

**CHAPLAINS, SOLDIERS AND TOWNSMEN;
A Cantonment Town in North India
(Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century)**

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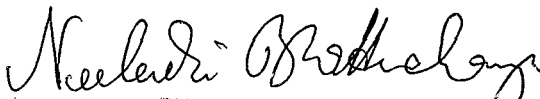


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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Chaplains, Soldiers and Townsmen: A Cantonment Town in North India (Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century)" submitted by Nonica Datta in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the above mentioned degree.


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C o n t e n t s

	<u>Page</u>
List of Figures, Tables, Maps and Photographs	i
List of Abbreviations	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION : The Political and Demographic Background	1
CHAPTER 1 : Confronting the Villagers	22
CHAPTER 2 : Urban Space and Order	45
CHAPTER 3 : Prostitutes, Soldiers and the Urban Authority	113
CHAPTER 4 : Notions of Social Recreation	138
EPILOGUE	148
GLOSSARY	154
BIBLIOGRAPHY	160

List of Figures, Tables, Maps and Photographs

	<u>Page</u>
FIGURES	14
1. Population of Punjab. Comparative Population of Ambala, Town and Cantonment.	69
2. Plan of the Cemetery	69
MAPS	
1. Punjab, Administrative Divisions and Location of Towns : 1961.	15
2. Punjab, Changes in Urban Population - 1891-1901	16
3. -do- 1901-1911	17
4. -do- 1911-1921	18
5. -do- 1921-1931	19
6. -do- 1941-1951	20
7. Ambala Cantonment in Early Twentieth Century.	48
PHOTOGRAPHS	
1. The Native Zone.	59
2. Flour Mills and Ice Factory : The Extent of Urbanization in Sadar.	60
3. Colonial Urbanization and Urban Innovations.	61
4. A View of the Cantonment Area.	83
5. Colonial Institutions: Power and Culture.	84
6. A View of Muhallas and their Cultural Institutions.	98
7. Elite Residence in Sadar.	107
8. Indian Elite Housing and their Institutions in Sadar.	108
9. Visual Commemoration of Colonial Recreation.	146
TABLE-1 Total population of Punjab, Ambala, Town and Cantonment, 1881-1931 and its Growth Rate.	21

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAR	Annual Administrative Report.
AVN	Abstract Village Notebook.
CBO	Cantonment Board Office.
CGR	Correspondence regarding Grazing Rights.
CMG	Civil and Military Gazette
CRB	Chaplain's Record Book.
CRR	Commissioner's Record Room.
DCO	Deputy Commissioner's Office.
DWO	District War Office.
DWR	District War Record.
ESB	Exclusion of Sadar Bazaar.
GOI	Government of India.
IMD	Indian Military Department.
IMP	Indian Military Proceedings.
NAI	National Archives of India.
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
QIP	Quarterly Inspection of Prison.
RR	Record of Rights.
SKO	Sadr Kanungo's Office.
SPC	St. Paul's Church.

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Preface

A Gazetteer is a geographical dictionary which served as a vade mecum during the heyday of the Raj. But these Gazetteers were just like still films, not a cinematograph, though they provided valuable information to the British civil servants on local customs, traditions and administration of the districts they dealt with. In fact they acted as a handbook for the British civil servants. They were mainly descriptive but not analytical. On the antiquity of towns they provided valuable information but on the history of the towns in the modern period their treatment was sketchy. One striking feature of these imperial guide-books was that they excluded descriptions of the cantonments. This lack of official cognizance of cantonments was due to security reasons. It is only after the end of the Raj that some attempts have been made to take up the study of cantonments.¹

In Indian historiography for long urban history was neglected. But during the last three decades or so much work on urban history has appeared reflecting different historical perceptions. It might be a fruitful exercise to review briefly some of the important works on urban history in order to understand the historiographical trends, approaches and the changing focus they have provided.

Percival Spear is probably the first historian who, in his study of Delhi invested this town with the warmth and

¹ See King, (1976); Ballhatchet, (1980); Edwardes, (1988).

passion of a living city. He was concerned with the social and cultural context within which the British and the Indians related in an urban setting. His study, The Nabobs, portrays the social relations subsisting between the English and the Indians. The former adopted indigenous ways of life, began to keep Indian mistresses and even wear Indian dresses.² Spear shows how the social cleavage between the English and Indians came about due to the introduction of rigorous English laws, the influence of Evangelical pressures in India and the arrival of English wives. The Nabobs, a pioneering work on the Anglo-Indian social relations drawn with nimble wit opened a new field for other historians to work on.

In Twilight of the Mughals, Spear exemplifies the cultural synthesis in the microcosm of Delhi.³ He analyses the decay of the Mughals and the rise of the British. This study concludes with a graphic scene of Bahadur Shah's journey along with his relatives and attendants to Rangoon. Spear's Twilight is a portrait-gallery of bold and sturdy men lusting for power. He does not ignore rural Delhi. But the main emphasis is laid on how Delhi was ruled by an alien power.⁴

Narayani Gupta's Delhi between the Two Empires picks up the thread from Spear's Twilight. It is a socio-political

2 Spear, (1963).

3 Ibid., (1951).

4 For a detailed appraisal of Spear's The Nabobs and Twilight, see, Frykenberg, ed., (1986), pp. xxi-xxxix and Embree, (1989), pp. 53-66.

history which neither overemphasises the functional aspects of town nor clings to pure economic activity as indices of urbanization.⁵ It is a study of a living city, a city with a face. This picture is drawn through a fairly detailed account of the growth of public opinion, public consciousness and cultural ethos of Delhiwallas. Gupta recreates with imaginative skill the mystique of Delhi Durbar which the British could not trifle with. But with the traumatic events of 1857 and its aftermath Delhi could never be the same again. Nevertheless it managed to retain its cultural identity and resistance.

Gupta's study traces the process of continuity and change in the Delhi style of life and explains meticulously the changing urbanity of the town during the British period which resulted in a dilution of the sense of community. According to Gupta, within the walls of Delhi were embedded the ethos of urban culture, the political ethos and the quiddities of Delhi administration. This work adds a new dimension to our understanding of the problems relating to the study of urban history.

Veena Oldenberg in her The Making of the Colonial Lucknow recreates the era of the reconstruction of Lucknow after the mutiny.⁶ In the context of the mid-nineteenth century colonial city, Oldenberg's primary interest lies in studying the

5 Gupta, (1981).

6 Oldenberg, (1984).

motivation of the local elite in the process of policy-making and rationale for action-safety, sanitation and loyalty. She dilates on the subjection of local classes and groups by a powerful colonial elite, through various techniques of social control.

Christopher Bayly in Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, is largely influenced by Philip Abrams typology of towns.⁷ To Bayly a town is not an autonomous reality but is inextricably connected with larger political and economic systems of society. At the outset Bayly tries to show how the 18th century 'native' ruling groups differed from each other as the uniform pattern of life was disrupted due to political changes. In his analysis he has brought out sharply the complex inter-relatedness of trade, agriculture, politics and social life. He focuses on the replacement of old gasbas by new market towns. Bayly attempts to take a total view of towns within wider society.

Bayly does not believe in the rural-urban dichotomy. Nor does he consider appropriate the concept of towns as parasitical, thriving on peasant economy. He regards a town as a cultural and political centre for rural people especially the landowners. Bayly's conception of inter-relationship between town and country is similar to that of Keith Hopkins and Wrigley who were pioneers in substituting precise economic categories for moral and political ones.⁸

7 Bayly, (1983); Abrams and Wrigley, ed., (1978).

8 See Hopkins and Wrigley in Abrams and Wrigley, ed., (1978).

Bayly's account is not concerned with the lower groups and their mentalities in urban society.⁹ In his study of 'Allahabad' too he was concerned only with the interaction of business, politics and social life.^{9a} However, there is no doubt that Bayly's work has stimulated fresh lines of enquiry in the study of urbanization.

Over the years J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga have provided a base in Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, for the study of urbanization and some important works covering various towns including Amritsar and Jullunder have appeared.¹⁰ The value of these works lies in the collection and use of massive source-material of local importance. The main focus in these studies is on the functional aspect of the town which is regarded as a key to the understanding of the life-style of the people. In other words, in these works, it is the economic base that provides a structure for the study of towns. Though scholarly and informative one tends to miss in these studies the complexity of human relationship.

The above discussion of some of the works exemplifies the trends in the historiography on urban history. This is by no means an enumeration of all the works published on the subject. As noted above the study of cantonments has been neglected, except of course, in K.A. Ballhatchet's work already referred to above, which makes brief references to

9 Pandey in Guha, ed., (1983).

9a Bayly, (1975).

10 Grewal and Banga, (1975), Gauba, (1978), Banga, (1980), Gauba, (1938).

the life lived there, and in Michael Edwardes' writings. Even Emily Eden, the Viceroy Lord Auckland's sister who visited Ambala on quite a few occasions on her way to Simla has hardly anything to say about cantonment in her highly informative work on matters of local interest 'Up the Country'.¹¹

The study of power, culture, space and environment in the colonial urban settings has been the concern of some recent urban historians. A.D. King and more recently Sandra Freitag have been engaged in the study of these issues. A.D. King in his work Colonial Urban Development in old and New Delhi has provided a conceptual framework for studying the impact of colonialism on urban development and urbanization.¹² The three main variables used by King for studying the structure of colonial city are culture, technology and power of colonialism. By providing a visual experience of the colonial city, King shows that the physical-spatial urban settings reflected power, values, beliefs, behaviour and politics of colonial community. Against this background he has examined three key units in the colonial urban development:

The first is the cantonment which he recognizes as a particular form of 'social organization located in a culturally controlled environment'. King raises the question:

11 Eden, (1930).

12 King, (1976).

why do cantonments exist and what do they represent? King answers such questions by giving a graphic picture of cantonment institutions and space and the colonial policy towards them. He suggests that the British anxiety about cleanliness was not a matter of sanitary significance alone, : it also demonstrated the superior cultural notions of the Raj which were vital for colonial controls in cantonments.¹³

According to King the second element in urban system is the bungalow compound complex within the civil station which represented strongly the values and ideology of the colonial community. Similar culture specific behaviour in the colonial urban patterns can be seen in a third element which King identifies as the hill station.

King explains the British cultural, aural, visual and olfactory preferences which guided the making of a cantonment and civil station. According to King, the visual commemoration of colonial institutions and space acted upon the perceptions of the 'natives' and that was how the power of the Raj was recognized.

Sandra Freitag's Culture and Power in Benaras opens up new areas in the study of urban history.¹⁴ It examines the daily activities, values, motivations and the processes of identity formations among the non-elite urban groups. Such a study is important for two reasons: i) It explores the popular urban culture and ii) it studies the actions of

13 See Oldenberg, (1984).

14 Freitag, (1989).

ordinary persons in the context of larger geographical, ecological and political pattern.

In this light the study is divided into three sections: the first section examines the cultural performances taking place in public spaces which reflect the Banarasi quality of life and beliefs. Second section examines the localized constituents of identity in an urban space like neighbourhood, leisure and work. Particularly interesting in this respect is the analysis of a muhalla serving as an organizational base for local community identity and activities.¹⁵ The third section of Freitag's book links up the above mentioned cultural experiences and motivations of the groups with the wider world.¹⁶ A town is not treated here as an entity in itself. The work clearly demonstrates that it is only the interaction of culture with environment that provides a key to the understanding of urbanism of Banaras.

Earlier, urban historian, with some exceptions, tended to study urban history from outside: that is with the help, of indices like physical features, industrialisation, demography, mercantile activities, means of transport and communication, places of interest, etc. This study attempts to pose some of the new questions raised by recent urban historians:

a. How was the Ambala cantonment established? What

15 See Freitag, (1989), p. 118.

16 For instance, language movements, political protests to disease, ecology and regional environmental impact.

were the imperial compulsions which lay behind the making of the cantonment?

b. How did people live within the cantonment? How was their behaviour manifest in cultural forms, in community feelings and mental attitudes, etc.?

c. How did urban institutions order urban life?;

d. How did the populace help in the organisation and shaping of the urban space, boundaries and institutions?

Thus, in this study, an attempt is made to answer the following question: how can one define urban life and urban society and how do human responses vary? My concern here is with urban institutions, urban relationships and urban culture. Naturally this study involves the examination of the colonial attitude towards urban development and perception of local society and its responses. Forms of colonial power, control and the social and cultural agencies for their exercise constitute an integral part of this investigation.

INTRODUCTION

THE POLITICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

This chapter will seek to place Ambala Cantonment in the wider political and social context of Punjab. For understanding the making of Ambala Cantonment, it is necessary to delineate the changing pattern of power relationship subsisting between the colonial rulers and local authorities since the beginning of the 19th century. A demographic background would be provided so as to show the importance of Ambala Cantonment in the context of urbanization of Punjab.

Early Politics

Ambala Cantonment, lying between north longitude 29' 49' and 30' 40' and east longitude 76' 26' and 77' 39', is bounded on the east by the Himalayas, on the south east by the river Yamuna, on the south by the district of Kurukshetra, on the east by Patiala and the Ludhiana districts and on the north east by the river Sutlej. The Ambala Cantonment was a creation of British Raj. What were the circumstances under which the cantonment was formed? To answer such a question it is necessary to give an outline of the history and politics of Ambala town which was situated at a distance of about 3 miles from the cantonment.

The history of Ambala town is lost in the mist of antiquity.¹ In his archaeological survey General A. Cunningham

1 This account of Ambala town and the Cantonment is based on the District Gazetteer of Ambala (1883-84). Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire (1971), Vol. III, pp. 104-5 and Joseph Davey Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, Delhi 1955, pp. 124-29.

has emphasised the antiquity of Ambala which was connected with Kurukshetra, 'the battle-field of the Pandavas and Kauravas, a part of the territory included between the river Saraswati and Dreshdvati, 'the holy land of the Hindus which was the first permanent home of the Aryans in India.'² Ambala was founded probably during the 14th century and its name taken from its founder, one Amba Rajput, this name being a corruption of Ambwala or the mango-village judging from the mango groves that existed in its neighbourhood.

It would be appropriate for my purpose to focus on Ambala after the disintegration of Mughal empire when the Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali disappeared from the Indian scene and the Marathas withdrew from Northern India after their defeat at the third battle of Panipat in 1761. The defeat of the contending rivals, the Afghans and Marathas, left a political vacuum which was filled by the 'turbulent' Sikh adventurers who began to extend beyond the Sutlej and acquired the areas between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. Ambala town fell within this area. After the collapse of the Marathas' power before the British in 1803, the whole tract was parcelled out among the chiefs such as the Phulkian Rajas of Patiala, Jind and Nabha and other petty Sikh adventurers who had seized the territory by 'stratagem and violence! The Sikh adventurers swept aside all other proprietors and governmental agencies from the Sutlej in the west to the Jamuna in the east, and from the forests of the Himalayas in the north to the southern border of Karnal district.

2 Cunningham ,(1955), 124-29.

These chiefs began to build forts and consolidate their position in the territories acquired, but Ranjit Singh's encroachments on these territories threatened their independence when he exacted a large tribute from them. Fearing the fate of their trans-Sutlej brethren, these discontented chiefs appealed to the British in 1808 for help against Ranjit Singh. By the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 these chiefs were made free from northern encroachments. This Treaty left Ranjit Singh the master of the tracts he had occupied to the south of the Sutlej but checked his ambition to the north and westward of the river Sutlej. Sir David Ochterlony's Proclamation of February 1809 declared the Cis-Sutlej states to be under British protection and warned that any aggression of the chief of Lahore would be resisted with arms. Ochterlony's other Proclamation of 3 May, 1809 guaranteed the chiefs of Sirhind and Malwa security against the power of Ranjit Singh, leaving them absolute in their own territories, exempting them from tribute in time of wars; making some minor changes, reassuring them of independence and freedom against Ranjit Singh.³ By the treaty of 25 February, 1809 the British accepted the responsibility and brought under their protection the chiefs who were made free from escheats from the north. The British Proclamation of 1811 strongly forbade internal wars among the chiefs.

The chiefs whom Sir Richard Temple described as an 'artificial aristocracy' were granted by the British, civil, criminal

3 Cunningham, (1955), p. 127.

and fiscal jurisdictions, subject only to the general authority of the Agent to the Governor-General. No tribute was taken from them but in case of war their support to the government was assured. The right to escheat was the only return for its protection which the government demanded. The entire area held by the chiefs remained peaceful, free from any invasion from the north. With the exception of a few States which lapsed to the British for failure of heirs, each ruler ruled the territory.

Richard Temple who had some knowledge of the chiefs and their administration wrote that "independence for these Sikh chiefs had no nobler significance than the right to do evil without restraint and to oppress the people who were so unfortunate as to be their subjects."⁴ According to the official sources the Sikh chiefs ruled 'arbitrarily' and imposed blackmail on every village. 'They spared the strong and squeezed the weak and amassed the wealth from any quarter they could and whatever the means.'⁵ With the passage of time the British officers began to be involved in the administration of territory. They began to adjudicate on the Indian law of inheritance with the different 'customs of different races and with the alleged usages of peasants'.⁶ By applying the superiority of Municipal Law the British strove to prove that collateral heirs had limited rights and that exemption

4 Ambala District Gazetteer, (1883-84), p. 17.

5 Ibid., pp. 15-18; also Sarkar, (1971), p. 146.

6 Cunningham, (1955), p. 128.

from tribute necessarily implied an enlarged liability to confiscation. They also defined the boundary of the Sikh states and of British rule and were prone to show after the manner of Ranjit Singh that the "present possession of a principal town gave a right to all the villages which had ever been attached to it as the seat of a local authority and that all waste lands belonged to the supreme power, although the dependent might have last possessed them in sovereignty and intermediately brought them under plough."⁷

By 1818 Ochterlony admitted his blunder in his dealing with the Sikh chiefs. The emergence of the new Sikh chiefs he thought, threw the Sikhs back 'upon the individual independence of the times of Ahmad Shah'.⁸ In considering the relation of the chiefs to one another the British neglected the peculiar circumstances of Sikh people. Cunningham thought that the Sikh chiefs were in a state of progression among races as barbarous as themselves whom suddenly the colonial power of England had arrested.⁹

As a result, the British government introduced sweeping changes in the administrations of the chiefs, for example, the police jurisdiction of most of the chiefs was abolished and all transit and custom duties were done away with. By the despatch of the Governor-General dated 7 November 1864 the police jurisdiction was made over to European officers

7 Op.cit., p. 128.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

except of course in Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Kalsia, Raikot, Buria and Mamob. The Political Agency of Ambala was transformed into a Commissionership under the officer designated as the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states.¹⁰ In June, 1849 the whole administration was vested in the British government and was placed under the superintendence of the recently formed Board of Administration of Lahore. During the revolt of 1857 the chiefs of Patiala and Nabha supported the British and kept the Grand Trunk Road secure which restrained the solidiers from organising themselves for revolt.

When the Cis-Sutlej states came under the British protection the estate of Ambala was held by Daya Kaur, a widow of Sardar Gurbaksh Singh of Shahid Misl who had died in 1763. Daya Kaur had been ejected by Ranjit Singh but restored by Ochterlony.¹¹ On her death in 1823 the estate lapsed to the British government as there was no heir and the town was fixed upon as the residence of the Political Agent for Cis-Sutlej states. Now onward the British control of Ambala town virtually led to the control of the adjoining areas. After a lapse of about 20 years, in 1843, the present Ambala Cantonment was established, and in 1849 Ambala became a district and division under a newly formed Punjab administration.

Anthony King indicates that the location of the cantonment was largely due to fortuitous and strategic reasons.¹²

10 Ambala District Gazetteer, (1883-84), p. 18.

11 Ibid., p. 17.

12 King, (1976).

After the collapse of the Maratha power in North India the British had come up to Delhi. Because of the emergence of Ranjit Singh as a strong ruler and his encroachments on the territory beyond the Sutlej, the entire area between the Sutlej and the Jamuna became vitally important to the British from the military and strategic point of view. During the first Afghan War (1839-41), the British troops had to pass through Sindh. The British feared that Russia would take over Afghanistan during Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship (1836-42). The First Afghan War proved a disaster for the British. The Sikh War (1845-46) and the Second Sikh War (1848-49) enhanced greatly the military and strategic significance of the area. Because of these political developments the importance of the cantonments of Karnal, Ambala, Ludhiana, and Ferozepur greatly increased.¹³

My discussion has so far shown the character of confrontation and alliances subsisting between Sikh chiefs at the local level and the British government against the threatening regional power of Ranjit Singh. Various political, and strategic consideration led to the formation of Ambala cantonment in 1843. However the location of the cantonment at Ambala was influenced by the colonial responses to environment. The recrudescence of epidemic at Karnal necessitated the shifting of its cantonment to Ambala. The location of Ambala conformed to the colonial cultural norms of 'health and prettiness', as 'its neighbourhood of

¹³ Ambala District Gazetteer, (1883-84), p. 20.

the hills and the moisture imparted by the passage of the numerous hill torrents, give an air of freshness and almost prettiness'.¹⁴ This process of change in the location of the cantonment due to reasons of health and disease was a product of the change in the expectations of colonial culture in the mid-nineteenth century. This expectation was based on the assumption that disease or epidemic could be reduced by moving to higher elevations where the air was cooler and fresher. This belief, King connects with the 'tradition of empirical investigation into natural phenomenon and physical surrounding of man', extant in England since the 17th century.¹⁵ These theories developed a new criteria for the habitation and accommodation of urban population in the 18th and 19th century. They provide an added rationale to the shift of the cantonment to Ambala. Its proximity to Simla - a hill station, suited the colonial cultural standards.

Urban Growth and Demographic Change

Urbanization in statistical terms denotes an increase in the town or cantonment population in proportion to the total population of the district, province or country.¹⁶ Ambala Cantonment came up only in 1843. Before its emergence there were mainly three important phases in the urbanization of Punjab.¹⁷ The first phase, 1700-1760, was of stagnation

14 District Gazetteer of Ambala, (1883-84), pp. 2-3.

15 King, (1976), p. 102.

16 Bose, (1974), p. 3.

17 Bhattacharya, (1985), p. 581.

or decline of larger cities. In this phase there was a stagnation of large cities and decline of small towns. This period was marked by dislocation of markets, contraction of trade and confrontation between the traders and zamindars.

The second phase which began with the late 18th century was marked by a revival of larger cities with the exception of Amritsar. With the expansion of religious activity and administrative centres the smaller towns also grew faster.

By the beginning of 19th century starts the third phase of urbanization marked by expansion of Amritsar and Lahore. Since the time of Ranjit Singh, Amritsar became the most important commercial town in Punjab and the grand entrepot for trade with Central Asia.

With the intervention of colonial rule, the early 19th century pattern of urbanization continued to persist. Because of the political exigencies of the colonial rulers, the old towns on river and camel routes stagnated. Trade between Bokhara and Multan and Multan and Amritsar conducted on camel routes, came to a standstill and accounted for the decline of Multan as a principal mart of Punjab.¹⁸ The new towns sprang up along railway lines and highways. Ambala, Ferozepur and Phagwara were the prominent ones among them. In this scenario Amritsar continued to grow. By the middle of 19th century, it had extensive trade with Calcutta and Rajasthan through Grand Trunk Road. Ambala then did not possess the commercial stature of Amritsar. But with the importance of

18 Mohanlal, (1977), p. 397.

highway trade it was by now emerging as a grain and cotton market. It carried on considerable trade in hill products, such as in sugar, turmeric, potatoes and opium. It imported English cloth in return.¹⁹

By this time (mid 19th century) Ambala Cantonment was established. It was situated mid-way between the Sutlej and Jamuna and was connected with Punjab and Delhi. It became a railway junction which acted as a key to the North-Western Provinces, earlier called Avadh. The importance of Ambala Cantonment was enhanced by the fact that it became the nearest station on line to the summer capital Simla especially with the opening of Delhi-Ambala-Kalka railway line in 1890.²⁰

What was the pattern of urbanization in the colonial period especially between 1890-1931? This period is characterized by two distinct phases of urbanization in Punjab (1891-1921) and (1921-1931).²¹ (see maps 1 to 6 on population).

During 1891-1921 the total urban population of Punjab increased by 4.2 percent only.²² However, contrasting trends of urban growth were strikingly evident among many Punjab towns and cities. Between 1891-1901 the population increased by 18 percent in Amritsar city.²³ Ludhiana witnessed a

19 Ambala District Gazetteer, (1883-84), p. 53.

20 King, (1976), p. 98; CMG (NMML), 27 January 1890, p. 4.

21 See Map nos. 1 to 6 and fig. no. 1.

22 Gosal, (1966), p. 6; Also Census Punjab, (1891-1921).

23 See classified analysis in Ashok Mitra ed., (1980), p. 412; Census Punjab, (1891), p. 74.

growth rate of 4.8 percent, Jullunder 12.1 percent and Bhiwani 1.2 percent. Industry, trade and commercial agriculture mainly accounted for the growth of population in the towns.

From 1891 the population of Ambala Cantonment declined by 11.3 percent. The city also showed a decline of 0.5 percent (Map No. 2, Fig. No. 1, Table 1). Both the urban centres along with other foothill zones of similar kind like Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur witnessed a sharp decline in their population. The recurrence of famine and plague in 1896 were the main cause of it. The prevalence of malarial conditions affected population growth. It should be noted that in the absence of strong stimuli for urban development, the population growth in a large majority of the towns was largely determined by the rate of natural increase.²⁴

The period 1901-1911 witnessed a decrease of 5.96 percent in Amritsar, 9.2 percent in Ludhiana, 2.3 percent in Jullundur and 13.4 percent in Bhiwani (Map No. 3). This was largely due to the plague epidemic of 1904 and 1907.

What was happening in the town and cantonment of Ambala? Ambala town too responded to the general movement of decline in its population due to plague. The decrease in the town population was of 9.19 percent. The cantonment showed an increase of 7.5 percent, largely due to 'stringent public health measures' in the cantonment and the policy of the urban authority of keeping the old town out of bounds²⁵ (Map No. 3, Fig. No. 1, Table 1).

²⁴ Gosal, (1966), p. 8; Mitra ed., (1980).

²⁵ CBP (CBO), 7 October 1907, 20.

In the subsequent decade (1911-1921) there was a sharp increase in the population of Amritsar, Jullundur and Bhiwani: the growth rates were +4.88 percent for Amritsar, +2.44 percent for Jullundur and +6.5 percent for Bhiwani.²⁶ The impact of malaria and fever was not so pervasive in these towns. The city of Ambala showed an increase of 11.5 percent, while the overall population for Ambala district showed a decline of 4.5 percent which occurred due to the plague and rain fever of 1918 (see Map No. 4, Fig. No. 1 and Table 1). The population in the cantonment also decreased: the growth rate being -11.9 percent. This decline was due to the transfer of cavalry unit from here in October 1914 and deployment of troops during the First World War.²⁷

The foregoing account has shown that the urban development was largely confined to the main railway lines, new and old; and that growth occurred only in periods without epidemics and famines. The population mobility and shift in the cantonment was influenced by the movement of troops on military grounds.

Urban changes in the period after 1921 were influenced by two important factors: rural - urban migration and rapid industrialization. Between 1921-31 the population of Amritsar, Jullundur and Ludhiana increased by 65 percent, 32 percent and 25.9 percent. In Ambala city the population increased by 30 percent. Amritsar emerged as the main

26 Census, Punjab 1921, p. 22; 1931, p. 93.

27 Kishore etc., (1950), p. 6.

commercial centre of united Punjab. The railway line linking Amritsar, Jullundur and Ambala accounted for the growth of trade and industry.²⁸ The cantonment showed a growth rate of only +3.3 percent because of a restricted urban development and commercial activity which will be discussed in Chapter 2²⁹ (Map No. 5). It is significant to note that the Ambala district showed a growth rate of about +13.3 percent.³⁰ (Fig. No. 1).

The foregoing discussion indicates that Ambala town was growing due to commercial and industrial activity but the cantonment responded more to the pressures of natural increase and the movement of troops. Urban development did not account for the growth of population. It is only after 1941 with the decline of Amritsar, and later under the impact of Partition, that the cantonment population shot up. It showed a remarkable increase of 50 percent between 1941 and 1951 because of large-scale refugee migrations.³¹ (Map No. 6).

Our account in this chapter shows the political and demographic history of the Ambala cantonment and Ambala town. We now need to pose other questions: What kind of society emerged as a result of these population changes? What type of urban planning and housing developed as a consequence of demographic changes? What kind of institutions regulated and influenced the life of the populace? The following chapters will deal with these questions.

