murder in 1934.⁷² Maulvi Fazl Ilahi had earlier been involved in a dispute over the leadership of the main *mujahidin* colony at Asmas, which ended with a murder.

The remarkable longevity of the 'Fanatic Colonies', initially at Sitana, then later at Palosi, Asmas and Chamarkand, rested as much on their continued replenishment of recruits and flow of remittances from North India as on their ability to embed themselves in the local tribal (p.162) societies.⁷³ Abdul Haq's statement provides useful insights into how subscriptions were raised in Lahore and sent to the 'Fanatic Colonies'. Their members spent their time in drill and physical exercises rather than cultivation, meaning that they needed to purchase all their supplies. Hindu shopkeepers from Mardan actually brought in goods to the Asmas camp for sale, while grain was purchased from Buner.⁷⁴ The Afghan Emir Habibullah Khan provided some subsidies, but the money to keep the camps running primarily came from subscriptions raised in Lahore. They were collected by Maulvi Ahmad, assisted by Maulvi

Abdul Haq who was the proprietor of the Rafah-i-'Am Steam Press Lahore adjacent to the Sufianwali Mosque. Haq was married to Abdul Rahim/Mulla Bashir's sister.⁷⁵

Every six months, the funds were secretly taken to Asmas and later Chamarkand. Maulvi Ahmad was to complain in 1916 in a letter to Mulla Bashir that the money that was being sent to Chamarkand was being wasted.⁷⁶ Sheikh Abdur Rahman acted as the courier for the funds from Lahore. He was a Sikh convert to Islam from the Gujranwala district who had joined the Asmas *mujahidin* in 1910 after spending some time working as a tailor in the Anarkali Bazaar. He also collected money from Delhi.⁷⁷

We will briefly examine the careers of some of the Lahore student 'absconders' in the following sections. It is important here to pull together some of the threads which can be discerned from British security records and the statements of those apprehended during the Silk Letters Conspiracy. Three themes can be clearly discerned. Firstly, radical mosques, primarily those of Deobandi orientation, were of great significance in encouraging *mujahidin* activity. Mosques raised funds, provided ideological inspiration and physical sustenance, as was the case with the 'absconding' Lahore students *en route* to Afghanistan. It is also interesting to note that Hindu and Sikh converts feature prominently amongst the Punjabi revolutionaries (Sheikh Obaidullah himself was a convert from Sikhism). Secondly, it is clear that the transnational revolutionary networks during the First World War could call on much older links and traditions which in the tribal areas dated to the 1820s. Finally, Lahore emerges as an important hub for transnational revolutionary activity. This is exemplified not only by the 'runaway' college students, but by the fundraising activities which were **(p.163)** vital for the survival of the *mujahidin* camps. Significantly, Delhi is the only other city mentioned in the accounts as a centre of such activity. If the account of Abdul Haq is to be believed, Lahore was much more important. The capital of British India's model 'loyalist' province was also at the heart of attempts to seek external aid in the overthrow of the Raj.

Lahore Student Socialist Mujahidin

Some of the student 'absconders' like Saghir and Abd-Allah Safdar became socialist *mujahidin* based in Europe or returned to a life of surveillance and imprisonment in the subcontinent. Others remained committed to the Pan-Islamic ideal and spent many years in Kabul or Constantinople. Obaidullah Sindhi left the Soviet Union in July 1923. It

was not until the eve of the Second World War that he returned to India, after a lengthy period of residence in the Hijaz.⁷⁸

The Intelligence Bureau records enable us to uncover the subsequent socialist careers of those students who left Lahore in February 1915 to take part in Obaidullah Sindhi's *jihadist* struggle. They can be read alongside the autobiography of one of the absconders, Zafar Hasan Aybek,⁷⁹ who was a nephew of Maulana Muhammad Jaf'ar Thanasari (b. 1838), a close follower and biographer of Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareilly who was transported to the Andaman Islands in 1866 for attempting to smuggle funds to Wahhabis in Afghanistan.⁸⁰ The growing ties between Pan-Islamists based in Kabul such as Maulana Barkat-Allah and the new Bolshevik government in Moscow led to an eventual split in the Kabul *muhajrin*, with those wishing closer ties with the Bolsheviks moving to Tashkent, while Sindhi remained in Kabul.⁸¹ He eventually had to depart for the Soviet Union in 1922 when he was expelled from Afghanistan. While the journeys of later socialist *mujahidin* to Russia occurred at different times they nearly always followed the same pattern of training in Tashkent at the Indian Military School, which was established by the early Indian communist M.N. Roy (1887-1954) in October 1920,⁸² then at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, founded the following April in Moscow and set up to inculcate revolutionary ideology and strategy amongst students from the colonial world. On their graduation, most **(p.164)** students returning to India were soon arrested as a result of the watchful security apparatus. The careers of the following four individuals illustrate this experience.

Abd al-Hamid had 'absconded' from King Edward Medical College. He came originally from the Ludhiana district, where his brother Ghulam Rasul Khan was a pleader. He became caught up in the communist movement following a short spell as an officer in the Army of God in Afghanistan and teaching Urdu in a school in Kabul. He then followed a familiar route to Tashkent and Moscow. He was arrested almost as soon as he got back to India in 1926, but unlike many other returned revolutionaries, he had his sentence overturned on appeal; significantly he thereafter 'became politically inactive'.⁸³

Abd-Allah Safdar, as we have already noted, was Maulana Fazal Ilahi's link with the Government College students. After a period in Kabul he studied at Tashkent where he became a protégé of Roy before going on to the University of the Toilers of the East. He remained underground on his return to India from 1933, finally journeying back to the Soviet Union early in the Second World War.⁸⁴

Khushi Muhammad (alias Muhammad Ali alias Muhammad Khan Sepassi) came from Nawanshahr in the Jullundur district. He, like many of his contemporaries, had gone to the Punjab capital for education. He studied initially at Government College before commencing a course in medicine at the King Edward Medical College. He abandoned this to travel to Afghanistan to join Obaidullah's group, using Chamarkand as a staging post. After accompanying the March 1916 anti-British mission to Russian Turkestan he became a major-general in the Army of God. Obaidullah used him as an emissary to establish contacts with the Bolsheviks who following the revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the First World War held the possibility of providing support for the Indian freedom struggle. Khushi's early links with the famous Bengali revolutionary M.N. Roy (1887-1954) led him to become a founding member of the Communist Party of India. He studied in Moscow before returning to Kabul, where he continued to liaise with the Bolsheviks and Obaidullah. The shifting course of Afghan politics following the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of November 1921 meant that he along with other members of Obaidullah's party had to leave for Moscow the following October. Two years later Roy sent him from **(p.165)** Moscow to the French enclave of Pondicherry. Khushi Muhammad's activities there were limited by the French authorities, so in another uprooting he travelled to Europe, where he spent time initially in Antwerp before finally basing himself in France. In 1925 British officials reported that he was dispatching communist literature to India through *lascars* who were sailing from Marseille.⁸⁵ Khushi Muhammad's long revolutionary journey from Lahore ended in Paris when he was executed by the occupying German forces shortly after the city's surrender on 14 June 1940.

