

**BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN PUNJAB
1897-1919 AND ITS REACTION**

Administration
in Punjab 1897-1919
and its Reaction



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BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN MALAYA
1946-1959

DEDICATED

TO

MY MOTHER

**British
Administration
in Punjab 1897-1919
and its Reaction**

PAWAN K. SINGLA



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Foreword

After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the administration of this newly constituted province of British Indian Empire was entrusted to a Board of Administration of three members headed by Henry Lawrence. A brain-child of Dalhousie, the system envisaged was one of 'divided labour and common responsibility'. Highly competent administrative officials, all Europeans, were carefully selected to conduct various branches of administration of this border province having immense strategic importance; such a brilliant batch of bureaucrats had seldom been seen in any other province. In 1853, the Board was replaced by Chief Commissioner as the sole head of administration and after the uprising of 1857-58 the Punjab became a Lieutenant-Governor's province. The administrative structure of this 'non-regulation' province was thoroughly reorganised and reforms were conceived and carried out in almost all the departments of administration in accordance with the requirements of the colonial rule and local conditions prevalent in the province. This process continued for well-nigh half a century.

The year 1897 is a landmark in the constitutional and administrative history of the Punjab inasmuch as Legislative Council was introduced in the province after a protracted demand, and no less discussion and deliberation. In the following two decades or so, changes of far-reaching significance tended to shape the administrative scenario of the Punjab. Whereas some monographs pertaining to the earlier period have been written and published, no serious research work has been undertaken for the momentous period from 1897 to 1919. Dr. Pawan Kumar Singla's book seeks to fill up this gap in the administrative : history of the Punjab. Basing his study on the massive source-material preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi and the Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Dr. Singla has presented a comprehensive and coherent account of the various facets of administration such as administrative structure, working of local self-governing institutions, law and justice, police, jails, land revenue system, agrarian reforms, public works and education. He

has made assiduous efforts to examine and analyse the problems of his study carefully and candidly as behoves a genuine scholar of history. While highlighting the positive aspects of colonial administration he has not ignored its inadequacies and inveterate defects.

The administrative policies and measures of the colonial rulers, both at the all-India and provincial level, had been designed primarily to protect and promote their imperialist interests, and as such they were bound to cause reaction among the natives – and the Punjabis in no small measure. It is pertinent to mention that quite a large number of vernacular newspapers as well as the prestigious English newspaper, *The Tribune*, had come into being in the Punjab, notably at Lahore and Amritsar during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A number of socio-religious and political organisations had also been established during this very period. Response to and reaction against the British administrative policies and measures was thus well expressed through press and platform during the period under review. It tended to give a form to public opinion and helped in the growth of nascent nationalism in the province. Dr. Singla has emphatically discussed the role of press and public opinion in exposing the shortcomings of colonial administration and bringing about wide awakening among the masses. This is indeed more laudable part of his work.

All things considered, Dr. Singla's study is a well-researched treatise written in lucid language and style. I entertain no doubt that it will be found useful by the students and scholars of modern Punjab history and will hopefully stimulate further interest in the administrative issues of the British rule in the Punjab.

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Preface

A number of research monographs have been written on various aspects and various periods of administration of Punjab under the British rule, such as N.M. Khilnani, *The Punjab under the Lawrences* (Simla 1951); Y.B. Mathur, *British Administration of Punjab 1849-75* (Delhi, 1975); Kamla Sethi, *Administration of Punjab: A Study in British Policy 1875-1905* (Delhi, 1990); D.L. Datta, 'British Administration of Punjab 1859-1897' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1983); Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab 1849 -1901* (Delhi, 1982); Inderjeet Sharma, *Land Revenue Administration in the Punjab 1849 - 1901* (New Delhi, 1985), etc. But no serious and systematic research work has been done heretofore on the administration of Punjab since 1897.

The present work, a modified form of the author's Ph.D. thesis, seeks to make a comprehensive and indepth study of all the important aspects of the administration of Punjab covering the period from 1897 to 1919. This period is highly significant in the administrative history of the province. In 1897, Legislative Council was established in Punjab followed by changes and reforms of great consequence in the general structure of administration, local self-government, administration of justice, police and jails, agrarian system, public works and education. What is equally important is that people's response to and reaction against the various administrative measures taken by the British authorities was strongly expressed through press and platform and this gave a stimulus to the growth of militant nationalism against the colonial rule in the province. This study makes a comprehensive and critical analysis of all these developments. No effort has been spared to present the subject - matter in as objective and dispassionate manner as possible.

This work has been based largely upon the primary sources available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi and the Punjab State Archives, Patiala. Of these mention may be made here of the

Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home (Political, Judicial, Police and Jails) Foreign and Public Works Departments, Annual Reports on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies, Education Reports, Agricultural Reports, Police Reports, Jail Reports, Reports on Civil and Criminal Justice, Papers on Constitutional Reforms, Census Reports, Government Gazetteers. Punjab Legislative Council Debates (Proceedings), Proceedings of the various sessions of the Indian National Congress, Reports of the Native Newspapers of Punjab, The Tribune (Lahore) etc. Relevant information has also been gleaned from secondary sources such as published books, journals and periodicals, and unpublished theses.

I am beholden to the authorities of National Archives of India, New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Punjab State Archives, Patiala and Chandigarh, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi, Punjabi University Library, Patiala, Panjab University Library, Chandigarh, and Central State Library, Patiala, who allowed me free access to the relevant documents and rare books in their possession.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor A.C. Arora who took pains to go through the manuscript most thoroughly and gave valuable suggestions and critical comments. Without his able guidance and benevolent surveillance this project might not have attained its final shape. I am no less grateful to him for sparing his valuable time to write a scholarly foreword to this book.

My wife, Dr. Ramna Singla deserves my genuine appreciation rather than formal thanks for the ever willing help rendered by her throughout the preparation of this work. She also rendered assistance in the arduous task of proof-reading.

I am sincerely thankful to Mrs. A. H. Marwah of National Book Organisation, Publishers -- Distributors, New Delhi for taking keen interest in the prompt and nice publication of this book.

Abbreviations

(Used in the footnotes)

B&R	:	Buildings and Roads
CID	:	Criminal Investigation Department
Govt.	:	Government
<i>Ibid</i>	:	<i>Ibidem</i>
IGI, Punjab	:	Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab
ILAD	:	Imperial Legislative Assembly Debates
ILC	:	Imperial Legislative Council
Irr.	:	Irrigation
J&P	:	Judicial and Provincial
Judl.	:	Judicial
Misc.	:	Miscellaneous
NAI	:	National Archives of India, New Delhi
<i>op. cit.</i>	:	<i>opero citato</i>
PAR	:	Reports on the Administration of Punjab
PLC	:	Proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Council
PLCD	:	Punjab Legislative Council Debates
Pol.	:	Political
Progs.	:	Proceedings
PWD	:	Public Works Department
RNNP	:	Report on the Native Newspapers Punjab
Secy.	:	Secretary

Backdrop

The importance of Punjab in the history and economics of the great sub-continent of India had been out of all proportion to its population, its productive capacity or even its size. Through it lay the only practicable highway between the nomad-breeding grounds of Central Asia and the rich and fertile valley of Ganges; with the result that like Palestine and Belgium, it had been the arena of conflict between political systems far greater than itself.¹ Lying between Hindustan and the passes by which alone access could be possible from the great plain of Central Asia, Punjab guarded the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won.

In its strict etymological sense, the word 'Punjab' is a compound of two Persian words, *Punj* and *ab* which means the land watered by five rivers – Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum.² Apart from the five great rivers, it has recently been discovered that the Yamuna or at least a branch of it used to flow to the west, across Karnal and Hissar districts of the province of Punjab and possibly joined the mighty Saraswati 4,000 years ago.³ Indeed, in these rivers the province possessed a really remarkable economic possibility. They were a great blessing to the people of the province.⁴

On the north the Himalayan ranges divided the Punjab from Kashmir and the North-West Frontier Province. On the west the Indus formed its main boundary. Its south-western extremity also lay west of the Indus and formed the large district of Dera Ghazi Khan, thereby extending its frontier to the Sulaiman range, which divided it from Baluchistan. On the extreme south-west the province adjoined Sind, and the Rajputana desert formed its southern border. On the east, the Yamuna and its tributary divided it from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.⁵

The province lay between 27°39' and 34°2' N and 69°23' and 79°2' E and its total area was 150,207 square miles, out of which

36,532 square miles belonged to native states under the political control of the Punjab Government.⁶ In 1901, Punjab was partitioned and a new province (North-West Frontier Province) was carved out of it, comprising a total area of 16,466 square miles.⁷ Thus, Punjab in the beginning of twentieth century, with its native states had an area of 133,741 square miles.⁸ Another slice from Punjab was taken off in April 1912, when the capital of the British Indian Empire was shifted to Delhi and the city of Delhi and a part of the surrounding territory was constituted into a distinct province.⁹ Punjab as a whole exceeded the British Isles in area by about 1/8th and its population, 25,101,060 amounted to nearly two-thirds that of England and Wales in 1921.¹⁰

II

Before analysing the British administration in Punjab it would be proper to refer briefly to the administrative system existing under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A highly ambitious and daring chief,¹¹ Ranjit Singh did not bother about the theory of practical niceties of administration.¹² The system of government under the Maharaja was a rude and simple one¹³ and the administration was as such of medieval type¹⁴ as compared with the elaborate machinery of British administration. Being continually occupied in war and entangled in politics, he had little leisure for internal legislation, or for the organisation of any establishment except military.¹⁵ All the wealth and energy of the people was devoted to the preparation of the sinews of wars and military equipments.¹⁶ Therefore, Ranjit Singh could not devote much time in organising his administration on modern lines. He, however, did take some significant measures to build and consolidate his kingdom. No doubt, he was obliged to limit his efforts to the maintenance of a workable system of administration rather than introducing new laws. Nevertheless, a new outlook and healthy ideals were sought to be adopted by this able Sikh ruler.

In civil administration of the state the Maharaja was the supreme authority. All the departments of his government were under him and he enjoyed the pivotal position in his kingdom. He personally made appointments of all his ministers, senior civil and military officers, *nazims* and *kardars*. He was the final court of appeal. He was also the Commander-in-Chief of his forces. Ranjit

Singh had no crown or throne for himself. He always tried to maintain identification with his subjects.¹⁷ In the discharge of his administrative functions, the Maharaja was assisted by a number of ministers such as Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Finance Minister (Diwan), Lord Chamberlin (Sadar-i-Deorhi) and Commander-in-Chief. The Maharaja himself appointed all these ministers and he could replace them whenever he pleased. No qualifications were laid for the appointment of these ministers. The allotment of offices and portfolios was also made by the Maharaja himself. All the political and administrative powers emanated from the Maharaja himself and the ministers only carried out his instructions.

The kingdom was divided into four provinces or *subas*, namely, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar; each was under the charge of a governor called *nazim*. The *subas* were further sub-divided into *parganas*; the most important official of the *pargana* was the *kardar* who was like a Deputy Commissioner of today. The *parganas* were further split up into *talukas* each of which contained 50 to 100 *mauzas* or villages and it could be equated with the modern *tahsils*.¹⁸ The Maharaja had a judicious discrimination in the selection of his officials; he selected the right men at the right place, and attached much importance to the hereditary instincts and traditions of the various classes of his subjects.¹⁹

The land revenue constituted the most important source of income of the state under Ranjit Singh. Out of a total revenue amounting to a little over three crore rupees, just about two crores came from the land revenue.²⁰ There were various methods of assessment which prevailed in the Kingdom from time to time and place to place. During the first phase extending from 1799 to 1823, the Maharaja followed the old and traditional method of reckoning the state share in kind, called the Batai System. During the second phase which lasted from 1824 to 1834, the Batai System was replaced by Kankut System at most of the places. According to this system the government share was fixed on standing crops before the harvest which was converted into money value. After 1834, the practice of farming of revenues of large areas to the highest bidder for a period extending from three to six years, was frequently adopted; it was called *ijaradari* system.

Besides these three methods of assessment, Ranjit Singh's government also attempted the experiment of cash *jama*, called *zabti jama*. In some parts of the kingdom the land revenue was assessed on the basis of *bigha* or on the basis of plough.²¹ There is a considerable difference of opinion regarding the state's share of the land produce taken as revenue by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to Henry Lawrence the state share was two-fifth²² of the produce, while others mention the state share as one-half of the gross produce besides a multitude of cesses.²³ As a matter of fact, the share of the gross produce under Ranjit Singh was never rigidly fixed at one uniform rate. It varied from place to place, according to the productivity of the soil, the nature of the crops; the means of irrigation, and other facilities of cultivation.²⁴ It is believed that the revenue policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was neither oppressive nor unsympathetic, nor devoid of any feeling for the tillers of the soil.²⁵

Ranjit Singh's judicial system was not a mere continuation of the Mughal system which was mainly based on Quranic law. His whole judicial machinery underwent a change as a result of the new socio-economic set-up of Punjab caused by the interaction of the old and the new forces like the relations of the cultivators with the *zamindars* and impact of the Sikh social customs on the existing society. The institution of justice mainly depended on the customary laws and usages of the Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs in practice in the different parts of Punjab.²⁶ The Maharaja himself was the highest court. He heard cases and gave his decisions without unnecessarily delay. He was known for his accessibility and was ever ready to listen to the complaints of the people. He undertook frequent tours of various parts of the kingdom to see personally that justice was done to the people by the local courts. The *nazims*, the *kardars* and the *panchayats* decided the cases in the provinces, *parganas* and villages respectively. The state had also appointed *adalatis* (justices) in important towns like Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Multan and Peshawar to decide both civil and criminal cases. A special court known as *adalat-i-ala* was set-up at Lahore. The punishments given to the criminal depended upon the nature of the crime and locality in which the crime was committed. The most common punishment was fine or *jurmana*; on the recovery of the stolen

goods the state share was also taken in the form *shukrana* (thanks-giving money). The mutilation of limbs and death punishment were rarely given.²⁷ The critics point out that Ranjit Singh's judicial system was crude and primitive. According to Prinsep, "There is no law written or oral and courts of justice have not been anywhere established."²⁸ "Custom and caprice were substituted for the *lex-scripta*."²⁹ There was no regular hierarchy of courts with definite powers and jurisdiction. Customs and traditions played an important role in the dispensing of justice. Arbitration was freely resorted to in villages and in towns. The very idea of judiciary as a separate department of government was foreign to the rulers of that age; in the Lahore Darbar, too, there did not exist any separate ministry of law and justice. Malcolm, however, opined that the prevailing administration of justice under Ranjit Singh was most congenial to the temper of the people and best-suited to government of the state.³⁰

Ranjit Singh's successors (1839-49) Kharak Singh, Nau Nihal Singh, Mai Chand Kaur, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh were weak and incompetent. They "were not possessed of the qualities of leadership; their main preoccupation was to secure the throne for themselves by liquidating their rivals."³¹ Under them the Lahore Darbar had become the hot-bed of intrigues and counter-intrigues among the nobles of various groups, which led to frequent killings of the Maharajas and the ministers.

Under these circumstances whatever administrative system had been set up by the genius of Ranjit Singh, virtually collapsed. With the result, chaos and confusion became rampant in various parts of the kingdom. The British took full advantage of such a decadent situation and as a result of the two Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845-46; 1848-49) they succeeded in annexing Punjab to the British Empire in March 1849.

III

After the annexation of Punjab, Lord Dalhousie constituted a Board of Administration consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence as President and his brother John Lawrence and Charles Mansel as members, to administer the new province. The Board enjoyed wide powers and unrestricted control over all matters, pertaining

to Punjab.³² The new administration was not encumbered with many regulations or tedious rules, which might be beyond the capacity of the people to understand or appreciate. It was intended that Punjab should be governed after "a ruder and simpler fashion."³³ The functions of the Board were divided into political, revenue and judicial and each member had a charge of one of those departments, though all worked jointly when any question of importance arose.³⁴ They were jointly responsible for the formulation and execution of the policies. The system was aptly described as one of "divided labour and common responsibility."³⁵ A large number of talented British officials were appointed to assist the members of the Board. "Probably never in the history of our Indian Empire have so many able men been collected within a single province."³⁶

Although Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence were real brothers, they differed from each other in important matters of administration. Henry was the President of the Board but John enjoyed the full support of the Governor-General. Thus, from the very outset, the Board did not possess the unity of purpose, a set procedure and concentration of power, vital for the pacification and consolidation of a new province.³⁷ Despite this the Board of Administration during the short span of four years accomplished commendable work in reorganising the administration of Punjab on sound footing. After the abolition of the Board in 1853, John Lawrence was appointed as Chief Commissioner of Punjab and he was vested with all the powers which were hitherto wielded by the Board. With his characteristic enthusiasm and energy, he continued the work of the Board efficiently and introduced many significant administrative reforms during the five years of his Chief Commissionership.

The primary concern of the British authorities was to secure and consolidate the British rule in the newly annexed territory. The first main uphill task before the Board was to disband the Khalsa army and effect disarmament of the people of the province. It was feared that any delay might give breathing time to the Khalsa and the bolder spirits might stage some opposition to general disarmament.³⁸ Immediately after annexation a general muster of all the Sikh soldiery was called at Lahore where nearly

50,000 persons were paid their arrears and disbanded. Scarcely a tenth of the entire army were taken into British pay.³⁹ The common people of Punjab were also disarmed. The Board issued proclamation asking the people to surrender their arms. With the help of the district officials and village headmen the order was enforced and in no time 120,000 weapons, including swords and rifles, were surrendered before the government. All the people with the exception of Europeans and government officials were prohibited from keeping weapons and no one could manufacture or sell war-arms. This order was strictly enforced.⁴⁰

The next achievement of the Board was the creation of a stable border line between Punjab and Afghanistan and the establishment of a suitable system of administration of the North-West Frontier territories. A special force, known as 'Punjab Frontier Force' consisting of 12,000 cavalry and infantry was organised. Roads, military cantonments and forts were constructed in the frontier region. The stern enforcement of law was accompanied by judicious measures to win over the tribal chiefs.⁴¹ The Board appointed energetic and active minded men armed with considerable discretionary powers, civil and military, for the administration of the region.⁴²

The police force was also reorganised by the Board for the maintenance of peace and security of the province. It consisted of two branches – a Military Preventive Police and a Civil Detective Police, having total strength of 7,100 and 6,900 men respectively. The foot regiments and horse troopers were kept always ready for assisting the civil detective police; while the former crushed resistance, the latter expedited the pursuit.⁴³ The police establishment was separated from the indigenous village police system which had already been in existence even before the British rule in Punjab. The civil detective police comprised of a regular establishment paid by the state, whereas the city watchman and the village police were paid by the people.⁴⁴ Rural constabulary formed the lowest grade of the civil police. Realizing its importance, the British Government reorganised this important body throughout the villages.⁴⁵

The total strength of the Punjab police force just two years after the annexation was 15,000 men involving an expenditure of

Rs. 1,996,470 annually.⁴⁶ During the Revolt of 1857, the Punjab police force contributed greatly to the restoration and preservation of law and order.⁴⁷ The requirement of the time forced the British Government to raise the strength of the force from 23,226 in April 1857 to 27,300 men in January 1859.⁴⁸

The maintenance of peace was, however, greatly facilitated by the judicial system, instituted by the Lawrences. Its simplicity and vigour admirably met the requirements of the country. The simple procedure of the courts, their cheapness, accessibility, promptness, the exclusion of pleaders and the recognition of village panchayats helped matters immensely.⁴⁹ A regular hierarchy of courts was established to dispense justice in the province. The courts of Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Tehsildars were established to administer both civil and criminal justice. In 1853, the Board framed a concise code of civil laws, or rather of civil procedure, based on the native customs, traditions and the holy books of the principal communities, exactly adopted to the wants and exigencies of the people.⁵⁰ The procedure was so simplified as to enable "every man to plead his own claim or conduct his own defence."⁵¹ The *panchayats* were not superseded. Rather, the Board ever anxious to promote indigenous institutions, reformed them and instructed the district officers to superintend their working. Tehsildars were empowered to try suits upto the value of rupees 300 within their local jurisdiction. The Commissioners were enjoined to examine the cases disposed by Tehsildars and to scrutinise their decisions, with a view to keep them on the razor's edge.⁵² The people were thus kept in touch with the administration through Tehsildars and *panchayats*.

In the matters of jail administration, the work of the British authorities is worthy of consideration. Prior to the establishment of their rule in Punjab, the administration of jails, as we understand today, virtually did not exist. In 1853, an Inspector-General of Jails was appointed in the province to assist and advise the government in the management of all matters pertaining to the prison administration.⁵³ During the next few years a large number of central, district, and sub-jails were constructed in various parts of the province. To begin with, a

Central Jail at Lahore, three provincial jails at Multan, Rawalpindi and Ambala and district jails (one each) at the remaining districts were constructed. The first, second and third category jails accommodated 2,000, 800 and 258 prisoners respectively. The Lahore Central Jail admitted convicts who were sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment and was also used as district jail for short term convicts of Lahore district. This jail was built over an area of 33 acres of land and was completed in 1853. It was constructed at the cost of rupees 200,721 excluding rupees 20,072 worth of prisoners' labour.⁵⁴ The number of jails increased with the passage of time in keeping with the increase in the number of prisoners. Besides the construction of a large number of jails, efforts were also made to improve the health of prisoners.

The Lawrences devoted most of their energies to the building up a solid structure of government, which for many years gained for Punjab its deserved distinction as the 'model province of India'.⁵⁵ Among the measures contemplated for its development was a comprehensive plan of intersecting the province with roads and bridges. The Board constructed 1,349 miles of road and surveyed 5,272 miles.⁵⁶ The roads were classified into three categories – military roads; roads for external commerce; roads for internal commerce. Security was, however, their first consideration. The road system sufficiently satisfied their military interests.⁵⁷ The most notable achievement in this regard was the construction of the Grand Trunk Road from Lahore to Peshawar. The Board also undertook the work of establishment of charitable dispensaries, public schools, jails, post offices etc.

The work of planning and construction of all public works with which the Board was concerned, was entrusted to the Civil Engineer. But the control of all military works, however, rested with the 'Military Board' acting directly under the Government of India. In May 1854, the Public Works Department was organised in accordance with the recommendations in letter No. 380 (Vol. XIII) of 17 December 1853. Under the new scheme, all engineering work – civil, military or public – was placed under one department at the head of which was a Chief Engineer, Colonel Napier was appointed as the first Chief Engineer.⁵⁸

The Board also made ambitious plans for the development of

canals in the province. Punjab with the rivers and rivulets was especially suited for canal irrigation. The Hasli Canal which supplied water to temple tanks of Amritsar and Shalimar garden in Lahore, was cleared and plans were made to extend it and dig branch canals. The Baree Doab Canal was to revive dead villages and create new hamlets throughout a course of two hundred and forty-seven miles. Besides this monumental work, the Board undertook the repair and improvement of the already existing canals in Derajat and Multan.⁵⁹

The British authorities paid special attention towards setting up a sound land revenue administration which tended to change the entire scene of the agrarian set-up in Punjab. Their agrarian policies were so designed as to benefit the peasantry rather than a few *sardars* who were the relics of the Sikh regime. The early land revenue settlement of Punjab under British rule was virtually an extension of the system of the North-Western Provinces as it stood in 1849.⁶⁰ It was mainly due to the fact that the first batch of Punjab settlement officers was mostly brought from that province. It was decided by those officers to settle land in favour of persons who held land and had paid the revenue for twelve years prior to the introduction of the first land revenue settlement. Thus, the land revenue was settled generally with the inferior peasant proprietors of Punjab.⁶¹ The early settlement of officers had also to determine the amount of land revenue payable to the government. For this purpose the land revenue demands of the closing years of Ranjit Singh's reign were taken as the main guide. Having made certain deductions (about 5 per cent) the revenue demand was fixed which was to be paid in cash by the peasants. These settlements were initially welcomed by the peasants. But after a couple of years the prices of grain fell resulting in great loss to the peasants. In view of this general distress the Board of Administration was forced to reduce these high revenue demands. And in 1856 the permanent reduction in the assessment amounted to nearly 25 per cent. Finally, these harsh summary settlements were replaced by regular settlements.⁶² John Lawrence said that the new settlements had lowered the rates of assessment, but the peasants did not feel so. Edwin Arnold summed up the whole problem in a sentence thus: "The assessment though reduced (on paper) pressed more heavily than the old dues."⁶³

Punjab produced a large variety of agricultural products. The principal crops of the province were wheat, gram, barley, maize, rice, sugarcane, cotton and tea. The character of traditional agriculture based on century's old technology began to be transformed, slowly but surely, under the British rule. In the initial stage the Punjab Agri-Horticultural Society organised in 1851 under the Presidentship of Henry Lawrence played a laudable role in providing guidelines for the development of agriculture on modern lines in the province. The society collected a lot of information about agriculture and agricultural products in Punjab and suggested the introduction of new crops and improved implements for the development of agriculture.⁶⁴ Consequently, the Board introduced crops like new orleans cotton, flax, tobacco and route crops. A selected flock of rams was imported from Syndey and soon the province began to export qualities of wool.⁶⁵ The process of agricultural transformation was, of course, slow and its extension in different areas was unbalanced.

Western system of education was introduced in the province. Before the annexation of Punjab to British India, the education imparted in the schools was more religious than secular in character, and there was not a single institution for higher learning.⁶⁶ The first government school was opened at Amritsar in 1849.⁶⁷ But the real foundation of modern education in the province was laid by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 which was the first authoritative declaration on the part of the British Government about the educational policy to be followed in India. It declared 'the advancement of western knowledge' as its avowed object, defined the comparative position of English and Indian languages and provided a scheme which tried to touch all aspects of Indian education, right from the primary to the university stage.⁶⁸ In pursuance of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch the Department of Public Instructions, was established in Punjab in 1856. It was proposed to open 30 schools at district headquarters, 1,000 village schools in rural areas, four normal schools and a central college at Lahore. All of them were to be supervised by one Director and two Inspectors at a cost of three lakhs of rupees per annum plus rupees 15,000 as grants-in-aid to missionary and other private schools. The funds for this purpose were to be obtained from the people themselves by one per cent

'education cess' on the land revenue.⁶⁹ The educational institutions established till 1856-57 were classed as Zillah, Tahsil and village schools and grading system of primary, middle and high schools was as yet a distant dream. As a matter of fact, it was a period of experimentation. But the experiments conducted and experience gained during these years greatly helped the government in planning the educational framework for the future in the province.

Thus, the foundations of the British administrative system were laid in Punjab during the first eight years of British rule. The primary object of the British authorities during this period was, of course, to maintain peace and order and to take the roots of the British rule deep into the soil of the province. And this object appears to have been achieved fully. The people of Punjab were pacified and contented to a great extent as a result of administrative measures and reforms introduced during this period. This, together with the timely measures taken by John Lawrence, helped the British authorities in checking the spread of the 'Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt' of 1857 in Punjab for which John Lawrence was acclaimed by the higher authorities as 'Great Saviour' of Punjab; he also rendered valuable services in suppressing the revolt in Delhi. Punjab was reorganised and rewarded with the addition of the divisions of Delhi and Hissar in the province.

IV

In 1859, Punjab was placed under the charge of a Lieutenant-Governor and John Lawrence was given the charge of this office. The period from 1859 to 1897 during which the destinies of Punjab were governed by nine Lieutenant-Governors,⁷⁰ was marked by a new phase in the administrative history of Punjab. During these four decades the successive Lieutenant-Governors brought about reforms in almost every branch of administration. Apart from securing and promoting the imperialist interests, these reforms aimed at the moral and material welfare of the people. A succinct account of these various reforms may be given as under:

Of the judicial reforms introduced during the period, the most significant was the establishment of Chief Court in 1866 on the same model as in the three presidencies, but on the authority

derived from the Indian Legislature (Act XXIII of 1865).⁷¹ With the establishment of this court, the first attempt at the periodical publication of its decisions was also made by proprietors of Punjab Printing Company. Upto this period no reports of decided cases were published. The object of the periodical publication of the decisions of the Chief Court was to bring about uniformity in the interpretation of the law.⁷²

Earlier, in 1862, the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code had been introduced in Punjab.⁷³ The Criminal Procedure Code was amended in 1872 when virtually a new Criminal Procedure Code was issued, repealing the earlier acts on the subject. There were to be four grades of criminal courts – the court of sessions and the courts of first, second and third class magistrates. The distinction between these classes of magistrates lay in the amount of punishment.⁷⁴

In 1866, Civil Procedure Code was extended to Punjab. Under the code the arbitrators could only be appointed with the consent of the parties concerned, and their award was to be final.⁷⁵ In 1884, the Punjab Courts Act (Act of XVII of 1884) was passed to give effect to the scheme for the reorganisation of the courts in Punjab. In pursuance of this scheme, the province was divided into seven civil divisions; two Divisional Judges being appointed for each division. For criminal cases, the province was divided into ten Sessions Divisions. In three of these divisions Joint Sessions Judges were appointed in addition to the Session Judges. In fourteen out of thirty-one districts, special officers were appointed as District Judges. In the rest of the seventeen districts, the Deputy Commissioners became District Judges.⁷⁶

It was on 1 November 1884 that the Bench system was introduced with a view to reducing the pressure of work on the Chief Court. This system worked upto 15 November 1885, when it was abolished. However, on the recommendations of the Judges of Chief Court, the province was divided into fourteen (in place of previous seven) Civil Divisions and thirteen Sessions Divisions in 1886.⁷⁷

The Punjab Courts Act, 1884, was amended in 1888. The

object of the amendment was to enable the Chief Court to deal more expeditiously with the accumulated arrears.⁷⁸ In 1896, the Punjab Courts Act of 1884 was again amended and the strength of the Chief Court was raised to six – four permanent and two temporary judges. Thus by 1897, a well-organised judicial administration was developed in Punjab.

The period is especially notable for police reforms. The Report of the Police Commission (1860-61) embodied in the Police Act of 1861, laid the foundation of the modern police system in Punjab. In accordance with the provisions of this Act a number of reforms were made and the system of police administration was brought on the same pattern as in other provinces of India. The first step taken towards the reorganisation of police was that the military and civil police was amalgamated. The whole force was placed under the control of an Inspector-General of Police who was given the full powers of a Magistrate.⁷⁹ Below the Inspector-General were to be Deputy Inspector-General, Superintendents, Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables. The new system of police administration was introduced in all the Cis-Indus districts of Punjab without delay. It could not, however, be introduced in the Trans-Indus districts because of the frequent raids from the numerous marauding tribes of Afghanistan.⁸⁰ To prevent their incursions the Supreme Government handed over the control of North-West Frontier territories to the military authorities and the police was relieved of their military duties.⁸¹ In order to attract military officers to the police, the pay and prospects of the grades of District Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police were improved in 1867.⁸²

Since the average strength and cost of Punjab police was regarded much in excess as compared to the other provinces, the Government of India urged the Punjab Government to effect economy and retrenchment. Consequently, in the beginning of April 1870, the services of one Deputy Inspector-General, 7 Assistant Superintendents, 67 Sergeants and 393 constables were done away with.⁸³ In 1873, the Police Act of 1861 was extended to Trans-Indus districts. Thus, the whole of Punjab came under a uniform system of police administration.⁸⁴ To bring efficiency in

the police administration, Lieutenant Colonel Hutchison in 1874 revised and reissued in a consolidated form all the administrative police orders passed since the organisation of the force in 1861. In 1875, however, the Supreme Government approved the recommendations of the Punjab Government regarding the remodelling of the scales of the subordinate grades, especially of the foot Constables.⁸⁵ In 1891, the pay of all ranks above that of the Constables was revised and in many respects improved.⁸⁶ In the same year (1891) police training school was established at Phillaur for the education and training of the police. It was placed under the charge of an Assistant Superintendent.⁸⁷ In 1894, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the proposal of the Government of India that Indians appointed to the superior ranks of the police service were to receive the same rates of pay as the Europeans in the police service.⁸⁸ In 1896, the Commissioners were made ex-officio Deputy Inspectors-General of Police.⁸⁹

Along with the police, jail system was also reformed. With the introduction of the Penal Code in 1862, there was a reduction of 30 per cent in the number of female convicts punished with imprisonment because now they could not be punished for adultery. A female penitentiary was established at Lahore in 1863. No males except officials were allowed to go inside the ward. Every precaution was taken to ensure a strict separation between the sexes.⁹⁰

A reformatory was set up in Sialkot Jail in 1862 but was later on transferred to Gurdaspur. To this reformatory were sent those boys whose sentences were for more than six months. Some improvements were made in Punjab jails in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Jail Committee of 1864. Two important points laid down by this committee were to the effect that a Central Jail should not accommodate more than 1,000 prisoners and that the minimum space allotted to each prisoner should be 400 cubic feet.⁹¹

In the early 1860s the Monitor System was introduced in the Central Jail at Lahore. The prisoners who were selected as Monitors were given certain privileges. Their irons barring an ankle ring were removed. They were merely to supervise the other

prisoners. The Monitor System was a success. It resulted in economy and efficiency.⁹²

In the large jails of Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Multan and Ambala, the system of rewarding prisoners by marks and appointing them to the post of war-master and prisoner-guards was introduced. Marks were awarded for good conduct, industry, progress in learning, reading and writing, and for special acts of commendable behaviour. Under this system progress in workshops and good behaviour entitled a prisoner to be released from the jail before the expiry of his term. In 1874, the system was extended to all the jails of Punjab. The rules framed in 1867 were incorporated in the Jail Manual and published in 1874.⁹³

Attention was also paid to the education of the prisoners. Since 1861 the control of education in the jails was placed under the supervision of the Education Department. Paid teachers were appointed in a number of jails. Education in Punjab jails was certainly much more systematic than in the other provinces.⁹⁴

The Reformatory School Act, was passed in 1876. The object of the Act was to establish in British India institutions which could serve the combined purposes of Reformatory schools and the Industrial schools. But it was not found practicable to carry out the contemplated establishment of a reformatory for juvenile offenders in connection with the Central Jail at Lahore. In 1885, rules were framed by Punjab Government for regulating the mark system and the remission of sentences of the convicts. In 1894 was passed the Prison Act. It had 62 sections and 12 chapters. It provided that no person shall introduce or remove from any prison, or supply to any prisoner outside the limits of any prison any of the following articles: poisons, alcohol, tobacco, opium, ganja, snuff, money, jewellery, explosives, matches, books or writing material, letters, postage stamps, playing cards etc.⁹⁵ Rules were also framed by the Punjab Government under this Act regarding the release of prisoners in danger of death. It was provided that with the consent of the District Magistrate, the Superintendent may release a prisoner suffering from disease, provided that the disease was likely to prove fatal if the prisoner remained in jail, that there was reasonable chance of recovery if

the prisoner was released.⁹⁶ Similarly, rules were also framed regarding the conduct and discipline in jails.

In the agricultural sphere, regular settlements were effected in various phases – the first lasting till the year 1863 when Prinsep was appointed as the Settlement Commissioner; the second phase starting in 1863 and ending with the enactment of first Land Revenue Act of 1871; the third phase embracing eight years from 1871 to 1879; the fourth phase covering the decade from 1879 to 1889; and the last phase from 1889 onwards.⁹⁷ At first the standard assessment was fixed as two-thirds and at the end of the period at one-half of the net assets,⁹⁸ i.e., the average surplus after deducting the cost of cultivation. While assessing the area irrigated by the canals, the principle adopted was to first make a 'dry assessment' at the rate which would have been imposed had there been no canal, and then to add a 'water advantage rate', i.e., an extra assessment on the advantages due to irrigation. In certain districts 'fluctuating assessments' were also adopted and extended.⁹⁹ It is significant to note that as a result of the changes in the settlement policy, there was a steady increase in the land-revenue demand over the years; it had gone up from rupees 19,018,132 in 1860-61 to rupees 20,876,476 in 1891-92.¹⁰⁰

The rigidity of land revenue collection was considered to be an important cause of debt incurred by peasant proprietors. In 1872, the Lieutenant-Governor frankly recorded: "In some districts of Punjab rigidity of the government demand may force the people into debt."¹⁰¹ The money-lender in a village charged 25 to 50 per cent interest for what he had earlier lent to the peasant. That heavy rate of interest invariably incapacitated the peasant and made him extremely dependent upon the money-lender who was by now the village economic dictator.¹⁰² The steady rise in the prices of produce, the vast improvement in the means of communications and development of canal irrigation with prospects of further improvement increased the prices of land. Paradoxical though it may seem, the growth of prosperity among the Punjabi agriculturists brought in its train the ever-growing indebtedness.

Many other factors also contributed to the rapidly increasing

indebtedness of the Punjabi peasant proprietor. Droughts and outbreaks of epidemics made a devastating holocaust of thousands of heads of cattle.¹⁰³ The size of the holdings was also a great handicap for the peasant proprietors of Punjab in facing the hardship caused by famine and the cattle diseases.¹⁰⁴ Insecurity of harvest, expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies and peasants' habitual indulgence in litigation also had their share in adding to the indebtedness of the peasantry.¹⁰⁵ In 1865, only five or six per cent of the peasant proprietors were seriously involved in indebtedness. In 1878-79, it was calculated that 2,013,029 acres were mortgaged and the number of mortgages continued "increasing much faster than the redemption."¹⁰⁶ By 1892-93, the number increased to 4,149,545 acres.¹⁰⁷

Despite the increasing indebtedness of the peasants, there was a great extension of cultivation resulting in the general agricultural prosperity of Punjab. There were two main harvests in Punjab – the *rabi (hari)* or spring crops and *kharif (souni)* or autumn crops. The *rabi* crops were sown from October to November and harvested from April to June. The spring sowing followed quickly on the autumn harvesting. Speaking generally, the tendency as irrigation developed, was for intensive cultivation in the *rabi* to replace the extensive cultivation of the *kharif*.¹⁰⁸

The Punjab peasant would often say: "The manure is to the field what the army is to the Raja (king)." Land near a town or village was heavily manured, as also was land near a well, since it could be easily irrigated and valuable crops grown on it. Sugar-cane, maize, tobacco, and vegetables were invariably manured.¹⁰⁹ Irrigated land was manured much more generally than unirrigated. There can be no doubt that manure under the British rule began to be valued more than it formerly was. The collection from the large towns of night-soil and other refuse, which at one time were absolutely neglected or resolutely rejected, were now much sought after.¹¹⁰ New varieties of crops such as potatoes, flax, tea, new orlean cotton, wheat, sugarcane, tobacco, English fruits and vegetables were introduced.¹¹¹ Wells and irrigation canals¹¹² played an important role in the extension of cultivation. Wells continued to provide a part of the necessary water supply. The British Government encouraged the sinking of wells by granting

takavi loans to the farmers. In the districts Gujranwala, Sialkot, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur, there was practically no irrigation except from wells. In other parts of the province, too well-irrigation played a very significant part in the rural economy¹¹³ and in the last decade of the century an increase in the number of wells occurred even in Dera Ghazi Khan (30 per cent), Montgomery (24.1 per cent), Jhang (22.1 per cent) and Muzaffargarh (19.8 per cent). Irrigation from wells had a far-reaching impact on the rural society. With the development of well-irrigation, emphasis tended to shift from extensive to intensive cultivation around well lands. It also brought about a significant change in the crop pattern during this period. It not only whipped up the cultivation of cash crops like pepper, cotton, tobacco and vegetables but also *chari* to feed the well-bullocks. Again in some parts of the province, it stimulated the process of consolidation of holdings by means of mutual exchanges among the *zamindars*.¹¹⁴ The average out-turn per acre of wheat grown on irrigated lands in the province in the year 1891 was known to be 808 lbs., or 13 bushels; and without irrigation it was 544 lbs., or 9 bushels. It may be said that the extension of irrigation to 100 acres of land increased the production of the province by an amount equal to that resulting from an extension of cultivation to 48.5 acres, or nearly 50 per cent. Yet the irrigational facilities did not develop to an extent it was desired.¹¹⁵

Public works of great importance were undertaken by the British authorities during 1859-1897. Of these, canals deserve first and foremost attention. Realising the capabilities of Punjab for canal irrigation, the Punjab Government planned various canal projects. The canals constructed during the British rule fell into two categories – the perennial canals, with permanent headworks and the inundation canals which ran only in flood season and irrigated the low lands along the rivers. By the end of the nineteenth century, the major irrigation works constructed were: The Western Yamuna Canal, Bari Doab Canal, Sirhind Canal, Chenab Canal (Lower), Sidhnai Canal and the Swat River Canal. The minor irrigation works undertaken and completed were the Upper Sutlej Inundation Canals, Lower Sutlej Inundation Canals, Chenab Inundation Canals, Muzaffargarh Inundation Canals and Ghaggar Inundation Canals.¹¹⁶ The progress of canal construction

and the development of irrigation which had taken place may well be appreciated by taking into consideration the fact that the area under canal irrigation by the close of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign was only 10,000 acres which increased to 6,606,993 acres (5,593,021 by government canals and 1,013,972 by private canals) at the close of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷

In the field of construction of roads the Public Works Department for 30 years managed practically all the road work. But it was with the extension of local self-government that the 'golden age of road-making' commenced in Punjab. The measures of local self-government initiated by Lord Mayo in 1870 and developed by Lord Ripon (1880-84), and his successors afforded considerable possibilities for the development of road transport. Under the progressive policies the maintenance of a number of roads was placed under the local bodies with fixed mileage grants.¹¹⁸ But the Provincial Government on their part did not do much better as they also did not spend adequate sums of money on road communication.

It may be of interest to note that the first railway line in Punjab was built in 1861 between Lahore and Amritsar and was opened to traffic on 10 April 1862. The line from Attari to Ambala Cantt was built progressively during the following eight years between 1862 and 1870. The section between Ambala Cantt and Ludhiana had been opened on 12 October 1869, and that between Jullundur Cantt and Beas on 15 November 1869. The next line to be built in Punjab was between Rajpura and Patiala, opened to traffic on 1 November 1884, and extended to Bhatinda, five years later on 13 October 1889.¹¹⁹

The Delhi-Umballa-Kalka Railway was part of the East Indian Railway system at the time of its opening on 1 March 1891. The North-Western Railway came into existence in 1886 as a result of the merger of five separate railway companies.¹²⁰

As regards the organisation of the Public Works Department, it was divided into two branches in April 1864, viz. the civil works branch including irrigation, buildings, communications etc., and a Military Works Branch.¹²¹ In 1886, in order to meet the increasing demand for public works, three separate branches were

formed – the Military Works Branch, the Civil Works Branch including irrigation, and the Railway Branch.¹²² By 1895, the Military Works Branch grew to such a size that it was organised into a separate Military Works Department, so that the Public Works Department became purely civilian in nature.

The organisation of the three main branches, viz. Irrigation, Buildings and Roads and Railways originated separately and at different times.

After 1858, education began to develop in the province. By 1862 there were 23 zillah schools (of which 21 schools were in the superior grade), 119 tahsil schools and 1,750 village schools. Besides, there were 8 Normal schools for teacher training, 17 superior grant-in-aid schools and 23 inferior grant-in-aid schools.¹²³ Almost all the aided institutions in the province were run by the Christian missionaries. After 1862, there was a steady rise in the number of schools which were now classified into primary, middle and high schools. By 1880-81, there were 1,524 primary schools, 203 middle schools and 32 high schools.¹²⁴ In 1882 Indian Education Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of W.W. Hunter, having 21 other members.¹²⁵ The Commission appointed Provincial Committees to assess the working of the educational system by way of enquiries and interviews with the prominent educationists and citizens of each state. A list of seventy questions covering various educational aspects were prepared. And after careful consideration of the prevailing education system in all its bearings, the Education Commission made detailed recommendations of a practical character under various heads. The chief recommendations concerned the need for the recognition and encouragement of the indigenous, primary, secondary and female education; the revision of the system of scholarships; the gradual raising of the tuition fee; the modification of the grant-in-aid rules; increasing the inspecting agency and the holding of educational conference. The recommendations were generally accepted by the Punjab Government. In accordance with these recommendations, measures were taken for the development of primary and secondary education. A significant measure was the opening of Zamindari Schools intended to meet the special requirements of the children of the agriculturists, but the

experiment did not prove a success. However, there was a remarkable increase in the number of education institutions, both public and private. By 1896, there were in all 2,467 primary schools, 67 high schools and 217 middle schools.¹²⁶ The private enterprise had started playing a commendable role in the development of education in the province.

As early as 1860-61, a Medical College had been opened in Lahore. It was followed three years after (1864) by the establishment of two colleges, namely, the Lahore College and the Delhi College, for the promotion of higher education in the province. The Anjuman-i-Punjab founded by Dr. Leitner in January 1865 began to demand aloud the disassociation of Punjab Colleges from the Calcutta University and the establishment of University of Lahore with emphasis on Oriental learning. Despite the pleading of the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab for the establishment of Panjab University, the Government of India only sanctioned the establishment of University College at Lahore,¹²⁷ which came into being early in 1870. In 1882 the college was converted into a full-fledged University under Act XIX of 1882 passed by the Governor-General in Council.¹²⁸ The establishment of the Panjab University is a momentous landmark in the history of Indian education. It was the first University in India to revive and foster the study of Oriental learning. In fact, it was a unique synthesis of both Oriental and Western education. It opened the avenues of higher education not only to the people of Punjab but also to the students beyond its borders.

The establishment of the Panjab University gave a great impetus to the college education in the province. The endeavours of the government in this regard were gradually supplemented by the efforts of Christian missionaries, Arya Samaj, Singh Sabha and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. By 1896 there were 10 colleges in the province—nine arts colleges¹²⁹ and one Medical College.

Uptil 1882, the progress in female education had been far from satisfactory. There had been lamentable decrease in the number of female schools from 1,029 in 1865-66 to 311 in 1881-82. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 made specific recommendations for the development of female education. The

people of the Punjab had also been awakened about the need of educating their daughters. The socio-religious organisations of various communities also took up the cause of female education. Consequently, a number of girls schools sprang up in Punjab which owed their origin entirely to the native efforts. The places like Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Jullundur became the prominent centres of private enterprise and rendered valuable service to further the cause of female education.¹³⁰ By 1895-96 the total number of female primary schools, both public and private, rose to 339, having 21,426 scholars which included 9,178 pupils from the private schools. The number of secondary schools had also gone upto 14.¹³¹

The period also witnessed partial development of the local self-government in the province. Municipal Committees and Districts Boards were established in various towns and districts of Punjab but these bodies continued to be dominated by the officials. They had limited powers and also limited finances. Towards the closing years of the period, the people and press began to demand the establishment of Legislative Council in the province, but the response of the British high-ups had not as yet been favourable.

Three highly significant developments of the period deserve special attention. One, as a reaction against and response to the western impact, a number of socio-religious movements emerged in Punjab among various communities, of which the most prominent were Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj, Sanatan Dharam, Singh Sabha and Ahmadiya. Though belonging to different communities all of those movements vigorously pleaded the cause of social and religious reforms and they attracted a large number of followers.

Two, quite a large number of native newspapers appeared in the province. Of these mention may be made of *Aftab-i-Punjab* (Lahore), *Gurmukhi Akhbar*, *Khalsa Akhbar* (Lahore), *Singh Sabha Gazettee* (Amritsar), *Singh Sahai* (Amritsar), *Vakil* (Amritsar) *Nusrat-ul-Akhbar* (Delhi), *Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), *Wafadar* (Lahore), *Hindayat-ul-Akhbar* (Lahore), *Kashmiri Gazettee* (Lahore), *Delhi Punch* (Lahore), *The Khair-Khwah-i-*

Punjab (Lahore), *Koh-i-Noor* (Lahore), *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), *Sanatan Dharam Gazettee* (Lahore), *The Chaudwin Saddi* (Rawalpindi), *The Arya Gazettee* (Lahore) etc.¹³² Of greater importance is the foundation of the English newspaper, *The Tribune*, which had come into being in 1881 as a result of the efforts of Dyal Singh Majithia and his Bengali friends; it became veritably an organ of the middle class of Punjab.

Three, political associations also began to emerge in the Punjab. In 1877, Lahore Indian Association was established under the Presidentship of Dyal Singh Majithia. It was the first political organisation in Punjab that provided a common platform for all sections of the Indian community.¹³³ In 1885, two persons represented Punjab in the first session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay.¹³⁴ Gradually, Indian National Congress began to gain followers in the province which is evident from the fact that the ninth session of the Indian National Congress was held in Lahore in December 1893 in which no less than 481 delegates participated from the province.¹³⁵

Taken together, the aforesaid developments brought about great transformation in the scenario of Punjab. Public opinion began to grow in the province which expressed itself through the socio-religious and political organisations as well as through various newspapers sponsored by such organisations. Under these circumstances, Punjab Legislative Council was established in 1897 which ushered in a new period in the political and administrative history of Punjab. Significant changes and reforms took place during the period 1897 to 1919, which evoked no less significant reaction among the people. The present work envisages a comprehensive and critical study of this crucial period in the administrative history of Punjab.

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47. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., Feb. 1901, Nos. 123-25; H.L.O. Garrett, *A Brief History of the Old Police Battalions in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1927), p. 1.
48. PAR, 1849-51, pp. 49-50; Report of the Police Administration in Punjab 1899-1900, p. 2.
49. Edwin Arnold, *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, Vol. I (London, 1862), p. 290.
50. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, p. 342, quoted in N.M. Khilnani, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
51. PAR, 1849-51, p. 76.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 78; N.M. Khilnani, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
53. Foreign Misc. Series, Sr. No. 137, para 226; Y.B. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
54. PAR, 1851-53, p. 370.
55. S.S. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
56. PAR, 1849-51, p. 132; N.M. Khilnani, *op. cit.*, p. 117; H. Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1922), p. 114.
57. A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, 1976), pp. 128-29.
58. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 154.
59. PAR, 1849-51, p. 133; Sir Richard Temple, *op. cit.*, p. 65; also see *infra*, pp. 199-202.
60. Punjab Settlement Manual, p. 8; Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab, 1849-1901* (Delhi, 1982), p. 77.

61. Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
62. A summary settlement was defined in the first Land Revenue Act (XXXIII of 1871) as a provisional settlement made pending a first regular settlement.
63. Edwin Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-02.
64. *Lahore Chronicle*, 18 June 1859, pp. 390-91; I.J. Kerr, 'The Agri-Horticulture Society of the Punjab 1851-71', *Panjab Past and Present: Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh* (Patiala, 1976), pp.252-54.
65. N.M. Khilnani, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
66. Selections from Educational Records (1840-1859), Part II, 1922, pp.278-79.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
68. R.R. Sethi and J.L. Mehta, *A History of the Panjab University 1947-67* (Chandigarh, 1968), pp. 1-2.
69. Foreign Misc. Series, S. No. 157. No. in the List 364, paras 71-72; F.W. Thomas, *The History and Prospects of British Education in India* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 61-62.
70. See Appendix I.
71. B.B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 538.
72. R.L. Handa, *The History of the Development of the Judiciary in the Punjab (1846-1884)* (Lahore, 1927), p. 6.
73. It was the result of the Indian Councils Act passed in 1861 by which the machinery of administration was reorganised after the revolt of 1857-58.
74. C.L. Anand, *An Introduction to the History of Government of India*, Part II, p. 144.
75. Daya Krishan Kapoor, *A History of the Development of Judiciary in the Punjab 1884-1926* (Lahore, 1928), p. 28.
76. Kamla Sethi, *Administration of Punjab: A Study in British Policy, 1875-1905* (Delhi, 1990), p. 11.
77. *Ibid.*
78. J.O. Kinealy, *The Code of Civil Procedure* (Calcutta, 1889), p. 456.
79. Y.B. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
80. B.R. Kalia, *A History of the Development of the Police in the Punjab, 1849-1905* (Lahore, 1929), p. 21; Anand Swarup Gupta, *Crime and Police in India* (Agra, 1974), pp. 380-82.
81. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., 20 Dec. 1862, Nos. 109-117.
82. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., March 1867, No. 4; Sir Percival Griffiths, *The History of the Indian Police* (London, 1962), p. 75.
83. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., 2 April 1870, No. 22.
84. Sir Percival Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
85. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., July 1875, No. 15. The minimum pay of the Constables was fixed at rupees 7 per month.
86. Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., May 1891, No. 14.

87. Report of the Punjab Police Committee 1899-1900, para 43. J.N. Bishop, Assistant Superintendent was appointed as the first head of the school. In 1896, the school was placed under the charge of a District Superintendent of Police.
88. Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor-General, No. 14 (Judicial), 15 March 1894, Home (Police) Department, A. Progs., June 1894, No. 279; J.C. Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
89. Sir Percival Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
90. Home (Judicial) Department, A. Progs., Jan. 1869, Nos. 55-72; Y.B. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 63; S.M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
91. Home (Judicial) Department, A. Progs., Jan. 1869, Nos. 55-72; Kamla Sethi, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
92. PAR, 1860-61, p. 16.
93. PAR, 1861-62, p. 22; Y.B. Mathur, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
94. PAR, 1875-76, Summary, pp. 41-42; Vidya Bhushan, *Prison Administration in India* (Delhi, 1970), p. 195.
95. Home (Jails) Department, A. Progs., Jan. 1896, No. 103-06.
96. Home (Jails) Department, A. Progs., March 1897, Nos. 16-18.
97. For details see, Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-86.
98. This was clearly laid down under section 49 of the Land Revenue Act of 1887.
99. B.H. Baden Powell. *The Land Revenue System of British India* Vol.II (Oxford, 1892), pp. 570-71; *Punjab Settlement Manual*, pp. 25-29.
100. Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
101. Revenue Administration Report, 1871-72, Review.
102. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
103. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
104. Being a province of peasant proprietors, holdings in Punjab were unusually small. In the central and submontane districts the average holding was not more than five or six acres while in others it was 10 to 12 acres. See M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
106. PAR, 1878-79, p. 23.
107. PAR, 1892-93, p. 100; M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
108. H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
109. Substances used for manuring were the animal manure, vegetable refuse, sweepings of the town of dwellings and drains, ashes and rubbish of all sorts, cow dung, earth from old mounds and dykes.
110. District Gazetteer, Gurdaspur, 1883-84, p. 50.
111. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 62.
112. See *infra*, p. 20.
113. Towards the close of the last century well-irrigation became so popular that during the period between 1889-1899, there took place an increase of 57 per cent for masonry wells and 109 per cent for

- temporary (*Kacha*) wells. Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901-03, Part II (Calcutta, 1903), p. 30.
114. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 115. G.S. Chhabra, *Social and Economic History of the Punjab* (Jullundur, 1962), p. 191.
 116. *IGI. Punjab*, pp. 203-19; PAR, 1873-74, p. 78; PAR, 1889-90, p.150; PAR 1892-93, p. 136; PAR, 1900-1901, pp. 113-14.
 117. Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901-03, Part I Appendix (Calcutta, 1903), p. 371; *IGI. Punjab*, pp. 206-11.
 118. *The Land of Five Rivers*, p. 155.
 119. G.S. Khosla, 'The Growth of the Railway System in the Punjab', *Panjab Past and Present: Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, (Patiala, 1976), pp. 283-85.
 120. *Ibid.*
 121. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 158; Foreign Deptt. Misc. Series, S. No. 156, No. in the List 356, para 326.
 122. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 158.
 123. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1861-62, pp. 18-25; PAR, 1862-63, p. 48.
 124. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1880-81, pp. 4-5.
 125. Government of India Resolution, Home (Education) Department, 3 Feb. 1882, Nos. 1-60.
 126. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1895-96, pp. 29-34.
 127. Home (Education) Department, A. Progs., 12 June 1869, No. 36.
 128. Home (Education) Department. A. Progs., July 1883, No. 46 Appendix I.
 129. These colleges were : Government College, Lahore; St. Stephens College, Delhi; F.C. Mission College, Lahore; D.A.V. College, Lahore; Khalsa College, Amritsar; Islamia College, Lahore; Municipal Board College, Amritsar; Scotch Mission College, Sialkot; and Gorden Mission College, Rawalpindi.
 130. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1885-86, pp. 61-62.
 131. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1895-96, pp. 52-53.
 132. N.G. Barrier, *The Sikhs and their Literature* (New Delhi, 1970), pp.75-88; W. Eric, Gustafson and K.W. Jones, *The Sources of Punjab History* (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 253-332.
 133. Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* (Bombay, 1963), p. 43.
 134. 1885, *Congress Report*, p. 5.
 135. 1894, *Congress Report*, p. 9.

Constitutional and Administrative Structure

Under the Company's rule a distinction was drawn between Regulation and Non-Regulation provinces. Administratively, Punjab was a non-regulation province. The regulations passed before 1833, therefore, were not applicable in Punjab.¹ The necessity of a non-regulation system arose mainly from considerations of protecting the person and property of the backward tribes and races. They were entirely distinct from the ordinary population in respect of their economy, culture and level of understanding. The system of government and administration established by the general regulations was considered inapplicable to their circumstances.² It was intended to acquire for the Governor-General a personal control over the provincial government and was based on 'a closely centralised administrative hierarchy'. This was considered all the more essential in view of the need of consolidating effectively the British hold in this newly conquered territory contiguous to the turbulent North-West Frontier.

After its annexation, Punjab was administered by a Board of Administration (consisting of a President and two other members) from 1849 to 1853 and by a Chief Commissioner from 1853 to 1858.³

In 1859, the province was placed under a separate Lieutenant-Governor. Sir John Lawrence, who had hitherto held the office of Chief Commissioner, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor, with his headquarters at Lahore.⁴ Upto the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, Punjab remained under seventeen different Lieutenant-Governors.⁵ Be it noted that the Lieutenant-Governor in Punjab did not have the same status as was enjoyed by the Governors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. He had no executive council. He was, of course, assisted and, if need be,

advised by the Financial Commissioner and Chief Secretary, the two top civil servants. All the administrative powers were vested in the Lieutenant-Governor, who also functioned as an Agent to the Governor-General for tribal areas beyond the settled districts and also conducted political relations with the Native States of Punjab region.⁶ Legally, all the governmental powers resided in the Governor-General in Council, but some subjects had been, in a way, placed in the immediate care of the Local Government.⁷

The Chief Court was the highest judicial body in the Punjab. Its judges were appointed by the Governor-General. The judges were, generally, taken from the Indian Civil Service.