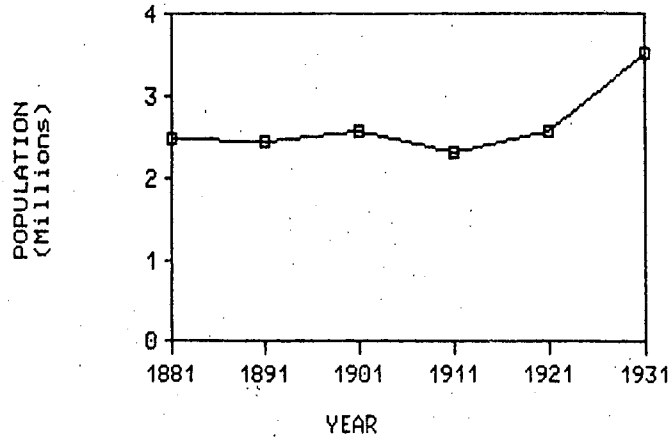
28 - Gosal, (1966), p. 15.

29 Census Punjab, (1931), p. 93.

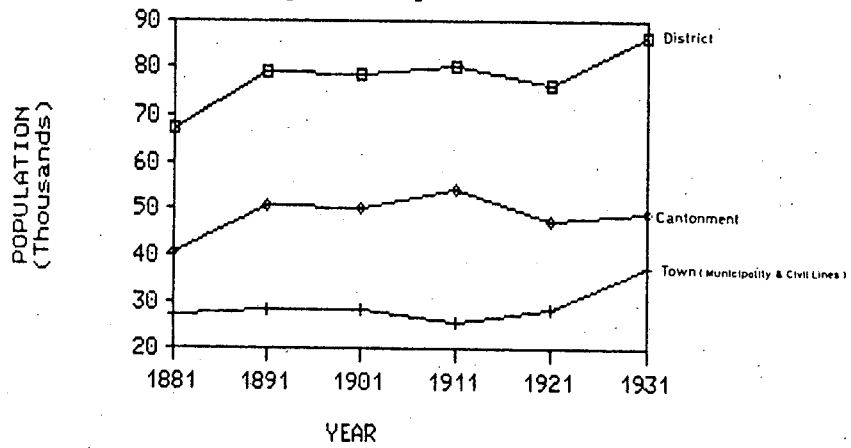
30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., (1951), p. 229, 232.

POPULATION OF PANJAB



COMPARATIVE POPULATION OF AMBALA [1881-1931]



COMPARATIVE POPULATION OF AMBALA [1881-1931]

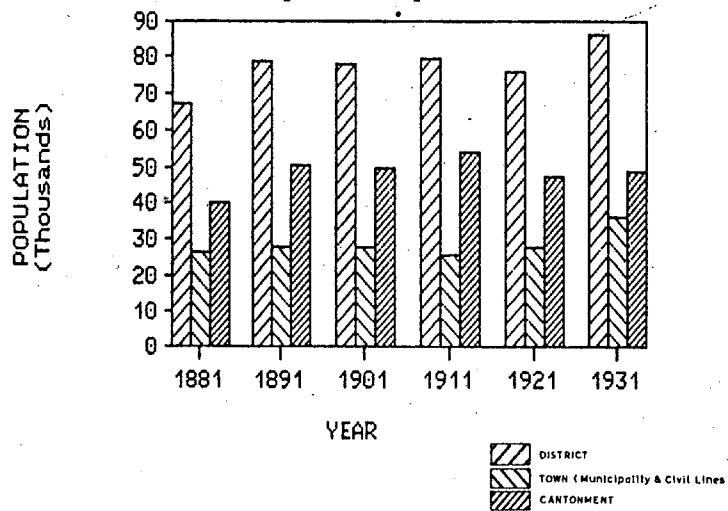


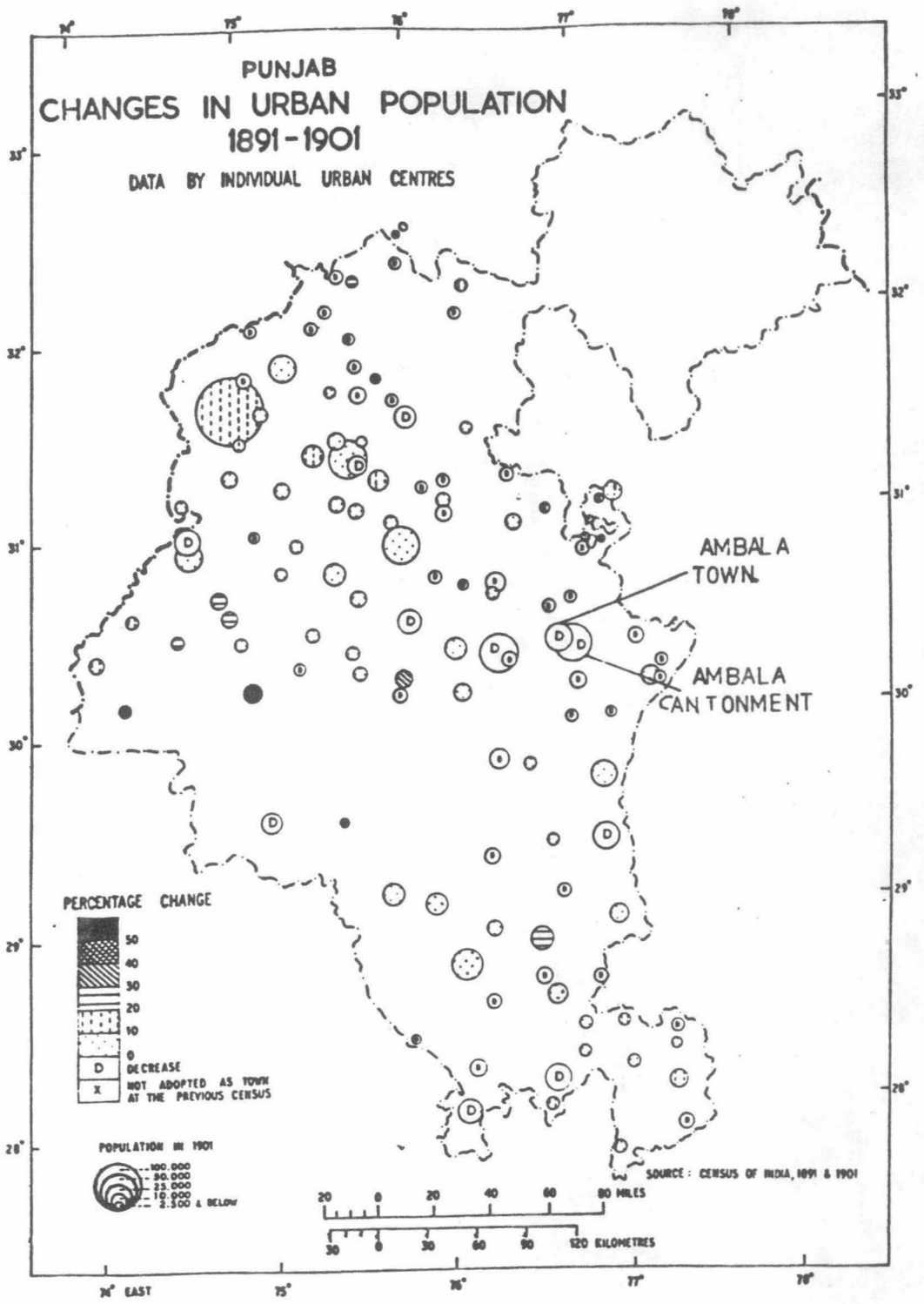
FIG. No.1

SOURCE : Based on Census Tables, relevant years



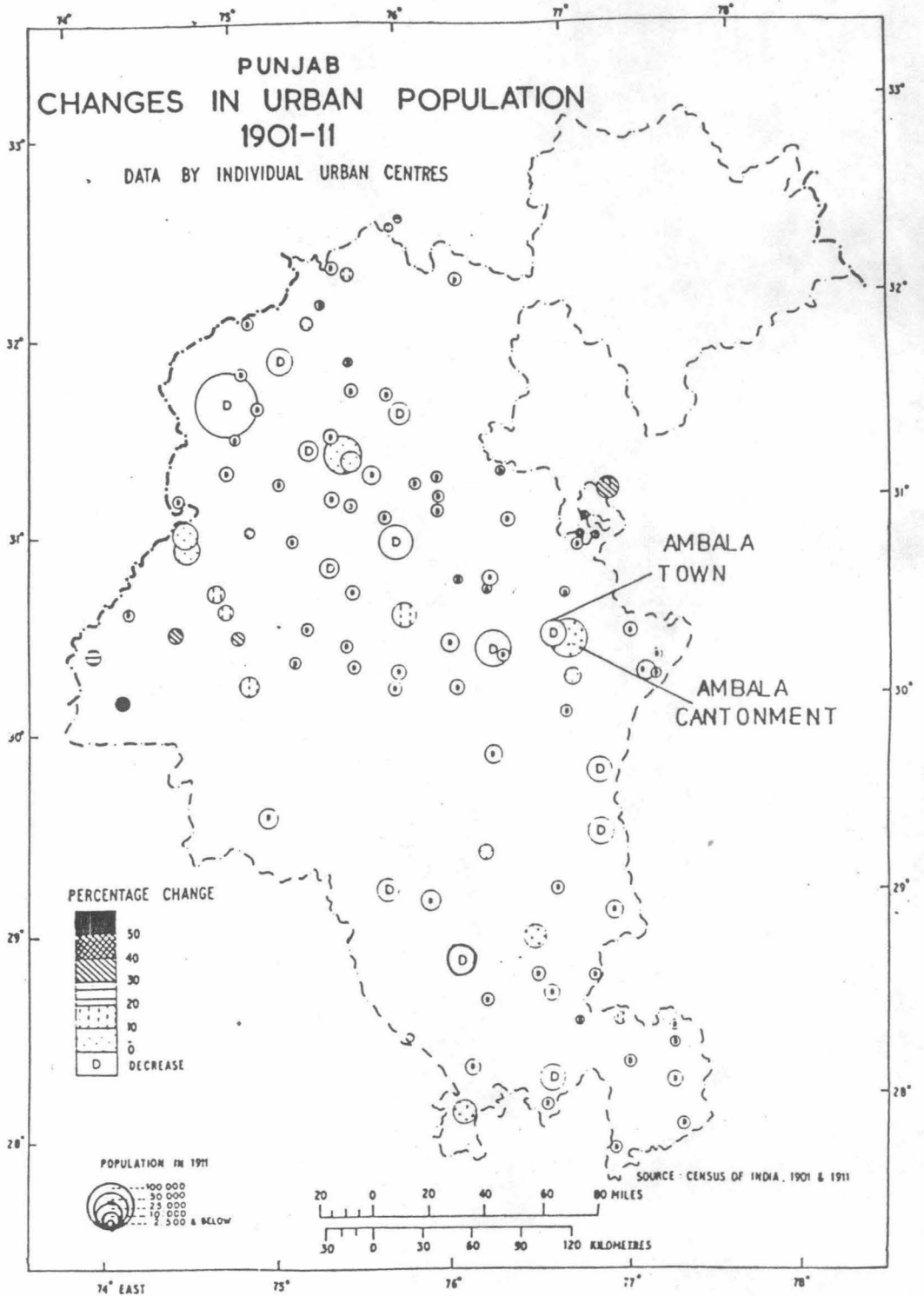
MAP NO 1

SOURCE: GOSAL, 1966, P.4.



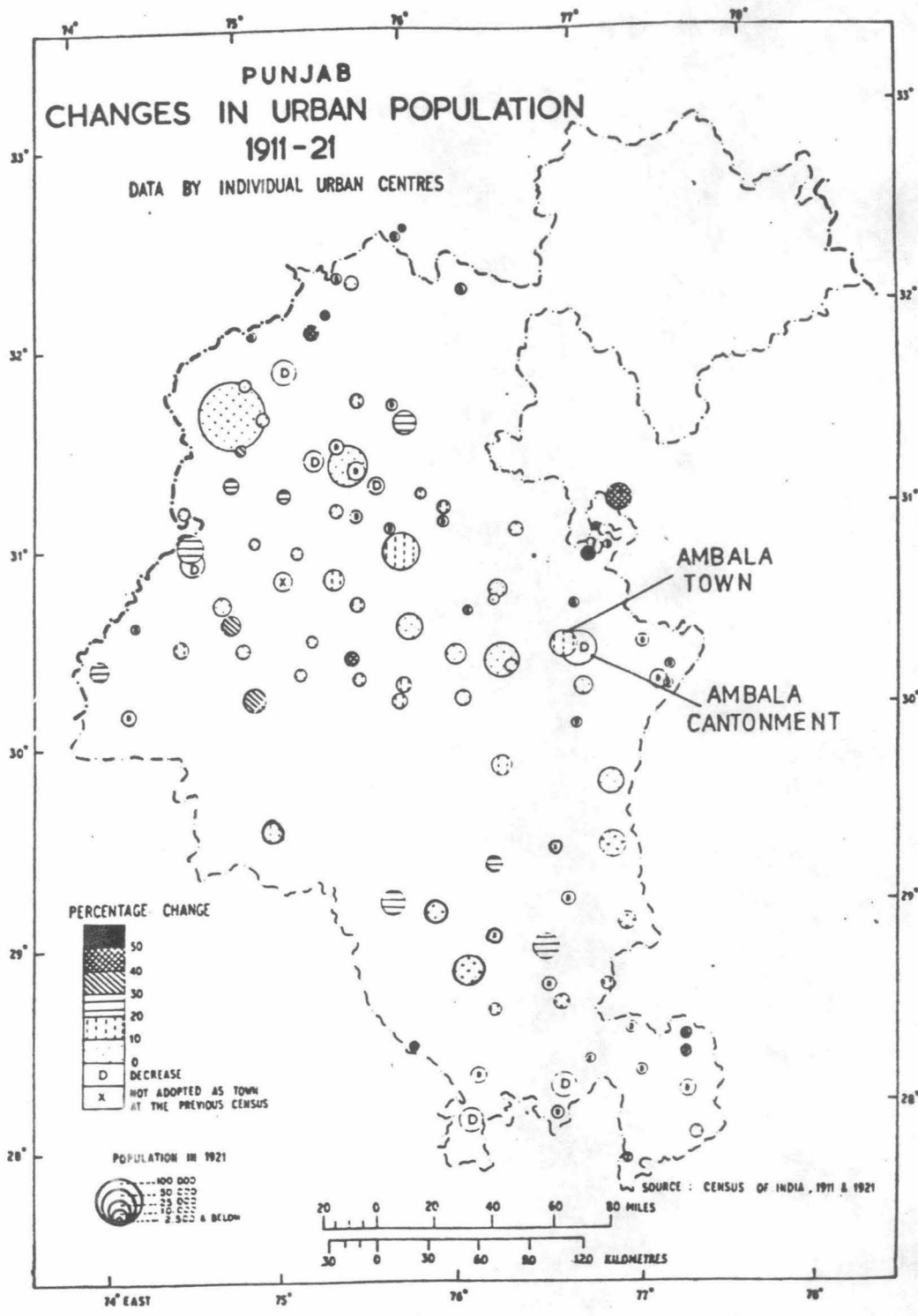
MAP NO. 2.

SOURCE : GOSAL , 1966 , P.9.



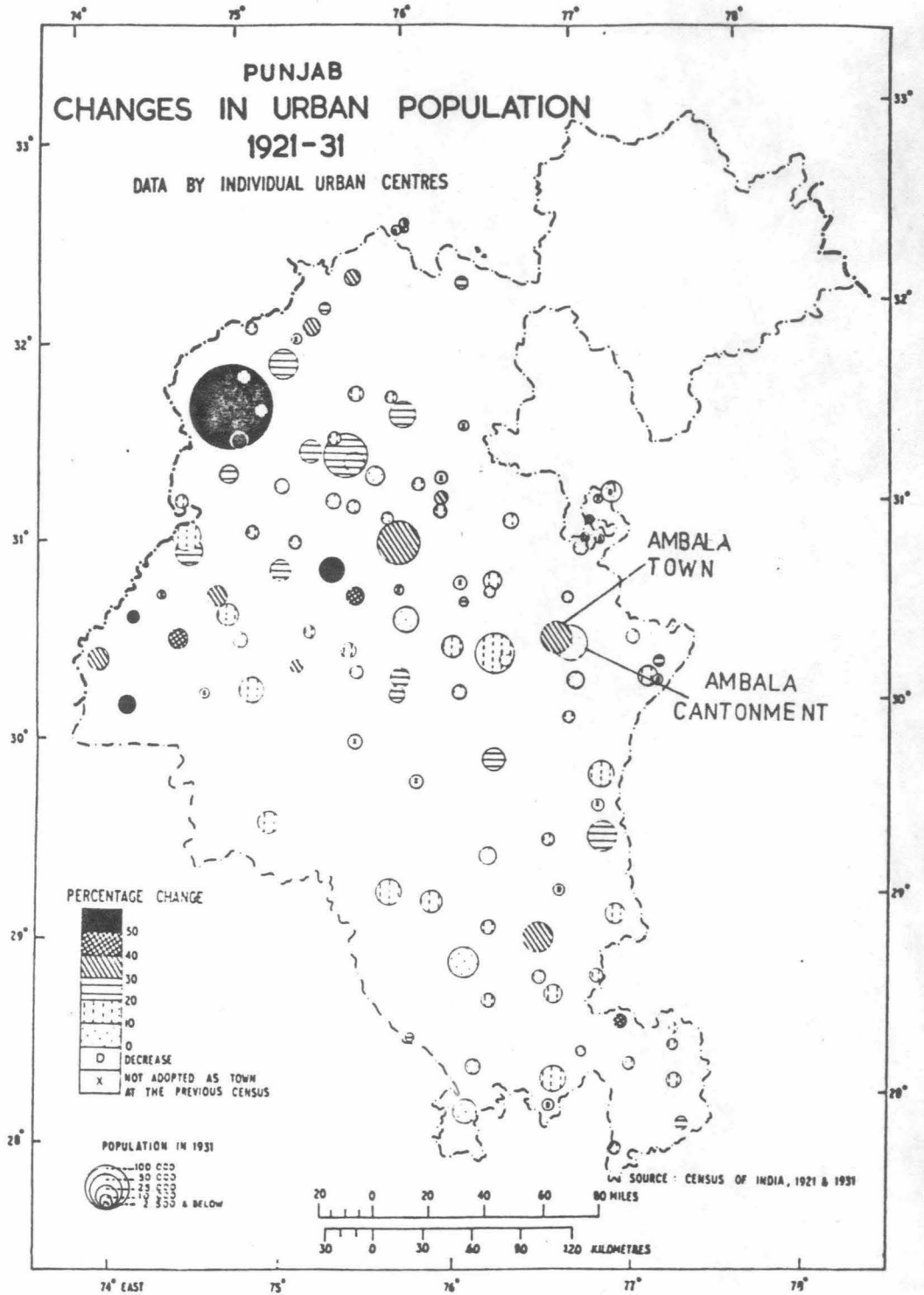
MAP NO. 3

SOURCE: GOSAL, 1966, P. 11.



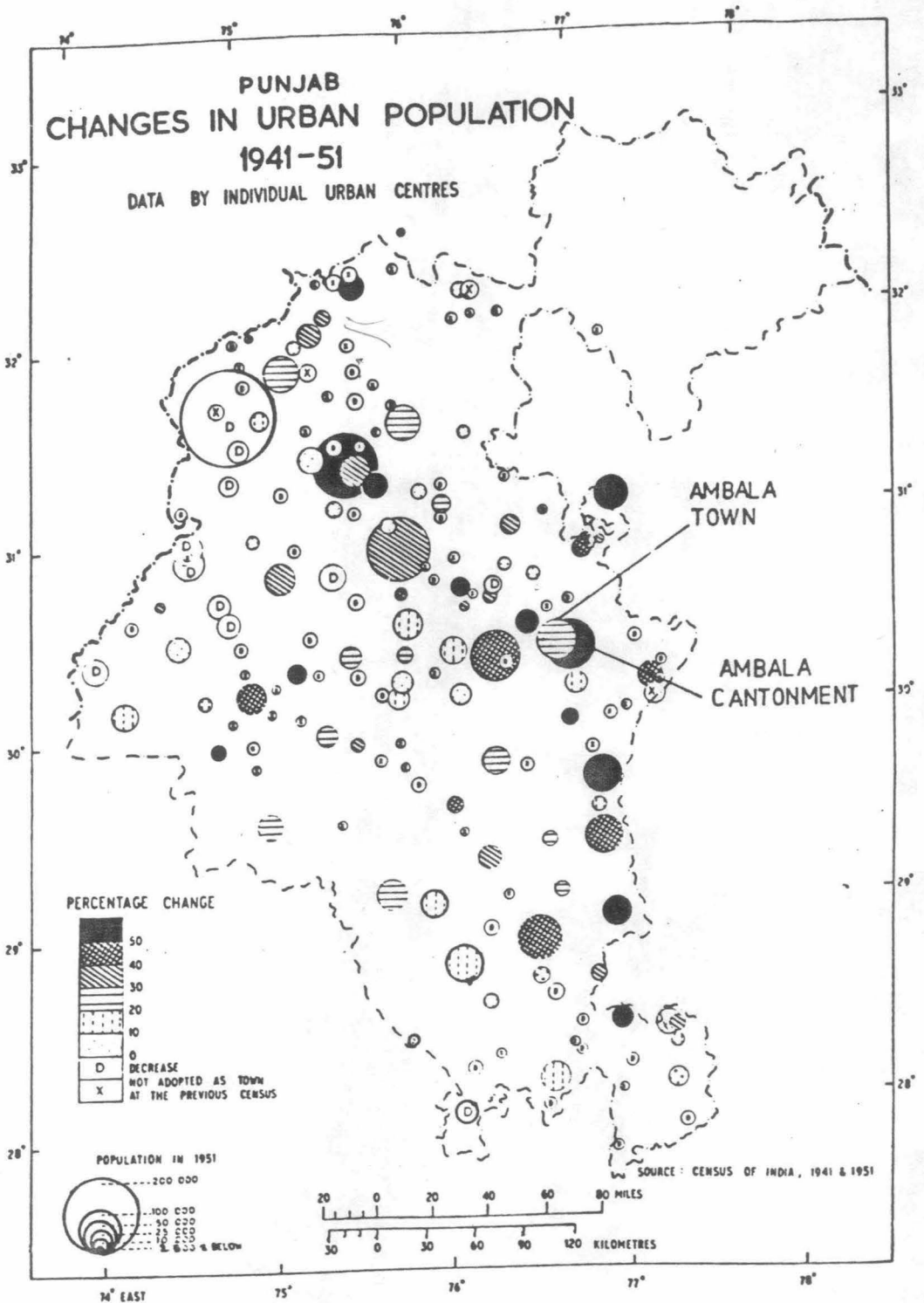
MAP NO. 4

SOURCE: GOSAL, 1966, P. 13.



MAP NO 5

SOURCE: GOSAL, 1966, P. 16.



MAP NO. 6

SOURCE: GOSAL, 1966, P. 19.

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TABLE - 1

TOTAL POPULATION OF PUNJAB, AMBALA DISTRICT, TOWN AND CANTONMENT FROM 1881-1931 AND ITS GROWTH RATE

Name of Town	District or State	Description of cities towns	Total Population					Variation						
			1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1881 to 1891	1891 to 1901	1901 to 1911	1911 to 1921	1921 to 1931	Variation in period 1881-31
	Punjab		24,75,929	2,45,491	25,80,798	23,34,445	25,96,678	35,21,449	-21,028	+1,25,897	-2,46,233	+2,62,233	+9,24,771	+10,45,520
	Ambala	Total	67,463	79,294	78,638	80,131	76,326	86,592	+11,893	- 656	+ 1,493	- 3,805	+ 10,266	+ 19,129
Ambala		*M	26,159	26,856	26,744	24,493	27,287	35,193	+ 697	- 112	+ 2,551	+ 2,794	+ 7,906	+ 9,034
		*C.L.	618	1,422	1,456	1,415	1,294	2,031	+ 804	+ 34	- 41	- 121	+ 737	+ 1,413
Ambala		*Cantt.	40,686	51,016	50,438	54,223	47,745	49,368	+10,330	- 578	+ 3,785	- 6,478	+ 1,623	+ 8,682

Source: Based on Census Tables, relevant years.

- * M - Municipality.
- * C.L. - Civil Lines.
- * Cantt. - Cantonment.

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CHAPTER - 1

CONFRONTING THE VILLAGERS

Ambala Cantonment was founded in the year 1843 by the acquisition of 9,920 acres of land obtained from twenty-seven villages.¹ Of this area, 2,695 acres were restored to the 'original cultivators' in 1857. After the restoration, the cantonment consisted of six entire villages and some portions of eighteen other villages.²

The colonial officials were now confronted with the question of determining the nature of land rights. In 1846, Mr Wynyard, the Settlement Officer of Ambala, lamented that despite his best efforts the 'problems about the relationship to land taken into Ambala Cantonment remained.' 'It is', he said, 'a case requiring considerable care lest the interests of Government, the zamindars and jagirdars should suffer.'³ From the end of the 19th century to the middle of 20th century, the colonial officials debated about the rights and the mode of acquisition of the cantonment land. It is, therefore, important not merely to state and describe how the land was actually taken but also to analyze how the colonial officials viewed the whole process of acquisition. In the official debate on this issue two broad viewpoints can be dis-

1 RR (CRR), 12 September 1910, 169/7, p. 11.

2 Ibid., p. 10. The six villages acquired were: Babari, Milkan, Kutakhera, Kutakheri, Muzaffara alias Muzharpur and Muazanipur. The other eighteen villages acquired were: Barauda, Garnala, Tundli, Tundla, Boh, Babiya, Naggal, Kardhan, Nanhera, Begampur, Machhondha, Machhondhi, Shekupur, Dudhla, Kanwala, Jandli, Mundli and Dhankaur.

3 RR (CRR), September 1910, 169/7, p. 17.

cerned: one military and the other civil. The idea of the permanence and supremacy of the land in the cantonment crystallized and strengthened within this context.

In the first two sections of this chapter I will discuss these two viewpoints and show how the colonial officials dealt with the villagers and asserted the permanence of the government's right over rural tracts. The third section would analyse the impact of the cantonment on the life of the villagers. Living on the fringes of an urban setting how did they respond to the urban way of life?

I

Official Strategy

At the initiative of Commander-in-Chief, Robert Cornwallis Napier, a Military Committee was formed to inquire into the question of ownership of the cantonment land in Ambala in 1873. On 26 August 1873, the Committee met and was presided over by Brigadier General W. Olpers, commanding Sirhind Division.⁴ Its members were Major H.A. Little, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General, Sirhind Division and T. Roberts, the Assistant Commissioner, Ambala.

The Committee concluded on the basis of Lieutenant J.D. Cunningham's letter of 1843 (Agent to the Governor General) to Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond (2nd Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, North Western Provinces) that the canton-

⁴ Op.cit., p. 9.

ment was taken up in 1843 at a yearly rental to be paid as compensation to proprietors, tenants and jagirdars.⁵ The Committee also stated that in 1851 a portion of the land was surrendered to the 'owners' and the remaining part (about 9,297 acres) did not belong to the Government. The proprietary right in the cantonment land had been held by the zamindars and the yearly rent paid to them by the government was deduced as Rs. 10,465.

The Committee further acknowledged that the Government recognized the proprietary rights of the zamindars to the whole of the land and no dispute could arise between the Government and the proprietors.⁶ In a way, the Committee emphasized the mutual consent of the two parties with regard to the Settlement, and this made the Government's position secure for an indefinite period. The Government could stay on the land for time immemorial but in legal terms its position was that of a tenant.

This viewpoint was endorsed by the authorities at Army Head Quarters in Lahore, in the year 1910. It accepted the military committee's conclusion that the payment of compensation was a form of rental, and the land could be held on perpetual lease.⁷

The military viewpoint was rejected by the civil officials.

The first civilian viewpoint was reflected by the pass-

5 RR (CRR), 169/7, p. 40.

6 Ibid., p. 40.

7 Ibid.

age of the Land Revenue Act of 1887.⁸ The Act was concerned with land rights and the definition of the terms of land transfers. The Act stated: "These lands are the absolute and unencumbered property of the Government."⁹

According to the Act, the villagers were compensated in the following manner:¹⁰

- i) the payment of a lump sum in lieu of the value of trees, wells, standing crops and houses.
- ii) the assignment of revenue in other estates to certain jagirdars.
- iii) a guarantee to pay annual cash pensions to other jagirdars, inamdars, zamindars and muafidars in perpetuity except for the zamindar pensioners of Boh and Barnala who were given a lump sum for their rights to pensions.

The military had viewed pensions as a form of rent which obviously meant a recognition of landlords' rights over the land acquired by the cantonment. This proposition was negated by this Act which stated clearly that the right to pension was not linked to the rights on land. Since the government was the owner, the pensioners had no reversionary rights on these lands.