Rahmat Ali Khan Zakaria's family originally came from Gujranwala. His father had moved to Lahore to work as a clerk in the office of the finance commissioner. Like Khushi Muhammad, he was a student at the King Edward Medical College in February 1915. He swapped the round of lectures and laboratory work for revolutionary struggle and within months of quitting Lahore was a minor member of the Provisional Government of India, which Mahendra Pratap had formed in Kabul. Its initial aim was to ally itself with the Turkish government, but, as we have already seen, the revolution in Russia opened up further possibilities. Rahmat Ali worked closely with the revolutionary and political theorist M.N. Roy in Moscow throughout 1920-22, before briefly visiting Persia in the autumn of the latter year to send communist materials to India. He was seen as a reliable courier and emissary by the Comintern and at the end of 1923 was sent to Berlin, after working for a while as a translator in Moscow. His deportation

from Germany led to further resettlement in France. He distributed literature from the port of Marseille before finally moving to Paris in the summer of 1927. Here he successfully completed a doctorate at the Sorbonne on the theme of the Marxist interpretation of Hindu-Muslim conflict in India. His later years in Paris were poverty-stricken and he finally made the return journey to Pakistan shortly after the 1947 Partition.⁸⁶

Lahore Student Pan-Islamic Muhajareen

We have already come across Mohammad Hassan as the host of Mulla Bashir in Kabul. His influence with the Afghan elite alarmed British intelligence. He was the main channel for 'correspondence between the Extremists in India and the Indian Revolutionaries in Kabul'. **(p.166)** British intelligence also reckoned that he was the 'moving spirit' of the *Ghazi* newspaper, which was published from Khost.⁸⁷ This was a 'vitriolic production' that had no other 'theme than a series of anti-British articles'. The paper in fact carried articles on struggles across the Muslim world from Egypt and Mesopotamia to India. It even had a section entitled 'British failure in the Irish Problem'.⁸⁸

Zafar Hasan came from a very strictly religious Arain family in Karnal. His father had been educated at Deoband. Zafar had received schooling at the local mosque and Karnal High School before winning a scholarship to Government College. He broke off his studies before completing his finals to join the February 1915 'student absconders' who became part of Obaidullah's party. He fought with Amanullah Khan's (1892-1960) forces in the third Anglo-Afghan War of 1919. Within three years, however, he had been expelled from Afghanistan and travelled with Obaidullah Sindhi to Moscow. Like him, he never fully espoused communist beliefs, but pragmatically saw the new Russian government as the enemy of an enemy. Constantinople rather than Moscow was ultimately the centre of his world of exile. He acquired Turkish nationality and joined the army, retiring with the rank of captain in the artillery.⁸⁹

The Afghan Hijrat

The second and larger student exodus from Lahore was rooted in the *hijrat* movement to Afghanistan of March-August 1920. Leading *ulama* including Abu'l Kalam Azad (1888-1958) and Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal had declared British India *Dar al-Harb* as their fears increased regarding the future of the Khilafat.⁹⁰ Flight to the abode of Islam in Afghanistan was further encouraged by the speeches of its ruler, Amir Amanullah.⁹¹ Around 30,000 Indian Muslims crossed into Afghanistan, many of whom had sold all their possessions to finance the journey. Harassed by local bandits and without any support from the Afghan

authorities, the majority of poorer migrants had to leave, thereby suffering further hardship on their journey back to their homes in the North West Frontier Province. The educated *muhajirin* drawn mainly from Punjab, out of a sense of disillusionment at their treatment by their fellow Afghan Muslims and a continued anti-British sentiment, **(p. 167)** were attracted by Bolshevik propaganda.⁹² Within a year, many were attending the Indian Military School at Tashkent. When the school was closed down in 1921, one group of *muhajairin* travelled to Moscow to continue their revolutionary training at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.⁹³

One such individual was Mohammad Iqbal Shedai (1888-1974), who had been successively influenced by the Pan-Islam of Muhammad and Shaukat Ali and the revolutionary fervour of the Ghadr Party. His transnational political exile was to later lead him to France and then Italy, where under Mussolini's patronage he founded the Azad Hind Government. He was to spend his final years living in Lahore, where he had been refused entry to the Law College in 1916 on account of his seditious views.⁹⁴ Fazal-I-Ilahai Qurban, later to study engineering in Germany and travel extensively in Europe as an agent of M.N. Roy, had also made his way to Moscow in a journey which commenced with his departure from Lahore to join the *hijrat* to Afghanistan.⁹⁵ The Kashmiri Abdul Majid was the most famous of the Muslims who came to communism. He was educated at Punjab University in Lahore before migrating to Afghanistan in 1920. He attended the Eastern University, but was arrested on his return to India. Following his release in 1924 he went on to head the Lahore Centre before its activities were disrupted by the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Through the Lahore Centre, the Communist Party of India sought from 1922 until 1929 to coordinate the increasingly militant, but disparate, activities of the Ghadr Party, the Kirti Kisan Party and the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.⁹⁶ Within the city itself, college students and members of the North Western Railway Workers' Union provided the revolutionary mainspring.

It was not, of course, only Muslims who were trained in Moscow. Bhagat Singh Bilga (1907-2009), who in later years constructed the Ghadr Memorial Hall and library in Jullundur, went to Moscow in 1932 after acting as the general secretary of the Ghadr Party in Argentina. Acchar Singh Chinna, who had originally migrated to California and studied at Berkeley, was his classmate. Baba Gurmukh Singh, who had escaped from Madras jail after his conviction in the First Lahore

Conspiracy case, liaised with the Ghadr students in Moscow while running the Kabul unit of the party.⁹⁷

(p.168) Conclusion

Students entered Lahore's increasingly renowned educational institutions from all parts of the Punjab and North India. By the end of British rule, Lahore boasted 270 colleges and a student population of 88,000.⁹⁸ Until the creation of the National College, by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1921, Lahore's educational establishments did not provide 'revolutionary indoctrination'.⁹⁹ Indeed, tight reins were maintained on student activism. Those who overstepped the mark such as Madan Lal Dhingra found themselves in trouble with college authorities. Nonetheless, the presence of a large and youthful population, the majority of whom like Dhingra had left their homes elsewhere in Punjab to study in Lahore, provided opportunities for organisations to recruit members for radical causes. In most instances students settled to work in the city's emerging professions. A small number became involved in international revolutionary activities. While rural Punjab provided a popular medium and spirit of revolt for Sikh transnational revolutionaries, the Ghadr movement's founders came from the colleges of Lahore. The city, however, had stronger links with the Muslim student revolutionaries who were drawn initially by Pan-Islamic sentiment to the world beyond its walls. From Afghanistan many moved to Moscow where they became influenced by communism. They thus commenced revolutionary journeys which encompassed the continent of Europe. Meanwhile Chamarkand, on the boundaries of the geographical and political space of British India, acted as the headquarters of Mulla Bashir. He established a revolutionary network which linked Afghanistan, the tribal belt, Lahore and Uttar Pradesh. It originated in traditional forms of Islamic connectivity, centred around tribal loyalties and influential mosques like his father's in Lahore's Siriyan Wala Bazaar, but its survival ultimately depended on trans-Asiatic great power rivalry.¹⁰⁰

Notes:

(1.) They were charged with the murder of a police officer, John Poyantz Saunders, in Lahore on 18 December 1928. This was a 'political act' by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association as a reprisal for the police action at the time of protests in Lahore aimed at the Simon Commission. The baton charge resulted in the leading nationalist figure Lala Lajpat Rai receiving injuries from which he later died.

(2.) In India, Bhagat Singh has been the popular subject of Bollywood films and food festivals, and he adorns many of the colourful Punjabi trucks. Official recognition has come the way of statues, including that in the forecourt of the national parliament in New Delhi, place names and his depiction on currency. For a useful account of Bhagat's Singh's place in popular culture see, Kama Maclean, 'The History of a Legend: Accounting for Popular Histories of Revolutionary Nationalism in India', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, 6 (2012), pp. 1540-71.