There were four legislative bodies from which emanated laws applicable to Punjab during the period 1849-1897, viz. the Imperial Parliament; the Governor-General's Legislative Council; the Governor-General in Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab.⁸ Since the British authorities counted Punjab among its most strategic provinces, they did not deem it necessary to create a legislative council for it under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. It was hoped that Punjab would have a legislative council simultaneously with the North-Western Provinces (1886). But in spite of the desire and advocacy of two successive Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Charles Aitchison (1882-87) and Sir James Lyall (1887-92), the British high-ups put off the proposal, for it was considered inexpedient, if not unnecessary, to encumber this 'recent acquisition' with a legislature.⁹ It was argued that it was difficult to find material to constitute a legislative council, that there would not be enough work for it and that it was not desirable to disturb the existing arrangement.¹⁰

In 1892 was passed the Indian Councils Act. It introduced some important changes in the existing councils, both at the central and provincial level. But even after the passing of this Act, the Government of India took five years to announce that Punjab was going to have a legislative council as it had become 'expedient' to allow it (Punjab) to fall into line and to keep pace with other provinces.¹¹

Sir James Lyall (1887-92) had pleaded vigorously for the establishment of a Legislative Council for the Punjab particularly

when this privilege was granted to the North-Western Province in 1886. He contended that there was a general feeling among the educated classes in favour of a council. A free discussion of the measures of Government, specially financial matters, would be politic and useful and the much-needed provincial legislation would be promoted.¹² He referred to two important measures which, he thought, a Local Council would be specially suited to deal with, viz. the codification of the customary law of Punjab and the remedial legislation in connection with agricultural indebtedness. He was confident that there would be plenty of work for the Legislative Council for Punjab. Certain branches of Punjab custom would be ripe for codification and Punjab Legislative Council would be the fittest machinery for doing it. It was also pointed out by James Lyall that the Government would be able to find sufficient unofficial members willing to accept office and qualified really to assist the Government. Higher education and a good knowledge of English had spread among the upper classes of Punjab even more rapidly than in other provinces and there were men of those classes who were competent to perform efficiently the functions of the office.¹³ Many vernacular newspapers had also been advocating the desirability of setting up Legislative Council in Punjab since 1885-86. Lord Lansdowne and his Government, however, preferred that the question should be reserved in its entirety for the successor of James Lyall.

After the appointment of Dennis Fitzpatrick as the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, the Government of India raised the matter again and enquired whether in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, the time had come for the establishment of Legislative Council in Punjab or not.¹⁴ The new Lieutenant-Governor was not in favour of the establishment of a Legislative Council in Punjab. He advanced a number of arguments in support of his viewpoint. First, Punjab differed widely from Bengal and North-Western Provinces insofar as the Supreme Council never sat in those provinces and the Governor / Lieutenant-Governor had consequently not those opportunities of personal discussion with those connected with the Government of India as the Punjab Government had. Secondly, in a small and poor province like Punjab, the drafting and putting the local

legislation into a shape could be more satisfactorily done in the Supreme Legislative Council than in the proposed Legislative Council for Punjab. Thirdly, there was not much of non-official element in Punjab which could be considered representative of the province. Fourthly, only a small section of the educated classes were in favour of establishing a local Legislative Council and the mass of the public had no wish to govern themselves and hence there was no real demand for the establishment of a local Legislative Council. Fifthly, the establishment of a Legislative Council at Lahore, where the Lieutenant-Governor would have to sit down in public and enter into arguments with his subordinates, pleaders and others, would tend to weaken the position of the Executive Government and lower its prestige.¹⁵

A.E. Miller remarked that in view of the absence of anything like a non-official European society in Punjab and the presence of the Supreme Government there for the greater part of the year, there appeared to be no need of instituting Legislative Council. He added that since Dennis Fitzpatrick was opposed to it, it was not desirable to force such a body upon the unwilling Government.¹⁶ J.P. Hewett, L.M. Thornton, A.C. Trevor and J. Westland also did not favour the proposition of establishing Legislative Council in Punjab on the ground that the people had been more or less indifferent to the proposition and no useful purpose was likely to be served by this body.¹⁷

On the other hand, J. Woodburn was an enthusiastic supporter of the establishment of a Legislative Council in Punjab. He refuted the various arguments put forward by Denis Fitzpatrick. Pointing out to the experience of the North-Western Provinces where the prestige and authority of the Lieutenant-Governor had increased after the establishment of the Legislative Council, Woodburn argued that the establishment of Legislative Council in Punjab was not premature. The proposed Legislative Council would give the Local Government valuable assistance in the work of local administration and impart useful training to the educated people which would ultimately be of strong political advantage.¹⁸ The Governor-General Lord Elgin was also in favour of establishing Legislative Council for Punjab. To him, Fitzpatrick's objections to institute the Legislative Council appeared to be

rather flimsy. Commenting upon his note, Elgin said that if such objections were taken into account there would be no Legislative Council in any province.¹⁹

Elgin's note is very revealing and significant and mirrors his basic approach to the political problems of the period.²⁰ Elgin refuted the charge of those who said that the Act of 1892 was a concession to political agitation and urged Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, to extend the constitution of 1892 to Punjab as well.²¹ In September, 1896 the matter was referred to the Judicial and Public Committee of the Secretary of State's Council. Arthur Godley suggested a compromise that a Council might be created not on the basis of 1892 constitution but on that of the 1861 Act.²² Hamilton agreed.²³ The majority of the Councillors approved except A.C. Lyall who favoured extending the 1892 Act to Punjab.²⁴

In January 1897, the Government of India communicated to Punjab Government the decision of Home Government to create a Legislative Council for Punjab, the members of which were to be nominated and which was to possess the powers conferable under the Indian Councils Act of 1861. A Draft Proclamation was also forwarded to the Punjab Government in which it was specifically stated that the provisions would become applicable from 1 May 1897. The proclamation constituting the Local Legislature was issued on 9 April 1897.²⁵

The decision to create Legislative Council in Punjab was widely welcomed by the contemporary native newspapers²⁶ and educated people of the province.

There were to be initially nine members of the Punjab Legislative Council who were to be nominated.²⁷ Sir William Mackworth Young, the successor of Fitzpatrick as Lieutenant-Governor, submitted the names of nine persons to the Governor-General for approval. He did not think it necessary to consult all those persons whom he intended to nominate, because he felt that all of them would be ready to accept the new responsibility. Some difficulty was experienced by him in making his selection of non-official members owing to the fact that leading men of that section of the people from which he wanted to make a selection

were not acquainted with the English language. Therefore, he was compelled to propose some persons who did not know English. Consequently, it was provided in the draft rules to enable members not acquainted with English to address the Council in Urdu. The first Punjab Legislative Council consisted of five non-officials and four official members²⁸ in addition to Lieutenant-Governor who was to preside over its meetings. It may be interesting to point out here that a difference of opinion arose between the Lieutenant-Governor and high authorities about the advisability of appointing a judge of the Chief Court as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council. The proposal involved an important constitutional problem.²⁹ The Lieutenant-Governor in the first instance had recommended Mr. Frizelle, officiating Chief Justice of the Chief Court, Lahore to be a member of Punjab Legislative Council. The Government of India could not ignore the fact that nomination of a judge to the membership of the Legislative Council was objectionable as the judge might be called upon to interpret in his judicial capacity an enactment which he had helped to make as a member of the Legislature. It might tend to impair the independence of the judicial courts. Even so it agreed with the recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor and forwarded the same for the approval of the Secretary of State for India.³⁰ The Secretary of State, Lord Hamilton, did not agree to depart from the practice which had prevailed in the case of other provinces since 1861. He remarked that the arrears in the Chief Court of Punjab were so heavy that he was unwilling to sanction the employment of any one of the judges upon any other duty which might even in the slightest degree interfere with his judicial work. The Secretary of State was, however, in favour of seeking the co-operation of the judges in framing legislation by consultation but not by appointing them to the Legislative Council.³¹

In this way a thorny question involving a fundamental principle about the association of judiciary with the legislature was decided once for all. Later, men like Sir Shadi Lal and P.C. Chatterjee who were prominent members of the Punjab Legislature had to resign their seats in the Council on their appointment to the Bench. It was a healthy convention and Punjab was the first province to raise the issue and get the decision of

the Secretary of State. Separation of the judiciary from the legislative organ of the state was absolutely necessary to ensure justice and fair play. A judge might find himself in an embarrassing position if he had to interpret in his judicial capacity a law which he had helped in making as a member of the Legislature. He might differ from his original interpretation of law when applying it to a specific case. This conflict of conscience might lead to illogical and wrong decision and thus impair independent judgement.

The Legislative Council of Punjab was severely limited in its powers. This was in accordance with the policy enunciated by the Secretary of State, who wrote that the creation of the Legislative Council under the provisions of the Act of 1861 was just an experiment which had been justified by the results in the provinces to which it had been applied; the Act of 1892 authorised a cautious extension of that experiment in the direction of greater liberty. He thought that the newly created legislatures in Punjab and Burma would naturally be required to set out from the position of 1861 and to travel over a similar course.³² Hence, it did not have the same powers and privileges as those enjoyed by the Councils of Bengal, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

According to the Indian Councils Act of 1861, all Acts of the Local Governments required the subsequent assent of the Governor-General who had the right of veto over all local legislation. The Supreme Government had concurrent powers of legislation, and laws and regulations made by it could "control and supersede any laws and regulations repugnant thereto" made by Local Governments. Legislation, even of a local character could be conducted by the Governor-General in Council. In cases of emergency the Governor-General could issue and promulgate ordinances having the force of law.³³

The legislative competence of the Legislative Council was defined in a negative manner. It was not specified as to what powers it enjoyed, except that the Lieutenant-Governor had the power to make laws and regulations for the peace and good government of the province and for that purpose to repeal and

amend any laws and regulations made prior to the coming into operation of the Indian Councils Act of 1861. He had no power of making any laws and regulations affecting any of the provisions of the Act of 1861 or of any other Act of Parliament.³⁴ It was made clear as to what powers it did not enjoy. Accordingly, the Lieutenant-Governor, except with the previous sanction of the Governor-General, could not make regulations or take into consideration any law or regulation pertaining to certain specified matters.³⁵ Any measure carried in the Council could become law only if it received the assent of both the Lieutenant-Governor and the Governor-General.³⁶

The composition and limited powers of the Punjab Legislative Council were criticised in the contemporary vernacular newspapers. *The Akhbar-i-Am* remarked that the kind of Council to be established in Punjab was open to objection, as it was to be feared that it might prove harmful instead of useful to the people. The members would not be elected, but would be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor.³⁷ The same paper further remarked that it was certainly not desirable that the right of election enjoyed by the other provinces should be withheld from Punjab.³⁸ The *Punjab Samachar* also pleaded that the right of electing members for the Provincial Legislative Council should be conferred on the Punjabis.³⁹ The *Victoria Paper* remarked that the members of the Punjab Legislative Council should not be less than fourteen in number and that, if possible, they should be appointed by election as was the case in North-Western Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and Madras. It would be readily conceded that the present number did not admit of every section of the population of the province being represented in the Council, and that this defect could be removed only by increasing the number of the Councillors.⁴⁰

Some of the newspapers, however, welcomed the nomination of suitable persons as members representing various communities. *The Chaudwin Sadi*, for instance, observed that the Lieutenant-Governor had, by appointing five non-official members to the Legislative Council, not only laid the province under a deep debt of gratitude, but had at the same time inaugurated a wise policy; one of the non-official members was a European, two were Hindus and two Muhammadans. The Lieutenant-Governor had by

nominating an equal number of Hindus and Muhammadans disarmed all criticism.⁴¹ *The Khalsa Bahadur* remarked that it was a matter for congratulation that nearly all the non-official members nominated to Punjab Legislative Council were men of position and ability and expressed satisfaction at the nomination particularly of Baba Khem Singh Bedi, the highest priest of the Punjab Sikhs, as representative of the Sikh community in the Council.⁴²

The first Punjab Legislative Council remained in existence for twelve years and six months (1897-1909) before the introduction of Minto-Morley Reforms. It was merely a deliberative body with a narrow scope of activity. It had no fixed sessions and the Lieutenant-Governor summoned the members only when some departmental bills had to be discussed.⁴³

Lord Minto announced in the Legislative Council on 27 March 1907, expressing the desire of the Government to enlarge the Legislative Council to the fullest extent compatible with the necessary authority of the Government, giving due and ample representation to different classes and interests.⁴⁴ The Government of India also considered it desirable to assign a certain number of seats to be filled exclusively by Muhammadans, and for that purpose a special Muhammadan electorate was to be constituted.⁴⁵

The letter of the Government of India embodying the scheme for the Legislative Council was circulated by the Government of Punjab among important individuals including officials, lawyers, landlords and various religious and political associations to elicit their opinion as there was no well-organised and well-developed public opinion in Punjab at that time. The Government was thus able to elicit 185 opinions on the proposed scheme from individuals and associations. After considering these opinions, the Lieutenant-Governor came to the conclusion that it would not be desirable to specify the interests to be represented. He thought that it would be advisable to reserve some seats for the chief religions, the nominees of urban classes, the university and the Native States. Accordingly, he proposed the following composition of the Punjab Legislative Council:⁴⁶

Non-officials:

Ruling chiefs or high officials of Native States	1
European and Anglo-Indian and Native Christians and commercial classes	1
Panjab University	1
Larger cities	2
Muhammadans	3
Hindus	2
Sikhs	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>: 11</i>

Officials:

Financial Commissioner	1
Settlement Commissioner	1
Secretaries to Government	3
Commissioners	2
Manager, North-Western Railway	1
A high military officer	1
Legal Remembrance or Government Advocate	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>: 10</i>

Out of these twenty-one members, seventeen members were to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor and four to be elected by the commercial community, Panjab University and larger cities.⁴⁷ These proposals were considered by the Governor-General in Council and with the concurrence of the Lieutenant-Governor, it was decided that the Punjab Legislative Council should consist of twenty-five members including the Lieutenant-Governor.⁴⁸ Of the 24 members, there were not to be more than 12 nominated official members, seven non-official nominated members⁴⁹ and five elected members.⁵⁰

Majority of the European officials and people whose opinions had been sought by the Punjab Government were opposed to the introduction of communal electorates due to various reasons. According to E.D. Maclagan, Secretary to Punjab Government, many people did not offer any suggestion for creating special Muslim electorates.⁵¹ The Hindu community was shocked at such proposals emanating from the British Government. The majority of the Sikhs, a minority community, did not like the proposal.⁵²

Muslim opinion was not well-organised. Whereas the leaders of Muslim League were in favour of communal electorate, a far-sighted leader of the community, Sardar Khan,⁵³ opposed the introduction of communal representation and wrote that reservation of seats for Muslims appeared, on the face of it, as an undue favour to one class of the people and hence it was likely to give the other classes an apparent cause of heart-burning and disaffection.⁵⁴ Certain other Muslims such as those of the Rajput Conference were also opposed to communal representation. The All India Rajput Conference held at Lucknow on 2 March 1908, passed a resolution to the effect that territorial representation ought not to be abandoned in favour of race and class representation as proposed by the Government.

Thus, we see that in Punjab the Hindus did not cherish the concept of separate electorate, the Sikhs did not like it and the Muslims at least were divided on it and the majority of the English officials serving in the province were also opposed to it. Evidently, the decision of the Government of India to introduce separate electorates was contrary to the opinions expressed by the people and officials of this province.⁵⁵

The native press gave a mixed reception to the scheme, when it was inaugurated. *The Peshwa* of Lahore compared Morley's reforms to a toy for boys or a dry bone for the dogs to fight over.⁵⁶ *The Hindustan* complained that Muslims had been granted separate representation and seats in excess of their numbers.⁵⁷ *The Vakil* regretted that the Government had failed to safeguard the rights of six crores of Muslims and to fulfil the unequivocal pledges given to them.⁵⁸ *The Akhbar-i-Am* remarked that the establishment of separate electorates for Muslims at the instance of a few selfish and vain Muslims residing in cities could not affect the feelings of the crores of the small towns and villages who were bound to Hindus more closely than their own brethren in faith. It also exhorted the Hindus not to feel offended at Muhammadans having been accorded separate representation.⁵⁹

The Tribune commented that it was rightly believed by the Hindus in general that the Muslims had been accorded a privileged position at the expense of the majority community. The same paper observed that judging from bitter experience in the

past of nominations on the local as well as Imperial Councils, it might be said that the instances of proper selections from the standpoint of the educated community had been few and far between and that the bulk of seats might go to men who were likely to prove more or less of figure heads and automatons than men who would stand out for the rights of the people and give expression to their grievances. The fact remained that nomination could scarcely be the door – and hardly a fitting one at that – for representatives of the educated classes to walk into the Council Chamber.⁶⁰

The Civil and Military News (Ludhiana) published a paragraph entitled "The Members of the Punjab (Legislative) Council should have the right to ask questions". It was a matter for surprise, said the paper, that right of interpellation had not yet been extended to the non-official members of the Council, although Punjab was not inferior to most of the other provinces in education, industries, agriculture, trade, wealth, etc. The grant of the right, it added, would remove a reasonable grievance of the Punjabis.⁶¹

The Victoria Paper (Sialkot) suggested that the number of the members of Punjab Legislative Council should be increased to that obtaining in the United Provinces Council so as to allow the representation of every district. At present, it added, District Board could not return members to the Council. While *zamindars*, who were very numerous in Punjab, were not adequately represented on it.⁶²

The old Legislative Council was expanded by the Act of 1909 which vested it with greater powers and thus enhanced its position than before. The principle of election was recognised. The powers and functions of the Council were enlarged and its capacity to serve popular interests was increased by granting the right of moving resolutions on subjects of public interests and of discussing the financial statement.

But soon the people were disillusioned.⁶³ A certain fatality seemed to clog the steps of the Government; whenever it did anything useful, it failed to do it with a good grace. The elected members were in a minority and the Government nominees

always looked to the smiles and frowns of the Lieutenant-Governor who presided over its meetings. The British high ups expanded the Council to meet the requirements of advancing education in the country, but they took special care to see that educated classes remained in a hopeless minority in the midst of *zamindars* and landed aristocracy. For the first time it introduced religious and racial distinctions not only by separating Muslims from the Hindus but by admitting the political superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus. It professed to advance and encourage political education of the people, but it kept the electoral basis as narrow as ever.

The Council which was elected under the provisions of the Act of 1909 met at Government House, Lahore, on 3 January 1910 in accordance with the notification of the Lieutenant-Governor.⁶⁴ The members took the oath of allegiance at a simple ceremony.⁶⁵ By coincidence Louis William Dane, who as Lieutenant-Governor presided over this reformed Council, had, as Chief Secretary, introduced the first legislative measure at the first meeting of Punjab's first Legislative Council in 1897.

The Lieutenant-Governor nominated McCrone Douie as Vice-President of the Legislative Council. Then the Budget Committee was constituted. It consisted of two members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor and two members elected by the non-official members of the Council. Another business that the non-official members did on the first day was to elect a member for the Imperial Legislative Council.

In 1912, the number of elected members in the Punjab Legislative Council was increased from five to eight and that of nominated members was reduced from nineteen to sixteen.⁶⁶ Three additional elected seats were to be filled by the District Boards.⁶⁷ The constitution was again amended, and in March 1916 the number of elected members rose from eight to eleven and that of nominated members from sixteen to seventeen.⁶⁸

The Sikhs in Punjab had also been demanding separate representation for their community. Sir W. Louis William Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab (1908-13) had strongly recommended the claims of the Sikhs for their separate

representation.⁶⁹ But despite this, their demand was not conceded. In 1909, the three seats opened to election and allocated to larger cities were all carried by the Muslims. In 1912, of the six elected seats, four were won by the Hindus, one by the Muslims and one by the Sikhs. In 1916, of the eleven elected seats, the Hindus and Muslims obtained five each; a European got the eleventh. The Sikhs were not represented at all, and this was attributed to the absence of a separate electorate for the Sikhs.⁷⁰

During the period 1909-1919, a section of the Hindu and Muslim communal leadership, consisting mainly of the landed aristocracy and some professionals, vied with one another in their expression of loyalty to the British and, at the same time, indulged openly in mutual acrimony and bickerings. Issues like education, language etc. were used to spread communal ideology and raise communal demands which mainly benefitted individuals belonging to the middle classes.⁷¹

The members also raised the question of placing Punjab on an equal footing with other provinces. The Punjab was still a Non-Regulation Province, and there was an increasing demand for it to be brought at par with the provinces of Bombay and Madras.⁷² The members challenged the view-point of the British authorities attributing the status of a Non-Regulation Province to the backwardness of Punjab, and demanded a change in its status. The Councillors proposed that the best way to remove the remnants of backwardness, if there were any, was to spend money liberally on the beneficial departments, instead of keeping the province in the category of Non-Regulation Provinces.⁷³

The demand for parity with other provinces was voiced in the Council in subsequent years also. Speaking in 1914, Ram Saran Dass said that in political importance, in educational advancement, in industrial prosperity and in social importance, Punjab was second to none of the other provinces of India; and regretted that this province alone should lag behind the other provinces in necessary reforms. He pleaded for the necessity of setting up a High Court and an Executive Council for the Punjab.⁷⁴ In 1917, Bakhshi Sohan Lal moved a resolution requesting the Punjab Government to move the Government of India for the establishment of an Executive Council in Punjab at

the close of the Great War.⁷⁵ He did not see any reason to deny the province a privilege which was being enjoyed by some other provinces for a long time. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, announced that the Government and official members in the Council would observe strict neutrality on the issue. The resolution was supported by most of the other non-official members and was carried by 13 votes to 3 with the official members abstaining from voting.⁷⁶ It was, however, not until January 1921 that an Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor in Punjab was set up.

In the meanwhile the people of India, as also of Punjab, had been disappointed with the working of Morley-Minto Reforms; the expectations aroused by these reforms had proved to be illusory. The authors of the Reforms of 1919 were of the opinion that the cause of the people's dissatisfaction with the Morley-Minto Reforms was that the constitutional development could not keep pace with the advancement of political ideas and national aspirations.⁷⁷ The national consciousness and desire for political power was growing rapidly in the minds of the educated Indians. The limited opportunities provided by the Legislative Councils constituted by the Morley-Minto Reforms failed to satisfy the advanced opinion in the country. More rapid progress in the transfer of power from the hands of the bureaucracy to the representatives of the people was demanded.

On 20 August 1917, Edwin S. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, made the historic declaration in the House of Commons in which he said that the policy of the British Government "is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire...".⁷⁸ On the basis of this declaration a scheme of reforms popularly known as 'Montague-Chelmsford Scheme' was prepared. The authors of the Reforms scheme were of the opinion that in the provinces "single headed administration must cease and be replaced by collective administration." But at the same time they firmly believed that "complete responsibility for the government cannot be given immediately without inviting a

breakdown, and at the same time some responsibility must be given at once.⁷⁹ They, therefore, proposed that in each province the executive government should consist of two parts – one part comprising the Governor and his Executive Council of two members who were to administer the Reserved Subjects (Finance, Land Revenue, Irrigation, Police and Jails etc.); the other part consisting of one or more than one ministers chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council who were to administer the Transferred Subjects (Local-self Government, Education, Agriculture, Public Health, Industries etc.)⁸⁰.

The proposals of the Reforms scheme were incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1919 under which a unique system of government popularly known as 'Dyarchy' was introduced in eight provinces, including Punjab. The practical working of dyarchy in Punjab, about which conflicting opinions had been expressed by the Indian leaders and the press, is beyond the purview of our study.

II

For administrative convenience the province of Punjab was divided into a number of divisions, each comprising many districts. To begin with, the province was divided into seven divisions⁸¹ which were placed under the charge of Commissioners, with headquarters at Ambala, Jullundur, Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and Leiah (Derajat), embracing 24 districts. The three additional districts of Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara at first administered under the direct control of Board of Administration, were formed into an eighth divisions about the year 1850.⁸² In February 1858 the divisions of Delhi and Hissar were formally incorporated in the province of Punjab, adding six to the twenty-seven original districts. The Thanesar District, however, was broken up in 1862, and divided between Ambala and Karnal. Punjab was thus divided into ten divisions and thirty-two districts. In 1901, when North-West Frontier Province was formed, Punjab was regrouped into 27 districts and 5 administrative divisions.⁸³ Two more new districts were created in the province, viz. Attock and Lyallpur in 1904.⁸⁴

A re-adjustment of divisions was made in February 1909, the Montgomery District was shifted from the Lahore to the Multan Divisions and the Mianwali District from the Multan to the Rawalpindi Division.⁸⁵

Another change took place in 1911. Previously, Delhi was part of the Punjab, but it was decided in 1911 to move the Imperial capital to Delhi and the district was remodelled and placed under a separate Local Government. In 1919, a new district named Sheikhpura was created from parts of the Lahore and Gujranwala districts. Thus, with the separation of Delhi and the creation of the Sheikhpura District the number of districts remained twenty-nine.⁸⁶ But the composition of divisions was, however, slightly altered as the old Delhi Division, now known as the Ambala Division, had lost one district; whilst the Lahore Division, though scarcely altered in area, now included six instead of five districts.⁸⁷

Of the 29 districts, Kangra, with an area of 9,978 square miles, was the largest, and Simla, in area less than the county of London, the smallest. The average district corresponded in size with one of the larger English countries. In term of population Lahore, with 1,162,109 was the largest, and Simla with 40,351 again the smallest district. The average population of a district was 701,046.⁸⁸

Each division was under the charge of a Commissioner. The Commissioner exercised control over the revenue officers and revenue courts of his division. During the earlier period he wielded civil, appellate and original criminal powers of a Sessions Judge in his division. But in 1884 under the Punjab Courts Act (Act of XVII of 1884) the Commissioner was entirely relieved of civil and criminal judicial work. He, however, continued to exercise revenue appellate powers in seventeen out of 31 districts.⁸⁹ He was also responsible for the efficient administration of all the districts, falling under his division. He gave the necessary advice and guidance to the Deputy Commissioners in the discharge of their functions. He decided the posting and transfers of all the Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars of the various districts in the division. The Commissioner had also the overall charge of the Districts Boards in his division. He

could suspend or abolish any District Board which failed to discharge its statutory obligations.⁹⁰ The Commissioner by and large exercised supervisory functions in his division. According to Trevaskis, the power of the Commissioner was 'purely obstructive' and he likened his position to that of 'fifth wheel in the coach'. There was tendency (which became pronounced under Sir Michael O'Dwyer) for the provincial Government to deal directly with the Deputy Commissioners, virtually ignoring the intermediary Commissioners.⁹¹

But the hub round which all this official hierarchy revolved was the Deputy Commissioner of the district who was subordinate to the Commissioner in charge of the division. For purpose of criminal, civil and revenue jurisdiction, the district was the unit of administration. The Deputy Commissioner (as the officer in charge of a district was designated in Punjab being a Non-Regulation Province) was a Collector, with judicial powers in revenue suits, and also District Magistrate, being usually invested as such with power to try all offences not punishable with death.⁹² Several other specialised services existed with staffs of their own, such as the establishments for irrigation, roads and buildings, agriculture, industries, factories, and co-operative credit societies. These were controlled not by the Deputy Commissioner but by their own departmental heads. Nevertheless, in varying degrees the Deputy Commissioner influenced the policy in all these matters, and he was always there in the background to lend his support, or if need be, to mediate between a specialised service and the people. To assist the Deputy Commissioner, there were from three to seven Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioners, with criminal, civil and revenue powers, of whom one was in charge of the treasury. Besides, there were also one or more Munsifs or Civil Judges in each district.⁹³

With such multifarious responsibilities, the Deputy Commissioner's time was never his own. "He had continual correspondence on a multitude of matters with all departments; as Collector he had to arrange for the collection of all kinds of revenue and to determine when it should be suspended or remitted, to supervise the subordinate revenue courts and establishments, to hear certain original cases and decide appeals:

as District Magistrate he arranged for the disposal of criminal work, tried the more important cases himself, and heard appeals from the orders of Tahsildars, and other second and third class Magistrates. He had to inspect the local jails, factories, liquor and drug shops and those licensed for the manufacture of arms, fireworks and ammunition.⁹⁴ Nothing of importance could happen in the district which it was not his duty to keep under observation.

Each district was divided into sub-collectorates called *tahsils*, varying in number as a rule from three to seven. The *tahsil* was administered by a Tahsildar with an assistant, known as Naib-Tahsildar, to help him. The Tahsildars were invested with revenue, criminal and civil powers, and their assistant, the Naib-Tahsildars, with revenue and criminal powers. In 10 districts there were sub-divisions, each consisting of one or two outlying tahsils, under the charge of an Assistant or Extra Assistant Commissioner, who resided at the headquarter of his jurisdiction.⁹⁵ Lahore city also formed a sub-division, and Sub-Divisional Officer were posted to the hill stations of Murree and Dalhousie during the hot season. As a rule, however, there was no intermediate link between the district and the *tahsil*. The Tahsildar had under him from two to five field Kanungos, each of whom supervised twenty to thirty Patwaris or revenue accountants, in charge of the revenue records of a group of villages.⁹⁶

Each village had one or more headmen,⁹⁷ who collected the land revenue. There was also a *chaukidar* or watchman in each village. In most districts the villages were grouped into circles or *zails*, each under a non-official called 'zaildar'. He was, generally, a person of local influence whose duty was to render general assistance to all government officials and thus formed a very valuable unofficial link between the administration and the agricultural classes. Each *zail* was made up of some ten to twenty villages, the village constituting the basic unit of administration.⁹⁸

III

An important feature of the local administrative organisation during the period under study was the introduction of partial local self-government in gradual stages. As regards municipal

administration, in its initial stage, committees of townsmen were formed to administer the surplus of the funds raised by cesses or duties for watch and ward purposes. This system worked well, but it lacked the essentials of municipal government, the funds being vested in official trustees. A more regular form of municipal administration was introduced in Simla and Bhiwani under the Act of 1850. In the case of Simla, all the six Municipal Commissioners were Europeans and the Deputy Commissioner was the Chairman of the Committee.⁹⁹

In 1862 the headquarters of districts were formed into regular municipalities, with committees, often elected, invested with control over local affairs and power to regulate taxation. In 1864, there were 49 committees of which 28 had elected members. Hitherto the municipalities had been constituted under the executive authority of government and the Judicial Commissioner was the head of the municipal administration in Punjab.¹⁰⁰ But in 1866 doubts arose as to their legal status, and more especially as to the validity of the octroi tax from which their funds were mainly derived. Accordingly, the first Municipal Act for the Punjab was passed in 1867, and renewed for a year in 1872.¹⁰¹ In 1873, a new enactment, which made election permissive, was passed; and under it 190 committees were constituted, 8 of these (Simla, Dharmsala, Dalhousie, Murree, Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and Multan) being of the first class, 17 of the second class and 165 of the third class. They were controlled by the Local Government, the Commissioner, or the Deputy Commissioner, according to their class.¹⁰²

The next stage of development of municipal government in Punjab was the passing of the Municipal Act, 1884.¹⁰³ It contained as many as 177 sections and one schedule. This Act was passed to give effect to the reforms recommended by Lord Ripon's Resolution, issued on 18 May 1882.¹⁰⁴ The object of this Act was to restore the elective principle and widen the sphere of municipal activity. Two classes of committees were recognised, the first having greater latitude to incur expenditure on public works than the second. This Act left the introduction of elective principle to the discretion of Provincial Government and gave Municipal Committees power to elect their Chairman subject to

Local Government's approval. The Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner could suspend the execution of any resolution or order passed by a Municipal Committee. The Local Government was given the power of removing any member from his seat for specified reasons.¹⁰⁵

In 1884, it was decided to hold election in 122 municipal towns, all in the Cis-Indus Divisions of the province. In 1885, out of 197 Municipal Committees there were 122 Municipal Committees whose members were wholly or partly elected and 77 municipalities had non-official Presidents.¹⁰⁶

But the working of the Punjab Municipal Act of 1884 revealed that it suffered from various shortcomings. In the first instance, it fell far short of meeting the widely different requirements of the municipalities, some big and some small in Punjab. The municipalities of larger cities like those of Lahore and Delhi, differed in all the main elements of their constitution, in their special needs and resources and in certain other marked local conditions,¹⁰⁷ and the Municipal Act of 1884 was not wide enough in its scope to meet the growing requirements of these cities. The Act was too intricate to meet the wants of smaller towns. It was also deficient in matters relating to control and prevention of fire, restraint of infection and regulation of manufacture, preparation and sale of food and drink.¹⁰⁸

The actual implementation of these reforms was half-hearted and achieved little success.¹⁰⁹ This could be attributed to several factors, notably adoption of obstructive tactics of the bureaucracy and hostile attitude of Ripon's successors. In 1891, Punjab Municipal Amendment Act was passed,¹¹⁰ which reformed the system of taxation, and provided a simple form of municipal administration for towns in which it was expedient to constitute regular municipalities. The towns to which this form had been applied were termed 'notified areas'.¹¹¹

As regards the actual working of the Punjab Municipal Act 1891, elections were fought on communal lines. The result was that there was want of harmony, obstructiveness and incompetence of the Municipal Committees. Originally communal representation was intended to give representation to the Muslims

in local bodies on account of their educational and economic backwardness, but had subsequently to be conceded as a means of representation to the various religious communities. As such, the municipalities of Lahore (1891) and Amritsar (1895) were the first to be constituted on the basis of communal representation.¹¹²

The Punjab Municipal Act, 1891 was amended in 1896, 1900 and 1905. A few minor changes were made in 1896 at the instance of the Simla Municipal Committee in respect of regulating effectively the sale of milk and butter within the municipal limits and the importation of milk and butter for sale.¹¹³ The amendment of 1905 authorised the establishment of a Provident Fund by the officers or servants of a municipal committee and also allowed the committees to make their contributions towards the Provident Fund.¹¹⁴

At this time (1904-05) the province contained 8 municipalities of the first class, 131 of the second, and 48 'notified areas'. Three of these (Lahore, Delhi and Amritsar) contained over 100,000 inhabitants, 47 more than 10,000 and 137 less than 10,000 inhabitants. The average incidence of municipal taxation in 1903-04 was rupees 1-8-0 per head. The population within municipal limits was 2,299,893 including 210,223 in 'notified areas', according to the Census of 1901. In 1903-04, the members of Municipal Committees numbered 1,503 of whom 229 were ex-officio, 495 nominated, and 779 elected. The committees in the 'notified areas' were composed of 186 members, 84 ex-officio and 102 nominated. Only 126 Europeans sat on all these committees.¹¹⁵

In 1907, a significant development took place when the rising discontent among the Indian masses led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, to enquire into the financial and administrative relations of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them. The Commission examined the entire subject of local self-government and attributed its failure to the excessive official control, narrow franchise, meagre resources, lack of education and training, shortage of capable and committed persons and inadequate control of local bodies over services. In order to increase devolution of power and gradual democratisation of the

local bodies, the Commission recommended that the Chairman should be elected non-official; a majority of the members should also be elected non-officials; municipalities should be given more powers of taxation and control over their budgets; and larger municipalities should be endowed with greater powers and required to appoint qualified health officers along with the executive officers.¹¹⁶

Punjab was the first province to incorporate the recommendations of the Royal Commission and passed the Punjab Municipal Act in 1911. The Act provided for the reduction of official control over municipal bodies; the Provincial Governments could introduce the elective system in any municipality and permit the election of non-official Chairman. But in practice, no material changes in the structure and style of functioning of the municipal institutions could be possible as the object of the Act was to retain the provisions of the previous Act as far as possible.¹¹⁷

No real progress had, therefore, been registered in municipal government. The Deputy Commissioner continued to be the king – pin of municipal administration.¹¹⁸

The elective system remained at a rudimentary stage. Curiously enough, the number of elected non-official Presidents declined from 37 in 1908 to 16 in 1918.¹¹⁹ Earlier, the Indian Councils Act, 1909 had introduced communal electorates for Muslims for Legislative Councils. In 1910, the Muslim League had demanded separate electorates in the local bodies. By 1917 in Punjab ten municipalities had been constituted on the basis of communal electorates. The introduction of communal electorates in municipal government proved to be a great impediment in its healthy development. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had rightly considered the system of communal electorates as a very serious hindrance to the self-governing principle.¹²⁰

From the account given above, it may be concluded that during this period the roots of democracy started having their grip on the Indian mind and some progress was registered in widening the elected element in the constitution of urban local bodies, enlargement of functions and increase in powers, financial

responsibility and financial resources of the municipalities. But no substantial progress was made in political and popular education or in the art of self-government; local self-government continued to be, as in the past, one of the functions of the district officer and it was his will and not the will of the people that operated in the sphere of municipal administration; the embargo of communal representation took birth in the local bodies which ultimately attained a mature shape in the political life terminating in the partition of the country.¹²¹

The contemporary newspapers were generally critical of the composition, limited powers and inefficient functioning of the municipalities. *The Vakil* (Amritsar) observed that majority of the members of the Municipal Committees did not know what their duties were; while the remaining few were wholly powerless against their less enlightened colleagues and preferred silence to discomfiture.¹²² *The Gulzar-i-Hind* (Lahore) regretted that incompetent persons were elected to serve on the Municipal Committees. "Indeed, the majority of these worthies are illiterate men, wholly ignorant of the duties of a Municipal Commissioner and incapable of taking an intelligent part in the meetings of municipalities."¹²³

Many newspapers complained that the Municipal Committees were subjected to official control and could not exercise their powers and functions independently. *The Tribune*, for example, remarked that the Local Government had tightened its hold over the municipalities and made them a branch of the Government departments, with the Deputy Commissioners or the Commissioners issuing orders to them in every matter. It was this aspect of the question that was discouraging more than the inherent defects in the measure.¹²⁴

The Municipal Committees often did not, perhaps could not, discharge their functions efficiently because they had very limited resources and were subjected to too much official control from without or from within. Generally, roads, lighting,¹²⁵ sanitary arrangements including drainage system¹²⁶ were found to be in a highly unsatisfactory condition. Commenting upon the Punjab Government's review of the last annual report on the administration of municipalities in the province, *The Panjabee*

wrote in the beginning of 1919 that the people living in large cities were all groaning under the burden of heavy taxation, inadequate water supply and over-crowding.¹²⁷

Like the Municipal Committees, the District Boards also witnessed evolutionary process of growth under the British rule in Punjab. Prior to 1871 each district had a District Committee, but it was merely an advisory body. The rules under the Local Rates Act of 1871 made these committees administrative bodies. It empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint committees in each district for the purpose of determining the manner in which the rates should be applied.¹²⁸ Accordingly, committees appointed in various districts consisted of official and non-official members. In the meanwhile, another Act was passed in 1878 for the purpose of increasing local rates to meet the expenditure on famine relief, but this legislation effected no change in the functions and constitution of the District Committees.¹²⁹ In 1882, the powers of the District Committees were extended. It was decided that since the District Committees were rather over-burdened, some work merely of local interest was to be made over to the newly formed committees called Local Boards, which were to work under the supervision of the District Boards. The Lieutenant-Governor suggested that Local Boards should be established throughout the province except where there were not enough people fit to be members.¹³⁰

In 1883 Punjab District Boards Act was passed. This Act extended the elective principle to District Boards and under it, Local Boards were also established in *tahsils*.¹³¹ The system of election at first promised well; but it was soon found that membership of a Board was not sought for public ends, and men of good position and local influence were reluctant to stand. It was now an accepted fact that the best men preferred nomination by Government to canvassing for election. Local Boards were soon found to be superfluous, as the business of the District Boards could not with advantage be delegated, and they were rapidly being abolished. In 1884-85 the Local and District Boards were established only in 14 districts.¹³² By 1903-04, the province possessed 26 District Boards, excluding Simla, where the Deputy Commissioner exercised the powers of a District Board. These

Boards were composed of 1,077 members : 207 ex-officio (The Deputy Commissioner being nearly always ex-officio President), 495 nominated and 375 elected members. Only 7 districts had Local Boards, 28 in number, with 531 members: 28 ex-officio, 161 nominated, and 342 elected.¹³³

The District Fund was mainly derived from the local rate – a cess ordinarily of 1 anna 8 pies per rupee, or rupees 10-6-8 per cent¹³⁴ on the land revenue of the district, supplemented by grants from provincial funds. The District Boards afforded invaluable assistance to Deputy Commissioners as consultative bodies.

The Royal Commission of Decentralisation appointed in 1907, *inter alia*, dealt with District Boards. It recommended that the District Boards should receive the whole of the land revenue cess and also block grants on a long term basis without any obligation to devote specific sums to specific heads. The Commission favoured the overall control of the District Magistrate but pleaded for its limited use. It was recommended that the Provincial Government should intervene only to suspend or abolish a board; the Commissioner of the Division should take action only when a particular board failed to discharge its statutory obligations. The Commission also insisted that Sub-District Boards should again be universally established as the principal agencies of rural local government and should have independent resources and separate sphere of duty. Their past failure was attributed to paucity of funds and therefore, it was recommended that 50% of the income accruing to the District Boards should be given to them. Now official control over the boards was considered unnecessary. An elected non-official Chairman and a substantial elected majority of members with full powers in regard to taxation and full control over their budget was favoured. The boards were also to be relieved of all 'non-local' duties. The proposals of the Commission were thus sound, but cautious, in terms of administrative improvement rather than of national political aspirations.¹³⁵

It was but natural to expect that the interest which members showed in the working of the boards, should be largely influenced by the opportunities afforded by promoting schemes beneficial to the district as a whole or to the particular localities they represented. These opportunities depended mainly on the financial

resources of the boards. As long as these resources merely sufficed for the maintenance of existing institutions, there could be no scope for a policy of improvement.¹³⁶ But the great extension in the revenues of the Boards within the last few years owing to (1) the abolition of the contribution to Government, (2) the generous subsidies from Government for the improvement of sanitation, education etc., and (3) the raising of the local rates in some district and of land revenue, enabled nearly all the Boards to embark on a progressive policy of development.¹³⁷

The District Boards were allowed the right to elect non-official Chairman by 1917 but no board seems to have asked for the change. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918 suggested popular control in local bodies in place of official control.¹³⁸ Accordingly, the Government of India directed the provinces that both municipal bodies and rural boards should contain a majority of elected members; franchise be extended; official Chairman be replaced by non-official one and the board's executive be strengthened by the reduction of official element. The boards were also to be free to raise or reduce taxes within statutory limits. They could not, however, spend beyond the budgetary balances fixed for individual local bodies.¹³⁹

Under the Reforms of 1919 the Boards were all reconstituted in keeping with the new electoral rules providing for an extension of franchise. The Administration Report of the Punjab for 1919-20, however, mentioned that the innovation so introduced exercised no marked stimulus on the electorate, for only about 20 per cent of the voters went to the polls in the greatly increased number of elections.¹⁴⁰ Nominations were made in the districts where the elective system was not yet in force. It was believed that public interest might be stimulated by a further reduction of the official element on boards, by the appointment of non-official Chairman and grant of wider powers of taxation. But reluctance to undertake executive duties to enforce rules and payment of taxes cautioned the rural boards. It was not so in municipalities, where the policy of withdrawing official control was welcomed and it quickened the interest of citizens in municipal affairs.¹⁴¹

Financially, however, the boards suffered from serious limitations. The continuing rise in prices, the increasing demand

for education and communications, and the necessity of raising the salaries of District Board employees added considerably to the expenses of administration. A general difficulty in the matter of finance was the continued opposition by members of boards to any increase in direct taxation. The result was that, while expenditure increased with the rise in prices, income remained relatively inelastic.¹⁴²

Even so, District Boards undertook schemes of expansion in education, medical relief and, in a few cases, communications. This they did without considering how the recurring expenditure involved would be met. Encouraged by the grants which the Government made for capital expenditure on schools, hospitals or roads, they hoped that the Government would come to their rescue and no board cared to observe any economy.¹⁴³

The main functions of a District Board pertained to the maintenance of schools and dispensaries, ferries, cattle-ponds, construction and repair of roads and rest-houses, and making arrangements for ponds, horse-breeding and horse and cattle fairs etc. Its expenditure on education, medical relief and office establishments was largely of the nature of fixed establishment charges.¹⁴⁴ The income and expenditure of the District Boards for a series of years are given in the form of a table elsewhere.¹⁴⁵

The District Boards were reconstituted in 1921 and there were now 28 District Boards altogether in Punjab. Out of these, 17 boards were based, in some degree, on a system of election while the remaining 11 boards had majority of nominated members. The reconstitution of all these boards was practically completed during the year, with the result that the existing elected element had now been raised to 75 per cent in sixteen out of seventeen elected District Boards, and to 66 per cent in the remaining one. Six was the maximum number of officials that could now be nominated on any one of the 28 District Boards.¹⁴⁶ In the 11 districts having majority of nominated members the elected elements came to about 33 per cent.¹⁴⁷

There remains to be considered the working of local-self government in the villages. The village has been considered as the basic unit of local self-government in the administration since the

time immemorial.¹⁴⁸ But under the British rule it was not until the passing of the Punjab Act XX of 1883 that the system of rural local government was started. In this Act also no provision was made for the creation of village Panchayats. There was two-tier system with District Boards at the district level and Local Boards at the sub-division or *tahsil* level but they did not represent the village Panchayats. It was in pursuance of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization (1907-09) that the Punjab Panchayat Act 1912 was passed. Under this Act, the Provincial Government was given the powers to establish and abolish Panchayats; fix the maximum number of members of each Panchayat; fix its term of office; and appoint, suspend and remove its members. The Panchayats were mainly to function only as arbitration committees and their powers were very much limited.¹⁴⁹ But the people had lost all faith in this institution, since it had become generally known that Panchayats had no administrative powers, no power of taxation or any independent financial resources. No doubt, the Panchayats were established in ten districts in 1914 but they could not be effective.¹⁵⁰ In three of them, Hoshiarpur, Mianwali and Attock, it had remained practically a dead letter, and only in Lyallpur, Multan, Gurdaspur and Karnal sustained efforts had been made to work it. In 1917 the Deputy Commissioners of these districts recommended to the Government that the Panchayat Act be repealed and the Panchayat system be abolished.¹⁵¹ On receiving their reports the Lieutenant-Governor reluctantly came to the conclusion that the Act in its present form had proved a failure.¹⁵² A new Panchayat Act, 1922 replaced the former Act but its working too left much to be desired.¹⁵³

Summing up it may be said that significant changes were effected in the constitutional and administrative structure of Punjab during the period under study. In 1897 Legislative Council was established in the province for the first time with five non-official and four official members and their number rose to twenty-seven in 1916 of whom seventeen were nominated and eleven were elected. The province was divided into seven and later on five divisions, each headed by a Commissioner. Each division was sub-divided into a number of districts and each district further into a number of *tahsils*, headed by the Deputy

Commissioners and the Tahsildars respectively, having definite powers and jurisdiction. The villages continued to be administered on traditional lines, the headmen and the *zaildars* being the link between the government and the villagers. For the first time some sort of local self-government was introduced which is evident from the establishment of Municipal Committees and District Boards in various towns and districts of the province. Thus, efforts were made to set up efficient administrative system in the province. But it is significant to observe that imperialistic motives predominated in the working of the whole system; while introducing changes and reforms in the constitutional and administrative structure in Punjab, the British authorities seemed to have never lost sight of their primary objective which was to safeguard British rule and promote imperialistic interests. The Punjab was, and remained throughout the period of the study, a Non-Regulation Province. The Lieutenant-Governor wielded almost autocratic powers. There was no executive council in the province. The Legislative Council consisted of the majority of official and non-official members who were virtually 'yesmen' of the administration. All the governmental authority remained in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor and his team of assistants. The Punjab was thus governed effectively, more than the Regulation Provinces, by alien bureaucracy.

The Lieutenant-Governor was assisted by Chief Secretary, Revenue Secretary, Financial Secretary and Additional Secretary who were all Europeans. Likewise, the positions of the Secretaries, Under-Secretaries and Directors, who headed various departments in the province and were all from the Indian Civil Service, were assigned to the Englishmen. At the division and district level too the posts of Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners were monopolised by the Europeans or Englishmen.¹⁵⁴ It has been calculated that out of 643 higher grade posts towards the end of the period of our study, 558 were held by the Britishers and only 85 by the Indians.¹⁵⁵ Evidently, the administration was manned by the British bureaucracy and Indian incumbents were there only to carry out the orders of the higher British officials. In fact, British administration in the province, as elsewhere, was "a specialised product, which had been developed to suit the purposes of a handful of administrators of a foreign

race in the supervision of a large native establishment governing a vast indigenous population.¹⁵⁶ The foreign bureaucrats suffered from their pride and prejudice and had no real sympathy for the people. Due to racial animosity between the 'white' bureaucrats and the 'copper-coloured' masses, the British bureaucrats could not become popular among the people.¹⁵⁷ "Like the French monarchy of the eighteenth century, the bureaucracy had lost the confidence of the public in India, of its own subordinates and even of itself. It was consequently in no position to offer any effective opposition to the proposals (1919) which were now put forward for its reformation".

References and Notes

1. Dolores Domin, "Some Aspects of British Land Policy in Punjab After its Annexation in 1849", *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. VIII-I, April 1974, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 17.
2. The Non-regulation provinces were ruled by simpler codes and with greater centralisation of functions in the hands of district officers, who were recruited not merely from the covenanted civil service, but also from the army and other sources. Instead of Collector and Assistant or Deputy Collector, they were termed Deputy and Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioners. There was no chartered High Court but only a Chief Court or a Judicial Commissioner in these provinces. See B.B. Mishra, *District Administration and Rural Development* (Calcutta, 1983), p. 49.
3. For details, see *supra*, pp. 9-11.
4. Foreign Dept., Political Progs., 14 January 1859, Nos. 116-119; *The Land of the Five Rivers* (Being Vol. I of the Punjab Administration Report, 1921-22) (Lahore, 1923), p. 36; B.B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India, 1834-1947* (Bombay, 1970), p. 295.
5. See Appendix I.
6. The Lieutenant-Governor conducted political relations with the Native States through the Commissioners of various Divisions. In 1870, however, the Phulkian States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, came under the direct political control of Punjab Government, the intermediary agency of Ambala Commissioner having been abolished for these three states. This arrangement continued till 1900. For details, see A.C. Arora, *British Policy towards the Punjab States, 1858-1909* (Jalandhar, 1982), pp. 50-60.
7. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series*, Punjab, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1908), p. 97 (hereafter abbreviated as *IGI, Punjab*).
8. Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1911-12 (hereafter abbreviated as *PAR*), para 286.
9. Proposals regarding the establishment of a Legislative Council in

- the Punjab, Calcutta Records, Home (judicial Department, A. Progs., Sept. 1891, No. 340.
10. Notes by J.P. Hewett dated 26.8.1891 and by C.J. Lyall dated 28.8.1891; Letter from Government of India to Punjab Government, dated 30 Sept. 1891. See, Calcutta Records, Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., Sept. 1891, No. 340.
 11. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 27 January 1897. The announcement was made on 26 January.
 12. Inaugural Address by W.M. Young, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, PAR, 1897-98, para 148. In this address, the Lieutenant-Governor referred to the favourable observations of Aitchison and Lyall and the opposition of Fitzpatrick for the establishment of Legislative Council in Punjab.
 13. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., Sept. 1891, No. 339.
 14. Home, Public, A, Progs., August 1896, No. 171.
 15. Government of Punjab to the Government of India, 14 April 1896, Home, Public, A, Progs., August 1896, No. 173.
 16. Note by A.E. Miller, Home, Public, A, Progs., August 1896, Nos. 170-182.
 17. Notes by J.P. Hewett, L.M. Thornton, A.C. Trevor and J. Westland, *ibid.*
 18. Notes by J. Woodburn, *ibid.*
 19. Elgin to Hamilton, 16 June 1896, Elgin Papers, Vol. 14.
 20. Government of India to Secretary of State, No. 64 (pub), 25 August 1896, Home Public, Progs., August 1896, No. 177.
 21. Elgin's Minute, 24 August 1896, Enc. Elgin to Hamilton, 25 August 1896, Elgin Papers, Vol. 15.
 22. Note by Godley, 25 September 1896, Judicial and Public Departmental Papers, India Office, 1619/96, Vol. 429, cited in P.L. Malhotra, *Administration of Lord Elgin in India, 1894-99* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 166.
 23. Note by Hamilton, 6 October, 1896, *ibid.*
 24. Note by A.C. Lyall, 14 October 1896, *ibid.*; see also Judicial and Public Department, Minute, 21 October 1896.
 25. For the text of the Proclamation, see Home, Public, A, Progs., August 1897, No. 237.
 26. For example, *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), *The Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore), *The Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi) and *The Punjab Samachar* (Lahore) hailed the establishment of the Legislative Council for the Punjab and expressed thanks to the Secretary of State for India for having sanctioned it. See RNNP for 1897, pp. 2,85,87,97.
 27. PAR, 1897-98, para 146.
 28. *Non-official Members* : Bedi Khem Singh, Nawab Fateh Ali Khan, Rai Bahadur Madan Gopal, Sir William Rattigan, and Khan Bahadur Khalia Sayyad Muhammad Hussain. *Official Members*

C.M. Rivaz, S.S. Thorburn, L.W. Dane and J.S. Beresford. See PAR, 1897-98, para 55.

29. It is interesting to recall that Section 22 of the Charter Act of 1853 by which the Chief Justice and another judge of the Supreme Court were added to the Council of the Governor-General when sitting to make laws and regulations was abrogated in the Indian Councils Act, 1861. At that time there was no judge of any High Court sitting on the Council of the Governor-General. But two cases recommending the appointment of judges Erskine and A.A. Roberts arose in 1862 and 1863 and the Secretary of State for India refused to give his assent.
30. Despatch of the Governor-General to the Secretary of State for India, No. 41, dated 14 July 1897.
31. Despatch from Secretary of State to Governor-General in Council, No. 29 (Legislative), dated 16 September 1897.
32. Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor-General in Council, No. 116 (Public), dated 3 December, 1896.
33. Indian Councils Act, 1861, Sections 22, 23, 40 and 44.
34. Proceedings of the Punjab Legislative Council (hereafter given as PLC), 1902, p. 4; Indian Councils Act 1861, Section 42.
35. These matters were those affecting the public debt in India, or the customs duties imposed by the authority of the Supreme Government, regulating any of the current coins or paper currency, regulating the conveyance of letters by the post office or messages by the electric telegraph, altering any of the Penal Code of India, affecting the religions or religious rites and usages of any class of subjects in India, affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of military or naval forces, regulating patents or copy right and affecting the relations of the Government with foreign princes or states. See Indian Councils Act 1861, Section 43.
36. *Ibid.* Sections 39, 40, 41 and 43; PLC, 15 April 1898; also see Memorandum prepared for the use of Indian Statutory Commission by the Government of Punjab, Vol. I (Lahore, 1928), Chapter I, para 7.
37. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 28 January 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 86.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *The Punjab Samachar* (Lahore), 1 February 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 88.
40. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 1 May 1900, RNNP for 1900, p. 232.
41. *The Chaudwin Sadi* (Rawalpindi) 23 October 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 856.
42. *The Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore), 18 October 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 847.
43. Virinder Singh. *Dyarchy in the Punjab* (Delhi, 1991), pp. 26-27.
44. Circular from the Government of India to the Local Governments and Administrations, dated 24 August 1907, para 10; P. Mukerji.

Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1918), pp. 271-309.

45. *Ibid.*, para 22.
46. Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. II, p.716.
47. Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. II, para 45, pp. 719-720, PLC, 1910.
48. Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. I, para 53, p. 26; Letter No. 21 of 1908, Government of India in Home Department.
49. Muhammadans 2 members
 Hindus 1 member
 Sikhs 1 member
 Other interests 3 members
 Total 7 members

These figures were given by the Lieutenant-Governor in his address to the first meeting of the Council. See PLC, 1910; *The Tribune* (Lahore), 4 January 1910.

50. Commercial community 1 member
 Panjab University 1 member
 Larger cities 3 members
 Total 5 members

There had been a prolonged discussion whether the members of the Punjab Legislative Council should be nominated or elected. The Government of India had suggested that the system of nomination might be beneficial to such provinces as were not already familiar with election and Punjab fell under this category. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Financial Commissioner and all the Commissioners except Mr. Maynard advocated nomination. The Secretary of Hindu Sabha, Amritsar, Gopal Dass Bhandari had also expressed the view in favour of nominations. Many influential Muslim individuals and Muslim associations of Punjab such as Punjab Muslims League, the Delhi and Batala Anjumans of Muslims, the editor of the 'Observer', Malik Umar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Shah Din and Muhammad Shafi also favoured nomination. On the other hand, majority of the Hindus were in favour of the system of election. Eleven Deputy Commissioners were in favour of allotting some seats by election and remaining by nomination. Ultimately, it was decided that majority of the members should be nominated and only five be elected. See, Papers relating to the Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. III, pp. 717, 978; PLC, 1917, pp. 65-67. Mr. Thomson (official member) traced the history of nomination for the Muslims in Punjab and quoted from Punjab Government letter to the Government of India dated 6 July, 1908 in which it said that the issue had excited much controversy.

