"OLD LAHORE:"

REMINISCENCES OF A RESIDENT,

BY

Colonel H. R. GOULDING, I. S. O., V. D.,

late A. D. C. to the King-Emperor,

WITH WHICH

is reproduced a

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

BY

the late Mr. T. H. THORNTON, B.C.S.,

for many years

Secretary to the Punjab Government.

Lahore:

PRINTED AT THE "CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE" PRESS,

BY E. A. SMEDLEY, MANAGER.

1924.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Lahore, February 7th, 1924.

Many who, like myself, have read with pleasure the articles on "Old Lahore" which have appeared from Colonel Goulding's pen in the *Civil and Military Gazette* during the last two years, will greatly appreciate having these articles in pamphlet form for reference, and I hope that, in this form, the articles may reach a wider public.

To me these reminiscences are particularly interesting, as my own earliest recollections of Lahore—somewhat hazy recollections, I must admit—go back to 1870, and my family connection with Lahore goes back to 1846, when my father, as a young Engineer officer, occupied quarters over the Hazuri Bagh gate of the Fort. The "Old Lahore" of which Colonel Goulding writes is mostly of later date than this, and much of his recollections deal with things of a comparatively recent past. But our memories of what has happened even in our own times are very short-lived, and Colonel Goulding has done a great service to lovers of Lahore by placing on paper the information he has given us, more especially that relating to the European community stationed in this place. He has always taken a special interest in the early documents of our Government offices, and he has himself, by his long connection with the Volunteer movement and with the official and municipal work of Lahore, played for many years a prominent part in the social and official life of the place. There is already a road in the Civil Station named after him, and this little pamphlet will also, I hope, serve to link up his honoured name with the history of the station in which he has lived so long.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

"OLD LAHORE."

——————from the destined walls
Of Cambala, seat of Cathian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne
To Paquin of Sinæan Kings; and thence
To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogal.

Paradise Lost, Bk. XI, I.

Oft in the stilly night,
Ere slumber's chain has bound me,
Fond mem'ry brings the light
Of other days around me.

Old Irish Song.

When the first of these "Reminiscences" appeared in the issue of the *Civil and Military Gazette* dated September 22, 1922, it was not my intention that they should be continued as a series, nor had I the ambition to see them reprinted in pamphlet form; but, encouraged by the hospitality of the Editor, I went on jotting down my recollections of "Old Lahore" in the rambling form in which they appeared from time to time in subsequent issues of the *Gazette*. They were written entirely from memory, except where references have been given to official records, historical works and diaries.

Now that it has been decided to reproduce the "Reminiscences" in pamphlet form, they have been slightly amplified in some places, and certain articles which appeared separately have been inserted in their appropriate surroundings, *e. g.*, the full account of Anarkali's tomb, particulars in regard to the Lawrence statue, the Badshahi Mosque and Buddhu-ka-Awa.

To make the pamphlet something more than a mere record of gossip about old times, chapters have been added, containing concise historical and descriptive accounts of Lahore, written by Mr. T. H. Thornton, B. C. S., a distinguished official of olden days, who was for many years Secretary to the Punjab Government. Printed in 1860 for private circulation, these excellent summaries of the history of Lahore were embodied, in 1876, in a guide-book, the joint work of Mr. Thornton and Mr. J. Lockwood Kipling, then Principal of the Lahore School of Art. This

useful little book, which was published by the Punjab Government Press, has been long out of print.

A map of Lahore the latest official map published by the Survey of India, Map Department, will be found in the pocket of this pamphlet.

LAHORE :
11*th March* 1924.

H. R. G.

Descriptive Note.

OLD LAHORE.

REMINISCENCES OF A RESIDENT.

The Race-course.

It is possible that there are still in the Punjab some of the older generation who may remember the days when the so-called grand-stand on the Lahore race-course was nothing more imposing than a raised platform of earth or sundried bricks. It was situated on the other side of the oval, opposite to the present grand-stand, with its back to Mian Mir and facing west, so that its occupants had the disadvantage of the setting sun in their eyes. But how many are aware that in the very early 'fifties, when Anarkali and the Fort constituted both the cantonments and the civil lines and before Mian Mir came into existence, the first race-course was laid out on the Fort parade ground, a portion of which is now known as the Minto Park? One wonders whether the precedent for the provision of a race-course at Baghdad was established 70 odd years ago on the banks of the Chota Ravi? When the troops moved to Mian Mir, the race-course was transferred to its present site. The existing grand-stand and paddocks are of comparatively recent date and the archives of the Honorary Secretary's office may contain details of their evolution, but it may be mentioned that considerable improvements were effected in the early 'nineties under the supervision of Captain C. M. Stevens, at that time Adjutant of the 1st Punjab Volunteers and a very keen sportsman.

Early Polo.

There is not, as far as I am aware, any existing record of the genesis of polo in Lahore, but the first game of which I have a distinct recollection was played on the Fort parade ground. The then Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Mamdot, who were very promising lads at the time, both took part in the game and seemed to be as good as the best on the field. It is difficult after the lapse of so many years to fix even an approximate date for this matchs but it was probably played in the early 'seventies. Perhap, some reader interested in polo may be able to throw further light on the early history of the game after its first introduction into Lahore.

The Soldiers' Garden.

All that remained some years ago of this most interesting relic of the past was a spacious swimming bath of *pucca* brick, with a fine racket court near by, situated in the area (now under cultivation) behind the shrine of Data Ganj Bákhsh and Mela Ram's Mills, on the left of the Grand Trunk Road, travelling north. There is reason to believe that this garden was laid out by a member of the Rattigan family and that he was in charge of it for some time. The provision of such gardens in the various cantonments in the recently acquired territory was a point to which considerable importance seems to have been attached and the records of the period show that the Board of Administration and the Chief Commissioner took much interest in the matter. During 1856, the Soldiers' Garden was, with the permission of the Chief Commissioner, converted into "a place of public resort". It was the forerunner of our modern Gymkhana. Viewing the spot as it is now, it is difficult to picture it as the gathering place of the beauty and fashion of old Lahore—fair ladies in enormous crinolines, with attendant swains in peg-top trousers and tall hats, wearing beards and whiskers of portentous size, strolling about among the flower-beds, listening to the strains of the band.

The First "Church."

Anarkali's tomb is well-known as the first parish church of the Protestant community of Lahore, but the records of the period have brought to light the existence of an even older "church" hitherto unknown. Like many other old buildings in Lahore, Dhian Singh's *haveli* or palace has served many purposes since it was built in Sikh times by Mian Dhian Singh, the young Rajput who was chamberlain to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and subsequently Prime Minister to Maharaja Sher Singh, whose murder was arranged with his connivance. He himself was murdered by his accomplices immediately after. It appears from old official records that this *haveli*, which is situated in the Hira Mandi, inside the old Taxali Gate of the city, was fitted up as a place of public worship for the Christian garrison of the neighbouring fort and it is, therefore, presumably the first building ever used for this purpose in Lahore. In response to an enquiry made by the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company, it was explained that the Garrison Engineer had spent Rs. 341-7-6 "for fitting up Raja Dhian Singh's house at Lahore as a temporary place of worship." The Government of India referred to it as "the church in Dhian Singh's house." The fittings consisted of 40 benches, three *punkhas*, a book-stand and bamboo *chicks*.

In later years the building was known as the Government District School and as such is remembered by the older generation of Punjabis, many of whom now fill responsible positions, official and non-official, in the Province. It was also the first home of the Government College when opened on January 1, 1862.

Anarkali's Tomb:

First Parish Church.

Many of the old tombs and mosques of the Moghal period, which are still to be found dotted about Lahore, were, at one time or another, utilised as residences or offices. For example, there is the mosque of Dai Anga near the railway station which was the residence in the early 'fifties of Mr. Cope, editor of the *Lahore Chronicle*, and was afterwards used for many years by the Railway as the Traffic Manager's office; Government House is built round the tomb of Muhammad Kasim Khan, a relative of the Emperor Akbar; the *masjid* of Shah Chiragh housed the Accountant-General's office for many years and is now occupied by the Sessions Court; but none of these buildings has served so many or such varied purposes as Anarkali's tomb. The romantic tragedy connected with the construction of this tomb is so well-known that it will be sufficient for the purposes of this article to recall the fact that Anarkali was a slave-girl who was buried alive in 1599 by order of the Emperor Akbar, who suspected her of having a criminal intrigue with his son, Prince Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir. After his accession to the throne, the latter monarch had the tomb built over the grave of the unfortunate girl. It was completed in 1615. During the time of the Sikhs, this tomb was occupied by Sardar Kharak Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's heir-apparent, but was subsequently given to General Ventura, who converted it into a private residence (Sayad Muhammad Latif's "Lahore"). When the Punjab was annexed by the British Government, the tomb was used partly as a residence for some of the clerical staff and partly as an office, temporary rooms being added for the latter round the base of the main building.

On the 15th March, 1851, the Secretary to the Board of Administration, Punjab, reported to the Government of India that "the Board's offices having been removed from the old Residency, the tomb which they formerly occupied has become available, and has lately been used, by permission of the Board, for Divine Service on Sundays." Sanction was at the same time obtained for the expenditure of Rs. 1,000 on fitting up the tomb so as to serve as a place of worship for the Protestant congregation,

civil and military, of the station known as Anarkali. Apparently the temporary structure round the base was then demolished. Four years later, in 1855, the Revd. Dr. Carshore, Chaplain, applied for sanction to increase the seating accommodation by giving access to the recesses or arches round the upper storey, and the necessary structural alterations were carried out by the Public Works Department, including the construction of an outer staircase, as the existing " steep and narrow staircases could not in any way be remodelled without incurring the expense of pulling down and rebuilding the turrets in which they are built. In their present state, they are certainly very inconvenient and not at all adapted to the purpose of giving free access to the proposed sittings on the upper storey of the church ". It may be noted, however, that in after years one of these spiral staircases remained in use to supplement the new outer staircase.

Early in 1857, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab consented to the consecration of this place of Christian worship, and over fifty members of the congregation submitted a petition to the Bishop of Madras (Dr. Dealtry), then on visitation in the Punjab as representative of the Metropolitan, asking him to consecrate it. Among the signatories were two future Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab (Sir Robert Montgomery, then Judicial Commissioner, and Sir Robert Egerton, then Settlement Officer); Lieutenant-Colonel H. Fraser, officiating Chief Engineer; Charles T. Elliot, Assistant Commissioner; Charles Hathaway, Inspector of Prisons; Dr. C. Manners-Smith, Civil Surgeon; Lieut. J. J. McLeod Innes, Engineers; and the Revd. Joseph James Carshore, D. D., Chaplain. The ceremony of consecration was performed by the Bishop on the 24th January, 1857, the church being named St. James's and it is on record that Dr. Dealtry was " glad to find that the tomb at Anarkali, in which he preached in 1847 as Archdeacon of Calcutta, had been neatly fitted up for Divine Service." From this it may be gathered that the tomb had been occasionally used as a place of worship three or four years before formal permission was given by the Board of Administration for its regular use on Sundays.

In the early 'seventies, when the Revd. J. R. Baldwin (author of " Indian Gup ") was chaplain, it was found necessary to make a further increase in the sittings, and this was effected by throwing out a wooden gallery, supported on substantial wooden pillars, round the inner side of five of the upper arches. At the same time, the vault of the dome was colour-washed blue and was decorated with tinsel stars, to represent the firmament. This crude specimen of " Art " still disfigures the interior of the building.

St. James's church was known in later years as the Pro-Cathedral, when the Lahore diocese was created and Dr. French was appointed its first Bishop; and it continued in use as "the Mother Church" of the diocese until the present Cathedral was completed. Anarkali's tomb lay vacant for some years after it was given up by the ecclesiastical authorities, but in 1891 it was again converted into an office for the storage of Secretariat records, and is still used for that purpose. The sarcophagus, which had been put away in one of the turrets when the building was first converted into a church, was placed in the spot from which the altar had been removed. It remains to be seen what further changes time has in store for the old tomb after the removal of its present contents to the new Secretariat Buildings shortly to be constructed.

(A reprint of this article and a ground plan, showing the positions occupied by the altar, font, lectern, pulpit, vestry, organ and choir-stalls, when the building was used as a church, have been recently placed in it for the information of visitors interested in its history and the sad romance associated with its construction in A. D. 1615.)

The Choir.

Members of the Cathedral choir may be interested to learn that it was in the old parish church of St. James's that a full-sized organ was substituted for the harmonium which had been in use for many years, and that this organ was transferred to the new Cathedral, where it was succeeded in course of time by the present organ. The writer of these notes was in the choir of St. James's when the "old" organ was used for the first time, and many years later he sang in the Cathedral choir when the new organ was first used. It may also be interesting to mention that the "mixed choir" of St. James's included at one time Lady Davies, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor; Miss Lindsay (choir leader), a daughter of Mr. Justice Lindsay of the Chief Court;. and the two daughters of Bishop French. Among the men were Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Egerton, Mr. Thornton, Secretary to Government; Mr. (afterwards Sir Mackworth) Young, Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell, Mr. J. A. E. Miller, Secretary to the Financial Commissioner, and Colonel A. H. Bamfield, Inspector-General of Police, who was for some time choir-master.

Shalimar : A Honeymoon Resort.

In these days of rapid locomotion when, if nothing else, the humble but ubiquitous tonga is readily available for an evening's

drive to Shalimar or Shahdara, it may be news to most readers of the *Civil and Military Gazette* to learn that in the good old days a trip out to either of these places of historic interest was quite an event, for which special arrangements had to be made. Being far removed from the Civil Station, and hired conveyances not being easily obtainable, Shahdara and Shalimar were practically isolated, so much so that the dak bungalow on the right of the first terrace in Shalimar was frequently occupied by couples on their honeymoon. This bungalow was fitted up as a rest-house and was often occupied for week-ends or longer periods by persons requiring a change of air. Many descriptions of these famous gardens have appeared in historical works and books of travel, but the following description of what Shalimar was like in 1846 has an interest all its own, having been written in his diary, on March 6, 1846, by General (then Lieutenant) Maclagan, the father of the present Governor of the Punjab, on his first visit to Lahore :—

"Rode out to the Shalimar gardens. A great part of the space in the interior of the gardens is occupied by tanks of water, from which rise numbers of fountains, repeated a second time in a second division of the garden on a lower level. The cultivation is, of course, very rich in trees and flowers, and there is much pretty marble work in the buildings, baths, etc., within the garden. It is a picture of a rich, luxurious, oriental garden, the enjoyment of which was enhanced by the presence of the band of Her Majesty's 9th Foot, who had a picnic here to-day".

It is a matter of opinion whether the activities of the Archæological Department within the last few years have not deprived the gardens, to some extent at all events, of their characteristic oriental features. The ruthless felling of all the centuries—old mango trees, to clear the second terrace for an ordinary rose garden, has been considered by many an act of vandalism.

Shahdara.

The rooms on both sides of the main gateway leading from the *serai* at Shahdara into the quadrangle containing the Emperor Jehangir's tomb were also fitted up as dak bungalows, like those in Shalimar. A change out to the river-side and the cool gardens surrounding the tomb was considered quite a treat, for be it remembered that in those far off days travelling by dak-gharris and doolies was a tedious and expensive method which absolutely precluded flying visits to the hills or elsewhere. In later years, when the Punjab Northern State Railway was under construction, large temporary workshops were established at Shahdara and the rooms in the gate-

way were occupied as residential quarters by some members of the European staff.

Standing as it does on the very banks of the Ravi, the Emperor's tomb has always been in danger from erosion by river action, and it appears from old records that this danger was so imminent in 1854 that a special grant of Rs. 6,000 was sanctioned by the Chief Commissioner for the construction of protective works for the tomb and for the well-known Baradari lower down the river. This massive structure, built originally in the midst of a beautiful garden by a member of the Moghal royal family, was utilised in the 'sixties as a residence for the European Superintendent in charge of the bridge of boats, being most conveniently situated at the northern end of the bridge. In later years it was fitted up as a Public Works Department rest-house. The dismantling of the boat-bridge a few years ago, in consequence of the construction of the new roadway alongside the railway bridge, has removed a familiar and picturesque feature of the landscape and the old Baradari is now no longer on the main line of traffic. Incidentally it may be mentioned that when the British Government set about constructing boat-bridges over the Punjab rivers, after the annexation of the Province, this bridge over the Ravi was declared to be the best of its kind and was adopted as a model.

Fagan's Folly.

Journeying from Shahdara to Lahore, we cross another well-known bridge which spans the Chota Ravi near the fort, named in the early days "Fagan's Folly." Why it was classed as a monument of "folly" I was never able exactly to discover, but I remember hearing long years ago that it was so called because the structure was considered unnecessarily massive. If that was the reason, time has brought the engineer his revenge, for the bridge has proved a splendid example of engineering foresight and skill. Nothing less substantial could have withstood for close on 70 years the force of the heavy floods the writer has often seen roaring through this bridge and submerging the surrounding country right up to the Fort walls. It was built in 1853-4 by Lieutenant Fagan, who was the Engineer in charge of Civil Buildings in Anarkali, and its cost was debited to the expenditure on the Grand Trunk Road, then in course of extension to Peshawar.

Other Engineering Works.

Lieutenant Fagan seems to have been an officer who was determined to build nothing that might fail to stand the test of time and climate. He was responsible also for the alignment

and construction of the large masonry channel which passes the Taxali Gate and carries the city drainage into the Chota Ravi. In connection with the construction of this channel, Lieutenant Fagan incurred the displeasure of the Military authorities, who complained that they had not been consulted as regards the portion traversing the Fort boundaries. Another fine specimen of the work done in those days may still be seen in the drainage channel running along the northern compound wall of the Small Cause Court, connecting the Lower Mall with Court Street and discharging into the area behind the Commissioner's office, where an overflow channel of the Ravi existed many years ago, but well within the writer's recollection. It was possible in those days, when the river was in flood, to launch a canoe in the neighbourhood of the present Veterinary College (old Bank of Bengal) and to paddle down past Anarkali's tomb as far or farther than the Chauburji on Multan Road.

The Badshahi Mosque.

Few of the residents of Lahore know, perhaps, that the Badshahi Mosque near the Fort, the majestic domes and minarets of which form so conspicuous a feature of the landscape in the northern suburbs of Lahore, was at one time, not so very long ago, used for purposes other than that for which it was built by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1673 A. D. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign it was utilised by the Sikh Government as a magazine for military stores.

It is recorded that the minarets were occupied by the matchlock men of Maharaja Sher Singh when he besieged the neighbouring Fort in 1841, and that they were again used for a similar purpose shortly after when light guns (*zamburahs*) were placed on their summits to bombard the Fort when the Sindhanwalia Sardars were besieged by Raja Hira Singh. (History repeated itself in mimic warfare 48 years ago when the scheme for the annual inspection of the local Volunteers included the defence of a portion of the Fort, and Gurkha sharpshooters belonging to the attacking force occupied the minarets.) The present height of the minarets is said to be 143 feet, but the topmost storey of each, surmounted by a cupola, had to be dismantled owing to serious damage caused by the earthquake of 1840. The sacred relics now so reverently preserved in the building were also in the possession of the Sikhs until the annexation of the Punjab by the British. It was in 1856 that Sir John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, after consulting the military authorities responsible for the citadel and its environs, obtained

the sanction of the Government of India for the restoration of the mosque to the Mahomedan community of Lahore, and it is to be regretted that some of the present-day members of that community are taking part in the agitation engineered by the local extremists to insult the memory of the great man who was always so mindful of their interests (*vide* page 36).

An Interesting Document.

At all events, there can be no doubt that the sentiments that influenced the British Government to give back to them their historic mosque were fully appreciated by the Mahomedan community who at that time were in a position to realise what religious freedom really meant. The following interesting document is a translation of a letter signed by 70 of the most influential Mahomedans of Lahore in which they conveyed the grateful thanks of their community to the Government of India, through Sir John Lawrence.

Translation of an address from some of the most influential Mahomedans of Lahore.

"Whereas from the time of preceding kings the Badshahee (Royal) Mosque situated in the citadel of Lahore had been used for worship by the Mahomedans, and under Royal mandates the ancestors of Syud Boozoorg Shah, son of Kazee Ghoolam Shah, were custodians and priests of the mosque, but in consequence of the religious prejudice of the Sikh nation which is opposed to the tolerant wisdom of sovereigns and the laudable practice of kings, the offering of worship and prayer had become suspended, yea altogether ceased for some time.

"At present, under the happy auspices of the Government of the East India Company, the mosque in question has been restored for purposes of worship which circumstance is calculated to increase the prosperity of the Government, and Syud Boozoorg Shah has been appointed custodian and priest of the mosque. Therefore all the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, of all classes, and of other parts of the country far and near, who have received information of this circumstance, have been rendered happy by the display of this favour on the part of Government which has bestowed their dues on the rightful parties and shown such generosity to those who were anxious to attain the objects of their religion, as is calculated to save them from the pains and punishments of Eternity. People of all classes loudly praise the gracious act. The happiness of the people is productive of the satisfaction of the Almighty, the good name of the authorities and the enhanced prosperity and greatness of the Government which is the means of

obtaining the welfare of the people in this world and hereafter. We have no tongue to describe our thanks for this great boon. The only course left to us is to sincerely pray for the increase of the greatness and prosperity of the Government. Therefore we have considered it proper to address this petition expressive of our gratitude for this boundless favour."

(Sealed) KAZEE HUFEEZOOD-DEEN,
NOWAB ABDOOLRAHMAN,
NOWAB AHMUD ULLA KHAN,
and 67 others.

General Maclagan's old diary, to which reference has already been made, contains the following entries relating to this mosque:—

"*Friday, March* 6, 1846.—. . . . . To the Hoozoorie Bagh, which is now occupied by the 12th Native Infantry and a Company of Sappers. There are two squares, surrounded by masonry works, and with four *minars* of red sandstone. At the side of one of the squares, is the large mosque called the Badshahee Musjid, the inscription bearing the name 'Aboo Zuffur Muhammad Alamgeer, Badshah,' and date 1084.

"*Sunday, April* 17, 1846.—Service in the Badshahee Musjid square. (Brigadier Eckford and Dr. Corbyn)."

These entries relate to the period immediately following the battle of Subraon and the occupation of Lahore by a British garrison.

A Grim Welcome.

Writing about buildings, etc., in this neighbourhood recalls to mind two unrecorded incidents connected with the cemetery, of which mention might be made. It is, I think, in "Cupid and Cartridges" that the authors relate the story of a triumphal arch erected by the citizens of an Indian town, to welcome back their Deputy Commissioner from his wedding tour. On one side, the arch bore the inscription "Long live Major....." ; on the other, "God help Mrs....." On the occasion, many years ago, of a Royal visit to Lahore, the local sculptor rivalled the grim humour of the latter inscription by displaying near the cemetery gate " a banner with the strange device"—WELCOME. On another occasion, the residents of the Civil Station witnessed the unusual sight of the chrysanthemums from the cemetery garden being conveyed to the flower-show grounds in the hearse kindly lent by the undertaker.

The Icepits.

The icepits were situated on a large maidan, now the site of the Training College and other Government educational buildings. As the old methods of collecting natural ice will soon perhaps be considered almost pre-historic, it may be interesting to describe them. The big plain was divided off into rectangles which, in turn, were sub-divided into smaller plots or *kiaris*, on which a layer of rice-straw was spread. On this straw were arranged a number of shallow pans of burnt clay, containing water. Long before sunrise, a drum summoned the poorer classes, mostly women and children, to assemble at the ice-fields to collect the contents of the pans. If no drum was beaten, it was understood that, owing to the presence of clouds or other cause, no ice had formed. Each collector or family of collectors was allotted a certain number of *kiaris* and payment was made according to results. Men in couples, carrying between them hand-barrows composed of large baskets fastened between bamboos, went round the plots, collecting the ice harvest reaped by the women and children, and conveyed their loads to the pit-heads where the contents of each barrow were heaved over the brink. The pits were lined with a thick layer of straw and were surrounded by low walls, on which rested a *chhappar* roof of enormous thickness. Between the walls and the edges of the pits ran narrow passages which enabled the carriers of the barrows to distribute their loads at different points. At the bottom of each pit were men equipped with rakes and rammers who levelled the ice and consolidated it. The entrances to the pits were carefully walled up after receiving their full supply of ice and remained closed till the beginning of the next summer. It was on this supply and on the contents of similar pits at the Central Jail that the residents of Lahore had to depend for their requirements during the summer. The ice was issued at appointed times, either for cash or on presentation of season tickets. The first machine for the manufacture of artificial ice was also erected in the early 'seventies on this maidan, in close proximity to the pits, but it was not till some years later that the present factory opposite the Commercial Buildings ensured an adequate and reliable supply of artificial ice to meet all requirements.

It may also be mentioned that in the days before the municipal water-supply existed, the Lahore Central Jail was about the only place from which it was possible to obtain drinking water which might be considered fairly safe, and some of the European residents used to obtain permits for their *bhistis* to draw water from the jail wells during the prevalence of the

cholera epidemics which were by no means infrequent in those days.

Some Old Bungalows.