(3.) *Ibid.*, p. 1553.

(4.) There are numerous works on the Punjab's remarkable population mobility in the colonial era. See for an overview J.M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (London: UCL Press, 1999); Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

(5.) For an overview see Arun Coomer Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905-1922: In the Background of International Developments* (Patna: Bharati Bhawan, 1971).

(6.) On Stockholm see, for example, Norode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Indian Anti-Imperialist in Europe* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

(7.) See German Schemes for Raising Revolt in India. Summary of Information 17/8/1915 L/P&S/11/103 1916 P801-1000 UOR BL; Tilmann Ludke, *Jihad Made in Germany: Ottoman and German Propaganda and Intelligence Operations in the First World War* (Munich: Lit Verlag, 2001).

(8.) Moreover, the vast majority of Lahore district entries relate to the rural areas rather than to Lahore city. The calculations exclude individuals whose home district is not recorded, or who were not emigrants. The analysis threw up interesting side lights: for example, most Ghadrates from the Jhelum district were active in Persia, whereas, 'disaffected' policemen and servicemen seemed to predominate from the Amritsar district. The *Directory* also revealed the geographical range of Ghadr activities and the concerns the British had about its branch in Afghanistan.

(9.) Ayesha Jalal touches on this in her examination of *jihad* as anti-colonial nationalism. See her work, *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 206–7.

(10.) There have been numerous studies of the Ghadr movement: see L.M. Joshi and Fauja Singh (eds), *Hindustan Ghadr Party: A Short History* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977); Sihan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Ghadar Party: A Short History*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1977–78); Harish Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1993); Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadr Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2011); F.C. Isemonger and J. Slattery, *Account of Ghadar Conspiracy, 1913–1915* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1919).

(11.) On Sikh overseas migration see Judith M. Brown, *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). See also D.S. Tatla, 'Sikh Free and Military Migration during the Colonial Era', in R. Cohen, (ed.) *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 69–73.

(12.) For definitive accounts of the famous voyage from Hong Kong to Canada under Gurdit Singh's leadership see Hugh Johnston, *The Voyage of Komagata Maru* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979); Sohan Singh Josh, *Tragedy of Komagata Maru* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975).

(13.) Iftikhar Haider Malik, *Sikandar Hayat Khan: A Political Biography* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), p. 11.

(14.) For an account of his Pan-Islamic activities see K.H. Ansari, 'Pan-Islam and the Making of the Early Indian Muslim Socialists', *Modern Asian Studies* 20, 3 (1986) pp. 509–37.

(15.) For a British intelligence account of the Silk Letter Conspiracy see The Silk Letter Conspirators L/P&S/12/1760 Col 3/163 IOR BL.

(16.) On Har Dyal see Emily C. Brown, *Har Dayal: Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist* (Delhi: Manohar, 1976).

(17.) See Sohan Singh Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna: Life of the Founder of the Ghadar Party* (New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1970).

(18.) Cited in Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora*, p. 89.

(19.) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

(20.) Dharm Vir, 'Dr Har Dayal', in N.B. Sen (ed.), *Punjab's Eminent Hindus* (Lahore: New Book Society, 1943), p. 67.

(21.) The photographs of such Ghadrite prisoners as Pandit Jagat Ram, Baba Gurdit Singh and Baba Madan Singh can be seen in the freedom fighter gallery in the prison.

(22.) For a Mahasabhite slant on his career see Ram Lal Tara, 'Bhai Parmanand', in Sen, *Punjab's Eminent Hindus*, pp. 109-15.

(23.) G. Singh, *Communism in Punjab* (New Delhi: Ajanta Press, 1994), p. 319.

(24.) Extract Weekly Report Director of Intelligence Simla No. 17 5 May 1932. L/P&S/12/1588 Col 28/2 Ghadr Party Activities IOR BL.

(25.) See NWFP Intelligence Bureau Diary No. 25 Week Ending 29 June 1932; Appendix to Diary N0 23 For Week Ending 6 June 1932 L/P&S/12/1588 Col 28/2 Ghadr Party Activities IOR BL.

(26.) Extract from NWFP Intelligence Bureau Diary No. 6 Period Ending 13 February 1931 L/P&S/12/1558 Col 28/2 Ghadr Party Activities IOR BL.

(27.) Extract from NWFP Intelligence bureau Annual Report: Afghanistan 1931 L/P&S/12/1558 Col 28/2 Ghadr Party Activities IOR BL.

(28.) There are numerous works on Bhagat Singh, many of which are hagio-graphical in approach. See, for example, P. Kumar, *Bhagat Singh: A Great Son of India* (New Delhi: Mahaveer and Sons, 2008); Bhawan Singh Rana, *Bhagat Singh: An Immortal Revolutionary of India* (New Delhi: Diamond Pocket Books, 2005); L.P. Mathur, *Bhagat Singh: The Prince of Martyrs* (Jaipur: Aavishkar, 2002).

(29.) The continued impact of his life was seen in the publication of the 1952 novel about him by the leading Punjabi novelist Nanak Singh entitled, *Ik Mian Do Talwaran* ('One Sheath and Two Swords').

(30.) Harish K. Puri, 'The Influence of Ghadar Movement on Bhagat Singh's Thought and Action', *Pakistan Vision* 9, 2 (2008) pp. 74-5.

(31.) Simona Sawhney, 'Bhagat Singh: A Politics of Death and Hope', in Anshu Malhotra and Farina Mir (eds) *Punjab Reconsidered: History, Culture and Practice* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 394.

(32.) *Ibid.*, p. 383.

(33.) Sawhney uses the term 'Hope in a World at War'. In the introduction to the volume, the editors Malhotra and Mir write that 'Bhagat Singh displayed an astonishing cosmopolitanism in order to forge a democratic nationalism'. *Punjab Reconsidered*, p. 1.

(34.) Maclean, 'The History of a Legend', p. 1552.

(35.) *Ibid.*, p. 1553.

(36.) On Udham Singh see, Roger Perkins, *The Amritsar Legacy: Golden Temple to Caxton Hall: The Story of a Killing* (Chippenham: Picton Publishing, 1989).

(37.) Jackson was assassinated on 21 December 1909, leading to the famous Nasik Conspiracy trial.

(38.) On Krishna Varma see Ganeshi Lal Verma, *Shyamji Krishna Varma: The Unknown Patriot* (New Delhi: Government of India Publications Division, 1993); Har Bilas Sarada, *Shyamji Krishna Varma: Patriot and Perfect* (Ajmer: Vedic Yantralay, 1959); Indilal Yajnik, *Shyamji Krishnavarma: Life and Times of an Indian Revolutionary* (Bombay: Lakshmi Publications, 1950).

(39.) For a wider discussion of Spencer's teachings and Indian revolutionary nationalism see Shruti Kapila, 'Self, Spencer and Swaraj: Nationalist Thought and Critiques of Liberalism, 1890-1920', *Modern Intellectual History* 4, 1 (2007), pp. 109-27.

(40.) Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Indian Nationalism and the 'world forces': transnational and diasporic dimensions of the Indian freedom movement on the eve of the First World War', *Journal of Global History* 2, (2007) p. 332.

