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# Difference of Opinion between the Lawrence Brothers regarding the Policy towards Landlords in Colonial Punjab

\_\_\_\_\_ Muhammad Abrar Zahoor  
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Punjab was the last province annexed by the British East India Company in colonial India. The East India Company officials had almost a century of ruling experience in Indian subcontinent by that time and various models of 'land settlement' and 'revenue collection' had been implemented by them in different regions before the annexation of Punjab in 1849. Punjab not only held a unique position regarding the time of its annexation, it comprised vast tracts of virgin arable land, continuously flowing rivers for availability of water, strategic location bordering with Afghanistan and Russia and a turbulent population who had fiercely fought many battles with the British before the final victory and announcement of the Punjab's annexation to the British Indian Empire. Resultantly, the then Governor General of East India Company Lord Dalhousie—Governor General of India (1848-1856)—devised a mechanism of administration which was despotic and personal. A three members Board of Administration was established: Henry Lawrence (b. 1806-d. 1857) as its President, John Lawrence (b. 1811-d. 1879) as junior member responsible for financial administration and Charles Mansell as senior member responsible for criminal justice system. As to the treatment with landlords of the Punjab and their future role in the Punjab and India, the Lawrence brothers developed severe difference of opinion between themselves. While Sir Henry Lawrence envisioned an embedded role for the landed aristocracy in administration and governance of the Punjab, John Lawrence wanted landlords to be dispossessed of their Sikh rule privileges and no active socio-political role in future. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, already not happy with

Henry Lawrence for his favorable attitude to local notables and landlords, sided with the younger brother John Lawrence and wanted him to prevail in this controversy regarding the way Punjab was to be governed. The vision of John Lawrence was yet to be completely implemented when War of Independence broke out in 1857. It was due to the massive uprising of 1857 that landlords of the Punjab succeeded in maintaining their privileges and role in administration because the British government—directly controlling affairs of India after India Act of 1858—revised its policy and decided to co-opt landlords in administration. This paper investigates into this controversy between the Lawrence brothers and its impact on the administration of the colonial Punjab.

### Lawrence Brothers and the Making of the Punjab Board of Administration

Having repeatedly fought wars against Sikhs, the British were able to subdue the Sikhs and establish their rule in the Punjab territories. Although the Punjab was weakened due to internecine mutual rivalries of Sikh chieftains after the death of Raja Ranjit Singh in 1839, the final blow were the first Anglo-Sikh war and Lahore Declaration in 1846 after which a council of regency was established under the control of a British resident at Lahore.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed as British Resident in the Punjab. The last revolt of Sikhs was under Mal Raj in 1848 when the British ordered him to resign on the charges of mismanagement and his refusal in this regards instigated differences between the Sikhs and East India Company which culminated into a full war. After this “the British assumed full control of the Punjab and the annexation was proclaimed on 29 March, 1849.”<sup>2</sup> At the time Punjab was annexed by the British it had a population of around 20 million and covered an area of 466321.24 sq. kilometers. The territory which came under direct British administration was 81,000 sq. miles with a population of 13 million while the remaining area and population consisted of princely states.<sup>3</sup> Governor General Lord Dalhousie, to look after the affairs of the Punjab, appointed a Board of Administration consisting of three members—the two Lawrence brothers (Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence) and Charles Mansell.<sup>4</sup>

Some administrative changes were brought about in 1853 when Board of Administration was abolished and the province was given to a Chief Commissioner: John Lawrence being the first Chief Commissioner of Punjab. He acted not only as the chief executive of the Punjab but also as the commander of the Punjab Frontier Force. It was “in 1859” that “the Punjab rose to the full rank of an Indian province” and John Lawrence became its first Lieutenant Governor.<sup>5</sup> The Punjab, last

province annexed by the British in India, had a form of government which was “military in form and spirit”.<sup>6</sup> This was a unique form of administration that gave priority to dynamic administrative flexibility over “rigid adherence to legislative regulations.”<sup>7</sup> Punjab came to be governed as “non-regulation” province with its own unique style of governance which became “the basis of paternalistic despotism that was to characterize the famed Punjab school of administration.”<sup>8</sup> Such an administrative system was based on the principle of combination of powers. Every tier of this administration from the Board of Administration to a kardar was vested with fiscal, magisterial and judicial powers.