Separated from the old ice-fields by a narrow road on the west, which was recently named Rattigan Road by the Municipality at the writer's suggestion, is the house now known as "Roselands," occupied by the Principal of the Central Training College and owned by Government. This was the early home of the Rattigan family, and adjoining it is still to be seen a thatched bungalow of very old-fashioned type which was occupied and owned by Sir William Rattigan's father-in-law, the late Colonel A. Higgins, C. I. E., another well-known and honoured resident of Lahore, who was generally recognised as the "father" of the 1st Punjab Volunteers, "*Rattigan Sahib ki kothi*," as it was, and still is, called by the older generation of native residents, was the scene of many a cheery gathering when the Rattigans entertained their friends. Tennis was unknown in those early days, and badminton, of which Mr. (as he then was) Rattigan was a keen and expert player, had only recently come into vogue. In later years, Sir William had tennis courts laid out on the grounds now attached to the Training College, and it was here that Lahore society used to gather in full force for Lady Rattigan's fortnightly "At Homes."

On the other side of Colonel Higgins's bungalow was a house occupied in succession by several prominent European residents during the late 'sixties and early 'seventies. One of these was Dr. C. Manners Smith, for many years Civil Surgeon of Lahore, who was very popular with all classes. Another was Mr. Reynolds, the Government Advocate, who was succeeded as tenant by Colonel Arthur Cory and Major Fenwick, joint editors of the newly established *Civil and Military Gazette*. Colonel Cory was for a time Commandant of the 1st Punjab Volunteers. The bungalow in question is now one of the educational buildings owned by the Arya Samaj. Further down, at the end of Lahore Road, was the old Bank of Bengal, on the site now occupied by the Veterinary College.

Veterinary College.

The writer of these reminiscenes is rather proud of the fact that the site for the present Veterinary College was suggested by him in the columns of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Various sites, more or less unsuitable, had been suggested by the officials concerned, including a proposal to convert the existing

Civil Secretariat and neighbouring offices into a Veterinary College and Hospital—described by one of the engineers as a "musical chairs" scheme. When the suggestion that no better site could be found in Lahore for the Veterinary College than that occupied by the old Bank of Bengal and the adjoining Public Works store-godowns, appeared in print, it was rather amusing to hear conjectures as to where the old Bank of Bengal building was situated. When it was eventually identified, its suitability was recognised at once and no time was lost in making preparations for the construction of the splendidly equipped buildings which now stand on the spot.

This, of course, is modern history, but it leads up to the fact that for many years previous to the construction of these new buildings, the Veterinary College had been accommodated in an old bungalow adjoining the Mayo Hospital and now included in the area of the latter institution.

Government College Buildings.

It is of interest to recall that this same old bungalow was occupied by the Government College before the present college building near the District Court was completed in 1877.

The crest of the mound on which the Government College now stands was occupied in former days by an old barrack which, within the memory of the writer, was utilised as the Government Dispensary and quarters for the Apothecary in charge. The house in the immediate neighbourhood, now the residence of the Principal of the College, was then the Government Dak Bungalow for the use of travellers, and the building now used as a gymnasium was the Presbyterian Church in which the Formans, Newtons and other early missionaries conducted the services. There were several other old barracks in existence in Anarkali for many years after the transfer of the troops to Mian Mir, but a description of the uses to which some of them were put by the civil authorities will be given later on.

The Volunteer Rifle Range.

It is difficult to realise in these days that the rifle range originally provided for the 1st Punjab Volunteers after their formation in 1861 was situated in the Lawrence Gardens, and that it was removed to its present site on the Multan Road at a comparatively recent date, that is, 40 years ago. The old range consisted of three sections, one of which extended to only 300 yards, the second to 600 yards, and the third to 800. The iron targets were placed against the old brick-kilns where the lions' arena and

servants' quarters attached to the Zoo are now located. The shortest of the three sections was parallel to and quite close to Lawrence Road, the 300 yards firing point being at the foot of the mound just inside the Rivaz Gate of the gardens, which gate, however, did not exist in those days. The other two sections extended through the gardens in the direction of the Superintendent's house, the 800 yards' firing point being where the road to his house meets the main road from the Montgomery Hall to the "Park" on Lawrence Road. Both the 800 and 700 yards' firing points were separated from the main portion of the range by public roads which had to be picketed when firing was going on, but fortunately for the general public the longer distances were not much used in the days of the old Enfield and Snider. It was when the Martini rifles were issued to the corps that trouble commenced. Ricochets began to skip merrily over the brick-kiln butts, endangering the safety of traffic on the Mall. A crisis was reached when the then Director of Public Instruction, who loved his morning walk, narrowly escaped injury, if not sudden death, from a stray bullet which ploughed up the roadway at his feet when he was at a point just opposite the site now occupied by the *Civil and Military Gazette* Press.

By the way, it may be of interest to mention that previous to its removal to the old bungalow on the Upper Mall, the *Civil and Military Gazette* occupied two houses in Court Street, Anarkali. These are no longer in existence, having been demolished to make room for some of the Arya Samaj educational buildings. Prior to that again, when the paper was still known as the *Indian Public Opinion* it was accommodated in the house on the Lower Mall now occupied by the Small Cause Court. Dr. G. W. Leitner, the famous philologist and scholar, first Principal of the Government College and first Registrar of the Punjab University, of which he might not inappropriately be described as the founder, was at that time the editor and part proprietor, the other proprietor being Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lepel Griffin, the talented and versatile Civilian who was for many years Secretary to the Punjab Government. Another editor of later years, who combined journalism with contracting, was Mr. Peter Scott, also well-known in Lahore as a distinguished freemason and enthusiastic volunteer officer. Mr. E. V. Cullen and Mr. Philip Morton, both members of the local bar, also occupied the editorial chair of the *Indian Public Opinion* in olden days. The latter is still with us, a genial and popular member of Lahore society. The former died some years ago at Simla.

However, to return to the errant marksmanship of the volunteers. It is a well-established fact that it is necessary to injure, or at least to scare, a high official before Government can be induced to take steps for the safety of the general public. When, therefore, the Director of Public Instruction dropped his monocle, and also a mild swear-word from his celebrated text-book, *Urdu ki Pahli Kitab*, and reported his narrow escape to the proper authorities, negotiations were promptly commenced for the acquisition of land for the present range on Multan Road. While this was under construction, the range in the Lawrence Gardens was closed and the 1st Punjab Volunteers had to arrange with the North-Western Railway corps to share the use of their range on Shalimar Road. This was in 1883-84.

Volunteer Camps.

While on the subject of volunteering, it may be mentioned that the first volunteer camp of exercise ever held in Lahore was on the race-course in November 1862. It was then, too, that the 1st Punjab Volunteers took part for the first time in a brigade field-day with the Mian Mir garrison. The earliest camp of which the writer had personal experience was that held in '70 or '71 on the site on which the Cathedral how stands. On several occasions in later years the annual camp was pitched on the site now occupied by the High Court, then an open plain, and, later again, on the grounds now occupied by the University playing-fields and the Government clerks' cottages. It was in one of the earliest camps that a gallant volunteer earned fame by putting forward a novel defence when brought before a Court Martial, charged with striking an officer. The culprit explained that he had "struck him as a friend, not as an officer." This democratic spirit (it was brandy in those days) and the striking exhibition of friendship were considered so remarkable that the matter was referred to Government, with the result that the offender was proscribed from further service in the volunteers.

Early Journals and Journalists.

Passing reference has been made above (page 14) to the *Indian Public Opinion* and *Civil and Military Gazette*, both of which newspapers trace their direct descent from the *Lahore Chronicle*, the first English newspaper established in Lahore. The writer is unable to fix the exact date of its first appearance, but official records show that it was in existence in the late 'forties, the editor being Mr. Henry Cope. This gentleman lived in the building

near the railway station known as the mosque of Dai Anga (afterwards occupied for many years by the Traffic Manager's office) and there is reason to believe that the *Lahore Chronicle* Press was also accommodated in this building. Apparently editorial duties did not press too heavily on Mr. Cope, who found scope for his superfluous energy in various schemes and experiments for the improvement of agriculture and industries. As Secretary to the newly established Punjab Agri-Horticultural Society, he showed great interest in the encouragement of sericulture, sheep-breeding, improvements in the cultivation of flax, the introduction of baling presses, etc., and was also Honorary Secretary to the committees formed for the collection of Punjab exhibits for the Great London Exhibition of 1851 and the Paris Exhibition of 1855. For his services in connection with the former he received suitable recognition, but, alas! in connection with the latter, he figured as the defendant in a civil suit for damages brought against him by a firm of Indian jewellers whose exhibits had been detained by Mr. Cope.

When the Press Act of 1857 came into force, it became necessary for the *Lahore Chronicle* to take out a license, and contemporary records show that this was granted on December 3, 1857, on an application signed by Mr. Oswald Welby, Manager, and Mr. C. T. McArthy, Printer. The list of proprietors annexed to the application includes some well-known names which may be familiar to the older generations, among them being Mr. C. P. Elliott, C. S., Captain R. Fagan, Mr. H. Monckton, C. S., Deputy Commissioner of Simla, Sir R. N. C. Hamilton, Bart., London, Major S. B. Goad of Simla (very well-known, indeed), Colonel Mackenzie, 8th Light Infantry, Mian Mir, and Mr. M. Ter Arratoon, the wealthy timber merchant and house proprietor of Lahore, to whom St. James's Church was indebted for its clock and sundial. Mr. Arratoon was the pioneer of the timber trade with Kashmir and Chamba, and the Government records show what difficulties he had to contend with in his dealings with the officials of those States. The majority of the shareholders were, however, Indians. The *Chronicle* press was described as being "kept and used at Lahore, in the Naulakha suburb of Lahore," Naulakha being the name of the locality in which Dai Anga's mosque is situated. In the following January, 1858, the Chief Commissioner sanctioned the establishment of a branch of the *Lahore Chronicle* Press in Ambala Cantonments.

Among other presses licensed at this time in Lahore under the provisions of the new Act were the *Punjabi* Press and the *Koh-i-Nur*.

This reference to the evolution of the *Civil and Military Gazette* recalls certain incidents connected with Mr. Rudyard Kipling, but "that is another story."

"The Delhi Institute Journal."

Mention may be made of the first "publicity" newspaper printed in Northern India, called *The Delhi Institute Journal.* Strictly speaking it does not come within the scope of articles dealing with "Old Lahore," but Mr. Fred. Cooper, C. B., whose portrait is one of those included in our local Valhalla, was the moving spirit in launching the journal and he, at all events, was intimately connected with the capital of the Punjab in the early days. This distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service was at that time Deputy Commissioner of Delhi and had rendered valuable services during the Mutiny. In later years, when Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, he took a prominent part in the construction of the Montgomery Hall.

The first number of *The Delhi Institute Journal* was published on October 14, 1861, and was advertised as a bi-monthly, the rates of subscription being six rupees per annum and 12 annas per mensem. It consisted of eight pages, the size was 12 inches by 9, and it was printed in English and Urdu, in parallel columns, the translation corresponding with the English on the same page. The closing words of Macaulay's charter-renewal speech were the motto of the *Journal*: "Let us not govern them in ignorance that we may govern them long." Mr. Wagentrieber, a well-known resident of Dehli, was the proprietor and editor, and it was arranged that he should be aided in his editorial duties by Mr. Fred. Cooper. Others associated with the editorial staff were the Civil Surgeon, the Headmaster, Mr. Michell, Railway Engineer; Mr. C. Campbell, Executive Engineer; the Revd. Thomas Evans and the Revd. P. Broadway.

The following extracts from the prospectus, which was subsequently reproduced in the first issue of the *Journal*, are interesting:—

"It is proposed to publish a short and cheap bi-monthly Vernacular and English periodical (under the authority of the Local Government), at Delhi, to be called *The Delhi Institute Journal.* A medium for communicating in a familiar manner to the natives, all news of public and domestic interest, the subject matter of new enactments, and circular orders affecting their monetary and social concerns, is beginning to be a real want to this busy and important

community. It will be the object of the *Journal* to supply this want. In addition to the dissemination of official news, questions of social interest, of public improvements, of municipal reform, of education, of trade, will be treated in a popular manner. Articles on modern science.....will also find their place, for the purpose of diffusing mechanical and scientific information. Articles also from native pens will appear. It is believed that a gauge into the current feelings and opinions among the populace will thus be formed. . . . . Fully aware that the natural ability of the Asiatic is at least equal to that of the European, nothing approaching to arrogant pretension or dogmatism will be permitted. It is, however, a well understood fact by the natives themselves that an uncontrolled liberty of the press to them is at present not compatible with their own personal interests or the preservation of the peace of the Empire, which it is the first and paramount duty of Government to secure . . . . *The Delhi Institute Journal* then will be avowedly a Government organ."

On receiving a copy of the prospectus from Mr. Cooper, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery, expressed the hope that it would not be issued without his sanction, as it claimed that the *Journal* was to be "under the authority of the Local Government." At the same time, he expressed doubts as to the stability of the venture. Mr. Cooper wired back, promising to omit the passage in question, and asking Government to subscribe for 500 copies for distribution in the Punjab. Here the correspondence ends, and we are left in ignorance of the future of the *Journal*, which, according to Mr. Cooper, came into existence to fill a long felt want. In his demi-official letter, explaining the position, he said that "the people are eager for it. It is curious that *they* believe everything that is printed; *we* disbelieve *because* it is in the newspapers, and looking to this fact, I have started an engine of great political strength for the Government. . . . Our greatest enemy is native malicious rumour, and this we disarm." But, then, Mr. Cooper was a sanguine enthusiast.

Concerning Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

"He (the Head) had taken Beetle aside that day and given him much good advice, not one word of which did Beetle remember when he dashed up to the study, white with excitement, and poured out the wondrous tale. It demanded great belief.

"'You begin on a hundred a year?' said M'Turk unsympathetically. 'Rot.'"

"'And my passage out. It's all settled. The Head says he's been breaking me in for this ever so long, and I never knew—I never knew. One don't begin with writing straight off, y'know. Begin by filling in telegrams and cutting things out of papers with scissors'".

This is Mr. Rudyard Kipling's graphic description, in the last chapter of "Stalky and Co." of his appointment to the *Civil and Military Gazette*. I was told by the late Sir David Masson, then Managing Proprietor of that journal, that he gave the youthful Kipling his first appointment, at the request of his father, Mr. Lockwood Kipling, then Principal of the Lahore School of Art. The latter, Sir David said, came to him and explained that as young Rudyard was disqualified for any of the public services by reason of his defective eyesight, it was necessary to find other employment for him and, as he seemed to have a taste for journalism, Mr. Lockwood Kipling asked if room could be found for his son on the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Lockwood Kipling was himself a frequent contributor to the columns of that journal. The recent revival of the Christmas number of the *Gazette* recalls to mind the unique Christmas number issued many years ago in pamphlet form. It was called *The Quartette* and contained four short stories, one written by each member of the Kipling family—father, mother, son and daughter. A year or two ago a first edition of this publication was sold at Sotheby's for quite a large sum. No doubt the youthful journalist's anticipations were fulfilled and that he began by "filling in telegrams and cutting things out o' papers with scissors," but he had attained to the dignity of a fully fledged "special correspondent" by the time the Amir of Afghanistan visited India in 1885. Kipling joined the party at Peshawar and accompanied them to Rawalpindi, where I heard him give a racy account of some of his experiences.

The future "Poet of the Empire" was for a time a private in "B" Company of the 1st Punjab Volunteers, but no one ever saw him on parade. Having exhausted all devices for getting the defaulter out to parade, the writer, who was then in command of the company, called upon Volunteer Kipling to make good the capitation grant which he had failed to earn. The amount claimed was promptly remitted under cover of a letter frankly admitting the justice of the penalty and expressing regret fot neglect of duty.

The Original of "Kim."

There appeared early in 1923 in the columns of a provincial paper at Home an article from the pen of a lady correspondent writing from Quetta in which it was suggested that Mr. F. Beaty, so well-known in Quetta and throughout Baluchistan, who retired from the police last year (1922), was the original of "Kim." It may be said, without fear of contradiction by any person acquainted with the Lahore of Kipling's days, that there is absolutely no foundation for this suggestion. Until he left for Quetta, Mr. Beaty had had an uneventful career in Lahore, where his parents and other members of the family were well-known, especially in sporting circles. There had never been anything romantic up to that time in the career of "Beaty of Baluchistan." There is, however, susbtantial reason to believe that when Kipling created "Kim," he took for his model a European boy, named B———, who was a familiar yet unusual figure in the streets of the Anarkali bazar. The market crossing, where the Zamzammah then stood, was one of his favourite haunts. Hatless and bare-footed, with all the cunning of a typical street Arab, this boy roamed about at will, and anything he did not know about bazar and serai life was not worth knowing. For some time, when he was about 13 or 14 years old, he was to be seen driving a *tikka gharri* owned by an Indian who had married one of his sisters. This boy's father was a clerk in one of the local Government offices, but was believed to have been a soldier in early life. After his death, his widow and children lived in the bazar near Kapurthala House where young B———reigned supreme over its youthful inhabitants. Readers of "Kim" will be able to judge for themselves how far these facts support the theory of the writer that Kipling took the B——— boy for his model.

Vanished Landmarks.

Mention has been made of an old Sikh barrack which stood on the site now occupied by the Government College and in which, after the annexation, the Civil Dispensary was located. There were in old Anarkali many similar barracks and bungalows which became available when the troops were moved to the new cantonments at Mian Mir. The bungalows, some of which still exist, were sold, under the orders of the Chief Commissioner, by Lieutenant Fagan, Engineer in charge of Government buildings in Lahore, to persons who made reasonable offers for them.

Old Barracks.

Many of the old barracks were, however, reserved for use as public buildings. Some of these stood in parallel lines on the area between the Anarkali bazar and the Municipal gardens (Gol Bagh). Two were utilised for the accommodation of the Boys' and Girls' High Schools. They occupied the ground on which the Senate Hall, the gift of His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur, now stands. Another was used until recently for the offices of the two branches of the Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads, and Irrigtion. This has been demolished to make room for the handsome building, still under construction, in which the Chemical Laboratory of the Punjab University will be fitted up. It was here that the mid-day gun was fired for many years previous to its removal, first to the Telegraph Office and later to its present position on the crest of the old brick-kiln in the Lawrence gardens. The only one of this group of old barracks which still exists in a recognizable form is that occupied by the Educational offices. The northern end was, however, transformed beyond recognition when converted into the University library. The offices of the Inspector-General of Prisons and of the Sanitary Commissioner were also accommodated for many years in this barrack.

Insanity and Learning.

Near by, on the site now occupied by the University Hall, stood a small barrack which had been converted in 1853 into a lunatic asylum. When no longer required for this purpose this building was made over in 1868, on the initiative of Mr. A. A. Roberts, C. B., Judicial Commissioner and first Commandant of the 1st Punjab Volunteer Rifles, to a managing committee, for use as an Institute to provide a reading-room, library and place of recreation for Government clerks and other persons of limited means. It served a useful purpose for many years, but was in rathe a precarious financial condition when, by the consent of the existing members, it was converted into a Club for the 1st Punjab Volunteers, but remained on the list of Government buildings. In 1903-04, when the University authorities were looking around for a site for a University Hall, they cast covetous eyes on the old lunatic asylum and apparently considered it the most suitable for their needs. Then followed a deal in which, as remarked at the time, those who negotiated on behalf of the Volunteers certainly showed no signs of lunacy. Suffice it to say that they succeeded in selling to the University for Rs. 20,000 a site and building which were actually owned by Government, receiving in addition, as a free

gift, the site on which their present Club stands. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Volunteers are deeply indebted to their staunch old friend, Sir Ganga Ram, for designing this building and also working out the detailed plans and estimates as "a labour of love."

More Vanished Landmarks.

Two more old barracks, similar to those already mentioned, were situated at the southern end of the road now known as the Lower Mall, which was in those early days the one and only Mall. They stood on the site now occupied by Mr. C. Bevan Petman's residence and the adjoining house, tenanted, at present, by a firm of timber merchants, and were known as "Mela Ram's Barracks," having been purchased by that enterprising capitalist. Until their demolition, they were let out in suites to Government clerks and other persons of small means. One of the suites was, for a time, used as a private school for girls.

Educational Institutions.

The Revd. C. Sloggett, who was at that time Chaplain of Lahore, opened a school for European and Eurasian children in the Fort in August 1858. The nominal roll shows that there were 44 children attending the school on the 16th of that month, 24 of whom were boys and 20 girls. The majority were the sons and daughters of soldiers. Three girls and one boy were orphans. Among the boys was "King Victory," and one wonders whether he proved worthy of his name and triumphed over the difficulties the future must have had in store for a fatherless lad in a strange land.

The Lahore High School for boys, which has been recently closed on its absorption by the Lawrence Military School at Ghora Gali in the Murree Hills, was established in 1862 and, as previously mentioned, was accommodated in one of the old barracks near the Anarkali bazar. It was moved thence to the house at the bend of the Lower Mall, near the "Pipals," as a temporary measure, pending completion of the new building which was being constructed for it adjoining the old Masonic Hall. This school building is at present used as a hostel for the students of the Law College. The masters employed in the Lahore High School in the early days were presumably the best obtainable, but some of them were of the "waster" class, and it was not until Mr. Henry Thompson was appointed Headmaster that the school was placed on a really satisfactory footing. A further improvement was noticeable when, for the first time.

it was decided to get a fully qualified Headmaster from one of the Universities at Home and the Rev. E. H. Gulliver, M. A., Cambridge (afterwards officiating Headmaster of Bishop Cotton School, Simla), was selected for the appointment. This important step was taken by the School Committee at the suggestion, it is believed, of the Chaplain, the Rev. J. R. Baldwin, whose unflagging energy resulted also in the establishment of a new school for the education of European girls who required tuition in advance of that provided in the existing Girls' High School which corresponded to the Boys' High School. The new institution did not last long, because, perhaps, the necessity and advantages of the higher education of women were not realised by the parents of those days.

Another institution which was reorganised if not actually established by Mr. Baldwin was the Orphanage for European and Eurasian boys and girls. It would be impossible to over-estimate the good work done by these two charitable institutions in the diocese of Lahore. The boys' orphanage was closed when the schools were transferred to Ghora Gali, but the girls' branch still exists and is combined, for purposes of tuition, with the Cathedral High School for Girls.

An Energetic Chaplain.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Mr. Baldwin's activities were not confined to the improvement of educational institutions (in which, by the way, he found time to take classes when necessary) but covered a wide field. It was during his chaplaincy that the accommodation in the old parish church (Anarkali's tomb) was enlarged, and the foundation stone of the present Cathedral was laid—an imposing ceremony at which the writer was present. Mr. Baldwin substituted a full sized organ for the old harmonium, and introduced a surpliced choir. which included boys from the High School, whom he had had trained. Mrs. Waters, the wife of the Agent of the Bengal Bank, devoted much time and patience to the training of the young choristers. The organ was transferred to the Cathedral in 1887. Mr. Baldwin also devoted much time to organising social functions, with the two-fold object of providing recreation for his parishioners and collecting funds for local charities. His fortnightly Penny Readings in the Lawrence Hall were greatly appreciated and always drew good houses.

The Rang Mahal School.

Another old educational institution is the well-known Rang Mahal School in the city. It was in October 1852 that the

Rev. C. W. Forman, of the American Mission, first applied to Government for the historic building known as the Rang Mahal, which was constructed in the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan and was originally used as a court-house by its owners. There is a note by the Deputy Commissioner in the file connected with the sale of the building to the Mission, to the effect that it had been used as a *thana*, or police station, but was no longer required for that purpose. In consideration of the philanthropic object for which the building was required, Mr. Forman's offer of Rs. 1,000 was accepted by the Board of Administration, although the estimated price was Rs. 4,000. From an economic point of view, as showing relative values prevailing at that period, it is interesting to note that the value of the old building materials was estimated at about five times the value of the land, the latter being only Rs. 627. The Rang Mahal School developed in course of time into the Forman Christian College.

The Government College.

It may not be generally known that the establishment of a Central College at Lahore was sanctioned by the Government of India as far back as 1856, and it was during that year that the newly appointed Director of Public Instruction entered into correspondence with the Dean of Carlisle (soon after appointed Bishop of London) and the Rev. G. E. L. Cotton, then Headmaster of Marlborough School, with a view to securing the services of two suitable graduates from Home for appointment as Principal and "Physical Tutor or Professor of Natural Philosophy" in the proposed college, on salaries of Rs. 600 and Rs. 400, respectively. Then, as now, the prospects offered failed to attract men possessing all the necessary qualifications, and Mr. Cotton met with no fewer than five refusals in his early endeavours to obtain really suitable candidates. Nevertheless, the Director considered it essential that the staff for the new college should be recruited at Home and suggested that the selection should be entrusted to a Board composed of the Rev. G. E. S. Cotton, Headmaster of Marlborough School, the Rev. A. P. Stanley, Canon of Canterbury, and Mr. T. Walround, Fellow of Balliol. The only conditions suggested by Mr. Arnold for the guidance of the Board were that the men selected should be graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin or Durham, and that both should be laymen. It was anticipated that a Professor of Mathematics might be procured in India, to complete the staff. The Financial Commissioner, however, was inclined to leave the Board unfettered discretion in making their selections. But when the proposals were laid before Mr. John Lawrence,

he pronounced them premature and remarked that the additional expenditure involved could not be justified for " a scheme for which the state of education in the country creates no present demand." He directed, therefore, that further consideration of the proposals should be postponed for at least three or four years. This decision was welcomed by the Director of Public Instruction, who remarked :—" I fully recognise the institution of the Central College at Lahore as an indispensable part of the Punjab educational scheme. It is too important a feature of that scheme ever to be lost sight of, and I shall be eager to submit its accomplishment for the sanction of Government as soon as I see a favourable opportunity of doing so. I would rather, however, wait till the educational growth of the Punjab were at a loss for want of a college than establish a college into which the few representatives of the educated class had to be collected." It was not till seven years later that the Government College at Lahore was established, with Dr. G. W. Leitner as its first Principal, as already mentioned on page 14. The college was opened on January 1, 1864, in Dhian Singh's Haveli, inside the Taxali Gate of the city (*vide* page 3). Those who desire to follow its progress from that date down to present times will find all the information they require in Mr. H. L. O. Garrett's interesting " History of the Government College."