(41.) See chapter three of Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Indian Anti-Imperialist in Europe* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

(42.) At the August 1907 Internationalist Socialist Conference in Stuttgart, Madame Cama famously unfurled the flag of Indian independence with its green, yellow and red fields, sun and crescent

symbol and *Vande Mataram* script. On Madame Cama's career see B.D. Yadav, *Madam Cama: A True Nationalist* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1992); Panchanan Saha, *Madam Cama: Mother of Indian Revolution* (Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya, 1975).

(43.) On this period in the life of the revolutionary and Hindu nationalist figure see Harindra Srivastava, *Five Stormy Years: Savarkar in London, June 1906–June 1911: A Centenary Salute to Swatantrayaveer Damodar Savarkar b.28 May 1883–d.26 February 1966* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1983).

(44.) See V.N. Datta, *Madan Lal Dhingra and the Revolutionary Movement* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1978).

(45.) *Ibid.*, pp. 46; 51–2.

(46.) See Fischer-Tiné, 'Indian Nationalism', pp. 333–8.

(47.) Such biographical details can be found in Intelligence Bureau's 'Who's Who Reports'. K.H. Ansari has lifted details from them for his appendix in *The Emergence of Socialist Thought Amongst North Indian Muslims 1917–1947* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1990),

(48.) For an excellent assessment see Jalal, *Partisans of Allah*, p. 179 & ff.

(49.) Statement of Maulvi Abu Muhammad Ahmad, J.C. Curry papers Box IV, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, 3.

(50.) Ali Usman Qasmi, *Questioning the Authority of the Past: The Ahl al-Que'an Movements in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

(51.) *Zamindar* was not alone in its pro-Turkish sentiments. Lahore's reading public could also encounter these in Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's, *Al-Hilal*, published in Calcutta, and Mohammad Ali's *Hamdard* (Delhi).

(52.) By 1900, *Paisa Akhbar* was selling 13,000 copies a week. See Report on 'Native Newspapers in the Punjab', Week Ending 11 November 1900 NAI.

(53.) 'Turkish Intrigues Among Indian Muhammadans', 19 March 1914 L/P&S/11 P4651 IOR BL.

(54.) See M.S. Leigh, *Punjab and War*; Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj 1849–1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988).

(55.) Sindhi was a convert from Sikhism who was admitted to the Darul Uloom Deoband in 1888. He was the Home Member in Mahendra Pratap's Provisional Government of India. He had to leave Afghanistan for Moscow in 1922, but unlike some of the *mujahidin* he did not abandon Pan-Islamic ideals for socialism. For the imperial view of Obaidullah's activities see The Silk Letter Conspirators L/P&S/12/1760 Col 3/163 IOR BL. This should be read alongside Muhammad Hajjan Shaikh, *Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi: A Revolutionary Scholar* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986).

(56.) Statement of Abdul Haq, J.C. Curry papers Box IV, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge, p. 5.

(57.) Jalal, *Partisans of Allah*, p. 206.

(58.) Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought*, p. 244.

(59.) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

(60.) Secret Memo Agent to Governor-General NWFP 22 August 1932 L/P&S/12/1659 Coll 3/92 IOR BL. See also Statement of Abdul Haq.

(61.) Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought*, pp. 8-9.

(62.) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(63.) For the history of the 'Fanatics' along the frontier see chapter three of Benjamin D. Hopkins and Magnus Marsden, *Fragments of the Afghan Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

(64.) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(65.) Statement of Abdul Haq, p. 14.

(66.) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(67.) Intelligence Bureau Note. NWFP Bolshevik Intrigues and Participation of the Amir of Afghanistan in anti-British Intrigues Along the Frontier. 3 November 1921. L/P&S/11/201 1921 P. 3091.4500 IOR BL.

(68.) Extract from Supplement to NWFP Intelligence Bureau Diary No. 28 For the Week Ending 28 July 1921 L/P&S/11/201 1921 P3901.4500 IOR BL.

(69.) Extract from Supplement to NWFP Intelligence Bureau Diary No. 28 For the Week Ending 28 July 1921 L/P&S/11/201 1921 P3901.4500 IOR BL.

(70.) Secret Memo Agent to Governor-General NWFP 22 August 1932 L/P&S/12/1659 Coll 3/92 IOR BL.

(71.) *Ibid.*

(72.) Secret Memo Agent to Governor-General NWFP 22 August 1932 L/P&S/12/1659 Coll 3/92 IOR BL. Some people suspected that Maulvi Fazl Ilahi had a hand in Mulla Bashir's death.

(73.) For further details see Hopkins and Marsden, *Fragments of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 78 & ff.

(74.) Statement of Abdul Haq, p. 13.

(75.) Secret Memo Agent to Governor-General NWFP 22 August 1932 L/P&S/12/1659 Coll 3/92 IOR BL.

(76.) Statement of Abdul Haq, p. 36

(77.) *Ibid.*, 12

(78.) For details of his career after 1923 see Jalal, *Partisans of Allah*, p. 217 & ff.

(79.) Zafar Hasan Aybek, *Khatrat: Aap Beeti* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1990).

(80.) See Clare Anderson, *The Indian Uprising of 1857-8: Prisons, Prisoners and Rebellions* (London: Anthem Press, 2007), p. 17.

(81.) For details of this split see K.H. Ansari, 'Pan-Islam and the Making of Early Indian Muslim Socialists', *Modern Asian Studies* 20, 3 (1986) pp. 520-1.

(82.) Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought*, p. 32.

(83.) *Ibid.*, p. 245.

(84.) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

(85.) For this period of Khushi Muhammad's career see L/P&J/12/194 File 284/1924 UOR BL.

(86.) Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought*, pp. 285-6.

(87.) North West Frontier Intelligence Bureau Diary No. 31 for Week Ending 25 August 1921 L/P&S/11/201 1921 P. 3901.4500 IOR BL.

(88.) Intelligence Bureau Note NWFP Bolshevik Intrigues and Participation of the Amir of Afghanistan in Anti-British Intrigues Along the Frontier 3 November 1921 IOR BL.

(89.) Ansari, *The Emergence of Socialist Thought*, p. 284.

(90.) Abdul Bari's stance had, however, been misrepresented; see M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 184.

(91.) For further details see Lal Bala, 'The Hijrat Movement and the North-West Frontier Province', *Islamic Studies* 18, 3 (autumn 1979), pp. 231-42; chapter three of Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics*.

(92.) A further factor was the rescue of *muhajarin* by the Red Army from their Turkoman captors at Kirkee as they had tried to cross into Turkey. *Ibid.*, pp. 525-7.

(93.) *Ibid.*, p. 532.

(94.) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Iqbal_Shedai accessed 12 March 2012.

(95.) Gurharpal Singh, *Communism in Punjab: A Study of the Movement Up to 1967* (Delhi: Ajanta Books, 1994), p. 317.

(96.) For details on these strands of the communist movement see *Ibid.*

(97.) *Ibid.*, pp. 313-5.

(98.) I. Chattha, 'Lahore on the Eve of Partition', unpublished paper presented to symposium on colonial Lahore, University of Southampton 11 April 2012, p. 8.

(99.) See *The Ghadr Directory* for accounts of students from the college such as Ram Chandra from the Kangra district who were 'infected' with communism while studying there. Ram Kishen from Jhang district was to graduate from the college to become president of the Nau Jawan Bharat Sabha.