There were uncomfortable questions which the Act did not confront. How did the government obtain such proprie-

8 RR (CRR), 169/7, p. 10.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

torship of land? What rights had the pensioners enjoyed before the cantonment was established? What was the notion of pension based upon, if the pensioners had no rights on land?

Unlike the other civil views this Act did not attempt to validate its views with the help of translations of old records, nor did it attempt to portray a very complex picture about the land question.

This land question was further debated upon by other civil officials.

A comprehensive enquiry was held by Mr W.M. Hailey, the Assistant Commissioner of Ambala and Captain Parsons, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, in 1896, with a view to ascertaining 'the exact rights of the pensioners.'¹¹

At the outset Hailey stated that 'the materials for a history of this matter (land question) are scattered.'¹² He expressed his disappointment at the loss of proceedings of enquiry held by Lieutenant Cunningham in 1842 who had been commissioned to 'estimate the value of the land taken up for the cantonment then about to be constructed.'¹³ Hailey was forced to base his enquiry on the letter which Cunningham had written to the Governor-General North-West Provinces in 1843 in which he had briefly communicated his views on the issue. Hailey thought the vernacular records to be rather

11 RR (CRR), 169/2, p. 17.

12 Op.cit.

13 Ibid.

poor and inadequate for the purpose as they were mainly agreements between the Agent and villagers.

Hailey's emphasis on the non-availability of the source material about the land question is not only vital from the point of view of understanding the nature of the document and the testimony he had relied on, but also because it reflects the motivation animating the official strategy. This strategy generated the colonial notion of 'doubt' with regard to the question of land rights and opened a further spate of speculations and interpretations within the official discourse.

Hailey then described the terms of the land transactions. Compensation was given to pattidars, lakhrajdars and biswadars.¹⁴ The claims of the employee class were not taken into account. The mode of compensation in village Mundli was typical of the general pattern. Here, jagir-money was given to the jagirdars; land in other villages was assigned to the pattidars; pensions were given to landholders (biswadars) with an extra allowance in lieu of pachotra; cash compensation was handed over to villages for injury to wells, crops, trees and houses.

Hailey stated that pensions were granted from "generation to generation", and in return the villagers surrendered the land required and their "shikaar rights."¹⁵

Hailey traced a 'slight difficulty in understanding the legal value of this transaction. Was it a sale, a per-

14 RR (CRR), 169/2, p. 17.

15 Ibid., p. 18.

petual lease, or a quit rent?¹⁶ Then he distinguished between the pensions given to jagirdars and muafidars from those to biswadars. Pensions to the former could be seen as a kind of revenue assignment, and to the latter it could bear the aspect of a quit rent. Hailey thus came to a position close to the military viewpoint.

Hailey pointed to an important fact: whenever some land was given up by the Government it was returned to the ex-proprietors with a proportional reduction in their pension. The lands of Babiya and Nanhera, for example, were given to the Jat and Rajput zamindars who were the original proprietors and in the case of Jandli about 1149 bighas was given to the pattidar zamindars who were made the owners by the government.¹⁷

From all these instances Hailey concluded that the 'ex-proprietors' had a 'reversionary' right on land and that their pension was secured upon their rights vested in land. Hence pension could be seen as a quit rent for the zamindars and revenue assignment for the jagirdars.

In conclusion Hailey emphasized the need for buying off these rights so as to establish the colonial control over these tracts.¹⁸ In this perception he differed from the military viewpoint which upheld the status quo.

Hailey was disputed by the Legal Remembrancer in 1898.¹⁹

16 RR (CRR), 169/7, p. 17.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., p. 18.

19 Ibid.

He objected to Hailey's view that the rights of jagirdars and muafidars upon land acquired by the cantonment were different from that of zamindars. The rights of all three classes, he suggested, were bought out alike. The pensions were "neither revenue assignments nor quit rent but mere grants of money."²⁰ The pension, he argued, was not given on the security of the land but rested purely on the "good faith of the government."²¹ The land which had been acquired was already the absolute and unencumbered property of the government. The former proprietors and right holders (of all kinds) "who receive money are mere pensioners of the government."²² Occasionally, the ex-proprietors received some land back from the government. But this was no proof of their right over the land taken from them. The government merely desired to deal 'tenderly' with the expropriated owners and wanted to reduce their liability to pay pensions from generation to generation.²³

In 1910, Mr Campbell, the Assistant Commissioner of Ambala, expressed his disappointment at the progress of the official debate on the land question.²⁴ He explained the various reasons which induced him to follow the debate: i) the original proceedings of the debate were lost; ii) the

20 RR (CRR), 169/7, p. 19.

21 Ibid., p. 20.

22 Ibid.,

23 Ibid., p. 19.

24 Ibid., p. 11.

Persian Records of 1843 were misunderstood by Hailey; iii) the legal remembrancer's opinion was entirely based on Hailey's report only and he had not seen any original proceedings in English or vernacular; iv) Campbell was dissatisfied with the army view.

Campbell wanted his views to be regarded as final and therefore attempted to leave no loopholes in his analysis. He began his enquiry by interviewing the zamindars of at least eight villages. The zamindars asserted that they were the owners and the government was the tenant.²⁵ They called their pensions 'malikana' and argued that the very fact that they were receiving annual payments proved that these were a form of rent. Campbell asked the zamindars to produce evidence in support of their case. The zamindars produced one parwana of 1843 issued to them by the agent of the Governor-General. Not convinced by the evidence, Campbell rejected the appeal of Babiya zamindars.

Campbell's first point of inquiry was to ascertain the mode of transaction of the land. By using some Persian translations, robkars, parwanas, and razinamas he formulated an argument to dismiss the landlords' and military viewpoint and to rectify the 'lacunas' in the civil view. This was another form of official strategy to assert the hegemony of the Raj.

His translations of some of the 1843 papers showed that a Board of 12 arbitrators was constituted.²⁶ They

25 RR (CRR), 12 September 1910, 169/7, p. 11.

26 Ibid., p. 13.

proceeded to estimate the annual grain production of the lands and the returns from rent.

It was then declared that the $\frac{3}{5}$ of the value of the grain produce and of the zabti belonged to the cultivator. The remaining $\frac{2}{5}$ was apportioned into three shares: one share each for the hakim, the biswadar/zamindar, and the inamdar or panch.²⁷

The shares were not equal. The entire $\frac{2}{5}$ of the value of the grain produced was the hakim's share of the zabti, and panch's share.

The zamindar's share was the commuted value of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per maund ($\frac{1}{16}$) of the gross produce deducted from the hakim's share and also 1 anna per rupee deducted from the hakim's zabti. The $\frac{1}{16}$ deduction from the hakim's share for the zamindar was called sathari; the zamindar had to get his dues not from the Sikh jagirdar but from the cultivator and the latter had to pay $42\frac{1}{2}$ seers to the maund and 17 annas to the rupee.²⁸

The panch's share was pachotra, i.e. 5 percent of the net hakim's share and there were other deductions such as saori's and patwari's from the zamindar's share to which they were entitled by custom.²⁹ Campbell thought that they were perhaps the persons selected by the 'Sikh conquerors'

27 Op.cit., p. 11.

28 Campbell stated that this word was derived from seventeen.

29 RR (CRR), 169/2, p. 14.

from the 'erstwhile' village proprietors to act as their rent collectors and agents and were given an inam for their services. Some of them might have been hereditary headmen of the village.³⁰

These rights of the villagers were described by Campbell in great detail. He then explained how the government paid compensation.³¹

The zamindars and the panchs were awarded annual pensions in perpetuity of the estimated value of their rights. because, as the robkar stated, there was no government waste land in the vicinity of Ambala where they could be settled.

The hakim's share was settled in 'perpetuity' on the jagirdars where these existed and struck off the 'rent roll' in the case of jagirs which had lapsed to the government. The jagirdars of Babiya and Nanhera were compensated with jagirs elsewhere.

The holders of the muafi plots (called lakhraj) were awarded annually and in perpetuity. The hakim's share on their lands was deducted from the total amount payable to the jagirdars if the muafi belonged to a share held in jagir, and was added to the charge on government if it belonged to a lapsed share.

The cultivators were paid no compensation despite the fact that they lost their right to the 3/5 shares. The

30 RR (CRR), 169/2, p. 30.

31 Ibid., p. 11.

government stepped into the cultivators' place, argued Campbell, without any concern for 'the feelings' or 'rights of the existing incumbents'.³² Campbell argued that this fact if taken alone might raise an inference that the government placed itself in the position of a tenant but the government went further and stepped into the landlords' share too.³³

How did the government acquire the right over the trees, wells and houses within the cantonment area? Campbell explained the terms of compensation offered to the earlier right-holders. In the case of wells, their full value was paid to the village owners.³⁴ The owners of houses were awarded the estimated cost of erection and were allowed to remove their bricks. In the case of trees, one-third of the estimated value was held to be the hakim's share and two-third was the ryot's share. The ryot's share in this case did not go to the government as in the case of the produce of the land but was given to the zamindars. For the trees which were held in single ownership, the owner received the full value.

Campbell's views differ from that of Hailey on three vital points. First, according to Campbell, Cunningham intended to acquire for the government full ownership rights. There was no mention of rent or tenancy at the

32 Op.cit., p. 14.

33 Ibid., para 15, p. 14.

34 RR (CRR), 1910, 169/7, para 16, p. 14.

time when the land was apportioned by the government. He said that what Hailey described as the 'shikar rights,' given up by the landowners were actually the 'Sirkar rights'.³⁵ Second, the compensation awarded was calculated and apportioned in accordance with definite principles and was not the result of mere guess work. Third, the pattidar jagirdars were in those days more than mere assignees or recipients of the land revenue. They were looked upon as possessing some rights of ownership in the soil.³⁶ This argument was linked with a set of other questions about rights on the soil.

Who were the proprietors of land before the cantonment was established? Campbell recorded that the "country was a British protectorate with patches of British territory acquired by escheat on failure of heirs to sardars and pattidars intermingled with estates great and small."³⁷ According to him, the petty Sikh chieftains exercised considerable power over these tracts by the terms of the Ochterlony's Proclamation of 1811. The transaction between the zamindars and the government took place before the annexation of the Ambala territory and the formation of Ambala District. And hence the proprietary rights in the soil were not adjusted until the settlement which started in 1846 and continued up to 1856.

35 Op.cit., p. 11.

36 Ibid., p. 14.

37 Ibid., p. 15.

Campbell disclosed that neither at the first nor at the revised settlement was the question of the proprietary rights in the cantonment land touched.³⁸ The ownership rights were given to zamindars residing in land outside cantonment limits only after 1854. This view was in opposition to that of Hailey who had alluded, on the basis of Cunningham's letter of 4 June 1843, that the remaining land of Nanhera, Jandli and Babiya had ceased to be government's property from 1844. Campbell therefore made it clear that the whole scenario had to be viewed in an altogether different light after the formal annexation of Ambala territory. Campbell also stated that if the land had not been taken up for the cantonment, then after the regular settlement the zamindars would have become owners.

In this way Campbell recognized the decisions made by the colonial authorities before annexation in terms of the way the compensations were adjusted. But at the same time he put his faith in the decision of authorities after the annexation. By the combination of these views (pre and post annexation) Campbell argued for the indeterminacy of the rights of zamindars in the case of the cantonment and thereby succeeded in establishing the privilege of British Government upon land.³⁹

Campbell pointed to the problems of determining the rights of villagers over the cantonment land. If the govern-

38 Op.cit., para 19, p. 15.

39 Ibid.

ment thought that the zamindar pensioners possessed proprietary rights in the land, the preparation of an accurate record of rights would be impossible. He warned that the preparation of the 'Record of Rights' would involve the demarcation of the villages as they existed in 1843 for which there were no records available. He was not ready to accept the zamindars' explanations about their boundaries which they had learnt from their forefathers.⁴⁰

Thus Campbell brought to an end the official controversy about the land question. The military and civil views differed on their basic premises. One asserted that the government was a tenant of the cantonment land and the 'landlord' the proprietor, the other argued the opposite.

Opposed views did not imply opposed policy objectives. While granting that zamindars had ownership rights, the military committee was keen on an indefinite occupation of cantonment lands by the government through a perpetual payment of rent to the owners. This view had an underlying notion of maintaining the permanence of Raj and appeasing the villagers by giving them rent. This notion of permanence also figures prominently in the civil view.

This constant tension between the civil and military, and within the civil view, is significant. The relationships between these views, their constantly changing terms of agreements and conflicts, shaped the colonial politics.

40 RR (CRR), 1910, p. 16.

This was how the colonial officials formulated the strategy to assert and perpetuate the power of the Raj.

II

THE STRATEGY IN OPERATION

In this part I shall analyse how the official strategy was used by the colonial officials when confronting the landlords.

The villagers perceived the 'encroachment' upon their land with disdain. The villagers of Babiyal claimed in 1919 that 340 bighas and 16 biswas of the land taken up for the cantonment belonged to them and that "they have grazing rights over this area."⁴¹ The Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, rejected this contention by stating that there was no record in his office to support the claim. The cantonment Magistrate asserted that according to the 'Record of Rights' prepared by Campbell, all land comprised in the cantonment was actually the 'unencumbered' property of the government having been acquired from the zamindars who were in receipt of annuities but had no reversionary right in the land.⁴² He claimed that the inhabitants were quite well-to-do people who had made a lot of money from the cantonment being so close. Hence they could well afford to make their own grazing grounds. The attempts of landlords to assert their rights were thwarted.

41 CGR (CRR), 1919, 169/28, p. 3.

42 See petition 17.9.19 C.G.R. (CRR), 169/28. Ibid.

Grazing rights over the same plots of land were again claimed in September 1920 by lambardar Surat Singh and other inhabitants of village Babiya.⁴³ The Revenue Secretary clarified on 6 June 1920 that the villagers had been paid compensation for this area. He clarified that the records showed that in calculating the value of the produce at the time of the acquisition this ghairmumkin area was excluded. But it was included in estimating the compensation due on the acquisition of the land. The Secretary asserted thereby that 'there would therefore appear to be no foundation for the assertion that cattle grazing was allowed in lieu of compensation over this area and petitioners do not appear to have any claim to the 340 bighas and 16 biswas.'⁴⁴ Such petitions were commonly given by the villagers about their rights over the cantonment land. As late as 1939, Prabhu Dial and his fellow villagers of Babiya submitted a petition, again claiming the grazing land. The Deputy Commissioner dismissed the case by stating that these villagers had 'no proof of their alleged rights.'⁴⁵ Such episodes exemplify the growing tension between the landlords and civil officials. Through the 'Record of Rights' - which had been prepared by Campbell, the rights of the government were asserted. I think it is reasonably convincing that the ambi-

43 CGR (CRR), 169/28, p. 3.

44 Ibid., p. 21.

45 Ibid., p. 22.

guity in records could be interpreted by the officials in ways convenient to them.

The Aftermath

The major portions of about 12 villages were acquired for the cantonment. In this section I will analyse specific features of these villages on the establishment of the cantonment.

The acquisition of the land for the cantonment affected the nature of the soil. The river route of Tangri was diverted to the cantonment due to the supply of water. The village Babiya, placed between Tangri and Babiya streams, was intersected by the old and new channels of Tangri.⁴⁶ The old Tangri stream also damaged the rich loam soil.⁴⁷

The Babiya village (now) had mostly sandy soil which produced poor crops.⁴⁸ In Garnala also the soil was thin due to the floods of the old Tangri.⁴⁹ In view of the baneful effects of the rivers, the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala remarked, 'The quality of the soil was barely average.'⁵⁰ In village Kardhan the new Tangri flowed through the eastern course and the old one followed the western.⁵¹ A branch of

46 AVB (SKO), Babiya, Hadbast No. 93, p. 285.

47 Ibid.

48 AVN (SKO), Babiya, Hadbast No. 93, p. 1108.

49 Ibid., Garnala, Hadbast No. 28, p. 447.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., Kardhan, Hadbast No. 88, p. 205.

Tangri river forced its way through the middle of the village estate, and by throwing sand all around made the tract barren and unfit for cultivation. Village Boh met with a similar fate.⁵²

The proximity to the cantonment affected the land types and the labour time of village proprietors. Village Garnala became a low lying area due to the artillery shooting range or chandmari.⁵³ The village proprietors stated that they were almost cut off from half of their lands when the batteries were practising. They were warned off by the police to keep themselves away from the shooting range for fear of accidents. In winter the shooting courses became more rigorous, this compelled the village proprietors to keep themselves away from land for a longer period than before, and this meant a greater loss of their time.

As a result of the acquisition of land for the cantonment the land holdings in most of the villages became small and the arable available for cultivation was reduced. From village Babiyaal about 6,092 bighas and 60 biswas of cultivated, 'culturable' and 'unculturable' land was acquired for the purpose of forming the cantonment.⁵⁴ Only 887 bighas and 74 biswas remained outside the cantonment. The village holdings turned small and the total cultivated area was only 38 acres.⁵⁵

52 AVN (SKO), Boh, Hadbast No. 27, p. 29.

53 Ibid., Garnala, Hadbast No. 28, p. 28.

54 RR (CRR), 169/7, 1910, p. 63.

55 AVN (SKO), Babiyaal, Hadbast No. 93, p. 285.

The acquisition of land created social tensions. Some proprietors lost all their land while others did not. The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs biswadars of village Tundli lamented this discriminatory policy. "Our Talukat with each other can no longer remain alright", they said.⁵⁶ Ill-will also existed between the Hindu and Muslim Jat zamindars in village Dhankaur. This was due to the differences in the size of their holdings which occurred on account of the acquisition of land for the cantonment. The Deputy Commissioner of Ambala stated in 1900 that the villagers derived much benefit from the cantonment market.⁵⁷ It is true that Ambala began to serve as a new market for the proprietors. Charri, a large important crop, was sold for a good price in the cantonment. The villagers bought manure from the cantonment for growing wheat and melons.

Eric Stokes has shown that it was the rich peasant in Punjab who benefitted greatly from the cultivation and sale of cotton, sugar and other cash crops.⁵⁸ This holds true in the case of these villages. It was only the rich peasantry of Barnala, Babiyal, Kardhan and Naggal who gained economically from the cantonment through an increased sale of cash crops. But those who produced subsistence crops (jowar, bajra) were not as well integrated to the cantonment

56 Wajibul urz Dastoor, Misal Haqiqat Bandobast, Mauza Tundli, 1853, tehsil Ambala (SKO). See also AVN (SKO); Carnala, Tundli, Dhankaur, Kanwala, Naggal, Kardhan, Macchondha, Boh, Barnala and Nanhera.

57 AVN (SKO), Tundli, Hadbast No. 47, p. 519.

58 Stokes, (1978).

market. The demand for fodder in the cantonment led to its non-availability for poor peasants which forced them into indebtedness.⁵⁹ As recorded in the Village Notebook: "the poor cultivators of BabiyaI were sunk in debt and their land was heavily mortgaged."⁶⁰

The need for alternative employment was necessary for all the villagers, even though some had more land than others. Those possessing relatively more land than others worked and kept carts in cantonments which were hired by the owners of smaller holdings, as was observed in the case of village BabiyaI.⁶¹ In Tundli where the average village holding was 2.5 acres, the proprietors worked as carters.⁶²

In this scenario, enlistment in the army was an economic compulsion for the poor peasant of small holdings who had surplus labour and inadequate income. Those who had relatively larger holdings probably gained from the army both for economic and social reasons. As the holdings which they possessed were not sufficient; they had to supplement their paltry income. Therefore these proprietors gradually built up a tradition of joining the army.⁶³

59 AVN (SKO), Kanwala, Hadbast No. 36, pp. 163-64, ibid., Dhankaur, Hadbast No. 31, pp. 85-6.

60 AVN (SKO), BabiyaI, Hadbast No. 93, p. 285.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., Tundli, Hadbast No. 47, p. 519.

63 Ibid., Garnala, Hadbast No. 28, BabiyaI Hadbast No. 92, Tundli, Hadbast No. 47, Naggal, Hadbast No. 89, Barnala, Hadbast No. 48.

Conclusions

The power of the proprietors of the villages was controlled in two ways by the cantonment authorities. One was in the form of asserting the rights of the government over the land through the use of official records; the other was by providing market opportunities and various forms of urban employment, enlistment in the army, plying carts etc. The survival of the zamindars now became dependent on the income from urban sources.

The establishment of the cantonment affected the soil types, land holdings, revenue rates and the whole economic system of the villages. The most prominent impact on land was of river Tangri, whose route had been diverted on account of the supply of water to the cantonment.

The growth of the cantonment meant recurring problems within the village economy but it also proved to be an important market and an employment avenue for the well off villagers. The expansion of cash crops was a consequence of this new integration with the cantonment market. The relationship of the proprietor with land changed: the mortgages, alienations and tenancies among small producers became common. The proprietors could not live off their land alone and had to work as carters, soldiers, labourers in the cantonment. The impact of acquisition of land was differential on villagers.

The new relationship with the cantonment increased

social tensions within the village. For the colonial officials, the integration of village system into the cantonment was a sign of prosperity for the proprietors. In this context it would be difficult to see how the villagers perceived this change in their whole environment for instance the cultural alienation that a proprietor faced despite the fact that relationship with cantonment ensured fixed wages.

AMBALA CANTONMENT IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

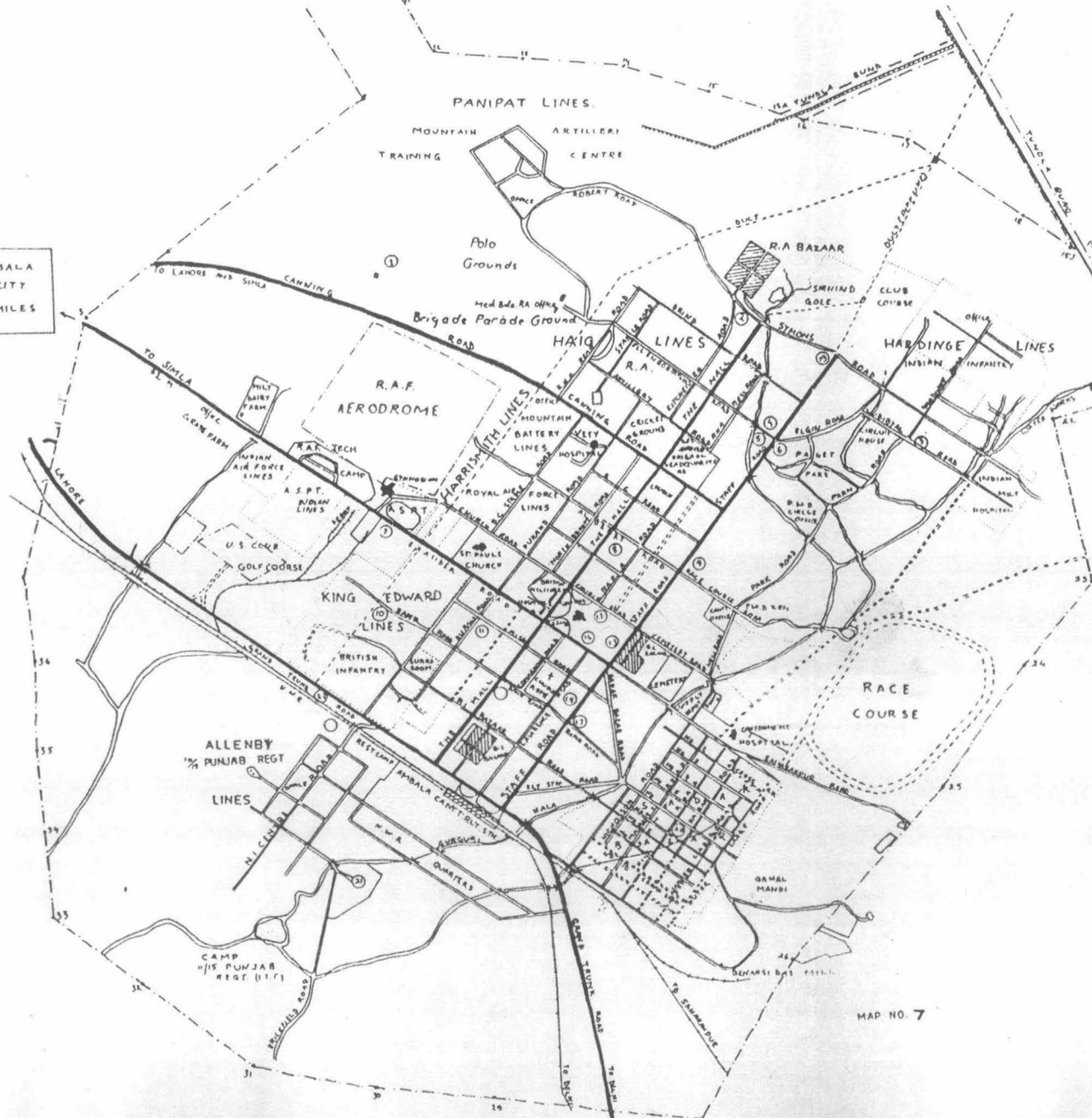
SCALE 3 INCHES TO 1 MILE

SCALE OF YARDS

SCALE OF YARDS

48

AMBALA CITY
3 MILES



REFERENCES.

1. BOMBING RANGE GO TROOPS
2. POLICE POST R.A. BAZAAR.
3. OFFICER'S MESS, INDIAN INF.
4. R.A. OFFICERS' MESS.
5. COMMISSIONER'S COURT P.O.
6. PAGET HOUSE (COMMISSIONERS' RESIDENCE)
7. SANDS SOLDIERS' HOME.
8. R.A.F. OFFICERS' MESS.
9. FLAG STAFF HOUSE
10. REGIMENTAL CINEMA K.E. LINES.
11. OFFICER'S MESS BRITISH INFANTRY
12. TELEPHONE EXCHANGE.
13. POLICE POST B.C. BAZAAR.
14. IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA
15. HEAD POST OFFICE AMBALA
16. CAPITOL CINEMA
17. PARRY'S HOTEL
18. OFFICE 1st PUNJAB REGT (I.T.F.)
19. GOLF CLUB HOUSE
20. KOTWALI POLICE STATION
21. OFFICERS' MESS 1st PUNJAB REGT.
22. MILITARY SIDING PLATFORM.

MAP NO. 7

authorities'. The British government was further shocked at the large expenditure incurred. The deaths of the soldiers cost the exchequer £ 588,000 annually.⁸ Florence Nightingale, as we know, was deeply concerned with the welfare of the British soldiers. She never visited India but on the basis of the information obtained from different sources, she provided to the British government graphic accounts of the alarming living condition of the British soldier in India. She dilated on the filthy insanitary state of drains, lack of water supply and the complete ignorance about filtration in India.⁹ The British authorities thought that the time was thus ripe for a 'sanitary conquest' of India and for this the cantonments became the major areas of colonial attacks.¹⁰ Between 1890-1919 the authorities at Ambala Cantonment took measures to extirpate disease and to restore health and sanitation. Its control was twofold: control within the cantonment and control beyond the cantonment.

Controls within the cantonment can be spatially divided into two parts: The bazaar area and the cantonment area.

a.1 Control within the Cantonment

a.1.1 The Bazaar Area - the bazaar area, including the Sadar and the regimental bazaars was controlled in various ways. Controls over this area were absolutely neces-

8 Edwardes, (1989), pp. 248-255.

9 Ibid., p. 253.

10 CMG, 18 March 1890, p. 6.

sary for ensuring the health of the soldiers. I will try to explain the peculiar nature of control over this area. At one level it was imperative for the authorities to maintain cleanliness in this area but at another level this consideration was undermined by the authorities' refusal to spend the necessary amount of money.

Control over marketing practices was the most pervasive form of control over the bazaar area. Halwais, gwalas and grain merchants faced tremendous interference of the colonial authorities in their marketing practices. Sadar generated disease according to the colonial authorities. Marketing practices of the halwais were regarded as injurious to public health. Stereotypes were created to extend influence over their practices. The halwai is "slack" reported the Deputy Commissioner. "He never keeps sweets inside and never provides himself with guaze safe."¹¹ Milk was also kept out in the open in their shops, which caused enteric since the 'pathogenic organism' crept into milk.¹² As a result of such official perceptions, the authorities took steps to chemically examine ghee, and punished the halwais for their 'crimes' of adulteration. The culture of an open display of sweets was totally forbidden as it attracted swarms of flies. This resulted in the curbing of certain customary practices of the halwais.