Public Entertainments.

Mention has been made of the Penny Readings in the Lawrence Hall organised by the Chaplain in the early 'seventies. In those days, this was the only public building available for concerts or other entertainments, although the writer can remember a conjuring performance and magic lantern exhibition given in the north-east wing of the Museum (now the Tollinton Market) by a Professor Vaneck, whose visit to Lahore was quite an event. This was not many years after the Museum was built, in 1864. Touring theatrical companies were unknown, but Dav. Carson and his famous troupe of Christy Minstrels were regular and welcome visitors every cold season, and never failed to draw crowded audiences to their entertainments in the Lawrence Hall. Circuses of the good old-fashioned type, in which equestrian feats formed the chief feature of the programme, were also regular cold weather visitors, the Great Australian Circus being, perhaps, the best. Anything resembling the modern " variety " entertainment was quite unknown until the end of the 'sixties or beginning of the 'seventies, when a touring combination known as the Star Company included Lahore in their itinerary. They performed, of course,

in the Lawrence Hall and their programme included instrumental and vocal music, songs in character, dances, etc. This company and a Professor Williams shared with Dav. Carson the credit for the earliest endeavours to make a "brighter Lahore." Other early visitors were the famous party of dwarfs, General and Mrs. Tom Thumb, Miss Minnie Warren and Commodore Nutt, and a strong company of Japanese, the novelty of whose balancing and conjuring feats proved most attractive. In later years, Dav. Carson was succeeded by the well-known Hudson's Surprise Party which combined Christy Minstrel items with ballad singing and music-hall turns. By the time the Railway Theatre close to the Station yard had been built, not only Hudson's but theatrical companies such as the Crofton-Ferrel combine and others not so well-known, were glad to visit Lahore from time to time. Except for a small semi-private club which gave an occasional performance in the Roberts' Institute, there was nothing resembling an amateur dramatic club, but spasmodic efforts were made at long intervals to afford local talent an opportunity of showing itself.

One such occasion was during the Viceregal sojourn in March 1879 when a Lahore audience was introduced for the first time to the beauties of Gilbert and Sullivan's operas, the piece chosen being "H. M. S. Pinafore." The amateurs responsible for the production did not aspire to stage the whole opera, but limited themselves to selections which included some of the most popular choruses and solos. An old programme brings back to memory some of the most talented singers and actors of those days gone by, among them being Mrs. Bocquet, wife of the Agent of the Railway, who sang "Little Buttercup," and Colonel Medley, a future Agent, who represented the "Admiral." The late Mr. G. E. Coates sang the "Boatswain's" song. These selections were followed by two original pieces written for the occasion, one being described as a comedy, entitled "Our Indian Uncle," by Mr. W. Piercy, Assistant Accountant-General, who played the name part; and the other a comic sketch by Mr. Jabez Lightfoot, called "Old Brown's Daughter, or Which shall I choose ?" In this, too, the author played a leading part. In later years, Mr. Lightfoot's talents as a comedian won much appreciation in Simla, Madras and other stations. Another well-known amateur who took part in Mr. Piercy's comedy was Mr. Philip Morton, who is still in Lahore and may recall the events of the evening if he reads these lines. His Excellency Lord Lytton and the Viceregal staff, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the Raja of Faridkot and other distinguished personages were present at this performance, the proceeds of which were devoted to decorating the

new Railway Theatre in the Station yard, near the old level crossing.

Mr. Piercy was also the organiser of a "Literary and Musical Christian Association" which, however, did not long survive his transfer from Lahore.

Another noteworthy entertainment was the rendering in the Lawrence Hall of selections from the "Messiah" by a choir of amateurs, organised and trained by Mr. Melville, the then Financial Commissioner. One of the solos was sung by our future Lieutenant-Governor, Sir (then Mr.) Mackworth Young.

One incident, though trifling, may be considered sufficiently amusing to find a place in these recollections. About 45 years ago, a "strong man" who described himself as "The Great Spanish Mushroom," gave a performance in the Lawrence Hall. One of his feats of strength consisted of hanging by his toes from a trapeze and firing off a small cannon which was suspended from cords held in his hands. When the explosion came, every light was extinguished, numerous panes of glass were shattered, and large pieces of stucco moulding fell from the roof. The rapidity with which the audience made their way out of the only exit was astonishing and the comments of the *Civil and Military Gazette* reporter, who had been dozing comfortably in the front row, were unfit for publication. A sporting offer made by the "Mushroom" to fire off a bigger piece of ordnance was promptly vetoed by the District Superintendent of Police, who was among the audience.

Under the head of "Public Entertainments," mention may be made of an exhibition billiard match played in the Lawrence Hall during the Christmas Week of 1878 between the great John Roberts and another professional, Shorter, who were then touring India. The table was lent by the Nawab of Bahawalpur. The Champion conceded 175 points out of 750 and won by 103.

Our Municipality.

The controversy now (June 1923) raging in connection with the vexed question of communal representation in the local Municipal Committee, which has driven the representatives of the aggrieved classes to commit *harikari*, lends peculiar interest to certain details of municipal administration 61 years ago, gleaned from old documents on record in the Punjab Civil Secretariat. The constitution of the Municipal Committee sanctioned for Lahore was published in Notification No. 704, dated April 2,

1862, and provided for the annual election of 13 members, "by delegates or *panchayats* of trades or callings," the communal representation being fixed at seven Hindus, five Mohamadans and one Sikh. The first Committee elected under this constitution began work on May 1, 1862, and consisted of the following members, some of whom belonged to the local aristocracy while others were men who had made their mark as "captains of industry." To the latter category belonged Mian Muhammad Sultan, the wealthy contractor, who built the European barracks, etc., at Mian Mir, and presented to the citizens of Lahore the famous serai near the railway station which bears his name:—

Members—(1) Ajudhia Pershad, (2) Nawab Ali Raza Khan, (3) Lala Rattan Chand, (4) Diwan Shankar Nath, (5) Fakir Shams-ud-Din, (6) Sardar Isri Singh, (7) Bakhshi Kanhya Lal, (8) Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, (9) Lala Madi Shah, (10) Lala Harjas Rai, (11) Mian Muhammad Sultan, (12) Mian Gama, (13) Lala Buta Shah.

The first annual report of this Committee was submitted to Government in the vernacular. It showed that 48 meetings had been held during the year, and that the attendance of members had been satisfactory. Lala Rattan Chand and Diwan Shankar Nath tied for first place with an attendance of 47 meetings each. Endeavours made to lease out the *chungi* or town tax, now known as octroi, having proved unsuccessful, the Committee kept its administration under direct management. The collections for the first year amounted to Rs. 91,393. A sum of Rs. 8,404 was spent on special conservancy staff engaged to combat one of the cholera epidemics so common in those days. The Committee seemed fully to realise their responsibilities in the matter of sanitation and public improvements, for their report shows that a loan of Rs. 40,000 was raised by public subscription for the excavation of a water-course round the city, and that Rs. 4,387 were expended on filling up the city ditch and converting part of it into a garden. An expenditure of Rs. 18,000 was also incurred on the construction of a circular drain from the Lohari to the Tazali Gate, discharging into the Chota Ravi; and the Delhi and Lohari Gates were demolished and reconstructed, in order to make them wider. This may be pronounced a very satisfactory record indeed of "something attempted, something done," and it suggests the thought that the Lahore Municipal Committee was more vigorous and efficient in its infancy than it is in its maturity. Our City Grandfathers believed in deeds, while their successors believe in words. This opportunity may be taken to correct a mistake that has

been made on some occasions and in some quarters in describing the appointment last year (1922) of a non-official President as the first experiment of its kind in the history of the Lahore Municipality. As a matter of fact, the experiment was tried many years ago, when Nawab Sir Nawazish Ali Khan, Kazilbash, and General Sam Black, ex-Military Secretary to the Punjab Government and first Governor of the Aitchison Chiefs' College, were in turn occupants of the Presidential chair.

Previous to the opening of the present Town Hall by H. R. H. Prince Albert Victor on February 3, 1890, the Municipal office was located in a bungalow outside the Bhati Gate of the City, near the Police *chauki*.

Government House.

It is common knowledge that Government House is built round the tomb of Muhammad Kasim Khan, a cousin of the Emperor Akbar. This nobleman was a great patron of wrestlers and his tomb was, therefore, known as the "Gumbaz Kushtiwala." During Sikh times, it was converted into a private residence by Jemadar Khushal Singh, uncle of Raja Teja Singh, and it is referred to as "Khushal Singh's house" in the correspondence connected with its acquisition for use as a Residency. A dip into that old correspondence shows that the property was acquired by giving Raja Teja Singh other houses in exchange, and that the work of adaptation and reconstruction was in progress from March 1851 to December 1852. The plans and estimates were prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, then Civil Engineer of the Punjab, and the work was executed by Lieutenant Fagan, who was in charge of public works in Lahore, under the personal supervision of Sir Henry Lawrence, President of the Board of Administration. The exact cost of the work was Rs. 16,607-10-1, out of which Rs. 2,500 were paid to "the tenant in possession." The whole cost was met by the Government of India. It is on record that considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining beams of proper dimensions for some of the roofs and also that, while the work was in progress, much damage was caused to the outbuildings by the "heavy rains occurring simultaneously with inundation from the plain of Mian Mir." The "plastering and masonry of the main building" were also damaged. An examination of the detailed reports showing progress of the work reveals the fact that in those early days a European overseer could be obtained for Rs. 40 per mensem; a Munshi for Rs. 12; head masons and carpenters for Rs. 16, while ordinary masons were paid from

4 to 6 annas a day. When the work of conversion and adaptation was completed, early in 1853, the old Residency, now the Punjab Civil Secretariat, was made available for the accommodation of the Board's offices. Before its occupation by the head of the local Government, Khushal Singh's house was, immediately after the annexation, occupied by the Deputy Commissioner, Major Macgregor. At one time, there were in the vicinity of the tomb barracks for the troops commanded by Jemadar Khushal Singh, but the tomb itself is all that now remains of the original buildings.

When Lieutenant Maclagan made the following entry in his diary on Friday, March 6, 1846, while on duty with the British garrison located in Lahore after the Sikh war, little could he foresee that he was writing about a building destined to be the future residence of his son, the first Governor of the Punjab :—

"Started early with G. Hutchinson and Glover to see some of the sights in the neighbourhood of Lahore. We picked up T. C. B. at his own camp and went first by the cantonment of Kooshal Singh and his house, south of Lahore, and through the City, which, as much as we saw of it, is extremely filthy, the streets being one continued gutter, and that of the dirtiest."

The Mall.

It is of interest to recall that the beautiful Mall of which we are so justly proud and which is admittedly one of the finest public roads in India, was first aligned in 1851 by Lieut.-Colonel Napier, the Civil Engineer, who described it as "a direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir." He submitted alternative estimates for its construction, one for Rs. 12,544 and the other for Rs. 10,428. The former was for *kankar* throughout, the latter for an under layer of bricks with a *kankar* surface. Colonel Napier thought that the cheaper design would be sufficiently durable, but, in transmitting both estimates to the Government of India, the Board of Administration remarked that they thought that as this road would be "the great thoroughfare not only with Anarkali but also with the city," it would be more economical in the long run to sanction the higher estimate. The Government of India, however, accepted Colonel Napier's opinion and sanctioned, in April, 1851, the lower estimate. No noticeable alteration either in alignment or width seems to have been made till a comparatively recent date when, while Sir Ganga Ram was Executive Engineer in charge of the Lahore Provincial Division, extensive improvements were

carried out in the sections east of the Post Office crossing. Later still the whole length of the Mall was remodelled on its present lines under the personal supervision of the late Mr. DuCane Smythe, Chief Engineer, who, in turn, was supervised by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Rivaz. It was nothing unusual to meet, on a winter's morning, these two high officials in earnest consultation by the roadside. On one occasion the writer saw the Chief Engineer kneeling on the ground with a measuring tape in his hands, while on another the Lieutenant-Governor, who never allowed the felling of a tree if it could possibly be avoided, was personally superintending the marking of certain roadside trees which had to come down when the Mall was being realigned and widened opposite the Mayo School of Art.

It is worth noting that the estimate submitted by Colonel Napier on March 13, 1851, was sanctioned by the Government of India in the following April. Such indecent haste would be considered unpardonable in these days of railways, telegraphs, telephones and other up-to-date means of expediting work.

The Lower Mall.

It is doubtful whether there is anything on record to show when the " direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir " was first officially described as the Upper Mall, but it was shown as Lawrence Road in maps previous to 1876. Originally there was the one and only Mall, now known as the Lower Mall, extending from the Deputy Commissioner's court to the Multan Road junction. It is very probable that the new nomenclature came into general use about the time that the portion of the Civil Station between Government House and Anarkali was christened Donald Town, in commemoration of Sir Donald McLeod's Lieutenant-Governorship. One seldom, if ever, hears of Donald Town in these days, but Anarkali and Naulakha, the two original sub-divisions, are still well-defined areas. The social life of Old Lahore centred round the now deserted Lower Mall in days not too far distant, when the Police Band played regularly twice a week in the Gol Bagh, then known as the Bandstand Gardens, and the beauty and fashion of the station gathered there to exchange gossip and listen to the music. The bandstand and the masonry promenade are all that now remain as indications of departed glories.

The Mall in 1875.

Having given some details of the evolution of the famous Lahore Mall, from its original alignment and construction in 1851, when it was described as " the direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir," to its present condition, it may be of interest to paint, if possible, a word picture of what this important road was like about 50 years ago. Coming from the direction of Mian Mir, nothing was to be seen after crossing the canal but barren plains on both sides of the road, with the exception of an old double-storeyed bungalow on the left, now owned by H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala. This was occupied for some years by the Anglican Bishop of Lahore and was known as Bishopsbourne. Further on, on the same side of the road, were the Lawrence Gardens and the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls, with Government House on the opposite side. By the way, there is a curious mistake in Lieutenant-Colonel Newell's " Lahore," on page 41, where he describes the Lawrence Hall as a " handsome *red brick* building."

Another mistake which might be corrected in a future edition of that pamphlet is the statement on page 60 that when Anarkali's tomb " was converted into a Christian church. . . . the sarcophagus was transferred to the east recess where it stands on a small dais." As a matter of fact, it was placed in this position, taking the place of the communion table, when the building was no longer required for use as the parish church. In the interval between the consecration of the tomb as a place of Christian worship and its conversion into a record room for Secretariat files, the sarcophagus was stored in one of the turret chambers (*vide* page 5).

However, let us resume our ramble down the Mall as it was in 1875. Having passed Government House, we came to Arundel, occupied for several years by Mr. R. Burney, I.C.S., and by a succession of many other officials and non-officials well known in Lahore society. There is a small plot of land between Kashmir Road and the Arundel gateway which is still, I think, sometimes spoken of as " Burney's garden." Next we came to the old Punjab Club, a hideous barrack-like structure, with its racket-court at the back, which explains why Egerton Road was known in years gone by as Racket Court Road. Nedou's Hotel now stands on this site. There were no buildings on the opposite side of the road, where the new Masonic Lodge was built in 1916. Nor were there any buildings on the left, between Charing Cross and the Hall Road crossing, except the one of which Mr. Bremner's photographic studio is an annexé. On the opposite side of this section of road

there were only three bungalows, the one at present occupied by the office of the Director of Industries, Mr. Dav. Johnston's estate, "Beau Parc," and the building now owned by the Ford Motor Company, in which Mr. Rudyard Kipling served his apprenticeship as a journalist on the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. This building was also the office of the Military Secretary to the Punjab Government in the early 'eighties. It may be mentioned that, though not actually on the Mall frontage, the building now known as the Sunnyview Hotel was built by a former Postmaster of Lahore, Mr. George, as a private residence. Moving along the section between the Hall Road crossing and the Lawrence statue, the only building which met the eye on the right was the one occupied for so many years by the late Mr. Jas. Davison's carriage shops, while on the left were two old bungalows one of which, known in recent years as "The Exchange," has now been demolished to make room for Sir Ganga Ram's block of business premises. The other was the building occupied for many years by Messrs. Phelps Co., which was demolished a couple of years ago to provide a site for the show-rooms and workshops of the Bombay Cycle and Motor Agency. A conspicuous feature in the neighbourhood where the Lawrence statue now stands was a square tower-like building of old Punjabi bricks which had been the home for many years of an ex-officer of the British army who, having been cashiered during the Sikh wars, obtained employment as a clerk in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, where he worked to the day of his death. This old gentleman seemed to have neither a friend nor a relative in India, and lived in semi-oriental fashion, with a strictly controlled zenana.

The only building on the plain now occupied by the High Court was the shrine of Shah Chiragh, in which the Accountant-General's office was housed for many long years, until its removal to its present quarters. It appears, however, from some very old records that, before its occupation by the Accountant-General's office, this shrine was the residence of the "Principal Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner."

On the opposite side of the road, too, there was only one solitary building, which still exists and was in those days occupied by Messrs. Richardson & Co., the predecessors of Messrs. Plomer & Co. and at that time the only chemists in Lahore. After passing Shah Chiragh, there were no buildings on either side of the road until we reached the Ice Factory. The areas now occupied by the General Post Office and the Alliance Bank on the left, and on the right by the Telegraph Office, Imperial Bank, Forman

Christian College, Convent, Mool Chand's shop and the Y. M. C. A. Buildings, were open spaces. The writer remembers an occasion when he was taken for an involuntary ride across the present site of the Telegraph Office and Mool Chand's Buildings by a Kabuli pony, unused to wheeled traffic, who took fright at a passing dog-cart. Most of this area was then under cultivation.

If the reader can follow this rambling description, he or she may be able to conjure up a more or less accurate idea of what the Upper Mall was like before the construction of the numerous imposing buildings, private and public, with which we are now so familiar. Some of these, for example, the Masonic Hall, Shah Din Buildings, Mela Ram's Buildings, the Post and Telegraph Offices and the High Court, have filled up open spaces, while others have replaced demolished bungalows, for instance, Nedou's and Stiffle's hotels, the *Civil and Military Gazette* offices, the huge business premises known as Salim Buildings and the show-room and workshop of the Bombay Cycle and Motor Agency, to say nothing of the most recent contributions made by Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Ganga Ram to the architectural improvement of our Mall.

Before leaving the Upper Mall, it may be of interest to note that the section between the Anarkali bazar and the Gol Bagh was at one time known as Exhibition Road, in commemoration of the Punjab Exhibition held in 1864 in the building now used as the Municipal (Tollinton) Market.

Other Roads.

This description of the two Malls and the proposals now under consideration by the municipality for regulating building operations on the various public roads in the civil station, suggest that it might be of interest to note briefly what the names of some of the most important of those roads indicate. Thus, for example, it may not be generally known that Abbott Road is named after a famous frontier administrator of early times, Sir James Abbott, whose memory is also commemorated by the name given to the capital of the Hazara district; Chamberlain and Nicholson Roads serve to remind us of the two great soldiers who did so much to save India in the dark days of the Mutiny; Beadon, Brandreth, Cooper, Cust, Lake, Hall and Nisbet Roads perpetuate the reigns of former Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners of Lahore, some of whom, notably Mr. Cooper and Colonel Parry Nisbet, did much to develop and improve the station; Durand, Davies, McLeod, Egerton and Montgomery Roads are named after former Lieutenant-Governors; Maclagan Road after Major-General Maclagan, father of our present Governor, for many years a familiar and

popular figure in Lahore society when he was Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department; Temple Road after Sir Richard Temple, Bart., an exceptionally brilliant Punjab Cvilian who rose to be Governor of Bombay; Thornton Road after another distinguished Punjab Civilian who was for many years Secretary to Government; Roberts Road after Mr. A. A. Roberts, Judicial Commissioner, who raised the 1st Punjab Volunteer Corps and was its first Commandant; Edwardes Road after the famous soldier and administrator, Sir Herbert Edwardes; Napier Road after the first Civil Engineer of the Punjab, Colonel R. Napier; Lawrence, Mayo and Lytton Roads are named after former Governors-General and Viceroys. For the information of those who may wonder why so obscure and unsavoury a thoroughfare as Lytton Road was selected for this distinction, it may be explained that the name was bestowed at the time of Lord Lytton's stay in Lahore during the Afghan War, when His Excellency occupied Bahawalpur House. To quote from a newsletter to the *Dehli Gazette*, of which journal the writer was then the local representative :— "This is one of the dustiest of our roads, but is one that leads direct to Bahawalpur House, past the village of Mozang. Now it was never intended that the Viceroy should travel by this road and, consequently, it never underwent the flooding process. The Fates, however, willed that His Excellency should not leave Lahore without inhaling some of its dust and they led his brilliant *cortege* on to this municipality-forsaken road. In an instant, the whole train disappeared in clouds of dust and an eye-witness tells me that the only sounds heard from the midst of the impenetrable dust-cloud were the shouts of consternation which burst from His Excellency's escort at finding themselves off the track and astray on an unwatered road. That very day our humorous Deputy Commissioner (Major A. Harcourt) labeled the road with His Excellency's name."

The Army Headquarters and other offices of the Government of India spent the winter of 1878-79 under canvas on the maidan now known as the University playing fields. The following description of this camp is also taken from an article contributed to the *Dehli Gazette* and may prove of interest in the years to come :—

"On one side of the Anarkali Mall are the tents of the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General's offices, togethe- with those in which their clerks are accommodated; and on the other, almost covering the large triangle, the sides of which are the aforesaid Mall and the Multan Road, is the Commander in-Chief's suite of tents and those of his staff. This latter half of the camp consists of fine, large tents, pitched with military precision

and neatness, well lighted and well watered. At the end of the camp, nearest the Chauburji, are erected the Chief's quarters, in front of which floats the Union Jack."

The Lawrence Statue.

In view of the more than local interest aroused by the agitation against the Lawrence statue on the Lahore Mall, it may be worth while to recall the circumstances connected with the incident commemorated by the sculptor in designing the statue and placing on its base the inscription, "Will you be governed by the pen or the sword?" Also, to trace the Congress agitation from its genesis to the present stage, more especially as the unfortunate delay in dealing with the case promises to enshroud the earlier stages of the controversy in the mists of antiquity. In any case, readers who may have forgotten details published from time to time, may be glad to have their memories refreshed and, at the same time, to learn what the present situation is.

It was in 1848, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Kangra hill chiefs, that Mr. Robert Cust, Deputy Commissioner of that district, acting under the orders of John Lawrence, then in charge of the recently acquired Trans-Sutlej territory, issued his famous proclamation which contained the following passage:—

"I have ruled this district three years by the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, I will rule it by the sword."

In reporting how this proclamation was promulgated, Mr. Cust explained that the headmen of the villages in the disaffected parts of the district were summoned "to meet us at different points of our hasty march to grapple with the insurgents. At each halting place they were assembled in scores, and when a sword and a pen were placed before them to select the instrument by which they wished to be ruled, the pen was grasped with enthusiasm."

Here we have a full account of the incident in Mr. Cust's own words, and it would appear from his reference to the policy pursued by him during his Deputy Commissionership that, as a matter of fact, it was Mr. Cust, not John Lawrence, who was the real author of the pen and sword phrase. Mr. Cust merely illustrated his own policy, past and future, by converting it into a simple object lesson to suit the occasion when addressing the assembled villagers. The incident is dealt with in Chapter III of Sir Charles Aitchison's Life of Lord Lawrence ("Rulers of India" series), but is not mentioned in the biographies by Bosworth-Smith, Sir Richard Temple or Captain L. J. Trotter.

However, the well-known phrase was inscribed on the base of the statue by the sculptor, Sir Edgar Boehm, more, perhaps, as indicating the general policy adopted by Lawrence for maintaining law and order in those troublous times, than as an actual utterance of that great man. The statue was presented to the Lahore Municipality by the sculptor, and the unveiling ceremony was performed by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison, on March 30, 1887.

Thus, then, the statue had been occupying its present site for nearly 25 years before any one seems to have thought of taking objection to it. About 1911 a vague proposal was put forward in the local municipality that the statue should be removed to another site. The proposal was not seriously pressed, and the Deputy Commissioner (the late Mr. R. Humphries) merely recorded that the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Louis Dane) had agreed to leave the statue where it was. Agitation on the subject did not really start until nine years later when one of the Congress party raised the question in a speech at a provincial conference at Rohtak in the autumn of 1920. The cue was taken up in the Municipal Committee, and one of the members determined to put it on record that the commemoration by the sculptor of a historical incident that occurred more than 70 years ago was a standing insult to the "national" feelings of the residents of Lahore in particular and of India in general. Therefore, at a General Meeting of the Municipal Committee held on November 13, 1920, this member moved a resolution for the defacement of the "insulting" inscription. It would be idle to deny that, thanks to the energy of the Congress party, the agitation grew apace and a request that was at one time limited to the defacement of the inscription was raised to a demand for removal of the statue, coupled in some quarters with the condition that its re-erection anywhere in India should be prohibited.

