

## **A Colonial Vision Of Lahore: Lahore Revisited**

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### **Abstract**

By the mid-nineteenth century Lahore had become a key urban centre with important ideological, political and cultural connections that reflected its status as the provincial capital of Punjab. The arrival of the British in 1849 marked a new beginning for Lahore, one that shaped its development into a 'modern' colonial city characterized by a centralized administration, rapid urbanization and increased commercial activity. Colonial Lahore has featured as an important subject of academic interest over the last few decades. Recent works have ascribed the transition of Lahore into a modern urban city as a consequence of the adaptation and integration of the indigenous system with the imperial forces. In this regard this paper offers afresh insight into the view that colonial objectives were never simply imposed upon the city, instead depended considerably on collaborative projects between natives and the British.

Punjab has been an arena of political upheaval and transverse of various races owing to its strategic location which has resulted in the cultural efflorescence of the region. By the mid-seventeenth century Lahore, the provincial capital of Punjab, had lost much of its grandeur when Shah Jahan chose Delhi as the new imperial capital of the Mughal Empire. Consequently a large number of artisans and traders from Lahore shifted to Delhi. As a result of this Lahore was subjected to invasions and pillages that reduced it from a mighty city to little more than a walled township in a circle of ruinous waste.<sup>1</sup> The establishment of the Sikh Rule brought peace and stability in this region which resulted in the growth of artistic and cultural pursuits. Maharaja Ranjit Singh commissioned several architectural projects including the construction of a large garden *The Hazuri Bagh* near the Lahore Fort - but even these structures deteriorated by the mid of the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Over the next several decades, houses fell into disrepair in the *Anderun Shahar* and the busy streets of the city began to deteriorate. T. H. Thornton, the Secretary to the Government of Punjab in the 1860s, described the History of City of Lahore 'a chronicle of war upon war, intrigue upon intrigue, crime upon crime.'<sup>3</sup> In fact, the British arrived to find much of the four mile radius south of the walled city in ruins, bearing the remains of old Mughal mosques, tombs, and ornamental gateways.<sup>4</sup> The colonial officials believed that it was their responsibility to transform the city into its most ideal state and thus year by year the ruins and graveyards of old Lahore passed under the humanizing influence of western civilization.<sup>5</sup>

Following a series of intrigues and two fiercely contested Anglo-Sikh wars fought in 1846-47 and 1848-49, the British annexed Maharaja Ranjit Singh's former kingdom. The formal surrender of the Sikh army took place in the *Sheesh Mahal* which had been the private residence of the Maharaja where he stayed in great imperial grandeur. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had placed the supervision of his *toshakhana* located inside the Moti Masjid of the Lahore Fort under his trusted treasurer *misr* Makraj. The contents of the *toshakhana* were subsequently placed under the custodian ship of Dr John Login and the memorandum of the memorabilia of the *toshakhana* presented to the Governor General in the most befitting manner. Dr Login List of memorabilia included the famous Kohinoor, the state jewels and treasures in gold, silver and precious stones; dishes, plates, cups cooking pots and *gurrahs* of gold and silver, *chogas*, satin and velvet *shamianas* embroidered with gold, richly designed carpets; Golden chair of State of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, his silver summer house, gold and silver tent poles and camp equipment; treasure of rich *cashmere* shawls; arms and armour; magnificent state pavilion of Shah Shuja; relics of the Holy Prophet like his shoes, walking stick, shirt, cap and pyjamas; The Holy Quran in Kufic characters, several locks of his hair; the *Kulgee* of Guru Gobind Singh. The value of the jewellery alone was estimated to be around 165,000 in Indian rupees excluding the famous Kohinoor which was priceless<sup>6</sup>.