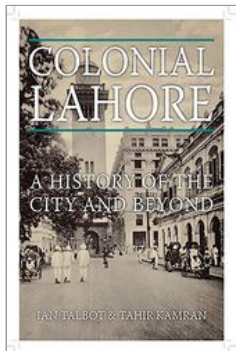
(100.) For a sophisticated conceptualisation of earlier nineteenth-century, transnational Muslim networks by 'outlawed' Indian Muslim subjects see Seema Alavi, "Fugitive Mullahs and Outlawed Fanatics":

Indian Muslims in Nineteenth Century Trans-Asiatic Imperial Rivalries',
Modern Asian Studies 45, 6 (2011), pp. 1337-82.



University Press Scholarship Online

Oxford Scholarship Online



Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

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Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

Epilogue

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DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.003.0009

Abstract and Keywords

The Epilogue examines the changing international connections of Lahore following the emergence of Pakistan. Partition ended long standing commercial and cultural ties with Bombay and Delhi. These have been replaced in part by new links with Dubai and Karachi. Contemporary globalization has transformed communications and the ties between Diasporas (overseas populations) and native Lahoris. The city has continued to experience large scale migration. Its cultural and sporting life in recent years has been adversely affected by terrorism. The development of the Allama Iqbal Airport has transformed pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Belated attempts to conserve the inner city have fallen back on Orientalist portrayals of the inwardness of its gated areas.

Keywords: Globalization, Dubai, Allama Iqbal Airport, Pilgrimage, Diasporas

During the colonial era Lahore had been at the centre of a web of religious, cultural, ideological and personal connections reaching out not only to Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and the up-and-coming Karachi, but also to Afghanistan, Arabia, Europe and North America. These links were both aided by Empire and directed against it in terms of revolutionary activity which encompassed not only the Frontier and Afghanistan, but Moscow, North America and London. Lahore's importance stretched well beyond its walls whether as a nursery of the game of cricket in South Asia, or as the driving force for the modernisation of Urdu literature. Entertainments which today are seen as being uniquely linked to the city such as poetry symposia or wrestling matches were transformed by the growing communications and transport links. A further sign of its interconnectedness was the increase of consumption, from patent medicines through to sports goods, radios and imported cycles and motor cars. These were acquired not just by the British, but by the new Indian urban elite and the students who flocked to the city.

The city also attracted tourists, paradoxically drawn by notions of its uniqueness and 'boundedness', which reflected not only the realities of inner city life, but also Orientalist stereotypes. These were communicated to a western audience through the fiction of Kipling and the growing number of tourist guidebooks which repeated the narrative of Lahore constructed in official literature. While Mughal monuments were the greatest attraction, colonial Lahore, especially around the Mall, featured on the tourist trails eased by road and railway links and hotel development. **(p.170)** The improved communications that made tourism possible also increased opportunities for pilgrimage from Lahore on the Hajj to Mecca as well as to the shrines in and surrounding the city. These aspects of colonial Lahore have, however, rarely featured in standard accounts which concentrate on political rather than social history.

Recent scholarship has focused on the social dislocation at the time of Partition. As we shall see below, this threatened to sunder the city's wider linkages and reduce it to a provincial backwater. In marked contrast to its neighbour Amritsar, the post-colonial city experienced rapid population increase despite an insecure border setting.¹ International links were symbolised by new landmarks such the slender 155-foot marble *minar* adjacent to the Punjab Assembly building. This was designed by the Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay (1927-91) and commemorates the holding of the Organisation of Islamic Conference summit in the city in late February 1974.² By bringing together on the same platform Yasser Arafat, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, Colonel Qaddafi and Presidents Assad, Sadat and Boumediene, the country's

mercurial prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto ensured that the world spotlight shone on Pakistan. Lahore, with its historical splendours and special place in the Pakistan movement, formed the perfect backdrop. The Mughal-style Gaddafi Cricket Stadium and the Allama Iqbal International Airport similarly reflect the city's post-independence global linkages.

The growing security crisis in Pakistan after 9/11, however, threatened the city's western linkages. While cities such as Peshawar suffered more terrorist attacks, high-profile episodes, as we shall see, dampened down investment and tourist travel. Despite a gradually improving nationwide security situation and the publicity efforts of the Walled City of Lahore Authority, just 2,350 foreigners visited Lahore in 2015.³

The British departure from India violently ended the colonial chapter in Lahore's long history. From the resignation of the cross-community Unionist government in March 1947, the city was beset with bomb blasts, arson attacks and random stabbings.⁴ Normal life ceased amidst night-time curfews and communities retreated behind barricades. The national leaders' acceptance of the 3rd June Partition Plan brought a temporary lull. Within a matter of days, however, Lahore's future was being simultaneously fought out on the streets and debated **(p.171)** before the Boundary Commission that sought to draw up the new international boundary that would run through the Punjab. The conflagration which destroyed the Shah Almi Hindu heartland of the city on 21 June signalled a victory for a future Muslim-dominated city, although the publication of the Boundary Award, which delivered Lahore to Pakistan, was delayed until after the British had packed their bags.⁵ The remaining Hindus and Sikhs in the city had to run the gauntlet to make good their escape.

Lahore's railway station resembled a charnel house. Trainloads of Muslim corpses arrived from India, while angry crowds butchered Hindu and Sikh travellers on its platforms and approaches. The famous Grand Trunk Road leading to the new border had 'a pile of dead bodies on both sides ... that stretched for miles'.⁶ The killings at the railway station were followed by what the Hindu journalist Fikr Tausnvi termed an eerie stillness amidst 'the noise of thousands of people':

The magnificent railway station of Lahore was silent, as if it had been strangled. Absolutely silent. There was the noise of thousands of people, but this noise could not dispel the building's stillness. Barbed wire had been put up all around the station, overseen by the military, and people were bringing the wounded from the platforms. The wailing and crying of relatives had turned

the place into a house of mourning. A relief camp had been set up, and the wounded and dead were being loaded in lorries for being taken away.⁷

Lahore became a Muslim city. Its cityscape was transformed as a result of the disappearance of familiar landmarks through change of usage, and destruction, as in the case of Ganga Ram's statue whose fate formed the plot for Saadat Hassan Manto's satirical short story 'The Garland'. The city that was once a hub for North India now stood precariously on the international border dividing a hostile India and Pakistan. Thousands of its houses, shops and factories had been destroyed. The damage to the latter, along with the loss of skilled labour, meant that even three years after independence, output was still below the 1946 figure. Factories damaged or abandoned included such large former enterprises as the Mela Ram Cotton Mills and the Mukand Iron and Steel Rolling Mill; the textile, book binding, insurance and banking sectors all lost skilled Hindu workers. Just sixteen banks were in operation in August 1948.⁸ Lahore's continuing administrative **(p.172)** and political importance has been seen as a factor in its industrial resurgence after the trauma of Partition, despite the handicap of a border location that it shared with Amritsar.

Recent scholarship has focused on understanding the causes of the violence which wracked the city in 1947. It is explained in the context of a 'transitional' state that enabled desires for revenge, looting and the settling of old scores to coexist with political contests to demarcate territory.⁹ Research has also gone about recovering the voices of individuals who were caught up in the violence.¹⁰ Alongside oral history, a number of published memoirs have emerged that take as their theme the lost world of Lahore's colonial cosmopolitanism.¹¹ Indeed, in some Indian accounts, Lahore stands as the iconic embodiment of the 'tragedy' and 'loss' of Partition. They ignore interwar communal tensions in the city and the resentment Muslims felt at Hindu domination of Lahore's social and economic life.¹²

Partition severed Lahore's cultural and commercial links with such cities as Amritsar, Delhi and Bombay. It was not until 1976 that the rail connection between Lahore and Delhi was re-established with the operation of the Samjohata Express between Amritsar and Lahore. Road links came even later with the launch of the bus service from Delhi to Lahore in February 1999. The service has been suspended from time to time (as, for example, in the aftermath of the 2001 Indian parliament attack) and then re-launched with fanfare (16 July 2003). While the service, like the rail connection, is symbolic of hopes for better Indo-Pakistan relations and has helped families who were divided by

Partition, it has in no way restored Lahore's historic cultural, commercial and educational ties with either Amritsar or Delhi. The strict security screening and restrictive visa regimes discourage travel by the land route. Air travel carries much less symbolic significance and is more routine, although there is only one flight a week direct from Lahore to New Delhi with Pakistan International Airline (PIA), and this has been suspended at times of tension between the countries.

