

**Cantonmentisation and Transformation in South Asia:
A Study of Colonial Military History of Punjab/Ferozpur**

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Dedicated to
My Adorable Parents

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “Cantonmentisation and Transformation in South Asia: A Study of Colonial Military History of Punjab/Ferozpur” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. V.J. Varghese, Assistant Professor, Centre for South & Central Asian Studies, School of Global Relations, Central University of Punjab. No part of this dissertation has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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ABSTRACT

Cantonmentisation and Transformation in South Asia: A Colonial Military History of Punjab/Firozpur

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Military history in general is seen as an under-researched area, though military remained important to every country from time immemorial and countries and kingdoms maintained military for protection and security as well as for satisfying their imperial designs. It is well known that military has played a major role in the making of the British Empire in South Asia/ Indian Subcontinent in which Punjab played a strategic and pivotal role. The British Indian army was heavily concentrated in Punjab with a robust network of military cantonments, apart from converting it as one of the most important army recruitment grounds. Punjab was thus turned into a “garrison state”. The present dissertation is an attempt to map the military landscape of Punjab under colonialism and how it impacted the geography and socio- economic life of the region. From the 1830’s a series of cantonments were established in the province- Firozpur, Lahore, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Peshawar, Ambala, Kanpur, Bathinda, Rawalpindi etc. which were vital in sustaining colonialism in India and maintaining the colonial dominance over the sub-continent. The cantonments transformed the life and geography of the respective locations/areas where they were established in the terms of demography and amenities. The attempt here is to make preliminary exploration into the details of the making Punjab a garrison state with these networks of cantonments and the changes they brought to the region. The study also makes a specific exploration into the history Firozpur cantonment.

Name and signature of student

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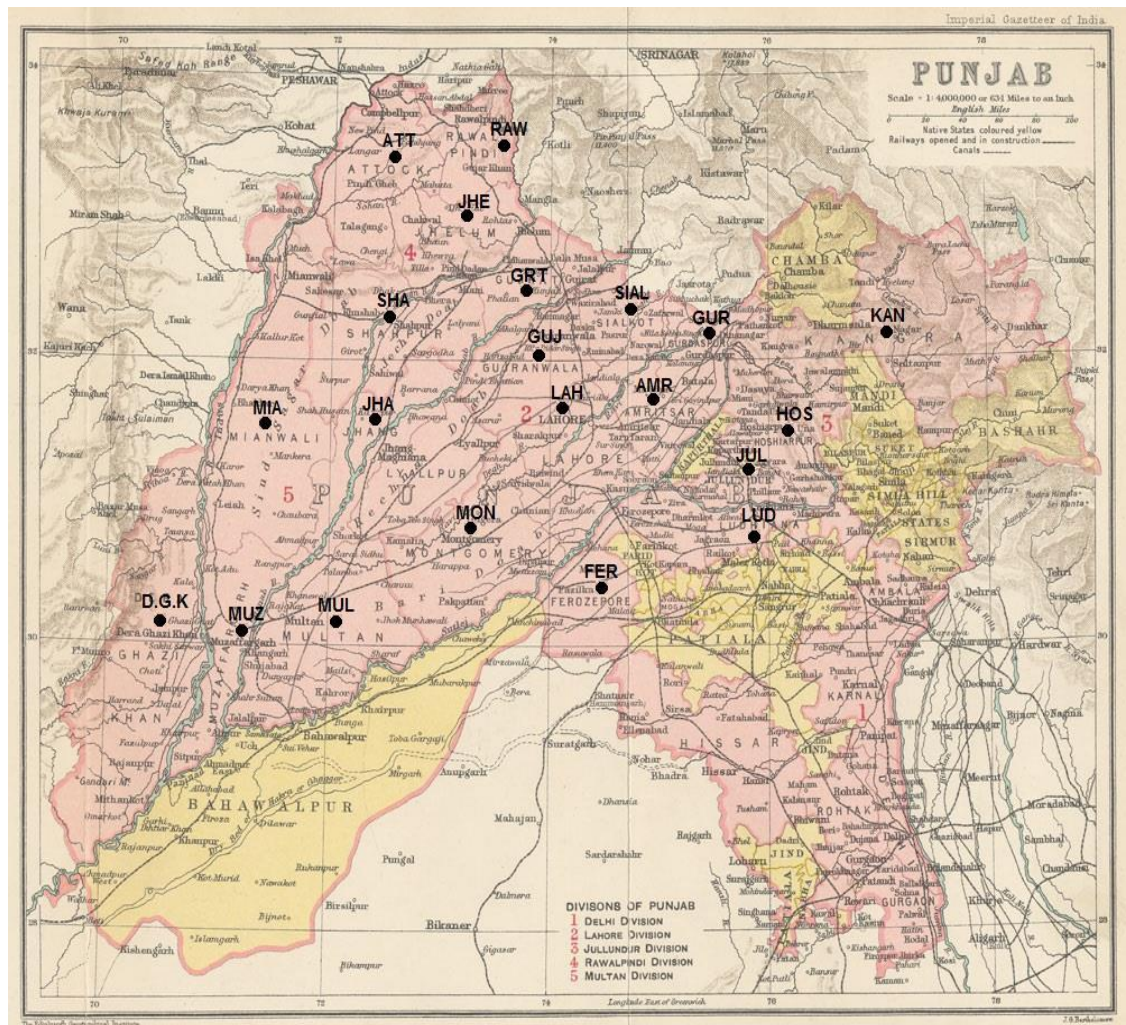
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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Word
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
EIC	East India Company
GTR	Grand Trunk Road
NWR	North Western Railway
NWSR	North Western State Railway

Map of Undivided Punjab: Districts and Cantonments of the Punjab Province

Source: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gaz_atlas_1909/pager.htm?object=38, Accessed on May 25, 2014.



Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Problem and its importance:

Military history in general is seen as an under-researched area, so also is the former's implications on the lives of the people and the transformation of landscape. Military remained important to every country from time immemorial and countries and kingdoms maintained military for protection and security as well as for advancing their imperial designs. It is well known that military has played a major role in the making of the British Empire, so also its colony in the Indian subcontinent. It had a telling role in sustaining the British Indian Empire till the middle of the 20th century. Making of the empire was thus accompanied by a reconfiguration of the subcontinent into a new 'militaryscape'. The drawing of the military landscape of British India involved strategies of selective developing, recruitment and deployment. Certain areas became nerve centres of military mobilisation with more and more cantonments located such locations identified as strategic regions. The same is the case with army recruitment- certain areas and regions became the grounds of recruitment due to their perceived advantages. Punjab has been a region that assumed importance in the British Indian Empire for both reasons- it became a strategic location in which British Indian army was heavily concentrated with a robust network of military cantonments apart from converting it as one of the most important army recruitment grounds. Punjab turned into a garrison state due to this during British colonialism (Yong 2005). However, the trajectory of slow but steady development of the province of Punjab into a garrison state with a chain of cantonments remains under-explored, so also the impact of the cantonmentisation of the province on the life and geography of such specific locations in particular and the region as a whole. The present dissertation would be a modest attempt to that direction with regard to Punjab in the context of South Asia in general and Ferozpur cantonment in particular.

1.2 South Asian Context:

South Asia which includes the present day Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka has been a region that attracted explorers, traders and invaders from ancient times onwards. It is pointed out that the invaders included the Aryans, Mongols, Mughals and Turks who used the land route to reach the rich South Asian subcontinent through the great passes of the North Western areas (Rahmani 2011: 4). The same richness of the subcontinent attracted the Europeans from the fifteenth century onwards which changed the course of its subsequent history (Rahmani 2011: 4). The British East India Company, which came to explore and exploit the chances of trading in the wealthy subcontinent, subsequently became the masters of the land and brought sweeping changes in the fields of education, military, economy, society, judiciary, civil administration, communication, law and order in the South Asia. The British rule thus changed the face of South Asia (Talbot 2007: 4). The British rule in South Asia was also important as it brought new systems of military mobilisation and defence. A number of military training institutions were established and the forces were reorganized under the British armed forces apart from enabling the military with modern arms and ammunitions. It had a definite advantage for the Raj as it not only sustained the British Indian Empire, but the British Indian army also fought for them in the First and Second World Wars (Rahmani 2011). The policy of the British for mobilising and stationing army throughout the subcontinent was not the same, but shown significant amount of regional variation, depending on the specific strategic demands and perceived fighting spirits available in certain regions and people. This resulted in region specific military histories in South Asia. Such regions, due to military infrastructure and massive recruitments benefited due to the spill over effect of militarisation. Punjab is a typical case in point. It was not only converted into a garrison state coincided with a process called Punjabisation of Indian army, but also much more allied transformations like urbanisation, irrigation, technological advancement, modern education and modern means of communication. The present study with special reference to Punjab thus opens possibility of capturing the diversity and regionality in South Asia in this regard.

1.3 Indian and Punjab Contexts:

During the 17th century, the English East India Company (EIC) was a minor player in India, controlling just a few small coastal enclaves at that time. But slowly but steadily they established the British empire in India. It was in 1612 the first British settlement was established in Surat, followed by the construction of Fort St. George at Madras in 1639 and acquiring of Bombay in 1661 (Kaushik 2011: 6). In the beginning, the EIC's small forces were repeatedly defeated by indigenous powers, but this started change rapidly from the 1750 onwards. Thereafter the native powers were defeated and destroyed one after another. By 1849, the EIC had gained political paramountcy in the India. The military and arms capabilities played a major role in it. Between 1688 and 1815 Britain became the strongest military power in the world, and unsurprisingly between 1815 and 1865 the British Empire grew at the rate of 100,000 square miles per year (Roy 2011: 10). In fact, the construction of an overseas empire by Britain led to the overseas expansion of the European maritime powers during the early modern era (Roy 2011: 10) and the availability of local allies and military constituted locally provided a lot of aid in the rise of the West over in the rest of the world between 1500 and 1800 (Roy 2011: 11). British acquired military supremacy in the Indian sub-continent between 1750 and 1850 (Roy 2011: 13). It expanded its military establishment by adapting itself to the requirements of the subcontinent. This was in tune with the changing character of the British Empire and the strategies it adopted at different places according to the requirement of the time and space (Roy 2011:14).

It is pointed out that Punjab assumed importance in the history of British Indian empire after the revolt of 1857 (Streets 2011: 2). It became a turning point as it led to reconstruction of the British Indian army at a very large scale and Punjab became the major recruitment ground for the British.¹ The militarisation of Punjab has also something to do with its geographical location. It has been the gateway to India since ancient times (Kaur 2013: 3). And time to time a number of invaders came to India through the Punjab region and either plundered or ruled here. Militarising Punjab thus was essential to guard the legion from external attacks through the Western route.

¹ The word ‘‘Punjab’’ is derived from a Persian word panj-ab, the literal meaning of which is ‘‘five-waters’’ Thus, Punjab means ‘‘land of five rivers’’ (Kaur 2011: 4).

Punjab was annexed to the British India in 1849 and upto 1857 it remained under the board of administration and the British attempts to develop the region started during this time itself. Apart from its strategic location, Punjab occupied a special place in the British defence plan due to the perception of an impending attack from the Russian Empire under the dynamics of the Great Game (Talbot 2007: 2). The modernisation and a new wave of development were the strategies adopted by the British to make the people of Punjabi people loyal towards the British rule (Talbot 2007: 3-4). This was further accentuated by the fact that during the 1857 rebellion, most regiments of the Bengal Army rebelled or had been disarmed in anticipation of their rebellion, while the Madras and Bombay Armies - despite some discontent - remained quiescent, even fighting with distinction against the rebels; and the, regiments of Sikhs and other Punjabis fully supported the military operations, along with the Garhwalis and the Ghurkhas to suppress the rebellion (Khalidi 2001: 3). Unsurprisingly, with the end of 1857 rebellion the Punjabis became the most preferred group in military recruitment to the British Indian army. The people in Punjab are perceived as endowed with martial capabilities - whether Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh- which was thought to be channelized to the benefit of the Empire (Khalidi 2001: 3).

The most drastic effect of the 1857 uprising thus was the regional recruitment shift in the British military from Bengal to the Punjab and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of the sub-continent (Soherwordi 2010: 2). This shift resulted in what is called as the de-Bengalisation and the Punjabisation of the Indian army – a punishment for the Bengal region that rebelled and a reward to the Punjab that suppressed the uprising (Mazumder 2003). This era also heralded the colonial theory of divide and rule on the basis of the so-called 'martial races' too (Soherwordi 2010). The British felt that particularly the Sikhs possessed the finest soldierly qualities required for British administration at that time (Kaur 2011: 4) and the discovery of the valour of the Sikhs by the British coincided with the 1857 mutiny (Kaur 2011: 4). This led to the Punjabization of British Indian army in the form of an increased presence of Punjabis in Indian army and stationing of a number of battalions in the Punjab. It is said that the number of Keshdhari (Amrithdari Sikh) Sikhs increased in the British Indian army population due to the British policy of recruiting from them- it increased from 840,000 in 1891 to nearly 3,600,000 in 1931 (Kaur 2011: 5). Related statistics from the army also suggest

growing presence of Punjabis in the British Indian army. In 1857, the Punjabis constituted about 44 per cent of the Bengal Army and the Punjab Frontier Force, but only a quarter of the entire Armed forces (Soherwordi 2012: 13). But by 1893, the Punjabis formed 44 per cent of the entire Indian Armed Forces (Soherwordi 2012: 13). This is increased further to 57 per cent by 1904 (Soherwordi 2012: 13). This also indicates a sharp under-representation of other regions as other castes and classes, as well as areas, were practically ignored in the new army recruitment policy adopted in the post-1857 period (Soherwordi 2012: 4). Now the chemistry of conscription was such that, in Bengal, there were 7117 combatant recruits out of a total population of 45 million; whereas Punjab offered 349689 out of a total population of 20 million (Soherwordi 2012: 13). One out of 28 males was mobilized from Punjab, whereas the ratio was one to 150 in the rest of India (Soherwordi 2012: 13). At the outbreak of the First World War, there were 100,000 Punjabis serving in the army, of whom 87,000 were combatants; 380,000 were enlisted during the First World War from Punjab region, of which 231,000 were combatants (Soherwordi 2012: 13-14). This made a total of 480,000 who served from the Punjab (Soherwordi 2012: 13). According to another estimate, the Punjab supplied 54 per cent of the total combatant troops in the Indian army during the First World War and, if the 19,000 *Gurkhas* recruited from the independent state of Nepal was excluded, the Punjab contingent amounted to 62 per cent of the whole Indian Army (Soherwordi 2012: 14).

Beside this, as indicated already, Punjab being a frontier region and a threat from the expanding Russian empire through the central Asia had been anticipated, the British has given Punjab a pivotal role in their defence strategies. The Punjab's loyalty in 1857 had strengthened its strategic importance in the British's eyes. The British also found Punjab very open to provide irregular military support to the British whenever required (Talbot 2007: 2). In order to prevent the invader to enter into India through the west, the British expanded its military infrastructure in Punjab. The military cantonments that mushroomed in Punjab from the 1830s onwards is a result of this perceived threat through the Western frontier and the supportive and loyal Punjabi mind set to British designs. A series

of cantonments were established in the province- Firozpur, Lahore, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Peshawar, Ambala, Kanpur, Bathinda, Rawalpindi, etc.²

These cantonments were vital in sustaining colonialism in India and maintaining its dominance over the sub-continent. The cantonments transformed the life and geography of the respective locations/areas where they were established in terms of demography and amenities. The British built canals and roads connecting the cantonments for steady movement of army and armaments for making the empire safer. Cantonments brought amenities required for modern life in those areas and kindled a process of urbanisation. The Firozpur cantonment is considered to be the earliest cantonment built by the British in Punjab, which was opened 1839 during the time of Anglo-Sikh wars itself by Sir Henry Lawrence.³ This cantonment was of great importance under the British colonization as it played an important role in protecting the British Indian Empire. An attempt is made here to explore the details of making south Asia and Punjab a garrison state with these networks of cantonments and the changes they brought to their respective locations with special reference to Firozpur cantonment.

1.4 Relevance, Scope and Justification of the study:

This study is an attempt to explore the military history of Punjab through mapping the cantonments and the transformation they brought to the region with special reference to the Firozpur cantonment. The importance of Punjab in the military history of South Asia and the Empire is an under-explored area and the proposed study would be an attempt to identify the broader contours of this history. The attempt would be to chart the changes the cantonments brought to the geography and socio-eco life of the people. The study would also highlight the regionality of colonial military history with reference to South Asia. The approach taken here is novel in military history- a bottom to top approach, starting with a

² The story behind cantonments in India

Available at: <http://blog.mapsofindia.com/2012/03/23/the-story-behind-cantonments-in-india/> (Accessed on 14 April 2013).

³ "FIROZPUR-Into the sands of time and beyond," Available at: <http://firozpur.nic.in/html/AboutFerozepur.htm> (Accessed on 5 June 2013), Ferozpur Cantonment Board web site, <http://www.cbfr.org/>.

micro-level study in order to understand the larger history without missing its specificities.

1.5 Aims and Objective of the study:

1. Explore the colonial military history of Punjab with special reference to imperatives of establishing military cantonments in the province and the changes it engendered on the geography and socio-economic life of the region.
2. Exploring the specific history of Ferozpur cantonment and examine how it transformed the landscape and life of the people with reference to urbanisation, education, demographic and cultural changes.

1.6 Methodology and Sources:

The study relies mostly on archival records pertaining to colonial and post-colonial time and hence adopts a method of document analysis through critical reading. The military reports, military gazettes of recruitment, annual military reports and statistics and all other relevant archival sources available in Punjab State Archives and archives at Patiala and New Delhi are utilised. Alongside using the cantonment record room, select interviews with army officers, local population and scholars are also conducted to gather relevant information. The secondary sources included all the relevant books, articles, conference proceedings, working papers and web resources.

