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The Making of British Lahore: Fulfillment of a Colonial Desire

ABSTRACT

Lahore before it was annexed by the British in 1849 was the capital city of Ranjit Singh's kingdom. The death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, the ensuing civil war, and a scramble for power (1839-49) amongst his successors destroyed the city of Lahore. Even before Ranjit Singh took power the city had lost its splendor achieved during the Mughal rule (1526-1875). After its annexation by the British, in 1849 Lahore emerged as a colonial city. The Lahore emerging under British rule became the site of colonial desire. After the British took control of the city of Lahore pre-colonial paradigms of history, sociology, architecture, and demography receded in the background. Lahore's transformation from a medieval city into a modern British city was phenomenal. This paper argues that the transformation which Lahore underwent is amorphous in nature and this amorphousness is an intricate historical process of collusion and collation of colonial and native versions of the city. Therefore, this amorphousness engrafted on Lahore's urban spatiality resonating with history is an outcome of colonial gaze.

Keywords: Lahore, splendor, british, amorphousness, modern.

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Introduction

After its annexation, Lahore transformed from being a capital city of the Ranjit Singh's kingdom to a provincial headquarter of the province of the Punjab under the British rule. Immediately after its annexation, the British set a Board of Administration consisting of three members, Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother Lord Lawrence and Si Robert Montgomery. "The functions of the board were divided into Political, Revenue and Judicial, and the members had each special charge of one of these departments, though all worked jointly when any question of more than ordinary importance arose." (Baqir, 217). This was the first administrative step the British took to develop the city in accordance with their imagination of a colonial city.

After Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, a series of civil wars broke out. These wars weakened the military might of the Sikhs. The British took advantage of the rapidly deteriorating situation to strengthen their position in Ranjit Singh's Punjab. After a couple of wars with Ranjit Singh's feckless successors, the British army under Lord Gough ultimately defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Gujrat on 21st February, 1849. It heralded the end of the Sikh rule once for all. The proclamation of the annexation of Ranjit Singh's Kingdom was "issued at camp Ferozepur on the 29th March, 1849 A. D. by governor-general (Earl of Dalhousie)." (Baqir, 212). For further arrangements "The Maharaja Dalip Singh was required to sign the deed of abdication, through which the whole of the Punjab, and all the property of the state- including the Koh-i-Noor diamond—reverted to the British" (Harold,42).

The British rule initiated a new era of urbanization of the city of Lahore. Lahore was re-imagined and re-constructed replicating spatial mappings of western metropolis. New ideas and concepts of culture, social script, and architecture were introduced which helped in setting up newer trajectories of social, political and educational fields. Urbanization of Lahore under colonial rule brought a revolution of ideas in the life of city dwellers.

Although, the British constructed a new Lahore in more than one sense, yet, they did not discard completely the notions, traditions, customs, and architecture of the city they had occupied. The British Lahore was a combination of the similar and dissimilar, an amalgamation

of varied and different things and opposite thoughts coming together forming a new locale, a new cultural milieu, lifestyle and above all a novel building design, combining the indigenous and the foreign concepts of construction.

The initiative of the British in the area of educational and religious culture, the setting up of educational and church schools was an integral part of their colonial strategy. Missionary education has always been used for social and cultural control. Commenting on the colonial school system, Kelly and Altbach say that "colonial schools… sought to extend foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony" (2). They further state that "education in.. colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and independent development of the colonized in their own society and culture" (4).Soon after the arrival of the missionaries, Lahore witnessed a mushroom growth of missionary institutions. The byproducts of missionary schools were consumed by colonial administration. The Revd.C.Sloggett took the lead by opening up a school for the European and Eurasian children in the Fort in the fall of 1886. Amongst the 44 students, enrolled 20 were girls. Another school, the Lahore High School was established in the old barracks in the Anarkali bazaar. The best teaching staff was selected to teach the students and with the appointment of Mr. Henry Thompson as the headmaster, the school established its reputation as the best school in the town. The school committee took a very important and judicious step when it appointed Rev.E.H.Gulliver, M.A. Cambridge as the headmaster of the school. Under him, the school improved its standard and quality of education. Through the untiring efforts of Mr. Baldwin, another institution was set up. It was the orphanage for European and Eurasian boys and girls.