Opposite the Sheesh Mahal, in an arcade closed in with glazed windows and doors was placed the armoury consisting of a heterogeneous assortment of weapons and the uniforms worn by Sikh Army. Thorntorn<sup>7</sup> testifies to the fact that the necessities of English military life had scant consideration for the relics of departed; in those early days of plunder and conquest by the John Company the horses were stabled in memorial tombs and palaces; audience halls converted into powder magazines, barracks or offices of district magnates: whatever could be adapted or altered for use of the conqueror was spared, the rest pulled down. The regiment of the British royal forces that had fought in the battles against the British were stationed in the Badshahi Masjid and Hazuri Bagh. The agent of the governor-general was housed in Raja Suchet Singh Haveli and the various native infantry divisions were stationed between city gates. Subsequently the British Forces constructed many permanent barracks to station their soldiers.

Following the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 it became one of the most sought after region owing to its strategic and administrative importance. Lord Dalhousie, a born imperialist, propelled the modernization of Punjab dominated by three major concerns those of political consolidation, revenue extraction and military requirements. The development of railways and other technological changes facilitated the integration of Punjab into the British Empire.<sup>8</sup> The illustrious Lawrence brothers developed in Punjab a style of administration known as 'Punjab School' which was considered to be the most unique amongst the Indian Civil Service of that era. Panjab was constituted as one of the eight major provinces and was governed by lieutenant Governor after its formal annexation in 1849. At the commencement of 1859 Panjab together with Delhi was placed under a separate lieutenant Governor and Sir John Lawrence was the first to hold the office.<sup>9</sup>

Lahore displayed a history and culture that continued to persevere even after the establishment of colonial rule. During the first decade of British occupation, however, it became clear that the resources and capital that were necessary for planning and building new administrative, social, and military structures in the city were limited. The British occupation, however, signaled new changes for the city, especially in terms of infrastructure. Efforts were made to construct a metropolis that expressed 'modern' urban ideals defined by commerce, industry, and administration.<sup>10</sup> There was a significant pattern of governance and gradual transition in the urban pattern of Lahore. When the first generation of colonial officials occupied Lahore they were stranded in the unfamiliar terrain which was unmapped and unchartered. There lay the walled inner district of the city, with its Mughal-era monuments and pattern of streets and houses. The southwest and east sides of the city were surrounded by a brick wall which was formerly 30 feet but subsequently reduced to about 15 feet for better sanitation. A deep moat encircled the habitation, but since the extension of the Bari doab canal to Lahore this was filled in as it had outlived military significance and the space reclaimed with a tributary from the canal and laid out as a garden by the municipality.<sup>11</sup>

The development of the city was no longer the elliptical consequence of an arbitrary or individual decision; it became a formalised responsibility, executed within framework of a linear imperial plan.<sup>12</sup> The rhythm of Lahore life as a colonial governorship was calibrated for the next century to the pulsation emanating from the imperial capital of Calcutta and after 1911 from the capital city of Delhi. Even though Lahore came into the imperial fold late compared to other Indian cities, its metamorphosis during the late nineteenth century was rapid. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the plain outside Lahore's city walls-only recently a desolate brickyard of ruins-was irreparably altered to make room for colonial institutions and residences. 'Fortunately for the country and its people, times have now changed where desolation and ruin marked the surface of the land, luxuriant vegetation thrives, picturesque, public and private edifices have risen and gardens and plains, intersected by canals and metalled roads lined with shady trees, afford indubitable testimony at each step, to the beneficent influence of a settled Government and good order, to the progress made in the works of art and to the peace and prosperity enjoyed by the inhabitants.'<sup>13</sup>

Outside the walled city there was an abundance of abandoned large structures consisting of mosques, tombs and the colonial government often chose to house major institutions in converted buildings rather than to build anew. Due to economic constraints, the colonial government converted remaining buildings from the Mughal and Sikh periods to serve new functions. Most of these buildings were refashioned to suit the requirements of the new occupants. These institutions included the Civil