1.7 Chapters of the Dissertation:

The dissertation will have five chapters. The first chapter introduces the research problem and explain the significance of the study, apart from discussing the research objectives, methodology, and sources of information and chapterisation of the whole work. The second chapter is a literature review in an attempt link the present study with the existing works for mapping the work in the right direction. The third chapter is an attempt to unravel the military history of Punjab under the British colonialism in a broad sense from 1830 to 1947. The focus is given to the establishment of cantonments- the compulsions of it and the changes it engendered in the history of the region. The fourth chapter is a discussion on Ferozpur cantonment which was established by the British as early

as 1839. It looks into the history of the cantonment, its importance in the Anglo-Sikh wars and the perceived Russian threat. Moreover, it also endeavors a modest discussion on how the cantonment transformed Ferozpur region- its geography and the lives of the people. The last chapter summarizes and concludes the study.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This chapter is an attempt to review the available literature on the military history of Punjab during the colonial rule, with a special focus on the imperatives of establishing cantonments in this region. It is indeed an under-researched area and largely there are no work on the formation of military stations or cantonments in Punjab and their legacy to the future. But on the general military history of Punjab quite a few scholarly articles and books are available, though they are not specifically focussed on cantonments and their impact on the lives of the region. A survey through the existing literature is necessary to understand the state of the art of knowledge regarding the research issue in general and identify the prevailing gaps in justification of the present exercise.

There are a few scholarly works on the general military history of South Asia. As well-known South Asia has a great importance in the British military system, and it pointed out that India was significant for the empire for its military and defense importance. Daniel Marston and Chandar S. Sundaram in their book *Military History of India and South Asia: From East India Company to the Nuclear Era* also underlines the fact how the colonial Indian/South Asian army satisfied the imperial interests of the British. The study also points out the importance of British Indian army in the expansion of the Indian empire, by highlighting its role in the Afghan-wars and world wars (Marston and Sundaram 2007). Thomas Metcalf and Tony Ballantyne also emphasizes the pivotal role of Indian army in creating an India-centric sub-imperial system, in which people, ideas, goods and military power were exchanged from India within and across the subcontinent (Metcalf 2007, Ballantyne 2006). Metcalf extended further by arguing that India became a nexus of imperial power that made possible the British, conquest, control and governance across a wide arc of territory in the Indian Ocean region, stretching from Africa to East Asia (Metcalf 2007). Of course, the focus of these works was not the development of military infrastructure in South Asia. Kaushik Roy's article "The hybrid military establishment of the East India company in South Asia: 1850-1849" points out how English East India Company (EIC) a minor power in the seventeenth century in South Asia, even defeated by very minor powers in the

region, was transformed into an empire with the help of western military culture and infrastructures (Roy 2011). The recent work of Tirthankar Roy also discusses this complex transformation from a trading corporation to an empire (Roy 2012). Kaushik Roy also underlines the hybrid military establishment of the British in South Asia, with assembling the South Asian manpower, animals and economic resources (Roy 2011). These two works too did not pay much attention to the establishment of cantonments in South Asia and how it played crucial role in the life of the empire and people in the region. Colin Watterson's more recent work (article) with the title "The Keys to British Success in South Asia" foregrounds the key factors of British success in South Asia, including the lucrative trade agreements between the British and the Indians princes, the role of the destruction of a central political power, the Mughals, to pose a challenge to the EIC and above all the military force built by the British. The study highlights the role of Britain's powerful navy, their ability to play Indian party against one another, and the utilization of native soldiers for the empire as keys to their military success (Watterson 2013).

There are a few other works that deals with the Indian military history in general and a few others looking at specific issues, apart from regions within the country. Stephen P. Cohen's article "The Untouchable Soldier: Caste, Politics, and the Indian army" examine the colonial military system and attempts to demonstrate the changes it brought to the polities and society in general and to the low-caste communities of India in particular. The article looks at the caste configuration of British Indian army and how it changed over time, bringing more categories and regions into its fold by downplaying others. The work also analyses the reasons behind reorganization of the Bengal army after the 1857 rebellion and military recruitment shift from Bengal to Punjab region. Cohen also points out to the shift to "Racial Races" after 1857, alongside identification of such races that were more loyal and trustworthy than other races toward the British government. These 'races' included Jats, Sikh, Ghurkha and Pathans (Cohen 1969). Kaushik Roy's article "Military Loyalty in the Colonial Context: A case study of the Indian Army during World War II" focuses the loyalty of the army and the reasons behind it. Roy points out that the multi-ethnic British Indian army, comprised particularly of Jats, Sikhs, Ghurkhas, Marathas, Pathans, etc., remained loyal to the British up to the First World War. But the scenario changed during the Second World War, when

the Indian army was expanded within a very short period through massive recruitments. Even then, salary and the hope of gaining glory encouraged Indians to join the army and the raj was successful in expanding the British Indian army because of vast the demographic sources available and due to unemployment (Roy 2009) The book edited by Kaushik Roy *The Indian Army in Two World Wars* comprises seventeen essays based on primary sources and deals with the military, political, social and cultural dimensions of the Indian army during the two world wars and in addition this work points out the impact of military services on the Indian society and how Indian army played crucial role to sustain the British dominance in not only India but also in various other British colonies (Roy 2011a). Another study conducted by Ian J. Kerr “Bombay and Lahore. Colonial Railways and Colonial Cities: Some Urban Consequences of the Development and Operation of Railways in India, c. 1850-c. 1947” speaks about the development of Bombay and Lahore during the colonial time. The paper looks at how railways were important in the development of these cities and explain how a railway connection between Bombay and the western center became essential to the further growth of Bombay City in mid-19th century. It concludes that the development of Bombay’s and Lahore and involvement of the railways in it drastically affected many Indian towns and cities in its development, from the demographic size and social composition to the built environments. The study only marginally touches upon the role of military stations and infrastructures in this important transformation of the urban space of Bombay and Lahore (Kerr 2012). Another study on Lahore is that of Chattha, whose paper “Economic Change and Community Relations in Lahore before Partition” mainly focus on process of the urbanization and its Scio-economic changes in Lahore during the colonial period. Up to great extant it is similar to the Kerr study (2012) but shows development of civil lines, cantonment areas and migration beside this it also discussed about its strategic location and how boosted by the railways during the colonial era with some detail. It emphasizes the role of these processes in the urbanization drive in general and in the case of Lahore in particular (Chattha 2012). Idrees Khawaja in his article entitles “Development, Disparity, and Colonial Shocks: Do Endowments Matter?” which mainly examines the regional variation in the impact of the shocks when the British left India. The study also explained the socioeconomic consequences of the three colonial shocks; canal colonies, cantonments and the

recruitment for the military in the case of Punjab in particular. The study suggested that canal colonies positively influenced the socio-economic conditions of the central districts and further military recruitment brought colourful socioeconomic consequences to the Punjab region (Khawaja 2012). But this study too did not pay much attention to the legacy of military stations to the regional geography and other aspects of life in the area during the colonial rule to the Punjab region.

The British rule brought wide ranging changes in Punjab. The agrarian transformation of Punjab is an important dimension of this transformation. Sukhwant Singh's study on 'Agricultural science and Technology in the Punjab in the Nineteenth Century' (1982) brings out the story of agrarian change during the colonial rule. He emphasised the role of the western technology in the make over of Punjab's agriculture. He also foregrounds the commercialisation of Punjab agriculture and adds how all these western technology togetherly brought the handsome profits to the punjab peasants and inject a lot of social and economic positive consequences in the punjabi socety(Singh 1982). Ian A. Talbot's article under the title "The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India" (2007) largely follow the themes of Cohen (1969) Omissi (1968) Mazumder (2003) and Yong (2005). Talbot foregrounds the wide ranging transformation colonial rule brought to Punjab along with and part of with its militarisation like construction of canals, roads and social infrastructure. Beside this, the physiography of the Punjabi people also discussed in this short work apart from the contribution of Punjabi soldiers in the world wars. This is useful as it gives a broader framework and perspective to understand the change of Punjab under the British rule (Talbot 2007). Gopal Krishna article "Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)", points out how migrations were taking place from Punjab due to the military recruitment from the region under colonialism. However, the article did not pay much attention to the demographic and socio-economic changes the military cantonments and other military related infrastructure brought into the Punjab (Krishna 2007). Harpreet Kaur's article "Reconstructing the Sikh Diaspora" discusses the role of the British colonialism in generating transnational migrations from Punjab and the resultant Sikh diaspora. Kaur underlines the colonial military recruitment from Punjab and the so called Punjabisation of Indian army in making the Sikhs a well-known diasporic community. A position in the British Indian army was looked upon as prestigious in the eyes of common masses of Punjab and

people thus recruited were to fight the two world wars, getting exposed to different countries and cultures, and some of them settling abroad permanently at that time (Kaur 2011). The focus of this article is the making of Sikh diaspora and hence the establishment of military stations and cantonments at that time and the military led to urbanisation within Punjab remained an un-explored section during this study.

There are also a good number of works that deals with the importance of Punjab in the military affairs of the British Indian Empire and its diverse dimensions. After the 1857 revolt Punjab emerged as a garrison state and played an important role in sustaining the Empire not only in India but also outside the India. David Omissi's book *Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (1988) is an original and very important piece of work in this regard. Omissi considers the 1857 revolt as a watershed in the colonial military history of India and that of Punjab. The book details how the 1857 revolt changes the military recruitment policy and locations and the British Indian army's turn towards the Punjab region. He also talks about the contribution of the Punjab army in first and second world wars for the colonial rule (Omissi 1988). Rajit K. Mazumder book *The Indian Army and the Making of Punjab* (2003) covers the crucial aspects of the making of Punjab in the six chapters and basically focus on the period of after Indian uprising in 1857 in relation to its embedded history of Indian army and broadly explain about ethnic shift in military recruitment policy which he calls the "the Punjabisisation of the Indian Army". Like Cohen (1969) and Omissi (1988), Mazumder also emphasised the "racial theory" which has driven the military recruitment policy of the British, apart from tracing the importance of Punjab as a frontier region and the Russian threat from the western side in transforming the prospects of Punjab. Much beyond the other works, Mazumder also explained how the British protected its recruitment base and ensured the loyalty of the soldiers by investing heavily in physical infrastructure: a network of roads, railways, canals, bridges, schools, and hospitals grew during this period on a scale and rate unprecedented in any other part of British India. Mazumdar also points out how the increased recruitment, Punjabi soldiers' fight in the two world wars and their migration to other countries transformed their worldviews too along with their economic and social lives. This work is rich with forty seven tables of numerical data on ethnic composition, military expenditure, and physical infrastructure of Indian army with special reference to Punjab (Mazumder 2003). Tan Tai Yong also

wrote a very good account on the military history of Punjab during the colonial rule in his book *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947* (2005). Though Yong traces the military history of Punjab since its accession to British India in 1849, greater focus is given to the period after the great rebellion of 1857, the time during which Punjab became the main recruitment centre for the British Indian army. The recruitment from Punjab picked up a very high pace from 1880 onwards, Yong points out. Though emphasised on the 'martial races' theory which the British relied upon and the Russian scare, Yong points out that it was primarily due to the loyalty of Punjab's people toward the British, Punjab emerged as a "sword arm" of British India (Yong 2005). This work also does not take cantonments seriously into discussion though they figure peripherally in the discussion often. Syed Hussain Shaheed Soherwordi in his article "'Punjabisation' in the 'British Indian Army 1857-1947 and the Advent of Military Rule in Pakistan'" (2010) broadly explained about the recruitment policy shift from Bengal to Punjab after the mutiny of 1857 and in that sense it extended work of the Kaushik Roy (2009). Thus most drastic effect of 1857 was the de-Bengalisation and Punjabization of the Indian army (Soherwordi 2010, Roy 2009). Soherwordi also underlines the importance of Punjab as a frontier province which contributed immensely to its military importance alongside providing hard data on sepoy recruitment from Punjab. Beside this, the author also discussed about the Sindh frontier force and Punjab frontier force which played important role to protect the British Empire (Soherwordi 2010).

Thus though there are studies on the general military history of South Asia and India, and transformations of Punjab under colonialism in general, alongside a few studies on the colonial military history of Punjab, no study has been conducted with special reference to the imperatives of military cantonments and their consequences on the general life and landscape of Punjab. Its role in transforming Punjab's geography, economy, society and culture and various other aspects remains largely under-explored.

CHAPTER 3

CANTONMENTS AND CHANGING LIVES: TRANSFORMATIONS IN PUNJAB

This chapter is an attempt to explore the colonial military history of Punjab with special reference to imperatives of establishing military cantonments in the province and the changes it engendered on the geography and socio-economic life of the region. The strategic frontier location of Punjab and the threat of an attack from the expanding Russian empire through the Central Asia have been discussed as reasons for militarising Punjab. The loyalty exhibited by the Punjabi soldiers in the 1857 revolt and the presumed martial qualities of the Punjabi races, on the other hand, contributed to an increased reliance of the British on recruiting soldiers from Punjab. The vast network of cantonments established by the British in this frontier province is seen as vital in sustaining colonialism in India and maintaining its dominance over the sub-continent. The chapter also explores the manner in which cantonments transformed the life and geography of the respective locations/areas where they were established in terms of demography and amenities. Cantonments brought amenities for modern life in those areas and kindled a robust process of urbanisation in Punjab, alongside connecting the region with the rest of the world and having enormous impact on the economic and cultural life of Punjab.

3.1 An Empire Built and Shielded by Native Hands:

South Asia, broadly referred to as the Indian subcontinent, is said to have a history of some five millennium years and has a spread over the area of one and a half millions of square miles (Hassan 2010: 2). It was Sir Dudley Stamp, one of the most famous geographers, called it the Indian subcontinent because of its separation from the rest of the Asian landmass (Malhotra 2011: 1). The subcontinent, the core of South Asia, located at the southern extremity of the Eurasian continent, had to face many invasion through the land route through mountains and most of the foreign invaders came into the subcontinent mainly from the west through passes such as the Khyber and Bolan (Hassan 2010: 16). These passes were indeed difficult but not impossible to cross for the invaders

(Malhotra 2011: 1). It is pointed out that the invaders included the Aryans, Mongols, Huns, Mughals and Turks who used the land route to reach the rich South Asian subcontinent through the great passes of the North Western areas (Rahmani 2011). Most of the invading groups became part of the subcontinent and contributed to its syncretic and shared culture, embodying diversity and plurality. This route also attracted explorers and traders into the subcontinent from ancient times onwards, contributing to the rich cultural fabric of the subcontinent.

The modern time brought the subcontinent under colonialism, following the arrival of Europeans for trade through the sea route. It was the richness of the subcontinent that attracted the Europeans, like all other erstwhile invaders (Hassan 2010: 4). The Portuguese traders were the first to reach among them, subsequently came the British, the French and the Dutch. The British were the most successful in establishing their superiority over the subcontinent and bringing it under the colonial rule, which among other things, resulted in the import of western cultures and ways of living into the subcontinent (Hassan 2010: 16). Colonialism unleashed sweeping changes in the fields of education, economy, society, judiciary, civil administration, communication, law and order in South Asia (Talbot 2007: 4).

The British rule in South Asia was also important as it brought new systems of military mobilisation and defence. The British Indian army was the strong arm of the British Raj. The British Indian Empire was also a result the British military might and technologies; the main purpose of the modern military was to quell internal disturbances and to counter external aggression in the Indian subcontinent. Major Stringer Lawrence, who formed the first military units of the East India Company in Madras in 1748, has been regarded as 'the father of the Indian Army'.⁴ He organised the British Indian army that was divided into three presidencies: Bengal, Madras and Bombay. But it was under the command of Colonel John Adlerscron in 1754 a great change of policy has taken place with far reaching consequences, when he decided to induct Indian men into East India Company's army (Soherwordi 2010: 1-2). The troops recruited from India were given training, discipline and professionalism along the British lines. The work put

⁴ The father of Indian army

Available At: <http://radhikaranjanmarxist.blogspot.in/2011/03/father-of-indian-army.html/> (Accessed on 5 Dec. 2013).

in by the colonial administration towards this direction over time paid dividends and brought discipline and efficiency among Indian soldiers and separated from the fragmented Indian society slowly these Indian soldiers turned into a professional, united and autonomous fighting force of the British Indian army (Soherwordi 2010: 1-3). The British military equipment's and military infrastructure added to this in the building one of the strongest armies in the Empire.

The 1857 revolt was a flash point in South Asian military history too as the British government subsequent to the rebellion introduced a major shift in their organisational setups and regional preferences for recruitment. The recruitment base has been shifted to the North and North Western regions of India at the expense of other regions, especially Bengal, which was contributing the major share of British Indian army personal. As a result, the army began to be dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. Certain groups from these regions like Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis and the Pathans from the North West were particularly preferred (Soherwordi 2010: 4). The Indians in the British Indian army thus became a tool for British dominance in the Indian sub-continent, not only in protecting and expanding British India but also in fighting the First and Second World Wars for the Empire (Rahmani 2011: 10). This loyalty and bravery of these people inspired the British to invest in the areas of their origin, apart from developing the strategic areas in which military headquarters and cantonments were mushroomed (Soherwordi 2010: 4).

From the second half of the eighteenth century, the Bengal army recruited mostly from the communities that had served the Muslim dynasty in the past. Fundamentally recruitment of the army was focussed on high caste Hindus, mainly from Bihar, Oudh and Agra. In the Bengal army Punjabis and Ghurkha's were also enlisted. Unlike the Bengal army, the recruitment in Madras and Bombay armies was on supra-caste and supra-religion basis (Soherwordi 2010: 5).