51. E.D. Maclagan to the Secretary to Government of India, Letter No. 40 (Home Legislative) 6 July, 1908, p. 715.

52. Some of the Sikhs, however, felt that since in Punjab Sikhs were a distinct and important people who supplied a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army, they should be fairly represented. See PLC, April 1912, Vol. III, p. 74; Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. III, para 6, p. 988; Ganda Singh, 'The Sikhs' *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVI-I (Patiala, 1982), p.150.
53. Mr. M.W. Fenton, officiating Commissioner of Multan Division at that time, while forwarding Sardar Khan's letter remarked that he represented the Muslim views. See Papers relating to Constitutional Reforms in India, 1908, Vol. III, pp. 788-791.
54. Sardar Khan, Jhang, 7 November 1907, Paper relating to Constitutional Reforms, 1908, Vol. III, pp. 788-791.
55. Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Calcutta, 1918), p. 148.
56. *The Peshwa* (Lahore), 15 June 1909, RNNP for 1909, p. 560.
57. *The Hindustan* (Lahore), 4 June 1909, RNNP for 1909, p. 515.
58. *The Vakil* (Amritsar) 28 May 1909, RNNP for 1909, p. 346.
59. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) 26 May 1909, RNNP for 1909, p. 339.
60. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 18 June 1909.
61. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 24 April 1911, RNNP for 1911, p.441.
62. *Ibid.*
63. No discussion was permitted in regard to any subject removed from the cognizance of the Legislative Council by Section 22 of Indian Councils Act of 1861, any matter affecting the relations of His Majesty's Government with any foreign, state or any Native State in India; any matter under adjudication by a Court of Law having jurisdiction in any part of His Majesty's Dominions. For details, see Ram Murti Uppal, 'The Punjab Legislature (1901-1937)' an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1962, pp.58-62.
64. Home (Legislative) Department, Progs., 3 December 1909, No. 44.
65. Eleven European, seven Muslim, three Hindu and two Sikh members attended the first meeting and took oath of allegiance to the Crown.
66. *The Panjabee* denounced the composition of the Punjab Legislative Council as "illeberal and hardly conducive to the popularising of the Government." It demanded that the regulations must be drastically remodelled so as to include every man of education and position. See *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 26 March 1912, RNNP for 1912, p.207.
67. PAR, 1912-13, p. 22.
68. R.M. Uppal, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
69. Home (Political) Department, A. Progs., September 1920, Nos. 133-80.
70. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II (Delhi, 1966), p.218.
71. PLC, April 1910, pp. 2-3.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
73. PLC, Vol. V, 1914-15, p. 79; also see Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab, 1897-1947* (New Delhi, 1984), pp. 43-44.
74. PLC, Vol. V, 1914-15, p. 82.
75. PLC, Vol. V, 1917, p. 44.
76. PLC, Vol. V, 1917, p. 64; Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
77. Bisheshwar Prasad, *The Origin of Provincial Autonomy* (Delhi, 1960), p. 209.
78. Report on the Constitutional Reforms 1918 (Calcutta, 1918), p. 1.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
80. *Ibid.*
81. General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories comprising the Punjab proper, and the cis and trans-Sutlej States for the year 1851-52 and 1852-53, para 5; Selections from the Records of Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 6.
82. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XX, Amritsar District, 1914* (Lahore, 1914), p. 21.
83. V.S. Suri, 'Political, Territorial and Administrative Changes in the Punjab from Earlier Times upto 1947' in *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. I, Part I. April 1967. Punjabi University, Patiala, pp. 196-97; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 98; Census of Punjab 1901, Vol. XVIII, Part I (Simla, 1902), pp. 1-2; Y.B. Mathur, *British Administration of Punjab, 1849-1875* (Delhi, 1975), p. 1.
84. Punjab Government Notification No. 343 and 1333 dated 11 March and 15 November 1904. See *Report on the Census of Punjab, 1911*, Chapter I, p. 1.
85. Punjab Government Notification No. 212, 9 February, 1909. The districts included in each of the present divisions were:
Delhi : Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Delhi, Karnal, Ambala, Simla.
Jullundur : Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore.
Lahore : Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala.
Rawalpindi : Gujrat, Shahpur, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock, Mianwali.
Multan : Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, including the Biloch trans-frontier.
86. *Report of the Census of the Punjab and Delhi, 1921*, pp. 2-4.
87. *Ibid.* The five administrative divisions of the British territory and the districts in each of these divisions in 1919, were as under :
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ambala</i> | <i>Jullundur</i> | <i>Lahore</i> | <i>Rawalpindi</i> | <i>Multan</i> |
| <i>Division</i> | <i>Division</i> | <i>Division</i> | <i>Division</i> | <i>Division</i> |
| Hissar | Kangra | Lahore | Gujrat | Montgomery |
| Rohtak | Hoshiarpur | Amritsar | Shahpur | Lyallpur |
| Gurgaon | Jullundur | Gurdaspur | Jhelum | Jhang |
| Karnal | Ludhiana | Sialkot | Rawalpindi | Multan |
| Ambala | Ferozepur | Gujranwala | Attock | Muzaffargarh |
| Simla | | Sheikhpura | Mianwali | D.G. Khan |

88. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 98.
89. PAR, 1901-02, p. 34.
90. PAR, 1910-11, p. 35.
91. H.K. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, Vol. II (Lahore, 1932), p. 73.
92. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 99.
93. *Ibid.*
94. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
95. *IGI, Punjab*, pp. 98-99.
96. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 99; H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
97. The headman of the village was appointed by Deputy Commissioner, and if he was recognised by the community as its natural leader, his influence equalled his authority. If not, his authority was limited to such legal powers were conferred on him, and in the South-East Punjab a leader of the opposition was regularly chosen. The headman transacted the business of the community, including the management of its common fund, to which all contributed, and to supplement which, in many villages, a hearth or door tax was imposed on all residents who were not members of the proprietary body. See *IGI, Punjab*, p. 123.
98. *Ibid.*
99. Home, Public, A, Progs., September 1882, Nos. 137-140; *IGI, Punjab*, pp. 123-24.
100. Home, Public, A, Progs., September 1882, Nos. 137-140; Amar Nath, *The Development of Local Self-Government in the Punjab 1849-1900* (Lahore, 1929), p. 12.
101. PAR, 1871-72, p. 76, *IGI, Punjab*, p. 124.
102. PAR, 1881-82, para 214.
103. For the text of the Act, see Punjab Gazette, Part IV, 28 August 1884, pp. 145-170.
104. Government of India Resolution No. 171749-759 dated 18 May 1882; for the text of the Resolution, see Home, Public, A, Progs., September 1882, No. 138.
105. Hugh Tinker, *The Foundation of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London, 1954), p. 48; M.W. Fenton, *A Municipal Manual for the Punjab* (Lahore, 1889), pp. 1-61.
106. Hugh Tinker, *op. cit.*, p. 48; PAR, 1884-85, summary, p. 11.
107. Home, Municipalities, A, Progs., November 1890, No. 263; Hugh Tinker, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
108. Home, Municipalities, A, Progs., August 1891, No. 9.
109. D.R. Sachdeva, *Local Government Services in India* (Jullundur, 1974), p. 19.
110. For the text of the Act, see Punjab Gazette, Part IV, 18 October 1891, pp. 71-103.
111. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 124.
112. PAR, 1901-02, Part I, pp. 283-84.
113. Proceedings of Legislative Council of Governor-General for the year 1896, p. 366; Home, Municipalities, A, Progs., January 1897, No. 14.

114. The Punjab Act No. 1 of 1905. For the text of the Act, see Punjab Gazette, Part IV-A.
115. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 124.
116. Report on the Royal Commission on Decentralization (1907-1909), p. 138.
117. Report on the Punjab Local Government (Urban) Enquiry Committee, p. 4.
118. Punjab Municipal Administration Report, 1917-18, Part I, para 1.
119. Hugh Tinker, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 119.
120. Montagu-Chelmsford Report (Calcutta, Government of India, 1918), p. 227.
121. S.R. Maheshwari, *Local Government in India* (New Delhi, 1971), pp. 21-22.
122. *The Vakil* (Amritsar), 16 December 1901. RNNP for 1901, p. 796
123. *The Gulzar-i-Hind* (Lahore) 19 April 1902. RNNP for 1902, p. 270.
124. *The Tribune* (Lahore) 26 March 1911.
125. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 23 June 1899, for example, pointed out that the road leading from Jullundur city to Railway Station was not properly lighted and had only two lamps. Likewise the road to Hoshiarpur was lighted with only two or three lamps. The writer invited the attention of the municipality to properly lighting the roads and repairing them in the interest of the public. See RNNP for 1899, p. 265.
126. A correspondent of the *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 6 February 1900, for instance, complained that lanes in Delhi had been rendered still narrower by the recent construction of drains in them and that the drains were always in a dirty condition and reeking with stench. Vide RNNP for 1902, p. 69.
127. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 18 January 1919, RNNP for 1919, p. 23.
128. PAR, 1882-83, p. 141.
129. Punjab Gazette, Part II, 21 February 1878, pp. 96-98.
130. Punjab Gazette, Part IV, 25 October 1883, pp. 33-34.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.
132. PAR, 1884-85, p. 138.
133. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 125.
134. This cess was reduced to rupees 8-5-4 per cent by the abolition of the cess for famine in 1906.
135. Report on the Commission on Decentralisation (1907-09), p. 172; PAR 1910-11, p. 18; Hugh Tinker, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
136. Report on the working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1912-13, p. 1; Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in the Boards and Committees (Boards) Department, dated 1 December 1913, No. 317.
137. Report on the Working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1912-13, p. 2.
138. Report on the Working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1917-18, pp. 1-3.

139. PAR, 1918-19, p. 33; Report on the Working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1918-19, p. 2.
140. PAR, 1919-20, p. 37.
141. B.B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
142. Report on the Working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1919-20, p. 2; Proceedings of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in the Boards and Committees (Boards) Department, 29 November 1920, No. 27073.
143. PAR, 1921-22, Chapter II, para 21.
144. PAR 1921-22, Chapter III, para 21; B.B. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
145. See Appendix II.
146. Annual Report on the Working of District Boards in the Punjab during the year 1921-22, p. I.
147. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Civil Secretariat, Local Self Government, Board's 1921, File No. 57, p. 2.
148. S.R. Maheshwari, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
149. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Home (Judicial) Department, 19 September 1918, No. 5513, p. 19; D.R. Sachdeva, *op. cit.*, p. 70; R.L. Khanna, *Panchayati Raj in Punjab* (Chandigarh, n.d.), p. 39.
150. Home (Judicial) Department, B. Progs., October 1918, No. 11, p. 4; *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 90.
151. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Home (Judicial) Department, 9 October 1917, No. 5192 S, p. 2.
152. Home (Judicial) Department, B. Progs., October 1918, No. 11, p.19.
153. R.V. Jathar, *Evolution of Panchayat Raj in India*, (Dharwar, 1964), p. 27.
154. B.B. Misra, *The Bureaucracy in India* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 139-41.
155. For details, see *The Quarterly Civil List for the Punjab* No. CLXXXI, corrected upto 1917, Government Printing (Lahore, 1917), pp. 1-139.
156. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
157. *Ibid.*

Administration of Justice

As already mentioned,¹ during 1849-1947 a systematic judicial administration had been evolved in the Punjab. After 1897 changes and reforms were brought about in the judicial system of the province from time to time but the basic structure remained the same.

As regards civil courts, there were, to be sure, five grades of courts – the Chief Court, the Divisional Court, the Court of the District Judge, the Court of the Subordinate Judge and the Court of the Munsif. About 75 per cent of the total number of suits were tried in the first instance in the Munsif's Courts. The Munsifs were generally promoted from the ranks of the ministerial staff and only a few of them were recruited directly. At the time of their appointment they, generally, did not possess even a rudimentary knowledge of civil law and gradually picked up their knowledge of the law while in service.² Besides the Munsif's Courts, Small Cause Courts were established in important towns,³ which exercised jurisdiction in the small cause suits upto the value of rupees 500. The decision of the judge of the Small Cause Court was to be final under the Small Cause Courts Act, 1887 in all such cases. Many Munsifs were also invested with Small Cause Courts powers.⁴ It helped in the rapid and final disposal of cases.

The District Courts were originally established in 1875 to relieve Deputy Commissioners of the work of hearing civil appeals, and of trying original civil suits of certain value which fell into their jurisdiction. By the year 1908, these were established in every district and the Deputy Commissioners were finally relieved of all civil work. The Court of the District Judge was the principal court of original civil jurisdiction in the district and heard appeals in minor civil suits from the courts of Subordinate Judges. The Subordinate Judges exercised limited civil jurisdiction. They were appointed to assist the District

Judges since the work in the District Courts had been increasing gradually. Additional District Judges had also to be appointed from time to time.⁵

The Divisional Courts, fourteen in all since November 1885, exercised civil jurisdiction in their respective area; each Division comprised one or more districts. The Divisional Judges mostly tried appellate civil cases. Under the Punjab Courts Act, 1889, which received the assent of the Governor-General in 1899, an appeal from the Divisional Court to the Chief Court could be made⁶: (a) if the value of the suit in a small cause was rupees 1,000 or upwards and the decree of the Divisional Court varied or reversed the decree of the lower court, or if the value of the suit was rupees 2,500 or upwards or the decree involved claim to property of like value; (b) if the value of the suit in a land case was rupees 250 or upwards and the decree of the Divisional Court varied or reversed the decree of the lower court or if the value of the suit was rupees 1,000 or upwards or the decree involved directly some claim to property of like value.⁷ Since 1886, the decisions of the Divisional Courts in appeals upto rupees 1,000 in value were made final. The Punjab Courts Amendment Act, 1888 had also relieved the Divisional Courts of some appellate work by restricting the right of appeal in certain civil cases. Despite all this, the work in the Divisional Courts continued to be heavy and Additional Judges had to be appointed so that the total number of judges of these courts rose to 21.⁸

The Chief Court at Lahore was the highest court of appeal in civil and criminal cases. The Chief Court was established in Punjab in 1866 by Act XIX of 1865. It was opened with two judges – Mr. A.A. Roberts, the former Judicial Commissioner and Mr. C. Boulnois, Barrister-at-Law.⁹ A third judge was added in 1869 due to heavy rush of work and its strength remained unchanged upto 1881. Again, a fourth judge was sanctioned in May 1881 for six months,¹⁰ and was made permanent in 1886. By the end of 1896-97, the Chief Court consisted of four permanent and two temporary judges.¹¹

The Punjab Courts Act, 1884 was amended by Act XIX of 1895 which empowered the Governor-General in Council to appoint one of the judges of the Chief Court to be a Chief Judge.

The Viceroy, Lord Elgin gave his assent to this amendment on 19 October, 1895.¹² Regarding salary of the Chief Judge, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned rupees 3,500 per month and an additional allowance of rupees 250 per month with effect from 1 April 1897,¹³ but it was raised to rupees 4,000 p.m. in 1901. The judges of the Chief Court were also allowed to use the prefix 'Hon'ble' by the Government of India.¹⁴

The Chief Court heard appeals in appellate cases from the Divisional Courts in cases involving a definite amount in value already mentioned above. The Chief Court could also call for the record of any case in which no appeal lay to it and could pass such orders in such a case as it thought fit. It could also take up matters for decisions if any lower court exercised jurisdiction not vested in it by law or had failed to exercise jurisdiction so vested or had committed any irregularity in the exercise of its jurisdiction or if in the opinion of the Chief Court, there was an important question of law and custom which required further consideration.¹⁵

The above arrangements continued till the middle of 1914, when some significant organisational changes were effected in the civil courts of the province by the Punjab Courts Act of 1914. Under this Act the Divisional Courts were abolished and all the 21 Divisional and Additional Divisional Judges became District Judges – 14 of one district and 7 of two districts each. The old District Judges became subordinate Judges, losing their power of administration and control over their subordinate courts and their position as principal courts of original jurisdiction within their districts. The Act provided for the delegation to Subordinate Judges of certain powers vested in the District Judges. Under these provisions the Senior Subordinate Judge of each district was given at once the appellate powers exercised by the old District Judge, and subsequently in certain districts, where a short experience of the new arrangements showed the District Judge to be heavily worked, the Senior Subordinate Judge was authorised to dispose of proceedings under various special Acts.¹⁶

In the District of Dera Ghazi Khan, the old District Judge was not replaced by a Subordinate Judge, and the new District Judge was, thus, obliged to hear himself all suits beyond the

jurisdiction of a Munsif of the first class. In other districts under the new scheme, the whole of the ordinary original work was done by Subordinate Judges and Munsifs.¹⁷ The change was only nominal, and there was little practical difference between the new system and the old, except in regard to administrative control. As District Judges, these officers tried most of the first appeals in civil suits, and as Sessions Judges they heard appeals from the orders of District Magistrates and other first class Magistrates, and also tried original cases. Under Sections 392 and 394 of the Civil Procedure Code, judicial commissions could be appointed in connection with the civil and revenue cases. No definite qualifications, however, were laid down for the Commissioners who were paid remuneration in terms of fees charged from the litigants.

In 1917, Stenographers were sanctioned for a number of District Judges. This made it possible, in those districts, to decide a much larger number of civil appeals. This system proved very successful and was extended to all districts.¹⁸

Special Revenue Courts had been established under the Punjab Tenancy Act, 1868 to decide all suits regarding tenant rights and diversified cognate matters in which civil courts had no jurisdiction. Tehsildars and Naib Tehsildars were Assistant Collectors, second grade; the Assistants to the Deputy Commissioners were Assistant Collectors of first grade while the Deputy Commissioner was the Collector. All these classes of courts exercised original jurisdiction; appeals from the Assistant Collectors lay to the Collectors, from them to the Commissioners and from Commissioners to the Financial Commissioner, who was the final court of appeal in revenue cases. A Revenue Court was simply a Revenue Officer acting in a judicial instead of an executive capacity. It was expedient and apparently not improper that cases of this kind should be tried by officers whose daily work was concerned with the revenue and brought them into close contact with the rural population, because the special experience so acquired conduced to a readier appreciation of the points at issue, and greater skill in obtaining and appraising evidence. The procedure in the revenue courts was governed by the Civil Procedure Code.¹⁹ Later on the Government sanctioned the

appointment of a special Kanungo in every district to assist the civil courts in the elucidation of revenue records, and necessary instructions for the employment of this official had been issued to subordinate courts. The system proved to be a success.²⁰

In the meanwhile under the Panchayat Act of 1912,²¹ *panchayats* had been established in ten districts for the disposal of petty suits in the villages. But, unfortunately, this experiment did not prove successful. Even in the few districts where it had shown some signs of becoming popular in the critical stage, people lost all faith in this institution, since it had become generally known that the *panchayats* had no authority to take up cases referred to them by one party without the consent of the other. In 1917, the Hon'ble Judges of the Chief Court recommended to the Government that the Panchayat Act be repealed and the Panchayat system be abolished. The Act was apparently a dead letter except in Lyallpur where a partial success was reported.²² In 1922 a new Panchayat Act came into force but its working, too, left much to be desired.

It will be pertinent to refer briefly to some important acts connected with the civil justice which were passed by the Government of Punjab from time to time. The first and foremost was the Punjab Alienation of Land Act (1900) passed by the Imperial Legislative Council for Punjab. Most of the agricultural land was being transferred to the non-agriculturist money-lender by sale or mortgage. Thus, a grave economic and political danger was apprehended, and the necessity for stopping this evil was keenly felt.²³

The Act imposed certain restrictions on the transfer of agricultural land in Punjab with a view to checking its alienation from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes. It also prohibited all mortgages except "automatic repayment mortgage", where after the expiry of the term of mortgage which was limited to a maximum of 15 years, the land reverted to the mortgages with the mortgage debt extinguished.²⁴ This Act was hailed by the agricultural classes as the 'Magna Carta of their freedom'.²⁵

Though the Punjab Alienation of Land Act achieved its main object – checking the alienation of land of the non-agriculturists

to a remarkable degree – the money-lender, however, was "not willing to lose his hold on the cultivator." He invented a new method to evade the provisions of the Act by resorting to *benami* transactions by which transfers were nominally made in favour of an agriculturist, while the real benefit was reaped by him.²⁶

The Punjab Court of Wards Act came into force on 25 June, 1903. The Financial Commissioner now occupied the position of Court of Wards for the whole province, instead of the Deputy Commissioners severally for wards within their jurisdiction.²⁷

In January 1905, the Chief Court issued new rules under the Guardians and Wards Act VIII of 1890 with the object of ensuring that the courts should exercise a really effective control over the management of minors' estates after the appointment of guardians. The guardians were now required to furnish bonds giving adequate security for the proper administration of the property, and were directed to produce at certain fixed intervals detailed accounts showing all transactions connected with the estates since their assumption of management.²⁸ The amendment and simplification of rules framed under the Guardians and Wards Act in 1914,²⁹ appreciably lightened the work of the courts in administering minors' estates. Many children lost their parents in the influenza epidemic of 1919, and guardians had to be appointed to safeguard the interests of their estates. The courts were authorised to appoint official receivers to be guardians when the adoption of that course was in the minors' interest. Remuneration for such official receivers was fixed at two per cent on all lease money collected by them.

The Provincial Insolvency Act was passed in 1907. It, however, did not work satisfactorily and encouraged dishonest litigation. It had been generally described as unsuitable to the conditions of life in Punjab. The applications for declaration of insolvency were on the increase at an alarming rate.³⁰ More than 98 per cent of the applications were presented by debtors. The number of insolvency proceedings was unduly high in the canal colonies where there must be fewer actual insolvents than elsewhere. The declaration of insolvency in this province, at any rate, was mainly sought as the readiest means of escaping from a creditor. No stigma attached to the filing of a petition or the

obtaining of a declaration.³¹ The Lieutenant-Governor wrote to the Government of India in 1914, in connection with the working of Insolvency Act³²:

The main requisites of an insolvency system were that it should distinguish between the honest and the dishonest insolvent, that it should provide for a speedy and efficient administration of assets, and that it should ensure the early discharge of whitewashed bankrupts. The system as worked in this province was marked by none of these characteristics. The Act extended its protection to the unfortunate and the fraudulent alike. Owing to the inadequate number of official receivers, the collection and administration of insolvents' estates left much to be desired. The landed property of the agriculturists who formed the vast majority of insolvents was, in Punjab, protected by special legislation, and finally, hardly any insolvent applied for a discharge.

II

With regard to criminal justice, there were broadly four classes of court—Courts of Magistrates, Courts of District Magistrates, Courts of Sessions Judges and Chief Court. The Courts of Magistrates were divided into three categories, namely, Magistrates with full powers, subordinate Magistrates with first class power and subordinate second class Magistrates. The Magistrates of the first category could pass sentences of upto two years imprisonment and a fine of rupees 1,000 while those of the second and third categories, sentences of six months with fines of rupees 50 respectively. The Magistrate with full powers could alone commit prisoners for trial by the Sessions.³³ The District Magistrates, might in a Non-Regulation Province like Punjab, try any offence not punishable by death and to pass sentences of imprisonment and transportation upto seven years. The Deputy Commissioners, who were invariably Europeans or Englishmen, acted as District Magistrates. The Subordinate Magistrates of the second and third categories, who were generally all Indians, included in their ranks Tehsildars. The Criminal Procedure Code also provided for the appointment of Honorary Magistrates.

The Sessions Courts, subordinate to the Chief Court, were originally Courts of the Divisional Judges which were ten in all since November 1885. This was a characteristic of a Non-Regulation Province, and disappeared on the introduction of the Punjab Courts Act 1914, when the Divisional Courts were abolished and replaced by the Courts of District and Sessions Judges.³⁴

The District and Sessions Judges exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction in a civil and sessions division, comprising one or more districts. As District Judges, these officers tried most of the first appeals in civil suits, and as Sessions Judges, they heard appeals against the decisions of District and first class Magistrates. They also tried original cases of more heinous offences, such as murders, attempt to murder, culpable homicide etc. committed to them after a preliminary inquiry by a Magistrate of the first class. These cases were generally tried by them with the aid of assessors in the case of Indians and juries in the case of European British subjects. The assessors or the juries gave their opinion about facts of case while the judge decided all points of law. But the judges were not bound to accept the opinions of assessors.

In 1899, a new rule was made under which the Chief Court could refuse to entertain an application for revision unless the petitioner had been first to the District Magistrate or the Sessions Judge. Consequently, the number of applications for revision presented to the Sessions Courts showed a steady tendency to increase, perhaps because the Session Judges were more ready to take them up. The procedure for receiving and acting upon such petitions was not expressly laid by the Criminal Procedure Code. The pressure of work in the Sessions Court was so great that there was no possibility for the Sessions Judges to cope successfully with the accumulated arrears.

The appointment of Additional District Magistrates had, of course, enabled the District Courts to relieve Sessions Judges of a large number of serious cases. But this measure of relief to the Sessions Courts had, however, been temporarily counter-balanced by the wave of violent crime which lasted from the autumn of 1899 till the early summer of 1900.³⁵ The state of business in

these courts was so heavy as to require immediate relief. Thus, in 1900, the Government had to sanction the appointment of special officers to act temporarily as Additional Sessions Judges in Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepore, Rawalpindi and Peshawar Divisions for the period ranging from one to six months.³⁶

Another cause responsible for the great pressure of work in these courts was the pertinacity with which a defeated Punjabi pursued his quarrel. This was manifested by the fact that 48 per cent of those who were convicted appealed in Punjab, as against 23 per cent in the United Provinces and 11 per cent in Bengal. The average duration of cases in the Sessions courts had steadily gone up. The large number of appeals instituted in the Sessions Courts was also due to the fact that these courts had no power to enhance the sentences appealed against. The inability of Sessions Judges to cope with the great pressure of work led to the creation of a class of officers, known as Assistant Sessions Judges. These officers were recruited from the ranks of those senior sub-judges who had under section 30 powers as Magistrates.³⁷

At the apex was the Chief Court. The Chief Court tried criminal cases under section 374, Code of Criminal Procedure.³⁸ Death sentences were also confirmed by the Chief Court, pronounced by Sessions Judges under sections 302 and 396, Indian Penal Code.³⁹ It also decided the cases of original criminal jurisdiction.

Honorary Agency had continued to work successfully for over sixty years, and had been doing an increasing amount of work and thereby relieving the magistracy of about one-fourth of their burden. Their local knowledge and influence had helped a good deal in the prevention of crime and the dispensation of justice. Since 1898, the practice was of appointing Honorary Magistrates for a period of five years in the first instance, to be renewed on expiry for sufficient cause shown. It was believed that the change would tend to promote the efficiency of these useful auxiliaries to the criminal administration.⁴⁰ The number of such Magistrates employed was steadily raised during the decade 1907-17, from 231 to 343. Side by side with the increase in number, there had been a substantial increase in the amount of work disposed of by

them. Honorary Magistrates decided 27 per cent of the total number of cases disposed of during the year 1917.⁴¹

It will be pertinent to examine briefly the state of crime in general terms. During the first half of the present century political developments and economic conditions prevailing in the province led to increase in crime in Punjab in comparison to that in the rest of India. One reason for this increase was said to be that the powerfully built physique of the peasantry in Punjab, who were easily aroused to violence, was in marked contrast to that of slightly built trading classes or *banias*.⁴² Different types of crimes were prevailing among various classes of society⁴³:

Cheats and swindlers are most commonly found among the trading classes. Dacoits and robbers are almost invariably recruited from peasantry. Burglars and thieves are members of the hunting tribes. Murder is a crime which may be committed by members of any class or race, but it is, on the whole, more common in India among the peasantry than among other sections of the population.

Obviously, the bulk of crime was committed by peasantry, and as there was a large section of strongly built peasantry in Punjab, the increased incidence of crime in the province may be attributed largely to this factor.

During the first five years of the century (1901-05) quite a high rate of crime was reported. A number of factors such as unfavourable agricultural conditions, severe and wide-spread plague, lack of co-operation in many districts on the part of *zaildars*, *lambaradors* and the members of village community, were responsible for this increase.⁴⁴ Whatever the causes, it is evident from various sources that life and property during the years 1901-05 were not quite safe and in majority of the cases the incidents of crime were not reported to the police by the people to avoid unnecessary inconvenience and expense to which the complainants were subjected to.⁴⁵

During the next seven years (1905-12), the wave of crime in the province was steadily growing. The year 1910-11, however,

witnessed an alarming increase as the number of cognizable cases dealt with by the police increased by 11 per cent, and this increase was more in serious forms of crime especially in the central range (in the districts of Sialkot, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Lyallpur). Though there was a decrease in the number of murders (from 421 in 1909 to 409 in 1910), yet several of these cases were marked by severe brutality and mutilation.⁴⁶ In that year serious offences against property increased from 309 in 1910 to 476 in 1911. Dacoities rose from 48 in 1910 to 100 in 1911. There was also an increase in burglaries, cattle-thefts and railways thefts. These figures go a long way to strengthen the popular impression that the police was quite incompetent to deal with the crime. In spite of the fact that during the past five or six years a considerable addition had been made to the outlay on the police force in Punjab, the crime during this period had increased substantially and the incapacity of the police to successfully cope with it had become more and more evident.⁴⁷

While explaining the causes of the increase in crime in Punjab, the judges of the Chief Court wrote in 1913⁴⁸:

The rise in prices has tempted the menial classes to become thieves. The prosperity of the agricultural classes means that there is valuable property awaiting the burglar in the house of most well-to-do agriculturists. It also means that the Jat has more time on his hands than formerly and more money to spend on drink and litigation. The abnormally low proportion of the female population is undoubtedly at the bottom of much of the violent crime of the province.

Besides, inefficiency of the police and defective training of the policeman also contributed to this high rate of crime.

The removal of restraint, both moral and physical, imposed by the four years of war-conditions (1914-18), produced a reaction, which inevitably led to the increase in crime in the province.⁴⁹ The poor crops, unsettling effect of demobilization, release of a large number of bad characters and acute political unrest, developing at one period into an open rebellion, were some of the causes of this increase in the rate of crime.⁵⁰

During the period 1907-19 the main concern of the British authorities was to check crime of political nature caused by the activities of the militant nationalists and revolutionaries. With that object, a number of repressive measures were undertaken. The political agitation in 1907 and the seditious speeches delivered from certain platforms necessitated the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act in 1907.⁵¹ This Act was denounced in the Native Press. *The Panjabee* wrote: "Harvey was discoverer of the circulation of blood, Sir Harvey Adamson will go down in history as discoverer of sedition by means of public meetings".⁵² *The Aftab* "prayed to God that such Acts may be passed to remind the people of the character of the rule under which they lived".⁵³ *The Tribune* commented thus⁵⁴:

The disparity in the sentences in the different provinces was striking. In Bengal, where the worst form of sedition had appeared, the sentences were always considerate and proportionate to the offence. In Eastern Bengal most of the offenders were pardoned on offering an apology. In Bombay and the Punjab the sentences were usually severe. In the United Provinces they were vindictive.

But *Akhbar-i-Aam* defended the administration by insisting that the Act's only aim was to stamp out sedition and the government was opposed to free expression or to the holding of meetings.⁵⁵ *The Wafadar* justified the government action on the plea that such meetings would increase the number of seditionists.⁵⁶

About twelve nationalists of whom Lal Chand, Bhagat Ram, Sunder Dass, Ditta Mal and Ram Chand were prominent, assembled at Lahore and denounced this Bill prohibiting public meetings as 'Russian method'.⁵⁷

Special Tribunals had to be appointed to institute an enquiry into the cases of political and Ghadarites' offences and other revolutionaries. And the accused had no right of appeal to higher court over the judgement of the Tribunals. The Punjab Government had suggested to the Viceroy a draft ordinance in December 1914 for the speedy public trial of cases of political crime committed by the returned emigrants.⁵⁸ The Government of

India, however, did not feel the need for immediate legislation, but after the discovery of Lahore Conspiracy,⁵⁹ the Defence of India Act, 1915 was rushed through the Imperial Legislative Council in a single sitting on 18 March 1915. The measure had been taken not merely to meet the war situation but was intended to repress political crime and even to supersede the ordinary criminal law of the land in some cases. The Act included provisions to meet the special needs of Punjab, such as provisions for the elimination of committal procedure in the cases of offences of a political or quasi-political nature; for the elimination of appeal in such cases; for the taking of security from persons of the class affected by a more rapid procedure than prescribed by the ordinary law; for the prompt punishment of villagers colluding with and harbouring revolutionary criminals, etc.⁶⁰

The persons involved in the Lahore Conspiracy, and other political offences, were tried by Special Tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915. In all 175 persons were put on trial. Of these, 136 were convicted of offences punishable with death, and of whom 38 were sentenced to death. In 18 cases, however, these sentences were commuted to transportation for life. Finally, 20 persons were hanged, 58 were transported for life and 58 were transported or imprisoned for shorter periods.⁶¹ Though Michael O'Dwyer thought the sentences to be light as 'only'⁶² twenty persons were hanged, they were very heavy as compared with the sentences given for similar offences in other provinces including those awarded in Bengal. But the Indian members in Punjab Council did not utter a word of protest against the cruel sentences. On the contrary, they praised the "firmness, vigour and determination" of the authorities in solving the problem.⁶³

The Punjab Government did not confine itself only to the suppression of revolutionary activities in the province, but undertook all possible steps to curb other nationalist movements. Two leaders of Home Rule Movement were prevented from entering the province because the Lieutenant-Governor regarded the programmes of the Home Rule Movement as "revolutionary in character and I believe as subversive of the existing constitution as those which the Ghadar emissaries endeavoured to bring

about."⁶⁴ Michael O'Dwyer found the two movements identical because the watchword of both the Ghadar and the Home Rule Movement was the establishment of *Swaraj* or Home Rule.

In 1917 Habitual Offenders Bill was introduced and passed in the Council after lengthy debate. The Indian members were dismayed to find that the provisions of the Bill were also applicable to "persons who are not habitual criminals but only suspects under Section 110 of Criminal Procedure Code."⁶⁵ Obviously, the aim of the Government was to bring persons charged with political offences under the purview of the Bill.

Punjab was, thus, passing through a terrible period of strain and stress during the years 1917-18, and there was visible erosion in the confidence of the people in British rule.⁶⁶ Political discontent increased manifold after the publication of the Islington Commission Report and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Constitutional Reforms. Muslim feelings in the province were also agitated over the impending fate of Turkey and its effect upon the institution of *khilafat*.

It may also be pointed out that the political prisoners in the province were not treated reasonably.⁶⁷ In 1909, Bhai Parmanand, a prominent freedom fighter, was sentenced to transportation for life. There had been a steady decrease in the sentence of transportation, while that of imprisonments for long terms had increased.⁶⁸

The punishment of whipping steadily decreased after 1897. In 1907, it was suggested by the Lieutenant-Governor that the whipping should be seldom inflicted for offences against the rules regarding work.⁶⁹ Death punishment was also awarded in some heinous offences.

On 21 March 1919, Rowlatt Bill was passed under the title of "Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919". It was described as the 'Black Act' designed to suppress popular liberties and political life in India.⁷⁰ People in Punjab summed up the Act in a cryptic – 'na appeal, na dalil, na vakeel'.

In various parts of Punjab the authorities indulged in a virtual

reign of terror.⁷¹ The Disorder Enquiry Committee estimated that nearly one-third of the total *hartals*, staged all over India against the Rowlatt Act, between 30 March and 6 April, were held in Punjab.⁷² The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi at Palwal on 9 April, the deportation of Dr. Satya Pal and Dr. Kitchlew, and the firing on the unarmed people on 10 April near the Hall Gate at Amritsar, and the callous attitude of the authorities in refusing to attend the wounded infuriated the people in Amritsar who resorted to a course of destruction of European property and attack on their person in retaliation.⁷³ The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh⁷⁴ on 13 April and the callous attitude of the authorities towards the victims of the brutal firing by General Dyer, and the ensuing reign of terror in the wake of Martial Law, provoked the people against the colonial rulers..

III

The Chief Court in Punjab, as already mentioned, had been established in 1866, under the Chief Court Act of 1865. The Chief Court was the final appellate authority in civil and criminal cases. It was also given the powers of original criminal jurisdiction in cases where European British subjects were charged with serious offences, and of extraordinary original civil jurisdiction in special cases. It was also a court of revision in both civil and criminal cases.

In 1899, the law of appeal was amended,⁷⁵ but the hopes that the court would be able to cope with the work proved fallacious, and in 1904 it became necessary to employ four temporary judges to clear off the arrears. A fifth judge was at the same time permanently added to the court. But even these measures proved inadequate. One temporary Additional Judge was consequently employed and a second was frequently found necessary. The years 1903 and 1904 had witnessed a considerable increase in the volume of work, both civil and criminal, that came before Divisional Judges, and in spite of the relief afforded by the temporary appointment of Additional Divisional Judges, the pending files continued to rise higher year by year. The work was now much more than could be efficiently disposed of by 12 officers, however hard working, and careless or hasty work by

Divisional Courts added greatly to the time occupied by the Chief Court in deciding the cases of appeals.⁷⁶

The law of appeal was again amended in 1912, in the hopes of reducing the number of appeals, but the congestion of civil appellate work was so great that no improvement could be expected unless the number of judges was increased. It took about three years for a first or second appeal to come up for hearing before a Divisional Bench.⁷⁷

Thus, for fifteen years since 1904, the Chief Court 'struggled on' with the assistance of temporary judges against the ever-rising tide of work, when on its conversion into High Court in 1919, the permanent strength was raised to seven. "The excellent manner in which the Chief Court steered itself, bears testimony to its untiring industry, its great ability and its lofty sense of duty."⁷⁸

In 1900, the Hon'ble judges of the Chief Court had proposed that the Chief Court should be converted into a High Court as the law of appeal had been amended by the Act XXV of 1899.⁷⁹ The public opinion was strongly in favour of the proposal, and the press lent all its support to it.

Mr. Sinha, a non-official member of the Council vigorously pleaded for increasing the assignment to Punjab so as to cover the cost of converting the Chief Court into chartered High Court. *The Tribune* wrote:⁸⁰

It goes without saying that the case for the raising of the Chief Court to a High Court is overwhelmingly strong. The Punjab has made immense strides in every sphere of civilised life and activity since the present Chief Court was created forty-five years ago. Indeed, in social, industrial, educational and philanthropic activities and advancement, it can give points in many respects to the United Provinces.

What is more noteworthy is that both the Local Government and the public were at once in this matter and in favour of raising of the Chief Court to a higher status. The then Lieutenant-Governor said in the Provincial Council that there had never

been, so far as he was aware, any local objection to the proposal, but since a High Court would cost a great deal more than the Chief Court, it was within the power of the Government of India to consider this matter. But the Supreme Government seemed, however, to be as inexorable as it had been in the past to the important needs of this province and in spite of the express declaration of the Lieutenant-Governor, they shifted the responsibility on the Punjab Government.⁸¹

The Paisa Akhbar remarked that since Delhi had been made the capital of India, it now remained to be seen what courts it would be subjected to. It was inconceivable that a separate High Court or Chief Court would be given to Delhi, and there was every probability of its being placed under the jurisdiction of the Punjab Chief Court. This being the case there seemed to be no reason why the status of Chief Court of Punjab should not be raised to a High Court.⁸²

The Tribune remarked that the scheme was in the nature of a patchwork and was not free from traces of that grudging and grasping spirit, which often took away from the value of real reform. In fact, the new scheme of District and Sessions Judges for the province touched only the fringe of the question of the reforms of the judiciary. It attempted only at polishing a part of machinery, while leaving all other parts to flourish in their antiquated form. No attempt, it pointed out, had been made to raise the status of the highest tribunal of the province to that of a chartered High Court. Rai Bahadur Shadi Lal made pointed reference to this question in his speech at the Budget discussion in Provincial Legislative Council but failed to elicit any replay from the Lieutenant-Governor or any other official member. The question had assumed a much greater importance since the transfer of the seat of the Government of India to Delhi. It would be indeed an anomaly if the highest appellate court exercising jurisdiction over the capital of the Indian empire were nothing better than an ordering Chief Court. Since it was not possible to establish a chartered High Court for the area of about 180 sq. miles, included in the imperial enclaves, the only possible course was to retain the present judicial jurisdiction in the Punjab Chief Court.⁸³

Ultimately, after a long struggle High Court was established

for Punjab and Delhi on 1 April 1919 under Letters Patent. The High Court was constituted as follows⁸⁴: Sir Henry Rattigon, Knight, Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Chevis, Mr. Justice Scott-Smith, Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, Mr. Justice Le Rossignol, Mr. Justice Leslie Jones, and Mr. Justice Broadway.

Under the Government of India Act 1919, the maximum number of judges of a High Court including the Chief Justice and Additional Judges was fixed as 20.⁸⁵

The difference between the Chief Court and the High Court was that whereas the Chief Court was established by the Government of India under the Chief Court Act of 1865, the High Court was constituted directly by His Majesty the King Emperor under Letters Patent. The judges of the Chief Court were appointed by the Governor-General and were also liable to be dismissed by him. The judges of the High Court, on the other hand, were directly appointed by His Majesty, and were, therefore, independent of the executive. A judge of the High Court had to take an oath of allegiance to His Majesty, his heirs and successors before assuming his seat on the Bench, but no such oath was required from the judges of the Chief Court, as they were not appointed by the King.

The High Court of judicature of Lahore had jurisdiction over the provinces of Punjab and Delhi and was constituted the highest appellate authority in civil and criminal cases. It also possessed extra-ordinary original civil and criminal jurisdiction.

Under the Government of India Act 1919, the Governor-General, Lieutenant-Governor and members of their executive councils were not subject to the original jurisdiction of any High Court, by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done by any of them in his public capacity, nor were they subject to the original criminal jurisdiction of any High Court in respect of any offence, not being treason or felony.⁸⁶

IV

From the above account it is obvious that various changes and improvements had been made in the civil and criminal

administration of justice in Punjab during 1897-1919. The whole system had been fully brought into line with that of the other major provinces. The introduction of the Indian Penal Code, the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, the abolition of Divisional system and its replacement by modern District and Sessions Judge agency in 1914, and the establishment of High Court in 1919, all tended towards this harmonization.

Punjab was still a Non-Regulation Province but the only surviving relic of this distinction lay in the fact that the Punjab District Officer was called a Deputy Commissioner instead of a Collector and that the District Magistrates and other Magistrates specially empowered under Section 30, Criminal Procedure Code, could inflict a sentence of seven years' imprisonment. All other characteristics of the administration of justice prevalent in other parts of the British Indian Empire, were also prevalent in this province. As a result of the reorganisation of judicial machinery on modern lines, justice became by and large "sure, speedy, effective and accessible to all." People had great confidence in the courts, and hoped to get justice. The individual, it was claimed by the Britishers, fully enjoyed his lawful rights, unhampered by any restrictions. "Legal rights of every individual were as safe as a balance in a Bank of England Pass Book." Law made no distinction between the rich and the poor. It worked like a machine, and in every case the product was uniform. It was haunted by no fear and could be accused of no favour. A murderer was sure to go to the gallows, be he a prince or a peasant. Justice had been brought very near the peasant's home who could avail of it any time.⁸⁷

A close, candid and critical scrutiny of the judicial administration in Punjab during the period under study reveals many defects and deficiencies in its practical working. The contemporary newspapers had been pointing out such shortcomings from time to time and giving suggestions for its improvements. *The Tribune* regarded the whole system of judiciary of the province as an 'anachronism' which required to be reviewed from the bottom as well as at the top.

The Sialkot Paper deplored that the law courts, which were established for the good of the people, were being converted into

so many engines of oppression by corrupt officials. It was no exaggeration to say that these officials were, by their extortionate practices, widening the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, and creating trouble for the former.⁸⁸

In the first instance, it appeared to be a deliberate tendency as the part of the judges, especially of the lower courts, to convict the suspected criminals even though there might not be adequate evidence against them. The judges, according to the *Hindustan*, appeared to have been guided by the maxim, "no conviction, no promotion". This led to the judiciary disregarding the ends of justice, the sole object of the law courts being to put money into the coffers of the Government.⁸⁹

The *Dost-i-Hind* objected to the rule according to which no appeal court lie from an order of a third class Magistrate, inflicting on a native a fine upto rupees 50 or sentencing him to undergo imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month. Indeed, it was an anomaly that a person imprisoned for over a month should have the right of appeal, but that the same consideration should not be shown to the man who was sent to jail for one month. *The Dost*, therefore, opined that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to curtail the powers of the Magistracy and make all judicial orders appealable. It further suggested that appeals should also lie from the orders of District Magistrates requiring natives to furnish security for good behaviour.⁹⁰

The same paper again suggested that officers presiding over appellate courts should now and then make tours with a view to ascertain if the Magistrates subordinate to them bore any litigant ill-will or malice. Every case in which a Magistrate was found to be ill-disposed towards one of the parties should be forthwith transferred to some other court. As matters stood at that time, added the Editor, only the Chief Court had the power to transfer criminal cases from one court to another. In the interests of justice, however, it was desirable that Sessions Judges should also be vested with that power, seeing that they had a better knowledge of local affairs.⁹¹

The assessors appointed in the trial of criminal cases were generally neither competent nor fair. The Punjab Organ remarked

that *lambardars* and *zaildars* who were generally illiterate and afraid of the police were appointed assessors in murder cases with the result that they could neither give free opinions nor had even capacity to form correct ones and, therefore, always agreed with the Sessions Judge. In the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies, however, pleaders, barristers and merchants were appointed jurors. The Editor suggested that in Punjab retired *Tahsildars*, *Munsifs* and legal practitioners should be appointed assessors. Unless this was done, the dispensation of justice in Sessions courts would remain defective.⁹²

The appointment of Honorary Magistrates in Punjab was subjected to severe criticism. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) remarked that generally the Honorary Magistrates were illiterate persons, who abused their official position for the sake of paying of old scores. Being quite ignorant of law, they left the work in the hands of their readers, who might take as much bribe as they liked.⁹³

The Koh-i-Nur (Lahore) observed that the selection of men of good character could alone put an end to the complaints made against the Honorary Magistrates in Punjab. The authorities should appoint only such persons to fill the post of Honorary Magistrate as could be trusted to administer justice in an impartial spirit, otherwise the blame of placing the people in the iron grip of dishonest and unjust officials would lie at the door of the government and its servants.⁹⁴

The Khair-Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind (Lahore) also pointed out regretfully that the majority of the Honorary Magistrates in Punjab were incompetent or illiterate persons, who secured seats on the Bench merely to serve their own ends. As a natural consequence of this they were very seldom honest and performed their duty in an off-hand manner. Sardar Narinder Singh, Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner, Lahore was one of these magistrates. Litigants were bitterly complaining of him.⁹⁵

The Victoria Paper (Sialkot) lamented that while civil and military officers of Government retired on attaining the age of 55 as their mental and bodily powers became too weak for work, it was curious to find that Honorary Magistrates continued to work

even though they reached the age of 70, as if they were fit for work till death overtook them.⁹⁶

The European Honorary Magistrates, though possessed of requisite educational qualifications, lacked local knowledge and experience which manifested itself in the disproportionment of the fines to the means of the offenders.

During 1907-19, as already mentioned, the concern of the British authorities was to maintain law and order to check the nationalists activities. With that object a number of repressive measures had been taken, and a large number of new laws were enacted to suppress these activities and to punish the political offenders. Lala Lajpat Rai remarked in this regard that the Punjab Government had been the most relentless of all Local Governments in India in suppressing the freedom of speech and the press, strangulating all open political life by direct or Dindirect repression.⁹⁷ M.A. Jinnah, had forewarned on 6 February 1919 when the first debate on the Bill was held: " ... you will create in the country from one end to the other a discontent and agitation the like of which you have not witnessed."⁹⁸ Mahatma Gandhi described it as an "unmistakable symptom of a deep rooted disease in the governing body."⁹⁹

On the political scene, however, Punjab was in the throes of a revolution, largely on account of the shortsighted and repressive policies of the local administration. It was only in Punjab that Martial law was declared. As a result of this "reckless, overbearing and brutal treatment", the Government alienated a large segment of the Punjabi population.

Almost all native newspapers were unanimous on the point that the Britishers showed invidious distinctions between Natives and Europeans in the law courts. *The Hindustan* pointed out, as an instance, that six persons had recently been sentenced to death on the charge of having murdered one Mr. Cockburn some twelve years back. Not a single European, it added, had so far been hanged for killing a native.¹⁰⁰

The Haq Pasand observed that the courts in India did not regard natives as human beings and consequently no European

charged with killing a native was punishable for culpable homicide.¹⁰¹

The Jhang Sial reported that the other day a European beat a native at Madras so mercilessly that the poor fellow died, simply because he had been obliged to stop his motor car as the native was in the way. When the car was sent up to the court, the European was only fined rupees 15 for killing a native. Were not such decisions a blot on the British administration of justice?¹⁰²

The Kashmir Magazine, while citing an example of different treatment of Indians in the British courts, observed that generally in cases in which Europeans were charged with killing or inflicting wounds on Indians, they were let off with a fine of a few rupees. The writer referred to the case in which major Sanford, Magistrate of Simla, sentenced an Indian to one year simple imprisonment and three months' rigorous imprisonment for twisting the arm of a European girl; on the other hand, a European was fined a few rupees for committing a murder.¹⁰³

The *Taj-ul-Akhbar* remarked that the greatest grievance of the natives was that justice was denied to them in cases occurring between the Europeans and themselves; the former deliberately shoot down the natives, but were almost invariably let off scot free or fined a few rupees and warned to be more careful in future. The Editor cited cases in support of his assertion, and called upon the Government to remedy the evil, complained of with a view to preventing discontent spreading among Her Majesty's subjects in India.¹⁰⁴

The practice of judicial commissions issued under Sections 392 and 394 of the Civil Procedure Code from time to time evoked criticism from the contemporary newspapers. The *Victoria Paper* remarked that the practice of appointing commissioners in civil suits was becoming general. It was desirable that the Government should direct the Registrars of High Courts to frame rules as to the qualifications of the commissioners and the rate of their remunerations. The Editor stated that he had often noticed that in some cases the commissioner's fee exceeded the real value of the suit.¹⁰⁵ The Editor further suggested that in fixing the amount of the commissioner's fee, regard should be paid to the

distance travelled by the commissioner, the value of the suit and the social status of the commissioner.¹⁰⁶

The *Dost-i-Hind* stated that it had become a common practice to appoint a certain class of worthless and incompetent persons as commissioners in civil and revenue cases, and that these persons found the business so lucrative that they had adopted it as their profession.¹⁰⁷

The Observer commented in this regard.¹⁰⁸

There is a considerable sense in a suggestion made by a vernacular weekly of Sialkot that the issuing of commissions by courts in civil suits ought to be reduced to a system. At present commissions are issued at random and entrusted to any person whom a court wishes to favour. There is neither any criterion of ability nor any standard of social position fixed for this duty. There is also no fixed rate of remuneration, which varies according to the will of each court, and instances are not wanting when the person deputed to execute a commission gets Rs. 10 where the value of the suit does not exceed Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 and the parties naturally complain of the exorbitant fees levied.

The system proposed was that a list of persons of known respectability be prepared by District and Divisional Judges in consultation with Deputy Commissioners and persons be selected from the list in turn like jurors or assessors, to execute commissions and to be paid at a fixed rate.¹⁰⁹

The Victoria Paper said that if the civil suits, in which according to the prevailing practice commissioners would be appointed were referred to arbitrators, there would not only be a greater chance of the parties obtaining justice, but the judiciary would also be relieved of a part of their heavy work. The Editor also suggested that the fees paid to the commissioners in civil suits should never exceed five per cent of the value of the suits.¹¹⁰

The native newspapers were strongly critical of the bribery and corruption rampant in civil cases. The *Ahluwalia Gazette* alleged that bribery and corruption were fearfully rampant among

the *amla* of civil courts and that decree-holders could barely realize two annas in the rupee. The Editor further complained that two of the employees of the Amritsar Small Cause Court extorted money from litigants and that the latter were full of complaints against these myrmidons of the law. He then called upon Government to take prompt steps to remedy the evil complained of.¹¹¹

The *Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore) remarked that *Shamin-i-Hind* (Jullundur) alleged that incompetent legal practitioners continued to get cases by objectionable means, such as through petition-writers to whom they paid a certain percentage of the fees received by them; through religious societies of which they happened to be members; by conducting the cases of certain persons gratis and then using those persons as touts; by procuring witnesses for their clients or tailoring those procured by the latter; by flattering, praising and associating with corrupt officials, as well as by securing bribes for them.¹¹²

The *Sialkot Paper* remarked that the corruption was on the increase in the courts, and that the evil was due to presiding officers delegating much of their powers to their *amla* who being a low paid lot did not hesitate to resort to bribery in order to swell their earnings. It was, therefore, very necessary that these harpies should be carefully watched and prevented from fleecing the litigating public, especially the poor *zamindars*.¹¹³

The *Wazir-i-Hind* remarked that the touts of corrupt Magistrates took bribe from the parties, a certain percentage of these illicit gains being paid to the Magistrates. Only recently a commissioner took a bribe of Rs. 200, to raise which sum the bribe-giver had to mortgage his land. In another case another commissioner extorted a bribe of Rs. 70 from one of the parties. The authorities should make secret enquiries into the matter and take prompt measures to put down this scandalous state of things.¹¹⁴

References and Notes

1. *Supra*, pp. 7-9, 13-14.
2. Foreign Misc. Deptt. S. No. 157, No. in the list 364, para 7.
3. Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Simla, Ambala, Sialkot, Jullundur, Mian Mir, Ferozepur, Multan and Peshawar. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab*, 1908 (hereafter given as *IGI, Punjab*) (Calcutta, 1908), p. 103.
4. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Home (Judicial) Department, 26 September 1898, No. 1189 B.
5. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1909, p. 10.
6. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., February 1886, Nos. 13-32.
7. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., August 1899, No. 7.
8. Act No. XIII of 1888, Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1888, Nos. 127-129.
9. PAR, 1866-67, para 1.
10. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., May 1881, Nos. 77-79.
11. PAR, 1901-02, para 75.
12. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., October 1895, Nos. 114-115.
13. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., December 1896, No. 154.
14. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., March 1901, Nos. 16-19.
15. Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., March 1899, Nos. 410-499.
16. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice for the year 1914, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
18. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1917, No. 292.
19. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1918, No. 32, p. 6.
20. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1918, No. 32, p.19.
21. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1915, p. 9.
22. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1918, No. 11.
23. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 16 January 1901, RNNP for 1901, p.27.
24. PAR, 1901-02, p. 37.
25. *Ibid.*
26. For further details, see *infra*, pp. 265-66.
27. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1904, p. 8.
28. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1905, p. 9; PAR, 1905-06, p. 21.
29. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1914, p. 5.
30. Annual Report on the Administration of Justice in the Punjab for the year 1911, p. 2.

During the years 1914-18 there had generally been an increase in the number of applications received :

Year	Applications
1914	1325
1915	1718
1916	2239
1917	2976
1918	1887

Vide Homé (Judicial) Department, B. Progs., September 1920, No. 26. But there had been a marked decrease to 1188 during 1919-20, in the applications.

31. PAR, 1910-11, p. 7.
32. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in Punjab for the year 1914, p. 4.
33. PAR, 1884-85, para 128; PAR, 1888-89, para 131; also see B.B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India (1834-1947)*, (Oxford, 1970), p. 539.
34. Home (Judicial) Department, Progs., 13 September 1915, No. 3242-S.
35. Home (Judicial) Department, Progs., 24 September 1901, No. 1271-S.
36. Annual Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab for the year 1900, p. 2.
37. Daya Krishan Kapoor, *A History of the Development of Judiciary in the Punjab (1884-1926)* (Lahore, 1928), p. 32.
38. Home (Judicial) Department, B. Progs., October 1913, No. 154, p.8.
39. Home (Judicial) Department, B. Progs., August 1919, No. 245, p.2.
40. Home (Judicial) Department, Progs., 30 September 1899, No. 1321-S.
41. Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjab for the year 1918, p. 3.
42. J.C. Curry, *Indian Police* (London, 1932), p. 165.
43. *Ibid.*
44. PAR, 1902-03, p. 5; Home (Police) Department, A, Progs., November 1905, Nos. 11-12.
45. *The Wafadar* (Lahore), 8 March 1903, RNNP for 1903, p. 64.
46. PAR, 1910-11, pp. 13-14.
47. Report on the Administration of Police in the Punjab, 1911, p. 4.
48. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 26 October 1913.
49. Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab, 1919, p. 2.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
51. Home, Pub. Poll. Progs., November 1907, No. 4.
52. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 16 November 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 643.
53. *The Aftab* (Lahore), 16 November 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 643.
54. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 12 April 1911.
55. *The Akhbar-i-Aam*, 27 January 1910, RNNP for 1910, p. 141.