Secretariat, which was located in Ventura's former house; the Public Works Secretariat, housed in a converted barrack from Ranjit Singh's period; and the Accountant General's office, headquartered in a converted seventeenth century mosque near the tomb of Shah Chiragh, just off The Mall Road. When John Lawrence became the Chief Commissioner of the Province in 1853, he set himself up in an estate near Chauburji on the Multan Road. The Deputy Commissioner was stationed in the tomb of Muhammad Kasim and was later turned into the Government House. The Company troops were quartered in the old Sikh barracks while the Nila Gumbaz mosque was used as a mess house. Similarly the mosque of Dai Anga near the railway station was earlier used as the residence of Mr. Cope the editor of Lahore Chronicle and later used for many years by the Railway as the Traffic Manager's office; the Masjid of Shah Chiragh housed the accountant-general office and later was occupied by the Session Court. Thus in the initial years of British occupation, the colonial government resorted to retrofitting existing buildings to fulfill the administrative functions and social needs.<sup>14</sup> A number of old tomb and mosques of the Mughal period dotting the region were at some point of time utilised as residencies or offices.<sup>15</sup> Although occupying and adapting old buildings was a pragmatic solution to the shortage of funds that otherwise challenged British plans for the city, the move to refit old buildings was often articulated as a conscious decision of the colonial power.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, assigning new identifications and associations to old structures that were significant to the local communities allowed the British to draw physical and visible links between themselves and the colonized.<sup>17</sup>

In 1851, two years after the official annexation of Punjab, the seventeenth-century tomb of Anarkali was chosen to be the site of Lahore's Anglican Church. Always considered less than optimal for the task, the retrofitted Mughal tomb nevertheless served as the primary religious gathering space for British residents in Lahore for more than thirty-five years. The church was fitted in the haveli of Dhian Singh to cater to a sizeable size of Christian community as temporary place of worship: the fittings consisted of 40 benches, three *punkhas*, a bookstand and bamboo chinks. Eventually in 1891 it was transformed once more to function as an archive for the civil Secretariat.<sup>18</sup>

However, by the 1860s the colonial practice of adapting traditional Indian buildings began to decline, a move that was informed largely by the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The efforts to re-establish authority in the colony found expression in an architectural scheme that was influenced by Western Civic Grandeur and Neo-classical Design.<sup>19</sup> The colonial vision for Lahore after 1857 is reflected in one of the first British structures built in Lahore and completed in 1862-63. This grand structure to proclaim the authority and pre-eminence of the imperial power was named after Sir John Lawrence who had been influential in advancing the British Imperialist policies aimed to strengthen the legitimacy of colonial rule in the region. The emphasis on a distinct Greco-Roman architectural style was informed by the colonial impulse to proclaim the British invincibility. The urge to evoke an 'imperial vision' identifying it with the classical style of long-standing ancient empires was meant to re-invent India's Past in order to assert British mastery over it – that signaled ideas about power and prestige.<sup>20</sup>

Colonial project for restructuring the city also required a good understanding of India's tropical climate. The ideas about the climate determined the British architectural designs which incorporated native features such as verandahs, thick walls and high ceilings into the architectural style of Lahore's buildings which could sustain the hot summers and rainy seasons. This resulted in the hybridity of urban designs in restructuring the landscape of the region. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Lahore witnessed an amalgamation of Indian and European architectural schemes whose success was partly due to British reliance on local knowledge.

The development of Lahore did not remain an exclusively colonial project. The British soon realized that the success of its urban design depended largely on the cooperation of Indigenous people also. More importantly, such hybrid architectural concepts became a material model of the political relationship the British sought to establish with Punjab's indigenous elite since the collaborative design of the college allowed for the active participation of the city's residents but in a controlled landscape that manifested colonial influence physically in British and Indian iconography.<sup>21</sup>

Robert Napier was appointed to execute all public works through the Board of Administration. Napier equipped with a Civil Engineering qualification from the Kent School of Military Engineering, United Kingdom, did pioneering work in the design and execution of civil, military and public works. He was

an enthusiastic advocate of native styles and considered it far superior with reference to shade, coolness, ventilation, convenience and beauty. But many new architectural projects during this period build in this region were devoid of local architectural elements and, as such, created a distinct landscape in the colony that was marked by colonial aesthetics and insight.<sup>22</sup> The British collaboration with the Indians, which is most prominent in the Anarkali, which took the shape of the civil station southeast of Old Lahore. Backed by a combination of private, municipal, and provincial funds, Anarkali served as the centre of colonial administration in the city and became home to the Lahore Central Jail, Mayo Hospital, Government College, and the executive and administrative offices of the provincial government. Many of these new buildings displayed a mix of traditional Indian design and the neo-classical style favoured by the British. In Lahore, these buildings represented not just the beginnings of a new urban environment for the city but also expressed the ways in which physical structures were imbued with symbolic importance.<sup>23</sup>