Table: 3.1

Three armies of the East India Company and their recruitment areas in the second half of the 18th century

Army	Recruitment areas
Bengal army	Bihar, Oudh, Agra, Punjab, Nepal (caste based recruitment)
Madras army	Madras ,Hyderabad, central provinces, Burma (supra-caste, religion & class recruitment)
Bombay army	Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana, Aden (supra-caste, class & religion)

Source: Soherwordi 2010: 3, Table 1

After the revolt of 1857, the British government after taking over the reins of the East India Company completely changed the shape of three wings of the British Indian army. In August 1858, the British government introduced a major shift in their organisational setups and stressed the need to maintain a disciplined, professional and loyal trained army. The British Indian army was divided into four commands: the Madras Command, the Bombay Command, the Bengal Command and the Punjab Command, each headed by a Lt. General. The former Bengal Army was split into Bengal and Punjab Commands (Soherwordi 2010: 4-6).

Table: 3.2

Four commands of the Indian Army and their areas of recruitment in 1895.

Command	Recruitment area
Punjab	Punjab, NWFP
Bengal	Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces, parts of the Central Provinces and Central India
Madras	Madras Presidency, the garrisons in Hyderabad and Mysore and Burma
Bombay	Bombay Presidency including Sindh, Aden, Baluchistan, Rajputana and parts of Central India and the Central Provinces

Source: Soherwordi 2010: 6, Table 2.

Moreover, a number of military training institutions were established and the forces were reorganized under the British armed forces apart from enabling the military with modern arms and ammunitions. It had a definite advantage for the Raj as it not only sustained the British Indian Empire and also unleashed a wave of changes in the region (Rahmani 2011: 10). For example six major urban centres - Ambala, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Shimla - which housed 73 per cent of the Europeans in the region in 1868 came to have relatively bigger civil stations and cantonment areas in the Indian sub-continent and the structure of these cantonments were designed to meet the military and residential requirements of the officers, troops and ancillary personnel of European and native origins (Grewal 2009: 97).

3.2 Emergence of Punjab as the Sword arm of the Empire:

Punjab was the gateway to rich Gangetic plain and was a landlocked region in the north western corner of the Indian subcontinent (Talbot 1988: 11). From the time of Alexander the great, successive waves of invaders looted and made their way along the great northern trunk road which ran through Punjab, connecting Kabul to Delhi (Talbot 1988: 13). Most of the region's towns had grown as route centres on or near this highway. During the British rule, Punjab became the part of great game and threats of Russian expansion through Central Asia were alarming to the British.⁵ In the context of such an impending invasion from the expanding Russian empire, in order to save and secure the empire, the British fabricated strong military infrastructure in the Punjab during the 19th century to annex and guard its Afghan border in order to foil Russia's eastward expansion through Central Asia. As Ian Talbot has pointed out, it is unlikely that the region would have assumed importance as a centre of colonial military recruitment if it had not been near the Indian army's main theatre of war in Afghanistan (Talbot 1988: 14). The geo-strategic location and the fear of Russian attack, made Punjab one of the most militarized province of British India, a garrison state, to the extent of becoming

⁵ The 'Great Game' refers to the strategic rivalry between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy over central Asia. The period is generally regarded as between 1813-1907 (Khawaja 2012: 4).

headquarters of the British Indian Army and its most important recruitment ground (Talbot 2007: 3-7, Yong 2005).

It was the 1857 revolt that shifted the recruitment ground of the British Indian Army from Bengal to Punjab and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of the subcontinent, a process generally called as de-Bengalisation and the Punjabisation of the British Indian army (Soherwordi 2010: 6). This era also heralded the colonial theory of divide and rule on the basis of the so-called 'martial races' (Soherwordi 2010: 6-7). The British Army's senior officers believed that certain classes and communities in India were warrior races – "Martial Races" as they called it.⁶ And such classes and communities were believed to be better and braver soldiers and more suitable for army service. As a result, by the first half of the twentieth century the army was dominated by the soldiers from the North and North West of India. In this, Gurkhas from Nepal, the Punjabis and the Pathans were classified as martial races and preferred to enlist in the army which led to increase the number of Punjabis in the British Indian army (Soherwordi 2010: 7-8).

British were also grateful to the Punjabis for their role in suppressing the rebellion of 1857, particularly the contributions of the Sikh soldiers and After 1857 revolt major part of the British Indian army recruitment drawn from these strategic areas and martial races which were superlatively suited for the harsh campaigning conditions of the frontier itself (Khawaja 2012: 2-3). Beside upper, North was possessed another endowment – the hardy men, experienced in warfare, who had joined almost every invader, from 12th -20th century, who came to India through the north-west frontier (Khawaja 2012: 3). They were able to survive comfortably in temperatures which froze soldiers from Bengal and Madras to death. In spite of this they could move as swiftly as any Afghan or Pathan tribesmen across the narrow ridges and steep hillsides of the frontier passes (Talbot 1988: 42). They were seen as best suited to guard the frontier region and resist the Russian attack in case of an onslaught through the North West.

As a result of this, during the period 1875-1914, the composition of the British Indian army altered dramatically and by 1875 half of the British Indian army

⁶ The Eden commission reported in 1879 that the Punjab was the "home of the most martial races of India" and that it was 'the nursery' of the best soldiers (Soherwordi 2010: 6-7).

was recruited from Punjab (Chandra 2009: 164-165). The world was highlighted Punjab's domination of the British Indian army; in the war that killed 64,000 Indian soldiers, over half of the 1.4 million Indian soldiers involved were from the Punjab and a third of the 1.8 million Indian soldiers who supported the British call to arms in the Second World War were Punjabis (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two) 2004: 3-4). This became the largest all-volunteer force in history and Indian soldiers fought alongside allied troops in many of the major battles during these wars (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two) 2004: 3-4).

Due to the strategic position Punjab thus became the bulwark of British Indian army. However they constructed a number of buildings but the major emphasis was given in securing the frontier buildings and building forts and fortifications along the long border for the military purposes (Mazumder 2003: 49-50). Thus marital race theory, strategic position and emergence as a part of great game made the Punjab special to the British, which in consequence emerged as a province of cantonments.

3.3 A Province of Cantonments: Punjab's Becoming:

After the annexation of Punjab, the British established a number of military lines and cantonments in the Punjab which were spread in the whole Punjab region. As already pointed out, these cantonments were necessitated by the strategic location of Punjab, the availability of 'martial races' in the region and above all the fear of a Russian expansion towards the subcontinent. Most of these cantonments were constructed on the most strategic positions in the province and also in un-cultivated or under-cultivated areas of this region. These cantonments were joined to each other with the commercial cum strategic road and railway networks, which facilitated steady movement and mobilization of the British Indian army whenever required. Communication channels across the cantonments were also promptly established which were also primarily determined by the military and strategic requirements. No doubt, these cantonments infused abundance transformations in the geography of Punjab in the colonial time and brought a lot of changes in multiple directions of this frontier region. Before turning to that story, let us attempt a brief survey of major cantonments set up in the Punjab under the colonial rule.

The British positioned numerous military stations and cantonments on the strategic locations of the province having an area of 97,209 square miles. Out of these cantonments, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Sialkot, Ferozpur, Dera Ismail Khan, Peshawar, Attock, Ambala, Delhi, Jhelum, Jullundur were the most prominent ones. Lahore was one of the most prominent cantonments among them. It was first established as a Military station in the Lahore⁷ district in 1851-52 (Known as Meean Mir till 1906) and joined with the fort of Lahore subsequently (Lahore District Gazetteer 1916: 211-212). The principal military station in the district was the cantonment of Meean Mir and Lahore was headquarters of the Lahore division. The locality for the Lahore cantonment was selected in 1851-52 and was subsequently expanded during 1893-94 (Lahore District Gazetteer 1893-94: 239). Though Lahore was the capital of the Sikh kingdom before the arrival of the British, it was after the coming of the British Lahore's importance reached its peak. Lahore cantonment was enormously huge that it contained 3 per cent of the total area, 4 per cent of the cultivated area and 5 per cent of the population of the British territories of the Punjab during the British era (Lahore District Gazetteer 1893-94: 239).

The ordinary garrison of Meean Meer consists of two batteries royal Artillery, one regiment British infantry, one of the Bengal cavalry, one of the native infantry and one of Punjab pioneers. The fort of Lahore is held by detachments of royal artillery and British and native infantry from Meean Meer. The Total strength of the garrison, as it stood in July 1883, is shown in Table 3.3 (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 124-125).

⁷ The Lahore district takes its name from Lo ha war means "the fort of loh" (Lahore District Gazetteer 1916: 1).

Table: 3.3

Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers and Men in Lahore, 1883-84

Station	Regimental & Staff officers	Artillery	British Cavalry	Native Cavalry	British Infantry	Native Infantry
Meean Meer	110	314	.....	537	885	1,632
Fort Lahore	06	61	.....	.....	55	92
Total	116	375	.....	537	940	1,724

Source: Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84): 125, Table 42

The average amount of transport available (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84) is shown below, but this was of course fluctuated as per the requirement of the army stationed at Lahore cantonments.

Table: 3.4

Transport stationed at Lahore Cantonment, 1883-84

Detail	Elephants	Camels	Mules	Battery bullocks	Siege train bullocks	Army carts	Bulk for army carts	Camp follower
In Depot	9	61	27	107	58	50	83	444
With Pioneer Regiment	.....	63	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
Royal Artillery	.....	16	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	4
Total	9	140	70	107	58	50	83	460

Source: Lahore District Gazetteer (1883-84): 126-27, Table 43

Another large cantonment was established in Sialkot, located about a mile from the city. This cantonment was under the Rawalpindi division. Sialkot

town had a population of 45,762 by the 1880s, and was lying north to the centre of the district and the same distance from Wazirabad (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1883-84: 1-2). Sialkot district assumed importance in the province under the British because it contained a larger population than any other districts and to the extent of cultivation it was stood on 9th position from the British territory and in amount of land revenue was second from the British territory of Punjab (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1894-95: 38-39). And as per the 1891 census the population of the Sialkot cantonment was 15,475 (male 10,686 female 4,789) and Sialkot was came twenty-third in order of area and first in order of population among the 31 districts of the province during the colonial period (Lahore District Gazetteer 1893-94: 1).

Sialkot cantonment was built on a high belt of land, having for its natural drainage, with the Palkhu stream on the north and the Bhed stream on the south. It has been well laid out and was fully supplied with the good metalled roads. There was a convent inside the cantonment, which was the one of the most flourishing institutions in the cantonments. It was founded by the Right Rev. M.A. Jacopi in 1856 (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1894-95: 163-65). The fort of Sialkot was also principal building which afforded shelter to the European inhabitants during the mutiny. The garrison consists of one battery of royal house artillery, one regiment of British cavalry and two regiment of the native infantry stationed as of 1894-95 (Table 3.5) (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1894-95: 154-55).

Table: 3.5

Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and Men in Sialkot cantonment,
1894-95

Staff and Regimental Officers	Royal horse artillery	British Cavalry	British Infantry	Native Cavalry	Native Infantry
89	157	601	983	625	1,824

Source: Sialkot District Gazetteer (1894-95): 165, Table 11

Amritsar was the religious capital of the Punjab during the Sikh kingdom. The need of having a cantonment at Amritsar was seen as necessary to occupy and subjugate the whole Punjab. It was with such a perception Amritsar cantonment was set up in the year 1856 (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Three) 2004: 4-5). The city of Amritsar lied in north and contains a population of 135,401 excluding the cantonment in 1891. Including the Amritsar cantonment the city's population was 136,766 (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1892-93: 146-147). The city of Amritsar was one of the most populous and a wealthy city in the Punjab and it was located mid-way between the Beas and Ravi on the Grand Trunk road, 35 miles east of Lahore (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1892-93: 146-147).

The troops were stationed at the Amritsar cantonment and fort of Amritsar. The ordinary garrison of cantonments consisted of three companies of British territory. To supplement this, a small detachment of garrison artillery was supplied from a battery of Ferozpur. The total strength of the garrison varied, but it consists at present of 5 officers, 1 medical officer, 300 British infantry, 100 native infantry and about 20 artillerymen as of early 1890s. There was also one company of the 3rd Punjab volunteers stationed at Amritsar (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1892-93: 144). British Indian army apparently got great popularity among the people of this area under the British rule (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914: 162-163). The nearby Tarn Taran has made one of the chief recruiting-grounds for the British Indian army and specially the Sikh Jatts who were seen worthy to be contributed to First World War (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914: 162-163).

As indicated already, after the second Afghan war of 1878 the British became obsessed with the 'great game' and feared that Russia would invade India through the Afghanistan. This made defending India against Russia the major preoccupation of the British Indian army. The selection of Rawalpindi, in the late 19th century, to house the headquarters of the British Indian Army in Punjab was determined by its strategic location in this connection. It was close enough to the full range of passes in the north-west, and was yet far away to be overrun in the very first offensive (Khwaja 2012: 6). As the British proceeded with the plan of establishing its military headquarters Rawalpindi, the villages of Rawal turned into the second largest city in Punjab, next only to Lahore (Khwaja 2012: 6). The cantonment of Rawalpindi was first occupied by British troops in 1849 at the close

of the Sikh rebellion and the final decision to subjugate the station permanently with troops was arrived at by the Marquis of Dalhousie on tour in the Punjab in 1851.⁸ This military station was seen as the favourable station for the British troops and officers on their first arrival from the England (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1883-84: 120-121) because it was well built and also comforts were available for the European troops and officers. The railway station, telegraph office and post office were all fine massive buildings. While its connectivity with the main railway system by the extension of the North-Western Railway to Peshawar immensely developed both its size and commercial importance.⁹ The cantonment was developed to its full extent in the latter 19th century in the context of the increasing Russian scare. Due to this Rawalpindi cantonment became the largest cantonment in upper India and between 4,000 to 5,000 troops were quartered here by the early 1890s (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1893-94: 254-55).

Rawalpindi's rise to prominence owe to the British as they modernised the town by founding a flourishing cantonment with numerous of modern architecture and thus brought major alternations in this barren and unfertile region (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1883-84: 120-21). The Ferozpur cantonment was considered to be the earliest cantonment built by the British in Punjab, which was opened in 1839 during the time of Anglo-Sikh rivalry itself by Sir Henry Lawrence. This cantonment was of great importance as it played an important role in protecting the British Indian Empire and was famous residence place for the British officers and troops (Ferozpur District Gazetteer 1915: 35-40).

Beside this, three smaller cantonments, namely Attock, Jhelum and Murree, were set up in the northern region and two of these were located on the way to the Peshawar cantonment. The Peshawar cantonment too was an important one

⁸ Rawalpindi was a great historical city of undivided India and British made it modern town by establishing cantonment. Due to the great political and geographical importance of the region British established a permanent military garrison in the Rawalpindi in 1851 and this city was positioned on the frontier of Afghanistan, which increased its importance. Available At <http://blogs.transparent.com/urdu/rawalpindi-the-other-twin/> (Accessed on 22 Oct. 2013)

⁹ Rawalpindi district
Available At: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/REFERENCE/gazetteer/text.html?objectid=DS405.1.I34_V21_278.gif/ (Accessed on 3 Sept. 2013).

strategically as it was situated only 50 miles away from the border with Afghanistan. Immediately after occupation of the Punjab in 1848-49, a major military station was established at Peshawar, which situated two miles westward of the Peshawar city (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1897-98: 365). The strategic position of the Peshawar raised the importance of the cantonment. During the British rule in the 1880s Peshawar stood at 20th position in order of area and 17th position in order of population among the 31 districts of the province, comprising 2.35 per cent of the total area, 3.16 per cent of the total population and 5.28 per cent of the urban population of the British territory (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1883-84: 35). The city occupied a space of 49,420 acres and its population was 55,610, including cantonment during 1883-84 (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1883-84: 35). The Ambala city and Ambala cantonment given in a table below:

Table: 3.6

Population of Ambala City and Cantonment, 1891-1921

	Ambala city	Cantonment
1891	28,278	51,016
1911	25,908	54,223
1921	28,581	47,745

Source: Ambala District Gazetteer (1923-24): 34, Table 4

Ambala cantonment was originally founded in 1847, and the cantonment was situated four miles to the south-east of the city and covers an area of 9, 930.17 acres (Ambala District Gazetteer 1923-24: 32-33). The district of Ambala contained five towns, with more than 10,000 peoples in the early 1890s (Ambala district Gazetteer 1923-24: 34).

Ambala stood 18th in order of area and in order of population among the 31 districts of the province and with 5.79 per cent urban population of the British territory in the early 1890s (Ambala District Gazetteer 1892-93: 1-3). The Ambala is well situated from a commercial point of view, about midway between the Yamuna and Sutlej, just at the point where the grand trunk road and the northern

western and Delhi-Kalka railways meet. Due to the central position of the Ambala a lot of trade activities were taking place and due to this Ambala cantonment boasts large number of English shops (Ambala District Gazetteer 1892-93: 132-33).

Multan cantonment was another important and biggest military station located about three miles from the city of Multan and the new fort (Multan District Gazetteer 1923-24: 257). But the original name of the city is difficult to discover. It is said that Hiuen Tsang, who was in the city in 741 A.D., called it “Mu-lo-san-pu-*iu*”, which is considered being a transliteration of “Mulasthanapura” (Multan District Gazetteer 1880-84: 151). Albiruni writing in the beginning of the 11th century, on the other hand, called the town, apparently, Mula-tana (Multan District Gazetteer 1901-02: 326-327). During the colonial rule Multan district contained a total area of 5,879 square miles (Multan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 1). The district of Multan stood 3rd in the order of area and 12th in the order of population among the thirty two districts of the province, comprising 5.51 per cent of the entire population and 3.61 of the urban population of the British territory (Multan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 1-2). The population of the cantonments varied naturally from time to time according to the number of troops stationed in them, as shown in the following table as in the case of Multan (Multan district Gazetteer 1901-02: 73).