56. *The Wafadar* (Lahore), 28 October 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 526.
57. Home, Poll, Progs., October 1907, Nos. 80-97.
58. G.N. Singh, *Landmark in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Vol. I, (1600-1919) (Delhi, 1963), p. 236.
59. In 1913 Indians formed Hindustan Association in America which began to be called Ghadar Party. Sohan Singh Bhakna and Lala Hardyal M.A. became its President and Secretary respectively. They wanted to liberate India from the clutches of foreigners by adopting violent methods. Their other main leaders were Rash Behari Bose, Sachin Sanyal, Vishnu Pingle and Parmanand Jhansi. The party workers penetrated into the army and planned for general uprising on 21 February 1915. But unfortunately their plan leaked out. They changed their headquarters to Lahore from Amritsar and decided for the uprising to take place on 19 February instead. The Government, however, struck in time. Four separate houses were raided in Lahore and 18 persons were captured with all their papers, plans and bombs, but Rash Behari and Pingle escaped. A week later Pingle was also arrested in the lines of the 12th Cavalry at Meerut, with a collection of bombs sufficient to blow up a regiment. Legal proceedings were undertaken against the revolutionists, which culminated in Lahore Conspiracy Case and others. For details, see S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab 1905-29* (Delhi, 1977), pp. 94-99.
60. A.C. Banerjee, *The Constitutional History of India*, Vol. II 1858-1919 (Delhi, 1978), p. 375.
61. Michael O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It* (1885-1925) (London, 1925), p. 207. See also Sedition Committee Report, 1918, pp. 157-60.
62. Michael O'Dwyer, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
63. Raizada Bhagat Ram in PLC, 9 April 1916, pp. 200-01.
64. Michael O'Dwyer, *op. cit.*, p. 207; see also Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and the Freedom Struggle in the Punjab* (1897-1947) (New Delhi, 1984), pp. 68-69.
65. Sedition Committee Report 1918 (London, 1918), p. 45.
66. R.C. Majumdar et al. (ed.), *Struggle for Freedom* (Bombay, 1969), p. 304.
67. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Home (Jails) Department, 5 June 1908, No. 566-S.
68. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., September 1920, No. 145, p. 8.
69. Home (Jails) Department, Progs., December 1906, No. 6.
70. The Sedition Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Sidney Rowlatt, had been appointed in 1917 to enquire into the extent and nature of subversive activities in India and suggest legislation, if any, necessary to enable the government to deal effectively with them. The committee submitted its report on 30 April 1918. It recommended the trial of the political offenders by judges without

juries, the internment of persons suspected of subversive aims and suspension of many of the safeguards of the law in respect of the defendant and control of the press. The Governor-General was vested with extra-ordinary powers to suppress the anarchical or revolutionary movements.

71. *The Tribune* (Lahore) 4 March 1919.
72. Report of the Disorder Enquiry Hunter Committee, 1919-20, p. 121.
73. Michael O'Dwyer, *op. cit.*, pp.273-77.
74. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy left 337 men, 41 boys and a seven week's old baby dead, and 1500 wounded according to official sources. The Governor-General in his telegram to the Secretary of State on 22 December admitted that number of rounds fired might have caused 400 to 500 deaths. The unofficial figures placed the dead at five to six hundred. Vide Home (Political) Department, A, Progs., February 1920, Nos. 347-58.
75. Home (Judicial) Department, Progs., March 1899, Nos. 410-449.
76. Annual Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab for the year 1905, p. 7.
77. *Ibid.* 1912, p: 8.
78. *Lahore Law Journal*, 1919, Vol. I, Introduction.
79. PAR, 1901-02, p. 92; Home (Judicial) Department, A, Progs., September 1900, Nos. 101-104.
80. *The Tribune* (Lahore) 11 March 1911.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 6 January 1912, RNNP, for 1912, p.102.
83. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 30 April 1912.
84. Home (Judicial) Department, B, Progs., October 1919, No. 183.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Daya Krishan Kapoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
88. *The Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), 16 October 1899, RNNP for 1899, p.633.
89. *The Hindustan* (Lahore), 6 October 1908, RNNP for 1908, p. 536.
90. *The Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera), 23 October 1900, RNNP for 1900, p. 549.
91. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 557.
92. *The Punjab Organ* (Wazirabad), 4 June 1900, RNNP for 1901, p.325.
93. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 1 May 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 499.
94. *The Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore), 27 July 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 680.
95. *Khair-Khwah-i-Riyasatha-i-Hind* (Lahore), 6 August 1897, p. 680.
96. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 17 July 1899, RNNP for 1899, p. 378.
97. Lajpat Rai, *The Political Future of India* (New York, 1919), p. 175.
98. Speech by Jinnah, ILC Progs., 6 February 1919, p. 463.
99. Ruchi Ram Sahni, '*History of my own Times*', Vol. 6 (unpublished) Panjab State Archives, Patiala, p. 421.

100. *The Hindustan* (Lahore) 8 February 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 42.
101. *The Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), 1 December 1907, RNNP for 1907, p.577.
102. *The Jhang Sial* (Sialkot), 23 May 1908, RNNP for 1908, p. 332.
103. *The Kashmiri Magazine* (Lahore), 7 January 1914, RNNP for 1914, p. 87.
104. *The Taj-ul-Akhbar* (Rawalpindi), 27 February 1897, RNNP for 1897, p. 166.
105. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 21 September 1899, RNNP for 1899, p. 221.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *The Dost-i-Hind* (Bhera), 24 May 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 345.
108. *The Observer* (Lahore), 19 October, 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 275.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 26 April 1901, RNNP for 1901, p.275.
111. *The Ahluwalia Gazette* (Amritsar) 24 July 1901, RNNP for 1901, p.464.
112. *The Akhbar-i-Am* (Lahore), 21 August 1901, RNNP for 1901, p.525.
113. *The Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), 8 May 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 300.
114. *The Wazir-i-Hind* (Sialkot), 12 September 1897, RNNP for 1897, p.598.

Administration of Police

The term 'police' means a body of people organised to maintain law and order and to investigate breaches of laws.¹ Before the advent of the British rule in Punjab, there was no systematic police administration in this region. There was no independent police department in the Lahore Kingdom under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. The Maharaja himself was the highest authority of all branches of administration including the police. In the provinces, *parganas* and villages, the police functions were performed by *nazims*, *kardars*, *lambardars* and *chowkidars* respectively; in the Lahore city, of course, there used to be a *kotwal* who was the head of the city police.²

The modern police system in India, including Punjab, was established by the British. It was "an exotic institution created by the English by slow degrees." It represented a complete departure from the pre-British systems in so far as it "separates the preventive and investigating agency from the authority which tries and punishes the criminals."³

After the annexation of Punjab in March 1849, the Board of Administration had to pay prior attention to the maintenance of peace and order in the new province. For this purpose it was considered essential to organise an efficient police force which could deal effectively with the plunderers, robbers, thieves and other lawless elements. To begin with, the police establishment organised in the province had two branches – a military preventive police and civil detective police.⁴ During the revolt of 1857-58, the presence of Punjab police battalions contributed considerably to the preservation of order. But the Punjab police system was an extremely expensive one. The Government of India, therefore, asked the Punjab Government in May 1860 to take immediate steps for a general reorganisation of the police and to reduce its cost.⁵ In August 1860, a Police Commission with M.H. Court as its President was appointed by the Supreme Government to make a comprehensive enquiry into the existing

constitution of the police establishment and to suggest measures for its improvement.⁶ The Punjab Government was asked to render all possible assistance to the Commission.⁷ After conducting comprehensive enquiries, the Commission submitted its report. On the basis of its recommendations Police Act (Act V) of 1861 was passed. In accordance with the provisions of this Act, police administration was reorganised in Punjab. The civil and military police was amalgamated and the whole force was placed under the control of an Inspector-General of Police who was given the full powers of a Magistrate.⁸ Below him there were to be Deputy Inspector's-General who were given the charge of police circles.⁹ Subordinate to them were the Superintendents, one for each district. Below the Superintendents were placed Inspectors, Deputy Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables.¹⁰

During 1862-97 a number of police reforms were effected, notably reduction in the police force for the purpose of economy, revision of the pay-scales of all ranks, establishment of Police Training School at Phillaur and parity in the scales of European and Indian officials.¹¹

In 1890s certain defects in the working of police administration had become more and more apparent and the need of reforming police system had begun to be talked about both at official and non-official level. In 1892, the *Rafiq-i-Hind* had demanded the appointment of a Police Commission for Punjab to enquire into the grievances of the people against the police, to suggest measures to redress their grievances and to induce the public to aid the police.¹²

In 1897-98, the number of offences of all types admitted to have occurred in the province was larger than the corresponding figure for any of the preceding five years.¹³ The number of murders had increased from 480 in 1893 to 723 in 1897.¹⁴ The number of cognizable offences reported to have been committed in 1892 was 75,302 and in 1897 it rose to 96,571.¹⁵ In 1899, the Government of India also expressed grave concern over the increase in serious crimes in Punjab for sometime past and therefore urged the Local Government to check this state of affairs in the province.¹⁶

The Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, therefore, appointed the Provincial Police Committee on 23 September 1899 under the Presidentship of C.L. Tupper, the Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division. This committee was required to make recommendations for the improvement of Police in Punjab with special reference to the state of crime which had increased so alarmingly.¹⁷ It was, however, not required to consider the interior working of the Police Department relating to discipline, equipment, or procedure, or Criminal Tribes Act.¹⁸

The composition and limited task assigned to the Police Committee was criticised by some contemporary newspapers. *The Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore) remarked that the Police Committee would be confined chiefly to a consideration of the scale of salaries of District Superintendents of Police and Constables. The writer deprecated the exclusion of natives from the committee, and remarked that on not a few points concerning the police administration the opinions of native police officials should carry greater weight than those of the European officials. If, however, no native in the Police Department was considered competent to take part in the proceedings of the committee, some native civil officers ought to have been selected for the purpose. The correspondent added that the labours of the committee would not be productive of any beneficial results if its inquiries were confined to the aforesaid considerations.¹⁹

The Nazim-ul-Hind (Lahore) regretted that the Government had omitted to nominate Mr. J.P. Warburton, Assistant Inspector-General of Railway Police, Punjab, a member of the Police Committee. This had been a great opportunity of benefitting by his experience. Moreover, when the members of the committee, although high and experienced officers of Government, were unacquainted with the difficult and intricate internal circumstances of the Police Department, they could not be expected to hit upon the right measures to be adopted for the improvement and efficiency of the Department. The Editor thought that a conference, consisting of native officials of the police, some judicial officers, as also a few Editors of newspapers and other representatives of the people, should have been held and their report should have been considered by the Police Committee.

The paper suggested that the Police Committee should take the evidence of experienced native officials also.²⁰

On 3 November 1899, a detailed report was prepared and presented by the committee. It was considered by the Lieutenant-Governor and the proposals as modified by the Lieutenant-Governor were as under²¹:

- (i) that the strength of various categories of police be increased – that of Deputy Inspectors-General from 2 to 3, Assistant Superintendents, Second Class, from 6 to 14, Inspectors from 52 to 74, Deputy Inspectors from 566 to 575, Sergeants from 1,943 to 2,050 and Mounted Constables from 11,124 to 11,682;
- (ii) that the Phillaur School staff below the rank of Inspectors be separately provided for instead of its having been drawn from the district establishments;
- (iii) that improvements in the pay and allowances of Constables be made, the most important being the creation of a 8 rupee grade to be reached after 7 years of service;
- (iv) that horse allowances of Mounted Constables be raised from rupees 13 to rupees 15 per mensem;
- (v) that the number of Court Inspectors be increased and in 9 districts, provision be made for a Deputy Inspector in place of Sergeant, second grade;
- (vi) that the sergeants employed as investigating officers be known as Sub-Inspectors; and
- (vii) that an increase of rupees 225 per mensem in the office establishment of the Inspector-General be allowed.

The above mentioned proposals were communicated to the Government of India by a letter of 11 December 1900. It was pointed out in that letter that the proposals, if carried into effect, would raise the cost of the Provincial Police from rupees 2,750,700 to rupees 3,045,154 or an increase of 11.05 per cent.²² By a letter dated 27 February 1901 the Government of India

conveyed to the Punjab Government their approval of the proposals made by it.²³ The Government of India not only accepted these proposals but also suggested further expansion of police strength entailing an additional expenditure of four lakhs of rupees a year. They offered to meet 50 per cent of the additional police expenditure. However, before the decisions of the committee could be fully implemented, Lord Curzon appointed a Police Commission in July 1902 to make a comprehensive inquiry into all aspects of police administration in the whole of British India, including Punjab.

It was on 9 July 1902 that Lord Curzon appointed a "strong and representative" Police Commission.²⁴ He thought of a homogeneous plan of introducing reforms in the police administration throughout British India.²⁵ He wrote to Hamilton, Secretary of State for India, asking for his approval for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the evils prevailing in the police force and to suggest remedies. There was no sufficient co-operation between the rural and district police. The organization and pay of district police were not as uniform as they ought to be. The methods of working of the district police were capable of great improvement. Curzon viewed the working of the police as "criminally inefficient and saturated with tyranny and corruption."²⁶

The Police Commission was headed by A.H.L. Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who was made its President, and Harold Stuart, Inspector General of Police, Madras Presidency, was made its Secretary. There were six other members in the Commission, including one from Punjab.²⁷

The Commission was required to report on the following :

Whether the organisation, training, strength and pay of the different ranks of the District Police, were adequate to secure the preservation of public peace; whether under the existing arrangements crime was fully reported or required to be supplemented in any way; whether the system of investigating offences now in force in each province was capable of improvement and if so, in what manner; whether the institution of Criminal Investigation Department was recommended; whether

the form of statistical returns now adopted was satisfactory or called for improvement; whether the general supervision exercised by the Magistracy over the police and the control of the superior officers (including Inspectors) over the investigation of crimes were adequate to prevent oppression on the part of the subordinate police and if not, how they could be made so; whether the existing organisation of the railway police was satisfactory and if not, what improvements could be effected; whether the career at present offered to natives in the police in each province was sufficiently attractive to induce the proper type of men to enter it and if not, what steps could be taken in this regard. During the visit of the Commission to each province, where its enquiries were to be conducted, a local member was to be appointed by the Local Government in order to represent the views of the local authorities and to see that the local circumstances and conditions were fully laid before the members of the Commission.²⁸

As a preliminary to the inquiries of the Commission, each Local Government and Administration, except Bengal, was directed to appoint a committee consisting of a Sessions Judge, a District Magistrate and a Superintendent of Police in the larger provinces and elsewhere of a District Magistrate, Magistrate and a Superintendent of Police. Each local committee was required to make a local inquiry into the matters set out in the order of reference. Each of these committees drew up a statement of the existing organisation of the police, the defects which had been brought to its notice and the remedies suggested for the same. These summaries were communicated to the Commission together with the views of various Local Governments. A questionnaire was also prepared by the Commission and circulated. A notice was published in the English and vernacular newspapers of each province giving particulars of the dates and places which were going to be visited by the Commission and inviting persons to give evidence before the Commission. The Commission visited all provinces of the British India (except Baluchistan) and four training schools at Bhagalpur, Moradabad, Vellore and Phillaur, where they saw students at work and heard lectures being delivered there. They held fifty public sessions for the examination of witnesses. They received replies to their questions

from 683 persons and examined orally 279 witnesses, most of whom had also replied to their questions. Most of the statements of the witnesses were published in the newspapers.²⁹ With the permission of the Government of India, a Conference of Inspectors-General of Police was held at Simla to consider certain questions relating to procedure, discipline and statistics which were referred to them by the Commission and to work out the estimates of the financial effect of the changes which the Commission had decided to recommend.³⁰

After working for seven and a half months, the Commission signed their report on 30 May 1903,³¹ and soon thereafter, submitted it to the Government. In their report unanimously prepared (with one note of dissent on two collateral issues) they made extensive recommendations on almost all aspects of police administration.

The Commission observed that the police force throughout the country was in a most unsatisfactory condition, that abuses were common everywhere, that this involved great injury to the people and discredit to the Government, and that radical reforms were urgently necessary. These reforms would cost much, because the Department had hitherto been starved, but they must be affected.³²

The Commission gave detailed recommendations regarding the office, placement and position of Inspector-General, Deputy Inspector-General, and Superintendents. The Commission further suggested that each district should be divided into circles, with an Inspector incharge of each circle; Sub-Inspectors should be the incharge of each police station; the Mounted Police, which was very expensive, should not be employed unless absolutely necessary.³³

The Commission recommended that the duty of the railway police should be confined to the maintenance of law and order; a Constable or Head Constable should travel in every passenger train and it should not be required to investigate the cases of shortage or missing goods.³⁴

The Commission suggested that municipal and cantonary police should form an integral part of the provincial force and that no separate police forces should be maintained for municipalities

and contonments.³⁵ The Commission recommended the establishment of a new Criminal Investigation Department in each province. The work done by the Secretariat Police officer was to be transferred to the Criminal Investigation Department, which would also include the Provincial Finger Print Bureau.³⁶

The Commission recommended that the recruitment of European service should be made by competitive examination in England and the age limit for candidates should be 18 to 20 years. A police training school should be opened in each province for the training of police officers. Inspectors should be recruited by the promotion of Sub-Inspectors but 20 per cent of the vacancies should be filled by direct nomination. Head constables should be recruited by promotion from the ranks; Constables should be recruited locally as far as possible.³⁷

The Commission recommended that the minimum pay of the Constables should be rupees 8 per month; that the monthly pay of Head Constables should be from 10 to 15 rupees, that of Sub-Inspectors from 50 to 80 rupees, that of Inspectors from 150 to 250 rupees, that of Deputy Superintendents from 250 to 500 rupees, that of Superintendents from 600 to 1200 rupees, that of Deputy Inspector-General from 1,500 to 2,000 rupees and that of Inspector-General from 2,500 to 3,000 rupees. All officers should be entitled to retire on full pension after 25 years' service.³⁸

The Commission did not recommend same uniform for police constables throughout India, but suggested that such a uniform should be inexpensive and that the distinguishing letters I.P. (Indian Police) be borne on the shoulder strap.³⁹ The Commission stressed the need to develop and foster the existing village agencies available for the police work.⁴⁰ It recommended that the responsibility of the village headman for the performance of the village police duties should be recognised and the village watchman must be a village servant subordinate to the village headman. These recommendations regarding the village police were made for the whole of British India, including Punjab. However, in special reference to Punjab, the Commission appreciated the system of *thikri chaukidari* prevailing in this province and wanted it to be introduced in other provinces also.⁴¹

Thus, the whole subject of the organisation and working of the police in British India had undergone an exhaustive examination at the hands of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03. The recommendations of the Commission were implemented gradually in Punjab as political and financial considerations permitted.⁴²

Before the reorganisation, the police force in Punjab was numerically weak. The strength of the force was less in proportion to the work done by the force.⁴³ In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission various changes were effected in the establishment of the provincial police force. In 1905, a separate Deputy Inspector-General was appointed for Railway Police and for newly established Criminal Investigation Department. Hitherto, European Sergeants were recruited on a salary of rupees 80 per month. Now they were to be recruited in the form of three different categories with salaries of rupees 80, rupees 90 and rupees 100 per month.⁴⁴ An addition was made to the strength of Inspectors. A special grade of Inspectors with a salary of rupees 250 per month was created and the pay of the lowest grade of the Inspectors was raised from rupees 125 to rupees 150 per month. The pay of the Head Constables of second and third grades was raised from rupees 16 and rupees 12 to rupees 17-8-0 and rupees 15 respectively and the pay of Constables was raised from rupees 7 to rupees 8. All station-house allowances and good conduct and educational allowances were abolished. An armed reserve was formed by the addition of 25 constables per district to the strength of the force.⁴⁵

Before 1905, there were only two ranges in Punjab. A third range was formed in 1906 and a Deputy Inspector-General with an office staff was appointed. A grade of Constables on rupees 10 per mensem, later on raised to rupees 11, was formed which brought the pay and grading of the rank and file upto the standard sanctioned by the Government of India.⁴⁶ In 1909, the Railway Police in the province was divided into two separate charges – Northern and Southern – each under a Superintendent of Railway Police and both with headquarters at Lahore.⁴⁷

The number of Head Constables was reduced due to the general complaints about their conduct. A new grade of Lower

Head Constables was created and they were expected to do the work of Head Constables. There was generally lack of discipline and authority due to insufficient pay.⁴⁸ Every year the sanctioned strength of the police was increased. Temporary additions were also made to the force to cope with the economic and political unrest in the province and to meet the requirements of canal colonies.⁴⁹ The fluctuations of population, the extension of irrigation, improved railway and road communications and altered economic conditions had produced marked changes in the condition of many districts; and proportionate increase and readjustments of the police force had to be made from time to time without reference to any settled policy or system.⁵⁰

The outbreak of the First World War increased the responsibilities and duties of the police force. The Government of Punjab found its C.I.D. staff totally inadequate when there was an increase in the general crime and political activity in the province and proposed its reorganisation in August 1914.⁵¹ In September, the Government of India gave sanction to this proposal.⁵² Consequently, three Superintendents of Police were appointed in place of a single European Superintendent of Police and an Assistant Superintendent was added to the staff; three new posts of Deputy-Superintendents of Police were created and additions were also made to the subordinate establishment. As a result of these changes, the Police Department could cope with the increased political activity, especially of the revolutionaries and the Ghadarites.⁵³

During the Great War (1914-18), at the time when the situation of the Allies on the western front appeared to be most critical, the Punjab Government asked the Inspector-General of Police to call for volunteers for two Punjab Police battalions which were to be raised for the army. The youngmen of the province responded with enthusiasm and the number of volunteers largely exceeded the requirements. Finally, over 2,300 rank and file were selected and enrolled as the 3rd and 4th battalions under the command of two Punjab police officers. Both the battalions did good work and were disbanded in January 1918.⁵⁴

The mounted police, till the outbreak of the World War, was an ill-organised police force, being merely a collection of

mounted orderlies scattered in twos and threes all over the province. In 1916, they were collected at certain centres where they received combined training with quite satisfactory results. In 1917, the Local Government sanctioned the reorganisation of the horse police in troops at selected centres from a purely police point of view.⁵⁵

Towards the close of 1917, a small committee was appointed by the Local Government to examine the constitution and working of Railway Police. On the recommendations of this committee, Railway Police was practically separated from the Criminal Investigation Department and both the departments were reorganised in 1918.⁵⁶ These changes were made to cope with the disturbed and new circumstances created as a result of the Great War. In accordance with the recommendations of the committee, a scheme was formulated for the replacement of enrolled police clerks in the separate offices of all Deputy Inspectors-General (including Criminal Investigation Department and the Railway Police) by civilian clerks, and the amalgamation of these establishments with the existing civil clerical establishment of the Central Police Force. It was considered most desirable to convert the clerical staff into a purely ministerial establishment.⁵⁷ This scheme was carried into effect at the close of the year 1919.⁵⁸

After the conclusion of the Great War, however, the political situation in the province continued to impose additional work for the police force. To cope with the work of extra-duties, temporary additions were made in the strength of the provincial force. To deal with the April disturbances of 1919, a large number of punitive police posts were sanctioned at the total annual cost of over rupees three lakhs.⁵⁹

The cost of police force in Punjab increased year after year since its re-organisation in 1902. Before reorganisation, the total expenditure on police in Punjab was about rupees 2,800,000 which shot up to rupees 4,288,000 by the year 1905-06. It went upto rupees 4,681,000 in 1907-08 and to rupees 5,505,000 in 1908-09. Great concerns were expressed over the ever-increasing expenditure which was mainly due to increase in the strength of force, increase in various allowances, such as clothing allowance, house rent and increased travelling allowances.⁶⁰ After 1910, the

increase in the expenditure continued alarmingly. In 1911 some extra-expenditure on the provincial force was incurred in connection with the deployment of the large body of police to Delhi for duty at Imperial Coronation Darbar.⁶¹ In 1914, the provincial CID was reorganised and this again resulted in an increase of the force.⁶² The outbreak of the Great War also imposed many extra-duties on the provincial police. Consequently, large additions made to the police force caused considerable increase in expenditure.⁶³ In 1919, the expenditure was still higher owing to the increase of various allowances given to the police force.⁶⁴ The revised rates of pay for the non-gazetted ranks introduced in 1920, resulted in an increase in expenditure of rupees 1,647,600 and total expenditure rose to 6,333,642 rupees.⁶⁵

As regards crime situation in the province, it may be observed that political developments and economic conditions prevailing in the Punjab led to increase in the number of crimes in the early part of the twentieth century, and this number, for the reasons analysed elsewhere,⁶⁶ was greater in this province in comparison to that in the rest of India.

During the years 1905-12, the wave of crime was steadily growing in Punjab. The Inspector-General attributed the increase largely to the growing number of acquittals and discharges in the cases which were actually brought into court, the breakdown of the village system, general distress in the province (caused by plague, increase of prices of food grains and the effect of earthquake of 1905 etc.), the growing defiance of authority, the lack of public spirit and the alternation in the system of recruitment of Sub-Inspectors introduced by the Police Commission.⁶⁷ The prevailing political unrest and the violent activities of the revolutionaries and extremists had also contributed, in no small measure, to the increase of crime.

In 1914-15, the Ghadar activities created an anarchy in the province. The outbreaks became very alarming in the early months of 1915.⁶⁸ However, effective and cordial co-operation of the people with the police helped the Government in maintaining peace in province. It was claimed that the people were not sympathetic towards the anarchist ideas.⁶⁹ The fact is that the Government had adopted repressive policy and the vigilance of

the police kept the people away from revolutionary and terrorist activities.

A brief study of the various forms of crime in Punjab would present a clear picture :

(i) **Murder** : Murder was a prominent form of crime. The Indian Penal Code defines murder as an act causing the death of a human being with the requisite knowledge and intention. The chief causes of murder were sexual jealousy, marital infidelity, plunder, blood-feuds, land disputes, canal-water disputes etc.⁷⁰ Apart from these causes, one of the main reasons why murders were so prevalent in Punjab was that the rural population did not appear to have condemned as strongly, as it should have, the crime of taking life.⁷¹

The police encountered various difficulties in dealing with the murder cases. In the majority of the cases the cool calculating murderer escaped the penalty of his crime due to the lack of evidence. The people seldom gave any evidence against the criminals for the fear of retaliation from them. Moreover, there was a great tendency of murders being committed by a number of persons actuated by the hope that the courts would be reluctant to fix joint criminal responsibility. The people of the province had become aware of the inability of the courts to fix joint responsibility for murder. The single murderer was often hanged, while the group murderers almost invariably escaped death penalty.

Ever since the police force was first organised in 1861, each decade had seen the tale of murders steadily rising. Between 1861 and 1871 they averaged 145. The next decade showed an average of 161; from 1883 to 1891, the average was 254; from 1892 to 1900 it was 309; from 1905 to 1908 it was 391; from 1909 to 1912 it was 455, and from 1913 to 1919 it was 529.⁷² Murder thus continued to show general tendency towards increase.

The *Akhbar-i-Am* of Lahore remarked that the increase in the number of murders in Punjab called for the serious attention of the Government which maintained a police force for the security of life and property. The inefficiency of police was due to the fact that it consisted mostly of incompetent man. All kinds of crimes were committed at the instigation and abetment of the police. As

there was corruption in the police department, even murders remained untraced.⁷³ The *Victoria Paper* of Sialkot commented that the Indian Arms Act was calculated to act as a strong check against the commission of murders. The few cases of murder which took place here and there were due to the fact that arms illegally fell into the hands of the people, or the fact that frontier people could enter British territory without a passport.⁷⁴

(ii) **Dacoity** : Another problem which the police had to face in the province pertained to checking of dacoity. In early twentieth century, dacoity was prevalent in most parts of the British India as well as Native States. The variation in the economic conditions prevailing in province, scarcity and high prices combined with a very severe epidemic of plague, failure of crops, or the changing pattern of political unrest and the political consciousness of the people had their unavoidable impact on each and every form of crime including dacoity in the province. *The Koh-i-Nur* of Lahore remarked that the dacoits made demands on the people and fixed a date and time on which to plunder them if their demands were not previously complied with. The public roads were unsafe and it was difficult for travellers to preserve their lives and property.⁷⁵

In 1900, dacoities in Punjab had risen to such an extent that the provincial police had to undertake certain special and vigorous measures to check this form of crime. Consequently, the outbreak was controlled to some extent in the coming year.⁷⁶ In spite of special measures undertaken to check dacoity, this form of crime went on increasing. In 1912, its number increased four times as compared to the figures in 1905.⁷⁷ Mr. Chisholm, Superintendent of Police, Attock, remarked:⁷⁸

It was ascertained that dacoities were not the work of ordinary criminals driven to crime for the same or plunder, but that these offences were committed by the persons fairly well off who could very easily have led honest lives. Many of the culprits were the relatives of Lambardars and other influential men and it is hard to believe that these land-holders and members of the public did not know who the offenders were, or that they could not have come forward to assist the administration.

In 1913, irrespective of a slight decrease in dacoities, certain special measures were taken to combat this form of crime. The Mounted Police Force was strengthened. The local police organisation was strengthened by the establishment of new police stations and posts; sowars were added to the staff of each section. As a result of these measures, there was a slight decrease in the crime in the coming years.⁷⁹ Thus for several years the curve of dacoities ascended and descended with slight variations. The number of dacoities was 151 in 1900, 43 in 1904, 46 in 1905, 37 in 1906, 48 in 1910, 100 in 1911, 83 in 1916 and 130 in 1919.⁸⁰

The Ahluwalia Gazettee of Amritsar observed that the several cases of dacoities had occurred in the various parts of Punjab. The high authorities were at a loss to understand why such dacoities had become the order of the day. The increase of crime was due solely to the mismanagement on the part of and extensive powers vested in the police.⁸¹

(iii) **Burglary and Robbery** : Burglary did not assume a violent and desperate character. It was mainly committed by the criminal tribes, local and foreign, settled and wandering in various parts of the province. It was estimated that about 25 per cent of the burglaries were committed by the criminal tribes in the Province.⁸² They indulged in all sorts of crimes and secured almost a monopoly of theft and burglaries.

The first decade of the present century witnessed a continuous but slight increase in burglary in the province.⁸³ It was chiefly due to the immigration of criminal tribesmen from the down country into the central district, also due to the activities of local criminal tribes and other criminal gangs, on whom this influx naturally reacted.⁸⁴ During the year 1916, burglaries decreased in the province and this decrease was attributed to the success obtained in rounding up criminal tribesmen from down-country and extension and improvement of *thikri pahra* operations.

Closely connected with burglary was another form of crime and that was robbery. Economic conditions prevailing in province had their impact on this form of crime. As a result, the increase or decrease in robberies was not steady and continuous. On the other hand, it was chequered. The special staff appointed to deal

with the burglaries was also sometimes required to study in depth the crime of robberies. As in the case of burglaries, *thikri pahra* and *nakabandi* operations proved to be useful in combating this form of crime. But this form of crime was not as common in Punjab as was dacoity, burglary etc.⁸⁵

(iv) **Theft** : The annual number of thefts was naturally large in the province which contained so many nomadic castes and tribes whose hereditary occupation was crime and such a vast illiterate population, whose standard of living and whose wants had increased more rapidly than their wage-earning abilities and opportunities.⁸⁶ Theft was of various categories - ordinary theft, cattle-theft and theft of arms. Cattle-stealing was quite rampant in the second half of the nineteenth century in Punjab which was a great irritant to the agricultural population. The police made persistent efforts to check this crime. Honorary police officers were appointed for this purpose. The ferry police was established to make it hazardous to plot away stolen cattle. Trackers were employed and village responsibility was enforced. During the first decade of the present century, cattle-theft recorded a continuous increase. Some preventive measures such as village Patrols Act and Act for Restriction of Habitual Offenders, were vigorously applied to check the crime. A well-developed system of *nakabandi* and boat-patrols was organised with the assistance of special staff obtained partly from other districts and partly by withdrawing men from other duties under a specially appointed Deputy Superintendent of Police. This resulted in numerous captures of thieves and recoveries of stolen cattle.⁸⁷ In the course of the First World War (1914-18), the rise in the prices of food stuffs resulted in the increase of ordinary theft by 15 per cent.⁸⁸

(v) **Traffic in Women** : Another peculiar practice prevalent in Punjab was the traffic in women. This practice was continuously increasing since the beginning of the present century. This traffic developed because of the shortage of marriageable women as a result of the prevalence of female infanticide in society and highly profitable and flourishing nature of the trade.⁸⁹ This practice was more common among the lower classes. The woman was very often a willing party to the transaction and if all went well in her new home, nothing further was heard of in the

matter. If she was unwilling or did not feel at home in her bridegroom's house or if the bridegroom discovered that she was of lower caste than what she was supposed to be, the matter was likely to come up before the police for investigation.⁹⁰

From the succinct account of various crimes given above it is evident that the crimes of a grievous nature tended to increase as a whole, though there were fluctuations in the incidence of crime in accordance with the existing situation and circumstances. One important reason for this was that the police working was continuously deteriorating which was ascribed to factors such as the lack of co-operation on the part of the public, the large number of inexperienced Station House Officers, excessive attention being given to individual cases and idiosyncracies of the Magistrates.⁹¹ Mr. W. Renong, District Magistrate of Rawalpindi, remarked in 1913:⁹²

The reorganisation of the police seems to have weakened it, at least temporarily, as an agency for the prevention and detection of crime... The purely detective methods which the police have elected to adopt, have still to be learnt thoroughly, and to establish themselves as adequate methods of bringing offenders to punishment in this province.

The new system of direct appointment to the upper subordinate grades was doing incalculable harm to the Police Department and to the administration of the province. Mr. Tek Chand, a District Magistrate, observed:⁹³

The general working of the police is no doubt capable of much improvement. The force is undermanned, and the courts are overworked with the result that work is done more or less mechanically. Real enthusiasm is lacking, and love of work for work sake is not existent.

In the light of these remarks it is correct to say that success in working of the police was in reverse ratio to the volume of crime dealt with both by the police and in the courts.

The first and foremost duty of the police was to establish law and order and to prevent and detect crime. And the Police undertook many preventive measures; some of these measures

were quite successful, at least temporarily, while some others proved to be ineffective to achieve this aim.

The police prepared the history sheets of the criminals. In these documents were recorded, with other matters, the results of the enquiries into the absence of bad characters from their homes. Boat-patrolling was done and the system of checking patrolling in cities and towns by means of docks was very useful. In some districts, where crime was particularly ripe, the system of patrolling known as *nakabandi* or *thikri pahra*, in which the villagers were called upon to participate, was useful.⁹⁴ In this way, boat-patrols combined with *nakabandi* and *thikri pahra*. Operations were quite successful in checking cattle-lifting in many districts. In the light of these results it was stressed that *nakabandi* and *thikri pahra* should be legalised.⁹⁵ Various punitive posts were created to meet the extra duties-burden. The number of these posts varied every year depending on the situation. The passing of the Village Patrol Act enabled the different officers to extend the use of voluntary *thikri pahra* and *nakabandi* system of patrolling. The provisions of the Act were such that the initiative lay with the magistracy and until that body of officials was able and willing to push the measure, the efforts of the police in this direction were not to prove very fruitful. The insufficiency of the investigating staff to cope with increasing volume of crime was also resented, where the law and order situation was in much danger.

The Habitual Offenders Act passed in 1918 was an effective weapon against criminals who operated away from their homes. Every year, many persons were registered against this Act.⁹⁶ But as during the coming several years, the Criminal Tribes Act was used on a large scale against the professional criminals, a considerably lesser action was taken against habitual criminals under section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Habitual Offenders Act.

Generally speaking, both the detection and prosecution of cases had steadily improved during the five years following the close of our period of study.

To sum up, the growth and development of the police system

in Punjab was initiated by the Police Commission of 1861 but it was as a result of the recommendations of the Indian Police Commission of 1902-03 that changes of a 'revolutionary character' were effected which constituted a momentous landmark in the history of the development of the police; the fundamentals laid down by the latter Commission continued to work during the entire period of our study. The police force throughout the province was re-distributed in accordance with the changing political conditions. Police rules were revised and the pay of the rank and file was increased several times as the circumstances demanded. Another more effective step taken to deal with the professional criminals was the institution of the Criminal Investigation Department. The passing of the Habitual Offenders Act in 1918 proved to be an effective weapon against habitual criminals in the province. The separation of railway police from the Criminal Investigation Department effected in the same year, was another organisational change of far-reaching significance. Efforts were also made towards the improvement of the administration of village police. Training of the policemen too attracted the attention of the British Government. The constables were trained as recruits in the lines of their headquarters and the subordinate and superior officers received training at the provincial school of training at Phillaur.⁹⁷

Due attention was paid towards maintenance of discipline in the force. *The Tribune* of Lahore remarked that in 1909, as many as 120 policemen were dismissed and 1918 were punished for creating indiscipline in the force. Ten per cent of the employees of the total force were exposed to the punishment of one kind or the other.⁹⁸ In 1919, six officers and 179 men were dismissed from the force and minor departmental punishments were given to 956 officers and men.⁹⁹ The health of the police force was also taken care of. All the officers of the superior service were entitled to free medical, surgical and nursing treatment in hospitals.¹⁰⁰

Attention was also paid towards the education of the police force. At the time of re-organisation of the force in 1904-05, a large number of subordinate staff, about 77 per cent was illiterate. The importance of giving education to the force was soon realised and the literacy went on increasing year by year.¹⁰¹

It has also been observed that rewards, in cash and kind, were also given to the policemen for conduct displaying exceptional acuteness, industry, fidelity and courage. Compensations and monetary grants were also granted to those who died while performing their duties.¹⁰²

But in spite of the above-mentioned measures of reforms and merits, the police administration was not free from defects and shortcomings. In the first instance, the salaries and allowances given to the police staff were far from satisfactory. Many contemporary newspapers drew repeated attention towards this drawback. *The Victoria Paper* of Sialkot suggested that with a view to inducing a better class of men to join the police, the salaries of the members of the force should be increased.¹⁰³ *The Police Advocate* of Lahore remarked that a police constable was the lowest paid government servant; while his brethren in the army started at rupees 9 a month rising in due course to rupees 12, a constable would begin at rupees 7. Moreover, the soldier got free ration while a policeman even when engaged in most hazardous task such as apprehending dacoits was allowed neither travelling allowance nor rations.¹⁰⁴

Even after the revision of salaries of the police personnel, their pays could not be said to be sufficient or satisfactory. As the *Zamindar* of Karmabad, Gujranwala remarked that, though there were a number of pay revisions in Punjab, yet the salaries of the lower subordinates were never adequate. When revision of the pay was effected in 1905, an important category of Sub-Inspectors, which was the backbone of the police force, was left out of this revision.¹⁰⁵ As late as 1915, *The Panjabee* of Lahore remarked that police reform could only be brought about by an improvement in the scale of pay. The paper wrote:¹⁰⁶

Ever since the question of improving the police arose the Indian press and Indian public men had never ceased to point out that the question of police reforms like all similar questions, was largely a question of pounds and shillings and pence, that if you want to improve the police you must draw a superior class of men only if you offer increased pay and improved prospectus.

The Desh of Lahore, too, observed that the present scale of salaries, however, could not induce educated men to enlist in the police force.¹⁰⁷ At about the same time *The Tribune* of Lahore lamented the meagre salaries paid to the police staff even after the increase in their salaries announced by the Lieutenant-Governor in his last budget speech:¹⁰⁸

While the reform is calculated to cheer the men, we doubt if it would bring the right class of men to the service, for after all what would rupees 12 or 13 do to one's family now-a-days with increasing rates of food prices? Can a police constable honestly live upon rupees 10 and wait for an increase of rupees 2 for 17 years' honest service? Even a pair of cattle and two calves require double the amount to maintain them fit for service and a poor man's family in 3 days and in years to come had absolutely no chance of making the two ends meet with rupees 10 or 12 or even 15.

A glaring shortcoming of the working of the police system was the bribery and corruption rampant among the police officials as well as rank and file. And the contemporary newspapers made pointed and pertinent references to this weakness of the police under British rule. *The Punjab Organ* of Sialkot remarked that even the high scale of salaries proposed for the police would not produce the desired results, as it was by no means an easy thing for corrupt officers to shake off a habit after it had become part of their nature. They accepted bribe right and left. It was specifically stated that the District Police Superintendents were accustomed to take bribes through their *Sarishtadars* who themselves were dishonest and corrupt.¹⁰⁹ *The Victoria Paper* of Sialkot remarked that if enquiries had been made regarding the value of property acquired by police officials and their subordinates, the fact would come to light that there were many Deputy Inspectors and *Sarishtadars* who owned property worth a lakh or more. That was obviously not from their proverbially low salaries, but from the bribes accepted or extorted by them.¹¹⁰

The Police Advocate of Lahore, however, endeavoured to show that although the work performed by the police was of a

more difficult and responsible character than that entrusted to the employees of any other department, yet all police officials were not dishonest and untrustworthy, and that the conduct of such of them as resorted to oppression and bribery was due to the following causes: The low salaries paid to the police; the defective training of police officials; the insufficient strength of the police force; the indifference with which superior police officers treated their subordinates; the people's as well as the authorities' distrust of the police; the rule regarding a judging of a police official's work by the percentage of convictions obtained in the cases chalaned by him.¹¹¹

The Mashir-i-Police blamed the people as much as the police for the corruption rampant in the Police Department. It remarked, "... But we must not forget that if there were bribe-takers in the land, there also existed those who were ever ready to offer bribes." The same paper opined that the people played a major role in making the police corrupt.¹¹² *The Police Advocate* too observed, "However honest a police official may be at first, the people throw such temptations in his way that he can very seldom resist."¹¹³

It was alleged that men were usually honest before joining the police, but as soon as they entered it, they suddenly turned dishonest. It was largely due to the people themselves. Whenever there was an honest police officer some people felt dissatisfied, because they would not be able to achieve their ends by underhand means.¹¹⁴

But it would not be correct to hold the people responsible for corrupting the police staff. There is little doubt that most of the policemen were covetous and corrupt who would try to make money by all possible means, although there were some honest officials also who performed their duties conscientiously.

It has also been observed that the behaviour of the policemen towards the public, both of the officers and the rank and file, had generally been far from humane and helpful. *The Police Advocate* of Lahore quoted a number of instances in which innocent persons died of the blows of the police in their attempt to extort confession from them. Number of policemen and officials were

punished or sent to jail for causing death or injury to the people.¹¹⁵

The method of the recruitment in the police was also faulty. *The Tribune* of Lahore remarked that the system of recruitment was faulty, and unless it was thoroughly overhauled and reorganised, things would remain in their present exceedingly unsatisfactory condition.¹¹⁶

Another major defect in the police administration was that it did not have any scientific or well-defined methods of investigation. The investigation of the cases by the police also took a long time. *The Tribune* of Lahore remarked that the police in Punjab lacked the modern techniques of investigation and detection of crime, viz. visual identification, disguise and its detection, photography, dactylography, telegraphy, the methods of counterfeiting coin and forging currency notes, chemistry, shorthand and a thorough grounding.¹¹⁷

Another shortcoming in the police system was that quite a large number of lower ranks remained illiterate, in spite of the measures taken by the authorities to educate them. It may be mentioned in this regard that no legal or other instruction was imparted to constables.¹¹⁸

A noticeable anomaly in the police department was that there was no woman in the police force in Punjab throughout the period of our study. It was as late as 1939 that women were recruited in the police for the first time.¹¹⁹

It is also pointed out that the uniform of the Punjab Police Constables was quite repulsive in looking. Commenting on it, the *Police Advocate* of Lahore wrote:¹²⁰

The uniform worn by the police constable in Punjab resembles mourning garments and that by not a few it is called 'satan's living'. Besides the khaki knicker-bockers worn by the constables became stained with the colour from their blouse, and the unfortunate men have, every now and then, spent something out of their scanty earnings to renew them.

The Victoria Paper of Sialkot observed that the inefficiency of the police department might be attributed to the fact that it was managed by the Europeans who were not acquainted with the requirements of the people and their modes of life. These officers were selected from a class supposed to be unfit for any other department.¹²¹ Apart from their ignorance of the customs, traditions and practices of the people, most of the European police officials also suffered from 'pride and prejudice' and were apathetic to the legitimate demands, aspiration and sentiments of the people.

The working of the Secret Police was also denounced by the contemporary newspapers. *The Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore remarked that majority of the members of Secret Police were low-paid and low-breadmen. Their reports were usually made up of lies and idle gossip. It was also rumoured that they did not hesitate to malign such persons with whom they might not be on good terms and thus endeavoured to prejudice government against their personal enemies.¹²²

The Peshwa of Lahore observed that the Secret Police did not know how to do the political work and possessed nothing of the detective art. The same paper further added that the members of the Secret Police disclosed their identity and extorted money from the people, who were told that, in the event of their not complying with such demands, they would be involved in trouble by 'having a bomb or (a copy of) the *Yugantar* placed in their houses'.¹²³

The most notable fact about the working of police system in Punjab, as in the other parts of the country, was that it was so designed by British Imperialist authorities as to help in the security of British rule. With the growth of militant national movement the functions of the police as an agency for the prevention and detection of crime—indeed the real function of the police—dwindled into secondary importance. With the passage of time, it became primarily an agency for the suppression of political crimes and movements. The police was, no doubt, a provincial department, but it worked under the directions of the Imperial Government; under the system of dyarchy introduced in the provinces by the Act of 1919, the police was, therefore,

deliberately kept as a 'reserved subject'. Whatever reforms by way of reorganisation were introduced in the police, the primary motivation behind all these was the fostering of loyalty to the regime. And it cannot be denied that the police proved a powerful agency in safeguarding the British rule. It is significant to observe that all the high officials in the police of and above the rank of Superintendents of Police were English and Europeans and their primary concern was to secure and promote the interests of the colonial rule. From the national point of view the very source of the strength of the police was its weakness. The police which only consisted of henchmen of the British Regime, could never inspire confidence among the people who generally looked askance at the police as an instrument of perpetuating their slavery.

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11. For details, see *supra*, pp. 14-15.
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14. Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab, 1897, pp. 8-10.
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 1. C.L. Tupper, Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division as President.

2. A.F.D. Cunningham, Commissioner of Peshawar.
 3. Burton Smith, Inspector General of Police.
 4. C.G. Parsons, Commissioner of Excise.
 5. H.W. Jackson, D.I.G. of Police, Eastern Circle.
 6. C.G.W. Hastings, D.I.G. Police, Western Circle.
 7. H.J. Maynara, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, all as members; and
 8. C.A. Barron as Secretary.
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Administration of Jails

The British Government paid special attention towards the establishment of a sound and efficient administration of jails in Punjab. Before the establishment of British rule, the culprits were imprisoned in old forts, at the bottom of dry well or chained to the gateways. There was also no code or procedure to punish or sentence the prisoners. After the advent of the British rule, a Central Jail was constructed at Lahore followed by the raising of provincial jails at Multan, Rawalpindi and Ambala and district jails (one each) at the remaining districts. These jails were categorised as first, second and third class jails and accommodated 2,000;800 and 258 prisoners respectively.¹ It was in 1853 that an Inspector-General of Jails was appointed for the first time in the province to look after their management and advise the Government on all matters pertaining to the prison administration in the province.² Only those prisoners were sent to the Lahore Central Jail who were sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment. As that jail also served as a District Jail, it had to receive convicted persons from the Lahore District. The provincial jails of Multan, Rawalpindi and Ambala received those long term prisoners whose sentences of imprisonment did not exceed 10 years. They were also used as district jails for the districts in which they were suited. The rest were district jails.³ As the time passed, the number of prisoners increased which consequently compelled the Government to increase the number of jails in the province. Even then there was a good deal of overcrowding in jails during 1897-98. Continued pressure on the accommodation made it necessary to retain the camps established at Montgomery in 1898 and at Mung Rasul in 1899, and to start a third for 500 prisoners at the Multan Central Jail.⁴

By 1901 there were 47 jails in Punjab and their number increased to 50 in 1903 but was reduced to 44 and 43 in 1904 and 1905 respectively.⁵ The total admissions into the jails of the province exhibited a satisfactory decrease from 38,079 in 1905 to

36,426 in 1906 and there had been a steady decline in admissions since 1902, when the figure for all classes stood at 40,657. A new jail at Compbellpur was completed by 31 December 1906 and the project for a new central jail to serve the southern districts had now reached a practical stage.⁶

In every jail, there was from the beginning a special female ward separate from other wards. This female ward was placed under the charge of an elderly guard. Its internal management was under the charge of a prisoner who was selected from amongst the prisoners on the basis of merit. Sometimes it so happened that there were only few prisoners in the ward. In such cases a male prisoner was admitted to sweep and clean it and this was done in the presence of jail officials. Every precaution was taken to ensure a strict separation between the sexes.⁷

The Lahore jails⁸ were under the charge of a special superintendent who had always been a medical officer. The remaining jails were under the executive charge of Civil Surgeon of the station concerned who received special allowance. In few jails, where the Civil Surgeon did not have the executive charge, one of the district officers performed the duties of the Superintendent. All were under the direction and control of the Inspector-General of Prisons.⁹

The year 1909 was in many respects a notable one as regards the administration of jails in Punjab. The economic policy of concentration which had long ago been adopted by the Government in theory was brought into prominence by the abolition of Simla District Jail as a jail and its conversion into lock-up and by the conversion of Amritsar District Jail into subsidiary jail. At the same time sanction was accorded to the conversion of the District jails of Lahore and Sialkot into Central Jails. This would, it was anticipated, relieve the overcrowding that had marked several of the larger institutions during 1909.¹⁰

During the year 1911, a sum of rupees 337,615 including rupees 42,741 on account of special and annual repairs, was spent on jail buildings. The most important work, and one that was to have far-reaching effect, was the conversion of the Lahore District Jail into a Borstal Central Jail, on which Rs. 238,564

was expended during the year.¹¹ District Jails at Rohtak and Jhang were in consequence reduced to subsidiaries. The Delhi Jail was transferred to the Government of India.¹² But the problem of overcrowding could not be solved mainly due to the financial considerations.

II

A notable feature of the administration of jails under the British rule was that commendable efforts were made for reforming the youthful culprits. In this regard the Reformatory Schools Act, 1876 was passed which was superseded by the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. The new Act had 32 sections. A youthful offender was defined as anybody who was under the age of 15 and who was convicted of any offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment. With the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, the Local Government was authorised to establish and maintain reformatory schools. Every school so established was required to provide sufficient means of separating the inmates at night, proper sanitary arrangements, water-supply, food, clothing and bedding for the youthful offenders detained therein, the means of giving industrial training to the young culprits and an infirmary or proper place for the treatment of such youthful offenders when sick. Courts were empowered to direct that youthful offenders be sent to reformatory schools. Magistrates were given the power to direct that boys under the age of 16 sentenced to imprisonment, be sent to reformatory schools. It was the duty of the court or the Magistrate to ascertain the age of the youthful offenders. The Governor-General in Council was given the power to direct the use of reformatories in one province for the reception of youthful offenders from another province. For the control and management of every reformatory school, the Local Government was required to appoint either a Superintendent and a committee of visitors or a Board of Management. Every committee and every Board so appointed was to consist of not less than five persons, of whom two at least were to be the natives of India. If a youthful offender escaped from a reformatory school, he was liable to be arrested by the police.¹³

The reformatory aspect of the treatment of the prisoners was seen particularly in the Borstal Jail at Lahore. Salvation Army had taken the lead in smoothing the way for their return to freedom. It was hoped that other religious and social organisations would in time be found able and willing to co-operate. The Muhammadan, Hindu and Sikh communities regularly sent religious teachers on Sundays to the jail. But the organisation of the type which existed in England for finding employment and for generally helping such prisoners on their release was still lacking. All convicts between the ages of 16 and 21 with over four months' sentences, were sent to the Borstal Institute, care being taken, as far as possible, to separate habitual and casual prisoners.¹⁴ Inspector-General had quoted from the report of the Borstal Committee for the Wakefield prison some interesting passages regarding the futility of short sentences and had alluded to the English Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914, which extended the minimum sentence from one to two years and the period of probationary released from 6 months to 1 year. The Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab was inclined to agree that the time was rapidly approaching when legislation on similar lines should be undertaken in India. He believed that it was the general opinion of those who had been in charge of Borstal institutions, both in Punjab and in other provinces, that it was hopeless to expect any permanent reformation of the youthful criminals in less than two years. But public opinion in India had yet to realise the advantages and objects of the Borstal system, for the proper attainment of which time was an essential feature.

Experience in England showed that the co-operation of philanthropic bodies and individuals with the authorities was essential for the success of the Borstal system, and the Lieutenant-Governor regretted to say that such co-operation was still but rarely forthcoming in Punjab. The Salvation Army was entitled to all credit but, as pointed out by Commissioner of Lahore in the remarks quoted, it could not provide work for all the lads who might well be released on probation provided they could be guaranteed regular employment. Invaluable help could be given by a non-official committee which would undertake the case of youths after release.¹⁵

Prisoners were given practical training by employment in the gardens and workshops attached to the jail, as well as the daily performance of physical and ambulance drill, thereby promoting a spirit of discipline and self-respect. The pressing need of the Borstal Jail was the acquisition of more land for the instruction and occupation of its population which was mainly derived from the agricultural classes.

The scheme of conditional release of prisoners to private employers, which was a prominent feature of the Borstal system, had been tried on a small scale with satisfactory results. Private employers of labour had been found who had agreed to take lads from the jail on probationary release and it was hoped that their experience would encourage other employers to follow their example on the scale necessary to make the scheme a substantial success.¹⁶

The religious education was also provided to the juvenile adults. On each Sunday preachers came from the Anjuman-i-Hamayyat Islam, Lahore, the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar and the Hindu Sabha, Lahore.¹⁷

A system of payment of those employed had been adopted, and many youths had earned sums amounting to rupees 20 per mensem, which had been credited to their accounts.¹⁸

The Tribune had observed that the important resolution published in the last Punjab Government Gazette about the reformation of the class of prisoners known as juvenile adults was a further indication of the liberal policy of the Punjab Government in the treatment of prisoners of this description. All convicts of this class were now collected in the Lahore District Jail which was administered on the Borstal system. The Government recognised that attempts to reform prisoners came under two categories – the first being made while the prisoners were undergoing their sentence and the other after their release. The first duty could be undertaken by the Government, the second was dependent on private enterprise.¹⁹ The Salvation Army which had worked successfully among the criminal tribes in India and had experience outside India, made an offer to take charge of released prisoners and this had been accepted by the Punjab

Government. The Government would avail itself the power conferred by section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code to suspend or remit sentences and prisoners would be placed in the charge of the Salvation Army before they had served out their term. Officers of the Salvation Army of the rank of Lieutenant and upwards would be permitted freely to visit the Borstal Central Jail and to converse with the prisoners and to explain to them the conditions and advantages of residence in the settlement of the Salvation Army close to the jail. Such prisoners as were chosen to go and live in the settlement were given work and were also looked after, but they were not allowed to leave the settlement or stay out at night. There was every reason to hope that this experiment would be followed by the best results.²⁰

III

Maintenance of order and discipline is one of those primary concerns of prison masters that takes away most of their time and energy. 'Discipline problems constitute a threat to administration because they disrupt the order, tranquillity and security of the institution'.²¹ Indiscipline, leading to crime within the jails of Punjab was quite frequent during the British period. Although the British authorities took all possible measures to check the crime among the prisoners in jails, yet numerous instances of escapes, violence, communal riots and murders are noticed in the official and non-official records of the period.

It is significant to note that a number of prisoners escaped from the jails every year. The credit goes to the authorities that a good proportion of them were recaptured.²²

The prisoners who escaped from the jails used to be mostly habitual or hard criminals. It has been observed that the prisoners undertook a lot of pain to devise ways and means to make an unlawful exit from the jails. Attempts at escape from inside the jail at night had been made and failed miserably. For instance, in the year 1916, two convicts, crawled out of the insecure barracks of the Multan Central Jail. They had scarcely emerged when they were pounced upon by a warder who held one, whilst the latter's companion bolted back and crept into his barrack, being subsequently identified however.²³ Owing to the carelessness of

the guard, this prisoner managed to dig a hole in the wall of the cell; he was at once arrested by a convict official on duty on the main wall.²⁴ A serious attempt at escape was made in the Montgomery Central Jail on 29 June 1917. It was the hour of the mid-day rest and the prisoners were shut up in the factories, and not in their barracks, so as to facilitate the resumption of work later on. Through neglect on the part of various officials, a number of prisoners were able to congregate in the compound of workshop No. 4, where they removed their fetters and constructed a ladder from the poles of a tent which was pitched in this compound. With this they tried to scale the factory wall. But their designs were frustrated by the speedy sounding of the alarm and the excellent behaviour of certain convict officials.²⁵

There were a number of causes leading to prisoners' escape from the jails: In the first instance, their escape may be attributed to the connivance²⁶ and sometimes gross negligence on the part of the jail employees. Secondly, the over-crowding in jails, which often made it difficult for the jail staff to supervise properly the over-populated jails, also lured the prisoners to escape. Thirdly, strict enforcement of prison rules too forced a number of prisoners to resort to escape. A good number of prisoners, particularly belonging to certain criminal classes, could not acclimatize with the hard and penal type atmosphere of the jails which forced them to become free from their confinement.²⁷ Fourthly, the employment of the prisoners outside the jails for public works, also encouraged the convicts to run away. A large number of prisoners were employed on the construction of canals, roads and bridges in various parts of the province and they were spread over miles and miles. Generally, it was not feasible for the officials to keep an eye on the scattered labour. Finally, the execution of a huge labour task from the prisoners also led to their escape. After 1895, the prison earnings had indicated a decline trend; efforts were, therefore, made to increase the profits from jails. This led to the exaction of more and more work from the prisoners. Those who were not accustomed to this type of work, frequently resorted to escape. The continued absence of the jail officials for days together from their duties often prompted the prisoners to cut short sentences through unlawful attempts.²⁸

Besides escapes, assaults leading to clashes, and sometimes riots, murders of the fellow prisoners and the officials and defiance of authority by the prisoners in jails, also find frequent mention in the relevant reports of the period. A few instances of this nature may be mentioned here :

In 1909 a serious assault was committed at Montgomery Jail on the Superintendent, Captain Clements, and his Jailer.²⁹ The gravest occurrence, however, was the conspiracy formed in 1916 by prisoners in the Rawalpindi Jail to assassinate the Superintendent and other officials by means of bombs the materials for which were introduced into the prison by some of the staff. The ring leaders in this affair were returned emigrants convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Fortunately, for the British the plot was detected in time though the local jail authorities failed to realize its gravity at the start and those culprits who had not been transported meantime on other charges received exemplary sentences.³⁰

The official records of the period do confirm the unsatisfactory state of discipline in the jails of Punjab. It is also alleged that whereas the Punjab Government gave too much attention towards the economy and health of prisoners in jails, it did not pay any serious attention towards improvement of prisoners' behaviour and discipline within the jails.³¹

IV

The prisoners under the British regime during the period of our study were awarded various type of punishments ranging from one month's simple imprisonment upto transportation for life or even execution. It is clear from the official records that a large majority of prisoners were awarded imprisonment from six months to one year. About twenty per cent of the prisoners were sentenced to imprisonment for more than a year but not exceeding five years. The number of prisoners sentenced to transportation for life was less than one per cent, but that of those sentenced to death was between one and two per cent.³²

It is significant to note that Punjab had a higher average of punishments than many other provinces in India. It was perhaps

due to the reason that the average criminal in Punjab was less amenable to discipline than elsewhere.