On October 8, 1921, the General Committee passed a resolution to the effect that (1) the statue should be removed; (2) that, as a temporary arrangement, it should be removed to the Town Hall buildings for storage; and (3) that a sub-committee should be appointed to consider "the final disposal of the statue." The first two parts of this resolution were promptly suspended by the Commissioner, who referred the matter to Government for orders. The Government then raised the question as to whether the Committee had the right to interfere with "trust" property, and that body appointed a special sub-committee to report on this and other points dealt with in the Government letter. Thi sub-committee maintained that the statue was an "out and out

gift" to the Municipality; that it was not held "in trust;" that this view was supported by their legal adviser and that, therefore, the Committee were "quite within their rights in deciding to remove the statue." In conclusion, they protested against the posting of a police guard, and at the same time repudiated any intention "in exercising its right of ownership to injure the susceptibilities of any class of people." On July 10, 1922, the General Committee passed a resolution embodying the opinions expressed by the special sub-committee and the result was communicated to Government.

It may be true, as alleged, that some Indians considered the statue and its inscription objectionable long before the matter was brought so prominently before the public, but it is none the less true that whatever dissatisfaction may have existed in the past, it was confined to an infinitesimal minority. It must also be admitted that among the advocates for complete removal are to be found certain leading representatives of the moderate school, some of whom have been nominated by Government as members of the Committee. It seems hopeless, therefore, to convince the majority of the Committee by reasoning and arguments that the statue is merely a record of an old historical incident; that it does not, and never did, convey anything intended to be an insult to the Indian nation; and that the pen and the sword are the ordinary symbols of civilised governments the wide world over. If India were to attain *swaraj* to-morrow and every European were to leave her shores, even then the Indian rulers responsible for the government of the country would have to make it known that if any of the turbulent or backward elements included in the Indian nation were to defy the laws written with the pen, the sword would eventually be used to enforce their observance, in the interests of peace and order. The most pacific and saintly of rulers would still have to offer the people the choice of one or the other means of government.

A suggestion was next made to Government that a new statue of unobjectionable design should be substituted for Sir Edgar Boehm's gift, and that two-thirds of the cost should be met by Government and one-third by the Municipality, but this suggestion having been rejected by Government, the following resolution was passed by the Committee on October 27, 1923 :—

"In view of Government's refusal to share the expenditure of a new statue of Lord Lawrence, and in view of the financial stringency in the Municipality, resolved that the proposal to substitute a new statue in place of the old one be dropped and that Government be requested to take over the statue."

This offer was accepted in due course by the Government and the Committee was informed that the statue would in future be maintained by Government. That is how the matter stands at present.

Growth of the Station.

The writer can recall the days when many of the roads mentioned on pages 34 and 35 either did not exist or had no residential bungalows on them. For example, as recently as the late 'nineties, there was not a single house on Davies Road, now one of the best and most popular residential quarters, with the large and well laid out Railway Colony in Mayo Gardens immediately behind. The Aitchison Chiefs' College bungalows were, for some considerable time, the only houses on this road. Similarly, it was not till some time in the 'seventies that the first houses on Lake and Ferozepore roads were constructed by Mr. R. L. Davis, for many years Assistant Secretary to Government, who also built a couple of small bungalows on Mozang Road opposite the double-storeyed house owned by the late Mr. Justice Shah Din, which was built by another Assistant Secretary to Government, Mr. R. H. Haviland. This double-storeyed bungalow was used as a chummery in the early 'seventies, two of its occupants being our late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Louis Dane, and his elder brother, Sir Richard.

One of the houses built by Mr. Davis on Ferozepore Road is now occupied by the Church of England Zenana Mission, and another, on the opposite side of the road, is included in Nawab Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan's estate. Previous to the construction of these two houses, the large bungalow, known as The Prairie, at the junction of Ferozepore and Jail Roads, the property of Mr. Haviland, was the only European residence in this locality. Its nearest neighbour was Bahawalpur House on the west. Still further west was the large estate now known as Poonch House, near the Chauburji, on the Multan Road. It is mentioned in Sayad Muhammad Latif's "Lahore" that this house was built by Sir John Lawrence in 1848, but the writer was told by the late Mrs. Higgins, who at the time of her death, two years ago, was by far the oldest inhabitant of Lahore, that she and her husbanp owned this house, and occupied it before it was acquired as a residence for the Chief Commissioner. In later years it was owned by Mr. Boulnois, first Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, and later still by Sir Meredyth Plowden, Chief Judge of that Court, who lived in it until his retirement. It was then known as the Old Park.

Lawrence Road.

Mr. T. Evans, of the Punjab Police, who was foully murdered while on a business visit to Quetta, and Mr. J. A. Robinson, for many years Treasury Officer at Lahore, may be described as the pioneers of building operations on the section of Lawrence Road from the Ferozepore Road crossing to Race Course Road. The former built the house now owned by Malik Feroz Khan, Nun, and the latter built the group of fine bungalows known as The Peak, Waverley, etc. Until Mr. Robinson built these, the big, double-storeyed old bungalow known as The Park, was the only one on the section of Lawrence Road between the Rivaz Gate and Race Course Road. It was occupied in the distant past by Mr. Justice Lindsay, one of the first Judges of the Chief Court, and in more recent times by the late Mr. Alexander Anderson, Financial Commissioner, who was occupying it at the time of his death, and by Sir Hector Dennys Inspector-General of Police.

Some Interesting Old Houses.

At the northern end of Multan Road, opposite to the old Boys' High School, there is another old house, now occupied by the Sanatan Dharam educational institutions, which was the residence of a long succession of high and distinguished officials, among whom may be mentioned Colonel Ralph Young, Commissioner, Mr. C. H. Spitta, Barrister-at-Law, Mr. Stogdon, Sir Joseph Frizelle, Sir Frederick Robertson, all Judges of the Chief Court, and last of all by Sir Alexander Diack, Financial Commissioner. Close by, where a branch road joins the Lower Mall, is Jhind House, owned and occupied for many years by Mr. A. Ludlam, Assistant Secretary to the Financial Commissioner and uncle of Colonel Sir Henry Stanyon.

Further on we come to The Pipals, known among the Indian population as "Pincher-sahib-ki-kothi," being for many years the residence of the late Mr. H. C. Fanshawe, while that distinguished Punjab Civilian was Secretary to Government. "Pincher" was the nearest that illiterate Indians could get to the pronunciation of Mr. Fanshawe's name, so he became known even among his European colleagues as "Pincher Sahib." Other well-known officials occupied the house from time to time, among them being Mr. H. Maude and Sir Alfred Kensington both, Judges of the Chief Court, His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan, when he was Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. G. R. Elsmie ("Lachhmi Sahib") and his son-in-law, Sir Michael Fenton, both in their turn Financial Commissioners. After it was vacated by

Sir Michael, the house was taken by Government, as a residence for officers of the Education Department. It is doubtful, however, whether there are any of the older residents of Lahore who remember that before The Pipals became a fashionable private residence, it was occupied by Messrs. Richardson and Co., Chemists, the predecessors of Messrs. Plomer and Co. But, alas, the glory is fast departing from this part of the station, and European firms and distinguished officials are retreating eastwards before the advance of education, in the shape of schools, colleges and students' hostels.

Old Telegraph Office.

Prior to 1881, when the present building at the junction of the Mall and McLeod Road was completed, the Telegraph Office was accommodated in an old bungalow, behind The Pipals, in the vicinity of Anarkali's tomb. Afterwards, this bungalow was utilised as an office for the Settlement Commissioner and Director of Land Records, and is now occupied by the Director of Agriculture's office.

Government Press.

Near it are the fine new buildings to which the Government Press was removed a few years ago when the old building near the Veterinary College was abandoned. Previous to that again, the Government Press was accommodated in the old barrack between the Financial Commissioner's and Commissioner's offices, in which the Secretariat Library is now hidden away.

Court Street.

Before leaving this neighbourhood, it may be explained, for the information of future generations, that Court Street, which runs parallel to the Lower Mall, was so named because it terminated, at its southern end, in the compound of the Chief Court, before that tribunal was transferred to its present building on the Upper Mall. The premises vacated by the Chief Court were converted into the Financial Commissioner's office and court, and the building in which the latter had up to that time been accommodated was made over to the Inspector-General of Police. Court Street was often spoken of as "Sharks' Lane," in sarcastic reference to the fact that it was inhabited at that time by several members of the local bar, including the late Mr. J. R. E. Goulsbury, affectionately known among his numerous friends as "Sir Gold." This was before he moved to Fane Road, which

became known as the new "Sharks' Lane" or "Thieves' Alley" after the transfer of the Chief Court to the building on the Mall, which was completed in 1889. The house at the northern end was for some years the residence of the Deputy Commissioner, being so very conveniently close to his Kacheri; and, as casually mentioned in a previous article, two of the bungalows in this Street were occupied by the *Civil and Military Gazette* Press and offices. This was in the very early 'eighties, when the late Sir David Masson was Managing Proprietor. Nabha House was originally the property of a well-known old resident, Mr. Jones, and the house now occupied by Lala Lajpat Rai was the residence for many years of another well-known member of Lahore society, Mr. E. W. Trotter, Assistant Secretary to Government, afterwards Inspector-General of Registration and Superintendent of Stamps, a most efficient and enthusiastic volunteer officer who did very valuable work in the days when paid Adjutants were unknown. Most of the old bungalows in Court Street, which were originally officers' quarters when Anarkali was the cantonment, have been demolished to make room for the Arya Samaj and other educational institutions. The last of the European residents left this Street five or six years ago.

The General Post Office.

On the site now occupied by the Public Works Secretariat stood an old barrack-like building constructed in 1849, which was used as the General Post Office until the present handsome building was completed about 20 years ago, and adjacent to it was the Postmaster's house, a large bungalow situated in an extensive compound. Both these buildings and also a small cottage opposite the Public Library, known as Lackland and used for some years as the headquarters office and armoury of the 1st Punjab Volunteers, were demolished to accommodate the new Secretariat building which, from certain points of view, is as ugly as the old barrack it has replaced.

It is interesting to learn from a book of reference now out of print that as recently as 1876 packages were received at the Lahore General Post Office for despatch by the Government Bullock Train to 24 stations, including Ferozepore, Bahawalpur, Roorkee, Sialkot, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Peshawar.

The Old Station Library.

Where the Museum and Mayo School of Art now stand there were the remains of the garden which in olden days surrounded

the building known as Wazir Khan's *baradari*, now occupied by the Public Library. The paths of this old garden, which the writer often had occasion to traverse, were bordered with brick on edge, laid in lime, and were on the whole in an excellent state of preservation when the site was cleared to make room for the Museum. The *baradari* itself, built in the time of the Emperor Shah Jehan by the same courtier who founded the famous mosque in the city, which bears his name, has played many parts. After the annexation of the Punjab, it was used first for military purposes, then as a Settlement office, next as a Telegraph office and, temporarily, as a museum. The writer's first recollection of it is as the Anarkali Book Club for the European residents. It contained a fairly good collection of books and magazines which used to be circulated to the members. When this library was transferred to the Lawrence Hall and became part of the Lahore and Mian Mir Institute, now known as the Gymkhana, the *baradari* was made available for the present Public Library.

Old Bank Buildings.

It has already been mentioned that the old Bank of Bengal was situated on the site now occupied by the Veterinary College. Another old bank building is that now occupied by the National Bank of India, known to old residents as the home for many long years of the Agra Bank, from the days when Mr. Bailey, Hector Gunn, Cheetham, Quanborough and others were its Agents, to the time when it closed its doors for the second and last time. Before its removal to the present site on the Upper Mall, the Alliance Bank of Simla had its offices on the Lower Mall, in the third house from the northern end. The late Sir Arthur Ker was one of its first local representatives in those days, in the early 'eighties.

Buddhu-ka-Awa.

Even in these days of frequent transfers, there must be many residents of Lahore who remember the familiar landmark on the right of the road from the Railway Station to Shalimar, known as Buddhu-ka-awa (Buddhu's brick-kiln) which has been cut away and levelled in recent years to provide more accommodation for the ever-increasing requirements of the North-Western Railway Workshops and Stores. By far the largest of the old kilns which are so common a feature of Lahore and its environs, it was perhaps the only one with a legend attached to it. We learn from Sayad Muhammad Latif's "Lahore" that this kiln was one of many constructed by Saddhu, who seems to have been the "royal potter by appointment," under the orders of the Emperor Jehangir

to provide bricks for the "royal edifices as well as the places of *Omerahs* at Lahore, the principal of these being the palace of Abul Hassan (Asaf Jah), brother of Nur Jehan, which cost 22 lakhs of rupees." This particular kiln was named after Buddhu, the son of the "royal potter." The legend runs that on a cold wet day, a *fakir*, named Abdul Haq, a disciple of Mian Mir, the saint who gave his name to the site of our local cantonments, came to the kiln to warm himself, but was driven away by Buddhu's workmen. This provoked the curse of the *fakir*, with the result that the kiln remained unserviceable ever after, notwithstanding the owner's penitence and prayers for forgiveness. It is doubtful, however, whether even the oldest resident of Lahore remembers the beautiful summer-house that once crowned the summit of the old kiln, and few perhaps know that it ever existed. Built by Avitabile, the French adventurer who was a General in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army, no traces of it were left after it was demolished in 1850 to provide bricks for the construction of barracks for European troops at Mian Mir when that cantonment was being built. The suggestion for this act of vandalism emanated from the engineer officer in charge of the works at Mian Mir, but the responsibility for sanctioning it rests with the local Government of the day. It may be urged, however, in extenuation, that bricks were unobtainable in sufficient quantities and that the necessity of providing shelter for the troops was of paramount importance, It is, indeed, fortunate that the suggestion made by the engineer was not accepted in its entirety, for it included the demolition of old tombs and mosques, some of which are now of considerable historical and antiquarian interest. The summer-house, or *baradari*, on Buddhu-ka-awa was apparently a structure of considerable dimensions. Writing in connection with the proposed demolition, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore reported that it "would doubtless afford an abundant supply of bricks, not so much the building itself as the massive walls and buttresses which support the site on which it is constructed." He added that he had some time previously placed the *baradari* at the disposal of the Civil Engineer of the Punjab, to provide accommodation for his assistants, but that it had not been occupied by any of them because "it was not at all well calculated for such a purpose. The steep ascent to it renders it difficult of access." Sayad Muhammad Latif also tells us that it was at Buddhu-ka-awa that "Maharaja Sher Singh and Raja Hira Singh, each in his turn, collected the Khalsa troops to lay siege to Lahore." It may be added, however, that these were not the only occasions on which the old kiln formed a base for warlike operations. Shortly before

its disappearance, its slopes were scarred with trenches dug by the North-Western Railway Volunteers and its crest formed a most useful post of observation on field-days when the cantonment garrison and the three local Volunteer corps took part in combined manœuvres.

A monument, designed by the Consulting Architect to the Punjab Government, was erected in 1919-20 by the Archæological Department to mark the site of this famous kiln. Buddhu's tomb (a small *chhathri* in the vicinity) is now in a ruined condition.

Old Lunatic Asylums.

It has been mentioned that the University Hall and new Chemical Laboratory now stand on the site of certain old barracks which were used in the early 'fifties for the accommodation of lunatics, and it may be of interest to quote here the following passage from Thornton's "Lahore":—

"The segregation of the insane and the alleviation of their condition by suitable treatment is essentially a modern idea, and it is not therefore surprising that a lunatic asylum was unheard of in the Punjab until its suggestion by Dr. Honigberger, State Physician during the regency of Maharaja Dhalip Singh.

"On the annexation, on the 1st May 1849, the Board of Administration placed the asylum begun by the German doctor under the superintendence of Dr. Hathaway, the Residency Surgeon. There were then only 12 inmates, and the building was in the heart of the city.

"In 1853, the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Smith, pointed out the unsuitability of the situation, and the asylum was removed to the barracks formerly occupied by married artillerymen in Anarkali.

"In 1861, the inmates of the Delhi Lunatic Asylum were removed hither, and a few years later the number of lunatics had so much increased that it was a serious inconvenience to have them confined in the midst of the civil station, and the present building, then known as Lehna Singh's Chhauni, was selected and made ready for occupation. It is on the Amritsar road, to the north of, and outflanked by, the railway station and barracks, on a rising and fairly drained site. Though not built for the purpose, the building is very well suited for a lunatic asylum, and when first chosen it was at a considerable distance from any dwelling-houses. Now, however, a small suburb extends in this direction."

The site of Lehna Singh's Chhauni is now included in the area of the Railway goods-sheds. Many years ago, when quite a lad, the writer and a party of friends obtained permission to visit the old Lunatic Asylum and the sights he then saw are still vividly impressed on his memory, recalling scenes from Charles Reade's "Hard Cash." In the entrance gateway of the serai, we were shown a framed photograph of a dangerous lunatic, known as *Kita Paya*. It was explained to us that nothing was known of the antecedents of this wild looking creature and that the only answer he ever gave, in brief intervals of comparative sanity, to questions concerning his past, was *Jo kita, so paya*, which might be freely translated as "I have got my deserts." Through the gateway we passed into a courtyard, in which several of the harmless lunatics were at large. One stood facing a tree, swaying backwards and forwards in imitation of a tethered elephant, with arms swinging limp to represent the trunk. Another poor creature hopped about in a squatting attitude, surrounded and followed by a crowd of sparrows and minas, to whom he was scattering crumbs of *chapati*. He informed us, in a squeaky falsetto, that he was a bird. In one of the open cells, sat an exceptionally mild and harmless looking individual who explained to us, with an amiable smile, that he was a wolf and that his daily ration consisted of two children. Next door was a truly villainous looking one-eyed *bhisti*, engaged in the extremely undignified task of mud-plastering the floor. On seeing us approach, he drew himself up in a dignified manner, ludicrously out of keeping with his occupation, and, glaring at us with his solitary eye, enquired how we dared to enter his presence without permission, he being the King of Delhi. He went on to inform us that he had killed many *feringis* during the Mutiny. Hearing him speak, one wondered whether there was possibly some foundation for his boast. With a wave of his mud-bespattered hand, we were dismissed from the royal presence, the warder being ordered to give each of us a *khillat* of clothes and a horse. We were allowed to see *Kita Paya* in his iron-barred cell—a fearsome object, with his matted hair and beard, and the glare of a wild beast in his blood-shot eyes. Seeing us approach, he advanced stealthily towards the bars, but retreated when sternly ordered by the warder to *Hat pichhe*.

The Commercial Buildings.

This familiar range of prosperous shops has replaced a long blank wall which formed the northern boundary of the Dhobi Mandi and was the back wall of the Indian houses facing inwards

into the Mandi. There is no doubt that the conversion of this dead wall into a busy commercial quarter was a decided improvement in every respect, but it is to be feared that this cannot be said of the southern boundary of the Dhobi Mandi. This, too, was originally a high blank wall, with an opening in the middle giving access to the Mandi. It faced the high boundary wall of Kapurthala House (Kuri Bagh) and the roadway between the two walls was always exceptionally clean. But Mr. W. Clark, then Deputy Commissioner (afterwards Sir William Clark, Chief Judge of the Chief Court), unfortunately conceived the idea of offering facilities to owners of the Dhobi Mandi property for the construction of residential quarters and shops in place of the blank wall, similar to the Commercial Buildings. The space available was, however, much too restricted, with the inevitable result that this lane, which leads direct to the Government Secretariats, Council Chamber and other important public offices, is probably more insanitary than any other public thoroughfare outside the City proper. It is because of this that it is sometimes spoken of by old residents as "Clark's Folly."

The Shutar-Khana.

The neighbourhood of Faridkot House, between Mozang and Begum Roads, used to be known in early days as the Shutar-khana, the reason being that the camel lines were located here when Anarkali was the cantonment. Faridkot House itself and another adjoining it were owned by Mr. William Kirke, a well-known and greatly respected official, who was the first Assistant Secretary to Government appointed after the annexation of the Punjab and the first Inspector-General of Registration. He took a leading part in the foundation of the Boys' High School, to which reference has already been made.

Not far from Faridkot House, at the junction of Lytton and Edwardes Roads, stood an old bungalow situated in a large, neglected compound and appropriately named Bleak House. It was for a time the headquarters of the Punjab Light Horse shortly after that corps was raised. On this spot now stands Sir Shadi Lal's palatial residence, with its well-kept lawns and garden.

In the same neighbourhood, in the angle formed by Mozang and Edwardes Roads, is another well-known bungalow formerly named The Lawn and now called Mamdot House, the local residence of the Nawab. In the northern corner of the large compound, near the shrine of Mauj Darya, is an unnamed grave.

believed to be that of Henri Francois Stanislas de Laroche du Rouget, a Mauritius Creole, one of the many foreigners who were employed in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Volunteer Headquarters.

Having mentioned that a house known as Lackland was at one time the headquarters of the 1st Punjab Volunteer Rifles and that Bleak House was the first headquarters of the Punjab Light Horse, it may be noted that, on leaving Lackland, the Rifles moved to a portion of the big bungalow on the Anarkali Mall, immediately adjoining the Council Chamber; thence to a house in Court Street, just behind the present Small Cause Court, and finally to their new building near the Public Library. After leaving Bleak House, the Light Horse moved into the bungalow standing in the angle formed by the junction of Fane and Mozang Roads; thence to Pencroft, at the Ferozpur-Mozang Road crossing, and then to their present headquarters on Lawrence Road.

Old Shops.

Mention of the Commercial Buildings recalls the fact that the only mercantile establishment still in existence which can claim to have survived in its original form is, perhaps, the old firm of Messrs. Jamsetji & Sons, which was established in Lahore in 1862. For many years this firm practically had the monopoly for the sale of general European stores, wines and spirits, toys and ammunition, the last consisting in those early days of black powder in flasks, percussion caps, and bags of shot lying in a corner of one of the side-rooms in Rose Cottage, the familiar old landmark at the northern end of the Lower Mall, which was recently demolished to provide a site for the Government College hostel, one of the finest and most up-to-date buildings in modern Lahore.

Looking back more than half a century it is difficult to realise what the old Lahore of those days was like, when there were no European tailors, no milliners or dress-makers, no drapers, no music shops, no miscellaneous stores, no chemists—in fact, none of the temptations and conveniences now to be met with on all sides. It was quite a common practice for thrifty housewives to drive into Mian Mir periodically, perhaps three or four times a year, to do their shopping at Nur Hussain's or Rahim Bakhsh's, two well-known general merchants who moved in later years to Anarkali. Both firms ceased to exist many years ago.

Mr. William Ball may be described as the pioneer of European business enterprise in Lahore, apart from the timber trade with Kashmir and Chamba of which Mr. M. Ter Arratoon was the originator. Mr. Ball first came to Lahore as Superintendent of the Government Printing Press. He, however, left the service of Government to open a press of his own, combined with auction rooms and a bookseller's and stationer's shop, which gradually expanded into a general store, the first of its kind under European management. This was accommodated in the bungalow on the Lower Mall now occupied by the Postal Stock Depot. The printing press, too, grew apace and when Mr. Ball arranged for the publication of the "Punjab Record," or reference book for lawyers and judicial officers, his success was assured. When he retired, his son-in-law, Mr. J. J. Davies, took over the press, which he first transferred to his private residence at the northern end of Court Street and later to a bungalow specially constructed for the purpose behind the present premises of the Imperial Bank. When, some years later, Mr. Davies himself retired, his press was absorbed in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, together with his share of the contract for Government printing. The general branch of Mr. Ball's shop was taken over by Mr. E. Gillon, who eventually converted it into a limited liability company and added a chemist's branch. This firm went into liquidation some years ago.

It was not till some time in the early 'seventies that the centre for European trade began to shift from Mian Mir to Lahore. Previous to that period, those who could afford to patronise European tailors had to place their orders with Messrs. Clarke & Co., Adlard & Co. or Davidge Brothers at Mian Mir. If the writer's memory is not at fault, Messrs. Phelps & Co. were the first to establish a tailoring business on the Upper Mall, in the bungalow now occupied by the Bombay Cycle and Motor Agency, while Mr. Garrioch opened a similar business on the Lower Mall, in the house now known as the Punjab Association Club. A little later, Mr. Adlard transferred his shop from Mian Mir to the Upper Mall. It may be asked what those who could not afford to deal with European tailors did to obtain their requirements. These were supplied by itinerant cloth merchants who went from house to house, accompanied by a *kahar* carrying a *banghi* consisting of two large bundles. Incidentally, these cloth merchants were also money-lenders, and in course of time became the founders of certain wealthy firms which still exist and are now well-known bankers and house-owners. The writer was well acquainted with the familiar figures of Chhota Lal, Dina Nath and Pehlad

Das, on their wanderings through old Lahore, to say nothing of the celebrated "Cheap John."

Professional photographers were unknown in old Lahore, but Mr. W. Barthelemy, an Apothecary residing in the Fort, had a studio there and did quite a good business. For many years after his retirement from Government service, this old gentleman acted as "guide, philosopher and friend" to the contemporary Raja of Faridkot, who treated him with the greatest consideration and respect. It was said that the friendship originated when Mr. Barthelemy was giving His Highness instructions in photography. In later years, Mr. James Craddock, the well-known photographer of Simla, made it a practice of opening a studio during the winter months in the compound of Mr. Ball's shop on the Lower Mall.

As late as 1876, there was only one chemist in Lahore. This was Mr. Richardson, successor to Messrs. Peake, Allen & Co. and predecessor of Messrs. Plomer & Co. As already mentioned, he had his shop in The Pipals, before removal to the Upper Mall.

A Sex Mystery.