Table: 3.7

Population of the Multan Cantonment, 1881-1901

Year	Persons	Males	Females
1881	11,203	7,900	3,303
1891	10,297	7,358	2,939
1901	12,767	8,801	3,966

Source: Multan District Gazetteer (1901-02): 73, Table 36

Beside this, there was an English club a Masonic Lodge in the Multan Cantonment. A clock tower, combined with a municipal hall and police station was built at the Lohari gate of the city (Multan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 154-55). It

was the most south-western of the four districts of the Multan division that time and the Multan was the only one town with more than 10,000 populations. Its population in the early 1920s was 68,674 (Multan District Gazetteer 1923-24: 1).

The military depot of Solan was situated on a small spur at the foot of which the Grand Trunk road passed and the military depot of Jatogh was a little less than four miles from Shimla (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 81-82). Dagshai was 11 miles from Kasauli and it contained accommodation for a European infantry regiment and quarters for a small convalescent depot (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 81-82). The British recognised Shimla and Delhi as hot and cold seasonal headquarters for the British officers and troops respectively (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 81-82). In the Attock there were two major cantonments- Attock and Campbellpur (Attock District Gazetteer 1907: 255). The establishment of cantonment in general increased the population of Shimla, though it fluctuated according to seasons. Once Shimla was seen as the summer capital a huge number of Europeans were attracted towards this district, which brought a general increase in the population, though there were variations according to the seasons (Table 3.7).

Table: 3.8

Population Growth of Shimla District, 1868-81

Year	Population
1868	7,077
1869	14,848
1878	17,440
1881	13,258

Source: Shimla District Gazetteer (1888-89):138, Table 27

Attock district, with 110 persons to the square mile, of total area stood 23rd among the 31 districts of the Punjab in the early twentieth century and more than half of the area of Multan was uncultivated even after more than half a century of colonial rule (Attock District Gazetteer 1907: 245).

The Dera Ismail Khan district was the central one of the three districts of the Dera Jat division during the colonial era and it was divided into five tehsils (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 201-3). This district contained only one town of more than 10,000 populations, namely Dera Ghazi Khan with a population of 22,164 in 1881. This district assumed greater importance because Dera Ismail Khan stood first in order of area and twenty-second in order of population among the 31 districts of the province, comprising 8.72 per cent of the total area, and 1.96 in the urban population of the British territory in the early 1880s (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 201). The Dera Ismail Khan cantonment was situated between the town and the river Indus and the small fort of Akalgarh situated half-a-mile from the north-west angle of the city. The fort was originally built by Nao Nihal Singh in 1836 and has been strengthened by the English government and subsequently had an extensive military accumulation of the weapon from which all the stations of the Derajat draw their military stores (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 201-3)¹⁰. It was formerly garrisoned by a company of British infantry but this had been withdrawn later. It is said that supplier for two months for the garrison of Dera was always maintained in the fort (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 201-3). During the census of 1868 and 1875 the population of this cantonment was 5,371 and 3,176 respectively and the population of the town was 19,536 and 18,988 for the respective years (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer District Gazetteer 1883-84: 202). With the coming of Europeans, Dera Ismail Khan was converted into an agricultural area and with the development of rail and roads became the major trade centre. There were also a lot of fruit and flower gardens surrounding the town (Dera Ismail Khan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 3-4).

In March 1849, the area of Kangra was annexed by the British after the Second Anglo-Sikh War, and soon after a cantonment for the troops stationed at Kangra was established and later new cantonment was erected at Dharamasala (Kangra District Gazetteer 1924-25: 465-466). During the colonial rule, the town of Kangra was a hill station where the British spent the hot summers. As the British flocked over time in the town, Kangra became overcrowded and then a new

¹⁰ Derajat was formerly garrisoned by a company of British infantry but it was withdrawn (Dera Ismail Khan district Gazetteer 1883-4: 201).

cantonment was established in the same year at Dharamsala and in 1852 Dharamsala became the administrative capital of Kangra district.¹¹ With the coming of European influx to these places, by 1855 two twin's towns McLeod Ganj and Forsyth Ganj continued to grow steadily. In 1860, the 66th Gurkha Light Infantry, later renamed the historic 1st Gurkha Rifles, was moved to Dharamasala.¹²

It is also interesting to note that the vast number of these cantonments were either established or strengthened to their limits particularly around the 1857 revolt (Yadav 2012: 41-42). The Russian scare and the much doubted Russian imperial plans to expand itself to Central Asia and Afghanistan further reinforced the British move of making/strengthening cantonments in the province (Krishna 2007: 7).

3.4 Cascades of Cantonments: Becoming the 'Model Province'

The establishment of cantonments in such a scale has not only reconfigured the geography of the province but also unleashed a new wave of development in the Punjab. The cantonments and military lines were established mostly on uncultivated or barren lands after the annexation of the Punjab, but the making cantonments and allied developments alongside population movement totally changed the face of these areas and transformed themselves as developed spaces. Such changes cumulatively were also responsible for the making of Punjab as a 'model province' in British discourses. We are now attempting to map such major transformations occurred in the Punjab during the colonial rule.

3.4 (1) Urbanisation and demographic change:

The history of urbanisation in modern Punjab is largely linked with the cantonments. Due to the European presence in the cantonment areas, civil lines,

¹¹ McLeod Ganj
Available at: <http://lit-dharamsala.org/mcleod-ganj/> (Accessed on 15 May. 2014).

¹² McLeod Ganj
Available at: <http://lit-dharamsala.org/mcleod-ganj/> (Accessed on 10 Oct. 2013).

got rapid urbanisation in the colonial Punjab and in this other urban infrastructures like transport, communication, educational and health facilities contributed plentiful to maximize the speed of this process. The European presence in such cities also resulted in faster modernisation and change of mentalities as urban population stay put exposed to western style of life and attitudes resulting in enormous social and cultural changes. Beside this the influence of British presence in such an area also inspired the local people to move to the civil lines (Chatta 2012: 198-201).

Lahore and Amritsar may be cited as examples here and both cities were important from commercial and industrial point of view. During colonial era, Amritsar became one of the most important commercial and industrial cities. Its population was 152,000 in 1881, which was larger than the capital and cultural city of Lahore (149,000) (Chatta 2012: 201-202). Existence of the Westerners and their styles of consumption led to a rapid growth in commodity trading and the opening up of new retail shops and grocery stores in the new urban environment, giving a new dimension to the urbanisation process. European trading and shopping centres were opened in the every cantonment primarily to fulfil the needs of soldiers (Ambala District Gazetteers 1923-24:130-132). With the opening of European stores, alcohol trade shops and general merchandise stores opened in the cantonment areas also changed the taste of Punjabi's soldiers and filtered it into the rest of society and brought lot of variance in the food and taste (Chatta 2012: 197-200). The Mall roads housed big bazaars, which lined with large European shops in the Amritsar, Rawalpindi, Ambala and Lahore in huge number (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164-65). By the turn of the 20th century, the cantonments, civil lines and the areas of upper Mall road had been electrified at various cantonments. The new institutions in the cantonments and adjoining areas like missionary hospitals and educational institutions also opened up new employment opportunities for the local population. The salaries paid were high to the local standards, leading to increasing middle-classisation in the cities and towns (Chatta 2012: 197-200). The presence of a large European population in the city had enhanced the local business too; for example, the consumption of potatoes grew considerably in the civil lines and cantonment areas at various places. In contrast, old occupations like pashmina shawl, leather-working and paper-making suffered severely because the opening of new European markets

badly affected these traditional occupation of the region, changing the urban character of such towns and cities (Chatta 2012: 197-200).

Spread of education and establishment of health institutions also stimulated the urbanisation and the British provided full patronage to develop many of the cantonment cities as hubs of learning (Diamond 2009: 162). Moreover, the processes of urbanisation not only restructured the cantonment city's layout, but brought profound social and economic changes among other groups of the society. Once the large military and European population settled, retail activities were boosted, as were commercial activities associated with local dairying and market gardening (Chatta 2012: 198). The railway construction and other colonial building projects encouraged migration from the surrounding areas to these military stations and the artisan communities in general improved their position as cities provided them new markets and chances to refine their products and increased the demand for their skills and products for the army equipment's (Chatta 2012: 198-201). Such population flows into the cities not only complicated urban character of the cities but also enlarged the city and its infrastructure. The period also witnessed significant amount of migration from Punjab to other parts of India, which was largely associated with the recruitment to British Indian army. Many of them reached Europe during the world wars. The process of emigration also started and it was directly mainly to the British colonies in East Africa (Kenya Uganda), South East Asia (Malaysia and Burma) Hong Kong and. After seeing the situations in the to which they emigrated, including the Western countries, the outlook of Punjabis underwent change with an openness to new ideas and norms of life, which in turn strengthened the urbanisation process further (Krishna 2007: 5-6).

3.4 (2) Railways and roads and communications:

As strategic positions of Punjab, the British invested handsomely on connectivity and mobility by establishing networks of railway and roads in these areas. The cantonments were joined each other through railway and roads, though these links were developed and operated essentially to satisfy the administrative, commercial and military needs to sever the colonial interests (Kerr 2012). For instance, in the Lahore cantonment two railway stations were established; one at Meean Meer

east, on the line from Lahore to Delhi and second at Meean Meer west, on the line from Lahore to Multan (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164). These military stations were linked with other strategic stations of the north and other corners of the British territory. The development of transport and communication links brought immense change to Lahore region, which according to the British “was utterly waste and desolate for a long time after the annexation in 1849” (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164-166).

The historic Grand Trunk Road is an ancient and important trade route that runs from Kolkata (Calcutta) in the east, up to Delhi and on to the west (present-day Pakistan). It is one of the longest roads in the world and the British started improvements on this route in 1839 (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). Further, from the 1840s large-scale road construction projects to link the main cities of India were also initiated (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). The Grand Trunk road from Kalka to Shimla was opened for carts and traffic of every kind and along the roads the Dak bungalows were constructed which provided comfort to the European servants in particular (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 80). Beside this there were eleven D.P.W. bungalows on the Kalka road, situated at distances varying from 8 to 16 miles. It was also a time when wide roads began to be constructed in India and during the British rule the minimum width of the roads were six feet (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 80).

However, the investments were much more on the railways. The importance of the railway system in India for military purposes was recognized right at the outset and great stress was laid on this in Lord Dalhousie’s minute of 1853. But until the outbreak of the Afghan War, at the end of 1878, no comprehensive views had been taken of the interconnection of our frontier communications, nor any program laid down for railway construction for purely or mainly military objects (Bogart and Chaudhary 2012: 3-4). However, after 1860 the British started to invest in strategic cum commercial railway and road communication and the links between Multan, Peshawar and Lahore were laid in the early second half of the nineteenth century (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 50). The railway station at Lahore was opened in 1862, which provides an expression of the connection between railways and the colonial state at a time when the latter was threatened (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 290). The

Lahore station was built as a defensible structure at a time when the British in India were just recovering from the greatest threat to their rule in India, the widespread troop mutinies and civil uprisings of 1857-58 and during this time emergence of the railway network was seen as vital security role in the maintenance and strengthening of British colonial rule (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 290). Amritsar was the junction for Pathankot at the foot of the hills during this time and the British constructed originally the main railway lines with the help of *Scinde* railway company and the first portion from Amritsar to Lahore was laid down in 1862 and this was the first section of railway opened in the Punjab during the colonial epoch (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 290). And the extension of railway lines from Amritsar to Delhi was begun in 1864 (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 291). In 1873 a new railway lines opened between Lahore cantonment and Karachi port which also connected the Montgomery and Multan cantonments to these important trade centres (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 291). As a result these cantonments were commercially and militarily got connected with Lahore, which was the most important cantonment at that time (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 291).

Sindh, Punjab and Delhi railway was opened to Multan in 1865 and the Indus valley state railway from Multan to Kotri was opened in 1878. Subsequently, railway workshops were established at Lahore and many other places.¹³ Since, Kotri was the busiest river port city well connected with the Karachi port, the new railway joined Multan to Kotri and established connection with the seaboard, which augmented the commercial importance of the Multan and from the militarise point of view it was connected with other military cantonments by sea routes (Multan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 154).

While the Sind, Punjab and Delhi Railway Company constructed lines linking Lahore to Amritsar (formally opened 1862) and Lahore to Multan (operational in late 1864) and Amritsar to Delhi (in 1870), connection from Lahore to Karachi was established in 1878 as the result of the completion of the Indus Valley State Railway (Kerr 2012: 12). On the other hand, the Punjab Northern

¹³ Kotri was a large town during the British rule and it was situated on the right bank of the Indus in Sindh. In the 19th century it was the busiest river port and it was well connected with Karachi and Sindh, Multan and Lahore for the commercial purposes. Available At: <http://www.railnews.co.in/?p=275/> (Accessed on 22 Nov. 2013).

State Railway joined Lahore and Peshawar cantonments in 1883 (Kerr 2012: 12). Thus, by 1886 the government owned and operated North Western State Railway (later North Western Railway) was created by amalgamating most of the railways in Punjab and Sind and afterwards in a huge amount workshops were joined with these railways stations and railway lines, changing history of transportation and connectivity of the region (Kerr 2012: 12).

Even places like Ambala were connected to the railway network due to the cantonment. The opening of the north-western railway connected Ambala with Rajpura (which was 9 miles far away the Ambala district), Simbhu (6 miles), Ambala city (7 miles), Ambala cantonments (6 miles), Mustafabad (8 miles), Jagadhri (3 miles). From Rajpura there was a branch line to Patiala and Bathinda, where a junction was joined with the Delhi line. These railway links thus increased the importance of Ambala, by connecting it with other parts of the country. It also facilitated the linking up various cantonments at different places, which speeded up the mobility of the troops and arms and ammunitions from one military cantonment to the other (Bogart and Chaudhary 2012: 9). Another line under the name of "East Indian railway" runs through the Ambala district joined Ambala Cantonment with Chandigarh (which was 10 miles from Ambala cantonment) and Kalka (only 9 miles far away from Ambala cantonment) and mainly it was built for the military purposes (Bogart and Chaudhary 2012: 9-10).

The Ambala district was connected to the rest of the country through roads as well, in which the Grand Trunk road was the major one. The G.T. road arrived at Ambala cantonment from the Karnal. The British also constructed the Ambala-Kalka road (for Shimla) and it was connected to the G.T road 4 miles above the Ambala cantonment (Ambala District Gazetteer 1923-24: 99). This made it easy for the mobilization of people and troops to the summer capital of Shimla for the British as steady communication and transport developed between Ambala, Shimla, Multan, Lahore and Delhi (Ambala District Gazetteer 1923-24: 104-05).

The construction of railway lines and the network of railway workshops generated employment opportunities. The following table shows then case of Lahore workshops alone.

Table: 3.9

Employment in the Railway Workshops of Lahore, 1870-1929

Approximate Date	Approximate Numbers Employed Daily
1870	1000
1880	2000
1890	2500
1906	4500
1911	7000
1916	10,000
1925	10,600
1929	12,200

Source: Kerr 2012: 14, Table 1

Besides the labour works many other forms of the railway employment also came into being like clerical work, engineering, etc. (Kerr 2012: 12-13). Such employment avenues increased immigration into such cantonment cities, changing their social composition. While Europeans were employed at the supervisory and highly skilled jobs, the ordinary workers were mobilised from the natives (Kerr 2012: 15).

This was the case of most of the cantonment cities and towns, which were connected by railways and roads for military purposes, creating huge impact on the social and economic life of such places. In places like Sialkot which was connected with railway and good metalled roads, its local bossiness, like the paper manufacturing in Sialkot, flourished (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1883-84: 91-92). The Delhi station emerged as the largest junction in northern India during the British rule and the East Indian railway crosses by the Yamuna Bridge from Ghaziabad (Delhi District Gazetteer 1912: 164). and East Indian Railway connected (since 1891) the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka to each other and when the southern Punjab railway was opened in 1897 and this improved connectivity

among the Rohtak, Jind, Bathinda, Bahawalpur, Ferozpur and Lahore (Delhi District Gazetteer 1912: 165).

The new networks of transport also resulted in the emergence of a few other cities into greater significance. An example would be Karachi, which was a much smaller colonial-port than others in the beginning of colonialism but with the uninterrupted railway connection to Punjab and Sindh and onwards to Delhi by 1889, converted Karachi into one of the biggest ports, for the export of raw material from India and import of the manufactured goods from Britain (Kerr 2012: 12).

It is clear that the British government was keen to exploit the railway's inherent potential to consolidate its grip over India. During the time of Dalhousie most of railway links constructed were from the commercial and strategic point of view to facilitate the trade and troops' movement (Maitra, Maitra 1997: 25-26). But as pointed out already, this has greatly transformed the social and economic life of Punjab. The British also placed Sarais (it was like a rest house special built on the roads for the traveller) for the comfortable mobilization of the people in the every district, which was placed on the various roads of the Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Amritsar, Ferozpur, Peshawar, Delhi etc. and due to these Sarais communications have vastly upgraded and from the commercial point of view, apart from helping the British in the exploitation of rich geography of the Punjab (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1893-94: 152-155).