This system of administration devised to work under the Board of Administration met many requirements. First, it was in consonance with the indigenous institutions and tribal norms. Secondly, it could provide ready and speedy justice without getting meddled into the formalities of regular courts of law. Thirdly, it could meet the exigencies of a strong administrative structure in a freshly conquered and outlying frontier region like Punjab because the British had a serious threat perception from its north-western side. According to the analysis of Tan Tai Yong, “by the late nineteenth century, with the north-west of India regaining strategic significance following the onset of Great Game, the Punjab became, to all intents and purposes, the garrison province of the Raj.”<sup>9</sup>

The idea of forming a Board of Administration for the governance of Punjab was of Lord Dalhousie. While writing about the Board of administration of Punjab, the Governor General Lord Dalhousie wrote in detail to the President of Board of Control of East India Company Sir John Hobhouse on 30th July, 1849:

I need not remind you of the peculiar position which Sir Henry Lawrence held. The place at the head of affairs in the Punjab kept open for him by the suggestion of the Government of India, and I personally pledged to replace him, he resumed the head of affairs in February, 1849. I told him that if, opposed as I knew he was to the new policy, he felt he could not carry it into execution as frankly and efficiently as the other, I expected of his candour and honour that he would say so. He said he would do so cordially. Having so lately and under such peculiar circumstances replaced him as head of the Government there I could not turn him out, if he was willing to act. Thus I was tied to Sir Henry Lawrence. But Sir Henry Lawrence was not competent to the sole charge of the Punjab: to the civil government of it. It was indispensable to give him a coadjutor. There was no man who had so strong a claim to that office; as man fitter for it; no man more likely to get on well with his brother in it than John Lawrence. But it would not have done to make a family compact: and it was necessary to provide against difference of opinion. Therefore I put in a third, Mr. Mansel.<sup>10</sup> Lord Dalhousie explains in this letter to President Board of Control of East India Company that Sir Henry Lawrence’s involvement in the governance of

Punjab was inevitable because of his peculiar position as Resident at Lahore. Secondly, Dalhousie stated that Henry Lawrence would personally detest any harsh policy towards landlords in the Punjab because he favored their role as collaborators of the Raj. Thirdly, if entrusted to the Henry brothers, the Punjab administration would have been relegated as a family affair. Resultantly, Charles Mansell was appointed as third member who could facilitate decisions where there would have been a deadlock.

### Lawrence Brothers and the British Indian Empire

Henry Montgomery Lawrence was born at Matwa, Ceylon, on 28 June, 1806.<sup>11</sup> He was the fifth child, having been preceded by George Tomkins (who died at age three), Letitia, Alexander, and George St. Patrick. When he was two years old, the family moved back to England. Honoria and James (the latter of whom died at eighteen) arrived, and on 4 March 1811, John Laird Mair (John Lawrence) was born in Richmond, Yorkshire. After him would come Mary Ann, Charlotte, Marcia and Richard.<sup>12</sup> Both Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence were initially educated at Foyle College, Ireland.

Sir Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence occupied a very special place in the service of British rule in India. This uniqueness was due to their family sacrifices and services for the British Empire in India. Their family affair with India lasted longer than any other British family involved in the service of British Indian Empire. Their father, Alexander Lawrence would have his five sons in India in the 1840s—George, Henry, John, Alexander Jr. and Richard. Except for the exception of years 1810 to 1821, these two generations of Lawrences served in India from 1792 until 1858—from Cornwallis to Canning—and, after the brief interlude of Lord Elgin, finished up with the viceroyalty of John, from 1864 to 1869.<sup>13</sup> The Lawrence brothers, of whom Henry and John earned much name and respect, served Empire at the levels of policy making and implementation. These five brothers, by serving the empire in India, wrote a lasting lesson of sacrifice in the history of British Indian Empire. It was a period of sacrifices by the administrators because the conditions in India were very tough for the British who belonged to an entirely different climate and environment. On the other hands, gains were also of enormous proportions as compared to any career options available for them back in home country.

Lawrence brothers were inspired by ‘generation of Wellesley inspired men’ who became heroes of Henry and John Lawrence—Thomas Munro (1761-1827), John Malcolm (1769-1833), Charles Metcalfe (1785-1846), and Mount Stuart Elphinstone (1778-1859)—because they envisioned a policy that was to nurture native institutions and officials whenever and wherever possible, settle the land

revenue at a reasonable rate, allow native *jagirdars* to retain their estates, and in general, by promoting stable government and a measure of security, to maintain what they perceived as an often tenuous and insecure British hegemony.<sup>14</sup> For his reforms in the Punjab including the abolition of internal duties, introduction of common currency and extensive postal system and development of vast infrastructure in the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence earned the title of “the Saviour of the Punjab.”