Rev.C.W. Forman of the American mission applied to the government in 1852 to open up an educational institution in Lahore. The permission was granted and the well-known Rang Mahal School was established. The Rang Mahal building was constructed in the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. Sometime in the Mughal rule, it had also been used as a courthouse. Before it was sold to the American Mission, it served the purpose of a police station. The Board of Administration accepted the offer of Rs.1, 000 made by the Rev, though its estimated price was Rs.4, 000.The Board kept the philanthropic object in view. The Rang Mahal

School developed in course of time into Forman Christian College. Slowly but steadily, the colonial education system in Lahore produced a class of Lahoris, who despite being scions of the city adapted English culture. They were the product of educational institutions such as Chiefs' College and other missionary educational institutions in Lahore. Chiefs' College was founded for a specific purpose. Primarily, it was established to safeguard the British interests against the rise of the Lahore's middle class saddled with college degrees from institutions like Dayanand Anglo Vedic College Lahore and Islamia College Lahore. For the construction of the Chief College, the hereditary Sardars and the feudal lords of the Punjab made generous contributions**.** Whereas the lower middle classes of the city gave donations for the building up of DAV and Islamia College Lahore. The aim of education in these institutions was to emphasize nationalism rather than loyalty to the British. The institutions established by small local charities and endowments and those established by the Christian missionaries clearly suggest that colonists divided the local population across class and rank. Both the upper and lower classes of the native learned English one for the purpose of joining ranks with the colonial elite and others for simply for their economic survival. The establishment of educational institutions with the purpose of disseminating knowledge in English language put native languages and literature on the backburner. The byproduct of these institutions showed ideological differences as the demand for freedom from colonial rule picked momentum. The urban body of students in cities such as Lahore was manipulated by Orientalist versions of history, a disguised form of Eurocentric knowledge; however a sizable body of learners also resisted against internalization of western education. The initialization of English language as a compulsory subject and medium of learning exposes the amorphous nature of colonial rendering of the city of Lahore re-structured to prioritized modern western education.

Architecture was another domain in which colonial desire of re-shaping the city was strongly manifested. In Lahore, new buildings with new material were constructed. These buildings included hospitals, prisons, penitentiaries, lunatic asylums, colleges, hotels, cinema halls, universities, courthouses, and clubs. Streets and roads in Lahore were constructed using new material and were given new names. In the Civil Station of Lahore, a new kind of residential house appeared called

bungalow, separated from its surrounding houses by green grassy belts and hedges. Initially the British altered and reshaped the Mughal administrative system making it correspond with their own concepts, needs, and requirements. They set up various civil and military offices in the old Mughal structures, tombs, and havilis. Initially "the kinds of buildings British authorities chose to reuse were more often those whose scale, architectural features, and sitting resonated closely with Anglo-European notions of civic architectural grandeur." (Glover,19)

Such enormous changes and developments transformed the physical and cultural outlook of Lahore. And the scale on which the physical, demographical, geographical and cultural transformation of Lahore took place under the British can be judged from the statements and comments recorded in the diaries and memoirs of the travellers and diplomatic missions visiting Lahore in the rule of Ranjit Singh. A British officer in Lord Charles T. Metcalfe's diplomatic mission, who came to Lahore in the fall of 1809, recorded a melancholic picture of fallen splendor. Here the lofty dwellings and masjids [mosques], 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."(xi) He further observed that "on going over these ruins I saw not a human being; all was silence, solitude and gloom" (xi). In 1831, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes on his arrival in Lahore found the streets of Lahore narrow and filthy. In 1838, a year before the death of Ranjit Singh Charles Masson an employee of the East India Company recorded his impressions of Lahore by saying that the extravagant praises bestowed upon the [the city] by the historians of Hindustan… must be understood as applicable to a former city" (xi). While the Mughals stuck to the classical notion of beautifying the physical outlook of a city, the British developed it on modern colonial lines projecting a materialist and commoditized view of urban spatiality. Clearly, in colonial Lahore the dialectic between classical Indian culture and Eurocentricism took birth. All in all, western ideas of urbanization laid its hands on as the city became an arena of amorphous cultural activity.