3.4 (3) Education:

The British rule witnessed "a new spring" in the field of education in Punjab as numerous educational institutions were established in the province during this time, especially in the cantonment areas (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 116). For instance, the British opened six girl's schools in the Lahore district alone under the management of the Deputy Commissioner and out of these schools one was at the Bhatti gate of the Lahore city, four at Kasur and one at Patti (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 117-118). The Normal school, St. John's Divinity school, the schools of Lahore and Meean Meer cantonments, Anglo-Vernacular grant-in-aid

middle school, which were all independent of the control of the Deputy Commissioner, also spread new wave of education in the region (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 117-118). The most important contribution of the British in the field of Education was the establishment of the University of the Punjab in Lahore and nine of its affiliated colleges were opened in the city itself. Among the well-known institutions that were affiliated to this university were the Government College, Oriental College, Training College and Law school. The other twelve colleges were scattered over the territories assigned to this university during the colonial period (Lahore district Gazetteer 1916: 215-222). There were 3,560 college students and 150 college teachers in Lahore district alone in 1915 (Lahore district Gazetteer 1916: 215-222). Lahore's prominence during the British time was also due to its educational standing (Chatta 2012: 201-202). With the abundance investments in the arena of education, Lahore thus became the educational and cultural centre in India and a site of assortment of Europeans – missionaries, educationists, lawyers, businessmen and entrepreneurs.

The same process had happened in most of the other cantonment cities and towns. Immediately after the occupation of the Ambala district, the British started to engage in the field of education, and they enabled opening of 10 high schools for boys in the Ambala city and two which were most prominent Banarsi Das High School and Hindu-Muhammadan High School were opened at Ambala cantonment and these schools were started around in 1892 (Ambala District Gazetteer 1923-24: 130). This was in sharp contrast with the time of the Sikh rule, during which Ambala was not given much importance. But with the establishment of Ambala cantonment in 1843, it became not only a place of colonial power, but also a sought after educational destination (Ambala District Gazetteer 1923-24: 130). During the British time, a number of education institutions were recognised in the Multan too, among which the Anglo-vernacular middle school located within the cantonment and the one at Shujabad started basically in response to the local demand for English instructions were prominent (Multan District Gazetteer 1923-24: 262).

Kasauli in the Shimla district have a mountain slope and was seen as very suitable site for educational institutions. Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B founded in 1847 a school, which came to be known as "Lawrence Military Asylum", for the

benefit of the children of European soldiers.¹⁴ This institution was very near to the cantonments of Kasauli, Dagshai and Sabathu to “obtain protection from their garrison in time of need” (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 86-87). The Lawrence Military Asylum has apparently held a high place in the list of secondary educational establishments in the country and spread a wave of discipline among the Indian and European students. On the 28th March 1883, the school had 235 boys and 186 girls on its role (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 87).

Before the introduction of the British rule Montgomery district was the more backward in the field of education and only 1.1 per cent of people have attended the schools (Attock District Gazetteer 1907: 45-46). The British acknowledge that the majority of the population in the district, 70 per cent, were Musalmans and they were more reluctant to modern education, especially in respect of female education (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1883-84: 276-279). But the British ensured considerable transformation in the field of education in the Montgomery district during their regime. The education report of 1929-30 showed a wonderful advance in the education of the Montgomery district; there were 990 schools in the district, attended by 43,736 students at that point in time and out of these schools 442 were the public schools (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 297). The important schools opened at this were the government high schools “at Montgomery, Pakpattan and Renala Khurd and “district board high schools at Dipalpur and Haveliand and notified area committee high school at Okara and Chichawatni (Montgomery District Gazetteer 1933: 297-298). An intermediate college was opened at Compbellpur, though the British were not satisfied with the progress in the field of girl’s education (Attock District Gazetteer 1883-84: 96). Out of the schools mentioned above, 38 were secondary schools with 6,598 students enrolled and government high school was shifted from Palampur to Dharamasala in 1914 (Kangra District Gazetteer 1924-25: 482). It was also pointed out that there was no provision for university education in the Montgomery district and the progress in female education was not impressive. The British opened some schools for women at urban areas like Pakpattan, Arifwala, Renala Khurd and

¹⁴ Henry Lawrence was honoured by British government with K.C.B in 1848. K.C.B was an honour of knighthood Available at: <http://www.libraryireland.com/biography/SirHenryLawrence.php> (Accessed on 26 May 2014).

Okara and the Compbellpur College to address this issue (Kangra District Gazetteer 1924-25: 483).

In the old fort of Nurpur, a district board Anglo-vernacular middle school was established. However, according to the British reports, though a number of primary, middle and secondary schools were established, the district Kangra continued to be backward in higher education (Kangra District Gazetteer 1924-25: 483). It is pointed out that poverty was the major hurdle in the access of education of the people and to the military traditions of the high castes, which lead young men to seek careers in the British Indian army (Kangra District Gazetteer 1924-25: 482-483).

Most important is that with the introduction of European knowledge, India was introduced to the ideas of “modernity” and it generated a space for western thought in India. This knowledge was associated with the “advances” of European powers, helping to justify and facilitate imperial expansion in Asia and Africa (Diamond 2009: 161). At the same, it allowed societies like India to look inwardly and see some of its socio-cultural maladies, which unleashed a robust movement for social reform. At the same time, the western knowledge and system of justice was more egalitarian and democratic and opened chances for mobility for the downtrodden sections of the Indian society. The introduction of western education has double effects to the people of Punjab too. The British rule also provided spaces for the local languages to grow and transform according to the modern norms. For instance, the period witnessed the transformation of Urdu from a poetic language to a language for scientific inquiry, debate and education (Diamond 2009: 161-162). At the same time, it should be acknowledged that the British could not generate a desired rate of success in women education and in promoting native traditions of knowledge.

3.4 (4) Health:

After 1857 uprising in a huge amount of Europeans migrated to most of the cantonment cities, which primarily forced the British to develop necessary health infrastructures in such places for their folks. Drastic changes were unleashed in the health system of Punjab during the British rule and most of the new health institutions were attached with the military cantonments. The undomesticated

nature of many of these places and lack of health facilities led high death rates and became a major concern for the British. Though the initial objective was to keep the Europeans healthy in the insalubrious Indian neighbourhoods, the local people were also get benefitted as they were also slowly attracted towards western medicine. Railway and roads links made it easy to take the health facilities to the common people (Krishna 2007: 5). A number of hospitals like the Mayo hospital, the Medical College, the veterinary school and a lunatic asylum were started at Lahore and lock hospitals were opened at Anarkulli and Meean Meer cantonments. The lock hospital was founded in 1879 in the cantonment Anarkulli and the one at Meean Meer was opened in 1859 and was of a second class (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 122-125). Due to the vast extension of the Chenab canal in the Bari tract and up gradation of the health services, migration to the Lahore city increased dramatically (Lahore district gazetteer 1916: 208-211). The construction of medical institutions also created a high demand for labour, which further precipitated immigration into the city in search of work (Krishna 2007: 4). This has turned out to be important in increasing economic mobility, technical skills of the local artisan groups (Chatta 2012: 201-203, Krishna 2007: 4-5).

The British also gave special attention to women's health. The Lady Atchison hospital for women opened opposite the Mayo hospital in the Lahore cantonment (Lahore District Gazetteer 1916: 239-40). Four dispensaries respectively at Kasur, Patti, Chunian and Sharakpur were also established for the purpose of providing special hospital arrangements for women in Lahore, which brought a lot of changes in the direction of improving entrenched gendered notions of health (Lahore District Gazetteer 1916: 241-242).

Civil hospitals became part of the cantonments during the same time. After the annexation of Sialkot, a civil hospital was laid down in the year 1849 at the Sialkot cantonment (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1894-95: 169). In the same year another civil hospital was established at Amritsar immediately after its occupation, which was the principal health institution in the district during the early British rule (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914: 174). One more new hospital was completed in 1905 in the city and placed under the control of civil surgeon (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914: 174). Beside these hospitals, beyond the confines of the

cantonment, in order to improve the health conditions the British also established a line of dispensaries in the district at Tarn Taran, Ajnala, Majitha, Atari, Mahta, Serai Amanat Khan, Fattehabad and Chabbol (Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914: 175).

In the same line, the British established the Egerton hospital in the Peshawar cantonment (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1883-84). In Multan they established a 'general hospital' to the east of cantonment, which was under the total control of Multan cantonment (Multan District Gazetteer 1901-02: 363-365). Apart from these, two more health institutions, namely the civil hospital and the 'Victoria jubilee hospital' were established in the Multan, which were also situated near the Multan cantonment (Multan District Gazetteer 1923-24: 263). The military hospitals were another innovation of the British time. For instance, three military hospitals were established in Delhi: the station hospital for British troops in the fort, the Indian infantry hospital at Daryganj and the Indian cavalry hospital in the Rajpur (Delhi District Gazetteer 1912: 214). These hospitals catered to the health requirements of the European military officers and Indian troops (Delhi District Gazetteer 1912: 214). Significant strides were also made in the field of women's health (Delhi District Gazetteer 1912: 214). Such efforts also greatly catered to the local health needs of Punjab, though after overcoming initial resistance and distrust.

3.4 (5) Agriculture and irrigation:

The expansion and domestication of the region was also coincided by another process of domestication of the space through agriculture. It is pointed out that it was Punjab's geographical features-proximity to the Afghan frontier that made the British to undertake extensive development projects in the region and Punjab's loyalty during 1857 encouraged the colonial masters to construct world's largest irrigation system in the region (Talbot 1988: 11). This led to tremendous agricultural expansion in the region; around twenty-six million acres of land was brought under a new irrigation system being watered by canals, leading to the

establishment of canal colonies.¹⁵ It was also important for the British to keep the frontier region prosperous and satisfied to garner support of the people over there in the context of an impending attack from Russia. The agricultural expansion ensured this and made the place vibrant and happening. Moreover, most of the families settled in canal colonies had their male children in the British army, thereby establishing a chord between rural Punjab and the British Indian army. Military service and agriculture became the major source of employment for Punjabis (Ali 1988: 122-25). The canal colonies transformed the region from one of the poorest agricultural area in the subcontinent into its granary and became a major commercialised agriculture centre in the South Asia during the colonial rule (Ali 1988: 2-6).

The nine canal colonies thus made redefined the demography of Punjab, so also its geography by converting the barren and abandoned areas into spaces of production and high human activity (Singh 1982: 192). It was the lack of rivers and wells and the unpredictability of the monsoon rains in Punjab that led to the development of irrigation projects during the colonial rule and these projects became one of the most elaborate and ambitious undertaken by the British in India (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). The Chenab Colony, for instance, which was the largest canal colonies established by the British, constituted 809,500 hectares (2 million acres) of land and was considered to be the most extensive irrigation system in India (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). It was started in 1892 and continued expanding till the 1930s and with the extension of this canal colony, Lyallpur (Faisalabad) became an important market centre and the areas around Amritsar, Ludhiana and Jullundur were also developed under this irrigation project (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). As another instance, we may look at the case of Peshawar region,

¹⁵ From the mid-1880s the Punjab experienced rapid growth and social change driven by the development of large scale irrigation schemes. During this time British built nine canal colonies in the Punjab. From these the Chenab Colony was the largest of the canal colonies, formed of 809,500 hectares (2 million acres) and had the most extensive irrigation system in India. It was started in 1892 and continued expanding till the 1930s. Due to these canal colonies barren land of Punjab converted into fertile land (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two) 2004: 9).

which was more like a barren space before the coming of cantonment and the arrival of water to the region through the canal colony project. After a short time it became famous for gardens on the south of the city, for their fruit, quinces, pomegranates, plums, limes, peaches and apples and over time these productions increased in luxuriant abundance (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1883-84). The growth of greenery changed the face of picturesque of the Peshawar cantonment and city (Peshawar District Gazetteer 1883-84). Not only supply of water, the making of canals was accompanied by technological advancement, which again contributed in transforming the Punjab agriculture. The introduction of new agricultural implements like Persian wheel and modern fertilizers, with plenty of water through the canals, increased the production (Singh 1982: 195-96). New cities and towns also sprang up in the canal colonies along the main transport corridors and where population was getting concentrated (Chatta 2012: 201). The improved means of communications and transport brought by the cantonments ensured that local agricultural and industrial products are taken to the regional, national, and even international markets. Further, this converted cantonments into hubs of commercial activities too (Chatta 2012: 201-204).

At the same time, it has been pointed out that the British developed canals, railways and many other related infrastructures essentially to serve their with self-interests. The expansion and commercialisation of agriculture in this view were attempts to exploit natural resources of Punjab and transform its agriculture in tune with the global capitalistic economy (Chatta 2012: 202). The changing of cropping pattern with importance to cash crops were aimed at serving the industries in England and satisfying new global consumption, whereas manufactured goods in British industries are brought back for native consumption (Chatta 2012: 202). The western manufactured goods ruined the Punjab handicrafts very badly (Chatta 2012: 203). In short, agriculture, railways and other related developments served the imperial purpose of exploiting the periphery for the metropolitan interests (Chatta 2012: 204-205). However, on the whole, new agriculture with the aid of canal water and new technologies, along with cantonments, changed the life of Punjab in significant ways.

3.4 (6) Trade:

The British presence in India was primarily motivated by trade and profit, leading to massive investment in the road, rail and canal networks. This helped the British in the transportation of goods back and forth and army personnel internally and of raw materials to ports for the export to the British industry (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8). Thus Railways were indeed the most important infrastructure development in India from 1850 to 1947. They interconnected India, geographically, economically, politically and socially. In terms of the economy, railways played a major role in integrating markets and increasing trade and with the expansion of domestic and international economic trends (Bogart and Chaudhary 2012: 7). Importantly, the railway connections were mostly across the cantonment cities in frontier regions like Punjab, which in turn facilitated increased trade and commerce (Bogart and Chaudhary 2012: 8). The linking of major cantonment cities of Lahore, Multan and Amritsar with the port cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi opened Punjab to the outer world to a greater degree than witnessed ever before (Krishna 2007: 5). Thus the city of Lahore, Amritsar and Multan had become one of the most significant commercial and industrial epicentres in the Punjab by the end of British rule (Chatta 2012: 201-202). The opening up of the Suez Canal in 1869, which reduced shipping times between Britain and India, created further opportunities for trade with India (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part One) 2004: 8).

The story of other areas also was not different. For instance, as already pointed out, the greater part of the district of Rawalpindi may be described as a rough rolling plain, but with the construction of canals, roads and railways it began to get an extensive trade from Peshawar to Attock and Makhad to Sukkar and other southern ports on the river (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1893-94: 107-09).

Same was the case of Multan, another cantonment town. As all the infrastructures of transport and living was developed in the town and in the cantonment, Multan emerged as a major trade centre to collect cotton, wheat, wool, oilseeds, sugar and indigo from the surrounding areas and to export them to the south, to receive fruits, drugs, raw silks and spices (Multan District Gazetteers 1883-84: 161). Indigo was one of the most valuable staples of this district as well

as chief revenue paying crop of the district; and with the development canals and the availability of water through them the indigo cultivation flourished in the Multan region, bringing money to the region from its export (Multan District Gazetteer 1883-84: 161).

3.4 (7) Recreational and Religious Infrastructures and Culture:

The British did not stop with railways, roads and canals. Europeans had their own leisure pursuits: at-homes, theatre performances, musical concerts, cricket matches, horse-racing and so on. Entertainment was also provided by touring circuses, magic lantern shows, performances by minstrels and operas. As in the case of Lahore, the focal point of off-duty activities of the station was always the Gymkhana.¹⁶ As Lahore was renowned as a centre of learning and culture, a number of libraries and reading rooms were opened to make a supportive learning atmosphere for the scholars (Lahore District Gazetteers 1883-84: 164). Furthermore, Montgomery Hall at Lahore and Meean Mir Institute attached with library and reading room was opened for reading newspapers and discussions (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164). A playground was lay down to play tennis and dance before dinner. Lahore mall which was laid out by Colonel Napier in 1851 was the most attractive place for the European people in the city (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164). It linked Anarkali with the newly-established cantonment at Meean Mir, which was some three miles away (Lahore District Gazetteer 1883-84: 164). Gradually, as new and imposing buildings began to spring up along 'The Mall', it became the hub of activity. Among these were the Government House (1853), the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls (1861-66), the School of Art (1874), the Senate Hall (1876), the New Cathedral (1887) and the Municipal Hall (1890) (Lahore District Gazetteers 1883-84: 165-166). Several other new buildings were erected off the Mall too and Lahore was reshaped under the Raj.¹⁷ The new gardens and parks established by the British and planting of

¹⁶ A museum for British Lahore

Available At: <http://www.historytoday.com/m-naeem-queeshi/museum-british-lahore/> (Accessed on 25 Nov. 2013).

¹⁷ A museum for British Lahore

Available At: <http://www.historytoday.com/m-naeem-queeshi/museum-british-lahore/> (Accessed on 25 Nov. 2013).

trees along all roads connecting the cantonment providing abundance of greenery to the city, changed the picturesque of the Lahore (Lahore District Gazetteers 1883-84: 164-166).

Such infrastructures and new a culture of recreational life were initiated in the other cantonment cities/towns too. In the Ambala cantonment, the British erected several beautiful hotels and a staging bungalow which provided ample accommodation for the travellers, and at the north-east end of which were the Paget gardens and the Sadr bazaar (Ambala District Gazetteer 1892-93: 126). Beside this, there was a small church and Sir Hind club, frequented principally by Eurasians. An English church and a school belonging to the American Presbyterian mission were also established in the Ambala cantonment (Ambala District Gazetteer 1892-93: 126-127). Similar staging bungalows, church and schools were opened in the cantonment of Dera Ismail Khan. The British spread all western recreational institutions like racket, court, swimming, cricket, etc. which resulted in the spread of western recreational and sport culture spread in the cantonment (Dera Ismail Khan district gazetteer 1883-84: 198-199). The Sialkot cantonment too finer and broad metalled roads and bazaars were established. The Sadr bazar was positioned in the cantonment for meeting the needs of the troop and it emerged as a big market for the consumption of surplus production (Sialkot District Gazetteer 1894-95: 167-170). The British endowed the cantonment with massive buildings in Multan too, prominent among were the two churches, protestant and Roman Catholic (Multan District Gazetteers 1901-02: 365).