In order to establish the power of the British Empire on native soil, the development of public architecture went beyond practical needs and had to mirror the political aims and hopes of the colonial power. There were two main streams of architectural discourse prevalent. The first one was stylistically neoclassical neglecting the native style and to pronounce the British imperialism found expression in the Montgomery Hall and Lawrence Hall. The second one incorporated the Indian elements in the Western forms to establish continuity and transition with the previous architecture of the region as seen in the buildings of High Court, Lahore Museum, Town Hall etc and later on, in early twentieth century they used the neo classical style of architecture as it was already prevailing in England and other European countries. The region witnessed the evolution of a hybrid architectural style termed as Indo-Saracenic. Though Victorian in essence, the style combined in an intelligent manner diverse indigenous architectural elements with Gothic characteristics. The British who had replaced the Mughals as the main power of governance, drew inspiration from way back home; thus imitating the Neo-Romanesque, Neoclassical and Neo-Gothic styles. The Public Works Department Member of the Viceroy's Council in 1877 advocated that buildings meant for indigenous purpose such as temples, mosques, colleges, schools, markets, hospitals, asylums should be built in some form of native architecture; whilst those designed, especially for the comforts and wants of Europeans such as residences, churches, offices, railway buildings ought to imbibe some features of European style and adapted to the various climates of India. In 1889 within the PWD a further modification of administrative arrangements were made to carve out a dedicated Buildings and Road Branch and was made responsible for design, execution and maintenance of public buildings and roads. Thus the architecture was structured by dominance-dependence relationship in which the ultimate source of social, economic and political power resided with the metropolitan society.

Railways are a symbol of progress and the technological achievements of the Victorian age and imposing railroad terminals were powerful symbols of that achievement. A pure European style architecture was seen as appropriate for a display of British superiority, as demonstrated by the railway terminal that was built in Lahore and the Victoria Terminus, which opened in Bombay in 1888. The Lahore Railway Station was built soon after the 1857 mutiny and the British felt a need to safeguard their rail links. Foundation of the Lahore Railway Station building was laid in 1859. Thus the station building was designed to be both for functional usage and for defensive purposes in times of trouble. This building is purely European designed brick structure and is fortified by round towers with battlements. All the towers have loopholes for directing rifle and cannon fire along the main approaches from the city.

The Lahore Museum building is another example of the Indo-Saracenic style, mentioned above. It is also an example of growing collaboration that was then taking place between British planners and Indian designers to create a unique structure. Following Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations in 1887, the funds that were collected were used towards the building of a museum. The building is made of red sandstone with a marble facade, which is carved in floral motif. John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) served as the first curator here. Lahore museum that presents a profusion of domes, small balconies, exquisite red sand stone lattice work and a marvellous façade is another masterpiece of colonial architecture. Lockwood Kipling incorporated the Lahore fort armoury collections into the museum and himself designed a new carriage in wood and iron with brass ornaments for the famous

*Zamzama* gun that stood outside the Museum. This was for the dual purpose of reviving an interest in traditional arts and crafts and of creating new styles and forms through the alignment of contemporary India with the traditional works in the Museum.