The figures of the period also indicate that majority of the prisoners (above 78 per cent) in jails were from agricultural classes. The three-fourth of the total convicted were in the age group of 22 to 30 years. The prisoners above sixty years were also convicted but their number (both males and females) was (0.05 per cent) very small.

A community wise analysis of the prisoners reveals that the Muslims formed the bulk of the jail population. The Hindus and Sikhs formed about half of the Muslim prisoners. The Christians and Anglo-Indians formed only less than one per cent of the jail population. This is evident from the following table:³³

	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Christians	30	36	37	22	51
(a) Europeans	6	4	7	7	1
(b) Eurasians	13	12	5	3	9
(c) Natives	11	20	25	12	41
Muhammadans	15,316	16,320	18,935	11,548	12,889
Hindu & Sikhs	6,064	6,737	7,420	5,678	6,648
Others	—	—	2	4	—

Females and children under 16 years too formed a part of the jail population, but both these categories were kept separately in different special jails and in no case they were allowed to mix with male adult prisoners.³⁴

The solitary confinement was also awarded to a large number of convicts. It was one of the most irksome and dreaded parts of the imprisonment loathed by the casual and abhorred by the habitual offenders and both endeavoured by fair and foul means to avoid it.³⁵ Besides, the prisoners were also fined during the British rule. However, the majority of the prisoners did not pay this fine and underwent imprisonment in lieu of payment.³⁶

The official and non-official records of the period also speak much of the prevalence of number of unauthorised and unlawful punishments awarded to the prisoners in the jails of Punjab. One

of the most common forms of punishment was shoe-beating. Both the convict officials and warders used to beat the prisoners with shoes on the slightest provocation and sometimes without orders. In some cases, stripes were also awarded in certain jails; the punishment was used in such a way as to produce a deterrent effect. A long period of separate confinement was found to be the most effective form of punishment for the prisoners. In many jails fetters were imposed very much as a matter of routine. Efforts had been made to correct this tendency but only with partial success.³⁷ An aggravated form of corporal punishment prevalent in some jails of Punjab, was known as *gidar-kut*. *Kan-parade* was another form of corporal punishment in which a man was made to bend-double, to pass his hands under his legs and to touch or hold his ears. This form of punishment was well-established and was frequently made use of by unscrupulous subordinates. *The Tribune* observed that occasionally authorised punishments were awarded without any cause. Besides, the prisoners were subjected to torture, were whipped, abused and mal treated.³⁸ The same paper observed that the prisoners were awarded punishments without waiting for the results of their appeals for mercy.³⁹

It is pertinent to point out that jails staff was also punished for various acts of omissions and commissions, whenever their misdeeds or mal treatment with the prisoners came to light.⁴⁰

The jail offences and punishments fell from 21,354 to 16,689 in 1918-19, the causes being attributed to reduced population, outbreak of influenza, employment of prisoners on untasked military labour and smaller number of habituais.⁴¹

V

When life is inconceivable without action, work becomes an essential part of human existence. The work that human beings do, provides meaning to their life, not only because it helps them earn bread, but also because it helps them achieve physical and psychological contentment. For the prisoners work is both a reward and a punishment. It is a reward inasmuch as it is an antidote to desolatory idleness and boredom of imprisonment resulting into the endless hours of retrospection. It is punishment

insofar as it forms an integral part of their sentence, subjecting them to cumbersome, monotonous and unpleasant drudgery, accompanying hardship, servility and disgrace.⁴²

By the end of the fifties of the nineteenth century the Indian Penal Code incorporated rigorous imprisonment as a punishment which virtually was interpreted as 'hard labour'. Prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, thereafter, began to be subjected to hard physical labour such as digging of pits in order to fill them up again, removing stones from one place to another, grinding corn, working the oil press and drawing water by *charsa*.⁴³

These forms of penal labour dragged on till very late years of the nineteenth century when it was agreed upon that reformation alone should be the aim of imprisonment and that the prisoners should be put on such forms of labour as would excite their interest and lead them to exert their powers willingly.⁴⁴ An immediate result of this change was that all non-productive and purposeless forms of labour were abolished and prisoners were henceforth employed on such works as would yield some profit and would be interesting. It was the time when the country had to depend for her requirements mostly on cottage industry and so the choice fell on these industries which were introduced throughout the country. The prisoner's profit, however, remained the predominant motive with the contemporary prison administrators and it was in 1919 that the Indian Jail Committee, for the first time, asserted:⁴⁵

Mere exaction of profit cannot be the true object to be kept in view in the selection of prison labour. That object must rather be the prevention of further crime by the reformation of criminal.

With a view to improve the conduct of the prisoners and to channelise their energies towards the constructive side of economic life, the prisoners in the jails of Punjab were trained and employed in various works such as construction of public buildings, roads, bridges and canals. A large number of them were also employed in the manufacturing of various articles of domestic use.

The total average number of convicts sentenced to labour increased from 10,823 in 1896 to 11,515 in 1897; and due to this larger average number was employed during the year on jail duties, gardening, preparing articles for use or consumption in jail and on manufactures. The larger number employed on additions and alterations to buildings was mainly contributed by the Lahore Central, Montgomery Central and Ambala Jails, where works of more or less importance were carried out in 1897. The number hired to departments other than the public works department underwent a reduction owing to the Karnal Jail having been unable to supply labour to the local Remount Rearing Depot. The Lahore Central Jail showed the highest ratio per cent of prisoners employed on manufactures. The low ratios in the Multan and Montgomery Central Jails were ascribable to the large number of prisoners in each engaged in preparing prison clothing and bedding for use in other jails. The experiment of employing prisoners in agriculture, which had been tried in the Shahpur Jail, had been attended with success.⁴⁶ During 1900-1901, there was an average of 1,275 convicts employed from day-to-day on the excavation of the Jhelum Canal. The larger demand for articles required for jail consumption gave employment to an average of 3,443 against 2,911 during 1899-1900.⁴⁷ 35% of the convict population were employed on manufactures in 1906 as against 33% in 1905.⁴⁸ The daily average number of convicts sentenced to labour rose from 10,881 in 1911-12 to 10,992 during 1912-13; 44% of the convicts were available for employment in the factories and to meet the demands of maintenance (excluding those employed on lands). Over a lakh of rupees worth of produce was raised from jail lands. The excavation work on the Lower Bari Doab Canal was completed after three years' hard work on which 400 prisoners were daily employed.⁴⁹

The prisoners also made a valuable contribution in terms of physical labour during the Great War of 1914-19. In 1916, 4,000 prisoners between 18 and 41 years of age were sent to Mesopotamia as porters and sweepers. It is significant to note that only those prisoners were sent who were medically fit and who were not convicted of any serious offence.⁵⁰ Their conduct was found to be 'most satisfactory' by the military authorities.

Besides, 100 maunds of lime pickle and 300 pounds of vegetable seeds were prepared and saved in the jails of Punjab to be sent to Mesopotamia for the use of British soldiers in 1918.⁵¹ The Government made it a practice to employ all able-bodied convicts on such projects as it was considered more penal than any other form of intra-mural labour. Large agricultural farms were maintained at Lahore, Montgomery and other jails, where the prisoners who were agriculturists by profession were usefully employed. These prisoners were taught various scientific methods of cultivation.⁵²

Besides, the prisoners were also employed within the jails for making various articles of domestic use. The jails of Multan and Montgomery were known for making cotton *durries*, dusters and towels. The Central Jail of Lahore excelled in the manufacturing of carpets, tents, chics and book-binding. Jhelum and Rawalpindi Jails were famous for *Munj*-mats while paper-making was popular among the prisoners of Jullundur and Sialkot. Besides blanket-making, shoe-making and milk-dairies were also maintained by the prisoners of various jails.⁵³

It is significant to note that the articles made by the prisoners in jails were not only of good quality but were also cheaper as compared to the goods made by the private enterprises. In April, 1909 a stall was set up in the Lahore exhibition and exhibits of jail products displayed in this stall attracted considerable attraction from the public, and at this stall 39,000 tablets were sold prepared by the prisoners. The Government also issued orders to government offices in April 1909 to purchase all the articles manufactured in jails by the prisoners.⁵⁴

In addition to the supply of personnels, the manufactures of large number of blankets, tents, nosebags for horses and other articles had been undertaken in the jails at the request of the military authorities to whom also 20,000 woollen blanket in stock were surrendered in exchange for the same number of cotton blankets suitable for hot-weather use. Labour was also supplied to certain civil departments, to military dairies, grass-farms and arsenals and in addition a camp jail had been established in 1916 at Dhariwal Mills.⁵⁵

It is significant to note that the percentage of the prisoners employed in jails of Punjab was lower as compared to other provinces. In the year 1908, the percentage of jail population employed in various trades in Punjab was only 32 per cent as compared to 46 per cent in Bengal and 42 per cent in the United Provinces.⁵⁶

The total cash earnings of the convicts in 1897 amounted to rupees 73,918-9-0 giving an average of rupees 6-7-0 per prisoner sentenced to labour as compared with rupees 127,280-10-0 and rupees 10-12-0 respectively in 1896. The fall in net cash earnings was a marked feature of the working of the year.⁵⁷

The total cash profits and the average cash earnings per convict in 1899 and the previous years are indicated in the following table.⁵⁸

<i>Year</i>	<i>Average number sentenced to labour</i>	<i>Cash earnings during the year</i> <i>Rs. A.P.</i>	<i>Average earning per head</i> <i>Rs. A. P.</i>
1896	10,831	127,280 - 10 - 0	11 - 12 - 0
1897	11,529	73,918 - 9 - 0	6 - 7 - 0
1898	11,408	91,581 - 6 - 0	8 - 0 - 0
1899	11,929	191,881 - 10 - 0	10 - 1 - 0

Compared with 1898 there was an increase of Rs. 28,300 in the cash profits, including a sum of rupees 26,364 realised from the labour of the convicts in the Mung Rasul Jail. In some jails manufacturers were hindered to a serious extent owing to frequent transfers to Mung Rasul and to relieve over-crowding.⁵⁹

During 1901-02, excluding extra-mural employment, the industries which yielded the largest cash profits were : paper-making rupees 35,959, Lithographic printing rupees 10,848, mat making rupees 6,006, oil-pressing rupees 4,023, weaving cotton fabric rupees 2,127, and pottery rupees 1,550.⁶⁰

The average cost per head of the jail population showed a rise from rupees 63-7-3 to rupees 64-13-3, the increase being mainly due to the lower average population during 1904-05; while the average cash earning per head had risen from rupees 9-14-0 to

rupees 10-5-0. A special feature of the jail industries in the province was the improvement in the carpet-manufacture at the Montgomery Central Jail. The gross profits on manufactures during 1904-05 had risen by nearly rupees 7,000.⁶¹

The total cash profits increased from rupees 85,838 to rupees 283,006 during 1918-19. This increase was due largely to the employment of prisoners on war work.⁶²

The Punjab Jails (Lahore) contained a note entitled 'The Effect of the Punjab Jails on the Commerce of the Province' which drew attention to an observation made by the Inspector-General of Prisons, in the Administrative Report of the Punjab Jails for the year 1912, to the effect that if private enterprise could be beaten in the race for trade by the feeble efforts of the jail department, it outrightly to die as being of no value in the economy or prosperity of this land. Commenting on this, the paper said that no sensible person could take exception to the measures adopted by the Government to train the inmates of jails in arts and industries, but nevertheless the attempts of the jail authorities to crush trade by under selling practically meant the employment of their great powers for unjustifiable ends, for it was an admitted fact that the jail authorities had to spend much less than their competitors on the cost of production. For instance, a mechanic who in the jail did one rupee worth of work and received merely four pieces of black bread, would (under other circumstances) demand not less than twelve annas for doing the same work. A sensible person might judge from this what weight could be attached to the observation of the Inspector-General of Prisons.⁶³

VI

A noteworthy feature of the jail administration under the British rule in Punjab was an earnest attempt on the part of the Government to improve the health of the prisoners. The period under study (1897-1919) is marked by frequent spread of epidemics such as cholera, small-pox, malaria and plague. The British Government displayed a high sense of responsibility in overcoming these natural calamities and protected the prison population from all kinds of sickness.

The general health of the prisoners had improved and the increased mortality noticed in 1898 had fortunately not been maintained, the percentage having fallen from 23.50 to 18.79. There had been steady decrease in the mortality from an average of 48.4 in 1880-84 to 19.22 in the last quinquennium 1895-1899, and the efforts of the jail authorities to grapple with preventible mortality and this success was a matter for gratification.

The number of admissions into hospitals and the number of deaths from the chief diseases among convicted prisoners in 1899 and the preceding year is clear from the following table :⁶⁴

	1898		1899	
	Admissions	Deaths	Admissions	Deaths
Dysentery	1,073	49	856	31
Malarial fever	8,052	17	5,730	10
Tubercle of lungs, Lacimoptysis and Pneumonic phthisis	95	31	85	38
Anaemia & Debility	157	1	157	2
Pneumonia	296	68	264	63
Other respiratory diseases	593	9	489	17
Diarrhoea	914	19	906	11
Abscesses, boils and ulcers of all kinds	2,214	2	2,126	-
Other general diseases	3,104	80	3,460	59

The hospital admission rate of all classes of prisoners fell from 1,253 per mile in 1901 to 1,137 and the ratio of constantly sick declined from 38 to 35 per 1,000 and though the death-rate of the free population was higher in 1902 than in 1901, the prison death-rate fell to 25.06 per mile. Of the 19,876 prisoners discharged from jails during the year, 51.5 per cent had gained in weight, 33.5 per cent had neither gained nor lost and only 15 per cent had lost in weight. There was a decrease in the hospital admission rate for malaria and the Inspector-General of Prisons was able again to report favourably on the value of quinine prophylactic. Steps were taken to prevent the spread of tubercle of the lungs among the prisoners by the provision of special isolation wards for tuberculous prisoners, and by improving the ventilation of dermitories and workshops.⁶⁵

The Government had sanctioned in each Central Jail the appointment of a specially trained Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a

general review of the ventilation problem by the Sanitary Commissioner and Engineer, and the construction of a special tubercular jail. There were 50 fever cases of pneumonia but a higher cases mortality, and here too better ventilation and a drier atmosphere secured in sleeping quarters would probably reduce the incidence of this disease.⁶⁶ The mortality was high at Ambala 47.11, Lahore Central 43.65, Delhi 41.44, Multan Central 36.19, Lahore female 32.26, Montgomery Central 29.53 and Lahore District 28.65. In Ambala, there were 31 deaths due to 14 different diseases, the highest number under any head being 6 from tubercle in 1911. Colonel Bnist, I.M.S., attributed this high death rate to two causes :

(a) Patients were not admitted to hospital as early as they should be, as prisoners would not report sick for fear of loss of remission, but what about the daily medical inspection of prisoners by the medical subordinates ?

(b) Imperfectly cooked bread, owing to a faulty kitchen; the defects in the kitchen had been remedied, but these defects had not prevented the cooking of bread thoroughly.⁶⁷

After the appointment of Sub-Assistant Surgeon in 1914, all suspicious cases were now dealt with systematically. Various measures were taken such as isolation of patients, examination of sputum and disinfection of clothing, as also of barracks and worksheds etc. These measures had helped to lessen the incidence of disease. The Nascent Iodine treatment was tried with a good measure of success in the Tubercle ward of Lahore. The treatment was commenced in October last and since then to date (February) there had been but two deaths from the disease.⁶⁸

Great attention had been paid to disinfection of clothing and spitting etc., and to ventilation of barracks. All doors and shutters from sleeping barracks had been removed with the exception of Rawalpindi, where this had been partially done. In order to ensure, as far as possible, early diagnosis, every effort had been made to increase facilities for examination of sputum etc., and the application of other well-known tests.

In 1914-15, the old Shahpur Jail was converted into a special

institution for the treatment of tuberculosis among the prisoners. Besides, in the same year, a T.B. expert was attached in each of the Central Jail.⁶⁹

The second main cause of increase in death rate was malaria. There were 5,459 admissions and 14 deaths in 1916 against 4,642 admissions and 13 deaths in 1915, giving a ratio per mile of average strength of 4.4 and 1.09 against 301 and 0.84 respectively. The excessive rainfall was, no doubt, largely responsible for the increase. The Montgomery and Lahore Central Jail showed the highest numbers of admissions under the head 'Malaria'. Major Courtney, the Superintendent of the Montgomery Central Jail stated, "This disease was undoubtedly on the increase in spite of past efforts. Taking the past 5 years' figures we get the following :

<i>Year</i>	<i>Admissions to Hospital</i>
1913	63
1914	33
1915	893
1916	1,224
1917	1,706

This was an appalling increase and the figures for 1917 constituted more than half the total of the year's admissions to the hospital. It was on record that since the introduction of canal irrigation in 1914, malaria had increased enormously. The Civil Dispensary figures were on a par with the jail figures, so that the increase was not only in jail. The Assistant to the Chief Malaria Medical Officer, Punjab, at his annual visit here found mosquito larver in several tanks and depressions around the jail, he collected larvar from the main canal and distributaries.⁷⁰ During 1918-19 admissions and deaths from tuberculosis were 102 and 55 respectively as compared with 279 and 91 in 1917 – a marked improvement. Similarly, there was a decrease from 5,459 to 3,980 in admissions on account of malaria but the number of deaths rose from 14 to 19.⁷¹

Yet, a critical analysis of the period establishes the fact that the health-condition of the prisoners in jails was not so good as one would have desired it to be. The official and non-official

records of the period speak much of the evils prevalent in the jail administration.

The Paisa Akhbar (Lahore) stated that the food given to the prisoners in the jails was of low quality resulting in the high death-rate among them. The convicts in the Gujranwala Jail were not only underfed but the food supplied to them was of so inferior a description that even animals would not touch it. Moreover, in addition to their daily fixed duties, the convicts were compelled to work for the Barakandazes on pain of beating. There was a large admixture of dust in the flour of which bread was prepared for the native convicts. As regards vegetables, the leaves, branches and roots were all cut into large pieces and after those were imperfectly cooked, those were served to the native convicts with little or no salt.⁷²

Another glaring evil prevalent in the jails was British Government's utter neglect of prisoner's health in matters of clothing and protection against cold and inclement weather. In the official records, it has been admitted that a very thin and a flimsy texture of the blanketing was being supplied to the prisoners in cold weather. It was further confessed that a very good quality of blankets was being manufactured in the jails of the province but they were all being sold in the market and a low quality blankets were being supplied to the prisoners which were of an inferior stuff.⁷³

It may be observed that prisoners with weak constitution were also employed on work resulting in the illness of a large number of prisoners. In matters of food given to the prisoners, there was not much improvement even after the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

VII

The increase in the daily average population from 11,858 to 12,740 and the rise in the prices of food-supplies sufficiently account for the expenditure of rupees 404,701 on dieting charges during 1897 against rupees 288,890 in 1896. Economy was effected in some jails, notably the Montgomery Central, either by the storage of grain at a time when it was cheap or by

satisfactory arrangements being made for the purchase of provisions.⁷⁴

There had been a steady increase in the expenditure under the head of clothing and bedding during the past four years, so that in 1898 it was considerably more than double what it was in 1895. But this increase had taken place due to the rise of prices of woollen yarn. The Inspector-General of Prisons gave the suggestion that a wool-spinning machinery in one of the large Central Jails be established. The measure had been approved and the sum of rupees 60,000 was assigned during the year 1898-99.⁷⁵ The net cost per prisoner was estimated at rupees 67-9-0 in 1897, 57-10-0 in 1898 and rupees 55-10-0 in 1899.⁷⁶

The total expenditure on guarding and maintenance during the year 1912 was rupees 936,942 against rupees 900,738 in 1910 and rupees 947,312 in 1909. Calculated on the daily average strength the cost per head was rupees 76-0-6 against rupees 73-6-11 in 1910 and rupees 81-4-3 in 1909.⁷⁷

During 1917, the expenses of dieting charges decreased from rupees 524,121 to rupees 451,685 or by rupees 72,436. The lowest cost per head for dietary charges was recorded by Lyallpur District Jail, viz. rupees 23-12-6, and the highest by Lahore Borstal Central Jail, viz. rupees 36-15-2. The daily average cost of feeding the Punjabi prisoners amounted to rupees 0-1-5.⁷⁸

There had been a slight decrease in other miscellaneous services and supplies from rupees 138,681 to rupees 133,570. The main decreases were under (a) lighting due to the installation of electricity in Lahore Borstal Central Jail, (b) 'warders uniforms' due to diminished strength of guards, and the substitution of wadded coats for woollen jerseys. The only item showing an increase under the above main head was that of 'disciplinary charges', due to higher prices of locks and mental articles, generally.⁷⁹

The cost per head increased from rupees 86-14-4 in 1917 to rupees 102-7-2 in 1918.⁸⁰

VIII

Political prisoners presented a unique problem in prison administration. They claimed immunity from several of jail rules and demanded special privileges. A political prisoner, it was said, was not really a criminal and required no treatment. He was imprisoned simply for his convictions and the purpose of sending him to jail was merely to restrict his liberties and check him from giving vent to his views or committing acts which might be considered subversive by the British Government.⁸¹ In the early days of national movement, the political prisoners were given various facilities such as reading of newspapers, meeting the friends and relatives etc., but gradually these facilities were withdrawn. Even the prisoners' movements were forbidden and they were put in separate barracks and not allowed to meet one another.⁸² Gradually, the prison rules became stringent and the manner of their enforcement led to the frequent clashes between the prisoners and the authorities.⁸³

The Jat Gazette (Rohtak) observed that the political prisoners were subjected to various forms of tortures.⁸⁴

The Hindustan (Lahore) published an account of a conversation which took place between its Editor and Lala Pindi Das in jail. In the course of the conversation Pindi Das said that he was made to prepare bamboo sticks for chinks and that he had to work eight hours daily. The Superintendent refused to give him the work of *muharrir*, saying that he had done enough of writing work outside the jail. He also complained of the food supplied to him and remarked that dust was mixed with the flour used for making *chapatis*. Pindi Das further complained that he was given half-baked *chapatis* to eat. The same invidious distinctions, he added, were made between natives and Europeans in the jail as existed outside its walls. The latter got much better treatment. They got bread, meat, vegetables, butter, tea, rice etc. and were given light work to do, such as writing or making envelopes. Pindi Das said that he did not mind the troubles to which he was subjected, for those who bore such troubles were blessed. He considered himself fortunate that he was suffering merely because he had tried to serve his country. He concluded by complaining that he had to live in the society of prisoners notorious for their

immoral habits and use of abusive language. Commenting on the above, the Editor remarked that it would be regrettable indeed if the entire native press did not unanimously draw the attention of the Government to the ill-treatment of "the national hero" in jail.⁸⁵

The Jhang Sial (Jhang) published the substance of the interview and regretted that such hard labour should be exacted from Pindi Das. It was, however, of the opinion that true sons of India should not mind the hardships to which they might be subjected for serving her.⁸⁶ *The Khuda Dost* also pointed to conspicuous evil in the prison administration in respect of discrimination shown between the European and native prisoners in jails. It observed that the food supplied to a European murderer was as different from that given to an Indian murderer as the meals of a rich person differed from that of a beggar.⁸⁷ *The Partap* of Lahore, advised the Government that no prisoner should live in comfort simply because of his being a European, while none should be treated in a degrading manner on the score of only being an Indian.⁸⁸

There are many instances to show that ordinary European prisoners were released on ground of ill-health but this rule was not applied to the Indian political prisoners. *The Tribune* remarked that the political prisoners were given physical work in the jails.⁸⁹

Thus, it is obvious from the above narrative that the political prisoners were badly treated in the jails of Punjab. They had to bear many difficulties and had to live in very unhealthy atmosphere. They got poor diet and medical treatment.

The administration of jails in Punjab suffered from various shortcomings and defects. In the first instance, the overcrowding in the jails remained a permanent feature of the prison administration in the province. Despite the increase in the number of prisons, all the prisoners could not be accommodated in jails and additional prisoners had to be put in tents and workshops.⁹⁰ Sometimes camp jails were established to accommodate the extra-rush of the prisoners. Secondly, conditions in the jail were not favourable or propitious for new convicts. The Central Jails of the province were suitable for habitual prisoners only. Thirdly, there was a wide-spread corruption prevailing among the jail officials

and the prisoners suffered great hardships at their hands. It is said that cigarettes, tobacco and *gur* etc. not allowed under the rules, were supplied to the desirous prisoners, who paid many times of its real price. Bribery to the jail staff was frequently resorted to by the prisoners in order to escape from the hard labour, to perform the shorter and easier task, to get admission to the hospital without any disease and to get permission for special interviews at times other than prescribed by the rules. Fourthly, the prisoners were often given punishment without waiting for the results of their appeals. Fifthly, objectionable elements, who were habitual criminals, were often appointed as convict officials. The Indian Jail Committee of 1919-20 observed in this regard:⁹¹

The convict officer, however, apparently well-behaved, is a criminal Is it in accordance with penological principles to place other prisoners under the control of thieves, forgers, murderers or dacoits ?

Sixthly, the treatment meted out to the 'native prisoners' was often inhuman. *The Khuda Dost* remarked that the prisoners were used as 'beasts of burden'. They could be seen dragging carts filled with filth and dirt and drawing carriages loaded with vegetables for sale in the streets.⁹² They were flogged by the Superintendents of Jail for very slight offences. The rations allowed by the Government for each prisoner were insufficient particularly because he was required to work hard throughout the day. The rations were further reduced by the frauds of the officials who were entrusted with the work of distribution. No attention was paid to the religious prejudices of the prisoners. As soon as a person was committed to prison, his head and face were shaved. This was considered to be against their religion by the natives of the country. The punishment of flogging was inflicted by the Superintendent of Jail even for very slight offences such as climbing too slowly up a steep incline of about 40 feet height with baskets full of earth on their heads or showing thereby a disposition to rest for a while etc. The prisoners were allowed no rest even on Sundays. Some of them were made to work at the private residences of the jail authorities. The Jail Darogha took some of them on Sunday into the neighbouring villages for the purpose of collecting cow-dung.⁹³

The Rafiq-i-Hind remarked that a conspicuous evil in the prison administration was the discrimination between the European and native prisoners in jails. The Europeans were allowed beds and better food, and other indulgences were also shown to them; on the other hand, Indian prisoners were given very poor food and clothing.⁹⁴

The Paisa Akhbar remarked that as soon as a native convict who was sentenced to imprisonment for a term exceeding one month, entered the jail, his head was entirely shaven and his moustaches and beard were closely clipped, even if he was a *maulvi*. As regards the clothing supplied to him on admission, he got an ugly looking shirt with half sleeves, a cap like the one worn by the beggars and sweepers and a small and narrow piece of cloth to wear round his loins. No effort was spared to make him look like animal.⁹⁵

References and Notes

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2. Foreign Misc. Series, S.No. 157, No. in the List 363, para 226.
3. PAR, 1849-51, pp. 69-70.
4. PAR, 1899-1900, pp. 57-58.
5.

	1901	1903	1904	1905
No. of Central Jails	4	4	3	3
No. of District Jails	24	26	25	25
No. of Sub-Jails (Lock-ups)	19	20	16	15
Total	47	50	44	43

See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab* (Calcutta, 1908) (hereafter given as *IGI, Punjab*), Vol. I, p. 164.
6. PAR, 1906-07, p. 16.
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9. PAR, 1873-74, p. 13.
10. Report on the Administration of Jails in the Punjab, 1909, p. 3.
11. Home (Jails) Department, B, Progs., June 1912, Nos. 1458.
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14. PAR, 1913-14, p. 19.
15. Home (Jails) Department, B, Progs., June 1916, No. 88.
16. Report on the Administration of Jails in the Punjab, 1916, p. 5.
17. Home (Jails) Department, Progs., June 1918, Nos. 772-S.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 25 July 1912.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Vernon Fox. "Analysis of Prison Disciplinary Problems" in *Journal of Criminology and Police Science*, Vol. 49, No. 4.
22. This is clear from the following schedule :

Year	No. of prisoners escaped	Recaptured
1897	10	3
1898	5	-
1899	15	9
1900	6	4
1901	16	4
1902	8	6
1908	17	-
1909	10	-
1911	7	3
1914	17	9
1915	21	13
1916	18	-
1917	9	-
1918	12	-
1919	13	-

See PARs, 1897-98 to 1919-20.

23. Home (Jails) Department, B, Progs., June 1912, No. 6.
24. Home (Jails) Department, Progs., 6 June 1917, Nos. 8118, Report on the Police Administration of the Punjab 1916, p. 9.
25. Report on the Police Administration of the Punjab, 1917, p. 18; Home (Jails) Department, Progs., 4 June 1918, Nos. 772-S.
26. In 1908, nine prisoners escaped from the Montgomery Jail with the help of a convict warder. The warder actually opened the gate, allowed the prisoners to escape and refused when requested to sound the alarm. Vide, Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Punjab 1908; Home (Jails) Department. Progs., 21 May 1909, Nos. 70-S.
27. Report on the Administration of Jails in the Punjab 1919, p. 15.
28. PAR, 1895-96, p. 41.
29. PAR, 1909-10, p. 15.
30. Report on the Police Administration of the Punjab 1916, p. 5.
31. Home (Jail) Department, Progs., June 1910, Nos. 4.
32. PAR, 1908-09, p. 15.
33. PAR, 1898-99 to 1902-03.
34. PAR, 1895-96, p. 41.

35. PAR, 1910-11, p. 16.
36. PAR, 1903-04, p. 17.
37. PAR, 1897-98, p. 94.
38. *The Tribune* (Lahore) 7 April 1920.
39. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 18 April 1920.
40. PAR, 1896-97, p. 42.
41. PAR, 1918-19, p. 29.
42. Edwin H. Southerland and Donald R. Creese, *Principles of Criminology* (Bombay, 1958), p. 51.
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53. PAR, 1909-10, p. 47.
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57. PAR, 1897-98, p. 97.
58. PAR, 1899-1900, p. 74.
59. *Ibid.*
60. PAR, 1901-02, p. 94.
61. PAR, 1904-05, p. 15.
62. PAR, 1918-19, p. 29.
63. *The Punjab Jails* (Lahore), 16 July 1913, RNNP for 1913, p. 667.
64. PAR, 1899-1900, p. 76.
65. PAR, 1902-03, pp. 35-36.
66. PAR, 1912-13, p. 28.
67. Home (Jails) Department, B, Progs., June 1912, No. 7.
68. Report on the Administration of Jails in the Punjab, 1914, p. 15.
69. PAR, 1914-15, p. 51.
70. Home (Jails) Department, Progs., 4 June 1918, No. 772-S.
71. PAR, 1918-19, p. 29.
72. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 23 December 1903, RNNP for 1903, pp. 521-22.
73. Home (Jails) Department, Progs., 4 June 1918, No. 772-S.
74. PAR, 1897-98, pp. 97-98.
75. PAR, 1898-99, p. 76.
76. PAR, 1899-1900, p. 75.

77. Home (Jails) Department, B, Progs., June 1912, No. 7.
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Agrarian Changes

Punjab was primarily an agricultural province. It had considerable natural resources for agriculture. The nature had blessed it with fertile land, a network of rivers and above all the hard-working people. Prior to the establishment of British rule, these sources and potentialities were not utilised fully. The British exploited these resources fully during their rule. Consequently, the agriculture in Punjab developed quantitatively as well as qualitatively.¹

The development of agriculture in Punjab under the British may be attributed to various factors, such as introduction of new techniques, agricultural research and education, increase in the means of irrigation, use of manure to increase the productivity of soil, new varieties of seeds, use of sophisticated implements, better methods of cultivation, improvement in agriculture, co-operative movement, relief measures by the government and the progress of transport and trade. But above all the hard-working peasants of Punjab were a major factor in the agricultural development of Punjab.

The Britishers paid special attention towards the development of agriculture. In 1851, Punjab Agri-Horticultural Society, having majority of Europeans as its members, was established in Punjab under the presidentship of Henry Lawrence, the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie being its patron. The objects of the society included the improvement by all means of existing modes of cultivation, the introduction of new plants for culture, providing of seeds and plants for members, and the systematic collection and diffusion of information of all kinds connected with Agriculture, Horticulture, Arboriculture and allied pursuits. Throughout the twenty year period, 1851-71, the society attempted to improve the agriculture, floriculture and horticulture of Punjab. Although it failed to achieve its objectives, yet its work provided guidelines for the development of agriculture in the province on modern lines.²

It was in 1905 that the Provincial Department of Agriculture was organised under a Director of Agriculture. The headquarter of the department had been located initially at Lyallpur.³ The department was separated from that of Land Record with effect from 1 July 1906. The policy of the Agricultural Department had been to explain and demonstrate the results of investigations carried out on its experimental farms at Lyallpur, Sargodha and elsewhere. A new agricultural station was opened at Gurdaspur in 1909.⁴ The work was carried out by means of demonstration plots which were laid on *zamindari* land to show the advantages of improved varieties of the various crops, methods of cultivation, use of manures, protection against pests and diseases etc.

In 1909, Indian Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition was organised at Lahore. Collections of indigenous and of improved implements were made and demonstrations given daily.⁵ Three such types of demonstration plots were started at Jullundur in 1912-13 to show and explain the methods of dry farming to the farmers. Demonstration of new implements such as chain harrows, bullock hoes, reaping machines and a steam thresher, were carried out in Gujarat, Montgomery, Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Hissar and Gurdaspur districts in the same year for the purpose of disseminating knowledge.⁶ Similarly, on occasions where large number of farmers met such as at cattle fairs etc., demonstrations of improved seeds and other new varieties of produce were exhibited. Many firms sold their agricultural implements to farmers. Improved implements were also lent out to farmers who wished to try them for themselves and in many cases the cultivators bought them at the end of the trials. Much useful work had been done by the agricultural staff in designing new implements.⁷ Popular lectures were also given by the departmental staff while touring the villages.

There were two obstacles to the conversion of the agriculturists to scientific methods of agriculture : one was the inexperience of the instructor and the other was the absence of an intelligent response on the part of the instructed. On the one hand, the scientist had to graft his western methods in an eastern country, and by research and experiments to discover what modifications of these methods had to be made, and on the other

hand, he had to overcome the conservatism of the ages in unscientific cultivators suspicious of new methods, and apt to be discouraged by occasional failures. The vigorous efforts of the department and the individual enterprise of more enlightened cultivators were undoubtedly, however, gradually gaining ground.⁸ The department also gave important assistance to cultivators in several other directions. Of those the lay out of fruit orchards, the supply of good varieties of fruit trees, the production of silk by the rearing of silk-worms, and the keeping of poultry deserve to be mentioned.⁹

The Punjab Agricultural College was established at Lyallpur in September 1909 with a class of 16 students.¹⁰ This college was started with the hope that the sons of agriculturists would flock to it with a view to receiving a training which they should apply in their own walk of life, but these hopes did not show any promise of fulfilment and they may be said to have been laid aside by the Board of Agriculture when it resolved that such colleges should be regarded primarily as training places for members of the Agricultural Department. The courses were modified accordingly, but there was also a vernacular course which lasted only for six months and was meant to give practical manual training in the use of implements and this course was attended by the sons of genuine agriculturists, the hope being expressed that the course might ultimately prove to be one of the most practically important branches of the department's operations.¹¹ It was decided in 1915 that the two appointments of *zilladar* in the Irrigation Branch of the P.W.D. should be allotted annually to the graduates of the college.¹² Gradually the college became more and more popular. It was mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, education in the college could lead to an honourable and well-paid career in government service. Secondly, the land owning classes realised that a training at the college would render their sons more fit to manage their estates and that the possibilities of improved agricultural methods in Punjab were not small.¹³

The college was affiliated to Panjab University in 1917 and the Degree Course which was subject to university rules and regulations, took four years. It was divided into two parts, i.e.,

two years for the first examination, corresponding to the F.Sc. examination, and two years for the B.Sc. in Agriculture. There was also a certificate course which lasted two years.¹⁴ There was a steady increase in the number of applications for admissions to the college, there being 265 applications in the year 1918 as against 225 in the preceding year. For the first time in the history of the college, the majority of the applicants were agriculturists.¹⁵

The college gave a good scientific education and was slowly beginning to attract those students who were keen on research in itself.¹⁶

II

The agriculture in Punjab was mechanised with the manufacture and use of sophisticated and modern agricultural implements. It aimed at reducing the drudgery of certain operations which had to be performed either by human labour or by the combined efforts of human beings and animals. The most noticeable development in this connection was the replacement of wooden by iron implements.

The plough that looked "like a half-open penknife and just scratched the soil, the hand-sickle made more for a child than a man, the old fashioned winnowing tray that wooed the wind to sift the grain from the chaff and the rude chopper with its waste of fodder, were undisplaced from their primitive but immemorial functions.¹⁷ The ordinary country plough was of immemorial antiquity. It was originally made entirely of wood, but with the development of the art of hammering, the soft and excellent iron which abounded in the Himalayas, an iron cap, was affixed to the point of the spike which dug the furrow. But transport difficulties rendered iron costly and its use for ploughs, as for hoes and other minor agricultural implements, was always economised as far as possible.¹⁸

Mr. Faulkner, a Professor of Agriculture pointed out :¹⁹

In addition to the advocacy of iron implements and ploughs, as the rajah, to the expense of which the zamindar often objects, efforts are being made at Lyallpur

to produce and introduce a number of simple implements such as drills, harrows and hoes, which, though not so elaborate, efficient, or expensive as the foreign made articles, will, it is hoped, be a distinct improvement on any *desi* implements. The zamindar's implements are notoriously few and limited in application; little use is made of iron even in the simplest forms. It appears therefore that there is distinct room for the introduction of implements which, though cheap and simple, will serve the purposes for which the zamindar has no suitable tool. In the preparation of these implements wood is used whenever the course is not inconsistent with efficiency; they are so simple that they can be made by village carpenters and blacksmiths, and will cost but a few rupees. The work is not at present out of the experimental stage, but enough has been achieved to show that it should be possible by this means to eventually considerably improve the agriculture of the Punjab.

Prices were one of the chief obstacles to the use of the heavier furrow-turning ploughs of the type of the *rajah*,²⁰ which were thorough in their work, and were essential if farmers were to get the best results in heavy clay lands or those which were badly infested with deep rooted weeds. Much less complicated and about a quarter the price was the *meston* plough, which, although an iron furrow-turning plough, more nearly resembled the ordinary country plough. It was light and did good work on light soils; and was more tempting to the conservative rustic than the more uncompromising heavier *rajah*.²¹

The above mentioned Professor of Agriculture was working at two types of improved iron ploughs, which would be more suitable to the province. The points being kept in mind in designing the new ploughs were roughly speaking, as follows :²²

1. Cost must be moderate.
2. There was no need of two handles; *zamindars* seldom used more than one handle of the existing Punjab or *rajah* ploughs.
3. A wheel at the end of the beam was a luxury.

4. Elaborate nozzles and hakes and designs for regulating width were unnecessary.
5. Draft must be moderate and under 1½ cwts.

The new plough was called 'Lyalpur plough'. The Professor of Agriculture remarked, "The Lyallpur plough was a very marked and important advance on anything that had so far been put forward in Punjab." As a result of these experiments the 'jat' plough had now been finally discarded.

Two reapers procured in 1893 from Messrs McHinch and Company of Karachi were tried with success as an experiment in 1895-96 in Ferozepur. During 1895-96, 54 *ghumaoes* of land in all were reaped in this way.²³ During the year 1906, seven reaping machines were employed in two colonies for demonstration purposes. These machines were of two types – self delivery and manual delivery machines.²⁴ Agricultural machinery was growing in popularity, as was proved by the fact that a commercial firm had considered it worth their while to relieve the Agriculture Department of the work of distribution in the case of reapers and some other implements, though the introduction of agricultural machinery necessitated by the dearth of labour, was a sign of a break away from conservative ideas.²⁵

With the ever-increasing cost of labour, the need of labour saving appliances became greater year after year. Seventy-two reapers were sold in 1909-10 and it was expected that there would certainly be further additions to this number.²⁶ In 1911 classes for instruction in the use of the reaper were held at Lyallpur. Demonstration of the new implements were carried out in Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ambala.²⁷

In the Lyallpur district, the average area cut by a reaper was 60 acres. The cost of reaping one acre of wheat was about rupees 1-8-0, whereas by hand the cost was rupees 5 to rupees 7-8-0.²⁸ The reaper though it cost rupees 255, was a most economical machine in canal irrigated tracts, and was steadily increasing in popularity.²⁹

Iron ploughs leave the ground uneven and, therefore, require supplementing by some instrument of the nature of a harrow.

Harrows and horse-hoes were implements consisting of a number of teeth affixed below some kind of frame intended for stirring the soil and breaking its surface. The use of the 'Planet Junior Hose Heo', an American machine which cost only about rupees 50, had resulted in great economy in making ridges for the cultivation of vegetables, sugarcane and cotton.³⁰ The most important to Punjab farmer was the springtined harrow. After land had been watered by rain or by irrigation water, it remained in a fit state for working only for a few days. A pair of bullocks with a springtined harrow could break the surface of about four acres of land in a day, whereas a pair of bullocks with a country plough could only break one acre in the same time. So, this implement was of special importance in unirrigated tracts where it might enormously increase the area which a farmer could put under crop in years of scanty rainfall where the land was being prepared for sowing.³¹ Bar harrows were also popular as they were sold at rupees 10. In 1917-18, 306 simple 'Bar harrows' manufactured at Lyallpur and sold below cost had been disposed of as also 59 Lyallpur hoes.³²

Drills for sowing seed in two or more rows at a time were unknown in Punjab for a long time, though they had been used for centuries in many parts of India. They had been introduced to Punjab by the Agriculture Department and new techniques of cultivation were evolved and their value came to be recognised and appreciated.³³ In most of the districts, the use of drill for sowing greatly increased. It was a hollow tube being fixed in the shaft of the plough through which the ploughman dropped the seed into the furrow in a better way. For more valuable crops like wheat it was practised as far as possible.³⁴

Improvements were also made in threshing implements. The old practice was either to have the grain trodden out by oxen on a prepared floor in the open or to have a weighed branch of some thorny tree harnessed to bullocks and driven over the outspread stalks.³⁵ Now, a threshing machine called 'phalla' made by the ordinary village carpenter was gaining currency. A threshing machine supplied by Messrs Thomson and Mylone Behia was introduced in Punjab in 1897.³⁶ But the threshers were certainly not successful. These would be economical only in the tracts

where the bullocks were urgently required at threshing time for other work, as, for instance, in the Beas Bet where the sowing of rice followed quickly on the cutting of wheat.³⁷

The new iron sugarcane crushers had gradually ousted the old cumbersome cobbled wooden wheels.³⁸ It required little labour, crushed larger quantity and yielded more juice. It crushed 1.3 times more quantity and its yield was 20 per cent higher than that of the old press.³⁹

III

An assessment of the advancement made in agriculture is illustrated by the study of the introduction of new crops and high yielding varieties of already cultivated crops. The process of agricultural improvement had started immediately after annexation. New varieties of crops suitable to the climate and soil of the Punjab were introduced.⁴⁰

The Government encouraged the use of manure. Manure was particularly necessary for exhausting crops such as sugarcane, maize and potatoes, which required a relatively large amount of plant food for their growth. But the question of proper manurial treatment of the soil and the careful conservation of the manure had been much neglected for a long time. The use of artificial fertilizer was appreciated, but lack of funds was the chief hindrance in their application on a large scale.⁴¹ The practice of using cow-dung for fuel had seriously diminished the natural supply of manure.

Land near a town or village was heavily manured, as also was land near a well, since it could be easily irrigated and valuable crops grown on it. Sugarcane, maize, tobacco and vegetables began to be manured regularly.⁴² Wheat, cotton, barley and melons were manured only when manure was readily available. Spiked millet, gram, *taramira*, and other inferior crops were never manured. The cost of thorough manuring varied from rupees 60 to rupees 80 an acre, and was most common in the vicinity of the larger towns, the municipal boards of which made a considerable income by sales of refuse.⁴³ In such localities two to four very rich crops a year were grown if the lands were manured properly.⁴⁴ Irrigated

land was manured much more generally than unirrigated. Besides the sweepings of villages, night soil, the dung of sheep, goats and camels, the ashes of cow-dung, and nitrous earth were used for manure.⁴⁵ It was universally recognised that no artificial manure had succeeded in keeping up the fertility of the soil so well as farmyard manure. This was mainly because artificial manures supply the end products to the plants instead of liberating them gradually by natural decomposition. In 1918-19 an important experiment was conducted by the agricultural chemists related to green manuring and the continuation of the work in nitrogen fixation in the fallow soils.⁴⁶

New varieties of crops were developed in Punjab. The most important of these was wheat. Wheat was the staple crop grown for sale. The development of canals had led to a great expansion of the area under spring crops, especially wheat, which ordinarily covered about 10,000 square miles. In good years such as 1894, 1895 and 1901 it covered more than 10,900 square miles but in the famine years of 1897 and 1900 only about 7,800 square miles.⁴⁷ There were many indigenous varieties, both red and white, bearded and beardless.⁴⁸ Rather more than half the area under wheat was irrigated. The outturn varied from 4 to 12 cwt on irrigated and from 4 to 7 cwt on unirrigated land.

Wheat was grown all over the province. Improved varieties of wheat went ahead of others. Among them Punjab 11, Punjab 8 A and wheat No. 265, Pusa 12, were most prominent. The experiments in wheat showed that Punjab 11 wheat was best suited to the canal colonies while Pusa 12 was well-adapted to the unirrigated parts of the province.⁴⁹ The new types of wheat yielded a produce worth rupees 15 per acre more than the mixture in use. The remarkable yield of 43 maunds per acre was obtained from Punjab 8 A at Lyallpur.⁵⁰ The area under Punjab 8 A in 1918-19 was only eighteen acres.⁵¹ There was every possibility that a new type 8A, a bearded wheat with good hard amber grain, would oust Punjab 11 which had become the most popular variety in the canal colonies.⁵² The Punjab 11 yielded larger quantity than the mixture it supplanted and this was the principal reason for its popularity; being pure it also nearly always fetched a slightly higher price in the market than ordinary wheat. The area under

the cultivation of this wheat in Lower Chenab, Lower Bari Doab and Lower Jhelum Colonies was 302,500 acres.⁵³ Pusa 12 wheat continued to be the most popular wheat in the Sialkot, Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts. The area under it in 1917 was 10,000 acres. It gave an increased out-turn of at least 25 per cent and a premium of 2 annas per maund. It was also very popular for eating purposes.⁵⁴

There was a great improvement in the production of American cotton in the province. Desi cotton matured earlier than the American. Both types were perennial, and in places like Mianwali where the standard of cultivation was not high, *desi* plants were left in the ground for two or more years. The American cotton might even give a bigger yield in their second year, but owing to the susceptibility to insect pests all plants were usually uprooted after picking.

The Indian Cotton Committee found that the yields in Punjab were lower than in any other province in India except Madras and the Central Provinces; experience showed that this was largely due to bad cultivation which in turn might be due in part to the preparation period being already busy with the wheat harvest. Under skilled guidance at British Cotton Growing Association Farms and those at Convillepur and elsewhere, much higher yields had been obtained on large acreages.⁵⁵

More brilliant success was achieved in the discovery of better varieties of cotton than those ordinarily used. A number of American and Egyptian varieties of cotton were sown in Punjab.⁵⁶ The American cotton had a staple of greater length. In Shahpur colony, the American cotton did well in the first decade of the twentieth century both in yield and price.⁵⁷ The high yielding varieties gave more income than the *desi* cotton from the same area. A variety of American origin, technically called 4F⁵⁸ and popularly known as 'Amereekan', had been discovered by Mr. D. Milne with a staple that is just short of 'Amreekan Middling Fair', the standard cotton of the world. The 4F American cotton was introduced in Punjab in 1914-15 and the area sown was only five acres. Within five years, about one-third of the total area under cotton came under this variety and the proportion increased later on.⁵⁹ The area under it in 1919-20 rose to 511,000 acres.⁶⁰

A new selection of American cotton number 285-F had afforded better results than 4 F – the most popular variety with the *zamindars* towards the closing years of our study.⁶¹

Sugarcane was an important and valuable crop in Rohtak, Delhi, Karnal, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Jhang districts. It ordinarily covered about 520 square miles, of which more than 80 per cent was irrigated and the rest moist land.⁶² The area under this crop had been greatly increased by the introduction of new types of cane giving a much greater yield⁶³ and which were frost resistant.⁶⁴ These varieties of cane yielded a higher percentage of juice ranging between 80 to 90 maunds of crude sugar. Of the Indian sugarcane producing provinces, Punjab stood second to the United Provinces alone.⁶⁵

Rice is a more specialised summer crop. Its cultivation is a difficult art, as it can only be grown under special conditions. Temperature must average at least 70°F during the sixth month of growth, and during most of that period the water supply must be under complete control. In Punjab these conditions were only reproduced in the montane and submontane stream-irrigated areas, and in the heavy water-logged soils of the river beds or drainage channels in the plains.

Rice while occupying 40 per cent of the net cropped area of food-grains in India, is relatively unimportant in Punjab, where the area never exceeded a million acres, or a little over one per cent of the rice acreage of India.⁶⁶ Rice was grown chiefly in Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Karnal and Ambala districts and throughout the Lahore and Multan Divisions. It ordinarily covered more than 1,100 square miles.⁶⁷

It may be added here that the introduction of new varieties of crops was effected primarily in the interests of the British themselves. They gave more stress on crops which were needed either for industries in England like cotton, or for the markets of Europe like wheat, or for the Europeans in India like English vegetables.

IV

Irrigation made no less significant contribution in the development of agriculture under the British rule. The most important source of irrigation in the province was, however, the magnificent system of irrigation canals. When Punjab came under the British rule, the only canals of any importance in existence were the inundation canals which had been drawn from the rivers Satluj, Chenab and Indus to irrigate the comparatively low lands in the valleys of those rivers.⁶⁸ The introduction of western irrigation engineering brought a sea change in the traditional mode of canal irrigation both quantitatively and qualitatively. The British administrators and engineers found Punjab plains eminently suited for canal irrigation. The present canals were almost entirely the creation of British rule. These canals fall into two categories :⁶⁹ The Perennial Canals; the Inundation Canals.⁷⁰

The Lower Jhelum Canal was among the prominent perennial canals opened in 1901. Taking off at Mung Rasul from the left bank of the Jhelum, it irrigated 876,000 acres in districts of Shahpur, a part of Gujarat and Jhang. The town of Sargodha owed its existence to this canal. The Triple Canal Project irrigated Ganji Bar areas in Montgomery and Multan districts. It comprised three separate canals namely the Upper Jhelum, the Upper Chenab and the Lower Bari Doab canals. The surplus waters of the rivers Jhelum, Chanab and Ravi were pooled for the benefit of the tracts commanded by the three canals. The work on the canals was commenced in January 1905 and the whole project was completed in March 1917. The total cost of the project was rupees 101,066,394 and area annually irrigated about 20 lakh acres.⁷¹ 25,000 square miles of waste lands were brought under cultivation as a result of this project. The other perennial canals in Punjab were : Bari Doab Canal, Western Yamuna Canal and Sirhind Canal.

Of the inundation canals, mention may be made of Chenab Canal, Lower Sidhnai Canal, Shahpur Inundation Canals, Indus Inundation Canals, Upper Sutlej Canals and Lower Sutlej Canals. But these canals already existed or had been completed before 1897.⁷²

Considerable progress was made in removing the worst consequences of an irregular rainfall. The surplus water running to waste in great rivers was led to the fields of the cultivators by a network of perennial and inundation canals mentioned above.

Wells constituted the most important indigenous source of irrigation. Well irrigation demanded a fairly high level of the subsoil water. The districts where well-irrigation was most prevalent were Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Montgomery.⁷³ In the south-west of Punjab the wells were lesser in number, owing to the great depth of subsoil water.⁷⁴

At the outset of the British period more area was irrigated by wells than by canals. But towards the end of the nineteenth century, the share of wells and canals in the work of irrigation was almost equally divided.⁷⁵

In 1903-04 there were over 2,76,000 masonry wells including 38,000 lever wells and water lifts.⁷⁶ Interesting experiments were made with aeromotors for raising water at Mianwali but the results were at first practically inconclusive. The experimental introduction of chrome leather water buckets for wells had also been a failure.⁷⁷

Slow but significant progress was, however, made in the production and distribution of labour saving machinery and in well-boring. In 1912-13, 216 wells were bored and the water supply increased in 116 wells.⁷⁸ From 1919 onwards, the increase in the masonry wells was 79 per cent. Most of the masonry wells were constructed at private expenses.⁷⁹

For spreading irrigation over areas where canal irrigation was impossible, a form of irrigation intermediate between the perennial canal and a good well had been developed. This was the strainer tube-well, a device by which the water in the deep-seated layers of coarse sand can be raised to the surface by a pump driven by an old engine. These installations were often 260 feet in depth and were capable of watering 200 to 400 acres. Six tube-wells installations were put down in 1916-17. This branch of works was, however, considerably handicapped by the great

rise in the price of materials on account of the war.⁸⁰ In 1919 tubewell installation work was practically at a standstill owing to two trained mechanic borers (out of a total of three) having been sent to Persia with three sets of heavy plant on deputation.⁸¹

About 75 per cent of cultivable land in Punjab, was lying waste,⁸² because of non-availability of water, or to be more precise because of the non-utilization of underground water as well as the water available in perennial rivers of Punjab. There continued to be serious problems especially in the western plains of Punjab. The Government was keen to remedy the situation there as well because it was aware that its earlier efforts to make water available to the people in Punjab had gone a long way in not only increasing the prosperity of the region but also enhancing the revenue and surplus agricultural produce required for export to England. Therefore, the Government decided to establish canal colonies in the western plains of the Punjab. Besides agricultural considerations, the British were motivated to establish canal colonies by some other factors also. It was desired to relieve the pressure of population in the highly congested districts of the Central Punjab where conditions in the 1890s were bad.⁸³ The British were also in the look out of a region which was conducive for horse-breeding. The horses of good breed and quality were required for the army. The hot climate of western Punjab was considered to be suitable for horse-breeding.⁸⁴ Another consideration which weighed with the British authorities was that through the canal colonies they sought to avoid famines which were causing great loss in certain parts of Punjab.⁸⁵ The real motivation of the governing authority went well beyond such objectives. A sequence of colonisation projects of such magnitude would have far-reaching political and economic implications, and of these the British were fully aware. For one, land distribution would tend to win over the loyalty of those so rewarded. Revenue was another important consideration. Canal projects were sanctioned only if their profitability was ensured.⁸⁶

Before million acres of land could be brought under the irrigation network, many formidable difficulties had to be overcome. Generally speaking, the country, to begin with, was wide, empty, desolate and the population hostile. In addition to

these, climate was not suitable, means of communication inadequate and labour very scarce.⁸⁷ These initial difficulties were, however, overcome one by one, by the vigilance of a succession of engineers, colonisation officers, and by the indomitable and adventurous spirit of the Punjabi colonists.⁸⁸

The colonists, chosen after considerable care, were those peasants who were hard-working, tough, physically fit and those who had not mortgaged their land but also did not have sufficient holdings. Thus, colonisation helped those poverty – stricken hard-working peasants who were hard-up and had little hope of improving their lot in the already over-crowded Central Punjab. Majority of the earliest colonisers hailed from the eastern districts of Punjab, notably Amritsar, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and *janglis* (original inhabitants of this tract all intermingled in these tracts). In the early stages no general plan was adopted in the colonisation scheme, but in the tracts which were colonised later, generally speaking, efforts were made to settle Sikh *jats* in the central areas, surrounded by Muhammadan *jats*, *arains*, *gujars*, *rajputs*, while the outer ring consisted of *nomads* of Bar, also called *janglis*.⁸⁹ The Jat Sikhs due to their hard-working habits were given large areas of land in the colonies. They numbered 79,653 in 1901 and were cultivating 445,445 acres of land in 1913. About 50,000 tenants, on the basis of heritable occupancy tenancy rights, were settled on this hitherto barren land.⁹⁰

There were several strates of crown-tenants. On the lowest rung were the peasant-grantees holding pieces of land less than 28 acres each. About 80 per cent of the land in Lower Chenab Colony, 75 per cent in the Lower Jhelum Colony and 59 per cent in Lower Bari Doab Colony was granted to the peasant-grantees. They were to pay the land revenue, water-rates and a yearly fee called *malikana* to the government. After the expiry of a fixed term, generally ten years, they were given inalienable proprietary rights in Lower Jhelum Colony and grantees in Lower Chenab were given alienable proprietary rights. The ownership and distribution of land, however, led to a wide variation in the holdings. On this basis there could be identified three types of colonists, viz. landlord and yeoman, peasants and tenants.⁹¹

The peasant grantees were by far the most efficient colonists and backbone of all the colonists.⁹² Besides those, there were some other colonists under the category of service grants, planting grants and military grants. The service grants were the camel service grants held mainly by the *balochis*. The grants were nominally made for 20 years but could be renewed on the expiry of the period. But no occupancy rights were given to service grantees. The tree planting grants generally consisted of five acres. Half of this grant would be cultivated by the owner for his own benefit. The nursery was further exempted from land revenue and received water free in both harvests.⁹³ Military grantees were soldiers mainly from Punjab, Punjab Native States, Kashmir and the North-West Frontier Province.⁹⁴ Their allotments were governed on the basis of ordinary peasant grants.