Mention of Mr. Garrioch's tailoring establishment recalls to mind that it was this firm that had the unusual task of transforming, at a few hours' notice, a "young lady," moving in the best society, into a fashionable young man. There may be, perhaps one or two other old residents of Lahore who remember this extraordinary incident, which, needless to say, caused quite a sensation throughout Lahore and Mian Mir and some consternation in certain quarters. Miss——was known as the daughter of a gunner officer stationed in Mian Mir and, as such, was a popular favourite in civil and military circles, both with men and women. The former appreciated her charming camaraderie, while the latter liked the frank, boyish manners of the rather hoydenish "maiden" who thought nothing of clearing a garden hedge, with an abandon very uncommon in the early 'seventies. Some there were who considered that Miss——was too "mannish," but even these observant few never suspected the real truth which in this case, was indeed almost stranger than fiction. This truth was revealed one fine morning when the *ci devant* "young lady" was taken hurriedly to Garrioch's shop, fitted out with men's clothing at the shortest possible notice, and packed off to some place unknown to the general public, but believed to be Australia. The explanation current at the time was that the mother of this mysterious personage having died at his

birth, the infant was made over to an aunt who, preferring girls to boys, brought the baby up as a girl. The father, being in India at the time of the child's birth, was quite ignorant of the deception practised by its guardian. Be this as it may, there was at all events no doubt about the Lahore-Mian Mir stage of the mystery, and the writer became possessed of an article of "historic interest" when Miss——'s piano was sold.

Hotels of Olden Days.

It is mentioned in a guide to Lahore published in 1876, now out of print, the joint work of Mr. T. H. Thornton, B. C. S., Secretary to the Punjab Government, and Mr. J. Lockwood Kipling, that "the hotels in Lahore are poor, though there is little doubt that a really good hotel would pay, owing to the influx of travellers at certain seasons of the year. The Punjab Hotel, Mrs. Clark's Hotel, the Victoria and the Montgomery are the most frequented by European visitors." But, in the late 'sixties, Milner's and Goose's, situated on McLeod Road, were the two best known and most prosperous hotels then open for travellers. The latter occupied the large bungalow in which the Executive Engineer's office is now accommodated. In later years, subsequent to the publication of Thornton's "Guide," Mrs. Hillier opened a hotel of a superior class in Caversham, the house at the junction of Ferozepore and Mozang Roads, afterwards occupied for many years by Sir David and Lady Masson. In those days, as suggested in the old guide-book, the hotels in Lahore had to depend on the patronage of "birds of passage." It was not until permanent or quasi-permanent residents of the station showed a preference for hotel life and acquired the hotel habit that the demand for such accommodation grew sufficient to ensure the success of an up-to-date hotel on a large scale, such as Mr. Nedou established some years later on the Upper Mall in the bungalows now occupied by Messrs. Walter Locke and Mrs. Stiffle.

Another old hotel which did a fairly good business for some years was owned and managed by Mrs. Cunningham. It was accommodated in the large bungalow on the Lower Mall between the Council Chambers and the Small Cause Court (*vide* also "Volunteer Headquarters").

Spread of Temperance.

Hotels suggest bars and their frequenters. To enthusiasts and fanatics whose excessive zeal in the cause of temperance

demands nothing short of total prohibition, it may be some consolation to learn that, without going to extremes or invoking the aid of the law to enforce their fads on the general public, there has been a truly remarkable improvement, from the temperance point of view, in the social habits of the European and Anglo-Indian community of Lahore. The writer does not claim to be an authority on the drink question, either as an expert performer or as a champion of total abstinence; he has no collection of statistics with which to juggle in support of his statement; he cannot quote figures showing consumption per head of population or an increase or decrease in the number of licensed liquor shops; nor can he venture to give credit to any particular guild or association for the improvement which has undoubtedly taken place. All that he can claim is the knowledge which comes from long and continuous residence, combined with exceptional opportunities for comparing the past with the present. It is no exaggeration to say that in the "good old days," fifty or more years ago, there was scarcely a social function of any description which did not provide its quota of "terrible examples," their number varying in proportion with the size of the gathering and the position of its members on the social plane. No one seemed to think any the worse of those who worshipped Bacchus too fervently; it was all in the day's or night's programme—a case of "everybody's doing it." There was not a Government office or house of business which did not include in its staff some individuals known to be habitual drunkards whose absence from office always raised the suspicion that they were "on the bust," a suspicion which was almost invariably confirmed. The earlier camps of the volunteer corps were orgies of drunkenness and ribaldry; each tent was the scene of "revelry by night," its occupants offering hospitality to their neighbours and receiving hospitality in return, in the form of unlimited drinks. Let any impartial individual with sufficient personal experience compare that past with the present. The improvement has been gradual but steady, and may perhaps be attributed, in part at all events, to the efforts of those who first realised that it was necessary to provide healthy recreation for the men. When well-organised dances, concerts and theatricals drew the men away from their tents, the advocates of this reform reaped their reward in getting better results from the annual concentrations and, incidentally, in promoting the cause of temperance without resort to heroic measures. It may be inferred that similar causes are responsible for the general improvement noticeable in this respect in all sections and classes of the European community in Lahore. As mentioned elsewhere, there were no

proper places of public entertainment in "Old Lahore," clubs and institutes were open to only a restricted membership, visits from touring theatrical companies were few and far between—what wonder, then, that men found time hang heavy on their hands and spent too much of it in convivial gatherings uncontrolled by refining influences ?

Sports and Pastimes.

Another important factor which has contributed to the satisfactory result indicated above is the great and growing interest taken in out-door sports. Reference was made in the first paragraphs of these "Reminiscences" to early racing and polo in Lahore, and it is not improbable that cricket was played under the old fort walls by the European garrison 70 odd years ago. Be that as it may, cricket has flourished in Lahore, more or less, as far back as the writer can remember. There was a club which corresponded to the present Gymkhana combination, membership being restricted to civil and military officers, and there was the Anarkali Cricket Club, the members of which were mostly drawn from the clerical staffs of the local offices. Prominent among the former was Major Oswald Menzies, a cricket enthusiast without whom no first class eleven would have been complete. He seemed to begin playing for the Province when he first joined the Punjab Police and continued till he rose to be Inspector-General. Major Menzies was also a very good billiard player and when, in November 1878, Mr. Herbert Roberts (not the great John), described as "the champion hand-stroke billiard player," played an exhibition match in the Lawrence Hall, Major Menzies was chosen to represent local talent. The performances of a later Inspector-General, Sir Edward Lee French, both on the cricket field and on the tennis courts, are of too recent a date to require recalling. Another veteran player who retained much of his youthful skill right up to the end of his Indian career was the late Sir Frederick Robertson of the Chief Court Bench, whose familiar figure was always to be seen on the grounds in the Lawrence Gardens during the Christmas matches, either as a spectator or player. Yet another well-known and popular Lahore cricketer was Sir Sydney Robinson, now Chief Judge in Burma. He was a most useful member of the Gymkhana eleven throughout his long residence in the Punjab, both as an effective left-hand bowler and as a reliable bat. He was chosen to play against an English eleven which visited Lahore many years ago and, if the writer's memory is not at fault, an amusing account of that match may be found in the old files of the *Civil and Military Gazette*

in the form of a " turnover " on the front page. It seems only the other day that Sir Sydney's stentorian " Well hit " could be heard booming across the field from the pavilion. Each school and college had its own cricket club and inter-school matches were frequently played in the early 'seventies. The 1st Punjab Volunteers, too, had a club which was in a flourishing condition during the 'nineties.

The credit for the introduction of Association football into Lahore must, the writer thinks, be given to Mr. A. C. Seymour, late of the Provincial Civil Service, who started a club composed of members of the 1st Punjab Volunteers. One of the first games this club played was against a team from a Sikh regiment stationed at Ferozepore which was captained by one of its officers, the only European in it. This officer, if the writer is not mistaken, is now General Sir Skipton Climo. The match was played on the ground near the Boys' High School and was the first in which Lahore spectators witnessed a game in which streaming hair and bare feet were remarkable features. The soccer fever proved infectious and other local clubs soon came into existence, the best known being " The Hornets," composed of players drawn from miscellaneous sources, and another composed of Railway employees. An annual tournament was soon organised, for which a cup was presented by the North-Western Railway and later by the 1st Punjab Volunteers.

In later years, the Volunteers also gave a useful lead in popularising hockey, of which they and the famous Railway team are now such expert exponents. The Anderson brothers, Poole, Boileau and Jehans were among the best known of the early players.

Freemasonry.

Without being a member of the Craft, the writer thinks that he may fairly claim to have established a local record in the number of Masonic banquets at which he has been present among the non-Masonic guests who, on one occasion, were described by a newly-fledged officer of Lodge " Hope and Perseverance " as " dwellers in the outer darkness of the cold and dismal North. " Undeterred by these uncomplimentary remarks, the writer continued his course of dinners (about twelve per annum, for Lodge " Industry " also was generous in its hospitality) until he was on a memorable night promoted to the rank of " Honorary Brother," an office which he was proud to hold until advancing years terminated his tenure. This is mentioned by way of introduction

The writer has had not only the privilege of sharing the festivities of the Fraternity on occasions without number, "hip, heart and hand," but has enjoyed the friendship of many prominent members of both the local Lodges. It seems only the other day that he was present at the banquets following the installations of Mr. Oertel, Colonel Pease, Colonel Frank Leigh, B. Temple, P. W. Mabbett and other distinguished Masters of Lodge "Hope and Perseverance," and of Sir David Masson and Dr. Caleb in the chair of Lodge "Industry." In the middle distance, or middle ages, memory recalls other friends often met under the hospitable roof of the old Lodge building behind the Agra (now National) Bank, including Mr. E. W. Parker, Mr. W. Bull, Mr. P. Morton, Mr. Dav. Johnston, who is still going strong, Mr. Jussawala, Mr. Ganpat Rai and, last but by no means least, the late Dr. Brij Lal Ghose, the kindest hearted and most genial of men. But looking still further back into the past, I see the platform surrounding the parish church (Anarkali's tomb) thronged on St. John's Day with people awaiting the arrival of the Masons, as headed by the Police Band, clothed in full regalia, and led by the sturdy figure of Mr. Nightingall carrying the Bible on a cushion, they marched in procession from their old Lodge to attend their annual service. Other familiar figures at these annual services were Major Marmaduke Ramsay, the Revd. Brown-Brunesson, the Davies brothers, George and James, Peter Scott, Peter Garrioch, E. A. Gillon, Colonel B. T. Hill and W. E. Ball.

I seem to hear again the "Tyler's Toast" and am reminded that it is time to bring these "Reminiscences" to a close.

LAHORE :

A Historical and Descriptive Note, written in 1860.

By Mr. T. H. Thornton, B.C.S.

HISTORICAL.

Before proceeding to give a historical account of Lahore, it may be as well to say a few words respecting the available sources of information. These, it is to be regretted, are few and unsatisfactory. What we know of its pre-Muhammadan history is confined to the casual notices contained in the annals of the neighbouring States of Rajputana and Kashmir, to the glimpses afforded by earlier Muhammadan writers, and to inferences drawn from numismatic evidence. For the period subsequent to the Muhammadan invasion we have, certainly, a connected history to guide us, but the annalists seldom deal in facts of a locally interesting character. The general histories of India, such as those of Ferishta, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Abd-ul-qadir, the "Tarikh-i-Alfi," "Iqbalnamah Jehangiri," &c., are little more than a chronicle of wars, court intrigues and murders, and seldom descend to local details; and those of a more local character, such as the work of Abd-ul-Hamid Lahori, the "Safinat--ul-Auliya" and the records of the numerous Muhammadan shrines, seem to have been compiled upon the principle of omitting all that is interesting and recording all that is not. Local legends there are, but, for the most part, of so extravagant a character as to be neither instructive nor amusing; the people, moreover, are careless of their own history; and the sarcastic remark of Petrarch regarding Rome in the fourteenth century—"*Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ*"—is applicable with still greater force to Lahore in the nineteenth.

Legendary History.—By local Hindu tradition the origin of Lahore, like that of most of the princely houses of India, is traced to Rama, king of Ayodha (Oude), the hero of the Ramayana, whose two sons, *Lav* or *Loh*, and *Kash*, are said to have founded the neighbouring cities of Lahore and Kasur. But it is not merely in local tradition that Lahore is made illustrious; its name is celebrated in the legends and quasi-historic traditions of comparatively distant localities as the scene of the battles and chivalry of heroic times, and the metropolis, in a Greek sense, of other ancient Hindu States. In the "Raja Tarangini," the ancient chronicle of Kashmir, Lahore is mentioned as a dependency of the great Lalitaditya. In the

"Desh-v-bhaga," a compilation from the Puranas, drawn up by order of the learned Raja Jai Singh Saiwae, of Jaipur, it is recorded that, at the end of the Dwarpar or Brazen Age, Bhim Sen fought Ban Mal, Raja of Lahore, a mighty prince, with an army of 10,000 horsemen, and after a conflict of three days' duration, took him prisoner and made his kingdom tributary. Again, in the ballad poetry of the northern border, "the forest near Lahore," then called Udinagar, figures as the battle-ground where Rassalu, son of Sal Vahn, the eponymic hero of Sialkot, fought and slew the monster Rakhas. Again, to descend to more historic times, in the annals of the Mewar State, in Rajputana, the founder of the royal line is recorded to have been Keneksen, a Solar Rajput prince, who migrated from Lahore. Moreover, the Solankhi tribe of Anulhara Pattan and the Bhatis of Jessulmer, whose name is still borne by one of the city gateways, point to Lahore as the seat of their earlier location.

From the above and other similar traditions of Rajput origin, it may be inferred that the founders of Lahore were of the Rajput race, and that the city was probably the capital of one of the earliest of the Rajput States established in the west of India; and this inference is corroborated by the fact that, at the earliest dawning of reliable Indian history,—the period of the Musalman invasions in the seventh and tenth centuries,—we find Lahore the capital of an important Hindu Principality, exercising a kind of feudal superiority over other States.

NAME.—The name "Lahore" (which is, of course, connected with the name of its mythical founder, the son of Rama) is not peculiar to the capital of the Punjab; there is a Lahore in Afghanistan, the seat of an old Rajput colony; another in the Peshawar district, another in Hindustan Proper, and a *Lohar* in the Mewar State of Rajputana. It appears in Muhammadan writers under the varied forms of *Lahor*, *Lôhar*, *Lôher*, *Lahawar*, *Lehawar*, *Luhawar*, *Lohawar*, *Laha-nur*,* and *Rahwar*†; in the

*In this form it occurs in the writings of Amir Khosru of Delhi, one of the fathers of Urdu literature, who wrote at the latter part of the thirteenth century—

Az had Samani ta Laha-nur.
Hech imarat nest magar dar Kasur.

Also, in the records of a Muhammadan shrine, near Lahore, founded in the time of Behlol Khan Lodi. *Laha-nur* is a corruption of *Laha-nagar*; *nur*, in act, is still the Dakhani form of *nagar*, and appears in the names of other cities, *e. g.*—Kilanore, Kananore.

†*Rahwar* is probably a Muhammadan corruption, suggested by the fact that, during the Patan and Mogul dynasties, Lahore was the terminus of the great imperial road from Agra.

chronicles of Rajputana it is mentioned under the name of *Loh-kot*; and in the "Desh-v-bhaga"* before mentioned, it is called *Lav-por*. *Loh-awar* is the oldest, and probably the most correct, form of the name, as it is the form under which it appears in the writings of Abu Rihan al Baruni, a contemporary and companion of the Emperor Mahmud of Ghazni, and one who is known to have been well versed in the literature of the Hindus. The termination *awar* is no doubt a corruption of the colloquial Sanskrit *awarana*, meaning a "fort," or "enclosure," which is found as a termination in the names of many other Rajput cities,—as, for example, *Peshawar*, *Rajawar* (commonly called *Rajore*), and *Sonawar*. *Lohawar*, therefore, will signify "Fort of Loh," and the name will thus correspond in signification with the *Lok-kot* of the Rajputana chronicles, and give a key to the legend respecting its foundation.

DATE OF FOUNDATION.—The exact date of the foundation of Lahore it is, as may be supposed, impossible to discover; but we may make an approximate guess at the period of its rise to importance from the following considerations. We have already seen that Lahore was founded and had risen to be the capital of a great kingdom *before* the end of the seventh century of the Christian era. On the other hand, there are reasons for believing that the city, if it existed, was a place of no importance up to, at least, the first century. In the first place, there is no mention of Lahore, nor of any city with which it may be fairly identified, in the writings of the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander to the East. Burnes would identify it with *Sangala*,† a city mentioned by Arrian as the stronghold of the *Kathæi* or *Katheri*, who occupied the region in which Lahore is situated. But the position of Sangala,—three marches from the Ravi,—would appear fatal to such a position. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander crossed the Ravi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at

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*An anonymous writer in the "Annual Register" for 1809 states that he was told at Lahore that the ancient name of the city was *Ella-nur*; but I can find no written authority for this assertion.

†The identification of this place is a *vexata quæstio* amongst Punjabi antiquaries. Wilford would identify it with Kilanore; Masson with Haripa; others with Sangla, one of an isolated group of rocks on the border of the Jhang and Gujranwala districts, about 63 miles from Lahore. Elphinstone, the Settlement Officer of the Montgomery district, would identify it with a locality in that district, still bearing the name, situated within a reasonable distance of the Ravi and within the local limits of the *Kathia* tribe, the representatives of the ancient *Kathaioi*.

the time, it would doubtless have been mentioned. In the next place, no city answering in name or description to Lahore occurs in Strabo, who wrote between B. C. 66 and A. D. 24, and describes with some particularity the region of Kathæa; nor does it appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between the Indus and Allahabad, which must have been written between A. D. 22 and A. D. 79. Lastly, no coins of the Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Scythic dynasties have, to the best of my knowledge, been discovered at Lahore, although the locality formed a portion of the kingdom of Menander and his successors and probably also of the Scythic dynasties of Azes, Kadphises, and Kenerkis.* It may be, therefore, so far concluded, with some degree of confidence, that Lahore must have been founded *between* the first and seventh centuries of the Christian era.

But, further, in the Geography of Ptolemy,† who flourished at Alexandria about A. D. 150, mention is made of a city called *Labokla*, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra, in a tract of country called *Kaspeiria* (Kashmir ?), described as extending along the rivers *Bidastes* (Jhelum), *Sandabal* (Chandra Bhaga, or Chenab), and *Adris* (Ravi). This place Wilford would identify, from its name and position, with Lahore, and the identification is made more probable by the recent discovery by Major-General Cunningham of the *Amakatis* of Ptolemy, a city placed by him in the immediate vicinity of *Labokla*, in the ruins of *Amba Kapi*,‡ about 25 miles from Lahore.

Lastly, if Tod's Chronology is to be trusted, we have a further proof that Lahore must have been a place of some importance at the time Ptolemy's Geography was written in the fact that the middle of the second century is assigned by Tod as the date of the migration of Prince Keneksen from Lahore. However this may be, we may fairly infer as much from the mere mention of the city by the Greek geographer, and approximately fix the

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*When first enquiring into the early history of Lahore, numerous Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins were brought to me, the finders alleging that they were found among the ruins of Lahore, and specifying sometimes minutely the localities; but in subsequently testing their assertions I found them more than doubtful.

†Lib. vii., §§ 6, §48.

‡The fact that the accent of *Amakatis* is, contrary to analogy, on the penultimate, seems to show that, in the Greek, some stress was laid on that syllable which would have been the case if it had been originally written as two words, *Ama katis*; further, the Sanskrit *a* is not unfrequently represented in Greek by an accentuated *a*; for instance, *Chandra baga* is rendered *Sandabal*; Vyasa as *Bibasis*. The transmutation of the *p* sound into the dental has its analogy in the change of the Latin *Attus* into *Appius*, &c. The Sanskrit *Iravati* into *Adris*.

date of Lahore's foundation at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of our era.

LAHORE BEFORE THE MUHAMMADAN INVASION.—Beyond the fact of its Rajput origin, hardly anything can be recorded with certainty of the history or even of the existence of Lahore until the period of the Muhammadan invasion. In the "Tabula Peutingeriana," a valuable itinerary of the Roman Empire, supposed to have been drawn up about A. D. 230, mention is made of a city named *Tahora*, situated on the route from the Indus to the Ganges, which so far corresponds in position with Lahore that it is made to follow on the list a city named *Spatura*, on the river Chenab. The former Major-General Cunningham would identify with Lahore; but Wilford prefers *Tihara*, an ancient city on the Sutlej, mentioned in the Mahabarata; and philologically the latter identification would appear most probable, as the Sanskrit *a* is frequently represented (as before observed) by the Greek or Latin *o*; but the interchange of *t* and *l* is contrary to analogy. A far less dubious mention of Lahore is found, as pointed out by Major-General Cunningham, in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab A. D. 630. He speaks of a large city, containing many thousands of families, chiefly Brahmans, situated on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of *Cheka*, which, he says, extended from the Indus to the Byas. From this city he proceeded eastward to *China Pati*, and thence to *Jalandhara*, the modern Jullundur. Now Jullundur is situated almost due east of Lahore, and midway between the two cities is a village called *Patti* to this day. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the great Brahmanical city of Hwan Thsang was the city of Lahore.

It is probable that at Lahore, as in most Eastern States, there were frequent changes of dynasty. The earliest princes were perhaps Rajputs from Ayodha, of the same family as those who reigned in Guzerat and Mewar. Subsequently—but when, it is impossible to say—the sceptre seems to have passed into the hands of Rajputs of other tribes, such as the Solankhis and the Bhatis. At the period of the first appearance of the Muhammadans, Lahore was in the hands of a "Chauhan prince of the family of Ajmer," and during the latter invasions of the tenth century the reigning family is Brahmanical.

There are also reasons for believing that, either owing to change of dynasty, or to its exposed position on the high road from Afghanistan to India, the city of Lahore, before its occupation by Mahmud of Ghazni, had been deserted, and that, in Ferishta, the Muhammadan historian, there is a confusion between

Lahore the *city* and Lahore the *province*. It is, in the first place, expressly stated in the "Hadiqa kul aqlim" of Murteza Hosein, that, before the Muhammadan invasion, the seat of Government was transferred from Lahore to Sialkot, or *Salvahnpor*, and not re-transferred until the period of the Ghaznivide Emperor Musaud II. Such would also appear from the traditions of the Bhatis,*which speak of *Salvahnpor* as the capital city, when they were rulers of Lahore. Then, again, Al Baruni, who speaks from personal knowledge of the locality of modern Lahore at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion, mentions Lahore, not as a city, but as a region, of which the capital was *Mahdhokor*. Now, *Madhokor* might easily, from the similarity between *h* and *n*, and *r* and final *t*, in the Arabic character, be corrupted from *Mankot* or *Mandhukot*, a place near Sialkot. The supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that, in after times, Shir Shah, the so-called usurper,—but, as will be hereafter pointed out, in reality the representative of the anti-Mogul, or anti-foreigner party,—seriously contemplated removing the seat of Government from Lahore, which had become associated with Mogul supremacy, to this very place, the capital of the last native dynasty.

If such be the case, it will serve to explain the otherwise remarkable fact that no mention of Lahore is to be found in the Geography of Masudi, the "Herodotus of the Arabs," who wrote in the tenth century, and himself sojourned at Mooltan, or within little more than 200 miles from the modern city of Lahore.

Such are the somewhat barren results of inquiries—uninteresting, I fear, to many—into the pre-Muhammadan history of Lahore. They may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—That the city of Lahore, formerly Lohawar, and possibly the *Labokla* of Ptolemy, was founded by an ancient Rajput colony some time between the first and seventh centuries of our era, probably as early as the beginning of the second; that it soon rose to be a place of importance, the parent of other colonies, and eventually the capital of a powerful principality, to which it gave its name; that, whether owing to change of dynasty, or to its exposed position on the high road from Afghanistan to India, it was subsequently deserted and the seat of Government was removed to Sialkot or its vicinity, where it remained until the period of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning of the eleventh century; that the conqueror re-occupied the deserted city, and established a garrison in a fort, built possibly, like Purana Qila at Delhi, on the ruins of the old Rajput stronghold.

* Tod's "Rajasthan."

EARLY STRUGGLES WITH MUHAMMADANS.—As has been before stated, at the period of the first Muhammadan invasion in the latter part of the seventh century of our era, we find Lahore in possession of a Chauhan prince, of the family of Ajmer. In A. D. 682, according to Ferishta, the Afghans of Kerman and Peshawar, who had, even at that early period, embraced the religion of the Prophet, wrested certain possessions from the Hindu prince. A war ensued, and in the space of five months seventy battles were fought, with varied success, until the Afghans, having formed an alliance with the Ghakkars, a wild tribe, inhabiting the Salt Range of the Punjab,*compelled the Raja to cede a portion of his territory. The next mention of Lahore is in the Rajputana chronicles, where the Bussas of Lahore, a Rajput tribe, are mentioned as rallying to the defence of Chittore, when besieged by Musalman forces in the beginning of the ninth century. At length, in A. D. 975, Sabaktagin, Governor of Khorassan, and father of the celebrated Mahmud, advanced beyond the Indus. He was met by Jeipal, Raja of Lahore, whose dominion is said to have extended from Sirhind to Lamghan, and from Kashmir to Mooltan. By the advice of a prince of the Bhati tribe, the Raja formed an alliance with the Afghans, and, with their aid, was enabled to withstand the first invasion. On his succession to the throne of Ghazni, Sabaktagin repeated his invasion. A battle ensued in the vicinity of Lamghan. The Raja was defeated, and made overtures for peace. His terms were accepted, and persons were sent, on the part of Sabaktagin, to take the balance of the stipulated ransom. On reaching Lahore, Jeipal proved faithless, and imprisoned those commissioned to receive the treasure. On learning intelligence of his perfidy, Sabaktagin, in the words of Ferishta, "like a foaming torrent, hastened towards Hindustan."