The Lawrences arrived in India two years after Lord William Bentinck had launched his administration (1828-1835), and instituted what was later characterized as the Age of Reform in British India. For contemporaries, these reforms were primarily economic, consisting in large part of a period of financial retrenchment to retrieve the company’s losses during the previous period of expansion, which included the burden of annexation of Burma, in which Henry had played his role as a subaltern man. Bentinck, sympathetic with evangelical Christianity, was also very much a utilitarian, convinced that good laws and good government would bring moral uplift and prosperity to India. He believed that landlords should be eliminated whenever possible in favour of village cultivators, and encouraged men such as Robert Bird and James Thomason in their surveying and revenue settlement work in the North West Provinces. Bentinck supported the beginning of the codification of civil and criminal law, the supremacy of English medium education, and, whenever money could be extracted from the depressed economy of the 1830s, began to build roads and canals. For all his reforming zeal, Bentinck remained a gradualist in his approach to change and maintained a deep sense of vulnerability of Britain’s hold on India, as Malcolm and Munro had done before him. Both Lawrences found such ideals and attitudes congenial and both began their apprenticeship years in the North West Provinces which in the 1830s had acquired a reputation as being the spearhead of reform in utilitarian India.

## Genesis and Growth of Controversy between Lawrence Brothers

The Governor General Lord Dalhousie wrote to the President, Board of Directors of East India Company on 22 September, 1849 in the words that explain his perception about the personality of Henry Lawrence and importance of the Board of Administration: Sir Henry Lawrence, while he is, I believe as honest as any man can be, is still, as I told you before, unconsciously perhaps, a Sikh. Aware of this, I required, when I found that he was really prepared to work a policy which he detested, that every measure but those of the merest detail should have my sanction, before anything whatever was done upon it by the Board. Such a thing or colleagues was most unpalatable to Sir Henry Lawrence; the subordination in which the Board

collectively was to stand was still more distasteful to him. I have mentioned to you from time to time that this feeling made itself very evident on Sir Henry Lawrence's part—to others much more than to me of course—and that I was obliged in consequence to pull him up sharp on several occasions. His personal predilections therefore in favour of the Sikhs and their system had little play with me. It had still left in consequence of the counteracting influence of his colleagues; John Lawrence being much less of a Sikh than Sir Henry, and Mr. Mansell not at all so.<sup>15</sup>

While Henry Lawrence was in favor of reconciliation with the Sikhs and he pursued this policy as a resident, he recommended this policy of reconciliation for future of the Punjab too. His brother John Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie were “hostile towards the Sikhs” and they prevailed over Henry regarding their policy towards the natives. This ‘council of three’ succeeded rapidly in establishing a very efficient administrative set up and undertook large scale projects of irrigation which were to turn Punjab into a granary of India. Punjab also served as a base during revolt of 1857 to re-conquest and reestablish British rule over North India. By the second half of nineteenth century “following the extraordinary events of 1857, the Punjab became the popularly acclaimed ‘sword arm of the Raj,’ maintaining an intimate association with the military by serving as the principal recruiting ground of the Indian Army for more than half a century.”<sup>16</sup> The Punjab’s “contribution of military manpower to the colonial armed forces during this period was unmatched by any other province in colonial India.”<sup>17</sup> In “October 1901 the Curzon government cut off all the territory to the west of Indus from the Punjab” and constituted a separate province called North Western Frontier Province to be administered by a Lieutenant Governor.<sup>18</sup> On 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1901, the districts in the North-West Frontier were separated to form a state comprising chiefly the territory which lay west of the river Indus. In addition to 34 princely states, the Punjab province, from then on, was left with 27 districts which were divided into five commissionerships i.e., Delhi, Jullundur, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan.<sup>19</sup>

Though Henry Lawrence was personally not in favor of the government’s policy of the annexation of the Punjab and it was distasteful for him to work in a Board under the supervision of Governor General yet he was appointed President of the Board of Administration for two reasons. First, “he assured the Government that he would be prepared as an honest civil servant to execute, ‘zealously and with singleness of purpose’, the policy of the government”.<sup>20</sup> Second, “his ability, his energy and his zeal were unquestioned”.<sup>21</sup> Having served as resident in Lahore, Henry Lawrence had developed a “degree of local and national acquaintance with the people in the Punjab” which, in fact, entitled him to be appointed as the head of the Government.<sup>22</sup> He was a brave man and could take initiatives; he had in fact proved himself by serving Empire for a long period before being appointed as member of Punjab Board of Administration.