The gwalas were reported to be providing impure milk supply, which was the chief cause of enteric fever in Ambala

11 AAR (CBO), 1928, K/42, Misc, p. 19.

12 Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN SPACE AND ORDER

In this chapter an attempt will be made to understand the development of Ambala Cantonment and the colonial notions behind it. I will try and understand the way the colonial institutions order urban way of life, and the tensions generated among the communities as a result of their interaction with various institutions. I will try to show how the Indian (Muslim, Hindu etc.) identities and institutions manifest themselves in the urban space. It is important to understand in this context the 'native' perception of their social relationship. This chapter has three sections.

The first section will deal with the question of the development of Ambala Cantonment and also how the cantonment differed from the 'native' area. The second section will indicate the importance of colonial institutions in urban life. The third section is concerned with the colonial policy towards various communities. It will also focus on the politics, tensions of these communities and their concern for the protection of their identity.

I

Ambala Cantonment was not strikingly different from any other cantonment. It had two parts: the cantonment and the Bazaar. The cantonment included the bungalows of the

officers, the married NCOs and the soldiers' barracks.¹ It also included urban institutions like the church, well-filled cemetery, Sirhind Club, golf course and grass farms, etc. The only Indian segment of population living in this part was the regimental servants staying in the compounds of the bungalows occupied by the Europeans.² This area was neatly demarcated from the Bazaar area.

In the Bazaar area there were regimental bazaars like the British Infantry, British Cavalry and Royal Artillery constructed on an area of 308.77 acres (see map No.7, p.48).³ Another large bloc was the Sadar Bazaar in which was concentrated the whole of the civil Indian population of the cantonment except the natives working in the regimental lines and the servants employed by the Europeans. The 'Record of Rights' regarded this Bazaar as a town. It had a population of about 22,612 in 1892 which was quite large as compared with the number of soldiers for whom the cantonments were built. British troops in 1892 were 3,581 and Indian 1,713.⁴

The regimental bazaars were occupied by the chamars, koris, gwalas, dhobis, chuhras, malis, etc.⁵ The Sadar

1 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, 1407-11, 6, p. 439.

2 Ibid., p. 440.

3 RR (CRR), 12 September 1910, 169/7, p. 11.

4 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, 1407-11, 7.

5 RR (CRR), 12 September 1910, 169/7, p. 52.

occupied by Hindu and Muslim traders was more of a commercial centre, with a grain market and flour mills.

Both cantonment and the Bazaar area were organized and controlled by the cantonment authorities. Did the authorities organize these two spaces differently? Why was the cantonment area visually distinct from the bazaar area? These are questions worthy of analysis. An understanding of the colonial considerations behind the development and organization of the bazaar and the cantonment areas would provide an insight into the various and differing levels and patterns of controls exercised in these two sections.

a. Sanitation

Anthony D. King has shown that cantonments in India by 1863 started to exist primarily for the maintenance and preservation of the health of the British troops.⁶ This was a year of the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission of Agriculture, which exposed in lurid terms the stark reality of the high mortality rate of the British soldier in India. Out of the troops dispatched to India prior to and including the rebellion of 1857, about 9,467 soldiers died but only 586 had been killed in action.⁷ The rest succumbed to disease and 'unfavourable climatic pressures'. The death of the soldiers on non-military grounds disturbed the 'home

6 King, (1976), pp. 97-121.

7 On the importance of disease in the formation of British Cantonment Policy, see Michael Edwardes, (1989).

in the 1890s. It was reported by the military authorities that between 1894 and 1896 about 188 cases of enteric were reported of which 52 soldiers and 1 officer had died because of the bad milk supply.¹³ The authorities stated that the milk was supplied to the British from the 'filthy cow-shed situated in an insanitary bazaar surrounding'.¹⁴

Subsequently, a new urban formation came up in Ambala Cantonment in 1897, namely the Government Dairy Farm¹⁵ (see photograph, p. 61). It was categorically stated by the authorities that no milk was to be sold to the Europeans by any 'native' gwala. The milk-seller must be either an Englishman, Scotch or Irish.¹⁶ What happened to the gwala in the event of this sanitary measure? The gwalas lost their traditional role of both possessing the cows and selling the milk. They were now asked to look after the cows under the supervision of a head dairy man. They were relegated to the position of mere watchmen. The gwala lost his status as a carrier of milk and the regimental peon took his place. As a paid servant of the government dairy earning about Rs. 61/- per mensem, a gwala's income was much reduced. If found to be supplying milk without European supervision, gwalas were severely punished.¹⁷ The Canton-

13 IMP (NAI), May 1897, A, 2601-37, p. 16.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., p. 24.

16 CBP (CBO), October 1917, 3, p. 416.

17 IMP (NAI), March 1900, A, 2276-78, pp. 302-11.

ment Committee reported as late as 1917: 'The native gwala does not understand cleanliness in the sense the term is used in a European dairy. Their cattle were ill-fed, hardly stalled and the milk was liable to contamination.'¹⁸

Marketing conditions of the grain merchants were reported to be unhygienic, and likely to encourage the incidence of plague. The grain dealers were asked not to store grain in the open verandahs or public roads.¹⁹ This in a way was a symbolic attack on the Indian mode of marketing where grain was conveniently stored in public places or in open. A new urban innovation was also introduced in this case as well. Godowns were built, and were made rat-proof by the use of burnt brick polluted with lime plaster and storing doors which were made free from cracks or holes.²⁰ This control over the bania's practice by shutting his grain in the godown enclosure reduced the visual importance of mandi as a centre of grain display and sale.

Some of the marketing practices and economic activities of the bazaar people were totally forbidden because of the sanitary considerations. Trade of thongmaking was regarded offensive from the point of view of health.²¹ Allah Mir, a well-known thongmaker of the Sadar was asked to put a final

18 CBP (CEO), October 1917, 3, p. 416.

19 Ibid., 18 March 1917, p. 486.

20 Ibid., 3 May 1907, p. 48.

21 Ibid., 12 August 1899, 5.

stop to the making of thongs.²² Sale of tropical fruits and vegetables like guavas and cucumbers was put to an end at the time of the recrudescence of the cholera.²³ The vegetable sellers were also asked not to set up their stalls on the road sides.²⁴

The alternative marketing structures introduced were European in character. Bread was to be baked only in the Central bakery which was established away from the Sadar in the heart of the cantonment.²⁵ The authorities strictly ordered that they would provide license to bake only European bread and that too under European supervision.²⁶ It was also laid down by the urban authorities that only 'English' pork was to be sold in the cantonment.²⁷ All these measures do signify the importance of sanitation in the control and order of marketing practices.

Such controls symbolised in the formation of specific urban changes in the "intermediate" environment (buildings and rooms).²⁸ Gradually the grain bantias started adapting themselves to the use of godowns for storing grain. The rich ones built pucca godowns while the poor ones built

22 CBP (CBO), 3 May 1907, p. 48.

23 Ibid., 25 September 1917, p. 513.

24 Ibid., 24 April 1907, 5, p. 37.

25 Ibid., 15 April 1893, 5.

26 Ibid., 28 July 1897, 5; 14 September 1900.

27 Ibid., 13 January 1913, 21, p. 83.

28 King (1976), p. 104.

kutchha. The power of the bania soon came to be recognized through his possession of pucca godown. Tension emerged between these two sections of banias. The social relations of the banias with the poor bazaar people also got disturbed.²⁹ The banias could now manipulate grain prices by hiding away the grain in the godowns.

As a consequence of this policy, the Sadar did not truly change its urban landscape. Changes were limited to the use of enclosure type buildings rather than open verandahs for the marketing purposes.

Non-extension and the Spatial Segregation of the Sadar

Overcrowding in the Sadar Bazaar was regarded as dangerous by the military authorities. It can be noticed that the Sadar continued to grow progressively in population. The Secretary of the Cantonment Committee pointed out that according to the census of 1891 the population of Sadar Bazaar was 22,612 and the number of houses was 5,725 giving an average of 3.94 persons per house.³⁰ By 1895 the number of houses rose to 6,335, a ten percent increase in 4 years. It was found that the number of inhabitants had increased to nearly 2,300 after the census of 1891. The number of cattle in this densely populated area was 2,749. In 1895, the Adjutant-General pointed out that "the bazaars in Ambala Cantonment

29 CBP (CBO), 18 February 1917, p. 421.

30 Ibid., 10 December 1895, 5.

were 'overcrowded with natives' and 'unlimited number of cattle.'³¹ 'If this goes on', anticipated the authorities, 'the supply of water won't be sufficient to meet the vast requirements of the people and epidemic disease will probably follow.'³²

In such an alarming situation, the authorities declared in plain terms that the Sadar area was not to be extended. They also considered any increase in houses as undesirable. The authorities overruled the idea of constructing more wells since it was likely to lead to contamination. Insanitary houses were to be demolished. To the utter disappointment of the inhabitants, about twenty-five huts in the Hathi Khana and fifty-two in the Kabargalla which were found in "insanitary clustered condition" were demolished.³³ No compensation was given to the owners of these houses.

Overcrowding within the houses was also to be avoided. This was done with the enforcement of the Cantonment Resolution No. VII of 21 December 1895 which prohibited the increase in the number of persons living per house. This was enforced with the help of Kotwals who turned out the unauthorized persons from these houses. Moreover not more than 4 persons were allowed to live in a single house. To make this rule more effective upper storeys of the buildings and the increase in the number of latrines were disallowed. Even

31 CBP (CBO), 10 December 1895, 10.

32 Ibid., 31 January 1896, 5.

33 Ibid., 8 July 1899, 18; 8 June 1908, 8, p. 196.

prominent residents of Sadar were made to adhere to this regulation. Ahmed Bux, a leading watch-maker, was refused the construction of a second storey in his house no. 5469 in the Sadar Bazaar because of sanitary considerations.³⁴ Jeewan Ram of Sadar Bazaar was not allowed to rebuild his house as his proposal suggested the increase in the number of latrines from three to six.³⁵ Similarly Mohan Lall, a well-known grain-merchant was not permitted to make five rooms, a 'verandah and an upper purdah wall in his Sadar Bazaar house'.³⁶ This resulted in the nucleization of family and kinship ties in Indian households of the area. The Indian structures of housing, i.e. purdah nashin walls, upper storeys, or more specifically havelli type buildings were replaced by closed enclosure type structures.³⁷

Fear of disease due to overcrowding or contamination led the authorities to disallow the low class Hindus to bury their corpses in the existing burial ground of the Sadar. Such a measure was perceived as an economic disaster by poorer classes of Hindus who were forced to adapt to expensive cremation practices of the upper caste Hindus.³⁸

In this manner, the problem of overcrowding was avoided by demolishing, dismantling and controlling the residential structures in the Sadar. No attempt was made to extend the

34 CBP (CBO), 18 April 1896, 12.

35 Ibid., 20 February 1897, 4.

36 Ibid., 7 April 1907, 45.

37 Ibid., 19 January 1893, 4.

38 Ibid., 10 September 1907, 21, p. 134.

limits of the Sadar despite the population explosion. A result of this was a constant disruption of family, kinship ties leading to social tension.

Traditional marketing and cultural habits of the indigenous society were threatened. Moreover at the time of the incidence of disease, Sadar was made out of bounds with a view to avoid sickness among the troops.³⁹ Two points explain the reasons behind this policy: one was the idea of isolating Sadar and controlling its living and economic practices, while the other was to maintain the colonial superiority through its neglect. The latter point becomes clear when one studies the extent of nature of control over the Sadar.

Controls over Sadar were more preventive than innovative. It never acquired the pattern of colonial urbanization similar to the Cantonment area. Let me briefly describe the state of urban planning in the Sadar.

Drains in Sadar were almost kutchas.⁴⁰ The estimated expenditure for turning the kutchas drains of the bazaar into pucca was about Rs. 1430/- but this proposal was rejected by the authorities.⁴¹ There were hardly any drains in the Sadar. In 1893 Rs. 3,000/- were needed for digging drains in the Sadar Bazaar by the Sanitary Officer but this amount

39 CMG (NMML), 8 February 1900, p. 5.

40 CBP (CBO), 8 April 1908, 14.

41 Ibid., 30 October 1893, 4.

the Cantonment Committee refused to provide.⁴² Because of the lack of drains, sewage water from private houses in the Sadar Bazaar was stored in catch pits.⁴³ It was then carried off in sewage water carts which were very few in number. The medical authorities strongly recommended the use of drains rather than pits but this proposal involved the connection of main drains with houses through subsidiary drains.⁴⁴ This scheme involving an elaborate drainage system for the Sadar was not carried out by the authorities as it meant incurring "high expenditure". Perhaps the economic stability and racial supremacy of the Empire would have been at stake if the Sadar had been transformed, or ordered like the rest of the Cantonment area (see photograph of Kutcha Bazaar, p. 59).

How did the Sadar populace perceive such a state of urban planning? Seventy-two year old Jootia Chamar describes in gory detail the narrow, tortuous lanes which were full of depressions that stank and stagnated in the rainy season. He laments: "There were kucha khuddas (puddle) about 1½ or 2 feet deep. They were full of water and very dangerous for human beings."⁴⁵ Jootia Chamar and others of his class did

42 CBP (CBO), 30 October 1893, 3; AAR (CBO), 1928, K/42, Misc.. Following streets were without drains according to AAR: Mochi mandi, Poranki Banglia, Sarai Khaliq Buksh, Kali Din Compound, Shaha bit mandi, Chhapar Band mandi, Jhagroo mandi, Gadrian mandi, Beef market area, Mutton market area, Mansab Ali Street, Shabab mandi, Serai Lashkari, Old Serai, Butcher Street, Kureshy Mohalla, Jogi mandi, Jamla Din mandi, Ghas mandi, Teli mandi, Khaliq mandi, Bengali mandi, Khatik mandi.

43 CBP (CBO), 20 February 1897, 7.

44 Ibid., 24 April 1907, 6.

45 Oral History Interview, Ganga Prasad, Ambala Cantonment, December 1990.

THE 'NATIVE' ZONE



A view of Kutchha Bazaar in Sadar.

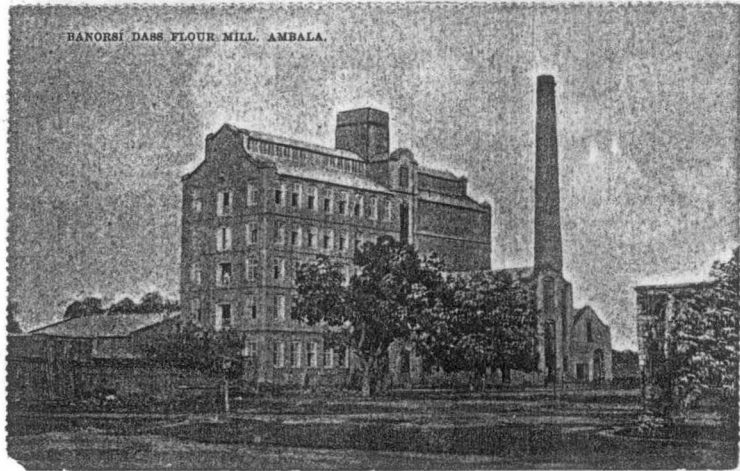
(Photograph by the author, 17 September 1989, Ambala Cantonment).



The puddles and state of drains in the Lal Kurti Bazaar.

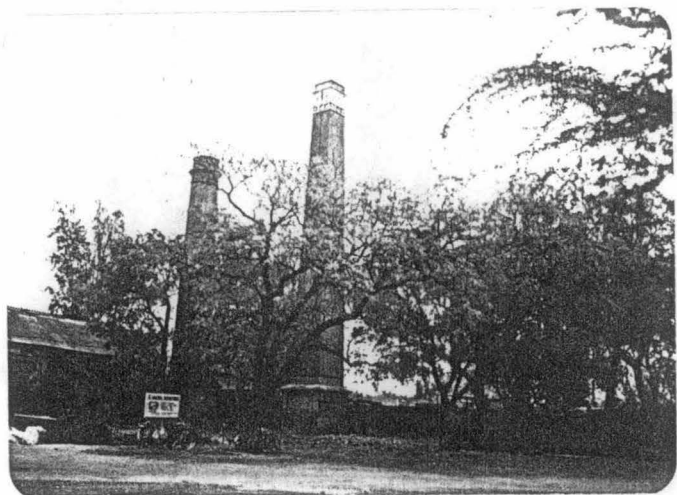
(Photograph by the author, 17 March 1990, Ambala Cantonment).

FLOUR MILLS AND ICE FACTORY : THE EXTENT OF
URBANIZATION IN SADAR



Flour Mill established in 1896.

(Photograph, Courtesy: 'Rupa Ki Chithi',
January 1990).

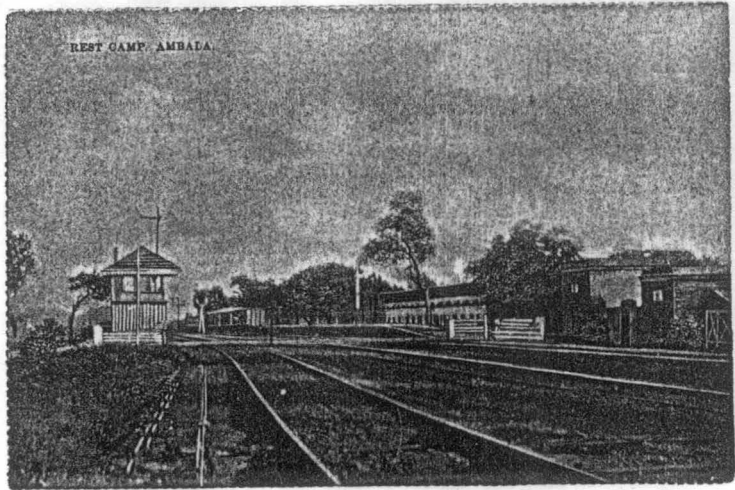


The only Ice Factory in the Sadar.

(Photograph by the author, 21 March 1990,
Ambala Cantonment).

COLONIAL URBANIZATION AND URBAN INNOVATIONS

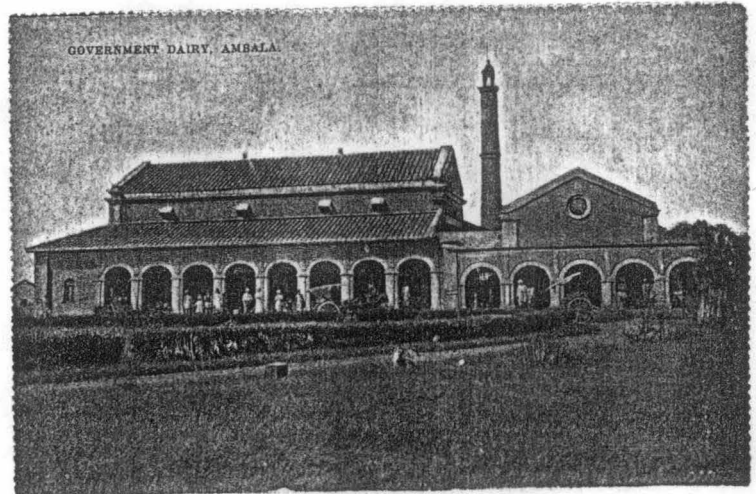
The Rest House replaced the Indian serai in the late nineteenth century.



Rest House near the Railway Station.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

The Dairy replaced the Gwala Cow Sheds in 1897.



Government Dairy within the Cantonment.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

not have the privilege of latrines. "we used to excrete in the open space, where the garbage of the Sadar was thrown," he recalls.

Did the Sadar residents protest against this coercive and discriminatory attitude of the authorities? From 1890-1919 no such confrontation between authority and the residents was manifest in the cantonment for reasons explained in third section of this chapter.

a.1.2 The Cantonment Area

The colonial indifference to the Sadar and the careful planning in the development of the cantonment reflected the colonial attitudes towards space. A striking difference in their attitudes towards the two is evident.

Exclusive Space

Cantonment area was the privileged space within the cantonment space. In 1900, there was a tremendous shortage of water in Ambala.⁴⁶ The Cantonment Committee decided to provide water to the following:⁴⁷

- i) Paget Park (where the present supply was maintained as long as possible).
- ii) St. Paul's Church (where supply of 3,500 gallons was reduced by $\frac{1}{2}$ for only ten days).
- iii) The Cemetery (supply was reduced by $\frac{1}{2}$ of the pre-

46 CBP (CBO), March 1900, 20.

47 Ibid.

sent allowance for ten days).

- iv) Sirhind Club (supply was reduced to 2,500 gallons per week).
- v) Cricket ground (supply was temporarily reduced by $\frac{1}{2}$ the present allowance).

The supply of water to the post office was not reduced. In this year there was scarcity of water in the Sadar as well. Proposals were made by the medical officer to the Cantonment Committee for opening certain wells in the bazaar which were likely to yield a valuable subsidiary water supply. The Cantonment authority at once rejected any such move as these wells were liable to be badly infected during the cholera epidemic and would thus become 'intractable'.⁴⁸

Cantonment area was made exclusive by the authorities who preferred that thela carts should only use hill road (which was in the Sadar Bazaar) and carts be plied only between the Sadar Bazar and city for sanitary reasons, as the excreta of animals was inimical to a healthy atmosphere.⁴⁹ Preferential treatment was given to the cantonment at the time of disease. During such times the Sadar was always isolated.⁵⁰ The cantonment was divided into eight areas for carrying out sanitary and anti-malarial measures. Each area was supervised by an officer of the R.A.M.C. or I.M.S.⁵¹

48 CBP (CBO), 1 June 1900, 3.

49 Ibid., 27 November 1897, 4; 18 December 1907, 20, p.142.

50 Ibid., 28 January 1918, 'plague', 3, p. 547.

51 DWR (DCO), 4 August 1914 - 11 November 1918, p. 14.

Colonial Innovations

Exclusiveness of the cantonment area with phenomenal colonial urban innovations was maintained. Within the cantonment area more latrines were constructed with a view to eliminate foul smell and disease: British troops were provided with more latrines during the winter season involving an expenditure of Rs. 560/8/9 in 1891.⁵² This motivation to build more latrines differed from the colonial policy of maintaining only few latrines in Sadar.

Changes were also brought about in the system of latrines. As early as 1870, dry earth system was adopted for the residents, officers, and servants living in the cantonment area, so as to guard against the 'defilement of the surface'.⁵³ It was also decided by the Committee that the latrines were to be constructed on a uniform plan: the enclosure was to be a six feet square or 12 x 6 and the wall around it was to be six feet high. Inside the latrine two open chatties were placed, and were to be filled with dry earth and wooden ashes. A large ghurrab was placed in each compartment and the excreta was emptied into it until the arrival of the station conservancy carts. It was arranged that the roofs of the latrines were not to be thatched but tiled and they were to be constructed in a way that "there will be a free current of air through the buildings."⁵⁴ In 1892 this latrine arrangement

52 CBP (CBO), March 1892, 7.

53 CRB (SPC), June 1870 - September 1875, II, p. 614.

54 Ibid.

was replaced by the removal system.⁵⁵ The authorities, however, showed regard through compensation for the pecuniary loss which the residents faced on account of this new system. It must be remembered that such considerations were missing in the colonial policy when it enforced demolition of 'native huts'.

Burial of excreta in pits was considered 'scientifically unsound' by the military authorities. A plot of ground some few hundred yards away from the barracks was selected under the orders of commanding officers of the station.⁵⁶ A trench, one foot wide and nine inches deep was dug into which ordure to the depth of not more than three inches was deposited, and the trench was filled in at once. Additional trenches were also dug at the interval of one foot. Urine was disposed of in the same manner but separate from the ordure. The trenches for the urine were about six inches in depth. It was found in this process that the soil was damaged. Because of the pollution of the soil, enteric and other kindred disease spread. A new method of disposal was discovered, namely, the incinerator, which was capable of effectively disposing both the liquid and solid matter from the latrines reducing the whole to a 'harmless ash'.⁵⁷ The use of Henry incinerator during the winter months when British Infantry regiments from Dagshai and Subathu were in camp at Ambala

55 CBP (CBO), 8 April 1892, 4.

56 IMD (NAI), September 1897, A, 2512-2519, p. 3.

57 Ibid., para I.

proved to be of great help. The use of incinerator in the disposal of ordure among Indian troops was almost minimal.⁵⁸

Commanding officers were instructed to keep their latrines in a 'state of complete cleanliness'.⁵⁹ Chemicals were used for this purpose. Experimentation in this regard was common. The use of Macdougall's powder in small quantities all about the latrine was found dissatisfactory by the sanitary officer. Therefore the use of the freshly burnt lime was recommended as it proved 'effectual in avoiding certain amount of fouling in the latrines'.⁶⁰

Safety within the Cantonment

Any animal that interfered with or endangered the health of the British soldier was killed. Dog menace and poisoning due to snake bite were common concerns for the authorities. In 1890, the CMG reported the attack on Mr Stewart of 10th Bengal Lancers who was bitten severely by a mad dog.⁶¹ The injured officer was dispatched to Paris for treatment by Monsieur Pasteur. In order to curb the occurrence of hydrophobia, the authorities recommended the killing of all the pariahs in the cantonment.⁶² Reward of 2 annas was given to those who killed poisonous snakes.⁶³ Killing of dogs was

58 CBP (CBO), March 1907, 15, p. 18.

59 Ibid., 20 February 1897, 20.

60 Ibid.

61 CMG (NMML), 15 January 1890, p. 5.

62 Ibid., 13 April 1890, p. 4; 23 July 1900, 9.

63 CBP (CBO), 10 September 1892, 6.

resented by Hindus and Jains for cultural reasons and they requested the authorities to deport them to jungles instead of killing, but to no avail.⁶⁴

Role of Institutions

Institutions like the church and the prison imbibed the colonial notions of health and sanitation. Within their institutional limits they attempted to ensure the health of the soldier and sanitation of the Cantonment.

Cemetery and Church

It was the duty of the chaplain to ensure the sanitary condition in the cemetery and church.

Roads in the cemetery were kept in order.⁶⁵ The chaplain recommended the deposit of bricks for the paths and roadways which "will save troops accompanying funerals in the rains from risks of cold and perhaps fever".⁶⁶ This measure, the chaplain regarded worthy of the attention of the authorities as it was 'connected with the health of the soldiers'.

The cemetery was not extended on the western side towards the open space on grounds of its proximity to the Dhobi troughs and the 'native' cavalry bazaar.⁶⁷ The chaplain Mr Rotton was repeatedly told by the military authorities that the dhobis washing 'foul bazaar linen' were to be kept at a

64 CMG (NMML), 22 February 1890, p. 5; CBP (CBO), 14 March 1914, p. 177.

65 CRB (SPC), 26 February 1917, III, p. 285.

66 Ibid., June 1870-September 1875, II, p. 10.

67 Ibid., 29 March 1870, I, p. 602. See Fig. No. 2.

distance from the point of view of public health. The military authorities stated that the large open spaces on all the four sides were necessary to serve as a barrier from the densely populated Sadar and Cavalry Bazaar which otherwise would be just a hundred yards away.⁶⁸ Thus spaces like cemetery, etc. were healthy, demarcated from the 'native' settlements, a policy based on the colonial stereotype of the calumnious Indian living condition (Fig. No. 2).