Another battle ensued, in which Jeipal was again vanquished, and he retreated, leaving the territory to the west of the Nilab, or Indus, in the hands of the invader. Chagrined at his double defeat, he performed the Hindu sacrifice of *Johar*,† or devotion, by burning himself to death outside the walls of his capital.

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* Improbably supposed by Abbot to be the descendants of Greek settlers.

† The suicide of Calanus, the Indian, at Pasargadæ, and that of Zarmanochegas at Athens (Strabo, lib. xv. ch: 1), are other instances of the performance of this rite. But we need not go back to antiquity for examples. Only a few years ago a peasant of the Kangra district, a leper, deliberately burnt himself to death. According to the official report, "one of his brothers handed him a light, and went away; a second brother watched the burning; and a third thought it a matter of such small interest that he went about his usual avocations."

The invader did not retain the conquests he had made, for in A. D. 1008, a confederation, headed by Anangpal,* son of Jeipal, again met the advancing army, now commanded by Mahmud, son and successor of Sabaktagin, in the vicinity of Peshawar. In the battle which ensued, the naphtha balls of the Afghan army, according to a conjectural reading of Ferishta's text, spread dismay among the Hindu soldiery, who fled, suffering a great slaughter. Lahore was allowed to remain intact for thirteen years longer. Anangpal was succeeded by another Jeipal, called by Al Baruni, Nardjanpal, while Mahmud pushed his conquests into Hindustan. But in A. D. 1022, he suddenly marched down from Kashmir, seized Lahore without opposition, and gave it over to be plundered. Jeipal II fled helpless to Ajmer, and the Hindu principality of Lahore was extinguished for ever. A final effort was made by the Hindus in the reign of Modud, A. D. 1045, to recover their lost sovereignty but after a fruitless siege of six months they retired without success; and thus, says Al Baruni, "the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth."

Lahore was left in charge of Malik Ayaz, a favorite of Mahmud of Ghazni, whose name appears in many anecdotes of the sayings and doings of the Emperor. He is said to have built up the walls and fortress of Lahore, miraculously, in a single night; and his tomb, by the *Tanksal* or old mint, is still revered by Musalmans as the burial place of the founder of Lahore.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RESULTS ATTENDING THE INTRODUCTION OF MUHAMMADANISM.—From the above account it will be seen that the princes and people of Lahore played a prominent part in that long continued struggle between Muhammadanism and Hinduism which marks the introduction of the former into India. While Persia was vanquished in three successive battles, and Egypt and the north coast of Africa in less than fifty years, upwards of two centuries elapsed before Muhammadanism had established a footing across the Indus. The strong social action and reaction, which have taken place between the two religions in this part of India, may be traced to the fact that the establishment of Muhammadanism was thus gradual; and the comparative tolerancy of the earlier Muhammadan dynasties

* He is called by Ferishta *Anandpal*, but Anangpal has the authority of the Rajputana chronicles and the Puranas. *Anang* means "incorporeal," or unsubstantial, hence Anangpal is translated by Tod "supporter of a desolate abode"—an ominous name for the monarch of a falling dynasty.

of India is perhaps referable to the same cause,*—the result of those long struggles in which Lahore was so conspicuous; for history shows that the steady resistance of a people to the religion and customs of their conquerors will, as was the case with the Moors in Spain, teach even bigots the necessity, or policy, of toleration. Even now, the Muhammadan of the Punjab is perhaps less bigoted, and the Hindu less grossly superstitious, than elsewhere; and it is remarkable that two of the boldest reformers India has produced, Golakhnath and Nanak, were natives of the Punjab.

EARLY MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.—During the reigns of the first eight princes of the Ghaznivide dynasty, Lahore was governed by viceroys; but in the reign of Musaud II. (A. D. 1098—1114) the seat of Government was temporarily removed to Lahore, as, the Seljuks having deprived the house of Ghazni of most of its territory in Iran and Turan, the royal family were compelled to take refuge in their Indian possessions. Lahore was again made the seat of empire by Khosru, the twelfth Ghaznivide Emperor, and would appear to have remained so until the fall of the dynasty, in A. D. 1186, and the establishment of the house of Ghor. The Ghaznivides, especially the latter ones, seem to have been a tolerant race, and to have adopted a conciliatory policy towards their Hindu subjects; we find them employing troops of Hindu cavalry, and some of them even adopted on their coinage the titles and written character of the conquered race. Their popularity may further be inferred from the continual disturbances which arose at Lahore after their expulsion.

LAHORE DURING THE GHORIAN AND SLAVE DYNASTIES.—During the Ghorian and Slave dynasties, Lahore was the focus of conspiracies against the Government; indeed, it appears throughout the subsequent history of Muhammadan rule to have been the rendezvous of the Tartar, as opposed to the Afghan party. In A. D. 1241, Lahore was taken and plundered by the hordes of Gengiz Khan; and in A. D. 1286, Prince Muhammad, the accomplished son of Sultan Gheias-ud-din Balban, perished in an encounter with the Moguls, on the banks of the Ravi, the poet Amir Khosru being taken prisoner by his side.

THE KHILJI AND TOGHLAK DYNASTIES.—During the Khilji and Toghlak dynasties, Lahore is not prominent in the political history of the day. It was once plundered by the Ghakkars, and mention is made of Mogul colonists taking up their abode in

* See the remarks in Elphinstone's "History of India," book v., chapter 1.

the vicinity of the city, the place of their location being still known by the name of *Moghalpura*.

INVASION OF TIMUR.—The year 1397 is memorable as the date of the invasion of Timur, the "firebrand of the universe." Lahore was taken by a detachment of his forces, and from the fact that Timur did not plunder it in person, it may be inferred that the city was not then particularly rich. On his departure, Lahore was left in possession of Syad Khizr Khan, an Afghan noble, native of India, whom he appointed viceroy.

THE LODI DYNASTY.—From this period, the city was alternately in the hands of the Ghakkars and the ruling dynasty, until, in A. D. 1436, it was seized by Behlol Khan Lodi, one of the Afghan chiefs, who rose to power on the overthrow of the Toghlak dynasty, and eventually became Emperor. In the reign of his grandson, Sultan Ibrahim, Daulat Khan Lodi, the Afghan Governor of Lahore, revolted, and, Count Julian like, invited to his aid the great Chagatai prince, Baber, who had long meditated an invasion of Hindustan, which he claimed as the representative of Timur.

LAHORE TAKEN BY BABER, A. D. 1524.—Baber came, saw, and conquered. He was met by an Afghan army, composed of the supporters of Sultan Ibrahim, in the vicinity of Lahore ; but it was speedily vanquished, and the victor, enraged at the opposition he had experienced, let loose his soldiery upon the city, which they plundered and partially burnt. Baber did not remain long at Lahore, but, after a halt of only four days, marched on towards Delhi. He did not, however, get further than Sirhind on this occasion. Daulat Khan Lodi, who had invited him to Hindustan, being dissatisfied with his reward of a jagir, had already begun to intrigue against him. He, therefore, returned to Lahore, and, having parcelled out the provinces he had conquered among his nobles, went back to Kabul. The next year, Lahore was the hotbed of intrigues fomented by Daulat Khan, which it is unnecessary to detail, but the following year Baber again appeared. An attempt was again made to oppose him at the Ravi, near Lahore ; but the force melted away before it was attacked, and Babér, without entering Lahore, passed on towards Hindustan.

This was his last expedition, and it ended, A. D. 1526, in the decisive victory of Panipat over the Afghan army, the capture of Delhi, and the foundation of the Mogul Empire.

THE MOGUL PERIOD.—The reigns of Humayun, Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjehan, and Aurangzeb, the successors of Baber,

may be considered the golden period of the history of Lahore. The city again became a place of royal residence; gardens, tombs, mosques, and pavilions sprang up in every direction; the population increased; suburbs arose, until the city became, in the language of Abul-fazl, "the grand resort of people of all nations," and celebrated for its fine buildings and luxuriant gardens. To this day almost all that is architecturally beautiful at Lahore is referable to the period of the early Mogul Emperors.

HUMAYUN.—On the accession of Humayun, the Punjab, together with Kabul and Kandahar, became the *apanage* of Kamran, Humayun's younger brother, who seems to have given the first impulse to the architectural adornment of Lahore, by building a palace, with a garden extending from Naulakha to the river Ravi. During the struggle between Humayun and Shir Khan, the Afghan usurper, Lahore served as the *place d'armes* of the Moguls, and, on the temporary expulsion of the former from the throne, narrowly escaped destruction. Shir Khan, as before said, at one time meditated razing it to the ground, and transferring its inhabitants to Mankot in the Sialkot range; and, on his death-bed, he lamented his not having done so as one of the errors of his life. The design was revived in the reign of his successor, but never carried into effect.*

AKBAR.—After an exile of fourteen years, Humayun returned in triumph to Lahore (A. D. 1554), and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants. After his death, at Delhi, A. D. 1556, and the accession of Akbar, the peace of Lahore was again disturbed by Hakim, the younger brother of Akbar, who descended from Kabul, of which province he was Governor, and seized Lahore, in A. D. 1563. He was soon expelled. In 1581 he made another attempt, but the siege was raised by the advance of Akbar in person. From A. D. 1584 to A. D. 1598, Akbar apparently made Lahore his headquarters, and undertook from thence the conquest of Kashmir and the operations against the Afghan tribes of the frontier.

It was during his residence at Lahore that Akbar would appear to have developed to their greatest extent those principles of religious liberality for which he is so conspicuous. His court was the resort of the learned of every creed, and the arena of

* If, as has been suggested, Mankot was the same as *Mahdhokor*, the capital of the Punjab at the period of the Muhammadan invasion, the policy of the transfer is obvious. Shir Khan, though called a usurper, was the representative of the native or anti-foreigner party, and would, therefore, wish to conciliate the Hindus by re-transferring the seat of Government to the ancient capital of their native rulers.

religious disputations between conflicting sects.* It is related that the Emperor erected two buildings, outside the city, for the entertainment of devotees of every kind; one, called Khairpura, for Jews, Gabrs (or fire-worshippers) and Muhammadans; and another, called Dharmpura, for Hindus. Weekly meetings were held for discussion, in which Bir Bal, Abul-faizi, Abul-fazl, and other independent thinkers, took part. Alchemy, fascination, and majic were also practised, according to one historian,† and the Emperor himself is said to have become an adept in the former art. In the same spirit of eclecticism, Akbar revived the old Persian festival in honor of the sun, and appointed Abul-fazal superintendent of fire-temples. A portion of the building, called Khairpura, is still said to remain in the vicinity of Daranagar, on the left of the road to Meean Meer,‡ and there is a memento of the imperial partiality to sun-worship in an enamelled figure of the sun, visible to this day, on the front wall of the palace.

Visit of the Portuguese Missionaries.—It was during this period that some Portuguese missionaries, at the express request of Akbar, proceeded from Goa to the Emperor's Court at Lahore. They arrived with sanguine hopes of Christianizing the country, and, in their journal, they describe Lahore as a "delightful city." On their arrival, they were taken to the imperial residence, situated "on an island in the river;" and, being introduced to the Emperor, presented him with a splendid image of the Virgin, which he received with the greatest admiration. But notwithstanding this good beginning, their hopes were not realized, and they eventually returned to Goa. Akbar's successor, Jehangir, however, was more liberal than his father. He allowed some Portuguese Jesuits to establish a mission and build a church at Lahore, and even assigned stipends to the priests. But this liberality ceased after his death. Shahjehan,

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* The *odium theologicum* thus excited led sometimes to fatal disputes. In one of them, Mulla Ahmad, a learned Shia, compiler of the "Tarikh-i-Alfi," was assassinated, in the streets of Lahore, by one Mirza Fulad. The murderer was sentenced to be bound alive to the leg of an elephant, "and thus," adds the Sunni narrator, "attained martyrdom."—See Sir H. Elliot's "Biographical Index of the Muhammadan Historians of India."

† Abd-ul-Qadir, author of the "Tarikh-i-Budauni."

‡ It is not improbable that there is an allusion to the practice of alchemy at Khairpura in the following passage in the inscription on the Tomb of Mian Mir, which is in the immediate vicinity of Daranagar :—

که خاک دوش رشک اکسیر شده

The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone of the alchemist.

a more strict Musalman, withdrew the pensions and pulled down the church; but some traces of it still remained when Lahore was visited by the French traveller Thevenot, in A. D. 1665. A crucifix and a picture of the Virgin were even then observable on the gateways of the palace.*

It was about this period also (A. D. 1584) that Lahore was visited by four of our countrymen, Messrs. Fitch, Newberry, Leedes and Storey, members of the Turkey or Levant Company. The former left an account of his travels, but gives no detailed description of Lahore.

In A. D. 1594, the Emperor Akbar quitted for ever the city associated with the brightest period of his reign; and until his decease was engaged in military operations in the Deccan—latterly, in an unnatural contest with his eldest son, Selim.

JEHANGIR.—The latter succeeded, in A. D. 1606, under the title of Jehangir. His reign commenced as usual, with a rebellion, and Lahore felt the effects of it. Prince Khosru, the eldest son of the Emperor, seized the suburbs of Lahore, and laid siege to the citadel. His army was quickly defeated by the imperial troops, and his adherents were punished with fearful severity. Seven hundred prisoners were impaled, in two rows, leading from the gate of Lahore, and the prince was marched past them, in mock dignity, on an elephant, from Kamran's palace at Naulakha, where he had been temporarily placed, to the fort, where was kept in close confinement in chains.

GURU ARJUN MAL.—The celebrated Sikh Guru, Arjun Mal, the fourth successor of Nanak, and compiler of the "Adi Granth" was somehow implicated in the rebellion; he was imprisoned, and his death, which occurred soon after, is attributed to the rigors of his confinement, though tradition asserts that, having obtained permission from his guards to bathe in the river Ravi, which flowed by his prison, he miraculously disappeared beneath the stream. However this may be, he is regarded by the Sikhs as their first martyr, and his death was one of the causes which changed them from a peaceable to a warlike sect, and instilled into their minds that bitter hatred of Muhammadans which stood us in such stead in 1857. His humble shrine †

* Among the enamelled fresco designs executed upon the northern front of the palace may still be seen the figures of two cherubs' heads, with wings, exactly like the representations of cherubs common in ecclesiastical and scenic decorations in Europe. May not these have been copied from paintings belonging to the Jesuit church?

† A well, said to have been dug by him, may be seen in the vicinity of the golden mosque. Ranjit Singh built a baoli on the spot.

may still be seen between the palace of Moguls and the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh—a fitting locality for the memorial of him who was an unconscious cause of the downfall of the one and the elevation of the other.

Jehangir was fond of Lahore, though to one with any feeling the place would have been fraught with bitter associations. In A. D. 1622, he fixed his court here, and when he died, at Rajauri, in Kashmir, *A. D. 1627, it was his express wish that he should be buried at Lahore. He was interred, accordingly, in the garden of Nurjehan, his devoted though imperious wife, and, through her exertions, the mausoleum at Shahdara, one of the chief ornaments of Lahore, was erected to his memory. In the immediate vicinity is the tomb of Nurjehan herself, a humble imitation of that of Jehangir, as well as that of Asof Khan, or Asof Jah, her brother,† the historian, soldier and wazir, and in the latter capacity, in common with his sister, a great opponent of English interests in the Court of Jehangir,‡at the period of Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy.

SHAHJEHAN—On the death of Jehangir, Lahore was again (A. D. 1628) the scene of a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, which, as usual, terminated in the execution of the vanquished. On the one side was Shehriar, younger son of the late Emperor, supported by the once all-powerful Nurjehan, whose daughter by her former husband he had married; and on the other, Shahjehan, supported by his father-in-law, Asof Khan. Shehriar seized the treasury at Lahore, and proclaimed himself Emperor; but he and his adherents were speedily attacked and defeated by the energetic Asof Khan, and the prince himself, with the two sons of Jehangir's brother, Danial, was taken prisoner. The prince and his two cousins were put to death at Lahore, and Shahjehan and his sons remained the sole direct representatives of the house of Timur.

Asof Khan now enjoyed a position even more elevated than in the preceding reign, and retained it until A. D. 1632, when he failed in the siege of Bijanpur, from which date he seems to have lost favor.

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* The author of the "Iqbalnamah Jehangiri" states that his death was the result of a shock on the nervous system, brought on by having seen one of his attendants dashed to pieces by falling down a precipice in pursuit of a deer. This is not very credible in one who, in his own Memoirs, gloats over the atrocities committed at the commencement of his reign. Others attribute his death, with more probability, to asthma.

† He composed a portion of the "Tarikh-i-Alfi."

‡ Until Sir Thomas Roe bribed him with a valuable pearl, after which "all went on well and smoothly."—*Elphinstone's "History of India."*

Nurjehan survived until A. D. 1646, but her influence ceased for ever with the death of Shehriar. From that date she lived in seclusion, and devoted herself to the memory of her husband. She and a faithful female attendant are buried side by side in the tomb she had constructed during her lifetime.

Between A. D. 1628 and 1657, Lahore enjoyed an interval of peace and prosperity under the munificent rule of Ali Mardan Khan and Hakim Ali-ud-din, who is more commonly known by his title of Wazir Khan; but during the struggles between the sons of Shahjehan, which cast a cloud over the latter part of the reign of that Emperor, as if in retribution for the atrocities which attended its commencement, Lahore warmly espoused the cause of Dara Sheko, the eldest son and, according to our notions, the rightful heir to the throne. He had fixed his residence at Lahore and gained great popularity by his engaging manners and generous disposition, and by the interest he took in the welfare of the city which he improved by the construction of numerous *chauks*, or market-places. He collected a history of all the holy men and conventual institutions of the place,* and had, as his spiritual adviser, the eminent Lahore saint, Mian Mir, who, if we may judge of the tenets of the master by those of the disciple, must have been a singularly liberal-minded Musalman. When pursued by his brother, Aurangzeb, in A. D. 1658, at a time when his cause was almost hopeless, Lahore supplied him with men and money; † and, when his wife died, during his hurried retreat to the western frontier, Lahore received her last remains. The disasters of his flight to Gujrat, the scene near Ahmadabad as the city closed its gates against him, his betrayal and cruel death, are matters beyond the scope of the present work, and the reader is referred for an account of them to the graphic pages of Bernier, or the more discriminating narrative of Elphinstone. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance at Lahore, and the costly Badshahi mosque, erected at Lahore by Aurangzeb, a few years after this event, has ever been held in disrepute, because built from the "spoils of blood;" that is, from the proceeds of the confiscated estates of Dara.‡

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Lahore had but little connection with the political events of the time, as the attention of the Emperor was chiefly directed to quelling the rising power of the

* The work is still extant, but shows no trace of the alleged heretical opinions of its author.

† Among his adherents was Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru.

‡ The mosque was converted into a powder-magazine by Ranjit Singh, and has only lately been restored to the Muhammadans; but the boon is but little appreciated by them.

Mahrattas in the Deccan, and the rebellion of the tribes of Rajputana.

LAHORE AFTER THE DEATH OF AURANGZEB.—But from the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Ranjit Singh, the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As the capital of an outlying province, it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Mogul empire. Ruled over by governors inadequately supported, it became the *point d'appui* of Sikh insurrections, and, like a second Ariminum, the *iter ad bella* of every invader from the West.

Almost immediately after the death of Aurangzeb, the Sikhs, who had been kept under subjection during his energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under a leader named Banda, and at length seriously threatened Lahore. The Emperor, Bahadur Shah, the son and successor of Aurangzeb (A. D. 1712) marched to Lahore, with a view of crushing the rebellion, but died before he could achieve any decisive success. One of the gateways of Lahore, the "Shah Alami" gateway,* was called after his name, and the fact furnishes some testimony to the popularity of this prince. whose toleration was a great contrast to the bigotry of his predecessor. It has been said, indeed, that "had Bahadur Shah, and not Aurangzeb, succeeded Shahjehan, the family of Timur might have still sat on the throne of Delhi."

His death was followed by the usual contest among the sons. Azim-usshan, a younger son, but more popular than the others, endeavoured to seize the throne and oust his elder brother, Jehandar. A conflict ensued between the brothers and their respective partizans outside the city walls ; Azim-usshan was driven from the field, and fled precipitately to the Ravi, which he endeavoured to cross upon an elephant. But the river being swollen and rapid, owing to the melting of the snows at its source in the Himalayas, he was swept away and drowned.

But his death was not unavenged. Seven months afterwards, Jehandar was prostrate before Farokshir, the son of Azim-usshan, who had marched from Bengal with a large army, and by him sternly put to death.

The struggles between Jehandar and Farokshir for the imperial throne, and the dissensions and intrigues in the court of the latter, encouraged the Sikhs to further excesses; they defeated the governor of Lahore in a pitched battle, and it became necessary for even the *faineant* Farokshir to take some measures for their repression. He appointed Abdul Samad Khan, a Turanj

* It was formerly called the "Bherwala" gateway.

nobleman, and an officer of known vigour, to the viceroyship of Lahore; the new governor obtained a brilliant success over the rebels, and took Banda himself prisoner, whom he despatched to Delhi. Abdul Samad was succeeded in the viceroyship by his son Zikariya Khan, under the title of Khan Bahadur, and for twenty-one years (A. D. 1717—1738) the Punjab was peaceful. The weakness of the Court of Delhi raised the viceroy into a satrap, who, safe for a time in his palace at Begampura, viewed with complacency the failing powers of the house of Timur and the rise of the Mahrattas.

INVASION OF NADIR SHAH.—At length, in 1738, the citizen, of Lahore heard with dismay of the approach of a new enemy from the west, led by the Turkomani warrior, Nadir Kuli Khan, who, from his humble home by the fountain Margab, in the vale of Azerbijan, issued forth the conqueror of Khorassan and Meshed, the lord of Persia, and vanquisher of the house of Timur.

On the 18th November 1738, he crossed the Indus, passed rapidly, without boat or raft, the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, writes his Secretary, Mirza Mehdi—"furious as the ocean or as an arm of a destructive sea,"—and pushed on for Lahore. A faint show of resistance was made at Wazirabad, and again in the vicinity of Lahore, but to no purpose, and at length the invading army encamped in the gardens of Shalimar. Zikariya Khan, the viceroy, had no particular affection for the Court of Delhi, and was soon convinced that discretion is the better part of valour. He brought twenty lakhs of rupees and a vast array of elephants, and presented them before the throne of the invader: the result was that Zikariya was confirmed in his governorship, and Lahore, this time, escaped pillage. On the 29th December, the troops of Nadir Shah quitted Lahore for Delhi.

The prostration of the Mogul empire by the ensuing victory of Karnal and the sack of Delhi gave fresh courage to the Sikhs, who had been restrained during the vigorous rule of Abdul Samad and Zikariya Khan; but the latter was now dead, and his son and successor, Yuhiya Khan, was less fortunate. In 1746, a marauding band of Sikhs had collected at Eminabad, a locality associated with sacred recollections to their minds, for here is the shrine of Rori Sahib,* marking the spot where their Guru,

* *Rori* means "hard ground," and the expression *Rori Sahib* is an instance of a habit, characteristic of oriental races, of personifying localities. Thus we have Amritsar-ji, Darbar Sahib, &c., just as if an Englishman were to speak of "my Lord Parliament-house." The Lahore district abounds in localities thus "canonized," as being associated with some act in the life of Nanak,—*e. g.*, Nankanah Sahib, the place of his birth; Balkarira Sahib, the place where he spent his youth; Mañjisthan-ji, the tree beneath which he slept, Kiari Sahib, where he tended his herd of cattle.

Nanak, in performance of a vow of penance, knelt down and prayed upon the hard ground. Troops were sent by Yuhiya Khan to disperse the Sikhs, who, inspired by the sanctity of the place, fell upon the detachment with fury and overpowered it. The news of this disaster exasperated the viceroy, who despatched another overwhelming force, under the command of Lakhpat Rai, which succeeded in defeating the insurgents. Those who were taken prisoners were brought into Lahore, and executed on the north-east side of the city, then known as the horse-market, but since the period of Sikh rule by the name of "Shahid Ganj," or Place of Martyrs; and the spot of the execution is indicated by a shrine erected to the memory of Bhai Taru Singh, the chief martyr, who, though offered pardon if he would consent to part with his long hair, the outward badge of his faith, preferred death to apostasy.

INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH.—Two years from this event, A. D. 1748, a more powerful enemy appeared before the walls of Lahore, in the person of Ahmad Shah, the successor of Nadir Shah, who had no sooner established himself on the throne than he marched an army into India. The viceroyship at Lahore was then a bone of contention between the two sons of Zikariya Khan, Yuhiya and Shah Nawaz Khan, while the Court of Delhi looked on, too weak or too indolent to interfere. To aid his cause, Shah Nawaz encouraged the advance of Ahmad, recollecting that his father had not fared ill at the hands of the western invader.

Ahmad Shah advanced; but his army was small, and Shah Nawaz Khan, having prevailed over his brother, thought better of his treachery. He met the invading forces, was disastrously defeated under the walls of the city, and Ahmad took possession of Lahore.*

The first invasion of Ahmad, having passed Lahore, met with a check in Sirhind, and the conqueror returned the way he came. Mir Mannu, son of the Delhi Wazir, who had distinguished himself in the battle, was appointed Governor of Lahore.

At the close of 1748, Ahmad again crossed the Indus, but the invasion was this time warded off, partly by the bold front assumed by Mir Mannu, at the banks of the Chenab, and partly by diplomacy. The following year it was renewed with better success. The invader marched without opposition to Lahore, and halted a short distance from the suburb of Shahdara, where

* At the back of the Jama Masjid, there is the tomb of one Sabir Shah, who was put to death for advising the people to submit to Ahmad.