The establishment of the canal colonies marked a turning point in the socio-economic history of Punjab. The districts which before colonization could not produce enough grain for their sparse population became bread-baskets of India and exporters of large quantities of agricultural produce to foreign countries.⁹⁵ It also led to the movement of the people to the irrigated tracts both from nearby as well as from the far off parts of Punjab.

The colonization stimulated the growth of capitalism in the Punjab agriculture; where the canals had brought water to the unsettled tracts and colonised vast areas, they directly led to the creation of big landlords. Much of the land in the canal colonies was held in the holdings above 25 acres. The holdings of 25 acres and above covered 66.5 per cent of the total cultivated area in the canal colonies against the provincial figure of 46 per cent in 1925.⁹⁶ The creation of great landlords increased the number of the tenants and agricultural labourers. Thus, the polarization of agrarian classes between the big landlords and tenants assumed a new shape with colonization. The class of the rent receivers living on the toil of the tenants flourished.⁹⁷

The high rate of urbanization in the canal colonies also was the result of the colonization. With the large immigration and rapid expansion of agriculture, new urban centres came into being, particularly along the railway lines, to facilitate the marketing and export of agricultural produce. Expansion of urban

centres was further evidenced by the increasing demand for land in urban areas for residential and commercial purposes.⁹⁸

The canalization of river water and the establishment of canal colonies not only ushered in the western Punjab a new era of agricultural development and prosperity but also brought about wide ranging changes of socio-economic nature in the province and ways of living of the people. Once irrigation facilities became available, new and scientific methods of cultivation began to be increasingly adopted by the farmers. The lands which were lying waste hitherto for want of water, were converted into fertile plains; agricultural produce of the province increased considerably, and the people became more and more prosperous than before and the mind of the cultivators was freed from the uncertainty of the seasons.⁹⁹ The people were no longer at the mercy of famines.¹⁰⁰

The Government of Punjab drew up a bill to tighten its control over the colonisers, legalising the system of fines and plugging the loopholes in the previous regulations. The Council passed the bill on 28 February, 1907¹⁰¹ despite non-official members' opposition. The Indian members in the Punjab Council, thus, for the first time in the ten years' history of the Council, consistently opposed an official manoeuvre to rush through an unpopular bill. The measure was also strongly criticised by most of the native newspapers. *The Zamindar* commented that the day of passage of the bill in the Punjab Council was as black as Moharram.¹⁰² *The Hindustan* remarked that the Crown Lands Colonization Bill had been passed into law in spite of the protests of the landed gentry of the whole country – a fact which clearly showed that Government attached little value to public opinion in India.¹⁰³

The colonisers criticised the bill as unconstitutional and an infringement of the previous contracts between them and the Government. They opined that it unfairly subjected the previous grantees to new liabilities and responsibilities. It altered rules of succession against the personal and customary laws of *zamindars*. It provided severe punishment for ordinary faults and mistakes. Instead of checking illegal and unauthorised proceedings of officers, it legalised them.¹⁰⁴

The agitation against the bill went on unabated despite its passage in the Council. Violent disturbances, sparked off by the soul-stirring poem 'Pagri Sambhal O Jatta' (O' peasant guard your turban-honour) took place at the first meeting of the colonists which was held at Lyallpur on 21 and 22 March, 1907. Ajit Singh made a scathing attack upon the increase of land assessment and said, "Soil of India belongs to the Indians and the British have no claim over it."¹⁰⁵ He exhorted the peasants to stop cultivation until the amount was reduced. The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi served notice not only on Ajit Singh for this seditious speech but also on other organisers of the meeting.¹⁰⁶ On the day of hearing, the people formed themselves into a demonstration which went through streets of the town, damaged houses and property of European officers. Fire was set to the mission house and the church. Sixty-eight persons were arrested in connection with these disturbances and prosecuted.¹⁰⁷

The Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab in his Minute dated 3 May 1907 addressed to the Government of India, described the situation in the province as explosive because of the seditious activities of Lajpat Rai and his 'agent' Ajit Singh. The Government considered Lajpat Rai as the moving spirit behind the whole agrarian and urban movement.¹⁰⁸ *The Panjabee* remarked that a definite anti-English propaganda had been started in the villages also in connection with Colonisation Bill in Chenab Colony and enhancement of water-rates in Bari Doab. Seditious propaganda was being carried on both through newspapers and public meetings which were well attended.¹⁰⁹ The Chenab Colony had been chosen as a particularly effective centre for agitation.

The Lieutenant-Governor felt that the agitation, with Lajpat Rai as its leader, was part of a conspiracy to overthrow the British rule.¹¹⁰ Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested and deported in extreme secrecy on 9 May 1907. Similarly, Ajit Singh was also arrested in June. Wide-spread disturbances took place in various parts of India at the arrest and deportation of Lajpat Rai and a number of protest meetings were held against the arbitrary and high-handed action of the Government.¹¹¹

While launching upon repressive measures, the British Government was forced to beat a full retreat on the issues of

Colonisation Bill and enhancement of water-rates in Bari Doab. In the changed situation, and under the pressure of public opinion, the Secretary of State for India directed the release of both the deported leaders on 11 November 1907.¹¹² Moreover, to assuage the feelings of the Punjabi cultivators, the land-tax and water-rates were reduced to half. The unrest of 1907 subsided but it brought about great awakening among the people against the British *raj*.

V

The British rule created and consolidated infrastructure which precipitated the process of commercialisation of agriculture. Improved communications linked regional markets with the world market.¹¹³ As a result of large-scale expansion of canal irrigation, the introduction of new and improved methods of cultivation and the availability of new varieties of crops, the yield per acre, especially of more profitable crops, increased considerably but simultaneously these developments led to commercialisation of agriculture. This may be illustrated with reference to the two chief crops, cotton and wheat. The area covered by the cotton crop both by American 4-F and *desi* cotton was 511,000 acres in 1919-20 and the wheat crop covered 302,500 acres.¹¹⁴

As a matter of fact, the growth of commercial agriculture had greatly stimulated the process of substitution of inferior crops by the superior ones. In this connection wheat deserves our special attention. Its commercial success prompted many *zamindars* to switch over to its cultivation in many of the districts of the province. In the central Punjab districts and canal colonies also *jowar*, *bajra*, *china*, *kangi* etc. were largely substituted by wheat.¹¹⁵ There was a substantial increase in the export of wheat and other agricultural products, the figures for wheat and raw cotton being 877 lakhs and 494 lakhs respectively in 1920-21.

Apart from the production of commercial crops, commercialization entailed significant changes in the agrarian economy : differentiation among the peasantry, emergence of land market, credit market and labour market. The desperate dependence on land as the basis for survival with no alternative permanent means of livelihood perpetuated the perverse exchange

relations and retarded productive accumulation.¹¹⁶ Commercialization of the agricultural produce under colonial intervention created differential impact on the peasantry and consequently, rich peasants assumed the role of merchant capitalists in Punjab.¹¹⁷

VI

The structure of land revenue system in Punjab witnessed significant changes under the British rule. Individual ownership and cash transactions replaced the erstwhile community proprietorship. During the pre-British period, the terms like 'property', 'the purchasing power of money', 'credit', 'attachment' and 'sale' were beyond the comprehension of the cultivators and land could not be alienated from the cultivators without the consent of the whole community.¹¹⁸ There was no legal sanction behind the debts taken from the money-lenders, and land had no value as it could not be either sold or attached.

But the new conditions created by the British rule changed the entire situation. The unrestricted right to buy and sell land, conferred by the Britishers, destroyed the old system. Aliens, who had no blood ties with original inhabitants, began to settle in villages and set up as landlords.¹¹⁹ The settlement officer conferred the 'occupancy tenancy rights' on those resident cultivators who had held some land for 12 years and for non-residents the time fixed was 20 years.¹²⁰ This new principle of 'occupancy tenancy' right was a novelty in Punjab because here the peasant proprietors had held unrestricted right to evict their tenants. But the proprietors were not only willing, but also anxious to recognise occupancy rights of their tenants because in early days of the British rule, prices of agricultural produce were low and labour was also scarce and as such the proprietors were happy to get cultivators to share their burden of revenue demand.¹²¹

With canal irrigation, better methods of cultivation, use of high yielding varieties of seeds and reclamation of desert land there was an enormous increase in agricultural produce. As a consequence land gained a commercial value and sales and mortgages became common, causing a rise in the value of land.¹²²

The developed means of communication gave a market to this agricultural surplus. As a result, the market value of produce steadily increased. With the increase in the price of agricultural produce, land acquired a saleable quality. In these conditions the right to transfer land also assumed importance. Land was now a marketable asset which could be pledged, transferred and sold. The moneylenders (*baniyas*) now began to lend on security of land. Indebtedness began to increase and so did alienation of land.¹²³

Investment in land was becoming profitable. The moneylenders began to grasp the opportunity to acquire land. In 1899-1900 the agriculturists sold 119,000 acres to non-agriculturists and at the same time mortgaged 290,000 acres.¹²⁴ Mortgaged began to increase at an alarming rate and the land began to be alienated to the moneylenders and traders when the agriculturists failed to pay back the loans. By the turn of the century, most of the Punjabi cultivators were in debt. The Punjabis began to feel that the 'Raj of the Moneylenders'¹²⁵ had dawned and the popular dictum was found to be true when the government enquiries¹²⁶ revealed that over 80 per cent of the peasants of Punjab were in debt.¹²⁷ *The Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore and *The Siraj-ul-Akhbar* of Jhelum attributed the indebtedness of the agriculturist population of the province to these factors: drought; indulgence in costly litigation, extravagance on occasions of marriage and deaths; exactions of money-lenders; heavy tuition fees for the education of the sons of peasants; disunion and family disputes among the agriculturists, exploitation of peasants by police and court officials.¹²⁸ Thus, the land, due to the peasants' indebtedness had been changing hands in the countryside from agricultural classes to non-agricultural classes.

The Government, therefore, passed in 1900 the Punjab Alienation of Land Act which did not permit the transfer of land from the agriculturist to non-agriculturist classes except in certain cases where with the prior sanction of the Deputy Commissioner temporary alienation of land to non-agriculturists upto a maximum period of 20 years could be made, but after the lapse of 20 years the land would revert unencumbered to the alienator.¹²⁹

The Punjab Alienation of Land Act of 1900 had a mixed reception. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot) remarked that the Land Alienation Act could prove of use only if steps were taken to prevent those causes from arising which had hitherto forced the agriculturists to alienate their lands. If, therefore, the Government was desirous of facilitating the working of the Act, it should first tackle the question of agricultural indebtedness.¹³⁰

The Watan (Lahore) commenting upon the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act during the past few months, observed that the enactment in question was not calculated to place an effective check on the alienation of land, in as much as agriculturists were allowed to make such alienations among themselves, a provision which was sure to lower the value of land. As a matter of fact, it was absolutely necessary that the Government should change its policy of assessment with a view to ameliorating the condition of the agricultural community of the province.¹³¹ *The Pioneer* expressed the opinion that though the Land Alienation Act was calculated to mitigate the evils of land indebtedness in the province, but it had not proved a success.¹³²

The Punjab Alienation of Land Act which divided the Punjab society into two sections, the agriculturists and the non-agriculturists, caused discontentment among those who failed to get themselves enlisted as agriculturists. The Act created a struggle among the non-agriculturists to get themselves enlisted as agriculturist tribes.¹³³

The Panjabee (Lahore) remarked that the working of the Act would cause cleavage between the poor peasants and rich proprietors. There was no restriction in the Act to an alienation of land by a member of the notified agricultural tribe to another member of the notified agricultural tribe in the same district. In course of time the poor or needy peasants would sell their lands to their richer brethren and the class of peasant proprietors would give place to big or rich land-lords.¹³⁴ *The Wafadar* of Lahore, stated that the Alienation of Land Act had proved a veritable blessing to the agriculturists in Punjab, who previous to the blessing of the passing of the said Act were subjected to much trouble at the hands of the *shahukars*.¹³⁵

The Desh (Lahore) quoted Sir Michael O'Dwyer's description of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act as the greatest gift of the Government and the *magna carta* of the agriculturists. Had the Act succeeded in preventing the expropriation of land it might well have been so regarded; but it had signally failed. The Alienation of Land still went on a pace with this one difference that Muhammad Din and Sukha Singh had replaced Ram Dass and Nand Lal.¹³⁶

There was, however, a decrease in transfers of mortgage and sale and no real depreciation in land value occurred in the years 1900-1905; the average price of land in five years ending 1900 was rupees 78 and between 1900-1905 the average was rupees 75 per acre.¹³⁷

The functioning of the Alienation of Land Act, 1900, brought to light certain defects of the Act within six years of its operation and convinced the Government of the need to amend some of its provisions. Consequently, the Land Alienation Amendment Act was passed on 13 April 1907¹³⁸ which came into force with effect from 9 May 1907. The main feature of the Act was that the statutory agriculturist, who enjoyed the privileges of a member of an agricultural tribe in an estate in which he or his ancestors had owned land for a definite term had ceased to exist. The position of the landlord who wished to acquire the occupancy rights of his tenant had been still further safeguarded by making sanction to the alienation unnecessary. The result of this Act would be to stop evasions in which the agriculturist acted as a go between in the acquisition of land on behalf of his fellow money-lender, and to put an end to a specially favoured class with peculiar facilities for acquiring land amounting in many cases almost to a monopoly.¹³⁹

The recasting of the law of pre-emption was one of the corollaries to the passing of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act. Tribal custom had always recognised the right of the land owner to the exclusive use of his property during his life time; but the right to alienate inherited landed property (either by gift or bequest) had generally been subject to certain restrictions. The great mass of the landed property in Punjab was held by small proprietors who cultivated their own land in whole or in part.

When any of these proprietors wished to sell his rights, the other members of the village community to which he belonged had a preferential right to purchase them at the same price as could be obtained from outsiders. But this ancient right of pre-emption, which was intended to prevent the disintegration of the village proprietary body had been deprived of most of its value by Chief Court's rulings, which enabled a non-agriculturist to break up the village community; it was to prevent this that the Punjab Pre-emption Act, was passed. But the pre-emption law was admittedly unsatisfactory and gave rise to abuses, particularly in the form of bogus threats by persons with rights of pre-emption to enforce those rights when a sale of land was in question. Moreover, with the passing of the Alienation of Land Act, the main function of the doctrine of pre-emption, the prevention of the expropriation of the peasantry by outsiders, had become superfluous. Its importance in the rural economy of the province, therefore, tended to diminish.¹⁴⁰

VII

The idea of using co-operation in India as a means of combating rural indebtedness by supplying credit was first mooted by Mr. Fredrick Nicholson who had made an extensive study of agricultural and other land banks in Europe. In the meantime, in the two districts of Multan and Mianwali of Punjab, efforts were being made by two settlement officers, Mr. Maclagan and Captain Crosthwaite, to induce the people to benefit themselves by co-operation.¹⁴¹ In the opening years of the present century the Congress demanded the establishment of agricultural banks and co-operative credit societies for the benefit of the ryot.¹⁴²

The Government also felt the need to establish agricultural banks and the Co-operative Credit Societies to help the ryot. It, therefore, enacted the Co-operative Credit Societies Act 1904 in order to promote agricultural banks and credit societies.¹⁴³ After the passing of this Act the Government at once launched a scheme of co-operation in the province under the guidance of the Registrar who was appointed in October 1904.¹⁴⁴ There were signs that where the co-operative credit movement had taken root, the charges of the village money-lenders were becoming more fair

and reasonable. There was no spontaneous desire to found caste or tribal organisations.

In a co-operative society the members became the shareholders by payment of ten compulsory instalments. No dividends were declared for ten years, when three-quarters of the profits were divided among the shareholders, the remaining fourth being transferred to the reserve fund which was made available for the general purposes of the society. These societies usually lent money at about 9 per cent interest and paid 5 per cent at fixed deposits.¹⁴⁵ Whereas the normal rate of interest taken by societies was less than 10 per cent, that demanded by private money-lenders in a year of scarcity was anything above 25 per cent.

The most unsatisfactory feature in the history of the movement was that a large number of societies had died at birth or had been wound up after a brief and inglorious existence. There could be no question as to the advantage of enlisting the sympathies of the village money-lender. That he should show a certain amount of hostility to the movement was inevitable. The *sahukar* was generally a shrewd businessman and knew that the courts could not recover from him anything like the amount found to be in his due and if he was convinced that financing a Co-operative Bank at a moderate rate of interest was an absolutely safe investment he would probably be willing to seek through its agency a suitable means of employing his capital. That the hostility of small money lenders would cease entirely was not to be hoped for, but much could be done to mitigate it to the great advantage of both the parties. The co-operative movement spoke well not only for the prosperity but also for the enterprise of the colonists in the Chenab Canal Colony. In addition to founding societies which were solvent and flourishing they had in most cases adopted bye-laws providing that surplus funds would be lent to societies established in the villages in which colonists originally resided.¹⁴⁶

In 1908-09, 76 new rural societies were started. Altogether there were now 311 active rural societies; the working capital increased from 5 to 7¾ lakhs of which less than 30 per cent was borrowed capital.¹⁴⁷ Of the 5 urban societies, the Jullundur Bank founded in 1909 was the first Punjab district bank intended to

finance rural societies, of which very few were self-sufficient. Further, in order to attract money which was ready for investment away from headquarters, unions were being inaugurated. These unions and district banks would supplement one another, the latter acting as distributors of surplus money both to the unions in each district and to other districts; while an added advantage of the union was that they promised to provide a method of control over societies by societies.¹⁴⁸ The movement now extended to 18 districts, though the only districts which showed any extensive progress were Jullundur, Gurdaspur, Lyallpur, Hoshiarpur, Jhelum, Shahpur and Gujarat. But rural societies still constituted 98 per cent of the Co-operative Societies in Punjab. A special feature of 1910, however, was the extension of central banks of which there were now six. Unfortunately, these banks were not taking their proper place in the development of societies.¹⁴⁹

An organised effort was made to extend to artisans and especially to weavers in 1912 the advantages of co-operative methods. Fourteen more societies of this class had been registered during the year and eleven others started which had not yet been registered. The difficulties to be faced especially in the case of weavers, were much greater than in the case of agriculturists' societies, in as much as the weaver was much more down-trodden and consequently more suspicious and less enterprising. The policy adopted had been not to form too many societies, but to make successes of those which had been started.¹⁵⁰ Thus, a remarkable progress was made during 1904-12 in the field of co-operative movement,¹⁵¹ in spite of an obstacle afterwards removed, imposed by a decision that unions of societies could not be registered under Act X of 1904.¹⁵² At the close of the year 1911, there were 12 central banks, 14 unions, 26 urban societies and 1,721 rural societies. During the year 1912, the new Act (II of 1912) was substituted for the previous Act regulating the control of these societies.¹⁵³

The year 1913-14, had been a critical one for the co-operative movement in Punjab on account of disturbed financial situation due to the failure of some Indian Banks. The Registrar handled the situation by strengthening the existing societies rather than expansion.¹⁵⁴

There could be no doubt as to the improvement effected in the agricultural credit by means of agricultural societies, and it had been noticed that there had already been a substantial decline in the rate of interest demanded by money-lenders from agriculturists even in the villages where societies did not actually exist. Among their miscellaneous activities it might be mentioned that these societies were also becoming awakened to the necessity of more school education for their children; they also continued to exercise a powerful check against extravagant expenditure on marriage ceremonies and the like. Their action in the matter of reduction in litigation and in propagating scientific agriculture was also commendable. It was estimated that the amount of indebtedness already cleared off by means of co-operative societies exceeded one crore and there were indications that the money-lending classes were beginning not only to realize the futility of opposing the movement but also to invest a part of their capital in it. A spirit of energy and self-respect was being created among the peasants where formerly there was often only apathy, fatalism or despair.¹⁵⁵

During the year 1914-15, there was a disposition on the part of depositors to withdraw their deposits, while there was a falling off in fresh deposits due to outbreak of Great War.¹⁵⁶

The year 1916-17 had been of great activity, but consolidation and education had been aimed at rather than expansion. A second officer of the Indian Civil Service was placed on special duty in January 1917 and the number of Government inspectors was raised to 19. During the year, 12,000 members who were found unsuited were expelled, while 13,000 cases of over due loans were referred to arbitration.¹⁵⁷

The outstanding feature of the year 1917-18 was the formation and registration of the Punjab Co-operative Union Ltd. This was a combination of all Central Banks and Banking Unions which elected representatives in proportion to the number of primary societies affiliated to them. It thus represented the whole body of co-operators in the province and though, at first, its business was to administer the audit fund, it was expected to develop into a factor of importance in the rural development of Punjab.¹⁵⁸

A new Central Bank was opened at Murree and a Central Weavers' Co-operative Store was successfully founded. In spite of the war-loan campaign, transactions between the Central Banks and the societies increased by 10.8 lakhs of rupees. The Central Banks now owned as shares and reserve fund 26.5 per cent of their total liabilities. Two new unions were formed. The unions were now, with few exceptions, placing all their profits to reserve. On the whole the Central institutions had done a good work and were rapidly increasing their financial stability.¹⁵⁹

In 1918, 45 per cent of the societies had been classified as good as compared with 37 per cent in 1917, and the proportion of bad societies had declined from 23 per cent to 16 per cent. Careful inquiries into the work of old societies slowed conclusively the great good that was being steadily achieved.¹⁶⁰

The following table shows the number of societies, its members and working capital during the years 1918 and 1919:¹⁶¹

Class	On 31st July 1918			On 31st July 1919		
	Societies	Members	Working capital (Rs.)	Societies	Members	Working capital (Rs.)
Central	45	4,866	5,616,995	57	5,701	7,175,216
Agricultural	3,937	125,040	13,752,460	5,228	149,040	15,521,099
Non-Agricultural	45	5,063	397,969	172	13,264	539,560

In 1918-19, the capital owned by members of Agricultural Primary Societies in lakhs was:¹⁶²

	<i>(Rs. in lakhs)</i>
Shares	50.27
Reserve	39.36
Net Profit accrued	9.03
Total	98.66
Less interest not realised	6.00
Roughly	93

VIII

The growth of prosperity among the Punjabi agriculturists brought in its train the ever-growing indebtedness. The rural

indebtedness got a momentum in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The situation was so worsened that in 1920 only 17 per cent of the peasant proprietors of the province remained free from debt.¹⁶³

The Tribune (Lahore) published an article headed "Village Banks in India" in which after observing that both the official and non-official friends of the *zamindars* always thought of replacing the money-lenders by some other agency and not of doing something to make it unnecessary for the agriculturists to borrow, the Editor made the following remarks:¹⁶⁴

There can be no more significant admission of the fact that the agriculturist cannot escape debt, and his credit is so low that special arrangements have to be made to enable him to obtain money, not as a regular loan but in shape of philanthropic help.

The Rafiq-i-Hind (Lahore) gave the following significant remarks regarding the existing position of the peasants:¹⁶⁵

1. that the peasants were the most important section of His Majesty's subjects in Punjab;
2. that the larger part of Government's income was derived from the land revenue;
3. that the agriculturists not only paid the above revenue, but also proved useful to Government in several other ways;
4. that the present condition of the agricultural classes in Punjab was by no means satisfactory, nay was growing worse from day-to-day;
5. that the collapse of the peasants of Punjab would be certain and would prove harmful to both the Government and the people.

The Zamindar (Lahore) gave the following suggestions for the improvement of the condition of agriculturists:¹⁶⁶

1. that the schools in all the big villages should maintain gardens where *zamindars'* boys could learn scientific agriculture and the use of improved agricultural implements;

2. that every zamindar should be given loans on the security of his landed property for the purpose of buying the aforesaid implements and supplying his other similar wants – the rate of interest charged being low and money being recovered by easy instalments commencing one or two years after an advance was made;
3. that if a *zamindar* was too poor to gratify his desire to have improved implements of agriculture, he should be given the necessary loan on the recommendations of the *lambardar* of his village and other leading *zamindars* of the place;
4. that the Agricultural Department should appoint inspectors and lecturers to tour in villages and instruct *zamindars* how to improve agriculture;
5. that the Government should issue agricultural pamphlets written in easy language, and should distribute the same among *zamindars*;
6. that educated members of the agricultural community should be appointed to all those posts the holders of which had dealings with *zamindars*; Munshifships in particular should always be filled in the suggested manner.

Summing up, it may be said that agriculture witnessed unique and momentous progress in Punjab plains between 1897 and 1919. It was the result of the great extension of irrigated area, various improvements made on the soil to preserve and increase its productivity, introduction of scientific and technological innovations at various stages and the institutional help given by the Departments of Agriculture and Co-operation. All this marked a momentous evolutionary stage in the modernisation of agriculture and went a long way in increasing the agricultural produce and prosperity of Punjab. But at the same time, a great majority of the peasants of Punjab had to face poverty and indebtedness. It is significant to observe that the primary motive of the colonial rulers was not to take measures for the welfare of the peasantry but to safeguard and promote their imperial interests. Punjab had also not been free from droughts and famines. The problem of droughts in the south-east was not overcome by any adequate extension of irrigational facilities. Even after 1900, scarcities continued to plague the region, though

the area affected by distress contracted somewhat. The 1905-06 famine was immediately followed by one in 1907-08 and then after a longer gap came the famine of 1920-21. Adequate measures were not taken by the foreign rulers to help the famine-stricken people who had to face suffering and starvation of a grievous nature. Nevertheless, the credit goes to the British administration for transforming agriculture of this province on modern lines.

References and Notes

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2. For details, see I.J. Kerr, 'The Agri-Horticultural Society of the Punjab, 1851-1871'. *Panjab Past and Present : Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Patiala 1976, pp. 252-63.
3. Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1905-06 (hereafter given as PAR), para 20.
4. *Ibid.*, General Summary, para 19; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1906, p. 1.
5. PAR, 1909-10, para 91.
6. PAR, 1912-13, para 151.
7. PAR, 1917-18, para 255.
8. PAR, 1913-14, para 151.
9. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVIII, Punjab, Part I (Lahore, 1931), p. 22.
10. PAR, 1909-10, para 88; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1910, pp. 1-2.
11. PAR, 1913-14, para 123.
12. PAR, 1915-16, para 142.
13. PAR, 1916-17, para 174.
14. Progress of Education in India, 1917-22, Eighth Quinquennial Review, Vol. I (Government Printing, Calcutta, 1923), p. 165; Government of India, Bureau of Education, Indian Education in 1914-15 (Calcutta, 1916), p. 23; PAR, 1919-20, para 204; Financial Commissioner's note on the Report of the Agricultural Department for the year 1917-18, p. 1.
15. PAR, 1918-19, para 252.
16. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1917, p. 2.
17. M.L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (Delhi, 1977), p. 177.
18. H.K. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today* (Lahore, 1932), p. 319.

19. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1916, p. 8; PAR, 1915-16, para 147.
20. The rajah plough cost rupees 50 each in 1919. See, Annual Report on the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1919-20, p.9.
21. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 321; PAR, 1915-16, para 147.
22. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1917, p. 6.
23. PAR, 1895-96, para 119.
24. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab, for the year 1906-07, p. 8.
25. Memorandum on the Moral and Material Progress in the Punjab during the years 1901-02 to 1911-12, p. 3; PAR, 1908-09, para 83.
26. PAR, 1909-10, para 90; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1909, para 50.
27. PAR, 1911-12, para 375.
28. PAR, 1914-15, para 176; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1913, para 22.
29. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1915, p. 9.
30. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1908, p. 9; PAR, 1907-08, para 40.
31. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-22.
32. PAR, 1917-18, para 256; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1919, p. 9.
33. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
34. Sukhwant Singh, "Agricultural Transformation in the Punjab under British Rule (1849-1947)", *Punjab Past and Present*, April, 1982, p. 210.
35. *District Gazetteer Bannu*, 1907, p. 76.
36. PAR, 1897-98, p. 159.
37. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1914, p. 8.
38. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab* (hereafter given as IGI, Punjab), Vol. I (Calcutta, 1908), p. 5.
39. Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab, 1849-1901* (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 91-93.
40. Sukhwant Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-05.
41. PAR, 1914-15, para 174; B.S. Saini, *The Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1901-1939* (Delhi, 1975), p. 180.
42. *Gazetteer of Chenab Colonies*, 1904, p. 69.
43. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 58; H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 310; B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
44. G.S. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
45. *IGI, Punjab*, pp. 58-59.
46. PAR, 1918-19, para 255.

47. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 59.
48. PAR, 1911-12, para 373.
49. PAR, 1914-15, para 174.
50. H. Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, Civil and Military Gazette Press (Lahore, 1922), p. 184.
51. *Report on Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Para 1, p. 34.
52. PAR, 1917-18, para 254; Financial Commissioner's Note on the Report of the Department of Agriculture for the year 1918, pp.1-2.
- 53.
- | | 1916-17 | 1917-18 | 1918-19 |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|----------|
| Lower Chenab Canal | 60,000 | 1,00,000 | 1,50,000 |
| Lower Jhelum Canal | 22,000 | 45,000 | 50,000 |
| Lower Bari Doab Canal | 15,000 | 50,000 | 1,00,000 |
| Upper Bari Doab Canal | - | 1,500 | 2,500 |
| Total | 97,000 | 1,96,500 | 3,02,500 |
- Report on the operation of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1919, p. 10; PAR, 1918-19, para 259; Financial Commissioner's Note on the Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1917-18, p. 2. Punjab 11 gave one maund per acre more than the mixed varieties it had replaced.
54. PAR, 1916-17, para 183.
55. H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
56. PAR, 1897-98, paras 159-60; PAR, 1906-07, para 84.
57. PAR, 1908-09, para 200.
58. The staple of 4F is seven-eighths and of country cotton five-eighths of an inch, See Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for 1921-22, p. 14.
59. *Report on the Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVIII, Punjab, Part I, p.24.
60. Report on the Operation of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for 1919, p. 10; PAR, 1919-20, para 262.
61. PAR, 1918-19, para 256.
62. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 61.
63. The average figures for five years in thousands of acres 1906-10.
- | | |
|-------------|-----|
| Irrigated | 287 |
| Unirrigated | 78 |
| | 365 |
- See H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.
64. PAR, 1912-13, para 151.
65. PAR, 1922-23, para 130; H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
66. H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-32.
67. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 60; PAR, 1920-21, para 50.
68. Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901-03. Appendix, p.33.
69. *IGI, Punjab*, pp. 65-66.
70. *Infra*, pp. 199-202.

71. *Punjab Canal Gazetteers*, Vol. II, The Triple Canals (hereafter given as Triple Canals) (Lahore, 1922), p. 17; PAR, 1916-17, p. 46.
72. For details, see *infra*, pp. 283-88.
73. Report on the Indian Irrigation Commission 1901-03, Part I, Provincial, Calcutta 1903, para 66, p. 29; *The Land of Five Rivers* (Being Vol. I of the Punjab Administration Report 1921-22 (hereafter given as The Land of Five Rivers) (Lahore, 1923), p.163.
74. *Report of the Census of Punjab, 1921*, Vol. XV, p. 12.
75. In 1899-1900, of the total 9.3 million irrigated area in Punjab, 4.1 million acres were irrigated by the wells; see *Report on the Census of India 1901*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 49; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 154.
76. PAR, 1904-05, para 87; V.C. Bhutani, "Lord Curzon's Agricultural policies in India", *Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. Part II, 1968, p.379; G.S. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
77. PAR, 1905-06, para 90.
78. PAR, 1912-13, para 154.
79. *Report on the Census of India, 1921*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
80. PAR, 1916-17, para 180.
81. Annual Report on the Department of Agriculture, Punjab for the year 1919, p. 7; PAR, 1918-19, paras 280-81; H.K. Trevaskis, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
82. Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
83. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
84. The need was strengthened by the South-African war which brought the need of army vivialy to the fore: J.G. Beazlay and F.H. Puckle, *The Punjab Colony Manual*, Vol. I (Government Printing, Lahore, 1926), pp. 27, 67-68.
85. The government intended "to create villages of a type superior in comfort and civilisation to anything which had previously existed in the Punjab. See Report of the Punjab Colonies Committee 1907-08, Ch. I, para 16; Imran Ali, *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Delhi, 1988), p. 13.
86. As colonisation progressed, military needs emerged as a major factor, often over-riding other aspects of governmental policy. See, Imran Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
87. J.G. Beazley and F.H. Puckle, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Gazetteer of Chenab Colony 1904, pp. 29-30; M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
88. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-30.
89. Deva Singh, *Colonisation in the Rachna Doab*, Punjab Government Record Office (Punjab, 1929), p. 17.
90. Wilson, J., Note dt. 13 September 1904, GI, Department of Revenue and Agriculture, File 265 of 1904, Dec., Nos. 8-9.
91. Landlord and yeoman formed rich colonists. Both considered themselves superior to the peasant farmer, and both had more land than they could personally cultivate. Landlord had more land than

- yeoman. The yeoman normally had at least 100 acres and the landlord two or three times as much; see Chenab Colony Report, 1902-03, p. 8; M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Shyamala Bhatia, *Social Change and Politics in Punjab, 1898-1910* (Delhi, 1987), p. 85.
92. Annual Report on the Punjab Colonies for the year 1923, p. 4; Annual Report on the Punjab Colonies for the year 1924, pp. 1-2.
 93. B.H. Dobson, *Final Report on Chenab Colony Settlement*, p. 7.
 94. J.G. Beazley and F.H. Puckle, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
 95. Sukhwant Singh, 'The Socio-Economic Effects of the Canal Colonies in the Punjab (1886-1947)', *The Panjab Past and Present*, April, 1987, Vol. XXI-II, p. 332.
 96. in the canal colonies the owners of the 25 acres and above formed 24 per cent of the total owners while in the province as a whole their proportion was 8.1 per cent. In Lyallpur district, which was entirely a colony district, their proportion rose to 35 per cent and they cultivated 70.8 per cent of the land. H. Calvert, *The Size and Distribution of Agricultural Holdings in the Punjab*, Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry, Publication, No. 4, 1925, pp. 6, 14, 16, 17.
 97. PAR, 1921-22, p. 122.
 98. The Triple Canals, p. 25.
 99. Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, 1901-03, Part I, General, p. 27; G.S. Chhabra, *op. cit.*, p. 191; W. Paustian Paul, *Canal Irrigation in Punjab* (New York, 1930), p. 25.
 100. Neeladhi Bhattacharya, 'Agrarian Change in Punjab, 1880-1940', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 20-24.
 101. The bill sought to change the very basis of land relationship in Punjab and to modify the tenure system on the plea of introducing uniformity. This was regarded as a direct interference with the peasants' personal affairs by the Government and the rate on water taken from the Bari Doab was increased which further agitated the peasants. See PLC, 28 February 1907, pp. 26-27.
 102. *The Zamindar* (Karamabad), 8 March 1907, RNNP for the year 1907, p. 70.
 103. *The Hindustan* (Lahore), 8 March 1907, RNNP for the year 1907, p. 70.
 104. Master Hari Singh, *Punjab Peasants in the Freedom Struggle*, Vol. II (New Delhi, 1984), p. 20.
 105. Home (Political), Deposit, Progs., July 1907, No. 8.
 106. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 1 May 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 178.
 107. Home (Political) Deposit, A, Progs., January 1908 (Confidential), Nos. 64-72. Punjab Government letter No. 14-S B dated 3 January, 1908.
 108. *The Khalsa Advocate* (Lahore), 8 June 1907, RNNP for 1907, p.321.
 109. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 17 May 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 294.

110. Home (Political), B, Progs., October 1907, Nos. 40-49.
111. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 8 June 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 315.
112. Master Hari Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Lala Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
113. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
114. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 34; PAR, 1919-20, para 262.
115. Himadri Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
116. Sukhwant Singh Sohal, "Consequences of Commercialization of Agriculture in the Colonial Punjab (1849-1901)", *The Panjab Past and Present*, April 1987, p. 217.
117. *Ibid.*
118. S.S. Thorburn, *Mussalmans and Money-lenders in the Punjab* (London, 1886), p. 49.
119. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
120. Himadri Banerjee, 'Zamindari Cultivator Relations and the Struggle over Rent', *The Panjab Past and Present*, April 1979, p. 136.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Census of India*, Punjab and Delhi, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
123. For details, see H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-18.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
125. S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, (London, 1904), p.237.
126. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
127. S.S. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
128. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 8 November, 1897, RNNP for 1897, p.971; *The Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (Jhelum), 26 December 1898, RNNP for 1898, p. 876.
129. The Congress opposed the proposition of the Punjab Alienation of Land Bill in 1899. The view-point of the Congress was that it was not in the interest of the cultivators themselves, for "to forbid the proprietor to sell his land was to worsen his position as he would not be able to borrow in order to cultivate." Proceedings of the 15th Session of the Indian National Congress, Lucknow, 1899, p. 45. But despite the opposition of the Congress, the Punjab Alienation of Land Act XIII of 1900 received the assent of the Governor-General on 19 October 1900 and came into force in June 1901.
130. *The Victoria Paper* (Sialkot), 1 January 1901, RNNP for 1901 p. 27.
131. *The Watan* (Lahore), 29 August 1902, RNNP for 1902, p. 491.
132. *The Pioneer*, 12 September 1905, RNNP for 1905, p. 781.
133. P.H.M. van den Dungen, *The Punjab Traditions* (London, 1972), p.283.
134. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 17 March 1914, RNNP for 1914, p. 190.
135. *The Wafadar* (Lahore), 21 March 1906, RNNP for 1906, p. 82.
136. *The Desh* (Lahore, Hindu), 26 September 1917, RNNP for 1917, p.190.
137. Proceedings of the Punjab Ligislative Council, 1910, p.36.

138. PAR, 1907-08, para 34.
 139. *Ibid.*
 140. H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
 141. Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Govt. of India, for October 1904, Nos. 1 to 10 (A); also see, B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.
 142. It passed the following resolution in 1902: "The Agricultural Banks be established for the better organisation of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms." Proceedings of the Eighteenth Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad, 1902, Resolution No. 8, pp. 106-07.
 143. Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India, October 1904, Nos. 1-3, A.
 144. PAR, 1905-06, para 97.
 145. PAR, 1906-07, para 90.
 146. PAR, 1907-08, paras 92-95.
 147. PAR, 1908-09, para 89.
 148. PAR, 1909-10, para 96.
 149. PAR, 1909-10, para 96.
 150. PAR, 1911-12, para 383.

151. Year	No. of Societies	No. of members	Working capital (in rupees)
1905-06	23	1,203	42,595
1906-07	177	17,533	301,908
1907-08	258	21,881	451,216
1908-09	316	23,429	891,216
1909-10	706	38,604	1,862,996
1910-11	1,088	61,423	3,685,097
1911-12	1,769	93,169	7,321,926

This table has been prepared from PARs from 1905-06 to 1911-12.

152. Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, 1915, para 5.
 153. PAR, 1911-12, para 381.
 154. PAR, 1913-14, para 129.
 155. PAR, 1913-14, para 134.
 156. PAR, 1914-15, para 186.
 157. PAR, 1916-17, para 186.
 158. PAR, 1917-18, para 265.
 159. PAR, 1917-18, para 266.
 160. PAR, 1917-18, para 273.
 161. PAR, 1918-19, para 281; Annual Reports on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Punjab for the years 1917-18, 1918-19.
 162. PAR, 1918-19, para 282.
 163. M.L. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
 164. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 2 April 1901.
 165. *The Rafiq-i-Hind* (Lahore), 12 October 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 64.
 166. *The Zamindar* (Lahore), 16 May 1911, RNNP for 1911, p. 506.

Public Works

A highly ambitious chief, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1797-1839) was continually involved in warfare to establish and extend his independent kingdom and as such he had little leisure for internal legislation or for the organisation of any establishment except military.¹ He did not give much attention to the works of public utility. An enlightened despot,² Ranjit Singh did take many measures for the welfare of his subjects. Nevertheless public works, as we understand them now, were virtually ignored. "There were no schools, no law courts, and no jails in Punjab. He never made or repaired a road, a bridge, canal or tank and thus not a single work of public utility was constructed in his reign".³ During the regime of his successors (1839-49) there was a marked deterioration in the administration of the Lahore kingdom. It was left for the British to set up a properly organised department for carrying out public works in Punjab after its annexation in 1849.⁴ The Board of Administration, while reorganising the administrative system in the province, took care that their measures caused the minimum of inconvenience or injury to the few and maximum benefit to the many.⁵ The Board initiated some significant works of public utility such as alignment and construction of the Grand Trunk Road, enlargement of the Hasli Canal, establishment of charitable dispensaries, public schools, jails, post offices etc. To begin with, the work of planning and construction of all public works was entrusted to the Civil Engineer and his subordinate staff; in 1854 all engineering work - civil, military or public - was placed under one department which was headed by a Chief Engineer,⁶ who was assisted by two Superintending Engineers and their staff. The Chief Engineer, Superintending Engineers and Assistant Engineers formed the permanent Engineering - establishment or superior staff of the Public Works Department for buildings and roads, irrigation and railways.⁷

The irrigation branch had hitherto been an imperial branch

under a Chief Engineer, who was also ex-officio Secretary to the Provincial Government. According to the settlement which had come into force in 1905, the Provincial Government participated in the profits earned by the branch, and bore a share of the working expenses. The province was divided into six circles, each under the control of Superintending Engineer. These circles were again divided into 26 divisions, each under the charge of an Executive Engineer. The size of a division varied according to circumstances; but excluding head-works divisions, it usually comprised an irrigated area of about 350,000 acres.⁸ Each division was further divided into three or four sub-divisions, each under a Sub-Divisional Officer, usually an Assistant Engineer. Not only did the department maintain all the canals in its charge, but its officers were responsible for registration and measurement of the revenue levied on it.⁹

The buildings and roads branch was under a Chief Engineer who was assisted by Superintending Engineer, Executive Engineer and Assistant Engineers. This branch was maintained from provincial funds, and its primary object was the construction and maintenance of Imperial and provincial works.¹⁰

The appointment of Sanitary Engineer to Government was made in October, 1900 for a period of five years in the first instance with the rank of Superintending Engineer. The cost of his pay and establishment was met from provincial revenues, which were credited with the fees recovered from the local bodies who utilised his services. The Sanitary Engineer was a member of the Provincial Sanitary Board, and was its Executive Officer and expert adviser to Government and the Board in all matters relating to Sanitary engineering.¹¹

Under the Act of 1919 the Public Works Department became a transferred subject.¹² The works of public utility were allowed to be financed through loans.¹³ It may be observed that in regard to buildings, roads and irrigation, the delegation of powers to Provincial Government had been very complete.¹⁴ The Local Government had its own engineering staff, the head of which acted as its Public Works Secretary and was responsible for the up-keep and construction of its irrigation works, its public buildings and the roads under its control.¹⁵ The functions of the

Government of India as regards these works were limited to sanction of important projects, review of progress in the province.¹⁶

II

It was as a result of the establishment of British rule in Punjab that canal irrigation works of great magnitude were undertaken. To be sure, there was 52 per cent of the cultivated area of Punjab, which was wholly dependent on the rainfall.¹⁷ Of the remaining 48 per cent, 22 per cent was irrigated from canals, 14 per cent from wells, 4 per cent from wells and canals combined, 1 per cent from streams and tanks¹⁸ and 7 per cent due to inundation from the rivers. The area under canal irrigation towards the close of nineteenth century was 6,606,993 acres (5,593,021 by government canals and 103,972 by private canals)¹⁹. The present canals were almost entirely the creation of British rule. These canals fall into two categories:

1. The Perennial Canals,²⁰ with permanent headworks, running all the year round;
2. The Inundation Canals,²¹ running only in the flood season and irrigating the low lands along the rivers. These canals chiefly existed in Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan, Ferozepur, Pak-Pattan and Montgomery districts.

A succinct account of the canal projects undertaken or completed during the period under study may be given as under:

The Lower Chenab Canal with headworks at Khanki on the left bank of the Chenab, was first opened in 1887-88²² as an inundation canal. It fell under perennial system in 1892. Hereafter it was extended and improved constantly. It irrigated practically the whole of the Lyallpur district and parts of Gujranwala, Sheikhpura and Jhang. The area irrigated by the canals in 1900-01 amounted to 1,830,525 acres.²³ It increased to 2,455,000 acres during the year 1919-20.²⁴

The Jhelum Canal (Lower) was first opened to irrigation on 30-October 1901. Taking off from the left bank of the Jhelum, it eventually supplied perennial irrigation to the whole of the

country lying between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers. The head of the canal was near the village of Mong Rasul in Gujarat District.²⁵ The total length of the main line was 181 miles and it was completed on 31 March 1917. It irrigated 876 thousand acres of land average per year in 1920-21.²⁶

The Sutlej Canals (Upper) comprised an Imperial system of four inundation canals in Punjab, known as the Katora, Khanwah, Upper Sohag and Lower Sohag (or Lower Sohag and para) canals. They took off from the right bank of the river Sutlej forty-five miles down stream of Ferozepur and were commissioned in 1882.²⁷ They irrigated the low-lying land bounded on the north by the old dry bed of the Beas, which separated it from the tract commanded by the Bari Doab Canal. The tract commanded by the Katora Canal lay in Lahore District, and the remainder in Montgomery.²⁸ With effect from 1 April 1902, these were transferred from the head Minor Irrigation Works to Major Irrigation Works.²⁹ In 1899-1900, rupees 33,888 were spent on the extension and remodelling of the distributaries. During 1902-03 Lakhmarkan Branch was added to the Hassi Chand Distributary and carried on aggregate supply of 4,935 cubic feet per second.³⁰ The total area irrigated during 1919-20 was 240,000 acres.³¹

The Ghagar Canals comprised Imperial system of minor canals in Punjab, taking off from the Ghaggar. The canals were constructed with famine labour in 1896-97 and began to irrigate in the monsoon of 1897. The areas commanded in British and Bikaner territory were 130 and 117 square miles respectively.³² These canals were completed in 1898-99.³³ The total irrigated areas from these canals in 1916-17 were 40,367 acres.³⁴

Of far greater magnitude was the Triple Canal Project. The primary object of this project was to irrigate the Ganji Bar in the watershed between the rivers Ravi and the Sutlej. In the Ravi there was no surplus water left in the winter since it had already been hypothecated to the Upper Bari Doab Canal. The Sutlej naturally appeared the most suitable source of supply to the area in question. A scheme for a canal with its head at Harike on the Sutlej was, therefore, prepared and submitted for sanction to the Secretary of State for India. But the Irrigation Commission of

1901-03 strongly recommended that other means of irrigating the tract in question should be sought, the waters of the Sutlej being conserved for the protection and improvement of the existing inundation canals which drew their supply from it and for the extension of irrigation into the unirrigated waste on either bank of the river.³⁵ The result of this recommendation was that a project of great magnitude, the Triple Canal Project was designed. This project was prepared by Sir John Benton in 1904.³⁶ The Triple Canal System comprised three separate canals, viz. the Upper Jhelum, the Upper Chenab, and the Lower Bari Doab Canals. The interests of these canals were linked together by the fact that the surplus waters of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi rivers were pooled for the benefit of the tracts respectively commanded by the three canals.³⁷ The sanction of the Secretary of State for India was received in January 1905, and work on the canals was immediately commenced. The whole project was completed in March 1917 at a total cost (direct and indirect) of rupees 101,066,394.³⁸

(a) The Upper Jhelum Canal was the uppermost of the three canals, most northern link of the Triple Canal System. The work on this canal was started in 1905.³⁹ The Upper Jhelum Canal took off from the river Jhelum at Nangla in the Kashmir State on the left bank, and was designed to carry surplus water from that river and to deliver it into the river Chenab above the wheirs at Khanki.⁴⁰ The total length of the main line was 89 miles.⁴¹ It was to irrigate 3.44 acres annually in Gujarat district.⁴² By December 1915, the canal was sufficiently advanced to allow of a supply being passed into it and on 9 December, the Viceroy, formally opened it for irrigation.⁴³ It was completed at a total cost of rupees 4.23 crores.⁴⁴ In 1920-21, it irrigated an area of 3.58 lakh acres and earned a net profit of 0.95% on the total capital outlay.⁴⁵

(b) The Upper Chenab Canal was the middle link of the Triple Canal System. Work on this canal was commenced in 1905-06.⁴⁶ It was to be a canal of greater capacity than the existing canal which took off from the river Chenab at Khanki and which had been opened for irrigation in 1892.⁴⁷ In 1921-22, it irrigated an area of 6.55 lakh acres and earned a net profit of

13.96% on the total capital outlay (direct and indirect) of rupees 3.56 crores.⁴⁸ The headworks of the canal were at Marela, 35 miles upstream of Khanki on the river Chenab.⁴⁹ The total length of the main line was 173 miles.⁵⁰ The canal was opened for irrigation in April 1912.⁵¹ It was designed to carry 11,694 cubic feet per second. It was the largest canal in India.⁵² This canal was completed on 31 March 1917.⁵³

(c) The Lower Bari Doab Canal was the most southern link of the Triple Canal system. Work on this canal was commenced in 1906, but a great deal of time was spent in locating the Ravi crossing. This canal was to irrigate annually 8.77 lakh acres in Lahore, Montgomery and Multan districts at an estimated cost of rupees 2.16 crores.⁵⁴ The headworks of this canal were on the Ravi at Balloki in Lahore district.⁵⁵ The total length of the main line was 134 miles.⁵⁶ It was formally opened in April 1913 at a cost of rupees 2.11 crores,⁵⁷ and in the beginning did not earn any profit, but in 1921-22 it earned 10.56% on its total capital outlay.⁵⁸ It was designed to carry 6,500 cubic feet per second at its head.⁵⁹ This canal proved to be the most remunerative of all the canals of the Triple Canal Project.⁶⁰ This canal was completed in 1917.⁶¹

The Sutlej Valley Project was the largest and the most important irrigation project of the first half of the twentieth century. It was the direct outcome of the great Triple Canal Project. The work was estimated to cost rupees 19.75 crores and all the surveys connected with the project were completed in 1909-10. The project, however, received the formal sanction of the Secretary of State for India in December 1921, and the work was commenced immediately on four main canals, namely, Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Sasteni and Mailsi.⁶² It was estimated that over five million acres would be irrigated by the canals, 1.9 million in Punjab, 2.8 million acres in Bahawalpur and 0.34 million acres in Bikaner.⁶³

The Haveli Project was another important project. It was envisaged with a view not only to assure a regular supply of water in the existing inundation canals but also to extend the area under irrigation in the Jhang and the Multan districts by diverting the waters of the rivers Jhelum and the Chenab into the Ravi near

Sidhnai by constructing a barrage at Trimmu. The Haveli scheme was contemplated by Sir John Benton in 1904 as a necessary complement to the Triple Project.⁶⁴ It was planned again during the year 1915-16,⁶⁵ but owing to objection to this project from the Bahawalpur State,⁶⁶ it was abandoned then. Further more, it was also over-shadowed by the Triple Canal Project. A new revised scheme of the project was prepared in 1932 and in April 1937, the Haveli Project received the sanction of the Government, the detailed discussion being beyond the purview of our study.

With the development of canal irrigation, the agricultural produce registered a remarkable increase. The total value of crops raised by the canals was increased from rupees 20.7 crores⁶⁷ in 1910-11, to rupees 67.2 crores in 1921-22.⁶⁸

Another substantial benefit of the extensive irrigation was that it enabled the cultivators to substitute more valuable crops for those which could be grown on unirrigated lands. Considerable progress was made in removing the worst consequences of an irregular rainfall. The surplus water running to waste in great rivers was led to the fields of the cultivators by a network of perennial and inundation canals.⁶⁹ The people were no longer at the mercy of famines.

But there was another side of the picture also. The Government, in the construction of irrigation works, concentrated mostly on what were called 'productive works'. Works which had only a protective value received much less attention than they actually deserved; the canal irrigation did not develop to an extent it was required. There were still very large areas, particularly in the north, south-east and west Punjab which were dependent for their agriculture on scanty and often erratic rainfall and were badly in need of irrigation.⁷⁰ It has been estimated that despite the canal irrigational facilities, 70 per cent of the available area for cultivation was lying waste, and only 30 per cent was used for productive purposes at the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.⁷¹

It may be noted that the British authorities did not pay earnest attention towards canals as had been paid from the beginning to railways in the territories of Punjab which had been literally

covered with a network of railways in spite of interruptions due to many causes. Although agriculture was the backbone of the economic life of Punjab and provided means of subsistence for almost 75 per cent of its population, yet the British spent very little for the development of irrigational works, and paid inadequate attention towards the inundation canals. The relative bias of the public investment policy in favour of railways tends to belie benevolence as the primary motive for irrigational development. Moreover, the greater official emphasis on productiveness rather than protectiveness for the selection of irrigational projects, clearly points to the prevalence of considerations more commercial than humanitarian.⁷² R.C. Dutt strongly denounced the government policy on this score. "When we turn from railways to the subject of irrigation works", he wrote in 1903, "we turn from unwise extravagance to equally unwise niggardliness."⁷³

III

Sanitation is that branch of public health which is concerned with keeping the external environment healthful. A Sanitary Board was constituted in Punjab by Sir James Lyall in August 1890.⁷⁴ In October 1900, the post of Sanitary Engineer was created for a period of five years in the first instance, with the rank of Superintending Engineer.⁷⁵ He was a member of the Provincial Sanitary Board and expert adviser to Government and the Board in all matters relating to Sanitary engineering.⁷⁶ The Sanitary Commissioner was appointed in 1913 in the province to improve the sanitary conditions.⁷⁷ A valuable move in the direction of improved sanitation was made by the constitution of the Drainage Board in 1918 to deal with the problems of flooded or water-logged areas in the province,⁷⁸ and thus relieving the Sanitary Board of this additional work. Another important step to provide people with sanitary amenities was the reorganisation of the Sanitary Department in the province. The scheme for reorganisation was approved in 1919 and in 1922 the Sanitary Department was renamed as Public Health Department.⁷⁹

Vaccination was now under the charge of the Sanitary Commissioner, and Civil Surgeons were primarily responsible for

vaccination in their districts. Vaccination was made compulsory in 23 municipal towns. The success of the system of selling quinine through the post-office in Bengal led to its introduction into Punjab late in 1894. First introduced experimentally in the Delhi Division, it was extended in 1899 to that of Lahore, and it was now proposed to extend it to all the districts of the province, although in 1901 the total sales only amounted to 293 parcels, each containing 102 fine-grain packets of quinine. The small measure of success which the system had met with was not easily explained, though it might in part be accounted for by the reluctance of the literate classes, from which the post office officials were drawn, to act as drug vendors. It was, however, apparent that the people were at present indifferent to the advantages of the system, and, as a rule, little aware of the value of quinine as a prophylactic.⁸⁰

The chief defects of village sanitation were the impurity and contamination of drinking water, the accumulation of filth, the presence of manure heaps near the houses, and the existence of ponds of stagnant water in or around the village site.

It was considered inadvisable to legislate for the compulsory sanitation of villages, but District Boards were empowered to grant rewards in the form of reduction of revenue to the villages most active in sanitary improvements.⁸¹

In urban areas also, there was no adequate water supply, drainage, conservancy, the cleaning of streets and open places, no burial and burning grounds, no slaughter houses etc. In Punjab some provisions of the Municipal Acts were applied to small towns which were not municipalities, and their sanitation was provided for in this manner.⁸²

There was also no water carriage system for sewage removal, and trenching was commonly adopted. This method required great care and execution, and in many municipalities it was still carried out in a manner dangerous to the health of the inhabitants. Waste water trickled out of the houses and was carried off by surface drains to discharge into tanks or some convenient stream. The native population used a very small quantity of water in their houses, probably not more than a daily average per head of 1 or

2 gallons as compared with an ordinary standard of 20 gallons in English cities.⁸³

Whereas some improvements in the sanitary conditions in the urban areas were perceptible, village sanitation in the whole of the province was in an appallingly backward condition.⁸⁴ The Punjab Administration Report of 1907-08 shows that in the villages there had been practically no improvement, though the necessity of them had been proved year by year in the plague epidemics.⁸⁵ There were no drains worth the name in the rural area and wherever they existed, there was no body to flush them. Drinking water supply was most unsatisfactory and unhygienic. There was much to be desired in respect of sanitary arrangements even in the towns.⁸⁶

There was no proper system of medical relief in Punjab upto 1867.⁸⁷ From 1867 onwards there was a steady progress in the establishment of dispensaries and they were set up at almost all the important stations in Punjab. Besides dispensaries, many hospitals were built in important towns and cities of Punjab. The Mayo Hospital at Lahore provided scientific treatment on up-to-date lines for all classes of patients especially on the surgical side. The hospital had surgical, ophthalmic, x-ray and Electrotherapeutic Department.⁸⁸ Further expansion of the hospital was carried on during the second decade of the twentieth century. New wards, various operation theatres and the Medical, Surgical and Gynaecological out-patient departments were completed in 1915.

In 1885-86, a lying-inward known as the 'Dufferin Ward' was opened at Simla to deal with the maternity cases. Until 1893, it remained disassociated from the hospital when it was again attached to this hospital. In 1916 an operation theatre was added to this ward. The hospital was known as Ripon Hospital.