Shimla was the most attractive place for the British troops from the atmospheric point of view. The British established a neat Roman Catholic Church and a school house used as a protestant church for troops over there (Shimla District Gazetteer 1888-89: 86-87). It has got a well-supplied bazaar, and a police station (Soherwordi 2010: 3). Along with infrastructures of transport and communication, the British also built parks, clubs, theatre, etc. for a healthy urban living and thus converted a normal place into a beautiful city (Soherwordi 2010: 3). A new post office built in the centre of the station of Shimla, the two English banks inside the station, the club, several churches and the two European breweries all

added to the beauty of the hill city (Soherwordi 2010: 3-4). In Shimla the British also planted Deodar (Himalayan Cedar) and Cheel (pines) trees abundantly which turn the place and make in naturally rich and beautiful.¹⁸ The Western culture of planting grass and making lawns has taken place especially in the cantonment areas and in the officer's bungalows, which has changed the look of the landscape of many of these places. For instance, the British created two big beautiful grass farms with an area of 2800 acres and a dairy farm of 317 acres, within the Sialkot cantonment (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1893-94: 253). The planting of trees not only made the cantonments and the cities beautiful, but also ensured plenty of water supplies. For instance in Rawalpindi, availability of the water was slightly easier depth due to the planting of tress and as the British freely planted trees in a massive volume the military station got a very pleasing and ever green appearance and this pleasing appearance attracted the wild fowl, hares, jackals and foxes roamed in the Rawalpindi cantonment, which increase the beauty of the town during the colonial epoch (Rawalpindi District Gazetteer 1893-94: 253). This also opened ideal ambience for walking, jogging and games like golf.

3.4 (8) Cultural Assimilation:

The increasing presence of the Europeans due to cantonments and institutions of modern education exposed the local population to the modern western culture and provided chances of learning. The missionaries played an important role in this, though their primary aim was to spread the Christian religion, as they spread the western education alongside, it build the solid path for the exchange of culture and values (Aujla 2012). As the British built connectivity across the province and beyond, connecting people and facilitating movement of goods, along with trade human interaction among these cities of the Punjab also increased substantially. It is said, for instance, Ferozepore, Lahore and Amritsar started developing into one composite cultural triangle due to the easy connectivity across them. The barriers of spoken dialects started breaking over a period of time, and cultural affinities developed like never before (Aujla 2012).

¹⁸ Green Shimla, a legacy of the British urban planners
Available At: <http://hillpost.in/2013/05/green-shimla-a-legacy-of-the-british-urban-planners/73216/>
(Accessed on 2 Dec. 2013).

The opportunity colonialism provided to the people of Punjab to emigrate and see the wider world also opened up spaces for cultural assimilation. As many youngsters from peasant backgrounds were enlisted in the British Indian army and fought two world wars, many of them had the chance to visit a number of countries as part of their military assignment (Soherwordi 2010: 20). When they returned to Punjab, these soldiers were impressed by the magnificent civic life in the West, as they had seen in London and Paris (Soherwordi 2010: 20). Their interaction with the educated class, especially women, led them to reflect on the status of woman in Europe and in their respective villages in Punjab (Soherwordi 2010: 20). High levels of cleanliness and sanitation and the engineering amaze in the form of their underground train network all left a gigantic impression on the Indian soldiers, as collections of their letters reveal (Soherwordi 2010: 21). Back home they were dipped with new thoughts and concepts, leading to efforts to make changes in their lives and surroundings (Soherwordi 2010: 20-22). Thus their exposure to the outside world brought not only prosperity but also positive mentalities in soldiers' lives (Chatta 2012: 201). Their status as part of the British Indian army has been seen as a social capsule which helped them to raise to a new social status and acquired a new influence in society (Chatta 2012: 202-204). The folk songs of the time richly captured the growing influence and social clout of soldiers in the society (Soherwordi 2010: 20-22). The new life and structures brought by the cantonments and allied development also resulted in change of mentalities in India, giving way to its modernity. Western education played the dominant role in this transformation, alongside other development like modern health and communication infrastructures Whereas, unification of India through new transport infrastructures and through the language of English, facilitated interaction and exchanges across India, leading to greater cultural assimilation and to nationalist imaginations within the country.

Chapter 4

Story of a City:

Colonialism, Cantonment and New Urbanism in Firozpur

Ambala, Ludhiana and Firozpur were the first three cities of Punjab to come under the control of the British during the first half of the 19th century. Prior to the annexation of the Sikh kingdom in 1849, Ludhiana and Firozpur particularly served as the eyes of the British, from where they could gather intelligence on the happenings in the "Lahore Darbar", the heart of the Sikh kingdom, in the tensed context of Anglo-Sikh wars. It was from Firozpur the British-Indian forces captured Lahore, which earned Firozpur a special place in the British minds. Even after the full subjugation Punjab in 1849 and Lahore and Amritsar, the biggest cities of the Punjab, coming under British India, due to the congested nature of these cities majority of the senior British officers preferred to live in Firozpur city. A small town at point in time, Firozpur was situated on the bank of Sutlej River, and had a lot of open spaces for construction and expansion. Firozpur was destined to change thereafter, with the influx of European and Indian soldiers, military infrastructure, railway and road connectivity, and modern communication channels (Aujla 2012). Its connectivity with port cities brought new circulations of people, goods and ideas from across the world, while the canals constructed changed massive barren stretches of land into a productive landscape. As Firozpur grew up to the importance, more European troops, officers and intellectuals, goods and ideas reached the city, mutually reinforcing each other. Thus the presence of Europeans also led to the construction of huge bungalows amid sprawling lawns, spread over acres of land in the cantonment area of Firozpur and along with the stylization of European shops in the region spread a western taste in the cantonment areas as well as in the society (Aujla 2012). This chapter explores the trajectory of this interesting transition of the city of Firozpur.¹⁹

¹⁹ City and town are used interchangeably in the broad sense of an extended urban space, overlooking the current spatial and demographic parameters of urban classification.

4.1 Identification and Making of Colonial Firozpur:

The modern representations of Firozpur as 'Shaheedon Ki Dharti', the land of martyrs, is closely associated with the resistance that had been offered to colonialism by the revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. The revolutionary trio has not only used Firozpur in planning their resistive initiatives, but also were buried in the city after their execution in the Lahore conspiracy case (Madhav 2011). The land of martyrs, however, was also one of the strongholds of the British in India, from where it not only captured Punjab but also retained its control over the region. The establishment of control in Firozpur was important for the British due to its strategic position and the cantonment it established over there. A "small town near Lahore in Punjab" on the banks of river Sutlej (Lambert 2007: 6), was subsequently transformed into a modern and vibrant city.

The opinion regarding the founder of the city of Firozpur is divided and at least two major versions are in circulation. According to one view, it was Ferozeshah Tughlaq (1351- 1387), the Sultan of the Tughlaq dynasty who founded the city; while the second view ascribes it to Feroze Khan (middle of 16th Century), a Bhatti Chief.²⁰ After the decline of Delhi Empire, Firozpur and the surrounding areas came under the Dogras around 1740. They made it part of a district called the Lakhi jungle and was administered by a Faujdar (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 22). Residing at Kasur they enjoyed civil and military authority, with Lakhi jungle coming under the Governor of Lahore (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 23). At this time a few villages around Firozpur was occupied by the Bhatti's of the Firozpur region (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 23-24). And when Sardarni Lachman Kaur of the Bhatti family died in December 1835, without leaving any offspring to carry on her lineage, this Sikh territory was usurped the British, who were already interested in the Sikh territory by then. The position of Firozpur had been really important and this has been pointed out to the Company government by captains Ross and Murray, when their

²⁰ History of Firozpur

Available at: <http://punjabijanta.com/lok-virsa/history-of-Firozpur/> (Accessed on 19/01/2014).

help was sought to rule on this turbulent territory during the rule of Lachman Kaur. On the death of Kaur the British got the control over this region.²¹

Early in 1836 Lieutenant Mackeson was deputed by Captain Wade to Firozpur and Lahore to ascertain the limits of the late Sardarni Lachman Kaur's territory and to adjust and settle their new relations with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. Most nearest person to Captain Wade, Sher Ali Khan²² was positioned at Firozpur but soon died in 1837 and was succeeded by Pir Ibrahim Khan, a man of good family and of considerable reputation, as having been long the Prime Minister of the Khan of the Mamdot for the same work of Sher Ali Khan in Firozpur (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 29). Under Pir Ibrahim, the British annexed some new locations in Firozpur and also tried to build up basic infrastructures like wells and house. He was planning to clear the ruins of the ancient town and made strategies to lay out new and broader streets (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 29). But Pir Ibrahim Khan was relieved by W.M. Edge Worth in December 1838 and owing to the increased importance of the place, it was resolved to make Firozpur the station of an Assistant Political Agent (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 29). Edge Worth occupied this position until January 1839, when he was relieved by Sir Henry Lawrence (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 29-30). Much before this, in the context of fear of an impending Russian expansion, the British wanted to occupy Afghanistan to defend India from Russians. Accordingly, in 1833, they declared war against Afghanistan and after reviewing the area of Firozpur, the British started to land the British Indian army and quickly converted into permanent military station of over there (Lambert 2007: 4). Consequently, the British raised a large military force known as the "Army of Indus," at Firozpur to attack Afghanistan and install Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul (Syed 2007: 57). Firozpur was the most favourable and suitable place to access the Kabul at that time to the rest of the North west; unsurprisingly the British organised themselves from Firozpur in the First Afghan War fought during 1839-1842 (Syed 2007: 57).

²¹ History of Firozpur

Available at: <http://punjabijanta.com/lok-virsa/history-of-Firozpur/> (Accessed on 19/01/2014).

²² Sher Ali Khan was the most confidential agent of the Captain Wade to whom local duties of Firozpur given (Firozpur District Gazetteer 1883: 20).

Most importantly, the British organised their military campaign against the Sikh kingdom, leading to the full annexation of Punjab in 1849, from Firozpur, where they got a foothold early. During the period between 1845 and 1846 the British fought and won a number of Anglo-Sikh battles, namely at Mudki, Ferozeshah and Sabraon, around Firozpur (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two) 2004: 5-6). The major two wars in the Punjab fought by the British against the Sikhs, namely the Anglo-Sikh wars, during 1845-46 and 1848-49 were also largely organised and executed from Firozpur (The Punjab: Moving Journeys (Part Two) 2004: 6). As pointed out already, the newly annexed territory was linked to each other through the broad layout of roads and railways much beyond the provinces of Sindh and the Punjab (Lambert 2007: 9). With the commencement of the Sind, Punjab and Delhi railway connectivity in 1872-73, Firozpur got connected with the rest of the country including the then headquarters of the British, Calcutta (Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1872-73: 106). Thus, a mount of ruins, Firozpur became as vital for British as it was the place from where British established control over the north western India (Singh 2003: 12). The cantonment was established in 1839 and the British positioned Divisional headquarters of Railways at Firozpur, both having significant influence on its subsequent history (Singh 2003: 12).

The city of Firozpur was situated in N. latitude 30.55 and E. longitude, 78.40, 645 feet above the sea level (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 1). The general appearance of the town from a distance was not very attractive and there was no eye catching building in the city even in the early twentieth century (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 2). It was surrounded by a *Kacha* wall with ten gates, of which the Delhi and Ludhiana towards the south, the Makhu towards the east, the Bananwala towards the north and the Kasur and Multan gates on the west, reports the Firozpur District Gazetteer of 1915 (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 18). However there were some wide bazars but the streets of the city were generally wide and well paved but the drainage system was very defective and stands much in need of improvement and Firozpur can boast of no buildings of any architectural importance, states the same Gazetteer (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 18). The only one that deserves mention in this place was the Hindu temple called the Ganga Mandar having a small garden attached to it and situated near the Bansanwala gate (Firozpur

District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 18-19). The situation was much poorer at the time when the British established their control over Ferozpur.

After the annexation of Punjab, Ferozpur became the headquarters of the district of Ferozpur. The district was comprised of with five tehsils namely Moga, Muktsar, Faridkot, Zira and Ferozpur. Among these, Muktsar lied below the Faridkot and Zira, Ferozpur and Moga lied above of it. Moga was entirely away from the river at that time (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 1). Zira occupied the angle opposite the Beas confluence, followed by Ferozpur, which extended down to the point where the district was narrowest (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 2). Ferozpur district covered an area of 4,054 square miles according to the settlement measurements and it was the southernmost of the five districts of the Jullundur division (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 4-6). It was bounded on the north-east by the river Sutlej, which separated it from the Jullundur district and by the Kapurthala state during the colonial rule (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 4-6). The population of the district as a whole was not very impressive. By the early 1880s, the district contained only two towns of more than 10,000 people, among which Ferozpur was one (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 26-28). Ferozpur however registered steady progress from there, and by 1911 the cantonment alone had a population of 10,985 (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 2). Ferozpur stood at 8th in order of area and 2nd only to Hissar in cultivated area and 3rd in order of population among the 31 districts of the province by the year 1911 (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 2-3).

From the topographical point of view surface, of the Ferozpur region was extremely smooth and the soil was a sandy loam of a reddish-brown colour (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 9). The climate of the district was of the type usually associated with the dryer districts of the central Punjab, with hot summer with a short rainy season followed by a dry bracing cold weather (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 15). The British ensured that the city of Ferozpur was supplied with enough water from a network of old and new wells, fitted with tubes and pumps, and water table has greatly risen in almost all the wells since the opening of the district canals and one of the canal was running around the greater part of the Ferozpur city (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps

1915: 3). But most of areas of Firozpur were un-cultivated, barren and unfavourable for cultivation. However due to its strategic position between the Lahore and Delhi and its vitality as part of great game during the nineteenth century, it became enormously important in the eyes of the British (Singh 2003: 34). Thus a barren land of Firozpur was converted into a rich agricultural landscape and a populated city with enough water and other amenities and it became the entry gate of the Punjab and India during the colonial rule (Singh 2003: 34).

Firozpur had other natural disadvantages too; it was located on the banks of Sutlej River and from time to time the town was destroyed natural flood in the river which happened almost every year. The area was also prone to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions in the past having devastating effects (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 18). Zira tehsil seems to be most liable to suffer from an excess of water. The British couldn't control this for quite some time and the floods of 1900 and 1906 in the Firozpur city were often cited as examples. In 1900 some 650 houses in the city and neighbouring *Bastis* collapsed or were damaged and four lives were lost (Firozpur District Gazetteer 1915: 18-19). But after 1906, the British brought the situation under control to a great extent as after this no serious damage had been reported from the Firozpur region due to the flooding of Sutlej (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 22). The following table shows the levels of flood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Table: 4.1

The highest flood level recorded at Firozpur

Year	Flood Level
1878	648.16
1900	649.00
1906	648.17

Source: Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps (1915): 18, Table 16

Thus when Firozpur came under the British, reportedly it had no recognizable old buildings or monuments, but was in ruins and largely a waste

area (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 25-27). The only recognizable structure was a building namely 'the fort of Firozpur', which was constructed apparently during the rule of Feroze Shah Tughlaq.²³ But at the introduction of British rule, it was nothing more than a mound. It was very rough and un-attractive, though was decently populated (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 22-23). However, it is reported that considerable progress had already been achieved in the pacification of the newly acquired territory when the first Sikh-war broke out in 1845. The Sikhs crossed the Sutlej opposite Firozpur on 16th December 1845, which led to the battles of Mudki, Firozshah, Aliwal and Subraon.²⁴ As a result of the war the British government acquired Khai, Mudki and all the other Lahore territory on the east of the Sutlej. Khai formed part of the Dogra territory but it was entirely waste land when the Dogars took possession of it and beside this neighbourhood area was also very barren, un-fertile and abandoned before the British possession of it (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 30).

According to a census taken by Sir Henry Lawrence, the population of the Firozpur town was 2,732 in 1838.²⁵ The market place towards the east of the old fort was built by him and the main bazaar was also completed under his directions. The oldest street in the town being the one now called the *Purana bazar*. Since the successful completion the first Sikh war, the peace of Firozpur has never been broken, except during the mutiny in 1857 (Firozpur District Gazetteer 1883: 262). During the 1857 rebellion, one of the native regiments stationed at Firozpur broke into revolt and plundered and destroyed the buildings of the cantonments, though the British were successful in saving the Firozpur arsenal during the revolt (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 46-47).

In short, though the periodic floods in Sutlej were a threat, Firozpur position between the two important cities, Lahore and Delhi, and on the mouth of the North West had been recognised rightly by the British. The identification of Firozpur and the British decision to station over there with the help of a military cantonment

²³ Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq was a Turkic Muslim ruler of the Tughlaq Dynasty, who reigned over the Sultanate of Delhi from 1351 to 1388 (Chandra 2010: 113).

²⁴ These battles took place on 18th and 21st December, 28th January and 10th February, respectively (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps, 1915: 30).

²⁵ History of Firozpur

Available at: <http://punjabijanta.com/lok-virsa/history-of-Firozpur/> (Accessed on 19/01/2014).

enabled them to capture not only Punjab and but also the rest of the North West. Among all the frontier cantonments established by the British in the region, Firozpur occupied an importance position due to this. The barren and un-attractive land of the Punjab territory was destined to get transformed from then onwards.