The British made Lahore the seat of the provincial government and gave the modern concept of social, economic, and political institutions. With them began a new era of systematic exposure of the Lahoris to Western influence. They changed the landscape of Lahore by remapping

it and built for themselves a new town to the south and south east of the walled city. Later on, this area came to be known as Civil Lines. "The Civil Lines extended approximately from the McLeod Road in the west to the Canal in the east, and from the Railway Station in the north to Jail Road in the south." (Qadeer, 180). It housed the official buildings, offices and clubs for the civil and military bureaucracy. Civil Lines became the locus of British civilian administration. It was an exclusive world of British officials, their homes, clubs, shopping centers, and playgrounds. Lahore witnessed a rapid increase in the European population. According to Talbot:

> The growing European population secured its groceries and general merchandise from Parsi and European traders at Anarkali bazaar, which had developed as a new commercial shopping area 'stretching from Lahori Gate to Nila Gumbad.' St. James' Church at Anarkali, the Anglican Cathedral, spiritually fed it. When the later liberal imperialist Charles Dike visited the city as a young man in 1867, he recorded that Lahore 'is far more English than Bombay. (4)

The British were not bound by the social obligations of kinship, century's old tradition in India, so they created for themselves an island in the sea of natives. The colonizers preferred to keep themselves aloof from the natives. The creation of secluded areas called the Civil Lines was a common feature of British way of life in India. It had even become an integral part of their creative imagination as well.

In time, the Indian officials and professionals also began to live in the Civil Lines. A boulevard lined with trees known as the Mall was constructed which became the spine of the Civil Lines. The Lahoris began to call it the *than disarak* because of its greenery and spaciousness. Along this artery were constructed most of the new buildings of the British administration, the Government House (1849) the High Court (1889) Central Telegraph Office (1880) the University Hall (1876) the General Post Office (1912). These buildings are not only monuments commemorating the arrival of the new ruling class, but also symbols of social institutions and practices that British brought with themselves. The British government also built railways, introduced public transport, and

established schools, hospitals and other buildings for public use.

In the 1860s, the British built a cantonment, Mian Mir, for the troops at a distance of five miles from the Civil Lines. All these modern measures and practices changed the face of Lahore. It became three towns in one. This kind of amorphousness Lahore never experienced before. According to Qadeer, the British introduced a new idiom of good life in Lahore: "The bungalow, the flush toilet, wide roads, the clubs, and the cricket grounds became the necessities of life"(72). Such facilities were denied to the masses inhabiting the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, the city witnessed a dualization of lifestyle.

The network of roads and the traffic pattern introduced by the British in the area called the Civil Station brought little change for the natives. Rudduck, an Australian town planner, remarks that the roads built by the British were designed to "enable sahibs to drive sedately from office to their homes or clubs,"(qtd in Qadeer 6) and little notice was taken of existing street patterns and traffic needs, thus creating a dual and conflicting system of roads and traffic representing, as it were, two different cultural phases" (qtd in Qadeer, 7).

The British mapped and re-mapped Lahore on colonial lines. Mapping and re-mapping of the conquered lands and areas was an integral part of colonial strategy of domination.

Maps, therefore, are the symbol of political and cultural domination of the colonizer upon the colonized. They further define the power relationships between the colonizer and the colonized. Maps also enabled the colonizing powers to explore the regions dominated or occupied to bring control potential resources. David Turbull is of the view that mapping of the conquered lands made "possible the building of empires, disciplines like cartography and the concept of land ownership that can be subject to judicial processes" (55).