The epidemiological danger caused by the cemetery was particularly noticed by Mr Rotton, who requested the plantation of rose trees and the filling up of holes due to soil subsidence by coolies in the cemetery, as these holes let off 'obnoxious and deleterious' gases from the cholera-infected graves.⁶⁹ The chaplain also pointed out that almost six hundred of garrison soldiers were only five feet below the surface and some of these corpses were without coffins. Hence he recommended that the dead from his time onward be burned 7-8 feet below the ground. Such a step, he thought, would lessen the risk of disease. Fear of disease among troops made the chaplain disallow the use of 'open hackney carriages to carry corpses'.⁷⁰

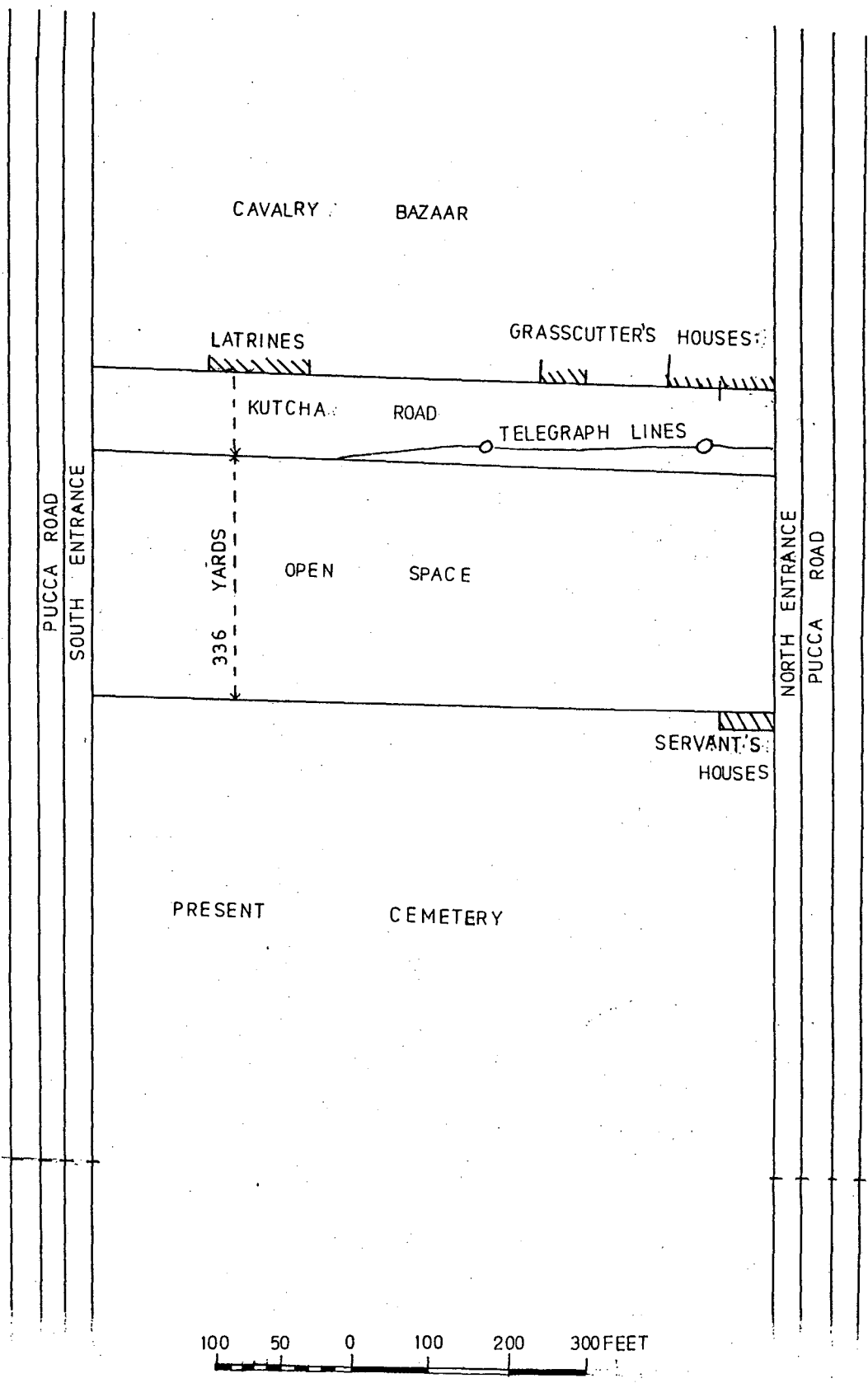
The church and its compound too presented a healthy environment. The roads in the church compound were quite wide and kept clean. The church compound was an extremely

68 CRB(SPC), 12 April 1870, I, 6/72, p. 602.

69 Ibid., 28 September 1870, II, p. 16-18.

70 Ibid., 31 August 1883, III, p. 108.

PLAN OF THE CEMETERY



100 50 0 100 200 300 FEET

SCALE : 200 FEET TO ONE INCH

SOURCE :

(CRB)(SPC) 12 APRIL 1870, I, P. 602

FIG NO. 2

important space of control for both the ecclesiastical and military authorities. The chaplain Rotton took steps to remove 'maunds' of broken bricks in an area of 18 sq. acres in the church compound as it emitted foul smell injurious to public health.⁷¹ He also undertook measures to fill up recurring holes due to subsidence of soil in the compound. The entire compound was constantly dug up by the chaplains (from 1875 to 1920) with a view to rooting out the dense jungle and rank grass which were loathsome and apt to produce unhealthy gases. The compound was levelled and planted with cork and other trees, shrubs and flowers (see the section on beauty).

The chaplains were also much concerned about maintaining healthy atmosphere within the church (the intermediate environment). During hot weather, for the convenience of troops, punkhas were provided for the divine service.⁷² Such measures would ensure ventilation and fresh air. The punkha coolies were constantly exhorted to wear neat clean clothes. Clerestory windows were also introduced for this purpose.⁷³ The chaplains also undertook stringent measures against the attacks of bees. The chaplain Spooner lamented in 1920: 'Soldiers on parade service fled from ranks out of the compound'.⁷⁴ To avoid future occurrences of this kind, many

71 CRB (SPC), June 1870 - September 1875, II, p. 18.

72 Ibid., 3 May 1864, I, p. 2 and 11.

73 Ibid., 10 April 1917, p. 287.

74 Ibid., 1919-1947, IV, p. 326.

swarms were burnt down including those around the church servants' godown. Measures against such natural disasters symbolise the nature of colonial environmental controls.

However, the notions of health and medicine alone did not define the policy of environment control in the church and cemetery. These spaces were consecrated; and impurity, disease and squalor in them would represent the very anti-thesis of Christian order. Thus any such threat to the maintenance of the sacrarium of these spaces would compromise the authority of the chaplain in eyes of the British community. Another important point to note is that in his religious discourse the chaplain established a close nexus between disease and Christianity. Redemption from disease was seen as a "God's act of kindness". There were recurring attacks of cholera in Ambala. The chaplain made it his duty to urge the troops, officers and NCO's to come together to celebrate the 'local thanksgiving for deliverance from cholera' and to "thankfully commemorate His recent mercy (1875) in sparing and shielding us from the pestilence just passed away from our midst, and which had a very threatening impact at Umballa".⁷⁵

Prison

Considerations of health manifested themselves in the prison as well. The penal authorities were greatly concerned that the prison and kitchen ought to be closely supervised.

75 CRB (SPC), June 1870-September 1875, II, p. 265.

The authorities emphasized the need of an adequate supply of water even when it was scarce.⁷⁶ By such measures the British officials legitimized the colonial authority over the prisoners who were Indians. The officials perhaps perceived that squalor or neglect would compromise their own moral legitimacy.⁷⁷

The prisoners were classified on the basis of their disease. This was bound to strip them of their personal identity. The prison had its own jail dispensary and hospital. In 1933 according to Jail Quarterly report, about thirty one indoor patients suffered from malaria. There occurred also cases of pneumonia and **venereal** disease.⁷⁸ Gagan, son of Khilari, was a serious heart patient.⁷⁹ The reports indicate that the patients suffering from contagious diseases were not segregated from other patients. One Bishen Singh, suffering from T.B., found along with other patients in the ward was objected to by the other prisoners.⁸⁰ But nothing was done in this case. Such an instance was not to be found in hospitals, where the patients suffering from the contagious disease were isolated.

Moreover prison policy towards patients indicates the keenness of the penal authorities to keep the cantonment free

76 QIP (CRR), 24 March 1926, Misc., 172/13, p. 13.

77 Ignatieff, (1981).

78 QIP (CRR), 4 December 1933, 172/13, p. 241.

79 Ibid., 23 March. 1929, 172/13, p. 46.

80 Ibid., 1929.

from "diseased" Indians, as the diseased were kept within its precincts rather than the hospital. This was probably because of the nature of the discipline of prison which did not wish to isolate the diseased from the criminal. The policy based on the racial attitude towards the prison ensured the safety of the cantonment.

a.2 Controls Beyond the Space

Safety of the cantonment was dependent on the controls beyond the urban space. These controls became pervasive at the time of the outbreak of disease.

Two spaces beyond the cantonment were controlled: city and villages. The city of Ambala situated at a distance of about three miles had relations with the cantonment only in the event of disease.

Controls over the city were exercised in two ways: spatial and economic. The entire urban space came under colonial control. In 1925, at the time of cholera, wells in the city were inspected and cleansed. Institutions of the city and economic activities were supervised. The import of aerated water into the cantonment from Ambala city was prohibited.⁸¹ The assistant health officer was requested to pay a special visit to all the aerated water factories in the city to see that properly filtered water was used therein. He was also required to visit the vegetable markets and to prohibit the

81 CBP (CBO), 27 May 1925, 81, p. 21; AAR (CBO), 1929, K/42, Misc.

sale of over-ripe or raw fruits.⁸²

The cantonment authority exercised its influence over the adjoining villages. All connection with village Babiya was cut off when cholera struck in June 1929.⁸³ During the plague years the residents of Babiya were stopped from coming to the cantonment for work, unless furnished with a certificate by the village plague authorities about inoculations of themselves, their family members and disinfection of their houses.⁸⁴

This supervision over the city represents the British intention of controlling 'native' settlements in order to ensure the health of their soldiers.

This discussion has shown that the controls by the urban authority to guard against disease can be spatially divided into two forms: within the cantonment and beyond the cantonment. Within the cantonment, the bazaar was organized differently from the cantonment area. Controls in the bazaar were enacted only to ensure the safety of the cantonment area. The controls in the cantonment area aimed at improving both the macro-space and the intermediate (building) environment. Such measures made the cantonment exclusive. Its institutions regulated the environment to create a healthy atmosphere. In this sphere innovations and sanitary measures were extensive. The bazaar was controlled through a regulation of

82 Op.cit.

83 AAR (CBO), 1929, K/42; Misc.

84 CBP (CBO), February 1917, 10, p. 404.

marketing practices. The displacement of some indigenous institutions and practices led to social tension within the Sadar.

b. Beauty, Englishness and Colonial Aesthetics

This was manifest in the persistent effort to maintain the Englishness and beauty of the cantonment and its institutions. Thomas Metcalf has indicated that the urban landscape of the cantonment visibly represented the power of the Raj.⁸⁵ Beauty of the cantonment symbolically asserted the superiority of the British culture.

Excluding the Sadar Bazaar, Babiya and the native Cavalry bazaar, roads in Ambala were quite attractive and metalled.⁸⁶ Almost in every cantonment the Mall, with trees planted on both sides, symbolised the British military and social authority and was the privileged sahib log area to be admired and feared by the 'native log'.⁸⁷ Cacti on these roads were not to exceed 4' in height and 1½' in width⁸⁸ (photograph, p.83). All stray growths in the compound were also removed.

Gardens in the cantonment were to enhance its beauty. Measures were taken to make the Paget park more presentable with water flowers and flowering shrubs.⁸⁹ The church

85 Metcalf, (1989), p. 80.

86 CBP (CBO), 21 December 1895.

87 Ibid., 31 January 1896, 12.

88 Ibid., 8 February 1917, 18, p. 412.

89 Ibid., 31 January 1896, 11.

compound garden was also made visually attractive for the visitors. Cleaning up of the church compound was quite a difficult experience for chaplain Rotton. He explained in vivid details that the church at its consecration in 1856 stood amidst a narrow expanse of jungle. He improved its appearance by transplanting trees like bigonias, cork, teak, doons and gingers etc., in the 1870s.⁹⁰ In 1890, chaplain Mitchell introduced the European variety of rose trees, especially of the 'climbing marcochal type'.⁹¹ The compound was beautifully wooded and was surrounded by an ornamental wall. Chaplain Mitchell demolished the tumble down hut, used by the church servants, from the garden as it interfered with the beauty of the compound.⁹² Gradually the church compound became exclusively British. The Civil and Military Gazette noted in 1893, 'A few gardens in Punjab can show a finer display of all kinds of roses and flowering annuals from most of the St. Paul's church, Ambala'.⁹³

Storms were seen as endangering the visual appearance of the compounds and gardens. Chaplain Mayhew deeply regretted the uprooting of about five trees in the church compound in the storm of May 16, 1901. Some of the trees had their branches stripped off which 'marred the beauty of the compound'.⁹⁴ Such natural disasters beyond the controls of

90 CRB (SPC), 1870-1875, II, p. 271.

91 Ibid., April 1890, III, p. 132.

92 Ibid., March 1890, III, p. 132.

93 Ibid., 12 September 1901, III, p. 177.

94 Ibid., 1870, II, 270.

colonial authorities were seen as a challenge to the visual representation of colonial culture in the urban environment.

The cemetery also had to conform to the colonial notions of beauty. In the cemetery untidy trees were gradually thinned out and were replaced by 'ornamental shrubs and cypresses'.⁹⁵ Unsightly monuments in it were pulled down.⁹⁶ The chaplains saw to it that the cemetery remained 'green' throughout the year, and in the words of chaplain Blease gave the visitor "a visual experience of a meadow".⁹⁷

Some of the spaces were exclusively meant for the Europeans. No 'native' encroachment was allowed.⁹⁸ No stray animals were permitted. Such spaces were the Mall, the cemetery, the church compound, the golf course and the Sirhind Club. The carts were disallowed on the Mall, stray animals, wheeled carriages and non-Christians were not (except for the servants) permitted in the church and cemetery compound.⁹⁹ They were further protected with the use of large padlock put on their four gates.¹⁰⁰ Such structures reflected the level and extent of controls exercised to maintain the exclusiveness of the colonial spaces and institutions. Each colonial urban form reflected the British notion of environmental control. For example, the exclusive-

95 ORB (SPC), 1870, II, 270.

96 Ibid., February 1923, IV, p. 382.

97 Ibid., 19 May 1869, I, p. 472.

98 Ibid., 1915, III, 276.

99 Ibid., 1917, III, p. 292.

100 Ibid., May 19 , I, p. 72.

ness of the cemetery provided the visual commemoration of the British community's dead.¹⁰¹ This idea of commemoration of dead was based on the Christian idea of environment control, where as A.D. King has indicated, the natural world was subordinated to man. This is well exhibited in their cemeteries and this notion contrasts very well with the Hindu view where the religious expectations are adjusted to environment, as is evident in their cremation system and the significance of Ganges, etc.

Architecturally too, the cantonment had to be aesthetic which is evident in the buildings connected with the cantonment. I shall briefly describe the importance of this issue to the ecclesiastical authorities.

The St. Paul's church in Ambala was built in 1856, at an expenditure of Rs. 9,000/-. The Chaplain Record Books from 1870-1947 describe the measures that were taken to represent the beauty of this urban institution.

Pleasant appearance of the church was maintained through measures like the frequent colour wash of the church walls. Grey colour was considered suitable to enhance the beauty of the church.¹⁰² 'Yellow' or 'blue' colour washing was perceived as 'unsightly' as the Archdeacon commented that it lowered the dignity of the church.¹⁰³ A sharp row occurred between the chaplain and the executive engineer

101 King (1976), p. 50.

102 CRB (SPC), 1917, III, p. 303.

103 Ibid., 1922, IV, p. 349.

over the colour of the church walls. The chaplain scoffed at 'hideous' sand plasters of dull white in the church walls. He lamented: 'The grand Gothic building has, alas! become a laughing stock of upper India.'¹⁰⁴

The symmetry of the church was maintained so as to make it look more 'English' and dignified. Improvements were made in the dorsal by chaplain Herbert England in 1915, which shut off almost two feet of the glass of the east window and threw the east end of the church into disproportion.¹⁰⁵ Similarly he felt that the 'little altar' which was about 7' 10' long quite 'spoilt the appearance' of the church. He improved it by adding two leaves to it. 'New altar tables' began to be used as early as 1866 in place of the 'ugliest coarset ones' which were thought fit for a barrack room'.¹⁰⁶ The use of the traditional Indian window was discontinued after 1920. The chaplain remarked: Ugly roshandan, on the east of the church obtruded the outside view, hence the rose window was erected in its place.¹⁰⁷

Interestingly enough, the chaplain's notion of maintaining the beauty and Englishness of the church at times made him overlook the question of health and sanitation. Rotton, the chaplain, refuted the superintendent engineer's attempt of making additional windows in the nave which were meant to provide cross ventilation in the church. The chap-

104 CRB (SPC), 1848-1870, I, p. 603.

105 Ibid., 11 August 1915, p. 248.

106 Ibid., 1866, I, p. 20.

107 Ibid., 1940, IV, p. 459.

lain disapproved of it on the ground that such additions would 'mar the architectural beauty and uniformity'.¹⁰⁸

Concerted efforts were made to make the church look less unpleasant and 'more divine'. The chaplain recognized the need to make his boots and trousers look less conspicuous in the pulpit where he preached.¹⁰⁹ Wood panneling was introduced for this purpose.¹¹⁰ The chaplain declared that it was not nice to have anything 'unreal in the Church'. A permanent and realistic look was provided by painting the kutchra floor to look like marble.¹¹¹ Lamps were provided around 1906 in place of candles to illuminate the nave.¹¹²

In 1946 the Bishop of Lahore on his visit to Ambala summed up the improvements and visual appeal of the church in the following manner: 'I think it is almost the finest church I have seen in India and certainly very English in its appearance'.¹¹³ The beauty of the Church reflected in its symmetry, ornamentation, and Englishness was meant to "deepen the spirit of common fellowship and devotion" among the British community.¹¹⁴ The church through its beauty and dignity attempted to cement community solidarity.

108 CRB (SPC), 9 April 1875, II.

109 Ibid., 6 September 1916, p. 147.

110 Ibid., 1915, III, p. 278.

111 Ibid., 1940, IV, p. 459.

112 Ibid., 1880, III, p. 89.

113 Ibid., 1946, IV, p. 498.

114 Ibid., 1922, IV, p. 349.

This dignity was also maintained to express the colonial cultural and political superiority over the institutional structures of the 'heathen' (like bazaar). As Thomas Metcalf has stated, 'their (church) soaring spires spoke not only of God but of the growing political power of the English, as they set to mark their presence and the superiority of their faith, on the land of India.'¹¹⁵

Other parts of the cantonment exclusive of the church, the cemetery and the Mall, were also under colonial supervision and had to be appealing. Steps were taken to stop the practice of pasting notices and advertisements on trees and walls about the cantonment. The huts, hamlets and villages within the precincts of the cantonment area, away from the bazaar, were seen as unnecessary encroachments by the authorities, as they were perceived as interfering with the colonial norms of building and space. That is why several of gwalas' huts were dismantled or levelled down.¹¹⁶ The urban forms introduced for sanitary reasons like the dairy farms, grass farms, bakery shops and general stores reinforced the British idea of organization, neatness and visual appeal. The same is true of the dismantling of the purdah nashin walls, the verandahs, and the stair ways which denoted the Indian living structures.¹¹⁷ The unsightly and loathsome appearances of the latrines in the private compounds,

115 Metcalf (1989), p. 9.

116 CBP (CBO), 8 July 1899, 12.

117 Ibid., 12 August 1899, 9.

within the cantonment were 'shut off' from public view in 1897.¹¹⁸ Screens and walls were erected by the owners of the latrines. The British standards of aesthetics disapproved of thatched roofs of the buildings. The Cantonment Committee gave permission to Ellahi Bux to construct Empress Hotel only if the roofs were not thatched.¹¹⁹

In this way, a culturally specific area was established in the making of Ambala Cantonment. King's argument is plausible when he shows how the environment in the cantonment was modified not only according to cultural specific theories of 'medicine' but also to accord with equally cultural - specific olfactory, aural, visual, recreational preferences.¹²⁰ This explains the lease of land for skating rink to Mr Rivett and sons, to the Phoenix Cricket Club, the race course, the racquet courts, and a photo studio.¹²¹ Colonial innovations were also introduced to symbolise the power of the Raj - new police posts were created in the R.H.A. bazaar.¹²² The appearance of the railway station was improved by enlarging it.¹²³ Military authorities around 1913 demanded the establishment of a school of military aeronautics in Ambala.¹²⁴ The urban

118 CBP (CBO), 24 April 1897, 13.

119 Ibid., 25 January 1897, 3.

120 King (1976), p. 120.

121 CBP (CBO), September 1912, 9, p. 44.

122 IMD (NAI), 1917, B, 584-585.

123 CBP (CBO), 10 May 1912, 14, p. 18.

124 IMD (NAI), September 1913, B, 1745-1752, para 3.

A VIEW OF THE CANTONMENT AREA

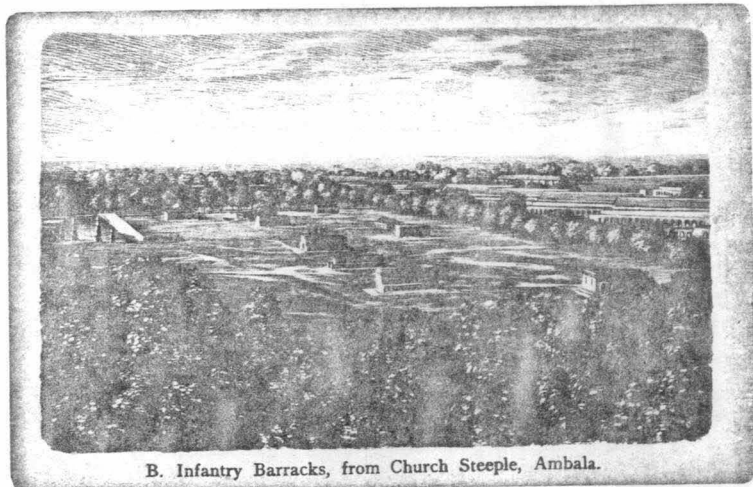
A privileged setting for the Sahib Log and no thoroughfare for the 'natives'.



The Mall, near New Club, Ambala.

Wide, metalled with trees on both sides.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).



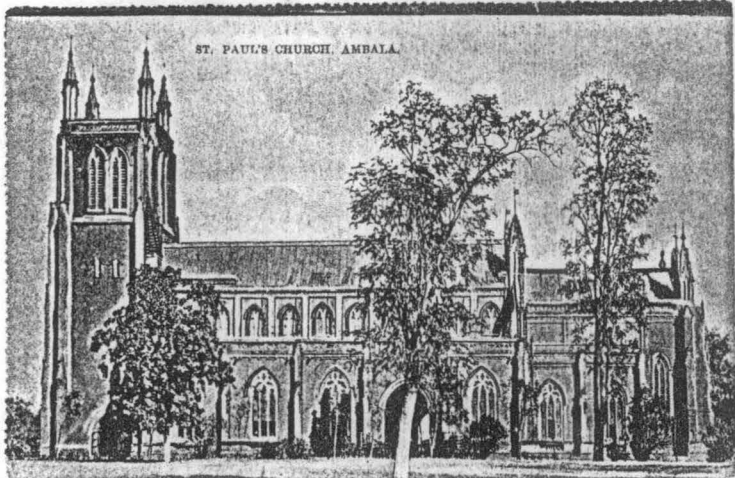
B. Infantry Barracks, from Church Steeple, Ambala.

Widely spacious, well demarcated and segregated from Indian bazaars and villages.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

COLONIAL INSTITUTIONS : POWER AND CULTURE

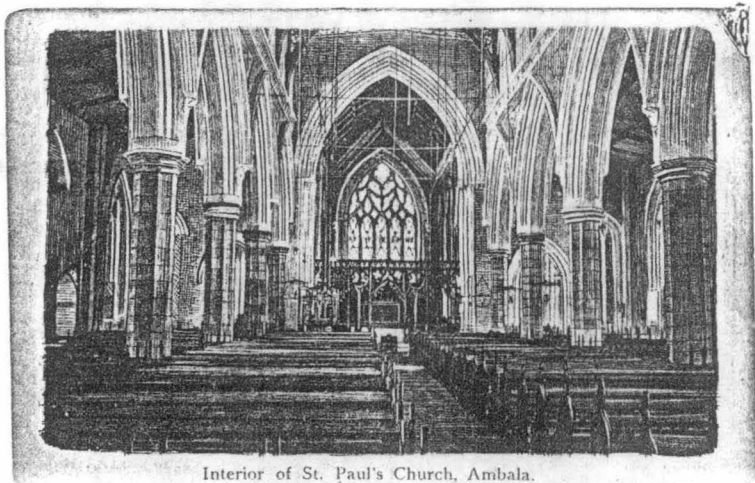
Its Spires
spoke not only
of God but of
the growing
power of the
English.
(Metcalf,
1988).



The Grand Gothic building of St. Paul's Church.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

Englishness,
symmetry,
ornamentation,
dignity and
divinity
within the
Church.



Interior of St. Paul's Church, Ambala.

Inside view of St. Paul's Church.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

space was by then possessing distinct institutions, planning and architecture, conforming to a specific pattern of colonial urbanization.

II

Urban Institutions and Social Control

In what ways, besides urban planning, did the authorities order urban life and populace. The role of urban institutions is important to study this. Its institutions had to extirpate social tensions within the space in order to protect their authority and power. Crime, disobedience and protest of any kind from both Indians and British had to be controlled.

a.1 Church

St. Paul's Church of Ambala Cantonment was as old as the cantonment itself. In the everchanging cantonment life of India, one way by which the Christian community could be brought together was through Church life. The Vicar of Gloucestershire while on his visit to Ambala painted a very encouraging picture of a 'corporate church' life in Ambala. It was a matter of pride for him that 'Christ and religion have not been crowded out in the cantonment life.'¹²⁵ This marked 'earnestness' perceived among the people reflected

125 CRB (SPC), 1922, IV, p. 348.

the role of church in cementing and consolidating British society. A chaplain's religious discourse attempted to ease tensions due to social hierarchy within the British society. The chaplain recorded in 1929 that once a station master complained to him about the way he had been for seven years wrongly passed over for promotion. He was reported to have told the chaplain: "All the top dogs loll in their fine houses and their motor cars and do not care a straw about us poor devils".¹²⁶ The chaplain 'instructed' him to think 'kindly' of his authority and sermonized that 'perfect supply will come to you from the spiritual world'.¹²⁷ After about a week the station master, (the chaplain recorded in his book) ran up to the chaplain at a tennis court, so as to tell him about his promotion and confess his wrong perception of his authorities. Elimination of such social tensions was necessary in order to ensure as well as to restore faith of the British in Christianity.

The chaplain's role was crucial to the life of the troops on whom the permanence of the Raj depended. Chaplains were concerned with the well-being, happiness and needs of the troops. They provided them with garments at half rates.¹²⁸ The 'church services' were simplified for the 'humbler' tastes of the troops.¹²⁹ Evening Bible classes

126 CRB (SPC), 7 February 1929, IV, p. 376.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid., 1893, III, p. 132.

129 Ibid.

were held exclusively for them. Methods of symbolic persuasion to control sexual promiscuity among troops were employed; for example, it was compulsory for the V.D. patients on their release from the hospital to visit the chaplain which was different from the coercive measures adopted for 'restraining vagrant women'.¹³⁰ Due regard was also paid to the soldiers who were 'dedicated servants' of the army. 'Office of the dead', for example, was provided to Colonel Moir of R.H.A. who had served the army with dedication.¹³¹ On the other hand, defiance on the part of soldiers in any form or any opposition to the discipline of the army, was not entertained by the chaplain. Mr Stafford of the 21st Hussars had committed suicide when he was considered by the authorities as a 'sane person'.¹³² This suicide was seen as injurious to the army discipline by Mr Rotton - the chaplain. As a result Mr Stafford was interred in the burial ground after night fall, without any funeral rites or military honours.

A chaplain's role assumed importance during war times. The chaplain started a 'War Intercession Service' which was to be held as Parade Service.¹³³ 'Peace celebrations' in Ambala were organized with great enthusiasm. Special services of 'praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for this mighty deliverance' were held in St. Paul's Church.¹³⁴

130 CRB (SPC), 13 March 1937, IV, p. 412.

131 Ibid., February 1870, I, p. 598.

132 Ibid., 9 March 1866, I, p. 203.

133 Ibid., 15 April 1918, III, p. 299.

134 Ibid., 11 November 1918, III, p. 303.

Victory was celebrated in the church parade attended by the Commissioner in the levee dress.¹³⁵ Michael Edwardes rightly points out that 'the church parade was more of a demonstration by the rulers of secular power, a symbolic act rather than that of worship'.¹³⁶ The chaplain also expressed his loyalty to the monarchy. The station was congregated at the time of the death of the Queen Empress Victoria and King Edward VIII and 'sympathetic loyalty to the royal family was expressed in the chaplain's prayers.'¹³⁷

The chaplains participated in the process of cultural transformation of Indians. In 1867 the Chaplain Rotton remarked 'the bazaar church would save the poor population from clutches of paganism and Mohammedanism'.¹³⁸ On his visit to Ambala the Bishop of Lahore commented in 1892 that the 'Bazaar Church is valuable and benefits a class which is rather too often overlooked'.¹³⁹ The church people of St. Paul's Church gave Rs. 700/- for the poor of Sadar Church. The creation of the Sadar (separate from the St. Paul's Church) represents the colonial policy of maintaining a social distance between the Indians and the British. The social distance with the Indians can also be seen in the

135 Op.cit.

136 Edwardes (1988), p. 238.

137 CRB (SPC), III, p. 173.

138 Ibid., 1848-1875, I, p. 330.

139 Ibid., 12 March 1892, p. 141.

chaplain's attitude of preferring a church orderly to a church servant because the former was a 'Christian, a European' and could perform sacred church duties during Holy Communion'.¹⁴⁰ Distrust of chuhras and low caste Hindus and the appointment of only brahmins as church servants indicate the influence of 'local caste prejudices' on the chaplain's psyche. Chaplain Prosby stated in 1917, 'Soorju, the church chowkidar, is a Brahmin. It is a pleasure not to have the lowest class of Indian menials employed'.¹⁴¹ Soorju was given an extra concession of Rs. 1/- for his services.