Lahore's colonial link with Bombay rested both on pilgrimage routes to the Hijaz and on the new opportunities Bollywood provided for the city's artists and writers. Post-independence pilgrims from Lahore now sailed via Karachi, while Chittagong served pilgrims from East Pakistan. The Pan-Islamic Steamship Company dominated this traffic in **(p.173)** the 1960s, followed a decade later by the Crescent Shipping Lines. By the 1980s, however, air travel was cutting into their trade and making it commercially unviable. The last pilgrim ship in service MV *Shams* was scrapped within a decade as travel by air forced the shipping lines out of business.¹³ During the August-September 2014 Hajj operation, PIA operated eighteen special flights from Lahore carrying over 8,000 pilgrims to Jeddah and Medina.¹⁴

After Partition, the Lahore film industry received back many stars, writers and directors from Bombay, such as Noor Jahan, Manto and Ghulam Haider. Nonetheless, it sorely missed the financial muscle and technical expertise its previous connections with Bollywood had provided. It has thus been left in the wake of what has become a multi-billion dollar annual business. In recent years some musical artists from the city have been provided with opportunities in India, but this talent drain has only accentuated the gulf between the two cities' film studios.¹⁵

Lahore's post-independence links beyond South Asia have been transformed by globalisation. The digital age, along with the rise of mass air travel, has further speeded up the circulation of goods, ideas and people that were a feature of the colonial city. Individuals now have the capacity to 'live' in several places simultaneously.¹⁶ One example of this is the possibility to perform a 'virtual' Hajj. Recent studies of contemporary globalisation, however, can overplay its novelty, especially in terms of the long-term historical existence of Islamic religious networks that transcend the locality¹⁷ and, at a more mundane level, with respect to the availability of commodities 'originating from around the world' being 'available in the walled city bazaars'.¹⁸ Digital technology enables close ties to be maintained between resident Lahoris and their overseas relatives. Fashions in clothes, music and cuisine are regularly exchanged as are political

ideas. Contacts are also sustained both through marriage and religious and charitable institutions. Reverence for Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh has increased in Britain with the growth of its Punjabi population. Congregations in Birmingham and North Manchester celebrate the annual *urs* which can also be followed on YouTube and Sufi websites.¹⁹ The Ali Hajveri Trust, based in Spark-brook, Birmingham, works to promote Data's teachings not only in the city, but throughout the UK with use of digital technology.²⁰ The **(p.174)** Muslim Food Project is another of its initiatives in response to growing food poverty in austerity Britain.²¹

While wrestling has declined as a sport linking the city with the region and beyond, Lahore has developed many international sporting connections.²² The city hosted both the 1990 Hockey World Cup Final and the 1996 Cricket World Cup. The latter was held at the Gaddafi Stadium, which at the time of its construction in 1959 and subsequent World Cup renovation was one of the largest cricket stadia in South Asia.²³ The Gaddafi Stadium (renamed from the Lahore Stadium after the 1974 Islamic summit) was the regular venue for test matches. Its first test match against Australia was held in November 1959, when the Australian team, captained by a youthful Richie Benaud, won an exciting contest with only twelve minutes to spare before the close of play.²⁴

On 3 March 2009, the touring Sri Lankan team bus was fired upon by gunmen linked with the militant Sunni group Lashkar-e-Jhangvi as it made its way to the ground.²⁵ No cricketers died in the ambush, but this was the most serious attack on a sports team since the murder of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. International cricket teams thereafter refused to tour Pakistan, which had to play home matches in the Gulf or in even in England.²⁶ Terrorism, which included a deadly suicide attack on the Data shrine in July 2010, also threatened international participation in the Lahore Marathon, which from its inception in January 2005 had drawn 20,000 athletes from all over the world. There was also a decline in international tourism to the city which had reached a peak in the 1980s.²⁷

Within the subcontinent, Karachi has replaced Delhi as a regional rival to Lahore. This takes a variety of forms from T20 Cricket²⁸ to claims to culinary superiority and is even played out in Karachi versus Lahore Clubs on Facebook. Some of the social media debates draw on the Orientalist stereotypes we have encountered in this volume, juxtaposing Lahore's 'provincialism' with Karachi's 'cosmopolitanism'. Lahore is not a melting pot like Karachi, but its post-independence

economic success, has been driven by migration, in the same way that it was in the colonial period.

Despite the departure of virtually the whole of the Hindu and Sikh population which had numbered over a quarter of a million, the city's population mushroomed in the early post-Partition period. By October **(p.175)** 1953, the number of people living in Lahore was nearly double that on the eve of Partition.²⁹ Most of the new inhabitants were Partition refugees from the towns of East Punjab; a smaller number came from further afield in Uttar Pradesh. They were predominantly Kashmiris, Arains and Sheikhs. By the time of Pakistan's first national Census in 1951, refugees accounted for a staggering 43 per cent of the total population.³⁰ This was only marginally less than the figure for Karachi (49 per cent).³¹ Rural migrants from elsewhere in Pakistan also moved to the city in increasing numbers as its life got back to normal and the damaged infrastructure was repaired. The city's reconstruction provided job opportunities on as great a scale as anything seen during British rule. There were also opportunities to replace the Hindus' and Sikhs' domination of the city's wholesale and retail markets and its transportation sector.

From the 1970s onwards, the city experienced large-scale migration from labour abundant rural areas of Punjab, KP and FATA in what has been termed a 'basic poverty-migration linkage'.³² Migrants have engaged in specialised livelihoods; migrants from Mohmand are firewood sellers, those from Bajaur sell shoes and spectacles in such localities as the Sheranwala Gate; the corn cob vendors are from Dir and Malakand, while the relatively better off migrants from the Buner and Shangla districts of Swat run tea stalls and small eateries.³³ Pushtuns from the Khyber Agency tend to be the wealthiest migrants, many of whom are traders and engaged in the transport industry. There is also a considerable Afghan population that resides in Evacuee Trust properties in the Bhati Gate locality and in the Data Darbar neighbourhood, where they are engaged in a variety of poorly paid work, some of which involves selling small accessories for motorcycles.³⁴ The greatest influx, however, has come from other areas of Punjab. Lahore's population has grown by about twenty-five times in the past sixty years, reaching its current figure of around 12 million inhabitants.