In pursuit of their vision of re-structuring of the city of Lahore the British refurbished semi-religious sites such as tombs of minor historical personages. Moreover, they set up a missionary network of institutions and to run these institutions introduced missionary hierarchies. So much so to impose their administrative vision over natives they even used religious places for worldly purposes. On one hand the British brought Christianity a way of furthering the Empire and on the other hand posed

a veneer of religious eclecticism. The first building which served this purpose was the tomb of Anarkali, modified to perform religious services as the Protestant community of Lahore used it as a church. Another place Dhian Sign's Haveli was also used as a church. The Haveli was modified to fit in as a place of public worship for the Christian garrison of the fort. The garrison engineer was recorded to spend Rs. 341-7-6 "for fitting up Raja Dhian Singh's house at Lahore as a temporary place of worship" (Goulding 11) and "the fittings constituted of 40 benches, three *punkhas*, a book stand and bamboo *chick*."(11). Many of the old tombs and mosques of the Mughals were also used as residences or offices. The practice of using holy places as government offices and for residential space is a manifestation of religious amorphousness the colonial city of Lahore experienced.

Although the Empire boasted a secular character the colonials also brought Christian missionaries with them, and also built churches, and missionary schools. Lahore, therefore, experienced a new kind of amorphousness, the amorphousness of Lahori culture with Christianity now officially patronized. The missionaries established a number of churches, hospitals, and schools in Lahore in order to impress upon the population of Lahore that the Empire at heart is benevolent. The missionary contingents belonging to different denominations augmented the work of British rulers desperate to consolidate their hold over territories. The churches built in Lahore added to the city's architectural diversity. Along with mosques, temples and gurdwaras, the churches added a new dimension to the religious landscape of Lahore. Of course, initially there was resistance against the spread of Christianity but gradually with support from colonial enterprise; Christianity began to make headway not only in Lahore but all over Punjab. In the Indian continent historically people from economically impoverished sections of society have always responded to religious conversion. Christianity supported by colonial rule fared ever more than any other faith.

According to Ashcroft, Gareth and Tiffin "In all cases the lands so colonized are literally re-inscribed, written over, as the names and languages of the indigenous are replaced by new names, or are corrupted into new and Europeanized forms by the cartographer and explorer"(32). The British, therefore, laid down new set up new localities and residential. . The main attraction of Lahore is the Mall first aligned in

1851 by none other than Lieu-Colonel Napier, the Civil Engineer, who described it as "a direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir" (Goulding, 47). It is interesting to note that "Napier 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" (47). Napier favored the cheaper design. Consequently, the British Government accepted the proposals put forward by Napier and the lower estimate was sanctioned in April 1851. Sir Ganga Ram had made some alterations in the original design when he was the Executive Engineer in charge of the Lahore Provincial Division. Extensive improvements were made in the areas east of the Post office. Later on Mr. DuCane Smythe, Chief Engineer, supervised by the then Lieutenant Governor, Sir Charles Rivaz made major alterations and the road on its present lines came into shape. No record is available to confirm when the direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir was first officially called the Upper Mall. In the maps before 1876, it was referred to as Lawrence Road. It is interesting to note that the road now known as the Lower Mall from the Deputy Commissioner's court to the Multan Road junction was originally called Mall Road. In commemoration of Sir Donald McLeod's Lieutenant Governorship, the portion between the Government House and Anarkali, Civil Station, was named as Donald Town. It is possible that the road acquired its new name during this time.

In addition to the Mall Road, there were a good number of roads named after the former Governors-General and Viceroys, Commissioners, Civil Administrators and Civil Engineers. On the one hand, these names commemorate the services rendered by these British officials to serve the British Empire; some of them laid down their lives during the days of Indian Mutiny and on the other, they are the living signs and symbols of their imperial power and domination. The famous roads such as:

> Beadon, Brandreth, Cooper, Crust, Lake, Hall and Nisbet, perpetuate the reign of former Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners of Lahore some of whom, notably Mr. Cooper and Colonel Parry Nisbet, did so much to develop and improve the station; Durand, Davies, McLeod, Edgerton, and Montgomery Roads have been named after former Lieutenant Governors; Maclagan Road after Major-General Maclagan, Temple Road