Despite the powerful role of the church in controlling cantonment life, opposition to the chaplain and the church by both Indians and British took place. Among Indians the prominent forms of opposition was stealing or deliberate damage of church property. Let me give a description of one burglary. On the night of 4 March 1920, 'thieves' broke into St. Paul's Church and stole from the vestry, altar frontals, one chaplain scarf, one chaplain cassock and one dozen altar clothes.¹⁴² The surplices of the choir were all thrown about the vestry and almost every cassock was torn very badly. They broke open the large wooden chest where the communion plate was kept, but 'they had not taken anything away', noted the chaplain. Commenting on the nature of the theft, the chaplain said that 'it must have been done to

140 CRB (SPC), 1920, III, pp. 329-331.

141 Ibid., 13 October 1917, III, p. 292.

142 Ibid., 4 March 1920, III, p. 326.

spite someone or other'.¹⁴³ Sant Singh, the church bearer, was being implicated in this case. There were occasions when dogs were let into the cemetery by Mohammadan chowkidars to symbolically defile it.¹⁴⁴ Smoking of cigarettes within the church compound was an act of defiance exhibited by the workers.¹⁴⁵ The most symbolic form of Indian protest was by the 5th and 60 N.I. Sepoys in 1857, who surrounded the church and turned mutinous. On being taken to the civil jail they attempted to flee but were fired upon by the two companies of an English infantry regiment. About eighty of them got killed on the spot. The danger to 'sacred' authority was averted.¹⁴⁶

Reactions of the British towards church authority came from both the believers and non-believers. Opposition to the church rules can be seen in the action of two British Sergants of the 20th Hussars who organized a ball in the station in 1870 during the lent season when such festivities were prohibited. The chaplain complained to the GOC: 'the ball was meant to exercise a harmful influence in the soldiery, in diverting both old and younger minds from the more solemn duties of so important a season'.¹⁵⁷ This was perceived by the chaplain as a threat to his legitimate exercise

143 CRB (SPC), 4 March 1920, III, p. 326.

144 Ibid., 1870, I, p. 607.

145 Ibid., 22 April 1870, I, p. 608.

146 Ibid., 1848-1875, I; June 1933, IV.

147 Ibid., 5 March 1873, II, p. 409.

of his ministry, and also to his mode of social control.

On another occasion the chaplain found Cornet Greaves laughing at the solemn service of Holy Communion. Greaves was reprimanded for misbehaviour. "I felt the services becoming a mockery in the presence of the conduct of Cornet Greaves", the chaplain told the GOC.¹⁴⁸ A conflict ensued between the military authorities and the chaplain, as the latter disapproved of the public insult meted out to an armyman by the chaplain. The conflict was more of a clash between the chaplain and the military authority, each trying to protect his own status and image while criticizing the other. There are instances recorded in the Chaplain's Record Book stating that the military authorities saw the chaplain as an employee of the Raj, and criticized him for behaving unlike proper chaplains in Britain.¹⁴⁹

Non-military residents too were seen as defying the authority of the church. For example, placing of tin shed over, Mrs Sarah Theophilus' grave by her husband was seen as a defiance of the authority of the church. When this was reported to Mr Theophilus, he explicitly denied all belief in Christianity.¹⁵⁰

But these protests remained mostly in non-institutional forms or at times at an individual level. The power of church in ordering urban life was maintained.

148 CRB (SPC), 9 July 1870, I, p. 627-628.

149 Ibid., 19 April 1873, II, p. 52.

150 Ibid., 28 June 1933, V.

a.2 Prison

The prison controlled criminals and attempted to morally transform the prisoner in order to ensure the safety of the cantonment life.

For social control the prisoners were provided with vernacular and English books.¹⁵¹ Religious teachers of different communities participated in the moral transformation of prisoners. Books were provided to the prisoners. By 1927, Ambala Jail had a library consisting about 274 books; 98 books were in English, 87 in Urdu, 58 in Gurumukhi and 31 in Bhasha. Most of these were religious books. By 1927 cinema pictures and films were also shown to 'weaning prisoners from unnatural vice'.¹⁵² In 1928 the jail had 6 recreation rooms.¹⁵³ Personal reformation of these kinds meant succumbing to the benevolent logic of the captors.

The authorities seemed to be concerned to some extent about the 'happiness' of the prisoners. Jethu and Hanif, for instance, were allowed to smoke cigarettes while the others received sweets.¹⁵⁴ All these measures were important to seek consent from the prisoners and to ensure that they on their release did not become a menace to the cantonment. The dangers of mental pains and rebellions were further averted by putting the patients down to constructive work. Attar

151 QIP (CRR), 9 March 1928, Misc. 172/13, p. 23.

152 Ibid., 17 May 1927, Misc. 172/9A, p. 3.

153 Ibid., 3 November 1927, Misc., 172/9A, p. 15.

154 Ibid., 11 December 1928, p. 35; p. 13 January 1928.

Singh, a known lunatic and malingerer, was put down to sorting papers.¹⁵⁵

Yet the reactions of Indians against the prison authorities were manifest in malingering and use of scarlet scarves which were regarded as revolutionary symbols. The terrorists confined in jail were reported to be very dangerous from the point of view of maintaining the discipline of the jail. A special ward was given to them so as to avoid any interaction of the terrorists with other prisoners. Some forms of protest were seen as extremely inimical to the prison atmosphere. Hussain Shah, a convict, was found to have scattered his grain all over the ground and torn his ticket up: he was wearing red clothes.¹⁵⁶ In reaction to this symbolic act of defiance towards jail discipline, the authorities isolated the convict from others. Such protests symbolise a reaction against the institution of the prison and the imperial order.

Thus the prison made the cantonment life 'safe' from any "native" encroachment. The 'vaga**bon**d', 'criminals' and 'diseased' were kept within its precincts.¹⁵⁷ The prison authorities lamented that the result of turning 'a number of vagabonds loose in the cantonment might be extremely inconvenient'. It has been argued that there were conscious

155 QIP (CRR), March 1926, Misc. 172/131, p. 3-10.

156 Ibid., 3 November, 1927, Misc., 172/9A, p. 15.

157 Ibid., p. 18.

efforts to make the prisoners mulazims both functionally and mentally. Functionally, the prisoners provided cheap labour service for the cutting of grass farms and making of durries.¹⁵⁸

For urban authorities the 'native' had to be brought under 'colonial law' as he was indulging in cold-blooded murders and thefts. The colonial press was extremely helpful in the perpetuation of this stereotype. Graphic accounts were given about the occurrence of murder among 'natives' in the Sadar and the city.¹⁵⁹ Mostly it was the 'native servant' who was suspected in the killing of the European officers.¹⁶⁰ The role of the police was to make the 'native' conscious of the 'enormity of his crime'. The increase in the number of police chowkis in the Sadar indicates the growing influence of police in urban life.¹⁶¹

Narayani Gupta says that the people of Delhi had a hearty dislike for the police.¹⁶² Ambala was no different. Cases against police oppression were common. Punnu Mall, a wealthy saraf, whose house and shop were searched and was detained by the police for 'some reasons' filed a complaint against the Inspector of Police for his 'illegal confinement'.¹⁶³ Sometimes protests against the police were more

158 QIP (CRR), 16 March 1929, 172/9A, p. 45.

159 CMG (NMML), 15 August 1890.

160 Ibid., 13 November 1890, p. 2. Lieutenant General W.B. Gott was thought to have been 'poisoned' by means of arsenic by the native servants.

161 CBP (CBO), 1890, p. 80.

162 Gupta (1981), p. 135.

163 CMG (NMML), 6 October 1890, p. 3.

pronounced. Kashi Ram, a prisoner, attacked the Superintendent of Police of the jail with a knife wounding him severely.¹⁶⁴ Defiance of the colonial police order was most pervasive among the lower orders of Indian society. For example, all issues and conflicts within the mochi community were settled by the chowdhary of the community.¹⁶⁵ Eve-teasing and drunkenness were recurring problems. But they were settled through the norms of justice of the community. In cases of eve-teasing the boy was forced to accept the girl as his sister. Similar forms of silent protest against colonial police were expressed by the poorbias as well.¹⁶⁶ In cases of 'murder' within the community, the conflicting parties never even divulged the secret to the police. The recalcitrant party took revenge according to its own pattern of behaviour and notion of justice.

III

So far I have discussed the colonial considerations behind urban planning and the operation of urban institutions in ordering urban life. Another consideration that weighed with the authorities was the recognition of the community rights of the 'natives'.¹⁶⁷ The authorities legitimized their power by providing the 'natives' with land grants on

164 CMG (NMML), 27 January 1890, p. 5.

165 Oral History Interview, Krishanlal, Ambala Cantonment, December 1989.

166 Oral History Interview, Ram Asara, Ambala Cantonment, January 1990.

167 The British perception of community was based on the

a community basis. The potters were given a substantial piece of land in the Sadar Bazaar for the construction of houses for their own community.¹⁶⁸ The jallads were given permission to sink wells near the Ghosi mandi and to acquire some more land to accommodate their community members.¹⁶⁹ The Cantonment Committee gave Rs. 540/- for the construction of a separate reservoir for the chuhras.¹⁷⁰ Allah Bux and Ramzani, the kasais, were given land to construct beef market for the butchers of the Sadar.¹⁷¹ By forging relations with the 'native' communities the authorities helped in creating muhallas i.e. Ghosi mandi, Mochi mandi, Kumhar mandi, etc. (see photographs, p. 98).

Religious sentiments of these communities were protected by the urban authority. Permission was given to Fakir Shah for the erection of a mosque in the Sadar Bazaar.¹⁷² Maya Singh and Roor Singh, tailors of the R.H.A. bazaar, were permitted to construct dharamshalas and a Sikh temple.¹⁷³ Shaman Charan Mukherjee, a leading member of the Sanatan Dharam Sabha, was given permission to build a garden in 1894.

Cont'd.. f.n. 167

of
notion / caste, occupation and religion of an urban
group.

168 CBP (CBO), 23 February 1895, 11.

169 Ibid., 27 July 1896, 7.

170 Ibid., 13 August 1898, 8.

171 Ibid., 10 September 1892, 3.

172 Ibid., 29 May 1897, 8.

173 Ibid., 27 June 1894, 11.

Interests of the low-caste Hindus were also protected: kahars were given a piece of land to build a temple in kahar lines.¹⁷⁴ Devi Singh, a low-caste Hindu also was given sanction to construct a temple for the religious rites of his community.¹⁷⁵ In this way the authorities segregated the spaces on the basis of caste and community. No cultural institution of the other community was allowed within or near the precincts of a particular muhalla. The Cantonment Committee, for instance, disallowed the Muslims to build a mosque, 300 yards away from Gurudwara.¹⁷⁶ Community and institutions became the defining features of the muhalla. As Krishanlal recalls, "During the time of my grandfather the gwalas had built a Sanatan Dharam Mandir within the precincts of a Gau Hata. Koris had a masjid in the Kori Muhalla....."¹⁷⁷

To digress a little, I have noticed so far that permission was given by the British to the 'natives' for building various structures in the Sadar, but the land made over for this purpose was practically of no use to the authorities. This point is corroborated by an oral account of a mochi of the bazaar: "This whole place where we now reside was shamshan bhoomi."¹⁷⁸ Moreover I have also in Section I explained

174 CBP (CBO), 17 January 1899, 7.

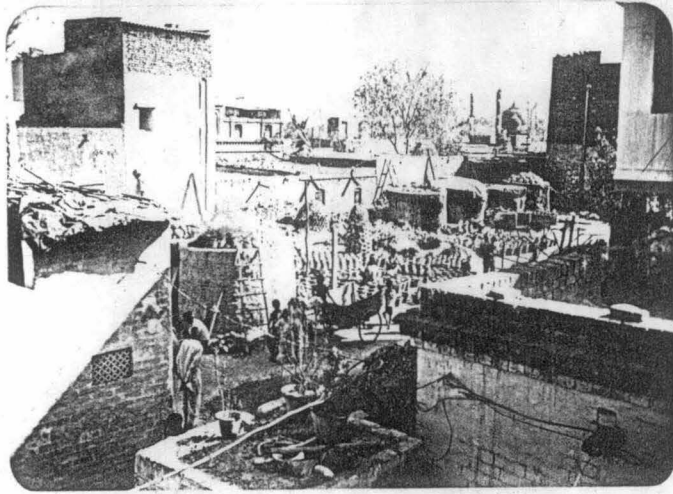
175 IMD (NAI), April 1927, B, 2043-45, F.N. 1927, 3.

176 CBP (CBO), 13 May 1908, 16, p. 185.

177 Oral History Interview, Krishanlal, op.cit.

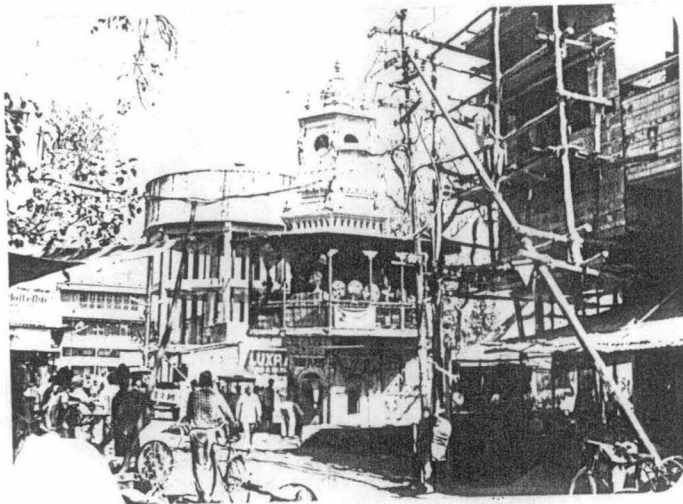
178 Ibid.

A VIEW OF MUHALLAS AND THEIR CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS



Kumhar Muhalla and the Mosque at the back.

(Photograph by the author, 15 March 1990, Ambala Cantonment).



Shiva Temple (Shivalya) within the Bania Muhalla.

(Photograph by the author, 17 March 1990, Ambala Cantonment).

the discriminatory attitude of the authorities towards different urban spaces, the Cantonment and the Sadar. Does this perception of grant of diseased-ridden land and the consciousness of a discriminatory policy towards Sadar in terms of urban planning lead to any strong confrontation between the 'natives' and urban authority? Till 1919 this argument sounds almost implausible as the following discussion will show:

Forms of Mentalities and Struggle

Four important forms of mentalities and protest can be identified among Sadar communities:

- a.1 Mulazim mentality.
- a.2 Inter-community camaraderie.
- a.3 Bade log, chotte log identities.
- a.4 Confrontation between communities: Hindu vs. Muslim.

a.1 Mulazim

The British were successful in seeking legitimacy and consent from the subjugated masses by recognizing their cultural and community sentiments. The creation of temples, and gurudwaras within the precincts of a particular muhalla inspired a sense of gratitude among the communities for the British and their rule. The communities considered themselves to be the 'mulazims of the Raj'. "We were given free land. We were under the parvarish of the Raj. It was a ma-

bap Raj," recalls Krishanlal mochi.¹⁷⁹ Grant of free land was perceived as an honour, izzat or samaan, conferred by the British.

Men of affluence representing the interests of their communities came forward and bowed to the imperial order. The Mohammadans of Ambala expressed their loyalty to the British in the Anglo-Turkish conflict.¹⁸⁰ The rich Sikhs of Ambala reposed complete faith in the urban authority in 1913 for the establishment of Khalsa College in Ambala.¹⁸¹ Prayers were offered at a meeting of about 5,000 Sikhs, for the 'long life of the emperor and the prosperity of the Empire'.¹⁸² These feelings expressed by the Sikhs were structured by British recognition of their cultural rights and solidarity. The Hindu bantias too expressed their loyalty during war years by subscribing huge sums for the war funds.¹⁸³ This policy of the cantonment authority did not only aim to satisfy the religious sentiments of the communities but was also intended to avoid any communal tension within the Sadar. The authorities were successful in doing so.

a.2 Inter-Community Camaraderie

Bonds of common economic interests and grievances bound men of wealth together. Economic interests and grievances

179 RR (CRR), p. 44.

180 CMG (NMML), 13 November 1915, p. 8.

181 Ibid., 2 July 1890, p. 4.

182 Ibid., p. 3.

183 DWR (DCO), 4 August 1914-11 November 1918, p. 16.

among the merchants, Hindu and Muslim, were due to the urban policy of levying a common license fee on these classes. The imposition of a common license fee created a sense of common interest between Hindus and Muslims of the same occupation (see Chart I). As a result of this Hindus and Muslims especially the kabaris, pansaris and grain dealers came together to object to the imposition of fees of Rs. 2/-.¹⁸⁴ Common representation was made by shopkeepers in their objections to the establishment of a shop of ham and becon in Sadar.¹⁸⁵ Hindu and Muslim merchants participated together in expressing their disappointment at the erection of a cart-weighting machine in their grain market.¹⁸⁶ These grievances were by no means anti-imperial. They can be seen as common representations by men of wealth to guard and satisfy their own economic interests. For the mulazims of the Raj, the expressions of their grievances were legitimate. Most of the times their demands were conceded.¹⁸⁷

The urban authorities were scared of communal tension. The above policy indicates the sense of the dilution of community feeling among men with the same economic interests and demands. But what about the cultural identities which the British had consciously created within the muhallas. It could be argued that the penetration of common economic interests diluted the sense of cultural and community iden-

184 CBP (CBO), 20 September 1909, 18.

185 Ibid., 23 October 1896, 13.

186 Ibid., 27 May 1896, 13.

187 The ham and bacon shop was removed from the Sadar.

CHART - I

Schedule of License Fees

<u>Class</u>	<u>Details</u>	<u>License Fees</u>
167(a)	1. Butchers	} Rs. 2/- a year
	2. Sellers of poultry	
	3. " eggs	Re.1/- "
	4. " game	Rs. 2/- "
	5. " fish	Re.1/- "
167(b)	Keepers of pigs	Rs. 100/- "
167(c)	1. Keepers of milk cattle	} Re.1/- "
	2. " goats	
167(d)	1. Keepers of any animals other than pigs, milk cattle or milk goats	Rs. 2/- "
167(e)	1. Dairymen and Buttermen	Rs. 2/- "
	2. Makers of ghee	Re.1/- "
	3. Sellers of ghee	Re.1/- "
167(f)	1. Makers of bread, biscuit, cake or sweetmeats	Rs. 2/- "
	2. Sellers of above	Re.1/- "
167(g)	1. Wholesale sellers, fruit and vegetables	Re.1/- "
	2. Retail sellers of fruit and vegetables	Re. -/8/-"
167(h)	1. Manufacturers and sellers of aerated water	Rs.10/- "
	2. Sellers of aerated waters in shops without factory	Rs. 2/- "
	3. Manufacturers of ice	Rs. 10/- "
	4. Sellers of Ice at stall or shop	Rs. 2/- "

	5. Sellers of ice and aerated water	Rs. 2/- a year
167(j)	Sellers of medicines, drugs, or articles of food.	
	1. Chemist shops on European system	Rs. 10/- "
	2. Sellers drugs on Indian system	Rs. 4/- "
167(k)	Sellers of water for drinking purposes	Nil
167(l)	Washerman	Rs. -/8/- monthly Rs. 6/- a year
167(m)	1. Dealers in hay, straw and <u>kabaries</u>	Rs. 3/-
	2. Dealers in wood	Rs. 3/-
	3. Dealers in charcoal	Rs. 3/-
167(n)	1. Dealers in fireworks	Re. 1/-
	2. Wholesale in fireworks, kerosene petroleum, or any other inflammable.	Rs. 4/-
	3. Retail dealers in 2	Re. 1/-
167(o)	1. Tanners	Rs. 2/-
	2. Dyers	Re.1/-
167(p)	Persons carrying on offensive smell trade	Rs. 2/-
	1. Mochis and skin	Rs. 2/-
167(q)	Sellers of wheat, rice, grain or flour	
	1. Grain sellers	Rs. 2/- a year
	2. Flour and parchoon sellers, including dal, salt.	Re.1/- "
	3. Benarsee Dass mills	Rs. 10/- "
	4. Other smaller mills	Re.1/- "
	5. Upper India Mills	Rs. 5/- "

167(r)	Makers or sellers of sugar or sweetmeats	Rs. 1/- a year
167(s)	Hawkers and Pedlars	
	1. Hawkens of eatable or perishable goods	Re. -/8/- a month
	2. Cloth sellers, mutton sellers, gold sellers, sellers of silver ornaments and fancy goods and broideries etc.	Rs. 2/- "
	- Quarterly for (1)	Rs. 1/4/- "
	- Bi-annually for (1)	Rs. 2/4/- "
	Quarterly for (2)	Rs. 5/8/- "
	Bi-annually for (2)	Rs. 10/- "
	Annual for (1)	Rs. 4/-
	Annual for (2)	Rs. 18/-

Source : CBP (CBO), 18 January 1909, p. 247.

tities among wealthy communities. But the danger remained. The 1890s were not the years of cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims in North India. As early as 1885 riots between Muslims and Hindus had occurred in Ambala city and Ludhiana, probably as a result of the introduction of the local self-government.¹⁸⁸ The cantonment authorities of Ambala immediately set upon the policy of encouraging the wealthy Muslims and Hindus to start a school. Thus was created the Hindu-Mohammadan school in 1893 in which a substantial grant-in-aid was provided by the Cantonment Committee.¹⁸⁹ This step epitomizes the process of harmonious participation of communities in the process of establishing educational institutions encouraged by the authorities.

Unlike the camaradiere between the rich Hindus and Muslims, which was based on common economic grievances, interests and aspirations, the affiliations of the low orders of society were dependent on other factors like leisure, work and neighbourhood. The following narrative by Krishanlal will illustrate this point:

our main festivals were, the Id, Bada Din, Ramlila. On Bada Din we had sharab, fruit, ahmiyat, meat and poolau. Cash was collected and with a fruit basket and band the mochis marched towards the house of their chowdhury to celebrate Bada Din along with the isais (Christians) of other muhalla. 190

188 Gupta (1981), p. 129.

189 CBP (CBO), 28 August 1893, 4.

190 Oral History Interview, Krishanlal, op.cit. Bada Din celebration should be seen as an expression of individual choices made by mochis, because to this day mochis celebrate Badadin.

Describing the importance of Holi in the life of a mochi, Krishanlal states:

Holi was the great festival of our community. It was played for seven days. Khaasiyat (importance) was that musalman bhai joined us and we indulged in masti.

This narrative suggests that masti, sharab and ahmiyat were central to his notion of festivity and these notions crossed bounds of his own community. It was through collectivities that he entertained himself. It is also to be noticed that the idea of collectivities or collective identity is also conveyed through linguistic codes: i.e. ahmiyat, khasiyat and masti.

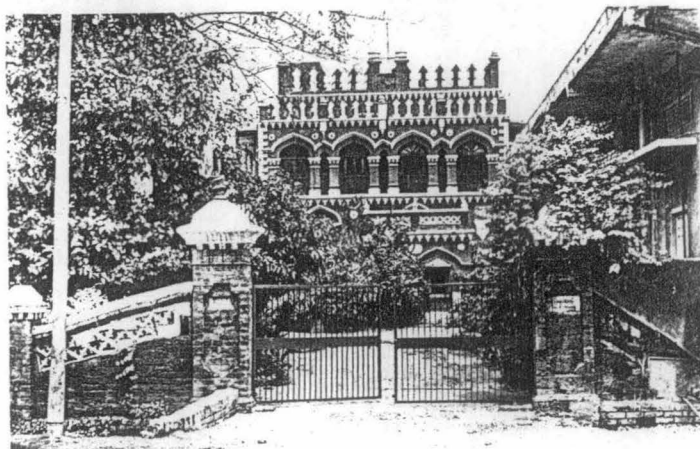
The nature of relationships between these communities conformed to the notion of order of the cantonment authorities.

a.3 Bade Log, Chotte Log Identities

It is true that conflict in urban society is manifested at various levels. But how was the conflict embedded in the specific context of inter and intra communities identities? What were the specific forms in which it was expressed? Till 1919, the conflict within the Indian society was reflected in the Bade log, Chotte log identities. These identities were pervasive in the cultural and social practices of the various social groups. Krishanlal states:

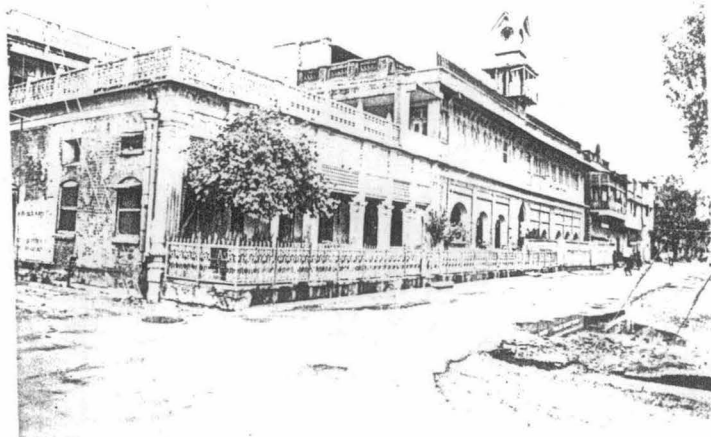
The bania used to exploit us (khujurette). For monthly khoorak (food), our aurtee

ELITE RESIDENCE IN SADAR



Dr. S.C. Mukherji's residence built in 1859.

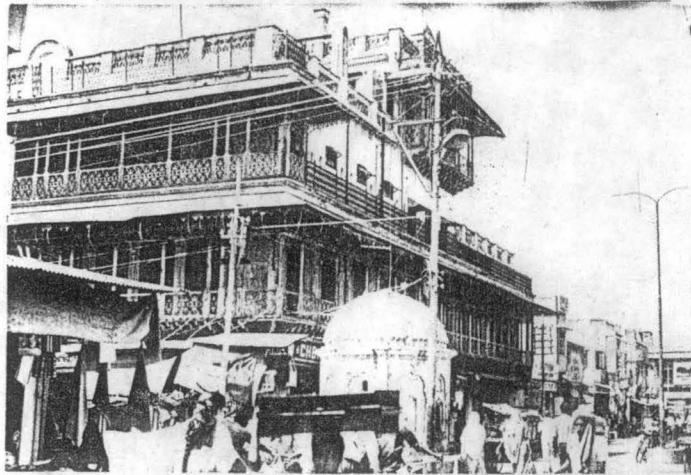
(Photograph, Courtesy: 'Rupa Ki Chithi', March 1990).



Hargolal, owner of a scientific instrument factory, built this house in the late nineteenth century.

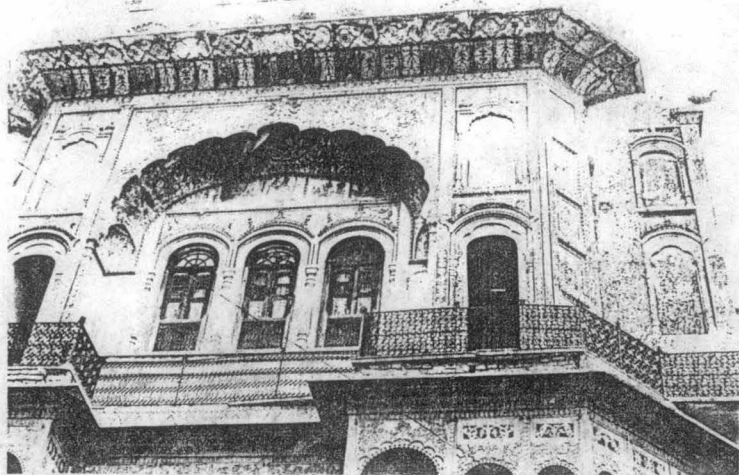
(Photograph, Courtesy: 'Rupa Ki Chithi', March 1990).

INDIAN ELITE HOUSING AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS
IN SADAR



Lala Banarasi Dass, a grain merchant's house was built in the late nineteenth century.

(Photograph, Courtesy: 'Rupa Ki Chithi', March 1990).



A Zenana (female) Hospital built by Lala Banarasi Dass in the late nineteenth century; adoption of a colonial institution.

(Photograph, Courtesy: 'Rupa Ki Chithi', March 1990).

(females) used to go to buy flour and were always accompanied by two or three others. If money was to be returned, banias took coins in an iron spoon and later threw them into a vessel filled with holy water.