The celebration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 at Lahore provided the occasion for laying the foundation stone of Victoria Jubilee Hall at Lahore and a Technical Institute was envisaged to be established at the city in connection with the School of Art. The visit of Prince Albert Victor of Wales in the beginning of 1890 provided a further impetus to the promotion of Art and the foundation of new Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute in Anarkali was laid. John Lockwood Kipling who started his professional life as an architectural sculptor at the South Kensington Museum, now better known as the Victoria and Albert Museum London and arrived India in 1865 to reshape the visual history of this land. Lahore and Kipling enjoyed association for almost two decades; shaping and enhancing each other distinctiveness. His stay in India, especially in Lahore 1875 onwards, helped him to assimilate his expertise with the local aesthetic principles to bridge the theoretical and philosophical divide between the East and the West. He laid emphasis on academic art which focused on the revival of historical crafts and styles with their possible adaptation for the modern needs. His pupil Bhai Ram Singh played a great role in application of the new principles of architecture termed as Indo-Saracenic in the design of the buildings. Kipling played a vital role in reviving crafts indigenous to the subcontinent and adapting them to modern needs. His instruction at Mayo School, established in 1875, laid the foundation for new generation of craftsmen. The school eventually became the National College of Arts. It became the philosophical, historical and aesthetic ground for the British in India to nurture the indigenous arts of the region. Ram Singh and Kipling also designed and built over 270 wood panels in Indian motifs for the billiard room at Bagshot Park, England build in 1885–1887 as the home of Queen Victoria's son, the Duke of Connaught. Ram Singh's most prestigious commission was to design and build in Indian style the Durbar Room at Osborne House for Queen Victoria in 1891.

In Lahore's civil station, moreover, there were several buildings that demonstrated the ways in which decisions regarding the layout and patronage of new structures became part of a collaborative dialogue. An instance of this is Rai Bahadur Kanhya Lal, a prominent Indian engineer who served with Lahore's Public Works Department, supervised the construction of several local buildings that included the Mayo School of Arts and Montgomery and Lawrence Halls.<sup>24</sup> These, in turn, were constructed by Ganga Ram whose time as executive engineer in the city is often referred to as Lahore's 'Ganga Ram' architectural period.<sup>25</sup> Other examples of collaboration between Indians and the British were evident in the planning and construction of the Punjab Chiefs' College, designed exclusively for educating the ruling princes of northern India.<sup>26</sup> The final design of the central building reflected an Indo-Saracenic style - a term used to represent an Indo-European cultural hybridity drawn from pre-Mughal, Mughal, and British sources - which combined diverse architectural features such as arches, screens, and verandahs.<sup>27</sup>

Other parts of the civil station expressed an exclusively Anglicized, resulted in the emergence of new suburbs such as Donald Town. Extending for three miles, this area became the site of prominent buildings like Government House and Montgomery Hall used as a dance hall and sports club. More importantly, Donald Town featured noticeable examples of the values and ideals that attempted to distinguish the rulers from the ruled.<sup>28</sup> Among them was the single-story house, the main style of residence for British officers in the city, which became a symbolic visual representation of 'expatriate domesticity' in Lahore.<sup>29</sup> In fact, houses in Donald Town often reflected neoclassical or Gothic-revival designs that alluded to contemporary trends in Britain during the late nineteenth century. Together, these features were intended to make colonial houses a place of refuge and comfort for the British officials who resided there. As with the rest of the newly built civil station, colonial homes hinted at the inability of British officials to assert complete authority over the material culture of Lahore. The household furnishings - usually designed according to European tastes - were purchased as inferior copies from local craftsmen. For example, B. H. Baden Powell, who served as the Conservator of Forests for the Punjab, stated:

*There being a large European community, the demand for furniture is considerable, and for some years past every house almost, has been supplied with copies of bad originals,*

*in the shape of folding-chairs, side-tables, what-nots, and corner elageres. All are exactly alike, except that the work and carving gets worse and worse.*<sup>30</sup>

In Lahore, the imposition of new sanitary objectives by the municipal government played an increasingly important role in the development of the city's urban landscape. In 1852, for example, three years after the British takeover, the walls of Old Lahore were reduced 'for sanitary reasons' from a height of twenty feet to fourteen feet because, it was argued, the 'lofty walls greatly impeded the free airing of the interior of the city.' Even the troops stationed at Anarkali were relocated five miles east of Lahore to a new cantonment, Mian Mir, in response to the city's 'unhealthiness'.