4.2 City of Cantonment: Gateway to Punjab:

As pointed out already, Sardarni Lachman Kaur²⁶ who rules Firozpur died in 1835 and the confusion regarding succession following her death gave a chance to the British to bring Firozpur under their control. W.M. Edgeworth and Capt. Sir Henry Lawrence were initially appointed as Assistant Political Agents to the North-west Frontier. This title was changed to Assistant Agent to the Governor General, North-west Frontier (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 45), while Mr S.C. Starkey was assistant commissioner and superintendent, Cist-Sutlej states. From 1838 onwards the title of Deputy Commissioner has been in used instead of Assistant Political Agent (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 45). The immediate effect of a settled government brought influx of European and native soldiers to the region. In 1841 Sir Henry Lawrence ascertained the population of the town and territory of Firozpur (inclusive of the cantonment and military bazars) by a careful enumeration to be 16,890 souls (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 46).

There were apparently differences of opinion within the colonial administrative circles initially on establishing a cantonment in Firozpur. Lord Ellen Borough²⁷ seems to have refused to develop the place as he considered it “a position in the air” and the building of barracks which had commenced was stopped for some time (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 46). As the

²⁶ The very accession of Lachman Kaur was a handiwork of the British. In 1819 when Dhanna Singh of the Bhatti family died, his nephew Baghel Singh allegedly occupied Firozpur, when Dhanna Singh wife Lachman Kaur went to pilgrimage. But When Lachman Kaur returned back she made an appeal to the British authorities against the illegal occupation of Baghel Singh on her territory. The British helped her to recapture the power and allowed to rule in Firozpur. But her death allowed the British to bring Firozpur under their control. Available at: <http://www.spaceindia.co.in/firozpur/> (Accessed on 14 Jan. 2014).

²⁷ The first afghan war (1839-42) Lord Ellen borough replaced Auckland as Governor General of India. He ruled from **1842 to 1844** A.D in India. However Cantonment was established in 1839 and started the construction of buildings immediately but due to the position of Firozpur Lord Ellen borough denied to develop it during his rule Available at: <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/forces/armycampaigns/indiancampaigns/afghanistan1839/lordellenborough.htm> (Accessed on 22 May 2014).

cantonment was eventually established in 1839, it lied to the south at a distance of about two miles from the city and about 5 miles east from the Sutlej River and 75 miles from Ludhiana; and it was connected with the city by the Knox road, the most beautiful road in the military station (Singh 2003: 21). In 1841 Sir H. Lawrence ascertained the population of the town and territory of Firozpur (Inclusive of the cantonment and military *bazars*) to be 16,890 souls. But ten years later in 1851 Brandreth, found the population of the same tract to be 27,357, showing an increase of 10,967 at the rate of 64 per cent (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 46). And after the establishment of military cantonment, the population of the cantonment was almost constantly on the increase with the passage of time, which shows the expansion and importance of the cantonment (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

Population Variation of Firozpur cantonment, 1868-1911

Year	Population
1868	15,861
1881	13,270
1891	25,100
1901	25,866
1911	26,158

Source: Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps (1915): 46-48, Table 28

As the British established the cantonment in Firozpur for its strategic importance, when neither Punjab nor Sindh had been annexed, the first priority was obviously to bring life to this dreary and desert plain. The area was known for its little rain and continuous dust storms. There were only a few scattered patches of cultivation, but great amount of wastes covered with low brushwood were the usual characteristics both of the Firozpur territory and of the neighbouring areas (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 3). The British tried to put their best effort to increase the cultivation and give a green cover to the desert like area by planting abundant amount of trees. It is reported by the Gazetteer that “no effort was spared to replace the former misrule by an era of quiet and contentment in the Firozpur cantonment” (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 28-29). All

efforts were made to connect Ferozpur with the other parts of British India. It is reported that during the year 1864-65, 37 miles new metal road has been laid down from Ludhiana to Lahore via Ferozpur and via Jullundur (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1864-65: 64). Besides this, the British also repaired the old road from Ludhiana to Ferozpur. Moreover, the railroad development from Ferozpur to Lahore played a very crucial role to increase the connectivity of the Ferozpur cantonment (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1864-65: 64-65). Due to the construction of this road Ferozpur got connected with Calcutta via Lahore, which was the port city at that time and provided an easy access for exporting the surplus production to the neighbouring countries (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1864-65: 64-65).

The Ferozpur district was initially under the control of the commissioner of the Jullundur division and the Ferozpur cantonment served as the headquarters of the district (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 210). The main feature of the cantonment was the fort which encloses the arsenal, giving a protective hand to the British rulers. It was the security the cantonment offered that made the British to make the headquarters of the district administration that became responsible for matters like erecting of buildings, mobilizing finance, and running administration of the cantonment, city and the district (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 246). A network of 18 police stations was established by the British in the Ferozpur district to maintain law, alongside one at the railway station of the Ferozpur cantonment. Each police station was under the charge of a Sub-Inspector as Station House Officer (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 248-49).

It was after the annexation of Punjab, important infrastructural works were undertaken, and particularly a number of iron works were started and completed (General report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1860-61: 51). In line with the colonial policy of preferential treatment for European soldiers and officers, special residences were built up for the European troops, apart from separate dining rooms (General report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1860-61: 51). Beside this, a lot of rooms were placed for the accommodation of non-commissioned officers (General report on the Administration of the Punjab

Territories 1860-61: 51-52). In 1858 the new arsenal was built and that year the dry gun cotton store, the powder magazine and the ammunition stores were also built in the Ferozpur cantonment (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 49). In 1860 the gun sheds and a large number of divisions of the arsenal were completed, apart from the commencement of the building of the fort round the arsenal (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 48-49). In 1863 the royal artillery barracks were built and beside these special quarters were built for the married troops (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 49).

4.3 Domesticating the Space: Medicine and Agriculture:

According to the British representations, Ferozpur was also an undomesticated space with diseases and deaths. The harmful diseases like plague and malaria were prevalent in the region, especially in the Ferozpur cantonment and it took very heavy toll of lives from the region (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 52). The decade between 1901 and 1911 has been seen as particularly fierce, and the population remained practically stationary because as many died due to the plague and malaria, which further affected the gender ratio as shown in Table 4.3 (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 52).

Table: 4.3

Number of women per 1,000 males in Ferozpur, 1881-1911

Year	Women per 1,000 males
1881	822
1991	826
1901	827
1911	782

Source: Ferozpur District Gazetteer (1915): 62, Table 41

However, since 1908 British gave special attention towards this problem and they recruited heavy staff to remove these diseases from the cantonment and

the city (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 49-50). These staff regularly and properly monitored the whole region and quinine was freely distributed in the latter months of the summer seasons. Beside this, compulsory vaccination was introduced in Fazilka, Muktsar, Zira and Dharmkot in 1912, whereas it was introduced in the Ferozpur in 1913 (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 52). However, the British records confess that such diseases were still prevalent certain parts of the Ferozpur region due to the absence of systematic village sanitation and as people “prefer to live in their old insanitary surroundings” (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 55-57). On the whole, the progress had been impressive as years progressed, something achieved with the help of western medicine and new cultures of sanitation.

The domestication of the disease ridden space had created positive outcomes of population growth. Due to the opening of railways great markets emerged in the Moga and with the trajectory of this transformation Moga, Abohar and surrounding areas grow radically and became prosperous cities of the Ferozpur district during the colonial rule. The population of the district and the cantonment showed impressive growth because of this between 1881 and 1921, with a remarkable increase between 1881 and 1891. Variance of population is shown in the table 4.4:

Table 4.4

Growth of Population in Ferozpur Municipality and Ferozpur Cantonment, 1881-1911

Year	Municipality	Cantonment	Total
1881	20,870	13,700	39,170
1891	25,337	25,100	50,437
1901	23,479	25,866	49,345
1911	24,678	26,158	50,836

Source: Ferozpur District Gazetteer (1915): 262, Table 54

The growth of population was also due to the opening of the Sir hind canal in 1883 and immigrations it set off to the region; unsurprisingly the decade 1881-91 registered maximum population growth (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 52). The nearby districts like Muktsar and Fazilka too gained out of this development because this canal converted the barren area into a highly productive land, resulting in massive immigration into the region (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 49-50). The extensive construction work created a high demand for labour and a large number of “immigrants” poured into this cantonment city in the search of work. It is said that the extension of agriculture in this district steadily attracted huge Lobana immigration and in the census reports we find an increase in the number of Lobanas in Ferozpur district.²⁸

The making of the cantonment was coincided by attempts to improve the wellbeing of the people in general, which was essential to ensure the local support to buffer the colonial administration and military investments. This was essential for a peaceful and supportive neighbourhood for the cantonment. Though under-cultivated, before the coming of the British the Ferozpur region relied basically on agriculture and most of the population were Jat Sikhs (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 140). The amount of rain was very limited and irrigation sources were very limited and the distribution of rain water was not equal to all parts of the Ferozpur region (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 32-36). Before the British, lands were watered by the inundation canals, sickle was the instrument which was used for the cutting crops and there was no tradition of using manure in the fields (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 140-41). The British brought revolutionary changes in the agriculture by introducing canal irrigation into the region (Singh 1982: 198-200). The total area under cultivation in Ferozpur in 1853-55 was 50 per cent, it was extended up to 80 per cent by 1885 (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 159-60). The Persian wheel brought revolutionary

²⁸The term Lobana appears to have been derived from LUN (salt) and the BANA (trade). The Lobanas were the great salt-carrying and salt trading community. They were occasionally called Banjaras. During the British rule the social mobility of the Lobana was also noteworthy and settled in various Punjab regions. However there was no record about Lobana in the Ferozpur district in the census of 1868. But later the extension of agriculture and opening of canals steadily attracted Lobana immigration into the Ferozpur district

Available at: http://www.labana.org/world/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1%3Alobanas...&showall=1 (Accessed on 22 May 2014).

change in the agriculture as it made the work lighter (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 160). Beside this they introduced western technology and mechanism in Punjab as a whole and brought a number of cash crops which helped to increase the agricultural production. Railway and road connectivity helped to export the surplus production to the national and international markets and it provided handsome income to the farmers. All these things collectively changed the social and economic conditions of the people and gave an upward mobility to the people in the society (Singh 1982: 198-99). And according to the 1911 Census figures, 616,000 persons or 64 per cent of the total population of the Firozpur district were dependent on agriculture for their livelihood (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 148).

4.4 Turning into a Vibrant Space: Transport, Trade and Commerce:

There were no important industries or factories in the Firozpur. The most important mill was the Sutlej flour mills which was located in a building close to the city railway station and was equipped with the most up to date milling machinery. The mill was doing a considerable trade in flour at that time. And beside this, no important industry was in Firozpur district (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 273). But with improved means of communications, which linked local agricultural and industrial production with the regional, national, and even international markets, the Firozpur city served as a hub of flourishing commercial activity (Chatta 2012: 201-204). With the coming and settling of Europeans in the Firozpur cantonment, and influx of native population into the cantonment and to the region, the retail activities were boosted, as were commercial activities associated with local dairying and market gardening (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 205). New channels of transport reinforced such commercial activities by facilitating speedy movement of goods. A special Sutlej navigation channel was established on the Abohar branch and it was primarily established for the purpose of irrigational and navigation purposes. The channel was connected with the Firozpur city by a 4 miles long navigational link (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 183). However, the greatest fillip in this regard had been provided by the establishment of railways, leading to the development of Firozpur and surrounding areas (Singh 1982: 1).

It is stated that before the opening up of the district by means of the railways the district was centred at Firozpur and Fazilka, when there was trade with Shikarpur and Sukkur by country boats (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 197). Muktsar being on the Rajputana - Malwa railway was also an important market. The construction of the southern railway and its Ludhiana Macleod GanJ revolutionised the course of trade (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 197). As river trade was practically dead before the colonial rule, the district developed new centres of trade and markets along the different railway lines. The most important markets in the district were those at Moga, Firozpur, Fazilka, Muktsar, Abohar and Gidderbaha, there were also minor markets at Talwandi, Jalabad, Guru Har Shai and Bhuchho Mandi (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 197).

British gave an extraordinary attention to develop the transport and communication links in the Punjab as a whole and by 1854 itself almost 3,600 miles of roadway had been completed in Punjab under the aegis of colonial rule (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 197). Firozpur got direct railway connectivity with Lahore and Delhi by the north-western railway via Bhatinda. The line from Lahore to Firozpur was opened in 1887, when Kaiser-i-Hind Railway Bridge was opened over the Sutlej River (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204). The Rajpura-Bhatinda line was opened in 1889 runs through the Nathana sub-tehsil (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204). Thus these railway lines linked the Firozpur region in general and cantonment in particular with neighbouring and other regions of the world (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204-05).

It was after the 1857 the British felt the necessity of connecting the frontier region linked to each other for the steady communication for the purposes of commercial cum strategic tasks. The new roads were also important in this regard. Amritsar and Sialkot cantonment were joined at Wazirabad through Grand Trunk road. The Beas to Ludhiana section was constructed after 1857 and passed through Phagwara and Jullundur (Mazumder 2003: 52). The Grand Trunk Road (GTR) came in through and between Jullundur and Amritsar and between Lahore and Wazirabad, and parts of the branch lines connected was from Ludhiana via Firozpur to Lahore and from Sialkot to Wazirabad (Report on the Administration of

the Punjab and its Dependencies 1875-76: 81). The GTR played a major role in connecting all the northern cantonments to each other, including Firozpur (Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1875-76: 81).

The GTR (Grand Trunk Road) was divided into three sub-divisions; first from Kurnal to the Sutlej, second from the Sutlej to Lahore and third from Lahore to Peshawar (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 47). The first sub-division thus comprised the road from Kurnal via Ambala and Ludhiana to Firozpur, a distance of about 201 miles in all. The distance between Ludhiana and Firozpur was 76 miles and 4 miles to bank of Sutlej and this road commenced under the military board in 1852 by Major Laughton²⁹ (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 47). During the year of 1854 from Firozpur to Ludhiana road was completed and Ludhiana to Ambala road (76 miles) was opened for the Firozpur (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 47). This section extends from Kurnal on the confines of the North-western provinces, to Peshawar, a distance of about 511 miles. Thus it could be seen that during the colonial rule, most of roads were constructed near/through the military stations, with an aim to connect the military cantonments to each other and to export the surplus production of that area (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 47-48). Apparently, the British gave special attention toward the Punjab section of the GTR (Grand Trunk Road) of upper India from Calcutta to Peshawar (Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1875-76: 81). Generally speaking the eastern part of the district that was to say the Moga and Zira tehsils and eastern part of the Firozpur tehsil was well furnished in the matter of metalled roads, while the western part of the district was dependent on un-metalled roads. In this, as already pointed out the principal metalled road was the GTR (Grand Trunk Road), which runs from the Ludhiana border to Firozpur and then joined with the Bridge of Sutlej River and these were the major un-metalled roads in the Firozpur district Firozpur city to Fazilka, Firozpur cantonment to Malaut via Muktsar, Firozpur cantonment to Ludhiana via Zira, Dharam Kot and Kishanpura, Firozpur to Himattpura via Mudki Firozpur to Jalalabad to Bathinda via Muktsar (Firozpur District Gazetteer with

²⁹ Major Laughton was a British engineer in the Military Board and remained under his supervision till May 1854 (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 47).

Maps 1883: 156). Thus GTR bind together a series of first-class military stations held by the very flower of the army, European and native. It provided close eyes concentration on the politic of the central Asia (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1856: 52-53). Beside this much more money spent on the repair and up-gradation of older roads. Further, in commercial point of view Punjab became the buffer commercial place between India and central Asia and in this Ferozpur cantonment played very crucial role.

One could see a steady increase of mileage of roads due to brisk constrictions. For instance 1,036miles of roads in 1872-73 was increased to 2,142 miles in 1892-93 in Punjab. In 1912 Punjab had 3,918 of metalled and 25,853 miles of un-metalled roads (Mazumder 2003: 53). This connectivity brought a lot of economic consequence for the region, though the British invested heavily on rail and roads in the region because of the frontier position of the Punjab and more than half portion of Punjab was the frontier at that time (Mazumder 2003: 53). The efforts to provide connectivity had begun in 1849 itself and it continued relentlessly for the next seven decades at least with a purpose of defending the frontier region from foreigner incursions. North western frontier was important to save the British Indian Empire, but geographically it had inadequate access and hence was difficult to mobilize the commercial and military instrument to this area (Mazumder 2003: 53). It was this inadequacy that British resolved through their considered application (Mazumder 2003: 52-53).

The roads and rails built up primarily for the military purposes proved to be enormously useful for civil purposes too (Mazumder 2010: 455). The best example to cite would be Peshawar, one of the greatest frontier stations in Punjab. It was connected through rail and military roads with the rest of the country, which proved beneficial not only militarily but also in augmenting the import and the export trade between India, Central Asia and the West (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1854: 151). Ferozpur also got connected with the military roads as roads were constructed from Beas to the Ravi, from Lahore to Ferozpur, from Lahore to Multan and Lahore to Amritsar from the militarily purposes as already pointed out (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1854: 165).