Locals have linked Pushtun migration with growing crime and religious conservatism, although the city has not suffered the ethnic violence and crime wave of contemporary Karachi. Some Karachi businessmen have shifted their activities to Dubai in response. It has also, however, become a destination of choice for rich Lahoris who have invested in

real estate and, to lesser extent, infrastructure and manufacturing, **(p. 176)** especially from the mid-1990s. Data released by the Dubai Land Department early in 2015 revealed that Pakistanis had purchased a staggering Rs445 billion worth of property in the years 2013 and 2014.³⁵ Following his stepping down from the presidency, Benazir Bhutto's widower Asif Ali Zardari spent considerable periods of time in Dubai, calling party leaders and ministers from Sindh to the city for consultations. Indeed, Dubai has become as important as London as an external hub for Pakistan politics. There is some evidence that not only militant Islamist groups, but also Baloch ethnic militants use the city in clandestine money laundering activities.³⁶

Dubai has not just been an elite playground and political hub. The greatest number of Lahoris in Dubai were those engaged in construction work; they have also taken up work in the service sector and as security guards. Lahori cuisine in Dubai has become popular in both top-of-the-range restaurants and more modest establishments which proudly proclaim their roots with such names as Lahori Gate.

The 1979 blockbuster Lollywood film, *Dubai Chalho* ('Let's Go to Dubai'), which followed a television series of the same name, popularised what became known as the 'Dubai syndrome' of migrant Punjabi workers seeking to make their fortune in the Gulf.³⁷ Ironically, the main protagonists in Haider Chaudhry's film *Bao* (played by Ali Ejaz) and *Cheema* (played by Nanha) never make it to Dubai as they are duped by human traffickers and the film ends as a morality tale warning against migration, rather than inviting it.³⁸ The film's title rather than its message was heeded as a study of the walled city in 1987 revealed that half of all working-class families had at least one close relative working in the Gulf.³⁹ The rise of mass consumerism in the city is linked with the impact of remittances sent home. Wealthier Lahoris returning from the Gulf have helped fuel the property boom and the demand for luxury gated accommodation as seen in the Bahria Town development, or the Dubai Town development on Raiwind Road.

Dubai has also become a regular shopping stopping off point for travellers to Lahore from the Diaspora.⁴⁰ This linkage with the city would have been unthinkable before Dubai's emergence as a transport hub in an age of mass air travel. Currently there are four daily flights connecting the cities in a journey of less than three hours. Lahore's old Walton Airport was replaced in 1962 by Lahore International Airport **(p.177)** (renamed the Allama Iqbal Airport in 2003), capable of handling wide bodied jets and with a designated Hajj terminal comprising the old airport. Like other major international airports, it experienced rapid growth from the 1980s. At the beginning of that

decade, it was handling handling 900,000 passengers annually.⁴¹ By 2010, the Allama Iqbal Airport was each year handling over 3 million passengers and a million tons of mail in its role as Pakistan's second major hub, after Jinnah International Airport in Karachi.⁴² Over thirty airlines were operating flights to forty-four cities worldwide.

The Allama Iqbal airport both facilitates and symbolises the city's interconnectedness in the twenty-first century, in the same way that the railway station had done in colonial times. Globalisation, however, has come at a cost, both in terms of exacerbating social inequalities and destroying Lahore's historical heritage. Many *havelis* in the walled area have been torn down to make way for ugly shopping plazas. Iqbal's maternal grandson, Mian Yousaf Salahuddin (b. 1951), has led efforts to stem this tide and to revive Lahore's festivals and celebrate its arts, poetry and music.⁴³ Television, social activism and YouTube videos have all come to the belated aid of conservation, which has also been the focus of a series of recommendations by the Lahore Development Authority from the early 1980s.⁴⁴ Ironically, these endeavours frequently perpetuate Orientalist portrayals of the inwardness of the *darvazas* and *galis* of the walled city.⁴⁵ **(p.178)**

Notes:

(1.) See Chapter 3 of Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

(2.) Dalokay also designed the famous Faisal Mosque in Islamabad, which at the time of its completion in 1986 was the largest mosque in the world.

(3.) New developments included Food Street and rickshaw and *tonga* rides on selected routes. On the low numbers of western tourists, which I can personally confirm following a visit to the main sites in December 2015, see Editorial, *Dawn*, Karachi, 4 January 2016.

(4.) For details see Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: The Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

(5.) Talbot, *Divided Cities*, pp. 44-6.

(6.) B.A. Chowdhry, 'What We Lost to Taste Freedom', in Ahmad Salim (ed.) *Lahore 1947* (New Delhi: Indian Research Press, 2001), p. 217.

(7.) Fikr Taunsvi, 'The Sixth River—A Diary of 1947', in. Salim *Lahore 1947* p. 48

(8.) Yamin Khan, who eventually managed Grindlays Bank, has recalled that he had never seen a cheque when he entered its service after just three days of tests. The training needs of new staff were so great that the bank could at first only open two hours a day to serve its customers. Interview with Yamin Khan, Lahore, 12 December 2004.

(9.) On planning and the political motivations of the Partition-related violence see Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, *The Partition of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For the role of revenge attacks in forwarding mass violence see P.R. Brass, 'The Partition of India and Retributive Genocide in the Punjab 1946-47: Means, Methods and Purposes', *Journal of Genocide Research* 5, 1 (2003), pp. 71-101.

(10.) Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices From the Partition of India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1998); Ian Talbot and Darshan Singh Tatla (eds), *Epicentre of Violence: Partition Voices and Memories from Amritsar* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006); Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy Through Secret British and First Hand Accounts* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2011).

(11.) Yunas Adeeb, *Mera Shehr Lahore* (Lahore: Atish Fishan Publications, 1991); Som Anand, *Lahore, Portrait of a Lost City* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998); Pran Nevile, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1993).

(12.) For a discussion of how the pre-Partition city has been remembered in Indian and Pakistani writings see Talbot, *Divided Cities*, Chapter 5.

(13.) By the early 1970s, over 80 per cent of all pilgrims from across the globe arrived in the Hijaz by plane. See Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj* p. 314. In February 2014, however, the Pakistan Ministry of Ports and Shipping announced the decision to run a shipping service to Saudi Arabia for Hajj and to Iran for Shia pilgrims. There had been militant attacks on buses going from Balochistan to Iran. <http://defence.pk/threads/sail-through-hajj-ship-service-to-be-launched-says-minister-.301> accessed 21 January 2015.

(14.) Calculated from PIA's 2014 Hajj Operations www.piac.com.pk/sched-ule/hajj_schedule_v3_2014.pdf accessed 20 December 2014.

(15.) *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 24 September 2010.

(16.) See Paul Virilio, *The Information Bomb* (New York: Verso, 2000).

- (17.) See Miriam Cooke and Bruce B Lawrence (eds), *Muslim Networks: From Hajj to Hip Hop* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
- (18.) The comment made by Anita Weiss is cited in Rabia Nadir, 'Settlement of Pathan Immigrants in the Walled City of Lahore', unpublished MPhil thesis, London School of Economics, 2013, p. 59.
- (19.) See www.aulia-e-hind.com/dargarh/DataDarbar.htm accessed 22 December 2014.
- (20.) www.alihajaveri.com accessed 22 December 2014.
- (21.) www.muslimfoodprogramme.org accessed 22 December 2014.
- (22.) On the decline of wrestling see Jurgen Wasim Frembgen and Paul Rollier, *Wrestlers, Pigeon Fanciers and Kite Flyers: Traditional Sports and Pastimes in Lahore* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 39–40.
- (23.) The Gaddafi Stadium was designed by the leading Pakistan architect Nayyar Ali Dada (b. 1945).
- (24.) Peter Osborne, *Wounded Tiger: A History of Cricket in Pakistan* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2014), p. 163.
- (25.) *Ibid.*, p. 480 & ff.
- (26.) Kenya became the first team other than Afghanistan to return to Pakistan, playing a series of five one-day matches amidst tight security in December 2014.
- (27.) The attack on the Data shrine was just one of a series of attacks on Sufi shrines across Pakistan. Sakhi Sarwar's shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan, for example, was hit by a double suicide bomber attack on 3 April 2011 which claimed over fifty victims.
- (28.) See *Dawn*, Karachi, 31 October 2010.
- (29.) FR 6 October 1953. DO 35/5296 NA Kew.
- (30.) Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan* (Karachi: 1955), p. 75.
- (31.) Cited in I.H. Malik, *State and Civil Society in Pakistan: Politics of Authority, Ideology and Ethnicity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 200.