Evidently, the newly constructed civil station and colonial suburbs were never distinctly British spaces. Each was connected to the old parts of Lahore via bustling, commercial roads where the social life of the city thrived and where racial separation- otherwise formalized in the military cantonment at Mian Mir - was overlooked.<sup>31</sup> Even areas like Donald Town, which were built with colonial ideals in mind, relied on collaboration and exchange between British and Indians residents. Along a half-mile stretch of road called the Mall, for example, carefully constructed spaces like Lawrence Gardens were used as a 'pleasure ground' for controlled cultural interactions between the races.<sup>32</sup> Here, a bandstand offered a place for the cantonment's military to perform for public entertainment while tennis courts and cricket fields allowed mixed-race teams to participate in recreational sport.<sup>33</sup> Lawrence Gardens also included a zoo and botanical garden that were frequented by British and Indians alike.<sup>34</sup> This way, spaces like Lawrence Gardens, and the civil station more generally, created a new landscape in Lahore that expressed both British and Indian cultural ideals. The civil lines area meant for the British included residential homes for colonial officials and workers, hotels, bridges, hospitals, post offices, police stations, prisons, courthouses, schools, colleges, clubs, racecourses, parks, zoos, museums, later movie theaters, and of course public gardens were added. Thus they continued a tradition that had been started by the Mughals as the city itself adapted to its new rulers and continued to expand as a commercial and cultural hub.

The British built a new town for themselves towards the south and south east of the walled city, called the Donald Town. This plain was to be the site for a new kind of urban project in Punjab: the construction of a colonial provincial capital. Later, this became to be known as Civil Lines as it was built around the core of British national administrators and there were the offices, homes, clubs and shops comprising the total living environment of the British officers. The expanding administrative, revenue and judicial structure of the province and the social needs of the European community necessitated the construction of new buildings. The Mall, laid out by Colonel Napier in 1851 linked Anarkali with the newly established cantonment at Mian Mir some three miles away.

Colonel Goulding has penned down intricate details in the civil and military gazette which is an interesting document to portray the social life and civil life of the European community stationed in the place. In the early years of British occupation of Punjab the Anarkali and the Fort constituted the cantonment and civil lines much before Mian Mir came into existence and it was on the fort parade ground the early polo game was played. The board of administration and the Chief Commissioner took keen interest in the laying of gardens and one such was 'The Soldiers Garden' laid out by some member of the Ratigan Family which became the *loci* of the beauty and fashion of old Lahore 'fair ladies in enormous, the crinolines, with attendant swains in peg top trousers and tall hats wearing beards and whiskers of portentous size, strolling about the flowerbeds listening to the strains of the band'.<sup>35</sup> This picturesque garden became the forerunner of modern Gymkhana. 'The Montgomery Hall consisting of the Lahore and Mian Mir Institute with its rink, library and reading room was the particular rendezvous where the *sahibs* and *memsahibs* met three times a week to gossip and read newspapers, to play tennis and dance before dinner. Wherever government institutions, commercial enterprises and places of public congregation were concentrated, mixing among races and social classes was both legally accommodated and necessary. In Lahore these kinds of activities were concentrated in a half-mile-wide zone stretching along Mall Road from the Civil Secretariat near Anarkali 's tomb, at one end to the botanical gardens at the other.

At the close of the year 1881 an exhibition of industrial arts was held at Lahore with the twofold object of ascertaining the progress made in this respect since the last exhibition in 1864 and of

encouraging the production of genuine local work of original oriental designs of the exhibition which was formally inaugurated by Sir Robert Everton on Dec. 24 1881 exhibited the intricacies of hand labour and provided insight into the indigenous art 'from peasants needle to the jewelled ornament.'<sup>36</sup> The Industrial Revolution and the consequent advances in technology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also reflected their impact on the architecture of the cities of the region. Initially the British used bricks, lime mortar, wood, iron and different types of stones as was traditionally used by the Mughals. With the passage of time they started using English bricks with lime mortar and in early twentieth century, cement mortar, reinforced concrete and steel for the structures which was made possible because of industrial revolution and mass production. Through the introduction of new materials, like iron, glass, concrete, pre-fabricated sections and their applications there emerged a change in architecture of the buildings, their styles and mode of construction.