Mir Mannu had entrenched himself. He crossed the river, however, at a ford higher up, and proceeded to invest the city, his own camp being fixed in the vicinity of the Shalimar gardens. For four months Mir Mannu made a good defence. At length, as provisions and forage began to fall short, he imprudently risked a general action. On the morning of the 12th April 1752, he marched out of his entrenchment, and took up a position near the village of Mahmud Buti. A battle ensued, which was sustained for some hours, with doubtful success, on both sides; but at length the tide was turned by a charge of the Durani Horse, and Mir Mannu retired into the citadel.* The next morning, however, finding further resistance hopeless, he repaired to the tent of the conqueror to make his submission, when the following dialogue is said to have taken place:—"How is it," said Ahmad Shah, "that you have not, long ere this, come to do homage to your lord and master?" "Because," replied Mir Mannu, "I had another master to serve." "And why," rejoined the Shah, "did not your master protect you in this hour of need?" "Because," returned the other, "he knew that Mir Mannu would take care of himself." "And supposing," continued the Shah, "you had been victorious?" "I should have put you in an iron cage and sent you prisoner to Delhi," was the reply. "And now that I am victor, what," asked the Shah, "do you expect at my hands?" "If you are a tradesman," said Mir Mannu, "sell me; if an executioner, put me to death; but if you are a prince, be generous." The conqueror, struck with admiration at the dauntless bearing of his youthful adversary, called him the "Rustam of India," decorated him with a jewelled sword and confirmed him in the post of viceroy of the Punjab.†

But Mir Mannu did not long live to enjoy his newly-acquired title; he died soon afterwards, A. D. 1752, leaving an infant son and a widow. The latter succeeded as guardian of her son, for a time, and vainly endeavoured to keep upon good terms

* The scene of the battle is marked by a large quadrangular tomb of masonry. This, say the neighbouring villagers, was erected by the last surviving son of Aziz Beg, a person of distinction in Mir Mannu's army, who, with his five other sons, fell in the battle: the survivor, being unable to recognise the bodies of his father and brothers, to make sure, collected the bones of all those slain in the place where the fight was thickest and buried them in a large vault below the tomb. The plain around is still strewn with human bones.

† His memory is held in great repute by Muhammadans, but detested by the Sikhs, whom he treated with great severity. He was buried near Shahid Ganj, where the remains of his tomb may still be seen. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs, in a moment of religious frenzy, dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Mannu, and scattered them to the winds.

with the Courts of both Kabul and Delhi; at length, however, her duplicity was discovered, and the Delhi vizier summarily put an end to her intrigues by having her seized in her own house and carried off a prisoner.* This violent act afforded the Durani a pretext for a fourth invasion (A. D. 1755-56). Lahore was occupied without opposition and placed under the conqueror's son, Prince Timur; but an act of intolerance on his part, in defiling the sacred tank at Amritsar, roused the fury of the Sikhs, now a rapidly rising sect, Sikh horsemen swarmed round the city walls, and assumed so threatening an attitude, that Prince Timur thought it prudent to retire, and Lahore, for the first time (A. D. 1756—58) fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Their leader, Jassa Singh, a carpenter, at once assumed the prerogatives of sovereignty, and struck a coin, bearing the inscription, "Coined by the grace of the Khalsah." Their occupation this time, however, was short-lived; they were expelled by a new enemy in the Mahrattas, under a chief named Ragoba, whom Adinah Beg Khan, the deputy of Mir Mannu, had invited to his assistance. With their help, he was installed on the viceregal throne (A. D. 1758); but he enjoyed his success only a few months. He died leaving a name still held in some respect as that of the last Mogul Governor of Lahore.†

The success of the Mahrattas led to a fifth invasion by Ahmad Shah (A. D. 1759), which resulted in their disastrous overthrow at Panipat, A. D. 1761. One Bûland Khan was made chief magistrate at Lahore; but the Government machinery was powerless, the Sikhs again assumed a formidable appearance, and they besieged his successor, Obeid Khan, in the fort of Lahore. A sixth descent of the Durani scattered the Sikh forces, and inflicted on them a terrible slaughter, near Ludhiana. He returned by the way of Lahore, and left one Kabuli Mal governor, the country being ravaged by Sikh horsemen. The successes of the Sikhs in Sirhind incited Ahmad Shah to undertake his seventh invasion; but he retired, somewhat precipitately, without having effected his object. Kabuli Mal was ejected, and the Sikhs again became masters of Lahore.

In 1767, Ahmad Shah made his eighth and last invasion, but had to retire without success, harassed by the ever-present Sikh cavalry.

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* Bikhari Khan, who built the Soneri Masjid, or Golden Mosque, in the city of Lahore, was a favorite of this lady; but having, in an unlucky hour, incurred her displeasure, was, by her orders, surrounded and beaten to death with shoes.

† He was buried at Gujranwala, where his tomb and garden may still be seen.

During thirty years following the final departure of Ahmad Shah (A. D. 1767—1797), the Sikhs were left to themselves, and increased in wealth and numbers. They gradually divided themselves into independent *misls*, or bands, under the command of hereditary chieftains, having a common place of meeting at Amritsar, which was to them what Delphi or Dodona was to the Hellenes, or the Ferentine fountain to the tribes of Latium. Lahore, meanwhile, was portioned out amongst a triumvirate of Sikh Chieftains named, respectively, Gujar Singh, Lena Singh and Sobha Singh, who are spoken of to this day as the "Three Hakims." The first had his stronghold in a brick fort between Shalamar and Lahore, which still bears his name; Lena Singh in the citadel; and Sobha Singh in the garden of Zebinda Begum, which he turned into a fort, now known by the name of Nawakot.

INVASION OF SHAH ZEMAN.—At length, A. D. 1797, the spell was again broken. Shah Zeman, the successor of Timur on the throne of Kabul, but known in after-times as the blind exile of Ludhiana, and the brother of the unfortunate Shah Shujah, made a new attempt to establish a Durani empire from Kabul to the Ganges. His advance created the liveliest sensation not only in the Punjab, but even in the Council Chamber at Calcutta. Governors-General wrote long minutes, augmented the native army, and laid the foundation of that chronic state of apprehension which ended in the expedition to Afghanistan.

In the beginning of the cold season, Shah Zeman appeared before Lahore, and the tall sheep-skin cap of the then youthful warrior is still recollected, as he rode upon a prancing steed on the plain fronting the palace. But his expedition was arrested by bad tidings from home, and he retired, after exacting a subsidy of thirty lakhs from the few wealthy merchants who still remained. The next year, it was renewed with no better success; but the event is interesting as being the first occasion on which Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh, chief of the Sukherchakiya misl, came prominently into notice, and made the first step towards obtaining the sovereignty of the Punjab, by securing from the retiring Durani Emperor a formal grant of the chiefship of Lahore. The history of Lahore is henceforth merged in the history of its great ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the events of whose life are fully detailed in the now familiar pages of Murray, Cunningham, and the "History of the Punjab." From this period, therefore, it is not proposed to give more than a brief *resume* of events.

RANJIT SINGH.—In 1799, Ranjit Singh became master of Lahore, which was then in possession of Sardar Cheit Singh, the son of the "Triumvir" Lena Singh, after a short contest, in which Ranjit Singh was aided by the treachery of the leading men. In 1801, Ranjit Singh assumed the title of *Sirkar*, established a mint, and commenced his career as a sovereign. In 1802, he obtained the celebrated gun "Zamzamah," a huge piece which Ahmad Shah had used in the battle of Panipat, but had left behind at Lahore, as too unwieldly to take back to Kabul. The gun had hitherto been in possession of the most powerful of the misls, the Bhangis of Amritsar, and came to be regarded as the talisman of Sikh empire. Hence its capture by Ranjit Singh added greatly to his prestige. From this period, the tide of success flowed on apace; Jhang, Kasur, Pathankot, Sialkot, Gujrat, felt the power of his arms, and the chiefs of Mooltan, Jullundur, and Kasauli, were glad to ward off an attack by timely submission, and acknowledgment of Ranjit Singh as lord paramount. In 1812, he became possessed of the person of Shah Shujah, and of the gem *Koh-i-Nur*; effectually opposed the hitherto irresistible progress of Afghan invaders, and re-occupied the fort of Attock. In 1814, he suffered his first reverse, in an attempt to conquer Kashmir; but he so far succeeded as to obtain from the governor a formal recognition of the paramount authority of the Lahore Darbar. In 1818, Mooltan was besieged and taken by his forces, and the province annexed to the empire of the Maharaja. In 1819, Kashmir was at length conquered. This was followed by the annexation of the Derajat, or tract of country between the Indus and the Suleiman range; and Peshawar was captured in 1823.

Ranjit Singh died in 1839, lord of the Punjab from the Suleiman range to the Sutlej, and from Kashmir to beyond Mooltan, an empire little less in extent than that of Jeipal, having a regular army and three hundred pieces of artillery. But the Hindu supremacy, revived by him, was hollow and unsubstantial. It was based, not upon a national movement, but upon the military ardour of a religious sect, whose action he united by the force of his personal character. Hence, like other empires which have been similarly constructed, it was destined to perish *mole sua*. Its foundation being thus unstable, with no leading principle to give it coherence,—for the consolidating system of its founder had destroyed the bond of union which once existed in the yearly Gurumata, or assemblage of Sikh chieftains at the Sacred Tank, without even the prestige of antiquity,—the moment the directing power was weakened, the fabric of Government fell to pieces,

and the very source of its strength, the large, well-disciplined army, became the immediate cause of its destruction.

SUCCESSORS OF RANJIT SINGH.—As might be expected, it is difficult, as it is useless, to attempt to analyse the motives which influenced the several actors in the political drama which followed the decease of Ranjit Singh; indeed what is most remarkable in it, is the almost total absence of anything like a political faction. There was, to a certain extent, what may be called a Dogra party, composed of the Jummoo family, who had risen into importance in the later years of the Maharaja, with their adherents; and the Khalsah party, represented by the Sindhanwalias, who were related to the family of Ranjit Singh. But neither of these parties dreamt of such a thing as the public good. Personal or family considerations, and zenanah intrigues, were the mainspring of their public acts, and their first object was to carry favor with the army.

The successors of Ranjit Singh threw themselves alternately into the hands of the one party or the other, as it suited their interest or caprice, and it thereupon became the object of the party out of favor to get rid of their obnoxious rivals. The first act in the drama was the murder of Cheit Singh, a minion of the imbecile Kharak Singh, Ranjit Singh's successor*. This was done in pursuance of a concerted design between Nau Nihal Singh, the heir-apparent, and the Jummoo party; but no sooner had the object been attained than Nau Nihal turned against his friends.

Kharak Singh died in 1840. Nau Nihal Singh, who, there is reason to believe, had hastened his father's death by poison, was the same day killed by the fall of a portion of an archway,† as he was proceeding on foot from witnessing the cremation of his father's remains. The ashes of father and son rest side by side beneath two small domes to the left of the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh.

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* He was murdered whilst sleeping in the verandah in front of the "Takht," or throne, in the fort, from which the Mogul Emperors administered justice.

† The archway was close by the tomb of Ranjit Singh, and led, through another archway, into the Hazuri Bagh; it has since been pulled down. Nau Nihal Singh was a young prince of great vigour and activity, and had been virtually ruler during the last six months of his father's life. He has been called the "Hotspur" of the Punjab. The fall of the archway was, *of course*, attributed by some to design, and Gulab Singh has been denounced as the author. But the *proof* is confined to the bare assertions of some of the Sikh courtiers, and to the fact that some endeavours were made to conceal, at first, the amount of injury sustained by the prince. On the other hand, it is not explained by what delicate mechanism the fall of a portion of the archway should be timed to a second, and, until this is explained, the assertion must appear incredible, while the accusation of Gulab Singh is inconsistent with the fact that his own son was one of the victims.

The death of Nau Nihal Singh was followed by a struggle between the mother of the deceased prince, in concert with the Sindhanwalia party, and Sher Singh, a disowned son of Ranjit Singh aided by Dhyan Singh, the Jummoo prince and favorite of Ranjit Singh. The *soi-disant* queen-regent aided, strange to say, by Gulab Singh,* the brother of Dhyan Singh, held the fort, and it became necessary for Sher Singh to besiege them. The siege lasted four days, from the 14th to the 18th of January 1841. The main attacks of the besiegers were made from the Hazuri Bagh, where Sher Singh took up his position, in the then unfinished marble pavilion,† in front of the massive gateway of Akbar. Twelve cannons were directed against the fort walls, and zamburahs, or light guns, used in the mountain warfare of Kashmir, were placed on the tops of the minarets of the great mosque of Aurangzeb, which overlook the fort. The bombardment resulted in the submission of the queen and her party, and the coronation of Sher Singh.

Sher Singh, in his turn, fell a victim to a coalition between the Sindhanwalias and the Dogra chiefs. On the 15th September 1843 he was assassinated by Ajit Singh, the Sindhanwalia chief, while inspecting levies at a country seat, called Shah Balawal; and its marble lattice window still bears, it is said, the impress of the bullet which passed through his heart.‡

Having succeeded in their attempt, the Sindhanwalias forthwith turned their hands against their late ally, Raja Dhyan Singh, who was shot down and cut to pieces within an hour of the death of Sher Singh, at the summit of the ascent into the fort from the Hazuri Bagh. This led to a second siege of Lahore by Hira Singh, son of Dhyan Singh, aided by the Khalsah army, animated by the prospect of high pay and plunder. The wall was breached; Ajit Singh, the assassin, sprang over the north-east angle of the fort, and was cut to pieces in the place where he fell; Lena Singh, already wounded, fell into the hands of the soldiery, and was shot and hacked to death.

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* This conduct of Gulab Singh is usually attributed to deep design; he is supposed to have made a show of resistance, in concert with Dhyan Singh, in order to obtain sufficient influence with the queen-mother to induce her to surrender. But Sir George Clark, whose position and knowledge of the parties give the greatest weight to his opinion, considers that Gulab Singh's conduct was not designed, but that, being a guest of the queen-mother at the time, he was simply acting in accordance with the Rajput laws of hospitality, in fighting for the protection of his hostess.

† The building still bears the mark of bullets and three-pound shot fired from the fort-walls on this occasion.

‡ Sher Singh was far inferior in ability to his predecessor, Nau Nihal Singh. The most remarkable feature in his character was his love of dress; he is said to have invented a very gaudy silk pattern which still bears his name.

For a little more than a year Hira Singh was virtual ruler, in the name of Dhalip Singh, the son of the Rani Chandan (or Jindan), a queen of Ranjit Singh; he fell owing to a personal quarrel with the Rani, and his unpopularity with the fickle Khalsah army. He fled, with his adviser, Pandit Jallah, pursued by Jowahir Singh, the Rani's brother, and troops of Khalsah horse. From Shahdara the pursuit was closely kept up for some twelve miles, until the Pandit fell from his horse, from exhaustion, and was cut to pieces.* Hira Singh continued his flight, and headed his pursuers; but imprudently stopping at a village to get a draught of water, he was surrounded and slain, after a desperate resistance. Jowahir Singh, in his turn, became unpopular with the "prætorians" of Lahore, and was deliberately shot on parade. Lal Singh, the paramour of Rani Chandan, then became nominally wazir; but the Government was really the will of the army at Lahore. Irritation at the defensive preparations made by the English Government, restlessness, and desire for plunder, prompted the invasion of our territories on the 11th of December 1845. The battles of Moodkee, Firushahr, and Sobraon, and the occupation of Lahore, followed; then, at length, in the words of a local ballad, "sorrow was silenced, and the Sikh empire became a story of the past."

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*There are different accounts of this affair, but this is the one commonly received.

DESCRIPTIVE.

Area originally covered.

THAT Lahore formerly covered a far larger area than it does at present is at once apparent from the extent of the ruins of old buildings. Some local authorities, however, are of opinion that different regions were popular at different periods, and that at no one time was the vast extent which the remains indicate covered by an inhabited city. But that the inhabited area has greatly shrunk is evident from the fact that of 36 *guzars* or quarters into which Lahore is known to have been divided, only 9 are included within the area of the modern city. Others have supposed that the actual city, that is, the inhabited portion of Lahore, never extended beyond its present limits, and that the mass of debris which everywhere meets the eye is composed entirely of the remains of tombs and garden walls. The supposition may be proved to be erroneous, not only by the evidence of eye-witnesses, Native and European, such as Bernier, Tavernier, and Thevenot, but also from the existence, among the debris, of numerous small wells, such as are constructed in the private dwelling-houses of a closely-packed city and from the position of the large ruined mosque on the right-hand side of the Amritsar road, known as the Idgah, or place of assembly upon Muhammadan feast-days. These buildings are almost always erected in the immediate outskirts of a town; it may be inferred, therefore, that when this mosque was built the city extended as far as its immediate vicinity; but the city is now nearly three miles off, and the building has long ceased to be the rendezvous of the Faithful on their holy days. Again, we have a casual notice, in a Muhammadan writer of Akbar's time, of a certain *guzar* or quarter, which is now desolate and upwards of a mile from the city, as being the most populous quarter of Lahore; and lastly, we have the analogy of other Eastern cities, such as Kabul, Tabriz or Ispahan, where the suburbs, that is the portion of the city beyond the walls, are far the most extensive and important parts of the town. Upon the whole it may be considered probable that in its best days, that is during the reign of Shahjehan, the city must have had a circuit of some 16 or 17 miles. The portion of the city outside the walls probably consisted of numerous thickly inhabited spots connected with the city gates by long bazars. The intervals

between these different quarters were filled up with tombs, gardens, and mosques, whose remains now form a conspicuous feature in the aspect of the environs of Lahore. The *Moti Mahal*, or "Regent-street" of old Lahore, is said to have been in the vicinity of the present civil station, and to this day coins and remains of jewellery are occasionally picked up in that locality after heavy rains.

It is easier to form an idea of the size and extent of the old city of Lahore than of its magnificence. Few cities have suffered more from desolating hordes and from anarchy than Lahore during the last 120 years previous to the inauguration of English rule. Eight times did the troops of Ahmad Shah Durani pass through Lahore: Mahrattas and Sikhs have done their work of destruction, and the buildings being, for the most part, built of brick, have perished and are perishing rapidly from mere exposure. But it is pretty certain, from the accounts we possess and from the absence of any but insignificant specimens of Hindu and Patan remains, that, until the period of the Mogul dynasty, the city had no architectural pretension; on the other hand, in the number and importance of its tombs, the profuse use of glazed tiles and enamelled frescoes as an architectural decoration, the recurrence of the bulb-like dome and semi-domed gateway, we have all the characteristics of the Mogul, or what may be termed the florid, style of Indo-Muhammadan architecture, standing perhaps in a similar relation to the Patan to that which the decorated style of English architecture bears to that termed semi-Norman. As far as can be judged from existing remains, Lahore can never have equalled Delhi in its public buildings, though the superior size of its private edifices would indicate the existence of more private wealth. Still, the tomb of Jehangir, the palace of that prince and of his successor, Shahjehan, the mosque of Wazir Khan, the Pearl mosque, the gardens of Shalimar, and the Badshahi, or Imperial Mosque of Aurangzeb, are no mean specimens of architecture, and if we could imagine the front of the palace, undisfigured by Sikh and English additions, with its colored frescoes fresh and vivid, the river flowing at its base, and eastward, as far as the eye could reach, a massive quay of masonry, with flights of steps at intervals and gardens extending to the water's edge, the now deserted suburbs filled with a thriving population and interspersed with tombs and pavilions rising amid luxuriant gardens, whose gates glittered with many-colored porcelain—we should form a conception of what we have reason to believe Lahore really was in the period of its prime.

LAHORE OF THE HINDU PERIOD.—There are no architectural remains of the old Hindu city of Lahore, a circumstance which might well be explained by the absence of stone material, and the numerous destructive invasions to which the city has been subjected; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation, for the fact is in accordance with what all Indian architectural researches tend to show, namely, that the northern Hindu race was not, until a comparatively late period, in the habit of building temples, or durable edifices of any kind. Even at Delhi, the seat of Hindu dynasties from upwards of a thousand years before Christ to more than a thousand years after the Christian era, and there, where is abundance of stone, no specimens of Hindu architecture exist dating earlier than the tenth or the eleventh century. There are some grounds for supposing that the old Hindu city of Lahore did not occupy exactly the site of the modern city. Tradition points to the vicinity of Ichra, a village about three miles to the west, as the site of old Lahore. The name of the village was formerly Ichra Lahore, a name still to be found, it is said, upon old documents and occasionally adopted in *hundis*, or native bills of exchange, drawn upon Lahore. Moreover some of the oldest and most sacred Hindu shrines are to be met with in this locality.* Should such be the case, it is not improbable that the gateway of the present city, known as the Lahori or Lohari gateway, was so called as being the gateway looking in the direction of *Lohawar*, or old Lahore, just as the Kashmiri Gate looks towards Kashmir, and the Delhi Gate of modern Delhi to the ancient city of that name.

LAHORE UNDER THE PATANS.—But there is not only a total absence of old Hindu architectural remains. With the exception of two small mosques in the heart of the city, the Nimiwala Masjid and Shiranwala Masjid, and the ruins of one or two shrines, there are no architectural relics of an earlier date than the time of Humayun. This fact, coupled with the silence of earlier writers, leads to the conclusion that Lahore, at the period of the Patan dynasties, though a place of considerable importance, was not remarkable for its extent or the beauty of its buildings. Amir Khosru, at the end of the thirteenth century, alludes to Lahore and the twin city of Kasur simply as inhabited spots in the midst of a desolate waste. Ibn Batuta, who travelled from Mooltan to Delhi in the middle of the fourteenth, did not think it worth a visit; Timur, at the end of the same century, left it to a subordinate to plunder; the Emperor Baber, who always

* I allude to the *Bhairo ka sthan* and the *Chandrat*.

took care to see what was to be seen, and in his Memoirs has left graphic descriptions of Kabul, Samarkand, and the environs of Delhi, leaves Lahore unnoticed; lastly Amin Ahmad Razi, author of a work called "Haft Aqlim," dated A. D. 1624, states that, until the time of Akbar, Lahore was nothing more than a number of detached hamlets.

In an architectural point of view, therefore, Lahore is essentially a Mogul city; and its Muhammadan remains, with a few exceptions, are in the Mogul style; the exceptions being the tomb of Shah Mussa, by the railway station, which is Patan; and the mosque of Miriam Makani or Miriam Zamani, the style of which is transitional between the Patan and the Mogul.

To the Moguls we owe the introduction of what now form three striking characteristics of the principal cities of Upper India.

In the first place, there grew up with them a new style of architecture, more splendid and elaborate, though less massive, than the later Patan, from which it was developed.

In the next place, to their love of the picturesque in nature,—a pleasing feature in their character,—we owe the construction of those regularly-planned gardens,* with their dense foliage, fountains and imitative cascades, which have excited the enthusiastic admiration of travellers to the East. Coming from the well-watered valleys and waving foliage of Ush and Andejan, Baber regarded with almost European disgust the dusty, treeless plains of the Punjab. In his Memoirs, he bitterly complains of the ugliness of the cities of Hindustan. "They have no walled gardens," he says, "no artificial water-courses;" and he seems to have lost no time in setting them a good example, by laying out a magnificent garden at Agra. "The men of Hind," he continues, "who had never before seen places formed on such a plan, or laid out with such elegance, gave the name of Kabul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built."