> after Sir Richard Temple… Thornton Road after a very distinguished civil officer who served for many years as Secretary to the Government, Roberts Road after Mr.A.A. Roberts, Judicial Commissioner, who established the first Punjab Volunteer Corps and was its first commandant; Edwardes Road after the famous soldier and administrator, Sir Herbert Edwards, Napier Road after the first Civil Engineer of the Punjab, Colonel R.Napier; Lawrence, Mayo and Lytton Roads are named after former Governors Generals and Viceroys. (52-3)

The act of naming the roads after these officials, who did yeomen service to strengthen the British rule in this part of the Sub-continent, in fact, is an acknowledgement of their dedication and selfless commitment to British Raj.

After consolidating their rule administratively, the British focused on their military might. The Indian mutiny of 1857 brought a great change in their thinking and they evolved a new strategy to deal with any eventuality in future. JennySharpe suggests that the "fear provoking stories have the same effect as an actual rape, which is to say, they violently reproduce gender roles in the demonstration that women's bodies can be sexually appropriated"(233). This led the British to believe that they should consolidate their authority on the one hand, and on the other, present themselves as a part of 'civilizing mission.' Therefore, "a crisis in the British Authority is managed through the circulation of the violated bodies of English women as a sign for the violation of the colonialism"(Quited in Loomba,80). The mutiny cast its dark shadows on Lahore as well. In Lahore the Native Infantry guard and other troops were immediately disarmed. 'The danger on the morning of May 13th was far greater than had been conceived. A plot had been laid for the simultaneous seizure of the fort and the outbreak of the troops in cantonments"(Baqir219). But the timely handling of the situation by the British military officials 'frustrated the designs of the conspirator.' They reacted immediately and 'by 5 A.M. of the13th three companies of Her Majesty's 81st Foot marched into the fort and relieved the Native Infantry guard; while the ringing of the ramrods, as the remaining companies of that regiment on the parade-ground at Mian Mir obeyed the order to load, sounded the knell of sepoy power in the Punjab" (219).

Nevertheless 'on the 30th July, the 26th Native Infantry mutinied at Mian Mir, and murdering Major Spencer, their commanding officer, one non-commissioned European, and two Native officers fled. They were immediately tracked down and 'were destroyed by Mr. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, on the banks of the Ravi.'[1] Lahore was saved.The fear of another mutiny brought a change in the construction design in Lahore. The construction and structural design of the buildings used as offices and residential areas indicate the fact that in case of another mutiny or armed uprising of the natives such buildings could be used as citadels. They felt secured in such edifices. Lahore, therefore, began to give the look of a colonial city. The architectural design of the Lahore Railway Station is one such example. According to Latif, 'it resembles, in appearance, one of the forts of the country, and is, in fact, a fortified position, provided with the means of defence in case of emergency"(286). The structure seems to be an effective defence against any sudden attack. It was also meant to defend the railway workers and engineers in case of any tragic event. 'The defensive arrangements consist of bastions at the angels with "keeps'' or towers above them; which command the several approaches and provide for a flanking defence of the curtains or outsides of the station, which also are looped-holed for musketry fire over the surrounding neighborhood" (286). Most of the railway stations built in Punjab, though small in size and structure, are almost similar to the Lahore Railway Station in their architecture and building design.

The Lahore Fort initially served as military headquarters. In the 1850s, the British built a new cantonment at a village called Mian Mir, six miles east of the city. The cantonment had rectilinear roads, oval park, Church of St. Mary Magdalene, West End Cinema and tennis courts. The whole Cantonment area covered over 1, 300 square miles. British troops had been moved here from the barracks in Anarkali' (Talbot, Kamran, 16). It was in the 1880s that the new construction of buildings and private houses began to catch the sight of people. The city of Lahore under the British began to expand. The roads developed and the houses began to appear on their sides. It was a new city not like the walled city with narrow and dark streets and bazaars bustling with people.