Railroad construction in Punjab began in the 1860s, and there was a dramatic rise in its expansion, some of which was directly related to increased military activities on the frontier. The government wanted to build the “great north western railroad” between Calcutta and Peshawar at intervals. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the cantonment areas in Punjab were connected through railway lines one after another, and Firozpur too was linked into the network. The main line of the south Punjab railway, opened in 1897, runs through the south of the Muktsar and Fazilka tehsils. The same company’s MacLeod Ganj road-Ludhiana extension, opened in 1905, passes through the Moga, Firozpur, Muktsar and Fazilka tehsils and gives connection with the main line to Karachi via MacLeod Ganj. The new Jullundur doab railway also of the property of the south Punjab railway company runs from Firozpur directly to Jullundur passing through the Firozpur and Zira tehsils and crossing the Sutlej by a bridge above Harike ferry (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204-06). All these made Firozpur a central place of activity and vibrancy. Beside the broad gauges, there was a narrow gauge branch opened in 1885 of the Rajputana - Malwa railway running from Bathinda via Kot Kapura and Muktsar to Fazilka. This also resulted in the emergence of Firozpur as an important junction (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 205). This also paved the way for emergence of Firozpur as a big market for the export of surplus production to the port cities during the British (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 207). The vast network of railway led to the increased European mobility into Firozpur, leading to the making of supportive infrastructures like rest houses around the roads. List of rest houses of all departments was found in the Firozpur district which was primarily used for the British travellers and military troops and the district was exceptionally well furnished in this respect in consequence of the number of canal rest-houses (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 207). The railway lines and the railway workshop at Firozpur led to the creation of employment in the railway department including labour, engineer and clerical work, which attracted significant amount of local population into Firozpur (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204). The improvement in railway communications has had a great effect on prices also. It is reported that the prices in Firozpur was more governed by those ruling mark lane and Liverpool, not by those of local markets (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 204-5). Firozpur was said to be a region worst affected

by famines, but after the opening of railway it was minimized up to a large scale. After this the surplus production also exported to other corners of the country and in neighbouring countries at profitable rates (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 206-07).

The post and telegraph system grew alongside the railways and roads in the Punjab and provided steady communication between the northern military stations (Mazumder 2010: 464). Work on the telegraph network in Punjab has started in the latter half of the 1853 and by January 1855 Lahore had been connected to Peshawar, thus Calcutta got linked with north western frontier through electric telegraph (Mazumder 2003: 54-55). Extension of telegraph was mainly only up to the military cantonments, and Firozpur was brought into the telegraph network in 1856 (Mazumder 2003: 56).

With the construction of cantonment at Firozpur, the surrounding town and villages also linked with this through railway and roads, which resulted in the transformation of Firozpur into a modern town. The nearby towns and major villages were connected to Firozpur in a big way. As a result of this, there emerged a big bazaar around the Firozpur cantonment in which bricks shops mushroomed, with eastern and western products on sale. This resulted in the spread of western taste and things in the Firozpur city and cantonment (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 205). The linkage of cantonments also resulted in the emergence of other places like Amritsar into a major commercial hub. The merchants of Amritsar were not only dealing with India but also with Europe and many other central Asia countries (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 205). And Firozpur became an important transit point in the trade emanating from Amritsar and Multan, increasing its importance further. Transitions of goods through the Firozpur became a regular phenomenon (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 207).

The changes in Firozpur soon spilled over to the surrounding small towns too. The nearby Dharmkot was an example, which was primarily a small town at the arrival of the British and became an urban centre subsequently. Zira was the another small place situated on the old manufactured road from Firozpur to Ludhiana and about 9 miles away from the grand truck road and 24 miles east of

Firozpur (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 263). It rose to importance because it was the joining point between Firozpur with Moga and Talwandi Bhai (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 263-65). It became a centre of a lot of mobilization of people and things and British established two big bazars at this place, a school and rest houses also opened in this town (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 265). This town and its commercial activity to richly feed and fed by the Firozpur main market (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 263-64).

The railway enabled all the major agricultural tracts of the Firozpur district to become easily accessible to the Karachi, in Sindh and the nearest port to Punjab. Similarly the line from Rewari to Firozpur directly connected Punjab to Bombay (Mazumder 2003: 83). The opening up of the railway link to Karachi removed one of the main hurdles to export of the Punjab crops outside India as it was port closest to the landlocked province. Due to this the surplus production of the Punjab brought to the Firozpur market for exporting to the port cities (Mazumder 2003: 83). The spread of irrigation from the Sir Hind canal in this tract and the opening of the south Punjab railway in 1897 produced a wonderful expansion in trade and commerce and brought radical changes in the Firozpur city and cantonment (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 269). The cantonments thus became a permanent market in which a large number of troops and military animals were garrisoned and their requirements for food, fodder and provisions would also have helped in absorbing Punjab's agriculture produce and largest production of the agriculture consumed in cantonments (Mazumder 2003: 83).

Firozpur cantonment thus became the fulcrum around which these changes were taking place. It was transformed with the coming of extensive military buildings, bazaars, bungalows, large market, roads and connected with other important places with the help of railways network (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1864-65: 72). The movement of goods through the river Sutlej was taken over by railway. After the introduction of railways and canals, Firozpur became prosperous, and the prevalence of famine permanently disappeared from the district. Sir hind canal provided full security from total failure characteristic of the crops and ensured surplus production for trade and commerce.

4.5 Investments for Human Development: Education and Health:

The British introduced modern education in the Punjab province too, and among the cantonment cities where they started schools for modern education Ferozpur occupies an important place. They opened a number of normal schools at Delhi, Ferozpur, Umballa, Jullundur, and Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Dehra Ismael Khan and Peshawar and appointed a number of teachers to impart modern education (General report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1860-61: 42). The British framed the broader curriculum and attainment of English was one of the prime objectives of the curriculum. They also gave special attention towards the female education and inspired the people to educate their daughters (General report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1860-61: 44-47). The Christian missionaries played an important role in this process as a whole. By 1857, the Anglican Mission was running schools in Amritsar, Peshawar, Kangra, Kotgarh, and Ferozpur Cantonment, while the Presbyterians had schools in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Sialkot, Ambala City and Ambala Cantonment (Kochhar 2013: 3). Two Government Colleges were also opened in Punjab in 1864 as affiliates of Calcutta University (Kochhar 2013: 3-4). Subsequently the Lahore Mission College was opened in 1886 and renamed Forman Christian College in 1894 (Kochhar 2013: 3-4).

The Ferozpur cantonment became the hub of western education during the course of colonial rule. There was a general reluctance on the part of Hindus, Jains and Sikhs towards modern education initially in the region, while Christians appropriated the opportunity to learn swiftly (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 257-59). The British established the Ferozpur Arsenal School at Ferozpur cantonment and in line with their commitment to girl's education and in response to the growing demand, the British established 31 girls' schools in the Ferozpur district as a whole (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 45). They have given importance to vernacular schools too, thus 8 Gurumukhi schools, 10 Hindi's girl's schools and one Urdu school were working in the district (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 45). They established three secondary schools in Ferozpur cantonment. Apart from those two Anglo-Vernaculars high schools which were recognised by the department also came into existence. Beside this, the Government School of Ferozpur was situated outside the Delhi gate and was the

big educational institution in the Firozpur (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 46). British also opened technical workshops in the Firozpur cantonment. To promote female education the Sikh Kanya Mahan Vidyalaya was also established in the Firozpur cantonment which has grown into another premier educational institute in Firozpur. As part of the Indian renaissance, a result of modern western education, an Arya Samaj orphanage school was opened at Firozpur for the children with disability in 1878 A.D (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 56). Beside this Mahajani *Patshala* also constructed in the military cantonment of the Firozpur during the colonial rule (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 56). All these educational institutions were spreading the taste of westernization apart from promoting exchanges of ideas and culture.

The introduction of modern medicine and health infrastructure was another important development. Here too the British provided a special attention toward the Firozpur cantonment. They established a civil hospital at Firozpur with an assistant surgeon in charge and this hospital was well equipped with facilities for accommodating the patients and treating them (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 143). Between the city and cantonments there was a Zenana (Female) hospital under the control of the American Presbyterian mission (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 143). In addition to the above, there was a cantonment general hospital (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 143). There was another small hospital serving the needs of the police and in the railway lines there an out-door dispensary (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 144-45). They also established a European infantry hospital in the Firozpur cantonment and it was equipped with modern medical laboratories (General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories 1864-65: 61). The medical administration of the Firozpur district was controlled by the civil surgeon (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1883: 143). Beside the above stated hospitals and dispensaries, all the tehsils were equipped with the medical facilities, under the supervision of the civil surgeon in charge of the district in the form of dispensaries (Firozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 257-59). Even in all the dispensaries accommodation was available for the patients. In spite of the fact that dispensaries were opened in all the tehsils, special officers were appointed at every place for overseeing the health requirements of the people (Firozpur District Gazetteer with

Maps 1915: 258-59). The British thus brought abundance of change in the health facilities at Ferozpur cantonment in particular and the district in general. With the expansion of health services, the death rate was brought under check as the epidemics and diseases were controlled. Beside this expansion of health infrastructure generated employment and further attracted/received migrants from the diverse areas of the Punjab to Ferozpur (Krishna 2007: 80).

On the whole, all these developments around and brought by the cantonment thoroughly transformed Ferozpur and made it modern city. Such changes not only brought Europeans into the city, but also a lot of native immigrants, increasing the density of population and demographic profile of Ferozpur. The connectivity and the new economy of army, agriculture and capital enabled many natives to emigrate within and beyond the country. All these have brought a cosmopolitan outlook and a new urbanism into Ferozpur (Ferozpur District Gazetteer with Maps 1915: 205-06).

As the British had given special attention and favour to Ferozpur, Amritsar and Lahore, they were connected to each other by various means, which resulted in increased trade and human motilities across these cities (Aujla 2012). Apart from the lines across these cities, the British gave priority to building a railway line from Ferozpur to Kasur and Lahore. They built another railway line via Kasur to Amritsar and during the colonial rule Ferozpur road linked with Lahore and Amritsar were via Kasur. The connectivity and exchange was such that by the second half of the 19th century, Ferozpur, Lahore and Amritsar started developing into one composite cultural triangle (Aujla 2012). The barriers of spoken dialects started breaking over a period of time, and cultural affinities developed like never before in this region, apart from getting exposed to other cultures (Aujla 2012). The British also built monuments and historical buildings in the Ferozpur cantonment. The Saragarhi Memorial Gurudwara has been built in the memory of 21 Sikh soldiers (of the 36 Sikh Regiment) who fell in heroic defence of Fort Saragarhi in Waziristan on September, 12 1897 while defending the fort against an attack of ten thousand Pathans.³⁰ The 36th Sikh Regiment was raised at Ferozpur on April 1887 under the command of Colonel Cook. The memorial Gurdwara at Ferozpur

³⁰ History of Ferozpur
Available at: <http://punjabijanta.com/lok-virsa/history-of-Ferozpur/> (Accessed on 19/01/2014).

was built at a cost of Rupees, 27,118 by the army authorities to honour these brave soldiers. Sir Charles Pevz declared the Gurudwara open in 1904. Under British rule, two historic churches also came into existence in the Ferozpur cantonment.³¹

³¹ History of Ferozpur
Available at: <http://punjabijanta.com/lok-virsa/history-of-Ferozpur/> (Accessed on 19/01/2014).

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusion

Military played a pivotal role in the colonisation of South Asia and the sustenance of the empire in the subcontinent. Making of the empire thus involved the creation of a new 'militaryscape', in which certain areas became nerve centres of military mobilisation with more and more cantonments located such strategic locations and certain other areas becoming grounds of recruitment due to their perceived advantages. Punjab has been a region that assumed importance in the British Indian Empire for both reasons- as a region of military cantonments and a military recruitment ground. The 1857 rebellion was crucial in this as significant section of the army of the three presidencies revolted against the British, while some regional powers supported the British to save the empire in the Indian sub-continent. In this Punjab played crucial role to suppress the revolt and also remained loyal to toward the British up to the end of colonial rule in India. It led to what is often been referred to as the de-Bengalisation and Punjabisation of the British Indian army.

The strategic position and the perceived expansionist policy of the Russian empire towards India played very crucial role in establishing a networks of cantonments in Punjab apart from Punjab being the major recruiting ground for the British Indian army. The big cantonments of Lahore, Multan, Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan, Amritsar, Ferozpur, Solan, Sialkot, and Kasur etc. thus came into existence in the Punjab. The cantonments, established to serve the colonial needs, alongside reconfiguring the landscape of respective places brought "a spring of development" in the diverse fields to the region. Most of cantonments, which were positioned in barren and un-attractive areas of the Punjab, were connected through rail network and modern roads. Besides fulfilling the imperial needs these rails and roads played an important role in linking the region with the external world, linking between local markets and connecting to national and international markets. The British also built nine large canal colonies which played a crucial role in converting these barren areas into a very high productive land of the South Asia. These colonies were populated by mostly families with their one or members working in the army. This has converted Punjab into a major hub of trade and a granary of the whole Indian sub-continent. The railway, roads,

increased agricultural production and trade has led to the urbanisation of the region. Locations of cantonments converted into big urban centres in Punjab during that time. The railway development, road networks and construction of new port-cities altered the patterns of urbanization in 19th and 20th century. It intensified the commodity flows towards them. Old towns and cities were transformed accordingly, apart from the making of new ones, with increase in their population, size, industries and economic activities in general. Apart from connecting cantonments and colonial port cities railway lines were built in the smaller satellite towns which increased industrial work opportunities as a number workshops were joined with these railway lines, which lead to the creation of employment in the railway department including labour, engineering and clerical departments. The workshops and their employees also had a significant economic impact as it provided opportunity for upward mobility in the society. Thus though the colonial railways were primarily developed and operated to satisfy military, administrative and commercial needs of the empire, they had significant consequences on physical, social and economic development of the cities and towns at that time (Kerr 2012: 12).

The prosperity of the families of the soldiers was also ensured by the agricultural development of the region. Agriculture underwent a process of modernisation with the introduction of irrigation, fertilizers and new technologies. The peasants were encouraged to diversify crops and shift from traditional crops to more prospective cash crops. Canals and railways transported the surplus production to other places and this process brought handsome earning to the Punjab peasantry. The Punjab economy was thus fundamentally reoriented with a major focus on modern agriculture and related activities. Though these transformations were brought primarily for military and political reasons, it also enabled the British to exploit the natural geography of the Punjab region for the benefit of them as well as that of the people.

The cantonments housed huge number of European and Indian troops hailing from different places. The British provided the basic infrastructure which allowed the development cantonments into prosperous urban centres. All the cantonments were provided with modern buildings and amenities like bungalows, churches, schools, health centres, roads and railways links. With the

establishment of these institutions in the various cantonments, a wave of westernisation was also unleashed in the Punjab region. The barren lands of cantonments were converted into lush and green landscape with plantation of trees changing them into picturesque landscapes. The cantonments were central in bringing modern medicine to the region through the hospitals and dispensaries established by the British within and outside the cantonments. Ambala, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar and Ferozpur cantonments were provided with advanced medical institutions during the colonial rule. The introduction of western medicine resulted in the traditional medicine taking a back seat and more and local people turning to the former, which resulted in positive health outcomes for the region as a whole. New food habits, games, education, traditions, etc. among these military spaces led to westernisation to certain degree and amalgamation of cultures and customs during the colonial era (Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies 1868-69: 81-82).

But as indicated already, these transformations were primarily aimed at serving the military and economic interests of the British Indian Empire. The road and railway networks were developed primarily for the movement of troops and arms and they were extended up to the ports for the exploration of the natural resources and agricultural surplus of Punjab. Railway itself was seen as providing an eye-catching security whenever the colonial state felt threatened (Mazumdar 2010). It was also imperative on the part of the colonial rulers to provide all necessary infrastructures to sustain the garrison state and maintain peace and prosperity in the frontier province at a time inroads of the Russian empire was expected through the western borders. The construction of broader railways and roads networks greatly increased the mobility of the European travellers, troops and officers to these areas and it's stimulated the construction in a large number of barracks and quarters for the providing accommodation for European troops. Punjab as a result was featured by significant European presence during this time. Much work had been done in the cantonments of Punjab besides the erection of new barracks and alternation of old barracks at several stations, which includes the construction of schools and hospitals. A number of check posts were formed in the surrounding areas of these military cantonments. Canteen and mess buildings, libraries, court martial rooms, workshops, ball courts and gymnasias all were part of

these cantonment complexes for the use of military. Even the canal colonies which transformed the agriculture and level of wellbeing in Punjab were meant to meet the imperial needs of wheat and cotton to raise mares, mules and studs and camels for the police and army.

Ferozpur cantonment is considered as the oldest one established by the British in Punjab. An area worst affected by the frequent floods in Sutlej and with a disease ridden geography, barren and abandoned with no connectivity with other areas of the Punjab, Ferozpur was transformed into an urban centre due to the changes subsequent to the establishment of the Ferozpur cantonment.

The stupendous changes around the Ferozpur cantonment included the transformation of its demographic layout and vast stretches of barren land being converted into built space and agriculture with the extensive network of canal irrigation. The availability of water through the new canals augmented agricultural production by manifold and brought general prosperity to the area. Ferozpur was brought under the area of canal colonies, which transformed the agrarian landscape of Punjab. The canal colonies were opened in the western part of the province, around nine colonies through which vast stretches of the barren, uncultivable waste land in Lyallpur, Sargodha, Shahpur, Montgomery, Multan, Sialkot, Gujarat and Ferozpur districts were transformed into highly productive land, raising large surpluses of wheat, gram, cotton, rice and fodder. British also connected Ferozpur with extensive railway network and these links joined it with the port cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi in particular. This also resulted in massive migration into Ferozpur, alongside providing chances for the locals for migrating outside. Migration from this region to other parts of India was associated largely with recruitment in Indian army during that time. Besides this, a dynamic market town emerged in Ferozpur area which was earlier a dry wasteland, apart from having institutions of modern education, western medicine and recreational activities. However, this study remains exploratory and calls for more detailed and focussed research. Such a study requires massive survey of colonial archival records housed within India and outside. The exploration for archival resources within the limits of this study has been extremely modest and condition of some of the archival sources consulted was very poor and was not readable. Archival research is indeed a time consuming and laborious process and the visit to

archives at New Delhi, Chandigarh and Patiala for the present study has been shorter. Since attempt to historicise cantonments in the larger development and modernisation of the region is relatively new, the availability of secondary literature has also been limited.

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