Lastly, the same appreciation of natural scenery, combined with a solicitude for the preservation of the dead, characteristic of Tartar races, led to the erection of the numerous garden-enclosed

*It is remarkable that there is no Hindi word in common use for a "garden." *Bagh* and *chaman* are Persian, and *rouza* Arabic.

tombs, which form a picturesque feature of the environs of every Mogul city.*

REMAINS OF THE MOGUL PERIOD.—Lahore, with its numerous gardens, tombs, and ornamental gateways, must have been, in the days of its splendour, a fine specimen of an Indo-Mogul city; and though no city has perhaps suffered more from devastations and the hand of time, it can still show no mean specimens of architecture. In the old gateways leading to the fort, we have examples of the bold and massive style of Akbar, contrasting remarkably with the elegant but somewhat fantastic architecture of later periods. In the two elaborately carved vestibules, with pillars of red sandstone, supporting a sloping entablature, in the quadrangle of the citadel, known as Jehangir's Khwabgah, we have good specimens of the Hindu-Moslem style of art, usually supposed to have been peculiar to the time of Akbar. In the tomb of Jehangir, at Shahdara; the mosque of Wazir Khan, on the south side of the city; the Pearl mosque; the Throne-room and marble pavilion in the citadel; the tomb of Asof Khan; the gardens of Shalimar; the Gulabi Bagh, or "Garden of Rose-water;" the gateway of Zeb-ul-Nissa, and the Imperial Mosque of Aurangzeb, we have examples of the Indo-Mogul style proper, with its usual characteristics of bulb-like domes, supported on elaborate pendentives, ogee arches, with feathered edgings, marble lattice windows, and brilliantly enamelled walls. As works of art none of them can perhaps bear comparison with the *chefs d'œuvre* of Delhi, Agra, or Fatehpur Sikri; but there is one special feature in the Mogul buildings at Lahore which cannot fail to strike observers, namely, the profusion and excellence of the colored tiling and enamelled frescoes used as an external decoration. By it the architects of the day were enabled to compensate, to some extent, for the want of stone material and the consequent impossibility of sculpture, and to give to brick walls that appearance of costliness and durability which, in an æsthetical point of view, is essential to success. The native name of this species of decoration is *kási* or *káshi*. It appears to have been introduced, in the form in which it is found in this part of India, from China,

* The practice of building their own monuments seems at first sight to imply a distrust on the part of the Turki nobles of the piety of their heirs. It must rather, perhaps, be ascribed to the uncertainty, under an Eastern despotism, of transmitting wealth to posterity, and the certainty, under any circumstances, of its being minutely sub-divided. Most large incomes were the result either of personal favor or peculation; in either case, the fortune generally died with the possessor. We can understand, therefore, why a man who had been successful in his generation should be anxious to secure for himself a suitable monument,—that "necessary adjunct of a Tartar's glory,—" before the means to do so had been dissipated.

through Persia, by the Moguls. Tradition attributes its introduction to the influence of Tamerlane's Chinese wife. However that may be, the earliest instance, according to Fergusson, is the celebrated mosque of Tabriz, built about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of our era, just after the conquest of Persia by the Moguls. The next is the tomb of Muhammad Khudabandah, at Sultaniah, built by the successor of Ghazan Khan, the builder of the mosque at Tabriz. From this date, the use of glazed tiles became common in Persia; but it was not till upwards of two centuries from this time that it came to be so in Hindustan. The earliest instance of this mode of decoration at Lahore is the tomb of Shah Mussa, built in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. The colors of this, the oldest specimen, are as vivid, and the decoration is as perfect, as in any of the later ones; but the art did not come into general use until the time of Shahjehan, when it took a new form. Encaustic tiles were, to a great extent, disused, and the designs were executed on a hard kind of cement. This process, being probably cheaper, led to the almost universal adoption of *kashi* designs as an architectural ornament. There is hardly a mosque, or a tomb, or a gateway, built during this period, the walls of which are not covered with them. Strange to say, after the reign of Shahjehan, it became almost entirely disused, and the art may now be said to be lost in the Punjab. Colored tiles are still manufactured in Lahore and Mooltan; but the coloring is very poor, and the process of executing colored designs upon plaster is altogether unknown.

Dr. Center, the Chemical Examiner to the Punjab Government, made a careful analysis of specimens of *kashi* work, and the results of his analysis are here given :—

ANALYSIS OF KASHI WORK BY DR. CENTER.—"It consists essentially of a layer of glass spread on hard kind of plaster—sometimes on a material porcelaneous in structure. On analysis, the glass was found to be an ordinary silicate colored by metallic oxides. The plaster was found to be composed of a mixture of lime and siliceous sand, the hardness being due to silication, which accounts for its bearing the heat required to fuse glass. It is remarkable that an old Buddhist cast was found to be composed of a similar material. I got specimens made at the laboratory by an old man who practises the art at Lahore, but the work was very inferior. The glaze wanted purity and polish, and he made his plaster as hard as a stone. The finest specimens in Lahore are to be seen on Wazir Khan's Masjid, where the

glazing is very fine, but the plaster is easily broken, so that it has been destroyed in many places.

"The work consists of three parts—1*st*, the plaster called *khamir*; 2*nd*, the glass called *kanch*; and, 3*rd*, a material called *asthar*, put between them. The first operation is to make an easily fusible glass by melting powdered siliceous sandstone with carbonate of soda. Portions of the glass are pounded, mixed and fused with metallic oxides to produce glasses of various colors. Considerable skill was shown in producing the oxides from the metals or from the raw materials of the bazar. In particular, a species of black sand got from Ajmer is used to furnish three colors—black, green and blue. It contains sulphuret of copper and magnetic iron sand. These were separated by washing according to their specific gravities, and were reduced to oxides in the furnace.

"The *khamir* is made by mixing siliceous sand, lime and a quantity of the pounded glass first prepared, and according to the quantity of glass used it turns out a hard kind of mortar, or has a porcelaneous structure. It is made into a paste with rice water, and cut into pieces suitable for the pattern. It is then dried at a gentle heat, and afterwards covered with the *asthar*, which consists of lime or pounded glass containing a large quantity of lead. This is suspended in a viscid fluid and painted on the plaster, and its use is to cover small inequalities and to act as a medium to unite the glass and the plaster.

"The colored glasses are then pounded, suspended in a viscid fluid, made from mucilaginous plants, and painted over the *asthar*, and the whole is placed in the furnace till all the glass on the surface is fused. The pieces of the pattern are then put in their places and fixed by cement."

But although the art, as practised in India and Persia, seems to have been derived from China at the end of the thirteenth century, it has, doubtless, existed in other forms among Semitic nations from far more ancient times; and it is remarkable that the term *kashi* is said to be neither Hindi nor Tartar, but of Arabic origin, and akin to the Hebrew *kos*, a cup. The art was imported into Europe by the Arabians at the end of the ninth century, and adopted by the Italians, under the name of *majolica*, in the manufacture of earthenware, in the fourteenth. The art thus introduced was rapidly developed, and gave birth, in time, to the porcelain wares of Palissy, Limoges, Sevres, and Dresden.

Thus, while the nations of India and Persia, appreciating as deeply as ourselves the æsthetical value of the art, employed it largely, but almost solely, as an architectural ornament, those of the West at once applied it to articles of everyday utility; and the result is that, while the art is well-nigh lost in India, in Europe it has made, and is still making, rapid strides in improvement.

Prince Kamran, brother of the Emperor Humayun, when Viceroy of the Punjab, seems to have given the first impulse to the architectural adornment of Lahore by building a palace and garden near the suburb of Naulakha, and extending thence to the river Ravi. The palace was afterwards occupied by Asof Khan. All that remains of the palace is a large gateway, now used as a private house, in the vicinity of Lena Singh's Chauni. But the period of Lahore's greatest splendour was the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjehan, and Aurangzeb. Gardens, tombs, mosques, palaces, sprang up in every direction; the population increased, suburbs arose, until the city became, in the words of Abul-fazl, "the grand resort of people of all nations."

Akbar, as we have seen, made Lahore his capital for some fourteen years, during which time he repaired and enlarged the fort, and surrounded it and the city with a wall, portions of which still remain, though it was almost rebuilt at the commencement of the present century by Ranjit Singh. In the fort, up to within a few years, there were left some good specimens of the peculiar style of architecture adopted by Akbar; but they are nearly all destroyed; the Akbari Mahal, or Chamber of Akbar, has been razed to the ground, and the smaller throne-room has been so altered by modern additions that it is hardly recognisable as an antique building. Other architectural remains of the period are the tomb of Shah Chiragh used as a Government Office; the tomb of Kasim Khan, once the trysting-place of the Lahore wrestlers, and now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; the tomb of Shah Mussa; and a mosque called the mosque of Kala Khan, on the right hand of the road from Lahore to Meean Meer.

The following is the description of Lahore during the reign of Akbar given by Abul-fazl in the *Ain Akbari*:—

"Lahore is a very large and populous city. The fort and palace are of brick and lime, and, when this city was for some time the seat of Government, many other capital buildings were erected, and gardens laid out with taste and elegance; it became the grand resort of people of all nations, and there manufactures were brought

to the highest pitch of perfection. Through His Majesty's (Akbar's) encouragement, gardeners were brought from Iran and Turan, who cultivated the vine and various kinds of melons. The manufacture of silk and woollen carpets was introduced, together with that of brocades. In short, here could be obtained the choicest productions of Iran and Turan."

The Emperor Jehangir built but little, but there are specimens of his architecture in the greater *Khwabgah*, or Sleeping Palace; the Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque, formerly the *Chapelle Royale* for the imperial harem, but now used as the Government treasury; and the tomb of Anarkali, which, after having served a variety of secular purposes, has ended in becoming the Station Church.

The following account of Lahore as it was in the reign of Jehangir, taken from a narrative of the travels of Richard Still and John Crowther,* two Englishmen, who found their way to the Punjab, "in search of trade," in 1626, will be of interest:—

"Lahore," they say, "is one of the best cities of India, plentiful of all things, or, in Master Coryat's words, 'such a delicate and even tract of ground as I never saw before.' A row of trees extends itself on both sides the way from the town's end of Lahore, twenty days' journey, to the town's end of Agra, most of them bearing a kind of mulberry. The way is dangerous by night for thieves; by day, secure . . . . Every five or six course (*koss*) there are faire seraies of the kings or nobles, beautifying the way, in memory of their names, and entertainment of travellers, where you may have a chamber and a place to get your horse, with a store of horse-meat; but, in many of them, little provision for men, by reason of the Banian superstition. . . . . Merchants resort to this citie out of all parts of India, embarking their goods for Tatta, the chief city in Sind. Twelve or fourteen thousand camels lading yearly pass from hence to Persia by Candahar."

During the reign of Shahjehan, Lahore, though no longer the *dar-ul-hukumat*, or capital, was still a place of importance. It lay on the route of the imperial marches to Kashmir, and was the arsenal and rendezvous of the armies despatched to Balkh and the North-West frontier. It, therefore, continued to increase in size and splendour. The palace was enlarged and beautified under the superintendence of Asof Khan, and the entire frontage covered with brilliantly colored designs in porcelain work. The beautiful tomb of Jehangir, at Shahdara; the mosque of Wazir Khan, on the south side of the city; the gardens of Shalimar; the

* "Purchas, his Pilgrimage."

gateway of the Gulabi Bagh; the Idgah; the tomb of Mian Mir; the summer-house of Wazir Khan, now used as the Station Library; the gateway of Zeb-ul-Nissa; and, lastly, the tombs which line the road between Anarkali and the Shalimar gardens, are among the works of the period. The route from Agra to Lahore, in the early part of the seventeenth century, is described by a European traveller:*—"One continued alley, drawn in a straight line, and planted on both sides with date-trees, palm-trees, coco-trees, and other kinds of fruit trees."

An interesting account of Lahore as it was in the period of the Emperor Shahjehan is given in the accompanying translated extract from the Itinerary of Fra Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish monk, who visited Lahore in 1641:—

EXTRACT FROM THE ITINERARY OF FRA SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE.—"On the 21st day from our departure from Agra, at sunrise, we came in sight of the city of Lahore, which is large and capacious; but large as it appeared, there were not houses enough for the accommodation of the people, who were encamped for half a league outside the city. It is a handsome and well-ordered city, with large gateways and pavilions of various colors. I entered the city—a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets, some on foot, some on camels, some on elephants and others in small carts, jolting one against the other as they went along. Those who best could, passed on first. This being the receiving hour at Court, many of the gentry were proceeding there, accompanied by as many as 500 followers on horseback.

"Finding it difficult to proceed on account of the concourse of people, we decided to change our route, and returned about a musket's shot from the crowd and took our stand under some trees outside the city, where were a number of people selling and preparing food for the multitude, who were moving about—some eating, some selling, and others looking on. I was one among the latter, and my curiosity prompted me to proceed still further, until at last, I arrived at the principal bazar, where the odour from without prepared you for what you were to see inside—a great many shops, or, more properly speaking, kitchens, in which were sold meats of various kinds, animals, domestic and wild. In place of the pig, which is never used, horse-flesh is supplied you instead. Some shops contained fowls of all kinds; in others

* J. Albert de Mandelslo, a gentleman belonging to the embassy sent by the Duke of Holstein to the Grand Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia, in 1638.

might be seen things of all descriptions suited to the taste of all classes, such as butter, oil, scents, brinjalls, mangoes, plantains, &c. Neither was there wanting in this bazar the most simple commodity, such as rice, herbs, and vegetables. The common bread is made of a mixture of all kinds of flour baked on sheets of iron and in earthern pots, and is known by the name of *apas*. People who travel in caravans use a second kind of bread, named *curuchas*, which is made of white flour. This bread is also used by the better classes. A third bread, named *regunis*, is a finer bread made of the best flour and purified butter. Besides what I have already enumerated, there is a great deal more to be seen in these bazars; but I think I have mentioned enough to satisfy the curious reader. But what I most admired was the moderate price at which these things might be had. A man might eat abundantly and royally for two silver reals (five pence) per day. The abundance of the provisions and cleanliness of the streets surprised me much; also the peace and quietness with which everything was conducted, as well as the justness and rectitude of people towards each other; so that merchant and merchandise remain perfectly secure from thieves.

"The city of Lahore is beautifully situated, commanding agreeable views, having on one side a river with crystal waters which descend from the mountains of Kashmir, and continues its course, moistening and fertilizing the ground, till it arrives at the city of Mooltan, where it pays its tribute to the famous Indus. Lahore, the second city of the Mogul empire (as well on account of riches as its size) is ornamented with fine palaces and gardens, also tanks and fountains. As to the abundance of provisions, it would be unnecessary here to describe it. The riches of the principal street (known as the Bazar del Choco), if shown to advantage, would equal the richest European mart."

At the date of the accession of Aurangzeb, A. D. 1658, Lahore must have fallen off in wealth and populousness from what it was in the days of his predecessors. The absence of the Court, and the foundation of Shah-jehanabad, or New Delhi, had drawn away the bulk of the artificers and trading population to that more favored locality; and when Bernier passed through it in 1664, the houses had begun to look dilapidated, and the long streets of the city to be disfigured with ruins. It was still, however, the capital of the most important province of the empire and was benefitted by the occasional presence of the Emperor during his march to Kashmir, at the beginning of the hot

season. In the fourth year of his reign, the city having suffered much from the encroachments of the river, Aurangzeb had a massive quay of masonry constructed for upwards of three miles along the river's bank. The quay, it is said, was faced with lead; flights of steps, at intervals, led down to the water's edge; and rows of Persian wheels, projecting over the side, made the waters of the Ravi available for irrigating the gardens which lined its banks. The work is compared by a contemporary writer to the "rampart built by Secander Dhulkarnein against the incursions of Gog and Magog;" and as a rampart, indeed, it proved most effectual, for it not only effected the object of saving the city from destruction, but scared away the river altogether. The remains of the quay, or "Bund of Alamgir," as it is called, are still traceable between the north-east end of the fort and the village of Bhogewal. But the great work of the period is the Jama Masjid, or Musalman Cathedral, the most striking building at Lahore, whose white marble domes and almost colossal minarets may be seen for miles,—a building said by some to have owed its origin to the Emperor's pious remorse for the murder of his brother, Dara Sheko, and by others to a desire to eclipse the beauties of the mosque of Wazir Khan.

The completion of this mosque may be said to close the architectural history of Lahore. Later attempts, such as the Golden Mosque of Bikhari Khan, and the palace and tomb of Khan Bahadur, at Begampura, only prove how architectural taste fell with the fall of the empire, and became a mongrel style—half-Muhammadan and half-Hindu.

From this time, until the establishment of a Sikh kingdom by Ranjit Singh, Lahore was subject to periodical invasion, pillage, and depopulation, and was thus reduced from a mighty city to little more than a walled township in a circle of ruinous waste. Quarter after quarter became deserted. The wealthy residents of Guzar Langar Khan relinquished their extramural palaces, and retired for safety within the city walls; the merchants and traders fled in numbers to Amritsar; the artificers were dispersed, some following the invading armies on their return march to Kabul, others finding their way to Hindustan. At length, the inhabited portion of the city was confined to the area surrounded by the wall of Akbar; outside was ruin and devastation. Such was the state of Lahore when it came into the possession of Ranjit Singh, and its aspect of desolation is thus graphically described in the following extract from the diary of an English officer, who visited the Sikh capital in the year 1809:—

"*24th May.*—I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and masjids, which, fifty years ago, raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled to the ground. In going over these ruins, I saw not a human being,—all was silence, solitude, and gloom."

As might have been expected, no great improvement upon this state of things was effected during Sikh *régime*. The domination of a peasant race, of martial habits, under a sovereign ignorant of the alphabet, is not encouraging to the development of architectural taste; nevertheless Ranjit Singh, unlettered and unpolished as he was, had an idea that architecture was a good thing. Accordingly, he stripped the Muhammadan tombs of their marble facings, and sent them to adorn the Sikh temple at Amritsar. He restored the Shalimar gardens, which had gone to ruin during the troublous times of Ahmad Shah; but at the same time laid ruthless hands upon the marble pavilions by the central reservoir, and substituted structures of brick and plaster in their stead. He turned the sarai, which separated the fort and palace from the Jama Masjid, into a private garden, and placed therein the marble edifice which remains to this day the architectural *chef-d'œuvre* of his reign—an example of judicious spoliation and hybrid design.* Besides the above, a few unsightly temples to Siva, erected in honor of a favorite wife or dancing girl, and some tasteless additions to the fort, comprise all the architectural works of Ranjit Singh at Lahore. One of the latest specimens of Sikh architecture is the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh himself, his son and grandson. The building is, as usual, in design substantially Hindu, overlaid with Muhammadan details, and does not bear close inspection; but the effect at a distance is not unpleasing. Within, a lotus, carved in marble, set beneath a canopy, marks the spot where the ashes of the Lion of Lahore are laid; around it are eleven smaller ones, in memory of those who burned themselves upon his funeral pyre.†

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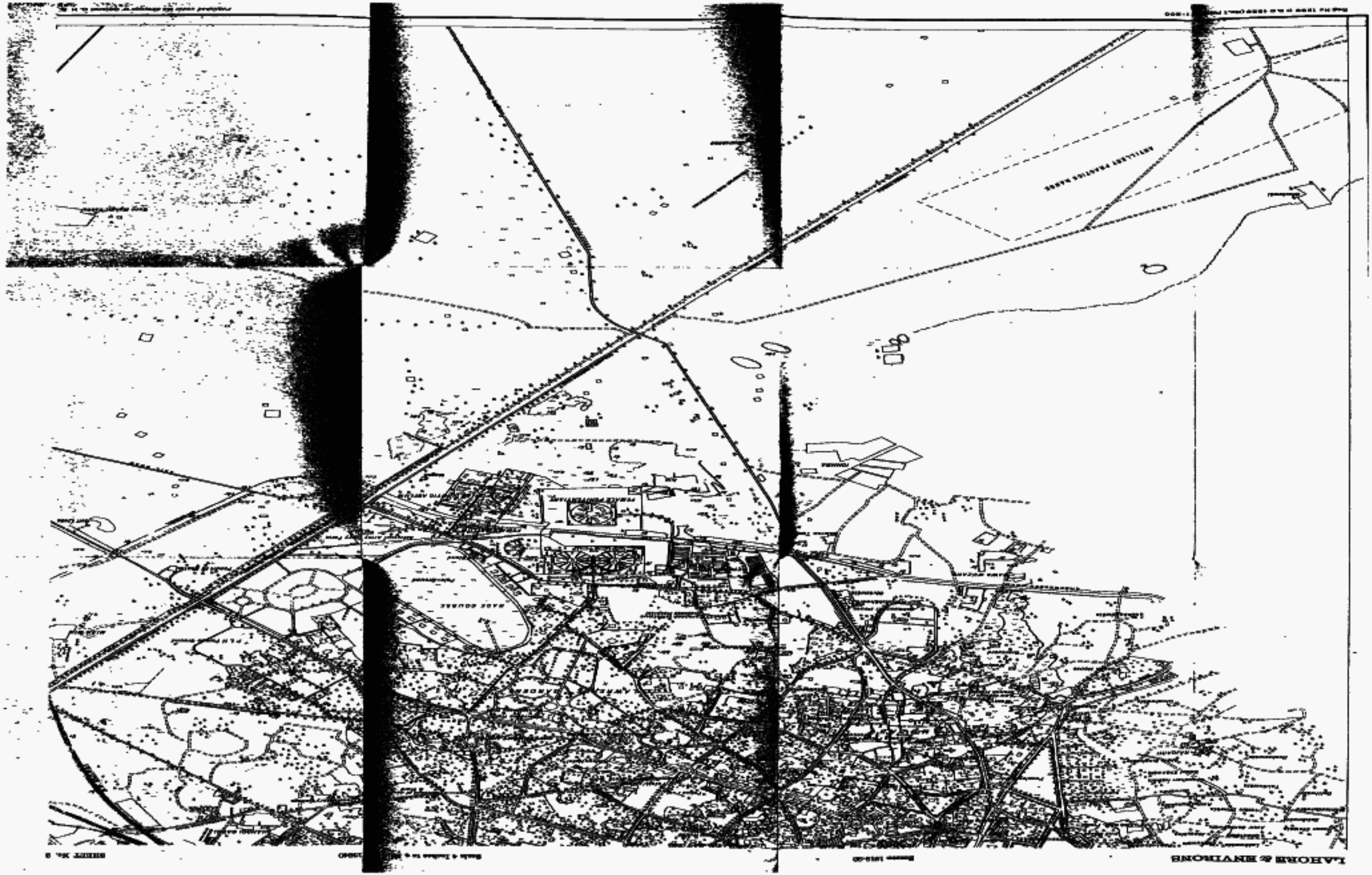
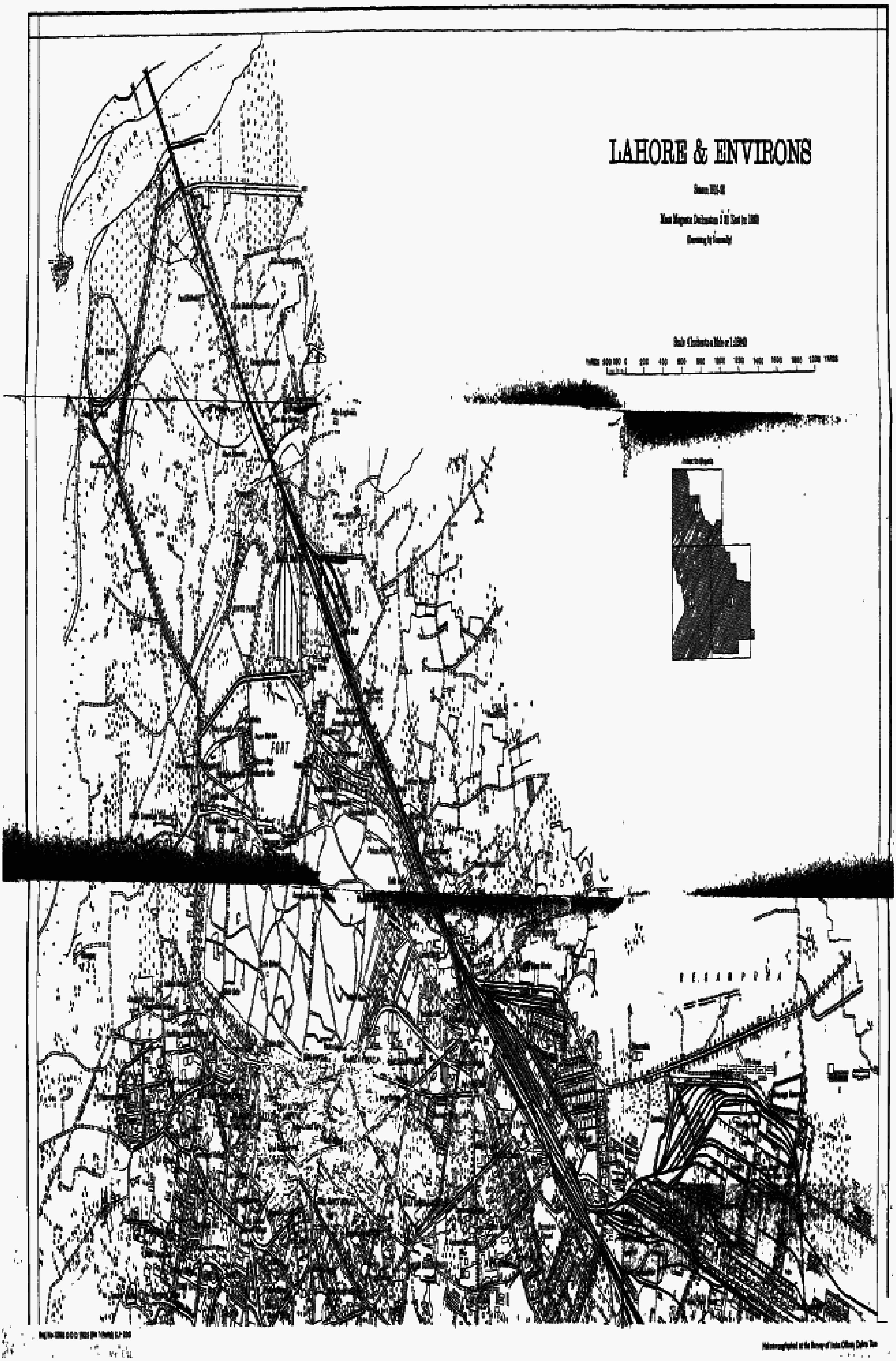
*The building was the joint production of a Muhammadan and a Hindu. The materials were taken from the tombs of Asof Khan and Jehangir at Shahdara, and that of Zebinda Begam, at Nawakot.

† The last occasion on which the rite of suttee was practised at Lahore was at the burning of the remains of the murdered Dhyan Singh. But in Kashmir an attempt at suttee was made as late as 1857, on the death of Dhyan Singh's brother, Maharaja Gulab Singh. Thousands of persons had assembled, and the victims were ready, but the energetic remonstrances of the Civil Commissioner, Captain Urmston, prevented its being carried out.

The palaces of the Sikh nobility show the same blending of Hindu and Muhammadan design, and are further disfigured by small angular chambers perched on the highest part of the building, to catch the breeze in the hot weather and rains. The walls of the chambers are gaudily but roughly painted with scenes, sometimes of a religious, sometimes of a warlike or sportive character. The former are generally taken from the life of Krishen or of Baba Nanak; the fighting scenes relate chiefly to conflicts with the Afghans of the north-west frontier, but none are remarkable as works of art.

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