This was the Lahore the British built presenting a contrast with the ancient walled city. In addition, the Englishmen inhabiting this new and

modern Lahore added a new dimension to the life of the city. Their palatial residences gave Lahore a true colonial appearance and form by adding an English impulse to an Indian landscape, a landscape, a space already possessed by the Muslims, the Hindus, and the Sikhs. The amalgamation of the similar and the dissimilar added a new dimension to the city of Lahore. Lahore had become a city where the colonizer and the colonized inhabited two diametrically opposite worlds and at the same time, these two different worlds came together and met at the fringes to form a new cultural and religious ethos, a new society, and a new city.

The British in Lahore devised and followed a dual strategy of relationship with the local Nawabs and princes. They avoided the commoners on the one hand, and on the other cultivated cordial relationship with the aristocracy and the landed gentry of the Punjab. The native chiefs of the Punjab had supported the British in the war of 1857. Consequently, the British had decided to reward them. They generously distributed lands to them. Moreover, in order to raise their social status in the eyes of the lower classes the children of landed gentry were allowed access to elite colonial education institutions. The children of the local aristocracies were made honorary magistrates in the civil administration and honorary majors and colonels in the British army.

The collaboration between the native chiefs of the Punjab and the British created a unique amorphous culture in Lahore, which manifested and translated itself through new architectural design, which flourished in Lahore during the early period of the British Raj. The edifices raised in the 1860s in Lahore are the symbols of this new relationship. Lawrence Hall and Montgomery Hall are the two initially constructed buildings in Lahore, Lawrence Hall was constructed in 1861-62, and Montgomery Hall in 1866, which express and elaborate the kind of collaboration the British had with the elite class of Lahore. These buildings were raised in the honor of these two British administrators and the construction work was financed and sponsored by the local aristocracy. Their architectural design was strikingly differently from the one the city of Lahore had before the British Raj. These buildings laid the foundation of a new kind of architectural amorphousness and cultural milieu in Lahore. Both the Halls according to Glover:

> …were joined by an eighty-foot passage with a prominent clock tower at its midpoint. Portraits of living and deceased British officers of the province lined its interior walls; these men's putative accomplishment was to place the British Raj at the apex of Punjab's ruling hierarchy, whose aristocratic "chiefs and nobles" now played an important, if largely rhetorical, role in the new imperial system.' (66)

These buildings reflected a new kind of relationship between the ruler and the ruled.

The Lawrence Hall was inclusively conceived and constructed for the European community of Lahore and its approach was from the Mall Road to which it faced. Local theatrical companies along with the visiting traveling troupes used to give captivating performances in the Hall. Montgomery Hall on the other hand hosted functions where the British officials and the Lahori aristocracy could easily interact. A botanical garden, a zoo, and a civic park, later on collectively called the Lawrence Gardens were also constructed on the surrounding areas. Like the two halls, "the garden's major elements were all financed through a combination of provincial, municipal, and private funds from both the British and the elite Indian residents of the city. The Lawrence Gardens thus formed a carefully isolated place of controlled cultural interaction underwritten by elite collaboration" (66).

Chiefs' College, renamed Aitcheson Chief's College in 1886 is a true embodiment of architectural amorphousness in Lahore. This institution is a true manifestation of the collaboration between the British and the Punjabi aristocracy. It was in the 1860s that the idea of educating the local ruling class in a rarified academic environment very much similar to the English boarding school atmosphere came to the surface. The idea was to build a kind of "total institution," a term Irving Goffman, a sociologist, used to describe " a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed , formally administered round of life"(Glover,70). The British conceived 'The Chief's College as an academic setting that would confer on the indigenous aristocracy both modern academic training and, importantly, new modes of personal character"(70).Therefore, "The Chiefs' College scheme, was conceived as an academic setting that would confer on the indigenous aristocracy both modern academic training and, importantly, new modes