- (32.) Haris Gazdar, 'A Review of Migration Issues in Pakistan' www.eldis.org/vfile/upload/1/document/0903/Dhaka_CP_4.pdf, p. 3, accessed 16 December 2014.
- (33.) Nadir, 'Settlement of Pathan Immigrants', p. 76.
- (34.) *Ibid.*, pp. 74; 76; 83.
- (35.) *Dawn*, Karachi, 22 February 2015.
- (36.) See Yunas Samad, 'Understanding the Insurgency in Balochistan', in Roger D. Long, Yunas Samad, Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbot (eds), *State and Nation-Building in Pakistan: Beyond Islam and Security* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 130-1.
- (37.) For what is now a classic examination of the 'Dubai Syndrome' see Akbar S. Ahmed, "'Dubai Chalo": Problems in the Ethnic Encounter between Middle Eastern and South Asian Muslim Societies', *Asian Affairs* 15, 3 (1984), pp. 262-76.
- (38.) <http://www.mazhar.dk/film/history/70s/1979.htm> accessed 18 December 2014.
- (39.) http://www.photius.com/countries/Pakistan/society/Pakistan_society_impact_of_migration accessed 18 December 2014.
- (40.) According to government estimates, the Pakistan overseas community numbers more than 7 million. See Nadia Mushtaq Abbasi, *The Pakistani Diaspora in Europe and its Impact on Democracy Building in Pakistan* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral assistance 2010), p. 5.
- (41.) Calculated from the monthly figure for arrivals and departures provided in Government of Punjab, *Gazetteer Lahore District 1984* (Lahore: Government Printing Press, 1984), p. 66.
- (42.) Statistical Information of the Civil Aviation Authority of Pakistan accessed 8 March 2009.
- (43.) Haveli Barood Khana on the edge of Hira Mandi has become a venue for these activities. The *haveli* came into the possession of Mian Amiruddin's family in the 1870s.
- (44.) For an overview see, Zachary M. Kron, 'Lahore Pakistan: Conservation of the Urban Fabric of the Walled City of Lahore,

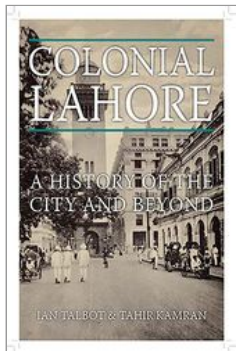
Pakistan', web.mit.edu/akpia/www/AKPSite/4.239/laohore/laohore.html
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(45.) Zohaib Saeed Butt, for example, has recorded a number of special reports. On Bhati Gate see www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XOQMMLYHuY accessed 17 December 2014.



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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran

Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

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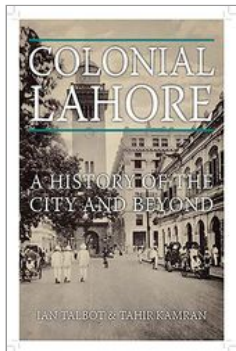
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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran

Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

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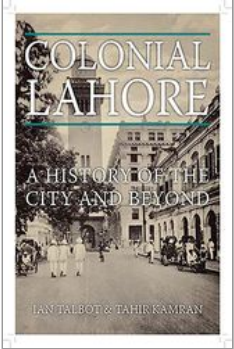
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Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond

Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran

Print publication date: 2017

Print ISBN-13: 9780190642938

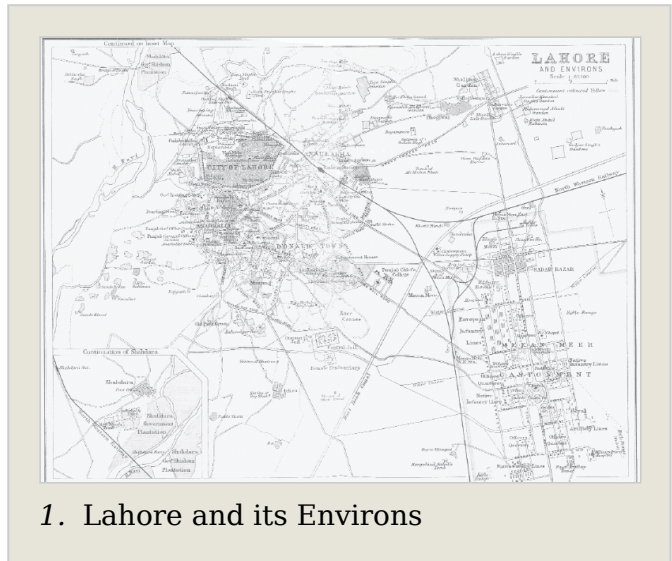
Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2017

DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001

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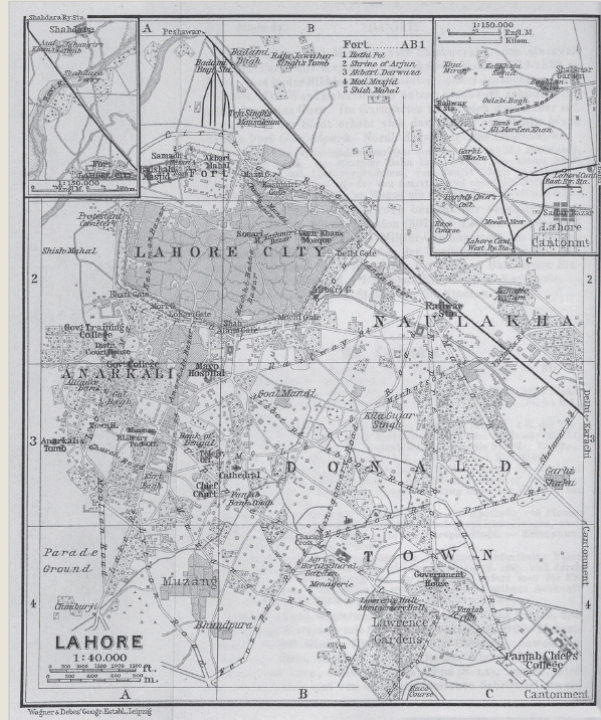
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2. Lahore 1914



3. Lahore Railway Station 1886

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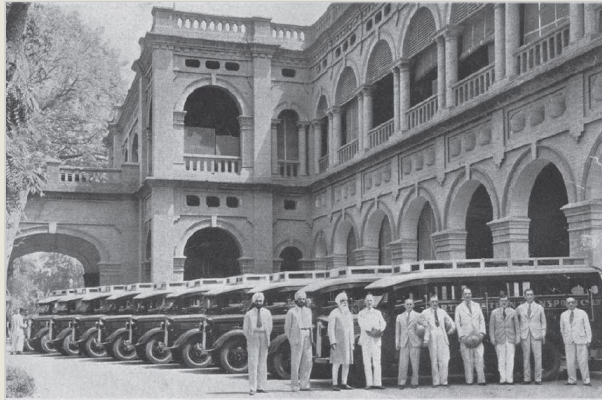
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