Maulvi Hassinnudin, a 70 year old Naqshbandi, describes the nature of social relationships. Bade and chotte kaum were the two groups of Muslims in Ambala. Participation in Moharram and Urs of Lakhi Shah symbolized the common identity of chotte log. The Maulvi recalls that the mazar of Tawaqul Shah symbolized the sophisticated use of religious sermon and teaching while in the Urs of Lakhi Shah general singing, raunak and tamasha were the distinguishing features. The latter according to the Maulvi represented a cheap entertainment or badmashi.¹⁹¹ Thus we can trace two distinctive identities in the mazars, i.e. elite and subaltern.

a.4 Confrontation between Communities

The intra-community identities or the bade log - chotte confrontation was overshadowed by the confrontation between communities. The absence of communal separation could no longer hold true for Ambala. There was a sense of dilution of common interest and camaradiere between the communities. Three factors were responsible for this.

1. The strain of spatial congestion in the Sadar. The Sadar was built on a compact area of approximately 262 acres.¹⁹²

191 Oral History Interview, Maulvi Hassinnudin, Ambala Cantonment, November 1989.

192 RR (CRR), 12 September 1910, 212/1313, p. 6.

Over-crowding, as I have already explained, was a recurring problem. The total population of Sadar in 1921 was 23,700 and the population of the cantonment was 23,720 which was dispersed on a substantial area of 9,014.98 acres¹⁹³ (Map No.7)

2. The nomination of the non-official members in the Cantonment Board after the Cantonment Reform Act of 1919, where two Hindus and two Muslims got the chance of representing the interests of their communities.¹⁹⁴

3. The association of nationalists with bantias. There was a complete hartal in the Sadar on 13 April 1919, probably due to the commercial pressure of Delhi and Lahore bantias against the Rowlatt Bills which, as Low has indicated, marked a 'major breach in the hitherto long standing nexus between so many of the commercial classes and the British.'¹⁹⁵

Under these three circumstances, conflicts over land became pervasive in the Sadar.¹⁹⁶ Now that the community interest could get reflected in the cantonment board, the notion of remaining a mulazim of the Raj was slowly giving way to asserting one's own community rights and identity against those of others. The urban authorities perceived the conflicts over issues like the encroachment of the mosque land by Hindus, or the neglect of Hindu spaces over Muslim, as inimical to the maintenance of urban order. From the very

193 ESB (CRR), 1925, Misc., I, 169/2, p. 51.

194 Mittal, (1986), Ch. I.

195 Memorandum on the Disturbances in the Punjab, (DCO), April 1919 (Lahore 1920), p. 75; Low, (1988), p. 149.

196 CBP (CBO), 1 December 1927.

start I have indicated the concerns of the authorities with regard to the maintenance of superior cultural hegemony and controls over 'native' settlements. The communal tension, together with the representation of Sadar members in the Cantonment Committee, were perceived as detrimental to the interests of the cantonment, 'as Cantonment Committee would be swamped by Sudder Bazar representatives,' according to the cantonment authorities.¹⁹⁷ On 3rd February 1923, the Colonel Commandant, D. Deane, demanded the separation of the Sadar municipality from that of the Ambala Cantonment.¹⁹⁸ The argument he provided, was that in the event of disease the Sadar was in any case isolated and the existing political and communal crisis had necessitated the municipal isolation. It was again a question of order and discipline of the cantonment.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that to the cantonment authorities the problem of the maintenance of urban order was of primary importance. Disease, protest and communal tension were regarded as recurring threats by the colonial authorities who took stringent measures to ensure a healthy environment within the cantonment area. The colonial authorities introduced other urban changes in order to make the cantonment a cultural specific area of their power. Institutions like prison ensured safety from 'native pro-

197 ESB (CRR), 1925, Misc., I, 169/2, p. 217.

198 Ibid.

test'. Crime, protest or dissent by the members of the British community was also regarded as a threat by the colonial authorities. The church helped in cementing the British community by promoting communal life.

Finally I have tried to show how the British authorities tried to tackle the problem of anti-colonial attitude and colonial conflict fostered by the Indians.

CHAPTER - 3

PROSTITUTES, SOLDIERS AND THE URBAN AUTHORITY

The military authorities in Ambala Cantonment were deeply concerned about the problem of prostitution. The Quarter-Master General in a circular to the Commanding Officer in 1881 wrote that "attractive and young women were needed for 2nd Derbyshire Regiment in Ambala".¹ A statement made by Surgeon Major Wardrop in charge of the Ambala Cantonment hospital is equally significant: "it is not merely so important to keep a man affected with venereal disease in hospital, as it is a woman, as the latter is infinitely more likely to spread disease than the former whose affectation would prevent him from indulging in sexual intercourse."²

These two notions reinforced each other, and formed a sufficient basis for military policy towards prostitutes. In other words, prostitutes were seen as both necessary and dangerous for the maintenance of the structure of the Raj. The various levels of controls exercised by the military authorities were reflected in the cantonment acts and urban institutions.

I

a. Levels of Control

Within the military system the prostitutes were thus

1 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, 1407-1411, para 45.

2 Ibid., para 63, p. 462.

subjected to controls over their residence, their body, their movements and their social relationship. This threatened the independence, identity and relationships of the prostitutes. The prostitutes reacted to this repressive encroachment.

a.1 Controls over Residential Area

In Ambala the brothel was as old an institution as the cantonment itself. Recalling in 1893, Boali Baksh Kanchan, a pimp, who was a resident of Ambala Cantonment for about 50 years, states 'since the Cantonment has been here, this (place) has been a chakla (since 1843). The kanchans including my father built this place when we came from Karnal at our own expense.'³ All in all there flourished five chaklas in the cantonment. Two were in the Sadar Bazaar which were racially segregated into two parts: British and 'native' - chaklas called in the vernacular as Gora and Kala chakla. Three were in the regimental bazaars, namely in the British infantry, British cavalry, and the Royal Artillery bazaars.⁴

The Gora chakla of the Sadar Bazaar situated in the Nanbai (baker) bazaar as explained by the kanchan was as follows:

It consists of a large enclosure with 46 small quarters ranged around in small numbers, 2832 to 2877, and in large numbers, 1 to 46. It is surrounded on

³ IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 498.

⁴ Ibid., I, p. 447; II, p. 493.

all four sides by bazaars. The quarters were originally two rooms deep, when the accommodation was needed in 1888, the communications between the two were enclosed and the doors opened from the inner room into the outer bazaars, thus giving a double row of quarters, back to back; the inner ones opening into the enclosure, the outer ones into the bazaar.⁵

The forty-six rooms within the enclosure were exclusively occupied by the prostitutes. Some of the outer rooms of the chakla were occupied by the shopkeepers, some by the prostitutes.⁶ Some prostitutes occupied other houses, somewhat separated from the chakla, but all within the area of 100 yards, forming a part of the chakla. Quite a few of them were said to be living independently at a distance. A wooden gate to the enclosure stood open the whole night.

In order to make it possible for the soldier to identify the diseased woman all the houses were numbered, running upto 112.⁷ This was done at the recommendation of the medical officer in 1890 who discovered that many women had identical names, and therefore numbering was necessary for the purpose of true identification.⁸

There was also a Kala chakla meant exclusively for the 'native troops'. Its segregation from the British chakla was made on sanitary and on racial consideration.⁹ It was a

5 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, pp. 495-97.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 498.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., II, p. 501.

building on precisely the same pattern as that for British troops but smaller. The women huddled in the same manner, both inside and outside the enclosure, which was surrounded by a high wall and the gate was a 'strong' wooden one in good order, with spikes on the top. It used to be locked at night to prevent the entry of British soldiers.

The British chakla was 'clean and in good order' and the Kala chakla was 'dirty and untidy' with the strict rules enforced therein.¹⁰ The quarters occupied by the women in Kala chakla were also numbered in large and small letters, as in the chakla for British troops. The shopkeepers as late as 1916 eagerly wanted to gain access to 'Gora chakla' but were prevented from doing so.¹¹

The chaklas of the regiment bazaars were smaller than the Sadar chaklas and were frequented mostly by regiments to which the bazaar was attached.¹² The Royal Artillery chakla was a small enclosure with high walls and strong doors and eight houses. In 1888, after the Act supporting the registration and legalization of prostitutes was repealed, the chakla was purchased from the Government by Karim Baksh, a 'darji'.¹³ The British cavalry chakla was an enclosure like the rest, with twenty quarters.

These regimental chaklas unlike the Sadar chaklas were the property of the government. Till 1888 the prostitutes

10 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 501.

11 CBP (CBO), 8 July 1916, 20.

12 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 503.

13 Ibid.

living in both the chaklas were legalized. The prostitutes were no longer registered after 1888. One can notice that the earlier policy was not entirely given up. Even though the prostitutes were no longer subjected to compulsory medical check-ups, registers were kept in both areas to identify the prostitutes even after 1888. The registers documented the following details: (a) Serial No.; (b) Name of occupier; (c) Parentage and caste; (d) Occupation; (e) Name of the owner of the house; (f) No. of residents; (g) Name of Quarter and locality; (h) Remarks.¹⁴ So the residence of each prostitute was specified even after 1888. The Punjab Gazette Notification No. 1148 dated 15 October 1897 stated that no brothels were in future to be allowed nor prostitutes were to be permitted to reside in any part of the cantonment other than those mentioned below:¹⁵

1. Chowk Gora Chakla
2. Chowk Saraj North side
3. Chowk Abkari East side
4. Chowk Mandi Baldeo
5. Chowk Luma West side
6. Chowk Kala Chakla
7. Chowk Mandi old Saraj east.
8. The bungalows situated on the Tank known as Gune Sahib's Diggy.

Clandestine prostitution was strictly prohibited in 1909.¹⁶

14 JMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 493.

15 CBP (CBO), October 1897, 12, p. 30.

16 Ibid., 18 January 1909, 3.

This arrangement was made due to the official regard shown for "public decency", sanitary considerations, and the maintenance of "public order".¹⁷ By enclosing and specifying the houses of these prostitutes the absentee soldiers from their barracks could be easily apprehended.

The structural peculiarity represented by this enclosure type chakla was deliberately created by colonial authorities. The chaklas were also on purely racial grounds. When the members of the World Christian Temperance Movement, Dr Kate Bushnell and Mrs Andrews visited Ambala, they were struck by this new urban formation. 'The harlots were cooped up for the use of the British soldiers in an enclosure surrounded by high walls with strong gates latched over', they said.¹⁸ The military officials defended their policy by stating that such lodgings were absolutely necessary in a country where "pardah was the rule of respectability."¹⁹

It is significant to note that in the North Indian towns the traditional kotha associated with the residence of a prostitute was strikingly different from this colonial innovation. In the former, window-peeping, ogling and openness were vital for the survival of public prostitutes. Nowhere in North Indian towns, with the exception of Amritsar, did prostitutes live in the katras where such enclosures

17 IMD (NAI), August 1893, I, para 22, p. 445.

18 Ibid., A, I, para 37, p. 451.

19 Ibid.

were built.²⁰ They could not afford to hide themselves within the four walls of an enclosure. The essence of their trade was publicity.

Another form of prostitution was non-residential. It was practised within regiments on their march and in the standing camps. Like cooks, washermen and barbers, the prostitutes attached themselves to one particular regiment and accompanied it from place to place wherever the regiment travelled by road.²¹ On the line of their march these women pitched their tents in the immediate vicinity of the 'regimental lines', and together with paid regimental followers, they collectively constituted 'the Bazaar.'²²

The movement of these prostitutes was dependent on the movement of the regiments. The British Infantry Regiment which was stationed in the hills came down to Ambala for winter concentration.²³ They lived in tents to form a standing camp. Despite the 1888 Cantonment Act which emphasised the abolition of public prostitution, the Commanding Officer violated the orders by directing the kotwal at Ambala in 1892 that an enclosure of matting for the prostitutes be pitched near the tent of Gordon Highlanders. This was done at a distance of about 100 yards from the soldiers' tents.²⁴

20 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, para 27, p. 447; Oldenberg, (1984), p. 13.

21 Ibid., para 43, p. 454.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., para 360, p. 273.

The foregoing narrative shows how the military authorities exercised their control over the habitations of prostitutes for the purpose of hygiene, sanitation and the maintenance of order.

In the context of urban space there was another consideration that weighed with the military authorities. As early as 1876, the lock hospital committee was formed at Ambala which took measures to apply lock hospital rules not only to the prostitutes within the cantonment area but also to those living within a four mile radius. This area included the old Ambala city and some villages adjoining it. The expenditure incurred on this deal was supposedly high. The sub-committee anticipated that the prostitutes living in these villages and city might make a plea that they were not frequented by Europeans.²⁵ That is why the sub-committee decided not to recommend the extension of rules to the city and villages.

The Deputy Commissioner of Ambala, Captain Parsons was approached by the military authorities in 1899 on this subject of the extension of contagious and infectious disease rules to the municipality and the rural rings around the cantonment.²⁶ The Deputy Commissioner thought that such regulations would cause friction and inconvenience to the civil authority. Moreover, the Municipal town was about three miles away from the cantonment and military authorities

25 JMP (NAI), May 1876, A, p. 34.

26 Ibid., December 1899, A, 1103-1106, p. 33.

could not enter the civil area. The Deputy Commissioner felt that the area to which the rules could be extended was the land situated within the limits of villages such as Babiya, Chabihana, Nanhera, Tundla, Kaonla, Jandli, Baharala, Barnala, Garnala, etc.²⁷ Even within these villages the cantonment authority could exercise control with difficulty. Only through the influence of the lambardars and headmen of villages, the prostitutes and 'immoral' women could be 'brought to book'.²⁸ The Deputy Commissioner added: 'I very much doubt whether they (lambardars) would give the same assistance to the cantonment authorities as to the District Magistrate or his officers'.²⁹ This conflict between civil and military officials expressed each groups' effort to define the limits of the others' authority. This effort of the military elite to control prostitutes in the city and villages was motivated not only by a desire to assert their rights in the vicinity of the cantonment and to confront the civil authorities. There was also a "recurrent fear of the mysterious dangers that lay beyond the ordered life of the military cantonment and the enduring wish to keep the soldiers under control."³⁰

TH-3289



a.2 Discipline and Order

The old chaukidari system which had vanished in Luck-

27 IMP (NAI), December 1899, A, 1103-1106, p. 34.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ballhatchet (1980), p. 75.

now and Delhi still continued to exist in Ambala in 1880s.³¹ Section II (Venereal) of the hospital lay adjoining the military police station and the police sentry on duty looked after it. The sentry brought the prostitutes for peshtar, and patrolled the chaklas for apprehending the 'diseased' women.³²

The Garrison police replaced the 'native' policemen on duty because it was found that the latter on duty in British chakla failed to stop the natives' entry into the chaklas.³³ In 1893 it was Sergeant T.G. George of 2nd Derbyshire Regiment who controlled all the chaklas.³⁴ He took stern measures to stop the fight between the native and British soldier by disallowing the former from entering into the British chakla. Even male cooks and tailors were not allowed inside the chakla after 7 p.m.³⁵ The Sergeant came to the British chakla almost every night and stayed there for a few hours for a close supervision. The 'natives' complained that the British soldiers who found them in British chakla abused and beat them. The Sergeant also checked women consorting with 'natives'.³⁶

If a woman was found accompanying a soldier she was

31 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, para 100, p. 476; Gupta (1981), p. 80; Oldenberg (1984), p. 66.

32 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, para 97 and 98, p. 475.

33 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 540.

34 Ibid., p. 496.

35 Ibid., p. 499.

36 Ibid.

stopped and sent back to her place. The police attempted to resolve common complaints like the British men ill-treating the women, getting drunk and beating up the women especially on the Christmas and Pay-day. The prostitutes expressed their faith in the police: "they protect us and we welcome the presence of Gora Dandawalas as we are alone in rooms with the men and might be killed if it were not for the police."³⁷ Often British soldiers refused to pay the prostitutes. The prostitutes complained to the Sergeant on many occasions.³⁸ The Sergeant fixed the rates. The minimum amount fixed for the non-soldier was four annas. The Sergeants were asked to pay one rupee, a Corporal eight annas and a Lance Corporal six annas.³⁹ The police also patrolled the cantonment area including the standing camps at night. The soldiers occasionally met the prostitutes in the Serai near the railway station, it was here that they were usually apprehended by the police.⁴⁰ There were other forms of control: prostitutes were disallowed from gazing out of their windows. The 'Gora Dandawalas' accompanied the soldier in the bazaar to identify the woman who had diseased them.⁴¹

37 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 500.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 499.

40 Ibid., p. 500.

41 Ibid., p. 498.

a.3 Hospital and Control

The Cantonment General Hospital consisted of three parts. The main building lay in the bazaar, and was open to the patients suffering from general disease. It had a separate building for women.

The branch for infectious diseases was called Section I. This consisted of a brick building with a room for sixteen beds generally used for small-pox cases and a temporary structure of grass and mat-hut for cholera patients which could be enlarged for convenience and burnt down after use.

Contagious venereal diseases were treated in Section II which lay situated in the bazaar, some 300 to 400 yards from the main building.⁴² It was conveniently situated near the two chaklas. Before 1888, this was the lock hospital. The branch for venereal disease was not structurally different from the main building. It contained three wards with four beds each. The patients applying for admission or suspected of disease were examined in a room in the upper storey. The hospital was meant exclusively for 'female patients'. Curiously enough, almost all the cases dealt with were of venereal nature. One wonders how was it in any way different from the old lock hospital system. All these three parts of the hospital were supervised over by the same medical officer with a separate hospital assistant in charge of each.

42 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, pp. 491-492.

There were about four books in the hospital used for identifying the patients.⁴³ In Book No. 1 was entered the serial No. of the patient, the place of residence, the name, the date of admission and discharge, the disease, etc.⁴⁴ One register covered the account of the patient up to 1½ years. From the beginning of 8 July 1888, the original residence from which the prostitutes hailed was noted as the Gora chakla (the Royal House Artillery, British Cavalry, British Infantry) and Kala chakla. Between 8 July 1888 to 29 June 1889, the prostitutes were admitted from the Gora and Kala chaklas as the regimental chaklas had been abolished. Until 23rd July no prostitutes were admitted.⁴⁵ Thereafter till 10 November 1891 prostitutes were admitted from 7th Dragoon Guards, Royal House Artillery, West Yorkshire Regiment, King's own Scottish Borderer's and 2nd Queen's. Again from 30 November 1891 to 15 January 1892, the prostitutes came for treatment from the Sadar Bazaar chaklas; and from 19 January 1892 to 25 November 1892 from 18 Hussars, R.H.A., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and Gordon Highlanders, and from 5th December 1892 to 11 May 1892 from Sadar chaklas and from Royal Horse Artillery and one from 18th Hussars.⁴⁶ Thus the prostitutes were identified in terms of the regiments to which they were attached

43 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 492.

44 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 492.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

rather than on the basis of the nature of their disease.

The Book two was also an important document for medical service.⁴⁷ It contained the name of prostitutes and the treatment prescribed to each patient. All these prostitutes were admitted for venereal diseases - mainly for leucorrhoea and other 'non-specific' complaints.

Against the names of several patients the letter M (menstruation) was prominently marked. According to Dr Cleghorn, the surgeon of the hospital, the letter M was used for recording that a particular patient had had her monthly illness in the course of her treatment for some other disease.⁴⁸ Dr Kate Bushnell and Mrs Andrews, while speaking critically of the medical policy at Ambala, recorded that the prostitutes were kept only for their 'monthly disease' and for no other purpose. Their argument seems plausible as the evidence suggests that in some cases menstruation was mistaken for gonorrhoea.⁴⁹ It is also to be noted that during the time of their monthly illness, the prostitutes were not given any medicine. Such confinements, when the prostitutes were not medically fit to be examined, indicate the coercive attempts of the military and medical authorities to segregate the women physically and emotionally. This created discontent among the prostitutes.⁵⁰

47 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 492.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., May 1876, A, p. 34.

50 Ibid.

The Third Book contained details about the surgical instruments, and Book Four recorded several memorandums to the cantonment magistrate regarding the examination of women supposed to be diseased.⁵¹ On September 1891, the officer in charge of the cantonment hospital reported to the cantonment magistrate that four women of regimental bazaars had not reported themselves for examination.⁵² The Cantonment Magistrate replied, "Are these women diseased or supposed to be diseased, unless this is certified I have no power to interfere."⁵³ But in actual practice, the line between the diseased and non-diseased was actually very thin for the medical authorities as the records in Book-I show, and the medical officer usually got them admitted into the hospital for 'non-specific' complaints.⁵⁴

According to the new system of regulations introduced, after May 1888, it was the soldier and the police who identified the diseased woman. The old policy of compulsory and periodical examinations was abandoned. Gone was the threat of imprisonment and fine to those prostitutes who did not come for their examination. The new system made it clear that if the diseased woman refused to report to the medical authorities she would be thrown out from the cantonment. Most of them were given the option of medical exami-

51 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 492.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., para 110.

54 Here confinement during menstruation is important to notice.

nation or expulsion and they preferred to be expelled; for example, a British prostitute left the cantonment in 1892 after refusing medical examination. Three Japanese women who were supposed to have gonorrhoea left the cantonment instead of coming to the hospital for a medical confinement.⁵⁵

Were the prostitutes opposed to the medical system? Evidence suggests that the use of speculum used by the Surgeon-Major or Head-Matron was objected to by the prostitutes.⁵⁶ According to Dr Bushnell and Mrs Andrews the prostitutes when interviewed expressed 'particular shame of it.'⁵⁷ The mahaldarani had deep sympathy with the women concerned. More painful was the experience of detention during menstruation as witnessed by these missionaries and the prostitutes reacted to it.⁵⁸

On the whole the prostitutes were forced into accepting the medical system for reasons explained in the next section. Furthermore the hospital did not always work as a coercive institution. Subsistence allowances of 2 annas and 6 pies were given to the prostitutes each day during their detention in the hospital.⁵⁹ But this does not in any case mitigate the coercive nature of policies pursued by the

55 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 539.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., A, I, para 679, p. 305.

58 Ibid., para 696, p. 306.

59 Ibid., II, p. 538.

British authorities which deprived the patient of her identity and made her subservient to strict medical order.

The role of hospital was important in providing opportunities for 'isolation, observation and control'.⁶⁰ The disease of the prostitutes could be cured by removing her from her customary environment and placing her within a 'rational' and 'orderly' hospital. But did this hospitalization and segregation of the prostitutes lead to a decline in the venereal disease among the prostitutes and troops?

A brief analysis of the incidence of the venereal disease among the 'native' and British troops would be important and would provide explanations for the nature of incidence itself. In this context the role of the hospital and urban policy assume importance.

The incidence of venereal disease among troops in Ambala cantonment was as follows in the years 1866 and 1884:

The impact of lock hospital on British troops was not positive in 1866. The explanation given by the military authorities regarding the increase in V.D. among British troops from 238.1 per mille in 1866 to 399.2 per mille in 1884 occurred due to the proximity of the cantonment to the 'native' city of Ambala.⁶¹ Such an increasing phenomenon also occurred in most of the cantonments of analogous types such as Fort William where the V.D. rose from 497.7 per mille in 1866 to 560.3 per mille in 1884.

60 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, II, p. 499; Arnold, (1987), p. 61.

61 IMD (NAI), February 1891, A, 1973-86, p. 3.

Another striking feature was the lower average of V.D. among the Indian troops in Ambala cantonment, despite the fact that the health measures and restrictions were more stringent in the case of the British soldiers.⁶² This decrease in the cases of venereal disease among Indians was not a peculiarity of Ambala cantonment. The Surgeon-General suggested this feature was because the 'native' soldiers were older and mostly married; they were also in their own country and knew how to 'conduct' themselves.⁶³ The British soldiers were just strangers placed in altogether a new environment.⁶⁴ Dr Thompson doubted whether the Indian soldier was more self-restrained than the British.

The statistics indicate that the imposition and subsequent abolition of the lock hospital system produced an effect on the Indian troops. V.D. was most prevalent in 1866 before the lock hospital system was introduced; that it fell from 54.4 per mille to 34.6 per mille in 1884 when the system was in full force, showing the general efficiency of the 'restrictive system' which was strictly enforced.⁶⁵ After the abolition of the hospital it had again risen to 42.1 per mille in 1889. This feature persisted after the introduction of Cantonment General Hospitals in 1888 as the

62 IMD (NAI), February 1891, A, 1973-86, p. 4.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., 1973-81, p. 5.

65 Ibid.

V.D. among Indians increased, while it decreased in the case of the British soldiers.⁶⁶

In the post-1900 period there was an increase of disease among the British soldiers from 165 per mille in 1901 to 177 per mille in 1902. The military authorities emphasized the need for raising the 'moral tone' of barrack life and introducing simple entertainments like games, concerts, theatricles, popular lectures and dramatic exhibitions, etc. which would keep the soldier at home and to that extent save him from disease.⁶⁷ Further, the diseased soldiers were debarred from regimental privileges like entering the recreational rooms. In other words, the object was to provide them outdoor entertainment in order to deflect them from the temptation of prostitution.

In 1904 the venereal ratio per 1,000 of average annual strength among the 'natives' was 7.0 and among the European troops was 217.1.⁶⁸ In 1905 the ratio was 152.1 per mille among the Europeans while there was an increase of 26.2 per mille in the case of 'natives'.⁶⁹ The ratio fell from 52.0 per mille in 1910 to 37.8 per mille in 1911.⁷⁰ According to the military authorities, the decline in venereal disease from 1901-1910 was due to the following reasons; a)

66 IMD.(NAI), February 1891, A, 1973-81, p. 5.

67 Ibid., October 1906, A, 1281-1282.

68 Ibid., January 1913, B, 1927-31, p. 9.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

The personal influence of the Commanding Officer; b) the spread of temperance movement; c) the variety of games and entertainments were provided which helped to fill up the soldiers' time; d) a more thorough treatment of the disease at its relapse; and e) the 'deterrent' influence of the loss of service pay which those contracting the disease had to suffer.⁷¹

In 1911 the military department explained to the Secretary of the State that the reduction in venereal disease occurred due to the advancement in 'education, sobriety and greater care of the soldiers'.⁷²

It can be argued that to the colonial authorities in the post-1902 period the prostitutes were no longer considered necessary for the gratification of the soldiers' physical needs.

II

b. PROSTITUTES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS

The prostitution encouraged and controlled by the British existed exclusively in cantonments. Unlike the urbane, polished Urdu speaking tawaif of North Indian cities this was more of a common form of prostitution which was practised by 'randis' and 'khangis'. It replaced the importance of Urdu as a medium of communication, etiquette and

71 IMD (NAI), January 1913, B, 1927-31, para 2, p. 3.

72 Ibid., August 1901, A, p. 10.

tehzib. The relationship of the prostitutes with the British soldier was based on sparser use of words.⁷³ It was this loss of tehzib which made Ghalib lament in his anguish that, 'Delhi has lost its soul and has become only a cantonment.'⁷⁴ Thus the prostitutes in the cantonments were the very antithesis of the tawaif-e-tehzib which had been generously patronized by the indulgent nawabs and extolled by poets.

These new types of prostitutes, unlike the old hereditary ones of the North Indian towns were mainly widows or unhappy house-wives.⁷⁵ They were mostly recruited from the two 'notorious' villages, few miles from Lahore. Pimps dispatched them to Sindh, chiefly by train as wives, concubines or as prostitutes to a rich category of people. After a few days they returned to their original employers along with some jewellery given to them by persons with whom they had been placed. Thereafter they were sold off in various cantonments.⁷⁶

The average age of the prostitutes in Ambala cantonment was about sixteen years, though there was one in the Sadar Gora chakla, as recorded by Dr Andrews who was only 12 years of age.⁷⁷ According to the missionary evidence, the youngest prostitute was a child of about four who was

73 Oldenberg, (1984), p. 134.

74 Gupta, (1981), p. 30.

75 IMD (NAI), August 1892, A, I, para-14, p. 442.

76 Ibid.

77 IMP (NAI), August 1893, A, I, p. 444.

staying with her mother and one was about 8 years old living in the Indian chakla.