The Civil Hospital, Amritsar was known for the surgical work done there and formed an excellent training ground for the teaching of students of the Medical school, Amritsar on the clinical and practical side.⁸⁹ The new building of the hospital was completed in 1905. There were two general wards for Hindus and Muhamadans respectively, with two special wards for paying

patients. Besides there were separate female and contagious wards.⁹⁰

The Walker Hospital for Europeans at Simla was completed during 1901. The main building consisted of six sets of quarters for patients, with reading, drawing, dining, operations and store-rooms.⁹¹ The Memorial Hospital, Ludhiana was the largest hospital in the province and was exclusively reserved for women and children. It was opened in 1899. It was maintained by the Church Missionary Society aided by grants received from the Government and certain district boards and municipalities.⁹²

There were two asylums in Punjab for the care and treatment of the insane; the principal one was at Lahore and the other at Delhi. In 1900 both these asylums were amalgamated and a new Central Asylum for lunatics was constructed at Lahore at a cost of rupees two lakhs.⁹³ This new site was selected near Lahore because it was desirable to utilise the services of the Superintendent as a Professor of Lunacy in the Lahore Medical College.⁹⁴

There was a growing desire among the natives for English medicines and medical treatment. Keeping in view the fact that the indigenous systems of medical treatment did not at that time deal with such vital aspects of medicine as obstetrics, gynaecology, advanced surgery and some other specialities, the western system of medical treatment can be regarded as a legacy of the Britishers to the people of Punjab. By the end of the year 1921, there were 583 hospitals and dispensaries in Punjab, and from these over five million patients received treatment during the year 1921-22.⁹⁵ But at that time medical relief for the population at large in Punjab was administered mainly through the agencies of local bodies,⁹⁶ missionary and charitable agencies; the Government only gave assistance to them.⁹⁷

But there was inadequacy of the existing medical institutions. Apart from the insufficient number of hospitals and dispensaries available for providing medical relief to the people, there was often shortage of accommodation in almost every hospital. Though the hospitals were doing useful work but the scope for greater usefulness was very much curtailed for want of proper bed

accommodation. Furthermore, the existing staffs were altogether too small to provide adequate service to the large population entrusted to their charge. The existing public health staffs were altogether too small to provide adequate service to the large population entrusted to their charge. The existing public health staffs were mainly engaged on measures for the control of epidemic diseases and they were unable to cope adequately even with such measures of providing efficient service to the people.⁹⁸

Rural dispensaries which could play an important part in providing medical relief to the rural population, were in many cases, functioning quite unsatisfactorily. The buildings in which they were housed, were often inadequate to serve the purpose for which they were intended, and their staff and equipment were also unsatisfactory. A single doctor struggling with the help of a compounder to deal with hundreds of patients faced an almost impossible task. In most cases the supply of drugs and dressing was quite insufficient to meet the needs of the patients.

IV

Railways made their appearance in this country in the time of Lord Dalhousie. In his famous Minute of 1853, Dalhousie advocated the construction of railways in India on an ambitious scale, a series of trunk lines uniting the various provinces and connecting the trade-centres inland with the principal ports.⁹⁹

The railway system in India had not developed according to the requirements of internal trade and industry. As a rule, the interests of the foreign capitalists were given precedence over the interests of the Indian public and wherever a conflict arose the latter were sacrificed for the sake of former.¹⁰⁰

The development of railways was the concern of the Government of India. Therefore, there were no railways in Punjab under provincial control.¹⁰¹ Lord Curzon paid special attention to the extension of railways. Sir Thomas Robertson was appointed as special Commissioner in 1901¹⁰² to "enquire into and report upon the administration and working of Indian Railways." He came to the conclusion that the condition of the railways was far from satisfactory. He recommended that root and branch reform

was necessary and suggested the constitution of a Railway Board. As a result, on 18 February 1905, the Railway Branch of the Public Works Department was abolished and the control of railway system in India was entrusted to the Railway Board consisting of a Chairman and two members.¹⁰³

During the First World War, the railway department was in great difficulty. The demand for railway services increased. Among other things now they had to carry troops and war stores on the side of supply; however, there was much deterioration in equipment,¹⁰⁴ primarily due to Government's inability to spend. To meet this situation, the Government appointed a Controller of Traffic in 1917 and later a Central Priority Committee. This committee's proposals largely shaped later policies. It urged the separation of the railway budget from the general budget. This was done in 1924. Thus, the railway policy was completely changed after the war and the railway system became very largely a state system.¹⁰⁵

The first line in Punjab to be opened to traffic at the dawn of the twentieth century was the Ludhiana-Jakhal line via Dhuri. The Government constructed the line from funds supplied in the ratio of 80/20 respectively by the Princes of Jind and Malerkotla, who owned it according to an agreement between the Secretary of State and the two Darban. After the opening of the line in 1901, its working and management were taken over by the North-Western Railway.¹⁰⁶

The Kalka-Simla Railway was opened for traffic during the year 1903-04. This year was marked by a large increase in the railways both in passenger and goods traffic.¹⁰⁷ In 1905 the doubling of the line between Lahore and Amritsar was completed. This section carried important local traffic between these two cities. The Ludhiana-Ferozepur Contonment line was also opened on 10 June 1905. This line passed through Moga, Ferozepur, Mukatsar and Fazilka tehsils.¹⁰⁸ This line provided a fresh route to Karachi from the traffic of the Central Punjab.¹⁰⁹ A railway line from Kasur to Lodhram which ran throughout the length of the two Sutlej tehsils was opened in 1910.¹¹⁰ Jullundur city was connected with Ferozepur Contonment. Over a period of two

years from 23 June 1912, when the first section of Jullundur-Kapurthala was opened on 11 August 1913, and when the terminal section of Makhu-Ferozepur Cantt was brought into use.¹¹¹ In 1913-14 Jullundur-Hoshiarpur Branch was opened throughout its length. It traversed a rich part of Punjab and connected Hoshiarpur with the main line. Until the opening of this railway line there were no railways in the district.¹¹²

Owing to war and its financial stringency, railway development underwent little extension after 1914. On the North-Western Railway, the mileage in 1914 was 5,178 (miles) and 273 miles were under construction. After 1916, there was a long gap during which there was no construction activity in Punjab till 1927.

The province was served by the famous North-Western Railways; the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka railway which was a part of the East Indian Railway system, and the Kalka-Simla Railway.¹¹³ The main line on the North-Western Railways starting from Karachi entered Punjab in the extreme south-west and ran up to Samasata in Bahawalpur State whence it divided and connected with a system of lines running more or less parallel to the rivers and spreading out like the leaves of a fan till they reached another mainline which ran along the northern boundary of the province from Attock via Rawalpindi and Lahore to Ferozepur and thence to Delhi.¹¹⁴ This fan-shaped system of lines served the whole of the western part of the province within a triangle based on Campbellpur and Ferozepur with its apex at Samasata. From Lahore to Delhi there were two main lines, one via Ferozepur and Bhatinda and the other following the course of the G.T. Road through Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ambala and thence through part of the United Provinces.¹¹⁵

The extension of railways in Punjab was deeply influenced by the presence of rivers, and the difficulties and expenditure incurred upon their bridging prevented the construction of lines running from north-west to south-east.¹¹⁶

Despite their immense utility, railways could not receive adequate attention of the British in the province. The total mileage in Punjab was 1,056 only in 1881.¹¹⁷ which had increased

to 3,117 miles in 1901. Further it increased from 3,725 miles in 1910 to only 4,281 miles in 1921.¹¹⁸

About 30 million persons travelled by the railway serving Punjab in 1905.¹¹⁹ This number increased to about 65 million during the period of the First World War and to 60 million in 1919-20.¹²⁰ These figures show that the progress regarding railways in Punjab was slow.

Railways had been a very important contributory factor in accelerating the pace of national advance, in enlarging the opportunities for political and social changes, and in building up the economic fabric of the country. Besides vastly increasing the volume of trade and manufactures in the country, railways also banished the dreaded spectre of famines in the province.

The consideration for constructing railway lines in Punjab was, however, more of a political and strategic nature than commercial because the British Government had to set up many big cantonments like Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and Quetta etc. in order to defend their North-West Frontier from the unruly and marauding Pathan tribes and adventures of the ruler of Kabul.¹²¹ It was evident that the British were interested in serving their own ends, rather than those of the people of Punjab. Moreover, the railways helped them for internal exploitation of the province unlike canals. Lala Lajpat Rai called the railways in this country one of the two white elephants (other being the army) on which the great bulk of Indian revenues had been spent under the British rule.¹²²

It is, thus, clear that the railways were established and extended not from the point of view of the all-sided development of the economic, social, political and cultural life of the people, but primarily to serve the economic, political and military interests of the British in Punjab.¹²³

V

Prior to annexation of Punjab, the roads were in an appalling state in this region. The macadamised roads in Punjab were introduced for the first time by the Board of Administration.¹²⁴ The proper scientific construction of roads in Punjab began with

the re-organisation of the Public Works Department in 1854.¹²⁵ But again it was with the extension of Local Self Government that the 'golden age of the road-making' commenced in Punjab.¹²⁶ But the greatest impediment to proper road development was the lack of finances. The local bodies did not have sufficient funds of their own for the maintenance of old roads and construction of new ones. As a result, the condition of the roads managed by local bodies started deteriorating.¹²⁷

In December 1919, a provincial Board of Communications was formed to consider the question of development of all types of communications – rail, road, water and air.¹²⁸ Under the Board, the development of the road progressed gradually and satisfactorily.

Of the numerous roads constructed, repaired, or extended in Punjab under the British rule, the longest and most important was the Grand Trunk Road, which stretched right across the northern part of the country from Peshawar to Calcutta. It was metalled throughout its length and was improved by the construction of bridges over the rivers. In its passage through Punjab, it connected Peshawar with Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujranwala, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal and Delhi, with a total length of 587 miles, metalled and bridged throughout.¹²⁹ Metalled roads branched off from it for short distances throughout its length.

There was also a very large mileage of unmetalled roads which served as links between the interior of the rural tracts and the metalled roads. The most important of these were provided with bridges or ferries, but many were nothing more than village lanes, differing from each other only in the degree of their badness and usually impassable in the rains.¹³⁰

The total mileage of metalled road maintained by the Public Works Department increased from 1,916 miles in 1901 to 2,937 miles in 1920-21.¹³¹ Punjab was, thus, extensively covered with a network of roads.

The construction of roads proved beneficial for the government as well as for the people. It facilitated military

transport. Punjab was situated in between the North-West Frontier and the major parts of the British Empire in India. Through the Grand Trunk and other roads, the British authorities could transport soldiers and provisions for the army more easily and timely, and thus they were in a position to ensure greater security for West Frontier. Apart from this, the Imperial Government could take prompt and effective action against the rebels and lawless elements. The roads helped in providing security to the life and property of the people. Another great advantage of the roads was that they helped in the development of trade and commerce in this region.

The condition of the roads under the British was generally not good. While drawing the attention of the Government towards the backwardness of road communications in the province, Sewak Ram, a member of Punjab Legislative Council, Multan Division (Non-Mohammadan, Rural), said that the numerous roads in the province were not metalled and as such it was difficult for the people to go from one district to another by metalled roads. He severely criticised the government on this account and said that many roads were getting into disrepair and means of communication had become very bad.¹³² Pir Akbar Ali (Ferozepur, Muhammadan, Urban) opined similarly that arterial roads in many places were in a bad condition which required the serious consideration of the Government.¹³³

The importance of an efficient network of good roads can not be over-emphasized. But the British Government did not pay adequate attention to this important aspect of economic, social and cultural development. If they did something for the development of roads, it was not with the purpose of providing convenience for wheeled traffic and facilitation for postal communication but with that of meeting their selfish ends; and the progress which was made during these years with regard to roads was by no means satisfactory; it was inadequate in view of the necessities of the province.

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26. *Census of India*, Punjab, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part I (Lahore, 1933), p.39.
27. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab 1849-1960* (Patiala, 1962), p. 319.
28. PAR, 1897-98, p. 233.
29. The Administration Report of P.W.D. (Irrigation Branch) Punjab, 1922-23, p.v.
30. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 213; *Report on the Census*, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
31.

Year	Area irrigated (in acres)	Income (in rupees)
1905-06	207,100	-
1910-11	310,645	-
1916-17	265,158	1,29,705
1918-19	181,097	1,58,904
1919-20	240,000	2,22,000

Source: PAR, 1905-06 to 1919-20.
32. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 215; *Report on the Census*, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
33. *Census of India*, 1931, Punjab, p. 39.
34. PAR, 1916-17, p. 50.
35. Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission, Part II, 1901-03, Provincial, pp. 12-18, Appendix pp. 34-35, 44-50, 52-59. See also B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
36. Political Progs., Native States, January 1916, Nos. 12-14; PWD, Irr., A, Progs.; December 1904, Nos. 28-29.
37. *Punjab Canal Gazetteers*, Vol. II, The Triple Canals (Lahore, 1922), p. 1 (hereafter given as the Triple Canals).
38. *The Triple Canals*, p. 17; PAR 1916-17, p. 46; Master Hari Singh, *Agrarian Scene in British Punjab*, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1983), pp. 111-12.
39. PAR, 1911-12, pp. 137-38; *Report on the Census of Punjab and Delhi* 1921, Section I Descriptive (Lahore, 1923), p. 15.
40. *The Triple Canals*, p. 14; *Census of India*, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part I, 1911 (Lahore, 1912), p. 52.

41. *The Land of Five Rivers*, p. 191.
42. PAR, 1904-05, p. 35; also see PAR 1911-12, pp. 137-38.
43. B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
44. PAR, 1915-16, p. 45.
45. PWD, Irr. Branch. Administration Report for 1921-22, Part II, p. 36; *Report on the Census of Punjab and Delhi*, 1921, p. 15.
46. PAR, 1905-06, General Summary, p. xi.
47. *The Triple Canals*, p. 4.
48. B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
49. *The Triple Canals*, p. 15; Census of India, Part I, 1911, *op. cit.*, p.52; PAR, 1911-12, p. 138.
50. *Census of India*, 1931, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
51. PAR, 1912-13, p. 60.
52. *The Triple Canals*, p. 16.
53. *Census of India*, 1931, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
54. PAR, 1911-12, pp. 138-39.
55. *The Triple Canals*, p. 17; *Punjab Census Report*, 1911. Part I, p. 52.
56. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 192.
57. PAR, 1912-13, p. 61.
58. *Ibid.*; PAR, 1914-15, p. 49; PAR, 1915-16, p. 44; PAR, 1921-22, p.48.
59. *The Triple Canals*, p. 17.
60. Report of PWD (Irrigation Branch) Punjab. 1921-22, pp. 13-15.
61. *Report of the Census*, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
62. Review of the Work of Irrigation Department, 1921-22 "Statistics and Statements".
63. *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 196.
64. Sir John Benton, *Report on Triple Canal Project*, August 1904, p.VI.
65. Political Progs., Native States, January 1916, Nos. 12-14.
66. The Bahawalpur State objected to this project being carried out since it was felt that the withdrawal of further supplies in addition to that of the Triple Canal Project, would ruin the State inundation irrigation from the Chenab. Vide Pol. Progs., Native States, November 1915, Nos. 4-11.
67. Administrative Report of the Canals in the Punjab, 1910-11, Statement 111-E; *Census of India*, Punjab, 1931, p. 49.
68. Administrative Report of the Canals in the Punjab 1921-22, p. 25.
69. S.S. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63; Albert Howard and Gabrielle L.C. Howard, *Indian Agriculture* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 11-12.
70. *Post-War Development Plan Punjab* (Punjab Government Publication, Lahore, 1946), p. 5.
71. It is said that the niggardly policy of the British in respect of extending irrigation works was mainly responsible for converting one of the granaries of Asia into a land of perpetual famines. See V.B. Singh (ed.), *Economic History of India 1857-1956* (Delhi,

- 1965), p. xviii; also see R.K. Das, *The Industrial Efficiency at India* (n.p., 1930), p. 13.
72. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations (Annual), 1898, Vol. XXVII, p. 7; H. Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
 73. R.C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India* (Delhi, reprint, 1990), p.274, quoted in Bipin Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (New Delhi, 1969), p. 208.
 74. Local Government Resolutions No. 5465, 5 August 1890.
 75. PAR, 1901-02, General Summary, p. XXVI; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 127.
 76. Home Medical, Sanitary, A, Progs., February 1902, Nos. 15-37; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 127.
 77. Home, Medical and Sanitary, A, Progs., November 1913, Nos. 145-64.
 78. PAR, 1918-19, p. 85.
 79. Home, Sanitary, Progs., November 1924, Nos. 1-22.
 80. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 147.
 81. *Ibid.*
 82. *IGI, The Indian Empire*, Vol. IV, Administrative, pp. 471-72; PAR, 1913-14, p. 59; Kanchan Jyoti, 'Health and Sanitation', Measures of the Jullundur Municipality during British Period', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 15th Session, March 13-15, 1981, p. 374.
 83. *IGI, The Indian Empire*, Vol. IV, Administrative, p. 472.
 84. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Gazetteer of Jhang District, 1908* (Lahore, 1910), p. 161; *Gazetteer of Karnal District 1918* (Lahore, 1919), p. 207; *Gazetteer of Sialkot District 1920* (Lahore, 1921), p. 204; PLCD, 22 October 1926, Vol. IX, No. 31 (Lahore, 1926), p. 1712.
 85. PAR, 1907-08, p. vii.
 86. PAR, 1913-14, p. 59; Home, Medical and Sanitary, July 1914, Nos. 34-36.
 87. PAR, 1868-69, para 407.
 88. *Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1893-94* (Lahore, 1894), p. 303.
 89. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XXA, Amritsar District, 1914* (Lahore, 1914), p. 174; Annual Report on the Working of Hospitals and Dispensaries of the Punjab for the year 1939 (Lahore, 1940), pp. 52-54.
 90. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XXA, Amritsar District, 1914* (Lahore, 1914), p. 174.
 91. PAR, 1901-02, p. 129.
 92. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XVA, Ludhiana District 1904* (Lahore, 1907), p. 225.
 93. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 146; PAR 1900-01, General Summary, p. 9.
 94. PAR, 1898-99, para 146.
 95. Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) in the Home (Medical and Sanitary.) Department, 27 June 1922, No. 18379.

96. The percentage of expenditure on medical relief by District Boards and Municipal Committees at that time was only 8 to 9 per cent of their total expenditure which included sanitation and other charges. *Ibid.*
97. No regular system of grant was in existence before 1917, when a small sum of Rs. 20,000 was placed at the disposal of the Inspector-General to enable him to help the local bodies. In the following year the grant was raised to rupees 1 lakh for the purpose of assisting the opening and equipment of new hospitals. In 1919-20 the amount was further raised to rupees 1.15 lakhs. Memorandum prepared for the use of the Indian Statutory Commission by the Government of the Punjab, Vol. I (Lahore, 1928), *MISC*, p. 257.
98. Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, Vol. I (Delhi, 1946), p. 47.
99. Minute of Lord Dalhousie, 20 April 1853; *The Indian Year Book of 1939-40*, Vol. XXVI (Bombay, n.d.), p. 702.
100. Brij Narain, *The Indian Economic Life: Past and Present* (Lahore, 1929), p. 508.
101. B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
102. PWD, General, B, Progs., December 1907, Nos. 1-25; Bhattacharya, Dhires, *A Concise History of Indian Economy 1750-1950* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 151.
103. Revenue and Agricultural Department (Civil Works), Establishment, A, Progs., March 1905, Nos. 83-89, while speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on 23 February 1926, Mr. Jamna Das M. Mehta remarked that Railway Board was an utterly unconstitutional, irresponsible and arbitrary body. It was not appointed by that House; it did not owe any responsibility to them for anything it did. Imperial Legislative Assembly Debates, 23 February 1926, Vol. VIII, No. 21 (Delhi, 1926), p. 165.
104. T.B. Desai, *Economic History of India under the British* (Bombay, 1968), p. 157.
105. Parvinder Kaur, Railways in Punjab (1901-1947), *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 28 Feb. - 2 March, 1986, 20th Session, p.300; T.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
106. PAR, 1901-02, p. 130.
107. PAR, 1903-04, p. 120.
108. PAR, 1906-07, p. 37.
109. Settlement Report of the Ferozepur District, 1910-14, p. 77.
110. District Gazetteer Multan, 1923-24, p. 224.
111. Settlement Report of the Ferozepur District, 1910-14, p. 7.
112. PAR, 1913-14, p. 40.
113. *Report on the Census of India, 1921*; p. 81; see also B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-13; *The Land of the Five Rivers*, p. 314.
114. PAR, 1921-22, p. 45; G.W. McGeorge, *Ways and Works in India* (Edinburgh, MDCCCXCIV), p. 381.

115. H.K. Trevaskis, *The Punjab of Today*, Vol. II (Lahore, 1932), p. 83.
116. PAR, 1921-22, p. 45.
117. *Census of India 1911*, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part I (Lahore, 1912), p.55.
118. G.S. Khosla, 'The Growth of the Railway System in the Punjab', *Punjab Past and Present : Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh* (Patiala, 1976), p. 285.
119. PAR, 1905-06, p. 38.
120. *Census of India*, 1931, Punjab, p. 51; H. Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1922), p. 108.
121. George Chesney, *Indian Policy, A View of the System of Administration of India* (London, 1894), p. 304.
122. Lala Lajpat Rai, 'The Railway Administration' in *The People*, 28 February 1926, p. 170. Many Britishers who knew India and indeed many distinguished Indians opposed the construction of railways in our country as a 'premature and expensive undertaking'. Indians were of the opinion that Englishmen in their own country were more familiar with rail roads than with canals, and that they were making the mistake of judging the needs of Indians accordingly; see Parvinder Kaur, *Railways in Punjab (1901-1947)*, *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, 1986, p. 298.
123. A R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay, 1981), p. 132.
124. Road Development Committee. Vol. II, Evidence (Sub-Committee's Report and other papers, official replies to questionnaire), p. 1.
125. Home, Public, A, Progs., 8 February 1855, No. 45; Road Development Committee, Vol. II, Evidence, p. 1.
126. The measures of Local Self Government initiated by Lord Mayo in 1870 and developed by Lord Ripon (1880-84), and his successors afforded considerable possibilities for the development of road transport. *The Land of Five Rivers*, p. 156.
127. *Ibid.*
128. PAR, 1919-20, p. 91.
129. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 91; B.S. Saini, *op. cit.*, p. 310; *Report on the Census of India*, 1921, p. 17.
130. *The Land of Five Rivers*, p. 157.
131. *Census of India*, 1931, p. 49; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 91; PAR, 1925-26, p.75.
132. Cited in Narjeet Kaur, 'Development of Public Works in the Punjab, 1849-1947', an unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992, pp. 126-28.
133. *Ibid.*

Education

The introduction of western system of education by the British government was a boon for the Indians. Dadabhai Naoroji rightly said, "If there is one thing more than another for which the Indian people are particularly and deeply grateful to the British Nation... it is the blessing of education which Britain has bestowed upon India."¹ The Britishers wanted a class of people who could ever remain faithful and loyal towards them. They chose the middle classes who could act as an agency through which the government could function successfully.² As a result of the measures taken by the Government supplemented by the efforts made by foreign Christian Missionaries and progressive socio-religious organisations of the Indians, the western educational system gained popularity. The old indigenous system of education gradually disappeared and the new system of education which aimed at the spread of western knowledge through the medium of English language was firmly established in its place.³

The first government school in the province was opened in 1849⁴ at Amritsar, and the Department of Public Instruction was established in 1856 as a result of the recommendations of the Wood's Despatch of 1854.⁵ Consequently, both elementary and higher education began to make rapid progress in Punjab. The position in 1897-98 was that there were 2,730 primary schools both for boys and girls, 368 secondary schools, 11 colleges and 5,051 private institutions. In these institutions, 147,212 boys and 13,216 girls were studying.⁶ But the number of indigenous schools was gradually declining, because they were not given grants-in-aid by the government.⁷

I

Primary education in urban areas was comparatively easy to provide, organise and make efficient. It was perceived that education was essentially a rural problem, for a great majority of the population lived in the villages. The main obstacle to its

extension in the rural areas was the belief that the education created a prejudice in the mind of the rural scholar against his ancestral occupation and made him soft-handed and unfit for agriculture.⁸ Mr. Lewis A. Hen Das also expressed similar views, when he said: "In a few large villages education is appreciated ... but the rural population do not appreciate education and the majority of their leaders were positively hostile to it, as being contrary to their interests."⁹

The policy of the Government in regard to the education had been to bring primary education within the reach of all. It had further been the aim of Government to throw the cost of primary education as far as possible to local resources. It was felt that till the appointment of Indian Education Commission of 1882, the progress of primary education had been "nothing but disappointment and dissatisfaction both to the people and the government, more especially to agricultural classes who contribute one per cent of the revenue to the educational cess fund."¹⁰ The Commission had been directed, *inter alia*, to report on 'the present state of elementary education and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved.'¹¹ The report of the Commission was published towards the end of 1883 and in the opening months of the following year, the recommendations of the Commission were communicated to the D.P.I., Punjab.¹² The Commission observed, "The primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life."¹³ It recommended that the elementary schools be handed over to the management of Municipal and District Boards and other local bodies subject to the inspection and supervision by the Government, that a part of the provincial revenues be set apart for the development of primary education, and that the aid to the primary schools on longer extent be regulated.¹⁴ In pursuance of this recommendation a sum of rupees 8,000 from provincial revenue was assigned for the establishment of new primary schools on the condition that an equivalent amount should be devoted to the same purpose.

In 1886-87, a further allotment of over a lakh of rupees from provincial revenues was provided for the extension and

improvement of primary education in Punjab. A number of Zamindari Schools, intended to meet the special requirements of the agricultural class, were opened.¹⁵ In these schools half time attendance was required and the schools were closed altogether during harvesting seasons.¹⁶ In the same year, all schools for general education, with the exception of the model or practising schools attached to training institutions, were transferred to the management of Municipal Committees, and rules were laid down with the view of affording every encouragement to their conversion into Aided Schools, when adequate guarantee of efficiency and permanency were available.¹⁷

Schools for general education, whether departmental or aided, were classified as vernacular or English and as primary or secondary. Primary schools afforded a course of instructions extending over five years and terminating with an examination called the upper primary examination. There were five classes, of which the first three formed the lower primary school, and the fourth and fifth, the upper primary school. In the lower primary section of both English and vernacular schools, there was a uniform course of study, which included vernacular Reading and Writing, Arithmetic as far as the Compound Rules, object lessons and the Geography of Punjab with elementary needle work for girls. In the upper primary section, the subjects of study were the same in both the kinds of schools with the exception that in place of English in the Anglo-Vernacular schools, the vernacular schools had mansuration.¹⁸

The noteworthy feature of the year 1897-98 was the fall of a number of indigenous and elementary schools that had previously earned grants.¹⁹ The total number of schools had thus fallen from 2,310 in 1896-97 to 2,257 in 1897-98. Of these 1,612 were Government and Board schools, 524 Aided and 121 Unaided schools.²⁰

By and by some changes were brought about in the curriculum of the primary schools. These changes were the result of continuous adjustment between three conflicting forces; the first of these was the ambition of the departmental officers who wanted to imitate the developments in England, where subjects

after subjects were added to the curriculum; second was the limiting factor, viz. the capacity of the teacher to handle the ever-expanding curriculum; and the third was the desire of the average parent who demanded an instruction analogous to that of the indigenous schools with which he was familiar. This desire required a simplification of the curriculum and an emphasis on the three R's – a demand that ran directly contrary to the official desire to enrich and expand the courses of study. Ultimately, a richer and varied curriculum was adopted.²¹

A few changes were also brought about in the methods of teaching. The pupil-teacher system was introduced under which senior pupils were required to work as assistants to teachers in return for small stipends and were later on absorbed in the profession and trained. The crude and harsh mode of punishments tended to disappear and a more human treatment of the child began to be noticeable. While this achievement was a definite gain, it was counter-balanced by loss in another direction. The indigenous schools were so small in size that individual attention was paid to each pupil. But in the new schools the size of the classes was increased and it became difficult to pay individual attention to the pupils. Some other improvements brought about were as follows :²²

(i). Lady Inspectress was appointed to visit the female schools.

(ii). Every year two conferences, one departmental and one general, were held. The first was to be attended by the officials in the department and the second by such officers together with the managers of the aided schools and other gentlemen interested in education.

(iii). The grant-in-aid rules were thoroughly revised in consultation with the managers of aided schools.

(iv). Rules were laid down for the award of grants on a liberal scale to indigenous schools.

During the Curzonian period, the doctrine of state withdrawal was officially abandoned, inspecting staff was strengthened and

emphasis was laid both on the quality and quantity in the field of primary education. Curzon's Government sanctioned large non-recurring grants from government funds. It enabled the provincial governments to raise the rate of grants-in-aid to local boards and municipalities from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total. The efficiency of the government schools was increased so that they could serve as models to private enterprise. Consequently, the number of primary schools rose to 2,930 during the year 1905-06.²³

Among the notable changes introduced during the post-Curzonian period was the one devised in 1908 to replace Zamindari Schools²⁴ by Rural Schools. The curriculum prescribed for a Rural School was a mere compromise between the curriculum of a Zamindari School and that of an ordinary primary school.²⁵ The distinguishing features of the new courses of study were the omission of Persian and the inclusion of the Indian system of keeping accounts.²⁶

The total direct expenditure on primary education was rupees 824,758 during the year 1908-09. There was a general evidence that agriculturists were gradually realising the advantage of sending their children to schools. They now formed 49.5 per cent of the pupils in the primary schools.²⁷ The aided indigenous schools which gave instructions of a simpler type than that in the board primary schools were becoming less and less popular.

The supply of trained teachers was still far short of the demand. Of the 4,188 teachers employed in primary schools, only 2,423 were trained.²⁸

During the quinquennium 1907-12, there had been an increase of 263 primary schools and of 37,934 pupils in such schools, the numbers now being 3,413 and 179,465 respectively. The expansion had, owing to want of funds, not been so rapid as in the previous quinquennium, but it was satisfactory. The total direct expenditure amounted to rupees 876,375, an increase of rupees 236,943 of which increase rupees 189,481 were contributed by District funds; fees defrayed 11 per cent of the total expenditure.²⁹

The poor quality of teaching was a weak point in the primary

schools, and an obstacle to the spread of education. Parents were often disinclined to send their children to schools, for the teachers did not command their confidence. Only about half of the teachers in primary schools were trained and the qualifications of many of the others were meagre. The number of trained teachers increased only by 47 in 1910, in spite of the larger out-turn from Normal schools, so that there was apparently a leakage of teachers into other callings. The course for rural schools had, by and large, gained in popularity, but *bahi khata* and accounts, which were among the special features of the course, were not well-taught as yet. Some manual instruction was frequently advocated for primary schools, but apart from other considerations the lack of qualified teachers was an obstacle in its introduction. General complaint was made as to the condition of the school buildings many of which were lent or rented buildings unsuitable for school purposes.³⁰

The new curriculum for primary schools seemed acceptable. Practical mensuration, *bahi khata*, Geography and nature lessons were however, reported to be weak features of the teaching but there was said to be improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic. The staple of primary education, Persian, which figured in the course of studies for village schools upto the issue of a separate rural school curriculum some ten years ago, was now entirely omitted except where there was a definite local demand for it. Its retention, which was a survival from the time when Persian was the official language of Punjab, could only be vindicated at the present time by linguistic considerations which did not apply to elementary schools for villagers' children. The schools' vernacular was almost universally Urdu, but there were no less than 117 Gurmukhi schools in the province.³¹

An obstacle of long standing to extension of primary education among agriculturists had been the difficulty of adapting it to the pupil's environment, i.e., of arranging that school did not withdraw him from rural occupations and the ordinary life of village children, and thus converted him into an artificial product – a hot house plant. A common criticism, for instance, was that setting aside the question whether a boy could be spared from field work, schooling actually unfitted him for it. "Ninety-nine

Zamindars out of a hundred", the Deputy Commissioner of Hissar remarked, "will tell you that education spoils for zamindari work, and that sitting all day in a school poring over books make them weak and physically disinclined for out-door work in the fields ... Similarly, I have heard it objected that if a boy acquires habits of neatness and cleanliness in school, he will become unwilling to dirty his hands and clothes by working on the land."³²

The difficulty was certainly not to be overcome by well-meant attempts to make agriculture a school subject of instructions, or by establishing a separate class of half-time Zamindari Schools which deprived the agriculturists' son of an opportunity of carrying his studies further. Better organised teaching and shorter hours seemed to be the only remedy.³³

The comments of the Inspector of Schools, Jullundur Division, presented rather a gloomy outlook as regards the teaching generally in primary schools.³⁴ He notes :

Of the quality of teaching generally in primary schools it is difficult to form an estimate Many boys who leave school after three years soon forget how to write anything but their names. But they had been sent to school, because the school provided a cheap and handy nursery. To few indeed is primary education an end in itself. It is rather the first necessary stage on the road to the 'Entrance' – the door to Government service ... In this division primary schools generally open at 10.30 a.m. and close at 3 p.m. and boys are expected to help their parents in their work both before and after school-hours.³⁵

In 1916 the total number of recognised primary schools was 5,679 with an enrolment of 275,353 scholars. Between the years 1916 and 1921 the number of schools increased by 707 or by 12.4 per cent and the number of scholars increased by 10,533 or by 4.0 per cent.³⁶

Owing to the reduction of the primary school from 5 to 4 classes and to the conversion of large numbers of primary schools into vernacular middle schools, classified as secondary, the actual expansion of primary education can only be correctly estimated by a comparison of the figures for the primary classes of all

grades of institutions. There were 361,308 scholars in 1917 in the first five classes of all schools.

During the years 1916-1921 three main factors operated to assist successful progress. The laying down of definite 5 years programmes of expansion, particularly for the opening of vernacular middle schools; the passing of the Primary Education Act in 1919 which provided for the introduction of compulsion for boys in municipal and rural areas, the levy of an educational cess and the grading of districts into forward and backward areas for the purpose of obtaining a more equitable distribution of government subsidies towards primary education.

In 1916 the percentage of male scholars in primary schools to the total population was 2.1 and that of female scholars was 0.4. In 1917 the percentage of pupils in the first five classes of all institutions to the total number of pupils of school going age was 13.1; in 1921 it was 14.7.

In 1916 the percentage of expenditure on primary education to the total expenditure on education was 16.8 and in 1921 it was 16.2. The fall in percentage was accounted for by the transformation of primary schools into middle schools.³⁷ The fall (1915-16 and 1916-17) in the number of new schools in the last two years was due to the gradual exhaustion of the imperial grants for primary education.³⁸

During the dark days of the Great War (1917-18) the Punjab Government launched a scheme for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education, known as the five-year programme which was drawn up by a committee of executive, financial and educational experts and initiated on 1 April 1918. This tended to bring education practically within the reach of every village boy, and established a sound vernacular system in this province.³⁹

As the task of providing education in the rural area was entirely in the hands of District Boards, they were given grants-in-aid by the Government in a mixed proportion to what each of them spent on opening new schools under the scheme.⁴⁰ The programme met with a remarkable success. Thus there were 7,685

primary schools with 401,872 scholars in 1923-24,⁴¹ as against 6,130 primary schools and 289,690 scholars in 1918-19.⁴² The programme was, however, not renewed due to lack of funds.

In 1918-19 some important alterations were made in the educational system of the province. The school classes were henceforth to be numbered from I to X; classes I to IV were to form the primary department, V to VIII the middle department and IX and X the high department.⁴³ The distinction between upper and lower primary schools and the term elementary school was abolished in 1919 and it was decided that hereafter there would be one standard primary school containing four classes.

A bill for free and compulsory education was introduced by the Government in 1918. It was finally passed in March 1919 and provided for the introduction of compulsory education for boys only⁴⁴ in municipal and rural area. The outstanding features of the Act were:⁴⁵

- (a). that the introduction of the compulsion was left to the option of the local authority with the sanction of the Government;
- (b). that it was confined to the age of scholars between six and even years or where necessary between seven and twelve;
- (c). that it was confined to boys, girls being entirely excluded from it;
- (d). that it did not extend to boys outside a radius of two miles from the school; and
- (e). that no fees were to be charged.⁴⁶

In the beginning the Act was bitterly opposed by a small section of the Muslim community. The Maulvis issued a *fatwa* against the Act, because they feared that it would stop the religious instruction of Muslim boys. The Government became cautious on its part and in order to ensure good progress it decided to try the scheme first in a few selected areas and on its successes, to extend it gradually to other areas.⁴⁷

The Indian opinion had been all along demanding free and compulsory primary education. This demand was almost

unanimous. The press, the Congress and the Muslim League all were in favour of such education being introduced in India. But only a small section of Muslims and agriculturists opposed this act due to their selfish ends. On the whole, it received a massive support from the public opinion.

The Rahbar of Moradabad had pleaded for free and compulsory primary education as early as the beginning of 1908.⁴⁸ The *Oudh Akhbar* of Lucknow, while expressing the people's gratitude to the government for all that it had done in the matter of education, had urged upon the government that free and compulsory primary education be introduced in the country.⁴⁹

Lala Lajpat Rai had also remarked in the course of a speech in England that Indians would welcome free primary education with feelings of deep gratitude.⁵⁰

The *Vakil* of Amritsar observed that there was not a single country in Europe and America where primary education was not free. Even in Egypt, added the paper, elementary education was imparted free of charge, although it was not compulsory there. Again, although the Egyptians numbered only 12,000,000 their government spent rupees 7,500,000 a year on the education, whereas India which was inhabited by over 24 crores of souls, spent only rupees 9,600,000 on education. Did not this deplorable state of affairs deserve special attention and consideration from government.⁵¹

The Congress had also demanded free and compulsory primary education by passing resolutions at its twenty-first session held at Banaras in 1905 and 25th Session held at Allahabad in 1910.⁵² The All-India Muslim League demanded at its Fourth Session held at Nagpur, December 1910 that "a beginning, however, modest, should be made in the direction of making primary education free and gradually compulsory throughout the country."⁵³

The Panjabee of Lahore commented that some agriculturists, however, were reported to have opposed compulsory education, not because they disliked education itself but because it interfered with their occupations and did not help them.⁵⁴

II

Secondary schools were either middle or high. A middle school usually contained a primary as well as a middle department. A high school in addition to its high department, usually contained these two also. The middle course extended over three classes, and terminated in case of vernacular schools in the middle school examination. The high-school course extended over two years, and ended with the Entrance Examination of the Panjab University.⁵⁵

English was not taught in the vernacular schools and it commenced only at the upper primary stage in the Anglo-Vernacular schools. The vernacular was the medium of instructions for all departments upto the third middle class. English was the medium only in the high departments.⁵⁶ Thus, the secondary education was either Anglo-vernacular (English) or vernacular. The vernacular secondary course completed the education of those pupils who had a desire to carry their schooling in the mother-tongue, somewhat beyond the primary stage. In the English secondary schools, the teaching of English was the prime object throughout the course and in higher classes instruction in all subjects was given through the medium of English.⁵⁷

In Punjab more than half of the secondary schools were under public management. The devolution of the management of the state schools to Local Self Government Boards had been more or less completed by the year 1897-98. The Government had retained in its own control only eleven secondary schools. Local boards controlled the majority of the primary and middle vernacular schools, whilst most of the English schools were municipal institutions.⁵⁸ By 1903-04 there were 291 secondary schools for boys. Of these 87 were high and 204 were middle schools. They included 179 Anglo-vernacular and 112 vernacular schools and the total number of pupils was 56,749.⁵⁹

Lord Curzon categorically stated his new policy towards secondary education in 1904, which was put in practice during 1904-08. It had two important aspects – 'control' and 'improvement'. With regard to the first, the Government tried to

control private enterprise in a number of ways.⁶⁰ Firstly, it was compulsory for the secondary schools to seek recognition by the Department of Education. It had been the opinion of Indian Education Commission that the department should prescribe the conditions on the basis of which grant-in-aid would be paid to private schools and that managers who did not ask for aid should be left free to develop their schools along their own lines. The Government Resolution of 1904 explained this policy in the following words:⁶¹

Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they receive aid from public funds or not, the government is bound in the interest of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one is properly constituted; that it teaches proper subjects upto a proper standard; that due provisions have been made for the instruction, health, recreation and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number and qualifications. Such are the conditions upon which schools should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid and will be ranked as recognised schools.

In addition to the recognition granted by the department, secondary schools had to obtain recognition from the University conducting the Matriculation Examination. Under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, regulations were framed by all the universities for the recognition of schools.

The new policy of control by the department and the university was not framed without opposition. It was argued that the attempt of the government to control private secondary schools was political in origin and was intended to curb the growth of national feelings and private Indian enterprise. Even from the educational point of view, it would be difficult to justify the new policy in toto. The control of the government was excessive, rigid and mechanical. With the result that the number of secondary schools and the pupils started falling and more so

in the privately managed institutions. During the year 1903-04, the total number of pupils in Anglo-vernacular schools fell from 39,730 to 39,342 and in vernacular schools from 17,553 to 17,407, the decrease in the former was confined to institutions under private management whilst the government and Board schools had an upward tendency, however, small."⁶²

The second object of Curzon's policy in regard to secondary education was to improve the quality of instructions. Education in Punjab was tinged with that Curzonian touch which produced order out of discordance, uniformity out of confusion. No doubt, his policy tended to ignore the feelings and orthodoxy of the people and dealt with them a little unsympathetically but his eulogists attribute this to the fact that he was far ahead of his time. It cannot be denied that in his zeal and overenthusiasm, he failed to lend that soft touch in his reforms that was expected of a ruler. And as his reforms were forced upon people, they showed resentment and took them with a grain of salt.⁶³

The period from 1905 to 1919 witnessed remarkable progress and expansion in secondary education. This expansion was achieved mainly through private enterprise and was, in no small measure, due to the great social and political awakening in those days. It has been recorded that in 1917-18 there were 422 secondary schools for boys with an enrolment of 111,294 scholars. In 1919 the number of schools rose to 835 and that of scholars to 164,870, between 1916 and 1919; the number of male scholars increased by 48.14 per cent and that of female scholars by 22.7 per cent.⁶⁴ The considerable increase in the number of high schools and pupils in the higher classes from 1916 onwards was mainly due to the reclassification of schools which took place in the year 1919-20 whereby the fifth primary class became secondary in character and to the deliberate policy of converting primary schools into vernacular middle schools. The percentage of expenditure on secondary education in the total expenditure on education had largely increased, due to the increase in the number of vernacular middle schools. In 1916-17 the percentage was 27.6 and the expenditure on secondary education was 2,980,278⁶⁵ rupees and in 1919 it rose to 30.11 per cent and total expenditure rose to 4,273,687 rupees.⁶⁶

The curriculum included science and arts subjects besides English and vernacular languages. The weakest subjects in curriculum, however, were reported to be History, Geography and Urdu. Many government schools were alternating science with languages instead of taking both; other schools added to their difficulties by needlessly introducing subjects merely to compete with neighbouring schools. The teaching of science, both theoretical and practical, had received an impetus unknown before. The large number of failures in science in consecutive years created a reaction against it as a subject for the matriculation examination and many schools began to take up Physiology instead. Some schools organised excursions to historical places but very few schools outside Lahore had taken their boys to the museum to show them the history section and even historical monuments in Lahore were unknown to most of the scholars. In Mathematics efforts were being made to cultivate the power of thought by an expansion of oral work and by the translation of language of arithmetic into that of algebra in the solving of problems.⁶⁷

The adoption of the vernacular medium for the instruction in the middle departments of Anglo-vernacular schools for all subjects was strongly recommended by the Educational Conference of 1917. It marked a definite break with the past. The change met with practically unanimous support from all interested in education.⁶⁸

Some other reforms introduced in the secondary education during the year 1917-18 were as under:⁶⁹

(i). A scheme for agricultural teaching in middle and high schools was approved by the Punjab Government and a grant of rupees 469,000 was received from the Government of India to cover initial expenses.

(ii). Regulation for the institution of Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate examination were framed by the Panjab University.

(iii). A system of manual training centres for high schools was instituted.

(iv). Rules were framed under the Land Acquisition Act for the purpose of land for schools under private management.

(v). Standard provident fund rules for aided schools were drawn up and a system of special grants from provincial revenues was sanctioned to encourage the acceptance of the new rules.

(vi). The subordinate educational service was divided into two sections – one for English Masters and the junior inspecting staff and the other for classical and vernacular teachers ensuring a more rapid flow of promotion in either section.

In 1918, details about the scheme for the introduction of agricultural education in rural schools was drawn up by a committee. The principle underlying this scheme was the recognition of agriculture not as a special subject to be taught in a few technical schools but as a subject to be included in the ordinary curriculum of all rural schools in the province. In pursuance of this principle, agricultural teaching was to be introduced gradually in all vernacular middle schools, which were in effect rural secondary schools and was also to be provided by means of agricultural centres for selected groups of high schools.⁷⁰ It was impossible at that time to foresee the ultimate results of this scheme, but it could at least be claimed for it that it was a bold attempt to diffuse sound ideas on agriculture over as wide a range as possible in the Punjab, which was pre-eminently an agricultural province.

In 1919, three schools in Ambala Division commenced agriculture as a practical subject. A demonstration farm of agriculture was set up in the Government High School, Ferozepur and agriculture was taught at Khalsa High School, Jalandhar and the R.K. High School, Jagraon. Eight other High Schools in the Jalandhar Division contemplated the early introduction of this subject. In the Lahore Division there were agricultural classes in the middle schools at Ghakhar in Gujranwala, Patti and Kahna Nan in Lahore, Qila Sobha Singh and Satra in Sialkot, Ajnala in Amritsar and at Kot Nainan and Kalanaur in Gurdaspur. District High School centres were to be established at Lahore and Gujranwala. Four districts of Multan Division had also begun the teaching of the subject in certain middle schools.⁷¹

The institution of the Matriculation and School Leaving Certificate (MSLC) examination had definitely settled subjects of practical utility such as Shorthand, Type-writing, Book-keeping, Science, Agriculture etc. The wide field of optional subjects for this examination appeared to be producing one undesirable result, perhaps, viz. the decline of the study of History and Geography which were now optional and not compulsory subjects. Only 25 to 30 per cent of candidates offered these subjects, Physiology and Hygiene being a very popular alternative. This was almost entirely due to the difficulty that had been experienced in passing in History and Geography.⁷²

A board, known as the School Board had been constituted in 1919 to deal solely with this examination and the syllabus had been adapted to the requirements and capabilities of boys in schools. The introduction of English from 5th instead of the 4th class was another important change of the year.⁷³

But no attention was paid to introduce vocational or pre-vocational education. It must, however, be admitted that there was no such demand from the public for the introduction of vocational course and that the attempts made at introducing them often became unpopular. This was because, firstly, the problem of educated unemployed had not become serious. A knowledge of English led to employment and was therefore, still equivalent to vocational training. Secondly, the pupils of upper secondary standards came mostly from the middle classes. It was not surprising that these pupils did not take kindly to manual work and vocational training. Lastly, the lack of provision of handwork etc. at the primary and lower secondary stage proved to be another obstacle to the introduction of vocational course at the upper secondary stage.

III

Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 had recommended that the government should establish universities which should be both affiliating as well as examining bodies and that below the universities should be colleges affiliated to them, imparting education to the Intermediate to Degree classes.⁷⁴ In pursuance of this recommendation universities were established at Calcutta,

Bombay and Madras in 1857. There was, however, no university in Punjab till as late as 1882. To begin with, a school of a superior order was instituted at Lahore, which would serve as the nucleus of a central college. A similar institution was opened at Delhi.⁷⁵ These institutions prepared students for the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations of the Calcutta University, there being no university in Punjab. In 1864, Government College was established at Lahore. The progress of this college, however, was far from satisfactory. As a reaction against over-emphasis on English education which was found "lacking in the ingredients necessary for the system of national education", the need for the orientalised education began to be stressed by some scholars in Punjab. Under these circumstances 'Anjuman-i-Punjab' was founded by Dr. Leitner in January 1865 with the twin objects of revival of oriental learning and dissociation of Punjab Colleges from the Calcutta University and establishment of a university of Lahore.⁷⁶

Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, pleaded for the establishment of a separate Panjab University, but the Supreme Government accorded its sanction to the establishment of 'Panjab University College' instead of a full-fledged university. Thus University College, Lahore came into being in January 1870 "in partial fulfilment of the wishes of a large number of the chiefs, nobles and influential classes of Punjab."⁷⁷ Dr. Leitner was appointed the Registrar of the University College.

The status and objects of the University College were declared to be:⁷⁸

(1). to promote the diffusion of European sciences, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of Punjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally;

(2). to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical language and literature; and

(3). to associate the learned and influential classes with the Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

To carry out these objects, the University College established an Oriental School in March 1870 which was promoted to Oriental College in 1872. Lahore Medical School was affiliated to it and Law School was established under the direct control of the Panjab University College.⁷⁹ The question of the establishment of full-fledged university was revived in the late 1870s and the Punjab Government having amended the standards of the Panjab University College in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary of State, an Act was passed in October 1882 for the establishment of a full-fledged university in the province.⁸⁰ Authority was granted by the Act to the Governor-General in Council to empower the university to confer degrees in Law, Medicine, Science and Engineering also.⁸¹ There was a rapid growth of higher education after the establishment of the Panjab University. In 1889, the Oxford University and in 1896 the Cambridge University accorded recognition to the Panjab University which enhanced its status immensely. There were 13 Arts colleges⁸² in the province in 1901-02 within British territory, against 9 in 1896-97; the Victoria College, Lahore, the Church Mission College, Amritsar, the Khalsa College, Amritsar and the Hindu College, Delhi were opened during the last 5 years.⁸³ But the Victoria College at Lahore and the M.B. College, Amritsar were closed during 1902-03 for want of support and recognition.⁸⁴ There were three professional colleges in the province during 1902-03 for Law, Medicine and Teaching. The Law College was under the direct control of Panjab University; the Medicine and Teaching were Government institutions.⁸⁵

In 1900, the Secretary of State for India drew the attention of the Government of India to the necessity for the continuance of government control, guidance and assistance in higher education and for the maintenance of a number of government institutions.⁸⁶ In 1901, Lord Curzon summoned an educational conference at Simla in which only European educationists were invited. The Viceroy pointed out certain defects in the educational system which appeared to him glaring and called for speedy solution. This educational conference was followed by the appointment of Indian Universities Commission of 1902, the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 and the publication of the Government of India's Resolution on Indian Educational Policy in March 1904.⁸⁷

In regard to collegiate education the Resolution announced that, as a result of the recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902, the government has decided to reconstitute the Indian Universities⁸⁸ so as to provide for the statutory recognition of the privilege of electing members to the Senates, the enlargement of the powers of the universities in the matter of the control, inspection and affiliation of colleges and the undertaking by the universities themselves of teaching and research work.

The Commission also made certain other recommendations to improve higher education, such as abolition of second grade colleges, abolition of law classes, fixing of minimum rate of college fees by the syndicate, which really meant the raising of the fees and fixation of the minimum age for Matriculation at 16 or 15 years.⁸⁹

The Punjab Government considered and accepted most of the recommendations of the Commission. It concurred with the Commission's opinion that insofar as the question of efficiency was concerned, the second grade colleges had a definite place in the educational framework of the country. Regarding the affiliation and disaffiliation of the colleges, the Punjab Government agreed upon all the tests suggested by the Commission save the last test, which prohibited the affiliation of new second grade colleges. To deal with the question of affiliation and disaffiliation effectively, it suggested the appointment of representative committee of the Senate by the Chancellor. In connection with the teaching of law it welcomed the commission's recommendation that the law college at Lahore be properly developed and be made a really adequate Central Law College. Regarding the reform of the Senate, the Punjab Government agreed with the recommendation of the Commission that the number of ex-officio fellows of the Senate of Panjab University be reduced. The Punjab Government readily accepted the recommendation of 15 years as the minimum limit of age for Matriculation. Regarding the position of the Director of Public Instruction the Punjab Government concurred with the Commission's proposal that the D.P.I. should be an ex-officio member of the syndicate. The Government of Punjab endorsed the Commission's recommendation that the affiliation of schools and

colleges in Punjab be removed from Calcutta University and assigned to the Panjab University.⁹⁰

The recommendations of the University Commission came into sharp public criticism. Surendranath Banerjee observed that "the report ... was a menace to the whole system of higher education in India It was worthy of remark that the Commissioners themselves admitted that the effect of their proposals would be to narrow the popular basis of higher education, and to restrict the area."⁹¹

Indian press and public opinion were also unanimous in condemning the recommendations of the University Commission. *The Oudh Samachar* of Lucknow, for instance, remarked that if the recommendations of the University Commission were accepted, higher education would come to an end.⁹² Of the various recommendations of the Commission, the most detested ones pertained to the raising of the college fees and the abolition of the so-called 'second grade' colleges. The same paper warned that if the recommendations of the University Commission were adopted, and matters were allowed to go from bad to worse, the higher classes, or rather the whole of young India, might be said to be doomed both physically and intellectually.⁹³ The Indian National Congress also opposed the recommendations of the Universities Commission.

But the protests of the public, the national press, the Congress and the national leaders had no effect on the Government. The Government of Lord Curzon was callous to public opinion and feelings, and, therefore, the protests went unheard and the Legislative Council passed the Indian Universities' Act which came into force on 21 March 1904. The Act introduced important changes in the organisation and administration of the Indian Universities; the governing bodies of the universities were to be reconstituted; the size of Senates and Syndicates was to be reduced and there was to be increase of official element in the bodies; strict conditions were laid down for the affiliation of new colleges which were to be periodically inspected by the Syndicates; the details of the University policy and affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges were to be subject to the approval of the

government; the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities were to be appointed by the Government; the Governor-General in Council was empowered to define the territorial jurisdiction of various universities.⁹⁴

But these reforms and changes introduced by the Act were strongly opposed by the public opinion as they were viewed as undue government interference in the higher education and university administration. The general impression of Indians was that the real intentions of Lord Curzon were political rather than educational; he desired to officialise the universities so as to prevent them from becoming nurseries of nationalism and to curb higher education which was filling the younger generation with new hopes and aspirations.

The Gulzar-i-Hind (Lahore) warned that the passing of the Universities Act was calculated to put an end to higher education in the country. By enhancing fees, the doors of the colleges in the face of poor students would be shut down, while the rich were not likely to belie their nature by taking more kindly to learning than heretofore.⁹⁵ *The Sat Dharam Parcharak* (Jullundur), under the head 'the real object of the Universities Act' remarked that the real object with which Lord Curzon had passed the Universities Act had been very little understood. The Act was intended to bring the students of colleges more under the influence of European Professors with the view of enabling the latter to mould the former's character after their own heart. Evidently Lord Curzon was of the opinion that it being impossible to suppress education in India, the only way to strengthen British rule in the country was to make native youths studying in colleges borrow their ideas from Christian teachers.⁹⁶ *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) observed 'the Universities' Act would always be regarded as Lord Curzon's most pernicious piece of legislation. It would only lead to the introduction of drastic changes in the existing educational system and was calculated to deal a death blow to the educational policy of Lord Macaulay and other well-wishers of India.'⁹⁷ Some of the newspapers were also critical of the hasty manner the Act had been passed even without going through the formality of referring it to a Select Committee. *The Tribune* denounced it as "a piece of high handedness without parallel in the annals of Indian legislation".⁹⁸

The people and the national leaders were particularly unhappy with the enhancement of college fees and the strict regulations regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of the colleges. These measures, it was felt, were calculated to discourage the growth of higher education among the natives.⁹⁹

The policy of stressing quality in education started by Lord Curzon was adhered to by his successors. It was pleaded in defence of the educational policy of Curzon and his successors that it had tended to improve the standard of education. The policy in regard to higher education had been productive of good results. This was evident from the fact that there had been a marked upward trend in the honesty, integrity and capacity of the native officials of the provincial services, who were the outcome of liberal education.¹⁰⁰ There was also a rapid growth in the institutions of higher education. In 1916-17 besides the Aitchison (Chiefs) College, there were in all seventeen colleges in Punjab, exclusive of the three situated in the states of Patiala, Bahawalpur and Kapurthala. Lahore was the main centre of education. Of the ten Arts Colleges, seven were situated in Lahore alone.¹⁰¹

IV

Female education did not make any substantial progress during the first three decades of the establishment of British rule in Punjab. There was no demand for education as a means of livelihood among the girls and women. The system of child marriage caused withdrawal of a large portion of the girls from schools at a very early age, thus preventing them from completing their education. This, in turn, affected the supply of efficient women teachers. The employment of male teachers in girls' schools also prejudiced many parents to withdraw their daughters earlier from schools. Consequently, the supply of teachers for girls' schools was insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality.¹⁰² Female education suffered on account of another reason also. Most of the conservative parents did not like to give education to their daughters.

The Education Commission of 1882 had recommended the encouragement of female education. In the following years efforts were made to set up a sound system of female education. Earnest

attempts in this regard resulted in making the existing schools places of healthy elementary education, adopted to the simple requirements of the people. Rewards for diligent work were substituted for payment for mere attendance. An Inspectress of Schools was appointed in 1889. The grant-in-aid rules specially provided for the encouragement of female schools.¹⁰³ The total number of female students studying in various schools during 1897-98 was 20,495 in the province, or not more than 1.42 per cent of the girls of school-going age.¹⁰⁴ But the prejudice against the education of women appeared to be weakening and somewhat rapid progress of female education was witnessed in the beginning of the present century.¹⁰⁵

The establishment of the Normal School for women in 1905 at Lahore marked a new era in the development of the female education.¹⁰⁶ Female education was, par excellence, the field for private effort. A considerable amount of teaching was afforded privately behind the *purdah* and the problem of systematic *zanana* teaching was engaging the attention of the Department. The various socio-religious organisations like the Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj, The Singh Sabha, the Chief Khalsa Diwan and Muslim Anjuman made strenuous efforts in this direction. The Victoria Mary Anglo-Vernacular School and Convent School for girls at Lahore were opened in 1908. The former was developed into the Queen Mary College, a counterpart for girls of the Aitchison College for boys. But the education of Muhammadan girls suffered from the special disability that Urdu was neither their mother-tongue nor the language of the religious books of the pupils.¹⁰⁷ The dearth of qualified teachers was another chief obstacle to the development.