### Conclusion

Indeed the Lahore enjoys a rich cultural diversity and exceptional architectural legacy which evolved within the course of centuries and stands the testimony to each historical period individuality and distinctiveness. The architecture that evolved through the interaction of the colonial and the colonized was manifested in the interior and exterior of the then designed buildings. In the Indian palaces, old reception rooms were replaced by the *darbar* halls and new rooms spaces to entertain the European guests were designed. Drawing and dining rooms were introduced in the houses; fireplaces, marble fountains, oil paintings, statues and stuffed animals began to be displayed in the halls and drawing rooms thereby ushering in the new styles of architecture and building layout designs. By the end of the British rule, Lahore stood transformed with a dual-faced identity. On the one hand was the old city and on the other, were the colonial additions of the Cantonment and the Civil Lines. The contrast was blatant not only in the relative hygiene of the areas, but also regarding the urban pattern, house design, shopping habits, living styles and cultural ethos. Lahore has continued to function as a hub of political and cultural development and bears the traces of its past. It reflects a complex and multifaceted history that continues to exert its influence on the experiences and traditions of its inhabitants.

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- <sup>7</sup> T. H., Thornton, *Old Lahore, Reminiscences of a Resident by Colonel H. R. Goulding, with historical and descriptive account*, Printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1924, p.40-41
- <sup>8</sup> Imran Ali, *The Punjab Under Imperialism, 1885-1947*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988, p. 5.
- <sup>9</sup> M., Baqir, *Lahore Past and Present*, Qindeel Press, Lahore, 1984, p. 224
- <sup>10</sup> William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2008, p. xiv.
- <sup>11</sup> Syad Muhammad, Latif, *Lahore : Architectural Remains*, Lahore, Oriental Publishers and Booksellers 1981, first published 1892, pp.85-87. He refers to the thirteen gates Raushnai, Kashmiri, Masti, Khizri on the north; Yakki, Delhi, Akbari on the east; Mochi. Shah Almi, Lahori Mori on the south and Bhati, Taxali on the west. Khan Bahadur SM Latif training as an Extra Judicial Assistant commissioner in Gurdaspur was an advantage to his marshalling of the facts of the region.
- <sup>12</sup> F., Aijauzddin, *Lahore Recollected An Album*, p.10
- <sup>13</sup> Syad Muhammad, Latif, *Lahore : Architectural Remains*, p. 252.

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- <sup>14</sup> *Lahore Gazetteer*, 1883-84, p. 164
- <sup>15</sup> T. H., Thornton, *Old Lahore : Reminiscences of Resident, by Colonel by H.R. Goulding*, p. 2
- <sup>16</sup> William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, p. 60
- <sup>17</sup> Syad Muhammad, Latif, *Lahore : Architectural Remains*, p. 163
- <sup>18</sup> Tahir Kamran and Ian Talbot, *Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond*, Oxford, p. 19
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173
- <sup>20</sup> Thomas Metcalfe, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, London: Faber & Faber, 1989, p. 3
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72-73
- <sup>22</sup> William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, p. 60-61.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61
- <sup>24</sup> Government of India, *Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Home Department: Reports on the Publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India during the Year 1877*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1878, p. 122.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup> William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*, p. 68.
- <sup>27</sup> Peter Scriver, 'Stones and Texts: The Architectural Historiography of Colonial India and its Colonial-Modern Contexts,' in *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 47.
- <sup>28</sup> Maysoon Sheikh, 'Public Health and Sanitation in Colonial Lahore 1849-1910' University of Waterloo, Canada, 2018, This dissertation draws attention to the important role that Indians played in Lahore's development during the mid to late nineteenth century and highlights the range of spatial, moral, and social factors that worked to produce local responses to colonial objectives in the city.
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