of personal character" (69). Another idea behind the setting up of such an inclusive institution was to protect the interests of the "hereditary leaders" of the Punjab, who felt threatened by the rise of a small but educated Punjabi middle class. Charles Aitcheson spoke his mind at the ceremony laying the foundation stone for the institution, "let it be our earnest hope that there may rise a still finer edifice in which the aristocracy of the Punjab shall be the polished cornerstones, bright examples to their fellow countrymen of true manliness, of the highest culture and the gentlest manners that the times can boast" (72). Great care was taken while designing the various blocks of the college. They were particularly designed to reflect the concept of political and cultural relationship the British were embarking upon to cultivate with the exclusive class of local aristocracy. This objective was achieved" by inscribing the names of elite donors on marble plaques affixed to the main buildings in both places [Chief's College and Lawrence Gardens]by combining British and Indian representation on the committees that governed, financed, and administered both institutions … provided for the active participation of Lahore's British residents and indigenous elites in a new kind of controlled institutional landscape" (72).

The British involved the local engineers, architects, and draftsmen to design the college building, a manifestation of their desire to build a new colonial Lahore with the combined efforts of the natives and the foreigners. The design of the building was the combined work of one native engineer named Bhai Ram Sing, the then head assistant to John Lockwood Kipling, the then principal of Lahore's Mayo School of Art and a British engineer named Swinton Jacob. Swinton Jacob had already earned his reputation as an engineer who could understand and perceive the local conditions, traditions and the ideology of the British. Interestingly enough, "both desighners had years of experience training and working with local craftsmen, and both built their reputations on an ability to adapt traditional design motifs to the requirements of modern institutional programs"(72). The final architectural design of the college includes pre-Mughal umbrella-like pattern on each corner of the building, the brickwork on the lower story betraying the Mughal pattern and the arches and marble screens used in Umayyad Spain. A distinguishing feature of the main block is a "large bronze clock of English manufacture on the domed octagonal tower rising over the building's center" (72).

Parallel to the British colonial education system followed in the institutions patronized by the British rulers and the Christian missionaries, there was another kind of educational system initiated and followed by the natives, both the Muslims and the Hindus. The natives were apprehensive and fearful of the British educational designs to promote colonialism on the one hand, and on the other convert the natives to Christianity. The response and reaction of the natives manifested itself in the form of such educational institutions as Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) College, Dyal Sing College, and Islamia College Lahore where great care was taken in the designing of syllabus and other literary and cultural activities. These institutions opened their doors to the middle and lower middle-class students who were barred from taking admission to those colleges exclusively meant for the elite of the Punjab and aristocracy of Lahore. Socio-religious associations and the philanthropists of Lahore were in the forefront of the movement aiming at meeting the educational needs and requirements of the middle class and the lower middle class students. In addition to inculcating education and discipline, these institutions aimed at hammering the ideas of nationalism into the minds of the students in order to save them from being Anglicized. Therefore, Lahore in the mid-19th century was fast becoming a city of colleges where a dual system of education was being followed and this duality in the present-day Lahore is continuing in the manifestation of English medium and Urdu medium schools.

With the arrival of the British the commercial activities began to pick up pace. Soon the city became an important center of business and commercial activity in the Sub-continent. The Bank of Bengal, the National Bank of India, the Alliance Bank of Simla opened their branches in Lahore. Messrs. Jamsetji & Sons, one of the oldest firms established in Lahore in 1862, enjoyed a monopoly for sale of general European stores, wine and spirits, toys and ammunition. William Ball was perhaps the first European who initiated business enterprises in Lahore. He was Superintendent of the Government Printing Press. He left his Government job to set up his own printing press. He also opened a bookseller's shop, an auction room, and a stationer's shop. He also opened the first general store of its kind in the city. He published "Punjab Record" along with reference books for the lawyers and the judicial officers. His son-in-law, Mr. J.J. Davis took over his business on his retirement and shifted the press to his private residence in Court Street. On his retirement, the press was amalgamated with the Civil & Military Gazette.