The prostitutes perceived their relationship with the British soldier as based on quite good terms. They in fact preferred 'Gora kamana' as it was more paying and that is why they were fairly well-off.⁷⁸ One woman possessed 9-10 medals of real silver which had been given to her by different customers.⁷⁹ The Indian customers, according to them, were stingy in paying them and never gave more than 6 arnas.⁸⁰ Moreover, they often complained that the Indians expected them to "sit for long" talk to them for hours and give them 'pipes and pan'. The British soldier, on the other hand, 'comes, does his business and is gone!'⁸¹ In fact one woman patient in Ambala cantonment had disclosed that she had left Lahore to come to Ambala, because there was no longer any 'Gora chakla' at Lahore.⁸²

The presence of the colonial police was also conveniently welcomed by the prostitutes for security reasons. The police brought a distinct change in the social relationship of the prostitutes, especially with the traditional mahaldarani. The mahaldarani was no longer required by the medical officer for taking the infected women to them and thereby

78 IMD (NAI), August 1893, A, I, para 15, p. 442.

79 Ibid., II, p. 541.

80 Ibid., p. 500.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., para 52, pp. 458-62.

lost her status as a paid servant of the government. In the post-1888 years she survived only in the capacity of a mere member of the prostitute's family.⁸³ With her pay gone, she extorted a larger share from the prostitute which often led to strained relationship between the two. The hospital and the Garrison Police trenched upon the privacy of the prostitutes by eliminating another traditional intermediary, the chaukidar.

The prostitutes accepted the medical intervention, despite the painful consequences that followed. At times when they were not diseased they offered themselves for a check-up. The reasons for this attitude were that some of them had been taunted by the soldiers as being diseased and they wanted to show them that their taunts were unfounded.⁸⁴ They at times also wanted to show to the medical authorities that they were free from any disease whatever. They wanted to gain respectability from the colonial authorities and their customers.

By accepting the authority of medicine, police and the British soldier, the prostitutes became the 'mulajims' of the Raj. Still they asserted their izzat by bringing their own bedding, small luxuries like pan, tobacco and opium, when they came to the hospital.⁸⁵ They refused to take hospital food.⁸⁶ They carved out their own areas

83 IMD (NAI), August 1892, A, I, para 15, p. 540.

84 Ibid., para 75, p. 467.

85 Ibid., para 16; Also II, p. 537.

86 Ibid., para 37, p. 451.

of freedom by the continuation of the practice of sitting in the street outside the chakla to 'wrangle for the custom of the soldier' despite the attempts of the colonial authorities to prohibit this practice.⁸⁷ The prostitutes also resented the strictness with which the 'natives' were excluded from the British chakla.⁸⁸

Conclusion

My discussion has shown the importance of prostitutes for the maintenance of the structure of colonial power. The issue of sexual frustration of British soldiers, who maintained the colonial power, deeply concerned the official mind. The neglect of this vital matter was, the authorities thought, bound to affect the discipline of the army leading to the perversion of homosexuality and masturbation. For these reasons prostitutes were brought to the cantonments and made to stay there; this institution also prevented the possibility of soldiers' movement beyond the urban space for sexual gratification.

But the controls over prostitutes were extremely important from the British soldiers' health point of view. In this context the setting up of hospitals and elaborate medical facilities served as coercive measures for protecting the soldiers from the infection of venereal diseases.

87 IMD (NAI), August 1893, II, p. 495.

88 Ibid.

The prostitutes responded to the medical treatment not only because it freed them from disease, but also because of cultural considerations i.e., the idea of gaining respectability within the colonial environment. The police controlled the activity of the prostitutes by enforcing discipline and thereby protected them from the threat of natives in British chakla. Such measures were motivated by the spirit of seeking consent and acquiescence from the prostitutes towards colonial institutions.

The colonial authorities continued to encourage and control the institution of prostitution as long as they were important for the soldiers both from sexual and health point of view. With the passage of time, to the colonial mind, the importance of prostitution in cantonment diminished. The British authorities began to lay more stress on recreational activities and uplifting the moral tone of the soldiers (see chapter - 4). Stringent measures were thus taken in Ambala cantonment between 1902-1911 to eliminate prostitution, and their impact can be seen from the decline in the incidence of venereal among the British soldiers.

CHAPTER - 4

NOTIONS OF SOCIAL RECREATION

Life in the cantonment has quite often been described by the survivors of the Raj as 'dull', 'trivial', 'claustrophobic', 'confined' and totally 'male-oriented'.¹ The spatial segregation of the cantonment from the bazaar and towns made the cantonment a completely self-enclosed unit.

The British authorities were much concerned about this drab, colourless and monotonous life which the soldier was leading under trying circumstances. The schedule of the soldier has been vividly described by the report of the Royal Commission of 1863 as follows:

The soldier rises at gunfire, attends his parade or drill which is over after sunrise. He then returns to his barrack and during the hot season, he is not allowed to leave till the late afternoon. At one'o clock, he consumes a large amount of animal food and vegetables, porter (perhaps a quart) and spirits. He has few or no means of occupying himself rationally. He lies on his bed and sleeps most of the day. He has his evening parade or drill and his turn of guard duty once every 5, 7 or 10 days.²

In this round of monotonous life, the soldier was tempted to indulge in prostitution and 'intemperance'. The authorities were worried about these social ills. According to the authorities, the solution of the problem lay in in-

1 Allen, (1975), p. 183.

2 King, (1976), p. 116.

creasing recreations.

Recreations and Space

With a view, to maintaining the moral discipline in the army, recreation was institutionalized in the urban space. The Protestant Church, the Sirhind Club, the library, the theatre, Masonic lodge, parks, race-course and golf-links were the settings provided for the purpose of recreation in Ambala Cantonment.³ These institutions were almost the replica of the ones popular in the 'home country' and constituted mainly the epitome of an industrial society representing British elite culture.⁴ Ambala Cantonment also had working class institutions such as the canteen, the barracks, temperance rooms, Presbyterian or Wesleyan Chapel. These were meant exclusively for the soldiers or 'other ranks' of the army.

Modes of Entertainment

The Colonial forms of entertainment can be largely divided into two forms: i) hierarchical and ii) non-hierarchical.

The Samurai class of the army consisted of the commissioned and other army officers. Sirhind Club represented an exclusive 'elite' segment. Its spatial limits isolated the 'Tommy'. Its indoor setting surrounded by huge lawns gave

3 History Lord Charity; Masonic lodge

4 King, (1976), p. 36.

it an idyllic and exclusive appearance. The festivities of the club included fancy dress competitions where the 'fair sex' participated with gusto. Bachelor dances, merry-suppers and at homes were important modes of social activity.⁵

Social activities in the club were marked by elaborate decoration, dance and music. The band of '13 pioneers' that entertained the officers was considered an asset for club life.⁶

For a commissioned officer, a wedding constituted an important social festivity. On such occasions the church provided an important setting. On 12 January 1914, Captain Wilford of 30th lancers was married to Rachel Sharpe daughter of Mr Sharpe, Baron's court. The bride was given away by her cousin Captain Gibbon, 4th King's own regiment.⁷ This was an occasion when the officers of various regiments could meet together and collectively celebrate. The married pair was later escorted by men of the bridegroom's squadron.

The soldier's exclusion from this hubbub of club life could become a threat to the authorities. While some forms of recreation emphasized the difference between the ranks of officers and soldiers, there were others which sought to bind the Europeans of different ranks together. Common participation of officers and soldiers in the theatrical

5 CMG (NMML), 24 January 1900, p. 5.

6 Ibid., 30 November 1900, p. 4; 25 December 1900, p. 5.

7 Ibid., 18 January 1914, p. 10.

performances was encouraged by the authorities in all possible ways.

A description of a specific theatrical performance is essential to understand the nature of such entertainments which is based on the study of the files of Civil and Military Gazette: Consider the play Burlesque Mazeppa performed in the Ambala Cantonment in 1890.⁸

The play attempted to sustain the interests of the public by focusing on several issues 'serious' and 'non-serious'. There was abduction, elopement, and passion symbolizing the power of manhood and romance. The hero was thrown in a strange land, thereby indicating the vicissitudes of life he was subjected to. The play ended with the victory of valour and the repression of vice. Such chivalrous experiences of the hero greatly appealed to the male-oriented audience. By highlighting the importance of beauty, clothes and dancing the play reportedly thrilled the 'sore eye of the soldier'.⁹ This does not in any way mean that the histrionic skills of the actors were not appreciated. In fact, the Civil and Military Gazette indicates that the parts played by various performers were not only scrutinized minutely by the audience but were widely 'encored' as well. So popular were these performances that the people of Ambala were reported to be perpetually 'asking for more'.¹⁰

8 CMG (NML), 8 February 1890, p. 5.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., 19 February 1915, p. 7.

Theatre thus was a popular mode of entertainment involving a wide participation of the armed forces. This was one form of recreation in which the hierarchical distinction within the army got blurred as both the officers and soldiers participated in the function as audience and performers. Despite the penchant for hierarchical order, encouragement to theatrical activities was given to remove the striking psychological and social tensions among soldiers.

These hierarchical and non-hierarchical modes of entertainment were exclusively European affairs. The 'natives' were not allowed to participate in them.¹¹

Spectator Sport

Other forms of non-hierarchical mode of entertainment were spectator sports like football, cricket, Polo and Gymkhana.¹² An important aspect of colonial sport was that individuals segregated by sex and social rank could interact and communicate without compromising their individual position in a rigid system of stratification.

Rewards were provided in the sporting events in order to encourage them. Racing at Ambala Cantonment was an important event. In 1914 this event was commemorated by an elaborate 'card of seven events'. Equal rewards were given for all the events: Rs. 500/- to the winner, Rs. 100/- to the

11 King, (1976), p. 173.

12 CMG (NMML), 25 November 1890, p. 3.

runners-up, and Rs. 50/- for the third place.¹³

By and large Indians were not allowed to participate in these events. But it is interesting to note the participation of some aristocratic Indians in the racing events. Prominent among them were Sardar Jeevan Singh and Thakur Rajender Singh of the Princely state of Patiala. Indian elites came to accept British sport culture as a mark of a new social status. Not only did the Indian aristocracy accept the colonial sport but they patronized it as well. In the boxing championship between the British regiments in 1914, the 1st Lancashire Fusilier was awarded trophies which were provided by the Maharaja of Patiala, Rajender Singh.¹⁴ It is to be noted that he invited the soldiers of Ambala garrison, their children and their mothers to a picnic following the Viceroy's visit.¹⁵ The Patiala woods were set apart for their recreation and sport. The cantonment authorities encouraged such jaunts organised by the Maharaja. When the Maharaja died, they lamented his death for he had patronized various types of entertainment.¹⁶

Colonial sports also brought the male and female sexes together. The arrangement of 'mixed foursome' aroused a great deal of interest in the game of golf among women.¹⁷

13 CMG (NMML), 2 January 1914, p. 8.

14 Ibid., 1 January 1914, p. 8.

15 Ibid., 4 September 1890, p. 3.

16 Ibid., 16 November 1900, p. 5.

17 Ibid., 12 December 1900, p. 5.

Sport was an occasion for social and cultural festivity. The races were usually inaugurated with a lavish tea and music, the band was played mostly by northern fusillers. In the final racing event, the 8th Hussars organized an at home . Cricket matches which were always in full swing in winter months at Ambala were cultural events. The matches were accompanied by bards and a large attendance of ladies.¹⁸

The army preferred specific forms of colonial sport. Football, polo, pigsticking, cricket and gymkhana were the most popular.¹⁹ Golf and boxing were not popular.²⁰

The above mentioned events, sports competitions, the plays, the ceremonial band, the rewards and applause contributed to fostering a sense of community. As a survivor puts it, "You never feel it again after you leave a regiment."²¹

Social life was not structured around 'spectator sports' alone. There were love affairs going on in every station declares, Frances Smyth.²² The general maxim was: "you must not be discovered". Such relations were established with the "wives of other regiments, but "to do so with a wife of your own regiment was much frowned upon," recalls Vere Birdwood. Festivities were vital for the imperial exe-

18 CMG (NMML) 12 December 1900, p. 5.

19 Ibid., 25 November 1890, p. 3.

20 Ibid., 6 March 1900, p. 5.

21 Allen, (1975), p. 183.

22 Ibid., pp. 182-83.

gencies. One Mrs Iggulden arranged entertainments and a skating competition in Ambala, in aid of the war fund in 1915.²³

My discussion has shown the significance of recreation in improving the 'moral tone', health and discipline of the army. The recreational activities developed a spirit of community within the army without diluting the sense of status or rank of the officials.

There is also another important point to be noted. These notions of colonial recreation differed sharply from the Indian notions of entertainment. In the former, recreational features were expressed through specialized buildings and spatial structures. In the specific context of cantonments they provided a visual commemoration of recreational institutions (photographs, p.146).

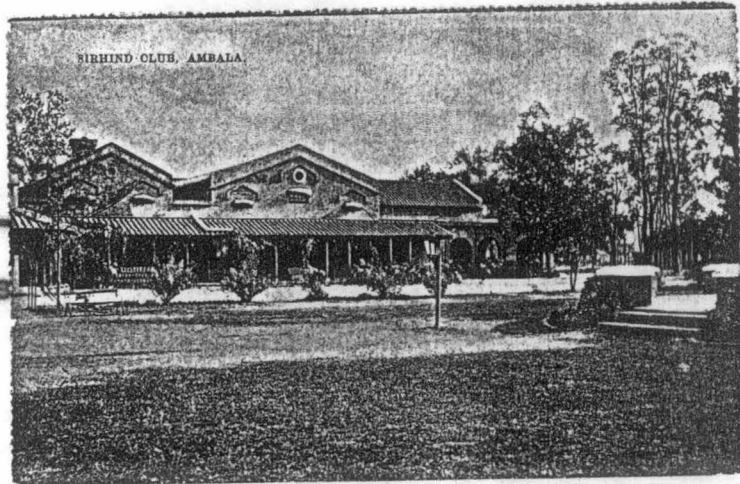
Within Indian social life, recreation is considered a largely kin-centred activity and is generally associated with certain festivals in the religious calendar.²⁴ Such a notion of entertainment does not manifest itself in specific urban forms. This differentiation is crucial to the understanding of colonial ideology of maintaining the superiority and exclusiveness of British culture and life. Within the colonial urban recreational institution, argues Chandavarkar, the mystique of colonial power was created through various

23 CMG (NMML), 19 February 1915, p. 7.

24 King, (1976), p. 45.

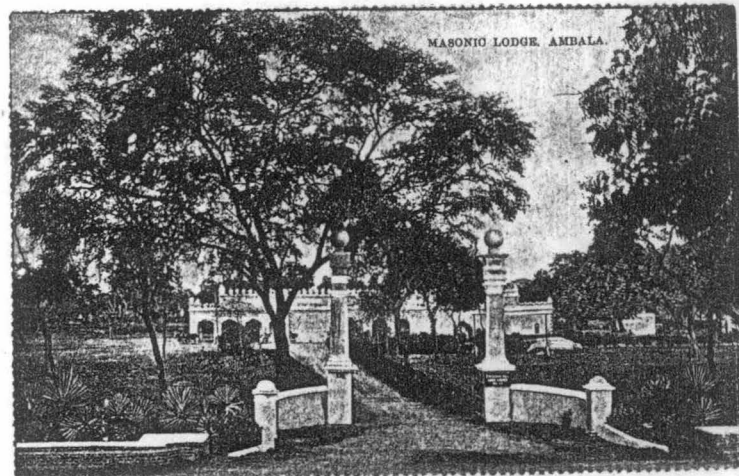
VISUAL COMMEMORATION OF COLONIAL RECREATION

The mystique
of the Raj was
created here
through domino
dances, regime-
ntal bands,
plumed feathers
and chota peg
.....



Sirhind Club.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early
twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).



The Grand Regalia of the Raj.

(Picture post card, Ambala Cantonment, early
twentieth century, Courtesy: M.M.S. Gupta).

rituals; the theatre, military parades, the regimental bands and the chota peg in the club, etc.²⁵ It was an exotic spectacle for the 'natives', an object of envy and desire. The spatial segregation of the cantonment from the 'native bazaar' helped in generating the aura of colonial elusiveness.

The colonial modes of entertainment were introduced for financial, political and social reasons. Imperial needs were sustained. Members of all ranks of sexes were given the opportunity to participate and celebrate these occasions. Frolic and fun filled, though temporarily, the vacuum, the British felt in an alien society situated far from their homeland. Entertainments, manifest in hierarchical and non-hierarchical forms, were vital for softening social tensions and maintaining the discipline within the army community. The army men in station responded to these occasions enthusiastically as an escape from the tedium of a long Indian evening.²⁶ The possibility of meeting women was an added incentive to participate in these festivities.

While recreational activities forged bonds within the British community in the cantonment, these activities emphasized the distance between the whites and the 'natives'. The cantonment authorities did not encourage Indian participation in these recreational events. The considerations of racial segregation weighed greatly with the cantonment officials.

25 Chandavarkar (1990), pp. 10-11.

26 Allen (1975), ch. 10; CMG (NMML), 19 February 1915, p. 7.

EPILOGUE

In this work, I have identified the circumstances leading to the formation of Ambala Cantonment. The primary considerations which weighed with the British authorities for creating Ambala Cantonment were strategic. The cantonment acted unquestionably as a fortress for the survival and security of British empire and it provided a model of 'orderly development' achieved through various colonial regulations. Ambala Cantonment assumed much importance in British eyes as it was on the way to Simla from Calcutta. It was here that Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, met Amir Shere Ali of Afghanistan on 27 March 1869 to forge an alliance.¹

I have seen the emergence of Ambala Cantonment in the context of demographic changes occurring in some of the important towns of Punjab. From an area where there was practically no habitation there grew and developed a full-fledged cantonment in the span of about forty-seven years (1843-1890). It has been shown in this study that the pattern of urbanization of the cantonment was different from Ambala town and the rest of Punjab towns during the period 1890 to 1931. I think it is reasonable to argue that the calculated official policy of discouraging commercial and industrial activity in the cantonment checked the inflow of migrants between 1921 and 1931 which contrasts sharply with the brisk and flourishing trading ventures in Ambala town (situated barely a few miles from the cantonment) where there was an increasing swell of population.

1 Chaplain Record Book No. 1, 1848-1875, p. 448.

The mobility of troops and their transfers, the colonial control exercised over the local population, the rise and functional role of Sadar bazaar in the life of the soldiers, and the striking demographic changes deeply altered the style of life in the cantonment.

While discussing the formation of the cantonment through the acquisition of eighteen villages I have shown how the cantonment authorities asserted their rights over this area through their official strategy. By 1920 they claimed ownership rights over these lands. This assertion of power meant a subordination of the rights of villagers. In this context I have shown the kind of relationship which subsisted between the cantonment authorities and villagers and the impact the cantonment had on these rural tracts.

Once the cantonment came up, the British devised various ways and means to plan and develop it according to their colonial notions, giving priority to their own military needs and their cultural preferences in the urban setting. I have highlighted the motivation behind these developments. Ambala Cantonment achieved an 'orderly' development through various regulations. I have shown in this study how the British relied on some institutions like the prison and church to order urban life, and to dominate and seek consent from the populace. The reactions of people towards these institutions defined the nature of conflict and tensions that persisted in the cantonment society.

There is as in all cantonments a vital link between the Sadar and the rest of the cantonment. Both are interconnected; the Sadar exists because of the cantonment and the cantonment subsists on the Sadar. Yet the authorities spatially and culturally segregated the Sadar from other areas. In my study I have described the relationship between the cantonment and the Sadar and its complex social ramifications.

Prostitution was one of the problems the British were socially concerned with. This has been discussed in detail in this study. Regarding prostitution and its medical and moral effects on the British soldiery, the military authorities found themselves in a real predicament, a jam which exasperated them. As is noticed in this work they shifted their ground from time to time due to the changing exigencies of the situation that confronted them.

I have suggested that behind the entire policy towards prostitution, it was the discipline and health of the soldier that mattered the most. While dealing with this aspect I have also discussed the varying responses of the prostitutes to different types of colonial control exercised by the authorities. Control over prostitutes was exercised through the institution of the hospital. Prostitution was a phenomenon which forged links between the Sadar and the cantonment area.

I have attempted to show how the cantonment authorities organised, designed and ordered urban space for carrying out

their colonial policies and making adjustments with the local populace in tune with their policies.

All was not drills, flags, salutation, khaki and barracks, in the cantonments. Cut off from their homes, the British soldiers, ready for any emergency call for duty, led mostly a lonely isolated life. For the soldiers the sense of exile, of doing one's duty with suffering, remained. This is expressed by an anonymous poet:²

The wheeling months go round
 And back I come again
 To the baked and blistered ground
 And the dust - encumbered plain
 And the bare hot - weather trees,
 And the Trunk Roads' aching while;
 Oh! land of little ease
 Oh! land of strange delight.

So there was a psychological need for the release of the pent - up tension of soldiers. I have shown in my last chapter that the authorities took various measures to provide entertainment to the soldiers. Their concern for entertaining the soldier was animated primarily by two considerations; a manifestation of their cultural superiority over the 'native' style of life; and secondly, a stratagem to prevent the soldier from being diseased, contaminated and brutalized by their association with prostitutes and other lower order of 'native' society. I have attempted to study the cultural activities stimulated by the British with the object of promoting a healthy life among the soldiers.

2 Quoted in Edwardes, (1967), p. 173.

This study seeks to delineate some vitally important aspects of life led in Ambala Cantonment. The use the British made of space in the construction of military barracks, bungalows, bazaars, particularly the Sadar, deepened the great divide between the British as ruling power and the 'natives'. In fact, Ambala Cantonment represented two distinct cultures, one 'native' and the other 'European'. There was a great distance between the two. A British military officer reclining in his easy chair and shouting for 'koihai' is characteristically a manifestation of superior air of the ruling power. The tidiness and trimness of spacious lanes and wide roads in cantonments contrasted with the narrow and tortuous lanes of the native area outside the cantonment space (see photographs p. 59). 'Few 'natives' were normally seen on the cantonment roads,' recalls Maulvi Hassinudin, the oldest Muslim of Ambala, 'but crowds jostled in the congested bazaar outside the cantonment and in Ambala town.'³ Living conditions of the 'natives' provided a great contrast to the conveniences enjoyed by the ruling authorities. This is not to deny that there were petty 'native' entrepreneurs in the cantonment, who while retaining their identity and fruits of labour derived the benefits of services they received from the cantonment.

The cultural identities and community feelings of the 'natives' were in many ways recognised by the cantonment

³ Oral History Interview, Maulvi Hassinnudin, Ambala Cantonment, November 1989.

authorities. As a result of this the Indian populace in the cantonment till about 1919, called themselves the 'the mulazims of the Raj'. They thus entertained and recognised the power and pride of the Raj. But the post-1919 period has a different story to tell.

GLOSSARY

- Abkari - Indian distillery.
- Ahmiyat - importance
- Anna - one sixteenth of a rupee.
- Bada din - great day, auspicious, Christmas.
- Bade log - big people, elite.
- Badmashi - mischief, naughtiness, notoriety.
- Bania - Hindu trader, often also a money-lender.
- Bazaar - a street occupied by shops: a collection of shops: often extended to the whole quarter in which the bazaar is situated, used in military parlance to signify also the body of traders and followers who accompany the regiment on the march, also a 'native' market.
- Bhai - brethern.
- Bigha - land measure standardised by the British at 5/8 of an acre.
- Biswadar - a coparcener, the term used in taluqdari estates used under British revenue law in North-West Provinces for a village sub-proprietor.
- Brahmins - highest caste among Hindus.
- Cantonment - military area of station.
- Chak - a separate parcel or tract of land.
- Chakla - the quarter in which the common class of prostitutes live: also applied to an enclosure occupied by them.
- Chamar - caste traditionally associated with tanning hides and menial labour tasks.
- Chandmari - shooting range.
- Charri - fodder.
- Chatties - small pitcher.
- Chotte log - small people.
- Chowdhury/
Chaudhri - headman of a community, petty chief.
- Chowk - an open place or wide street in the middle of a city where the market is held.

- Chowki - Police post.
- Chowkidar - watchman in town.
- Chuhrah - 'native' of untouchable caste who cleanses latrines.
- Civil lines - area of station inhabited by British civilians.
- Diggy - cess pool.
- Dhai - a nurse: a wet nurse: a mid-wife.
- Dhobis - washermen.
- Durrie - rough cotton rug.
- Gau-hata - cow shed.
- Ghairmumkin - impossible.
- Ghee - clarified butter.
- Ghurrab - large pitcher.
- Gora - white.
- Gora chakla - the quarters for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers.
- Gora Danda-walas - British Policemen.
- Gora Kamana - earning from a British soldier.
- Grain market - type of pulse or grain market.
- Gujar - Hindu caste of labourers and cattle keepers.
- Gwalas - milkmen.
- Ghosi - a menial.
- Gymkhana - sports ground; sports meeting.
- Hakim - a lord, master.
- Hartal - cessation of work.
- Haveli - Indian form of bungalow with courtyards and stairways.
- Holi - Hindu fertility festival, celebrated in spring.

Id	- major Muslim festival.
Inam	- grant of land held rent or revenue free, reward.
Izzat	- honour.
Jagirdar	- the holder of a jagir. Jagir is the assignment to a person of the state revenue due from a specified area or estate.
Jallad	- butcher.
Jat	- agricultural caste.
Kabari	- one who sells old and broken articles.
Kahar	- palanquin bearers.
Kala	- black.
Kanchan	- pimp.
Kasai	- butcher.
Kaum	- nation, community.
Kazi	- Muslim judicial official administering towns according to Sharia law.
Khaasiyat	- importance.
Khalsa	- lands held immediately of government, not alienated in jagir or inam, and paying land revenue to the state.
Khangis	- clandestine prostitutes.
Kumhar	- potter.
Koi hai	- used when calling servants, (lit. is anyone there?).
Kori	- a Hindu market gardener class.
Kotha	- a prostitute's quarter, usually in upper storey.
Kotwal	- chief police officer of town or city.
Kutchra	- rough (mud) as against brick.
Lakhraj	- holders of rent free land.
Lalkurti Bazaar	- market for the British Infantry Regiment.

- Lambardar - one who has a number on the revenue roll, a person who pays land revenue on behalf of a number of small proprietors. One of a number of village headmen.
- Log - people, thus sahib log - Europeans.
- Ma-bap - mother and father, honorific form of address.
- Mahaldarani - the headwoman of a brothel.
- Mali - gardener.
- Malikana - rent.
- Mandi - regular market.
- Mandir - temple.
- Masjid - mosque.
- Masti - ecstasy.
- Maulvi - a Muslim scholar or divine.
- Maund - Indian form of the name of a weight which is 40 sers.
- Mazar - grave mostly of a prominent person.
- Memsahib - lady, here English lady.
- Mochi Mandi - Cobbler's market.
- Muhalla - urban residential neighbourhood; a ward or quarter of a town.
- Moharram - a Mohammedan festival.
- Muafi - land exempted from revenue demands on grounds of service or pious donation.
- Muafidars - rent free land holders.
- Mulazim - those subjects who considered themselves to be loyal servants of the Raj and were proud of their identity.
- Pachotra - 5 percent of the net share of the produce for the punch.
- Paisa - small coin.
- Pan - betel.
- Pansari - a grocer.
- Parvarish - tutelage, protection.

- Parwana - certificate.
- Pattidar - one who holds lands on which the payment of the revenue demand is apportioned by the propriety kin group in accordance with ancestral shares.
- Patwari - village official.
- Peshtar - inspection.
- Poolau - rice delicacy cooked with vegetables or meat.
- Poorbias - people from eastern U.P.
- Fucca - brick as against mud, tarred road.
- Punch - rent collectors and agents who were rewarded for their services by the Sikh chiefs.
- Punkha - fan, probably one suspended from ceiling and pulled by a 'punkha-wallah'.
- Purdah nashin - seclusion, expected particularly of Muslim women.
- Qasbah - country town, seat of subordinate revenue administration.
- Raj - kingdom, used chiefly to denote British rule in India from 1858 to 1947.
- Rajput - Hindu military and landholding caste of northern India.
- Randi - common class of prostitutes.
- Raunak - a celebration.
- Razinama - agreement.
- Robkars - order.
- Roshandan - ventilator.
- Rupee - standard Indian coinage.
- Ryot - cultivator or farmer.
- Sadar - headquarters, a leading or chief bazaar, principal.
- Samaan - honour.

Sardar	- local chieftain.
Sathari	- 1/16 deduction from the hakim's share for the zamindar.
Serai	- inn, frequented by Indian travellers.
Shamshan bhoomi	- cremation ground.
Sharab	- liquor.
Shikar	- sport, shooting and hunting.
Seraf	- gold or silver merchant, money changer loosely applied to Hindu traders.
Sirkar	- government.
Tamasha	- entertainment, spectacle.
Tawaif	- courtesan.
Tehzib	- culture.
Thela	- cart.
Tommy	- a British soldier.
Urs	- celebration of the death anniversary of a saint.
Verandah	- open gallery around bungalow.
Waqf	- grant of land for religious or charitable purposes.
Zabti	- rent.
Zamindar	- landowner, a person under British law recognised as possessing the proprietary right.

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