Between 1916 and 1919 various measures were adopted to encourage education of girls. The women's inspecting agency was strengthened; additional facilities were provided for the training of teachers;¹⁰⁸ a Hindu Widow Home was opened at Lahore and Local Boards were encouraged to open denominational schools with special classes for religious instruction; women's inspectorate department was reorganised. Similarly, a number of other steps were taken such as the replacement of normal schools for women by training classes attached to Government High Schools and the appointment of a Deputy Directoress etc.¹⁰⁹

In 1916, the number of schools for girls was 990 and 51,496 girls were studying in these schools. The number of girls studying in boys' schools in Punjab was lower than any other province in India and until recent years co-education was almost non-existent.¹¹⁰ In the same year there were 57 public secondary schools for girls in the province having 9,502 scholars. Of these 8 were high schools and 49 middle schools.¹¹¹ The proportion of girls who continued their studies beyond the primary stage was still very low.¹¹²

In 1916, there were one arts college and one Professional College for women and by 1919 there was no increase in the number of female colleges.¹¹³

The progress in female education as a whole may be visualised from the fact that by 1919 there were in all 1,074 girls schools having 57,732 students. There were two main reasons for the increasing popularity of female education – first, the growing recognition of the value of female education among the educated population; second, the improved efficiency of the schools.¹¹⁴

Miss Stratford, Chief Inspectress of Schools, wrote that Indian public opinion had slowly changed from its former attitude of positive dislike to the education of women and was now much more favourable as regards every community, though it was only recently that this necessity had been at all realised. Professional men now married their sons to educated girls who could be in real sense companions and help-mates; therefore, education was beginning to be valued by parents as improving the marriage prospectus of their daughters.¹¹⁵

She further observed that 'there was a general consensus of opinion that Indian ladies should be the leaders in movements for the expansion of girls' education but, unfortunately, in schools maintained by the private bodies this aim was not realised and it was noticeable that ladies at present took no part in the management of schools. There was usually a committee of men who laid down the lines on which the schools were to be worked, who made financial arrangements and who deputed one or two of the members to act as Manager and Secretary and to supervise the teaching. The presence of the men in the school made the

mistresses ill at ease as they were unable to speak freely before them. The transference of the management to the hands of Indian ladies was, therefore, essential.¹¹⁶

A conference on the education of girls was held in February 1919 at Lahore in which a number of important recommendations were made. The conference felt that while girls' schools were still so few in number it should be possible to set a higher standard of efficiency for them in the matter of staffing and pay than it would now be possible to introduce into boys' schools. It, therefore, recommended:¹¹⁷

(i). that there should be at least one teacher for every 30 girls and that there should be two teachers in every full primary school;

(ii). that a standard minimum scale of salaries should be introduced for all teachers in board or aided schools.¹¹⁸

It further recommended that there should be an outstation allowance (the conference suggested rupees 7-8-0 per mensem, which was perhaps high) for all female teachers obliged to live away from their homes. With regard to the expansion of education the conference recommended that a survey should be made of the needs for more schools, not an exhaustive survey such as was made in the case of boy students.

The press was divided on the question of female education. There were some who favoured encouragement of female education and there were others who opposed the spread of education among women. *The Bharat Jivan* urged upon the government and the people that the girls, besides the general education, should also be given religious instruction and taught needle work and other such handicrafts so that they might be able to earn a livelihood in after-life if they had no other person to support them.¹¹⁹

The Khatun of Aligarh remarked that true progress of the country depended upon female education.¹²⁰ *The Arya Gazette* of Lahore, published an article headed 'Government and Female Education' in which it was observed:¹²¹

Female education should be in the hands of the people themselves. Government should not interfere in this sphere. The various Hindus and Muhammadan institutions in the country can make full provision for the education of their women. Government should merely provide financial aid.

On the other hand, the *Sahifa* of Bijnore opposed female education in its editorial. The paper said that once women could read and write, there would be nothing to withhold them from reading novels, poetical works and other books of a demoralising nature. Thus, there was a danger that the study of such books would tend to make the women unchaste and contaminate the society in general.¹²² *The Oudh Punch* of Lucknow also opposed female education. It apprehended that once females acquired education they would discard the *purdah* system and join clubs and social meetings and would claim freedom in all matters pertaining to them.¹²³

The Panth Sewak of Lahore published a communicated article written by Sardar Balwant Singh, who wrote that the blind imitation of English methods in imparting education to our females would never improve matters. Such education would cause more injury than good.¹²⁴

V

Professional Education also made significant progress during the period under review. Apart from the institution of training college for teachers, measures were taken for the establishment of law, medical, engineering and agricultural institutions in the province.

Legal education was necessitated because practising pleaders and subordinate officers were required to meet the needs of the new judicial system evolved by the British. A law school was established at Lahore in 1870 for the training of pleaders and *mukhtars*.¹²⁵ In 1882, it was incorporated in the Panjab University.¹²⁶ In 1909, it was raised to a full-fledged college and consequently whole time staff was appointed consisting of a principal and two lecturers.¹²⁷

There was a three years' course for the diploma of Licentiate in Law which might be taken after the Intermediate examination and might be pursued concurrently with the arts course. The course might be studied either in English or Urdu. Any person who had passed the Licentiate in Law examination, and had graduated in arts, could present himself for the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Laws.¹²⁸ No one had taken the degree of Doctor of Laws at Panjab University, which was considered to be difficult and did not lead to any special professional advantage.¹²⁹

During 1913-14 the number of law students fell from 164 to 112 owing to the discontinuance of vernacular classes in 1909 and restriction imposed on the number of pleaders.¹³⁰ The profession was, however, gradually becoming over-crowded and it began to lose popularity.¹³¹

It was as far back as 1860 that a Medical School at Lahore was established which began to impart medical education on western lines. By 1901 there was one Medical College and one Medical College for women at Ludhiana.¹³² The school at Lahore was shifted to Amritsar due to the shortage of accommodation in 1920.¹³³ In 1912-13, there was a decrease of 15 students in Medical College owing to the fact that most of the people in Punjab were quite content to have the services of Sub-Assistant Surgeons and Compounders, and often preferred *hakims* and *vaidis*, which had resulted in the decrease of the demand for medical graduates.¹³⁴ Native system of medicines (*Yunani* and *ayurvedic*) were taught in the Madarsa-i-Tibiya, Delhi, and in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic and Islamia colleges, Lahore.¹³⁵

There was only one Veterinary College in Punjab which was established at Lahore in 1882.¹³⁶ The college was, however, unable to provide sufficient number of graduates to meet the needs of the province. There was a satisfactory increase in the number of animals treated in the hospital, but the accommodation was inadequate for proper demonstration. A Veterinary Association was formed during 1912-13 in order to stimulate the interest and improve the knowledge of the veterinary education.¹³⁷ A new Veterinary College building was formally opened in

December 1915 by Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy. The demand for veterinary graduates remained far in excess of supply.¹³⁸

In 1904-05, the Panjab University had introduced Engineering classes under its own control and supervision. These classes were held in the Mayo School of Art, Lahore and there were in all 57 students on the rolls.¹³⁹ These classes were making satisfactory progress. Admission into this Engineering School had to be restricted and successful candidates found no difficulty in securing employment. In 1905-06, these classes were taken over by the Department of Public Instructions and organised as Government School of Engineering.¹⁴⁰ In 1912, the school was shifted to Rasul and the classes were moved into the new quarters in 1912. A staff of good qualification had been appointed. The school of Engineering at Rasul became very popular and there was a keen competition for admission which admitted 50 students annually for the course of two years.¹⁴¹ By this time engineering classes had also been introduced at the Dayanand College and Victoria Diamond Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute, Lahore, which had 94 and 50 students respectively.¹⁴²

The first technical institute established in Punjab in 1875 was the Mayo School of Industrial Art, Lahore. It contained four departments – one for elementary training in industrial work and drawing, a second for advanced industrial training, and the others for training of draftsmen and teachers.¹⁴³ The Mayo School of Art as well as the Railway Technical School, Lahore established in 1889, were under the Government control.¹⁴⁴

The Congress took up the question of technical education at its Fourteenth Session held at Madras in 1898.¹⁴⁵ It reaffirmed its stand at Lucknow and Lahore Sessions in 1899 and 1900 respectively.¹⁴⁶ The Congress took up the question of scientific, technical and industrial education at its twenty-seventh session at Calcutta in 1911.¹⁴⁷ The demand for technical education was raised by the Congress as well as the press.

The Paisa Akhbar of Lahore observed that the Government should take the initiative and establish technical schools first and then gradually withdraw and leave the natives to maintain such schools, as they had hitherto done in the case of Art schools and

colleges.¹⁴⁸ *The Rafiq-i-Hind* of Lahore suggested that the best way to eradicate the evil of poverty was to promote technical education in the country.¹⁴⁹ *The Khalsa Bahadur* of Lahore remarked that the majority of the educated Punjabis did not know how to earn their livelihood and that the lucky few who succeeded in entering Government service, received such low salaries that they could lay by nothing against a rainy day. The practical and technical education was the only remedy for the evil.¹⁵⁰ *The Sialkot Paper* of Sialkot commented that in order to better the condition of the people, Government should take steps to open commercial, agricultural and technical schools in the country.¹⁵¹ Gradually, a number of technical and industrial institutions were established at local level. New Board Industrial Schools had been started at Rewari, Dera Gazi Khan, Ambala, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hissar, Rohtak, Ferozepur etc.¹⁵² A provision was made for teaching drawing, carpentry, smith work, engraving, rubber-stamp making, shorthand and type-writing etc. in these schools. But the movement of industrial education was hampered by the lack of competent teachers. Revised courses of training in industrial work were being prepared, and the schools were regularly inspected on their industrial sight.¹⁵³ The number of industrial schools in the province increased from 24 with 2,249 pupils to 28 with 2,540 pupils during 1914-15.¹⁵⁴

For a long time after the annexation of Punjab no attention had been paid to agricultural education. Experiment of establishing Zamindari School, where attempt was made to introduce agriculture, had not yielded any substantial result. It was in 1909 that the Lyallpur Agricultural College was opened which took up earnestly the cause of education and research in agriculture.¹⁵⁵

VI

Upto 1901 there were only two commercial schools in Punjab one at Amritsar and the other at Hoshiarpur. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) quoted extracts from the writing of Lord Curzon, Sir George Cotton and others in order to show that the introduction of this branch of knowledge in India was calculated to prove beneficial to the interests of both the Government and the people. The Editor then called upon the Local Government to encourage

commercial education in Punjab.¹⁵⁶ The same paper further remarked that the commercial schools in Amritsar and Hoshiarpur had proved a great success and the Editor suggested that a college imparting sound commercial education should be established in each province.¹⁵⁷

On the recommendation of the Conference on commercial education in 1905, a number of commercial schools and colleges were started in government and municipal high schools. To give greater variety to the studies in secondary schools, a clerical and commercial course was adopted by the Panjab University as alternative with the ordinary entrance course.¹⁵⁸ The Government Clerical and Commercial School, Amritsar had 59 students¹⁵⁹ on its rolls in 1909-10 and this number rose to 88 in 1910-11.¹⁶⁰ The general attainments of the boys did not seem sufficient to serve as a basis for a proper commercial education. Similar training was given in special classes attached to the government schools at Lahore and Delhi, and for the benefit of employed men and women, evening continuation classes in commerce were started in 1906 by the Punjab Government. In 1911, the classes were placed under the control of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations at Lahore and grants-in-aid were given to them to administer these classes.¹⁶¹ Two private commercial schools had been opened in Lahore, in which book-keeping and type-writing were taught. Arrangements were made to hold the London Chamber of Commerce examinations in Lahore, and a fair number of candidates from various classes presented themselves.¹⁶²

The Government Commercial School at Amritsar had not proved altogether successful and was attached to the Government High School at that place towards the end of 1916.¹⁶³ The transfer of clerical and commercial classes, Amritsar to the Government High School proved to be a very successful move under the supervision of the energetic Headmaster, Mr. E. Smith.

Proposals for the institution of a Diploma in Commerce were submitted to the Syndicate of the Panjab University, which generally welcomed the idea, and appointed a committee to consider the proposals. Both the Amritsar classes and those held

by the Young Men's Christian Association, Lahore, were prepared to present candidates for such a diploma; and it was probable that private commercial schools would follow suit. The scheme for the institution of Diploma of Commerce drafted by a sub-committee appointed by the Syndicate was accepted by the University. The course was of two years' duration and included English, the elements of Accountancy and Commercial Law, an introductory course of Economics, Commercial Geography, besides an optional subject, either Stenography (type-writing and shorthand) or foreign language.¹⁶⁴ The sub-committee also recommended the transfer of the Government post-matriculate commercial class, which was opened at Amritsar last year, to Lahore to form the nucleus of a Government institution of commerce. This proposal was accepted by the Government in 1918-19. There was also such a rush for admission to the Young Men's Christian Association Evening Commercial Classes that only half the applicants (436) could be admitted, but unfortunately many of the students did not stay long enough to obtain much benefit from the course.¹⁶⁵

An important feature of the year 1919-20 was the opening of the Government Institute of Commerce, Lahore, on first September 1919. Instruction was given in the usual commercial subjects and the institution was affiliated to the Panjab University and prepared students after two years' course for the new Diploma of Commerce. The Government post-matriculate commercial class opened at Amritsar in 1918, was now transferred to this new institution. A special library grant of rupees 2,500 was sanctioned at the end of the year 1919-20.¹⁶⁶ The vocational education during the period could not make much headway. Although there were Agricultural College, Central Training College and the Law College, these were insufficient to fulfil the requirements of the province.

It was towards the close of our period of study that the reforms outlined in the Government of India Act, 1919, were introduced and the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers with some reservations. The joint report of Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, formed the basis on which the reforms of 1919 were worked out. This report stated :

"The guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which mistakes which may occur though serious, would not be irremediable and those which stand most in need of development."¹⁶⁷

In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject. But there was considerable opposition to the transfer of the 'entire' control of education to Indians and several difficulties were put forward. *The Panjabee* of Lahore remarked : "The people of Punjab should, we think, demand in the most emphatic manner that education should be placed wholly in the hands of popular minister."¹⁶⁸

From what has been discussed above it may be concluded that during the period 1897-1919 there was an all-round expansion of education in the province. Significant progress was witnessed in primary, secondary, collegiate, female, technical and commercial education.

It may, however, be observed that the government might not have achieved so much had the private enterprises not collaborated in the schemes for the development of education. In the government reports the contribution of various communities and denominational institutions has often been lauded. The Annual Administration Report of Punjab for the year 1916-17 recognised that the Christian Mission, the Arya Samaj, the Khalsa Diwan, the Dev Samaj had done "notable pioneering work towards breaking down ancient prejudice."¹⁶⁹ As a result of the efforts put in by the private enterprise, the number of literates among various communities showed a considerable advance, as was testified by the statistics given in Census of India 1921.¹⁷⁰ In the development of higher and technical education the private enterprise, as in the field of primary and secondary education, made no less significant contribution. Perhaps their contribution in the field of higher education was more substantial than that of the government. The very fact that out of eleven colleges in the province only one was the Government College, showed that it was the private enterprise that concentrated upon the higher education.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan had about 49 primary schools attached to it by the year 1914-15. The Arya Samaj started almost one school in every district. It also opened schools for the so-called depressed classes and introduced technical classes in their institutions.¹⁷¹

Missionaries Societies, veritably "the pioneer of education in the Punjab", played a conspicuous part in the spread of education in the province. They opened a net work of institutions for the benefit of their low caste converts and also established training classes to supply men and women teachers.

In the field of female education too, the private enterprise achieved a considerable success. It was due to the untiring efforts of the private enterprise that the people started having favourable opinion for the education of their daughters and sisters. The Annual Report of 1909-10 ran thus:

This is par excellence the field for private efforts and there are signs that such efforts will not be wanting on the part of religious and other private bodies. Indeed the great interest which is everywhere being taken in the female education is one of the most encouraging features.

By the year 1911, more than 50 girls schools were under the management of Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj, a small body maintained at Ferozepur. The only Hindu Girls High School in Punjab, Brahmo Samaj also contributed in the field and started its first Girls School at Lahore in 1885.

The Sikh Educational Conference too could not afford to ignore female education, for it aimed at bringing the women at par with men, both educationally and socially. By the year 1915 it had one Kanya Mahavidyalya, 8 Kanya Middle Schools, 36 Kanya Primary Schools, 5 Boarding Houses and one Widow Ashram.

References and Notes

1. Dadabhi Naoroji, *Poverty and British Rule in India* (New Delhi, 1965), p. 219.
2. English education had to be imparted with a view to raise up a class of men who would be able to serve the government. See B.C. Pal, *Swadeshi and Swaraj* (The Rise of new Patriotism) (Calcutta, 1954), p. 261.
3. J.P. Naik and Nurullah Syed, *A History of Education in India* (Calcutta, 1951), pp. 13-14; B.B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature* (Calcutta, 1965), p.218.
4. Selections from Educational Records (1840-59), Part II, p.280.
5. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1908) (hereafter given as *IGI Punjab*), p.134; R.R. Sethi and J.L. Mehta, *A History of the Punjab University Chandigarh*, 1947-67 (Chandigarh, 1968), pp.1-2.
6. Annual Report on the Administration of Punjab and its Dependencies, 1898-99 (hereafter given as PAR), p.266.
7. PAR, 1901-02, p.167.
8. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, pp.12-13.
9. Statement of Lewis A. Men Das, L.L.D., submitted to the Education Commission, Home (Education) Department, Progs., October 1882, Nos. 2-4, p.1.
10. Appendix to the Education Commission Report, Punjab, 1884, Evidence of Sodhi Hukam Singh, p.280.
11. Government of India, Resolution, Home (Education) Department, A, Progs., February 3, 1882, Nos. 1-60
12. PAR, 1883-84, p. 147.
13. Home (Education) Department, A, Progs., letter from Government of Punjab, No. 92, dated 20 March 1884, to D.P.I. Punjab, para 3.
14. *Ibid.*
15. PAR, 1901-02, p. 170.
16. Punjab Government, *Land of the Five Rivers* (Being Vol. I of the Punjab Administration Report, 1921-22 (Lahore, 1923) (hereafter given as *Land of the Five Rivers*), p. 222.
17. PAR, 1901-02, p. 171; Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1904), p. 178.
18. PAR, 1901-02, p. 173.
19. PAR 1897-98, p. 285; Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 166-67.
20. PAR, 1901-02, p. 177.
21. Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I, pp. 166-67; Indian Education Policy, Being a Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council on 11th March 1904, p. 19; J.P. Naik and Nurullah Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

22. *IGI, Punjab*, pp. 138-39.
23. PAR, 1905-06, p. 53.
24. Zamindari Schools were introduced in 1886 in rural areas. In these schools half time attendance was required. These schools flourished only for a short span of years and soon lost popularity because they did not provide adequately for higher education.
25. PAR, 1907-08, p. 18.
26. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1907-08, p. 24.
27. PAR, 1909-10, p. 45; Progress of Education in India 1907-12, Vol.II, p. 136.
28. PAR, 1909-10, p. 45.
29. PAR, 1911-12, p. 186.
30. PAR, 1910-11, p.50.
31. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, p. 12.
32. *Ibid.*, p.13.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1914-15, p. 11.
35. *Ibid.*, Progress of Education in India 1912-17, Vol. I, pp. 106-07.
36. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p. 51.
37. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, pp. 20-21.
38. The number of schools opened annually during the quinquennium was as follows :

1912-13	273
1913-14	468
1914-15	394
1915-16	206
1916-17	159
- Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 25.
39. Report on the Compulsory Education Committee, appointed by the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education), 1930, Government Printing (Lahore, 1933), p.1.
40. Proceedings of the Punjab Government, Home (Education) Department, 28 Sept, 1923. No. 1199; Report on the Progress of Education for the year 1918-19, Appendix (A).
41. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1924-25, p. 2.
42. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p.2.
43. Sanauilla Khan, *A History of Education in the Punjab*, Vol. I (Lahore, 1932), p. 92. The change was effected in accordance with the recommendations of the Director's Conference of 1917.

44. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p. 27; Proceedings of the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) in the Education Department, dated 5 December 1935, No. 2628/A.
45. Report of the Compulsory Education Committee appointed by the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education), 1930, pp. 1-2; Punjab Act No. VII of 1919, Government Printing (Lahore, n.d.); Punjab Gazettee, 1919, Part V, pp. 311-13.
46. As early as 1906, the Government of India had considered a scheme for the abolition of fees in all primary schools, which were neither under public management nor in receipts of grants from public funds and invited the views of the Local Governments on this. The Government of the Punjab, while appreciating this move, observed that the fees levied in the province, even if regarded as a tax, were not excessive and did not press heavily upon any section of the community. In 1912, it was calculated that about two-thirds of the pupils in primary schools did not pay any fees. In this connection a further step towards free education was taken during 1913-14, by raising the authorised proportion of non-agriculturist pupils who could be exempted from fees on account of poverty to 25 per cent of the total number.
Quraishi, Barriester-at-Law, Lahore had suggested that the experiment of imparting free education should first be tried in one part of Punjab, and that in the event of its proving a success there, it should be extended to other parts of the province. He remarked that it was wrong to think that the opening of such schools would entail a heavy expenditure, seeing that lakhs of rupees were collected through the realisation along with land-revenue of 3 pies per rupees for the educational fund. If the entire collections were distributed over the country, the amount would prove wholly sufficient for the purpose. Besides, District Boards and Municipalities realised lakhs of rupees every year from octroi and a part of this money could be utilized for imparting free education; hundreds of schools could easily be maintained with it. Much money was not, moreover required for primary education, only one or two low paid teachers, being required for each school. Vide Home (Education), Department, Progs., 25 December 1906, No. 78; Government of India, Papers regarding the question of the abolition of fees in primary schools, 1910, p. 241; PAR, 1911-12, p. 186; Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, p. 12; *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 2 March 1919, RNNP for 1919, p. 339.
47. Report of the Compulsory Education Committee, 1930, p. 2.
48. *The Rahbar* (Moradabad), 21 January 1908, RNNP for 1908, p. 84.
49. *The Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) 31 December 1909, RNNP for 1909, p. 1033.

50. *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 7 June 1910, RNNP for 1910, p. 526.
51. *The Vakil* (Amritsar), 17 May 1911, RNNP for 1911, p. 536.
52. Resolution No. XIII of the 25th Congress said, "In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of elementary education, free and compulsory throughout the country". Proceedings of the 25th Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1910, p. 5.
53. Muslim League, 4th Session, Nagpur, December 1910, Resolution No. X, p. 200.
54. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 31 December 1912, RNNP for 1912, p. 17.
55. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 137.
56. PAR, 1905-06, p. 53; *IGI, Punjab*, p. 137.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.
59. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1903-04, pp. 11-12, PAR 1903-04, p. 47.
60. Lovat Fraser, *India Under Curzon and After* (London, 1911), p. 218.
61. *Indian Universities Bill*, 1904, Debate etc. Extracts from the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India and of Indian Assemblies for the purpose of making laws and regulations under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, p. 87.
62. PAR, 1903-04, p. 50.
63. Lovat Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
64. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18, p. 2 and 1919-20, pp. 2-3. The relative increase in high schools and middle schools can be seen from the following figures.
- | | <i>No. of Institutions</i> | | <i>No. of Scholars</i> | |
|----------------|----------------------------|------|------------------------|----------|
| | 1916 | 1919 | 1916 | 1919 |
| High Schools | 131 | 172 | 54,135 | 65,337 |
| Middle Schools | 282 | 663 | 57,159 | 99,533 |
| Total | 413 | 835 | 1,11,294 | 1,64,870 |
65. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 2.
66. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, pp. 2-3.
67. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1915-16, 79, p. 9
68. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1917-18, p. 8.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1918-19, pp. 11.
71. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1918-19, p. 21.
72. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, p. 18.

73. *Ibid.*
74. Despatch from Court of Directors to Governor-General in Council, 1854, paras 17-18.
75. Home Government File No. LXXVI, on the subject of Education in India, 1854-68, para 6 of Letter No. 14, dated 8, April 1861.
76. J.F. Bruce, *A History of the University of Panjab* (Lahore, 1933), p. 3; R.R. Sethi and J.L. Mehta, *op. cit.*, pp 3-4; G.W. Leitner, *History of the Indigenous Education in Punjab Since Annexation* (Calcutta, 1882), pp. iv-vi.
77. Home (Education) Department, A. Progs., 30 July 1870, No. 17.
78. PAR, 1901-02, p. 173.
79. *Ibid.*; *IGI, Punjab*, pp.136-37.
80. PAR 1901-02, p. 173; Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p. 41.
81. In accordance with this authority, the power to confer Degrees in Medicine was conceded in 1886, Degrees in Law and Science in 1891, and M. Sc. Degree in 1906.
82. Most of these were denominational institutions which had been established as a result of the efforts of Arya Samaj, Christian missionaries, Singh Sabha and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. The most notable of these were : Forman Christian College, Lahore; D.A.V. College, Lahore; Scotch Mission College, Sialkot; Islamia College, Lahore; Khalsa College, Amritsar; Gordon Missionary College, Rawalpindi; Church Mission College, Amritsar. These colleges had been established between 1886 and 1900.
83. PAR, 1901-02, p. 176; Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02, p.49.
84. PAR, 1902-03, p. 99.
85. Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02, p.55.
86. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p.5.
87. Lord Curzon said that examinations in India were being carried to extremes and cramming was its logical corollary. He added that a people could not rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone. "Memory is not mind, though it is a faculty of the mind. And yet we go on sharpening the memory of our students." He felt that the state's contribution towards educational expenditure was not sufficient. The Indian University had no corporate existence. It was only a body that controlled courses of study and set examination papers to the pupils of affiliated colleges. *The Pioneer* (Lucknow), 6 Sept. 1901.
88. Memorandum on the Moral and Material Progress in the Punjab during the years 1901-02 to 1911-12; *IGI, the Indian Empire*, Vol.IV (Oxford, 1907), p.415.
89. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p. 6, Indian Educationa Policy, being a Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council on the 11th March 1904, pp. 4-5.

90. Home (Education) Department, A., Progs., June 1903, No. 74; Letter from Punjab Government to Government of India, No.86, dated 24th Feb. 1903.
91. Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* (Oxford, 1963), p.162.
92. *The Oudh Samachar* (Lucknow), 7th August 1902, RNNP for 1902, p. 439.
93. *Ibid.*, 14th Oct. 1902, RNNP for 1902, pp. 597-98.
94. J.P. Naik and Syed Nurullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-467.
95. *The Gulzar-i-Hind* (Lahore), 26th March 1904, RNNP for 1904, p.82.
96. *The Sat Dharm Parcharak* (Jullundur) 18th Nov. 1904, RNNP for 1904, p. 278.
97. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 6th Sept. 1904, RNNP for 1904, p. 219.
98. *The Tribune* (Lahore) 16th Feb. 1905.
99. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) 20th Feb. 1905, RNNP for 1905, p. 40.
100. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore) 17th July 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 382.
101. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 7.
102. Y.B. Mathur, *Women's Education in India* (Delhi, 1973), pp. 40-41.
103. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 140; PAR, 1892-93, p. 324.
104. PAR, 1897-98, p. 288.
105. Memorandum on the Moral and Material Progress in the Punjab during the years 1901-02 to 1911-12, p. 8. The first girls school had been opened at Rawalpindi in 1856. Gradually many such schools were established by 1905. There were 51 girls schools having 21,769 scholars.
106. *IGI, Punjab*, p. 140; PAR 1907-08, p. 50; PAR, 1911-12, p. 179.
107. PAR, 1911-12, p. 179.
108. The Government offered stipends to all women undergoing training for the teaching profession and the salaries paid to them were considerably higher; Home (Education), Department, A, Progs., Oct. 1917, Nos. 1-2.
109. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, p. 51.
110. *Ibid.*; Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 42.
111. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 42.
112. The following statistics for 1919-20 by divisions may be of interest:

	<i>School</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Ambala	149	4,893
Jullundur	224	10,510
Lahore	312	20,895
Rawalpindi	224	11,439
Multan	165	9,995
<i>Total</i>	<i>1,074</i>	<i>57,732</i>

Source: PAR, 1919-20, p. 40.

113. Memorandum on the Progress of Education in British India between 1916 and 1926, pp. 51-52; Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 42.
114. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, p. 40.
115. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 43.
116. *Ibid.*, p.44.
117. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1918-19, p. 21.
118. The scale recommended was as under:
- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| Untrained assistant | Rs.12 per mensem |
| Untrained Headmistress | Rs.15-20 per mensem |
| Junior vernacular certificated teacher | Rs.20-30 per mensem |
| Senior vernacular certificated teacher | Rs.30-40 per mensem |
- See *ibid.*
119. *The Bharat Jiwan* (Benaras), 21st July 1902, RNNP for 1902, p. 298.
120. *The Khatun* (Aligarh), 15 December 1906, RNNP for 1906, p. 47.
121. *The Arya Gazette* (Lahore), 24th September 1914, RNNP for 1914, p. 921.
122. *The Sahifa* (Bijnore), 26 July 1907, RNNP for 1907, p. 419.
123. *The Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) 19 May 1910, RNNP for 1910, p. 348.
124. *The Panth Sewak* (Lahore), 25 June 1919, RNNP for 1919, p. 421.
125. PAR, 1911-12, p. 182.
126. Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. 1 p. 227.
127. PAR, 1911-12, p. 190.
128. Progress of Education in India 1897-98 to 1901-02, Vol. 1 p. 29.
129. *Ibid.*, p.230.
130. Memorandum on the Moral and Material Progress in the Punjab during the years 1901-02 to 1911-12, p. 8.
131. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, p. 19.
132. PAR, 1901-02, p.10.
133. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, p. 8.
134. *IGI, Indian Empire*, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. 440-41; PAR, 1912-13, p. 84.
135. PAR, 1912-13, p. 84.
136. PAR, 1901-02, p. 172.
137. PAR, 1912-13, pp. 84-85.
138. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1915-16, p. 19.
139. PAR, 1904-05, p. 52.
140. PAR, 1905-06, p. 62.
141. The control of this school had passed entirely into the hands of the Chief Engineer, Buildings and Roads Branch, Public Works

Department. The numbers on the roll were 98 during 1919-20. The college workshop continued its valuable educational and productive work. See Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, p. 38.

142. PAR, 1911-12, p. 191.
143. PAR, 1911-12, p. 182.
144. PAR, 1901-02, p. 171.
145. Report of the 14th Indian National Congress, Madras, 1898.
146. Resolution no. XVI, 15th Congress, Lucknow, 1899.
147. Resolution no. XVIII, 27th congress, Calcutta, 1911.
148. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 1st April 1899, RNNP for 1899, p. 397.
149. *The Rafia-I-Hind* (Lahore), 2nd March 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 304.
150. *The Khalsa Bahadur* (Lahore) 25th Feb. 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 295.
151. *The Sialkot Paper* (Sialkot), 24th May 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 348.
152. PAR, 1912-13, p. 85.
153. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, p. 20.
154. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1914-15, p. 16.
155. For details, see supra, pp. 228-30.
156. *The Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 27th April 1901, RNNP for 1901, p. 276.
157. *Ibid.*, 27th July 1901, p. 487.
158. PAR, 1909-10, p. 45.
159. *Ibid.*
160. PAR, 1911-12, p. 176.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1913-14, pp. 20-21.
163. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 41.
164. *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 17.
165. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 19.
166. *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 39.
167. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para 238; quoted by J.P. Naik and Nurullah Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
168. *The Panjabee* (Lahore), 25th December 1918, RNNP for 1918, p. 521.
169. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p.9.
170. Census of India 1921, Vol. XV, Punjab, Part I, p. 292.
171. Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1916-17, p. 17.

Conclusion

From what has been discussed in the preceding chapters it becomes abundantly clear that significant changes and reforms had been introduced in the administrative system of Punjab from 1897 to 1919. There was hardly any department of administration which had been left unaffected and unreformed. Traditional customs and practices had been thoroughly replaced by modern laws and institutions. The British administrators had brought about all these changes and reforms which what may be called 'Utilitarian' efficiency and 'Evangelical' zeal.

It was as a result of prolonged debates and in response to the vociferous demand voiced by the native newspapers and politicians that Legislative Council for Punjab was established in 1897. Initially consisting of nine nominated, both non-official and official (judges having been deliberately excluded to effect the separation of judiciary from legislature) members, the strength of the Legislative Council had risen by 1916 to 28 members of whom 17 were nominated and 11 elected. For administrative convenience the province had already been divided into divisions (7 and later on 5), each division into a number of districts (the total being 27 and later on 29) and each district into *tahsils*, placed under the charge of Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Tahsildars respectively. But the hub round which the official hierarchy revolved was the Deputy Commissioner who in this non-regulation province acted as Collector and District Magistrate in one – proverbially the *mai-bap* of the people. The development of some sort of local self-government through the establishment of District Boards and Municipal Committees in various cities and towns, each having a considerable proportion of elected members, was another remarkable feature of the administrative set-up during the period under review. Thus democratic system, though to a very limited extent, was sought to be inducted in the administration of the province by the British authorities.

In the administration of justice, police and jails, some reforms of great consequence were effected during the period. By 1897 a well-organised judicial administration had already been developed in Punjab having a fairly modern hierarchy of civil and criminal courts and uniform system of law and procedure. After a long struggle the Chief Court of the province established in 1866 was replaced by a High Court towards the end of our period. The maximum number of judges of the High Court, including the Chief Justice and Additional Judges, was fixed as twenty. Whereas the judges of the Chief Court were appointed by the Governor - General and were also liable to be dismissed by him, the judges of the High Court were to be directly appointed by His Majesty, and as such they were independent of the executive; they had, of course, to take an oath of allegiance to His Majesty, his heirs and successors. The practice of appointing Honorary Magistrates initially for a period of five years, the abolition of Divisional Courts accompanied by the replacement of Divisional Judges by District Judges (since 1914) and the abortive experiment of establishing *panchayats* in ten districts under the Panchayat Act (1912) were other notable changes, though of lesser importance, witnessed in the administration of justice.

Reforms were introduced in the police system in accordance with the recommendations of the Provincial Police Committee (1899) and especially those of the Indian Police Commission of 1902. Of these specific mention may be made of the appointment of Inspector-General at the apex, Deputy Inspectors-General as in charge of two and later three ranges, Superintendents as in charge of districts and Inspectors as that of circles, institution of the Criminal Investigation Department in 1905, the division of railway police into two separate charges (Northern and Southern) and subsequent separation of the Railway Police from the Criminal Investigation Department, increase in the pay of rank and file and that of the officials and the measures taken for the education, training and discipline in the force. In the sphere of jail administration efforts were made for reforming the youthful culprits, improving the health of the prisoners, enforcing discipline among them and imparting education and industrial training so as to enable them to earn

their livelihood later on. Repressive measures, however, had to be taken by the British authorities to curb the growing militant activities among the nationalists as evidenced by the passing of Seditious Meetings Act, Rowlatt Act etc.

In the agrarian field earnest endeavours were made to reform the agricultural system on modern and scientific lines. With the establishment of Provincial Department of Agriculture in 1905 and the opening of the Punjab Agricultural College at Lyallpur in 1909, experiments in the development of agriculture began to be conducted continuously and the results of the investigation demonstrated and communicated to the farmers. Consequently, new varieties of implements such as drills, harrows, horsehoes, Lyallpur plough, reaping and threshing machines, sugarcane crushers etc. and new varieties of crops especially of wheat and cotton were introduced in Punjab. Irrigation canals constructed on modern lines, made no less significant contribution in the development of agriculture. The development of waste lands as a result of the establishment of canal colonies in Western Punjab brought about a great transformation in the life of the agriculturists of the region which became the 'bread-baskets' of India and exporter of large quantities of agricultural produce to foreign countries. As a result of a number of factors there was an increasing commercialisation, and as such modernisation of agriculture in Punjab. With the growth of commercialisation the market value of the produce steadily increased and land thus acquired a saleable quality. In these conditions the right to transfer land also assumed importance. Land was now a marketable asset which could be pledged, transferred and sold. In order to protect the interests of the peasants who had become indebted to the money-lenders and forced to mortgage or transfer their land to the latter, the government passed the Punjab Alienation of Land Act in 1900 which forbade the transfer of land from agriculturist to non-agriculturist classes except in certain cases with the prior sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

There was a significant development of Public Works during the period under study. Canal Irrigation works of great magnitude such as the Jhelum Canal (Lower), the Ghaggar Canals

(comprising Imperial system of minor canals in Punjab), the Triple Canal Project (comprising the Upper Jhelum Canal, the Upper Chenab Canal, the Lower Bari Doad Canal), and the offshoot of this project, the Sutlej Valley Project, were undertaken, whereas the scheme of Haveli Project was prepared during the period. The total area irrigated by the canal rose from 1,830,525 acres in 1901 to 2,455,000 acres in 1919. For the purpose of the proper management of irrigation works, the province was divided into 26 divisions and three or four times of that number into sub-divisions, placed under the charge of Executive Engineers and Sub-Divisional Officers respectively. Attention was also paid towards improving the public health and sanitation in the province. The post of Sanitary Engineer was created initially for a period of five years with the rank of Superintending Engineer and subsequently Sanitary Commissioner was appointed. Measures were taken for improving the sanitary conditions of towns and villages. Drainage Board was constituted in 1918 to deal with the problems of flooded or water-logged areas in the province. Dispensaries and hospitals were set up at almost all the important stations of Punjab; their total number crossed the figure of 550 towards the end of our period, treating as many as five million patients. The most notable hospitals constructed, improved or equipped were: the Mayo Hospital, Lahore, Ripon Hospital, Simla, Civil Hospital, Amritsar, the Walker Hospital for Europeans, Simla and the Memorial Hospital, Ludhiana. With the amalgamation of the two asylums of Lahore and Delhi a new Central Asylum for lunatics was constructed at Lahore. Measures were taken for the extension of vaccination and for the selling of quinine in various districts of the province. Significant development of railways and roads is also noticeable. Of the railway lines opened during the period, mention may be made of Ludhiana - Dhuri-Jakhal line, the Kalka-Simla railway line, the Ludhiana-Ferozepur Cantonment line, Kasur - Ladhra line, Jullundur-Kapurthala line, Makhu-Ferozepur Cantt and Jullundur-Hoshiarpur line. The total railway mileage rose to over 4,000 in the closing years of our study. Punjab was extensively covered with a network of roads. The total mileage of metalled road maintained by the Public Works Department had increased from 1,916 in 1901 to about 3,000 in 1919-20. These developed

means of communication facilitated military transport, increased the value of trade and commerce and helped banish the dreaded spectre of famines in the province.

Education was not, indeed could not be, neglected by the enlightened British administrators of the province. During the period of our study not only primary and secondary education but also higher education and professional education recorded notable progress. Primary education made great strides in the urban as well as rural areas largely due to the efforts of the District Boards who were given grants-in-aid by the Government. In 1918-19 there were 6,130 primary schools having 289, 690 scholars in the province. Towards the closing years of our study, the laying down of definite five years' programme of expansion for the opening of vernacular schools, the passing of the Primary Education Act in 1919 which provided for the introduction of free and compulsory education for boys in the municipal urban and rural areas, and the allocation of the first four classes to primary schools, gave a great stimulus to the growth of primary education so that in 1923 - 24 the number of primary schools increased to 7, 685 and that of the scholars to over 4 lakhs. Despite the governmental and university control over secondary education introduced by Curzonian regime, leading to the temporary fall in the number of secondary schools and the pupils, there was a remarkable expansion in the secondary education during the years 1905-19. By 1919 the number of secondary schools had risen to 835, having no less than 164,870 scholars. This expansion was achieved mainly through private enterprise and was, in no small measure, due to the great social and political awakening in those days. The introduction of the vernacular medium for instructions in the middle departments of Anglo-Vernacular schools for all the subjects, the adoption of the scheme for agricultural teaching in middle or high schools and the institution of the system of manual training centres for high schools were among the notable features of the secondary education introduced during the closing years of the period.

As regards higher education the Punjab Government had accepted by and large the recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902 and the provision of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of the colleges,

the changes in the composition of Senate and Syndicate of Panjab University, the fixation of 15 years as the minimum age-limit for Matriculation examination etc. The affiliation of the schools and colleges of Punjab was removed from Calcutta University and assigned to Panjab University. In the following years there was a rapid growth in the institution of higher education. In 1916-17 besides the Aitchison (Chiefs) College, there were in all seventeen colleges in Punjab. Lahore was the main centre of education; of the ten arts colleges, seven were located in Lahore alone. It is significant to observe that private enterprise had played a laudable role in the growth of higher education. All the Arts Colleges, with the exception of one, were private institutions. As a consequence of the efforts of the Government as well as the various socio-religious organisations, female education also made steady progress in the province so that by 1919 there were in all 1,074 girls schools having 57,732 students; besides, there was one arts college and one professional college for women. Steps were also taken for the establishment of Law, Medical, Engineering and Agricultural institutions in the province. A Law College at Lahore, two Medical Colleges at Amritsar and Ludhiana, a Veterinary College at Lahore, Government School of Engineering at Rasul, Victoria Diamond Hindu Technical Institute at Lahore, about 30 industrial schools established in various towns of the province, one Agricultural College at Lyallpur, one Government clerical and commercial school at Amritsar, two private commercial schools located in Lahore and the Government Institute of Commerce at Lahore, were the notable among such institutions that emerged during the period.

Now the question arises as to what the motivation behind the introduction of the aforesaid changes and reforms in the various branches of administration of the province. To be sure, the second half of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century was an age when the ideas and movements of reforms and socio-economic advancement of the masses were not only being freely advocated but for also in the process of being translated into practice in various countries of the West. No wonder, in British India, too, significant measures of reforms and moral and material development of the people were taken up earnestly and extensively by the progressive British administrators, and the

British province of Punjab could be no exception. But while introducing all such changes and reforms the British authorities could not be oblivious of the urgent need to protect and promote their Imperial interests; indeed, the Imperial interests weighed with the shrewd British statesmen more than any other consideration in the conduct of the administration of the province.

While introducing Legislative Council in Punjab the British administrators took adequate precaution to keep the ruling authority in their own hands, for the majority of the members of the Council were nominated and they were given very limited powers in the matter of interpellation and questioning the policy of the government. The introduction of separate communal electorate for the Muslims under the Indian Councils Act of 1909 and its extension for the Sikhs under the Government of India Act 1919, ostensibly to satisfy the two communities, actually aimed at causing division among the members so that they might be prevented from forming a united front against the authorities. Punjab was, and remained throughout the end of our period, a 'non-regulation province' and it was not treated at par with other Presidencies and Provinces; it was, for instance, denied the right of having an Executive Council, although the press and public opinion had been repeatedly complaining against this discrimination. Deputy Commissioners invested with the charge of district administration combined in their person executive and judicial powers as could be wielded by a virtual dictator, and they were all invariably Englishmen. Municipal Committees and District Boards, having more often than not majority of the elected members, were, of course, set up in various districts and towns but they, too, had limited powers and funds at their disposal and were, moreover, subjected to effective official control from without and from within. Thus, the real authority of governing the province remained by and large in the hands of the alien bureaucracy.

Police was another agency adroitly utilised for securing the interests of the colonial rule. No doubt, the police administration had been thoroughly reorganised after 1902 but the highest positions in the police from the Inspector-General down to the District Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents remained in

the hands of the Englishmen. The European police officers and their Indian henchmen on the subordinate staff were generally callous, even inhuman in dealing with the people. The contemporary newspapers quoted number of instances in which innocent persons died of blows of the police in their attempt to extort confession from them. The behaviour of the policemen in dealing with political offenders was also marked by high – handedness and cruelty.

With the growth of militant national movement the functions of the police as an agency for the prevention and detection of crime – indeed the real function of the police – dwindled into secondary importance. With the passage of time it became primarily an agency for the suppression of political crimes and movements. Due to their low salaries and covetousness, the police officers and rank and file were often corrupt who extracted money from the public by hook or by crook.

The administration of justice had, no doubt, been modernised but it often operated against the interests of the Indians. Invidious distinctions were observed between the Natives and the Europeans in the law courts. The contemporary newspapers pointed out many cases in which the Europeans charged with killing or inflicting wounds on Indians were almost invariably let off scot free or fined a few rupees and warned to be more careful in future. The practices of issuing judicial commissions and appointing Honorary Magistrates also evoked criticism from the contemporary newspapers. Very often worthless and incompetent persons were appointed as commissioners in civil and revenue cases and in some cases the commissioner's fee exceeded the real value of the suit. Likewise the Honorary Magistrates were generally illiterate and incompetent persons who had some influence with the high British officials and they managed to secure seats on the Bench merely to serve their own ends. It was also reported that bribery and corruption were rampant among the *amla* of the civil courts. Paradoxical as it may seem, despite the reforms in judicial and police administration, the wave of crime in the province had been steadily growing during the last decade and a half of the period of our study. The rise in prices, prosperity of the agricultural classes, inefficiency of the police and defective

training of the policemen, and increasing political unrest were some of the notable causes that led to increase in the rate of crime.

The administration of jail also left much to be desired. Despite the increase in the number of prisons, the overcrowding in the jails appeared to be a permanent feature of the prison administration in the province. Conditions in the jails were not propitious for new convicts. Due to widespread corruption prevailing among the jail officials, prisoners suffered great hardships at their hands. Objectionable elements, who were habitual criminals, were often appointed as convict officials. Above all, the treatment meted out to the native prisoners was often inhuman; they were used as 'beasts of burden'. They were often flogged by the Superintendents of jail for very slight offences. Whereas the European prisoners were allowed beds and better food and other indulgences were also shown to them, Indian prisoners were given very poor food and clothing. The treatment meted out to the political prisoners was frequently highhanded and oppressive.

Agrarian reforms brought about by the British administrators in the province suffered from various inadequacies and shortcomings. The benefit of new and scientific agriculture had been confined to a very small section of rich peasantry and a great majority of the *Zamindars* and tenants continued to cultivate their lands on traditional lines. The land revenue system as introduced by the British authorities in Punjab, proved to be oppressive. The revenue settlement effected in the province was far from satisfactory and the assessment was often quite high. Due to the poor maintenance of revenue papers, there was a frequent revision of the land records which often operated against the interests of the peasants. The land revenue demand was generally on increase and the peasants were placed in great difficulty in paying the land revenue in cash in order to meet the demand of the government. They were frequently compelled to sell their produce at unfavourable prices or borrow money from the *sahukars* at a high rate of interest. Mortgages began to increase at an alarming rate and the land began to be alienated to the moneylenders and traders when the agriculturists failed to

pay back the loans. By the turn of the century most of the Punjabi cultivators were in debt. Under these circumstances was passed the Punjab Alienation of Land Act (1900) which did not permit the transfer of land from the agriculturist to non-agriculturist classes except in certain special cases. The Act was calculated to mitigate the evils of land indebtedness in the province but it did not achieve the desired results, for the peasants henceforth could sell their lands to their richer brethren, if not to the moneylenders and traders. This caused a cleavage between the poor peasants and rich proprietors. Punjab had also not been free from droughts and famines. In 1896-97, 1899-1900, 1905-06, 1907-08 and then after a long gap in 1920-21, many parts of Punjab were effected by serious famines. Adequate measures were not taken by the foreign rulers to help the famine-stricken people who had to face suffering and starvation of a grievous nature.

Even the peasants inhabiting the Canal Colonies where vast tracts of arid land had been converted into fertile plains, felt dissatisfied in due course of time. For, by introducing the Colonization Bill in 1906 in the Council, the British authorities sought to abrogate the conditions originally covenanted with the colonists in several ways. It forbade transfer of property by Will and only strict primogeniture was allowed hereafter; the district officials could resume the land upon the death of a grantee if the latter had no legal heirs; new restrictions regarding tree-planting and well-construction were laid down and severe punishments for ordinary faults and mistakes on the part of grantees were provided. The contemporary vernacular newspapers strongly denounced the Bill as a most uncalled for piece of meddling with rights legitimately acquired. It was condemned as "a dishonest attempt to injure a class which had done the most in popularising British rule." Despite strong opposition, the Bill was passed into an Act in February 1907. This provoked the peasants and nationalist leaders who organised a powerful agitation against the agrarian policy of the British. Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai spearheaded the agitation. Both the popular leaders were arrested and deported. This led to wide-spread disturbances which compelled the Secretary of State for India to order the release of both the deported leaders.

The measures of public utility undertaken by the British in Punjab were neither adequate nor satisfactory. The canal irrigation did not develop to an extent it was required. There was a lamentable official emphasis on productiveness rather than protectiveness for the selection of irrigation projects, which clearly points to the prevalence of considerations more commercial than humanitarian. The Government had deliberately been spending more money upon the construction of railways, which served their imperial interest, than upon irrigation works which tended to benefit the largest section of the people, the peasantry. Turning from railways to irrigation works, as has been well put, was tantamount to turning from "unwise extravagance to equally unwise niggardliness". Again, whereas some improvements in the sanitary conditions in the urban areas were perceptible, village sanitation in the whole of the province remained in an appallingly backward condition. The same remark is applicable to the medical relief provided to the people of the province during the period under review. Railways and roads were constructed in various parts of the province not from the point of view of the all-sided development of the economic, social and cultural life of the people but primarily to serve the military, political and economic interests of the British.

The progress of education in the province during the period under study was also far from satisfactory. Although one per cent of the land revenue had been imposed as a cess on education, yet the government spent very little on the education of the people. Higher education especially had been ignored by the British authorities. In fact, restrictions had been deliberately imposed on the spread of higher education as is evident from the decisions to impose strict conditions for the affiliations of high schools and colleges with the university and to raise the tuition fees. This was done because the British policy-makers apprehended that the higher education would swell the ranks of the educated middle class who participated widely in the national movement against the Britishers. Professional and technical education had also been practically neglected by the foreign rulers and there were very few governmental institutions imparting education of this nature. It is important to observe that the private enterprise played a more laudable role in the development of education, especially higher,

female, professional and technical, than the government. This is evident from a large number of schools, colleges and technical institutions opened by the socio-religious organisations of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, as also by the Christian missionaries.

A significant finding emerging from the study pertains to the role of the press on the administration of the province. It has been mentioned elsewhere that quite a large number of native newspapers had appeared in the province in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and that of still greater importance was the foundation of the English newspaper, *The Tribune*. The contribution made by all these newspapers in expressing reaction against or response to various administrative measures of the British authorities has been discussed at length in the preceding chapters. Suffice it to say here that by expressing their viewpoints forcefully, persistently and sometimes repeatedly on various measures of the government, they not unoften succeeded in influencing the administrative policies of the government. At the same time, their articles and editorials helped in forming public opinion on various issues of administration. There is no gain saying the fact that the public awakening brought about by these newspapers fostered the cause of Indian nationalism which assumed a more militant character in Punjab during the last decade or so of our period of study. In a way it were the newspapers of the province which *inter alia* helped in assigning a forefront place to Punjab, along with some other provinces, for the cause of Indian nationalism.

Our study starting from the establishment of Legislative Council in Punjab in 1897 has been closed in the year 1919, for under the Government of India Act 1919, a new system of administration, known as Dyarchy was introduced in Punjab and many other provinces. It opened a new chapter in the administrative history of Punjab which calls for a detailed and separate treatment.

Appendix I

Lieutenant Governors of Punjab (During the period under study)

Sir. Dennis Fitzpatrick	:	1892 - 1897
Sir William Mackworth Young	:	1897-1902
Sir C.M. Rivaz	:	1902-1907
Sir D.C.J. Ibbetson	:	March 1907 - May 1907
Sir T.G. Walker	:	May 1907 - May 1908
Sir Louis W. Dane	:	1908 - 1911
Sir James McCrone Douie	:	1911 - 1913
Sir M.f. O'Dwyer	:	1913 - 1919
Sir E.D. Maclagan	:	1919-1921

Appendix II

Income and Expenditure of District Boards, Punjab

	Excluding the District of Mianwali		Whole Province	
	1889-90	Average for ten years 1890-91 to 1899-1900	1900-01	1903-04
	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)
Income from :				
Provincial rates	1,918,204	2,062,940	2,066,918	2,403,661
Interest	1,100	1,124	1,417	1,361
Education	46,858	80,317	111,386	120,831
Medical	9,326	21,449	25,050	40,662
Scientific & c	85,814	86,125	87,428	94,085
Miscellaneous	70,415	128,948	235,941	288,411
Public Works	48,233	107,151	1389,19	183,233
Pounds	43,436	55,050	53,944	58,273
Ferries	144,383	151,965	162,528	151,629
Total Income	2,367,769	2,695,069	2,883,531	3,342,146
Expenditure on :				
Refunds	1,967	2,617	3,168	2,318
General administration	105,491	141,161	128,672	135,864
Education	468,451	576,302	612,567	668,125
Medical	259,894	316,238	561,538	377,654
Scientific & c	115,152	145,678	152,350	133,809
Misc.	459,708	691,402	801,814	1,025,264
Public works	914,242	916,148	756,918	904,418
Total Expenditure	2,324,905	2,762,546	3,017,027	3,247,452

Source : Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series Punjab, Vol. I, p. 162.

Glossary

- acre* : a measure of land equal to 4840 square yards.
adalat : a court of justice.
anna : a coin 1/16 part of a rupee.
arais : low caste agriculturists, vegetable grower.
badmash : bad character, a hooligan.
bahi-khata : account-book.
bajra : spiked millet.
balochis : a tribe inhabiting north-western part of Punjab and Sind.

bania : a Hindu trader or shopkeeper or money-lender.
bar : unland between two river valleys.
barani : an arid tract dependent on rain, unirrigated.
batai : division of produce, the system of taking land revenue or rent in kind.

benami : fictitious name.
chapati : unleaven bread made thin in the form of the griddle cakes of Scotland, the common bread in India.

china : a kind of millet.
chos : sandi bed of a hill torrent generally dry except during monsoon.

chowki : sub-station of police.
chowkidar : a watchman.
chowdhry : a headman of a village or of a trade.
chooras : sweepers, used as a term of abuse meaning low-caste.

darbar : royal court, state government, assembly.
darogha : a superintendent, a police officer of above the rank of *thanedar*.

desi : indigenous.
diwani : right of land revenue.
diwani-adalat : the court of civil and revenue jurisdiction.
doab : a country lying between the two rivers.
durrie : a carpet.
fatwa : order issued by the religious priest for the Muslims.

- ghadar* : revolt, rebellion.
gidar-kut : an aggravated form of corporal punishment signifies the beating of a man as one would beat a jackal, beating and kicking a person mercilessly.
gujars : low-caste breed of cattle milk-sellers.
haisyat : capacity, rank.
hartal : strike.
havalat : behind the bar.
ilqa : a particular area.
janglis : original inhabitants of eastern districts of Punjab.
jagirdar : holder of a *jagir*, holder of any assignment of revenue.
jats : high caste agriculturists.
jowar : a kind of millet.
kangi : a kind of millet.
kankut : division of the standing crops by appraisalment.
kardar : originally a Persian word meaning a person entrusted with official work. During the Sikh rule *kardar* was entrusted with collection of revenue as well as general administration work of a district under the general direction of Nazim, the Governor.
kharif : autumn harvest sown in April-May and reaped in October-November.
khufia-navis : secret news-writer.
kan-parade : a form of punishment in which a man is made to bend double and pass his hands under his legs and touch or hold his ears.
kamin : of low-caste or rank, a menial servant.
kotwal : chief of police in a town.
kotwali : police station.
lambardar : the head of the village who may hold office by descent or election.
malikana : a fee paid by the tenants to their proprietors in recognition of their rights over lands they cultivated.
maund : a unit of measurement of weight equal to 40 seers or little above 80 pounds.

- munj* : material used for making ropes of every kind.
- munsif* : subordinate judge, a civil judge of lowest rank.
- naib-tahsildar* : assistant to tahsildar.
- nakabandi* : cordon off.
- nazim* : the governor.
- panchayat* : committee traditionally of five members in a village to decide petty disputes.
- pargana* : a small administrative/ land revenue unit.
- patwari* : a village revenue accountant and recorder of rights of land.
- pardah* : veil used by the women to cover their head, face or both for protection or concealment.
- qanungo* : revenue officer of sub-division of district.
- rabi* : spring crop generally sown in October-November and reaped in April-May.
- sailab* : flooded or kept permanently moist by river.
- sahukar* : money-lender.
- sansees* : a criminal tribe found in Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Karnal and Gujarat districts.
- satyagraha* : peaceful non-violent resistance to the authorities.
- seer* : a measure of weight equivalent to 2.2 pounds.
- tahsil* : a local revenue sub-division.
- taqavi* : distress loan given by the government.
- thanedar* : an officer in charge of a police station, a petty police officer subordinate to darogha.
- thikri-pahra* : night patrolling by the villagers to assist the chowkidars.
- thuggee* : robbery, cheating, the practice of strangling and robbing.
- zabti* : fixed cash rent per acre for a particular crop which can not be conveniently divided.
- zail* : a group of villagers.
- zaildar* : an honorary official in the village.
- zamindar* : a landlord, agriculturist.
- zanana* : ladies.
- zillah* : a district.
- zulum* : tyranny.

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