With the arrival of the British in Lahore after its annexation, new fashions of dress had set in. Tailoring business began to thrive and gradually new tailor shops sprang up in the area of Mian Mir. Messrs Clark & Co, Adlard & Co, or Davidge Brothers at Mian Mir set up their tailoring business and set new designs in stitching. Phelps & Co. took the lead in establishing their business on the Upper Mall, while Mr. Garrioch inaugurated a similar enterprise on the Lower Mall. It should be kept in mind that only the Europeans could afford to place their orders to such tailors. Majority of the local people would stitch their clothes by themselves at home and most of them were shabbily dressed. There was also a different class of merchants, called itinerant cloth merchants, selling cloth moving from one house to another. And "they were accompanied by a *kahar* carrying a *banghi* consisting of two large bundles; they were also the moneylenders and in the course of time became the founders of certain wealthy firms which still exist and are now well-known bankers and house-owners" (70-1). Chhota Lal, Dina Nath, and Pehlad Das were such prominent figures. So in the city of Lahore two different life and dressing styles ran parallel to each other.

Before the British occupied Lahore, there was hardly any tradition of dining in the hotels. The British had introduced this tradition. Goulding states:

> the hotels in Lahore are poor, though there is little doubt that a good hotel would pay, owing to the flux of travelers 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, Miller's and Goose's situated on McLoad Road, were the two best known and most prosperous hotels then open for travelers. (73)

This business began to thrive when the residents of Lahore developed the habit of visiting hotels. In order to meet the demand of good hotels, equipped with sufficient facilities more bungalows were converted into hotels. Mr. Nedou established the hotel that soon acquired the reputation of an up-to-date hotel in the bungalow. It was situated on the Upper Mall. The hotel, which Mrs. Cunningham opened in an old bungalow on the Lower Mall, did good business. The bars and the dance halls of the hotels drew young soldiers and civil servants in pursuit of colorful evenings full of entertainment. Cities in Mughal times boosted

festivities mostly on religious occasions. However, the British chose selected quarters of the city of Lahore for the purpose of securing entertainment and leisure. The city of Lahore was imbued with a secular culture of entertainment. This was inevitably part of the process of urbanization nonetheless a form of life unfamiliar and unheard to natives in the days preceding the British Raj.

In addition to political, social, and religious culture, the British military and civil officials promoted English sports culture on the pattern of their on back home. Probably the British garrison stationed at the Fort played cricket under the shade of the walls of old Fort. This was the beginning of cricket in Lahore. Later on cricket clubs were established whose membership was restricted to civil and military officers. Schools and colleges were encouraged to have cricket teams and "each school and college had its own cricket club and inter-school matches were frequently played in the early seventies"(Goulding,40). Football was another game, which was popular amongst the ruling white junta, a game to exhibit physical power and prowess. The sports, and outdoor games were also an essential part of the imperial culture in Lahore. Cricket, football and the like were taken to be the display of power and manhood. But cricket was characteristically an elite colonial sport. Chakravarty has made a very perceptive observation in this regard:

> It was widely believed that the Raj would be more faithfully served by a disciplined football eleven than by an average member of parliament. By teaching skill in cricket, a Harrow inscription added, the boys were taught the values of manliness and honor. It was an image of a set of well-paid secular missionaries who embellished their exacting Indian commitment with a judicious selection from varied manly sports like pig sticking, shooting, fishing, riding, tennis, racquets, bridge, and shikar regardless of the climate of assassinations and riots around them. (24)

Lahore, therefore, after the annexation of the Punjab in the year of 1849 was fast becoming a modern city featuring characteristics of colonial character. The colonial part of the city presented a striking contrast with the walled city. The modern educational institutions, government offices, the gardens, the roads and other monuments generating a new culture and approach, fresh and modern outlook, had brought an unprecedented amorphousness of the city that it was inevitable for the

natives to be fascinated and captivated by the newness of Lahore. Nevertheless, the city was a fascinating amalgamation and combination of the opposites and the contradictory elements giving way tos a unique pattern of a modern colonial city.

Therefore, the construction of colonial Lahore was not imagined at the cost of transacting its historical value. The British did not either tarnish the classical grandeur of the walled city. Both modernity and tradition survived as colonial and Mughal/Indian architecture stood side by side. Similarly, conventional and sacred ways of local life and materialist western ways of life alternatively clashed and mingled, producing an axis of amorphous relationship between the colonials and the natives.

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