The Punjab had to be ruled with more dexterity and “in a manner that avoided the mistakes committed by the British in lands occupied in a more innocent time”.<sup>23</sup> The British had three tasks to accomplish in Punjab. First task of the colonial power was “to stabilize the society by restoring law and order”.<sup>24</sup> Second task was to “reform land institutions and revenue system” in such a manner that in addition to the procurement of necessary funds for regular administration, a loyal class of land lords may be created.<sup>25</sup> Third task was to “increase production for which the demand had been increasing outside the country”.<sup>26</sup> To accomplish the aforementioned tasks, the British administration poured some “three million pounds”, from 1849-1856, for the project of modernization in Punjab and to repair and improve infrastructure.<sup>27</sup> A hierarchy of commissioners was introduced, a disarmament drive was launched and endeavors were made to restore law and order throughout the Punjab.<sup>28</sup> Whole province was transformed in the sense that “the scale of capital invested on building a military infrastructure in the province was not replicated elsewhere in colonial India; in the 1880s the Government of India poured billions of rupees into the Punjab for the building of strategic railways, roads and cantonment towns.”<sup>29</sup>

In the middle of these changes, a serious dispute arose between the Lawrence brothers and this dispute ended only with the intervention of Lord Dalhousie. The difference of opinion was regarding the role and status of the local notables, chieftains, and the *zamindars* that had supported the British against the Sikhs. According to S. S. Thorburn, Henry Lawrence’s methods in establishing orderly rule based on justice between man and man differed widely from those followed by his brother John Lawrence.... John formulated commandments, each beginning “thou shalt” or “thou shalt not”, and like any angry Jove, launched his thunderbolt on all who disobeyed. Henry, always gentle and considerate, sought to gain his ends by working through his Council of Eight, rewarding the good, showing patience with the obstructive, and shutting his eyes to much that was evil.<sup>30</sup>

Henry, the elder brother, thought that grants, *jagirs* and pensions should be given to the locals on permanent basis and “commissioners should work in tandem with native elite”.<sup>31</sup> John, on the other hand, argued that it was not the intention of the British to share power with the local chieftain class and it was still less of their intention to alienate state revenues in preservation of a non-governing chieftain class.<sup>32</sup> An assessment was made and comparison was drawn whether Government was to spend more by governing directly or through the chieftains. Although apparently it seemed that government would have to spend huge money to administer the Punjab directly. However, assessment made it clear that paying chieftains would be more burdensome for the administration in economic terms. Dalhousie sided with John Lawrence and approved a policy that would “result, in

three generations, in the resumption of nearly nine-tenths of the revenue from *jagirs* 'claimed by these loyal chieftains in 1849.'"<sup>33</sup>

The post-1857 policy, within British India, to cultivate local elites and incorporate them into the power spectrum of Raj was a significant departure from the period of Company rule. Before the 1857 revolt, John Lawrence regarded the native notables and chieftains as "parasites whose revenue assignments should be gradually resumed by the state".<sup>34</sup> Quite contrarily, Henry Lawrence saw the local nobility as powerful allies of the British who, given chance, "would help establish British rule more securely than any number of grasping peasant proprietors."<sup>35</sup> When the Bengal army revolted in 1857, the British had to turn to the native chieftains and notables of the Punjab for help. Thus many landlords were granted revenue assignments and in some cases power to decide criminal cases. More importantly, after 1857, "the annual value of jagirs granted in perpetuity rose by nearly nine-tenths and the law of primogeniture was introduced to keep them intact."<sup>36</sup> John Lawrence, who once was in favor of doom for the chieftains, personally "presided over two imperial durbars at which the new alliance between the British and the chieftains was publically and symbolically affirmed."<sup>37</sup> Moreover, on demand of the local chiefs, foundations of a College—Aitchison College— was laid to impart education and manners of the British to their children. Thus, the British had to abandon the fiercely pursued policies of John Lawrence and Dalhousie in favor of the policy of which Henry Lawrence was earlier advocate.

While addressing the Foyle College (where Henry and John Lawrence were educated) Old Boys Association in 1957, Lord Radcliffe paid glowing tribute to the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. He pointed out the controversy and said that, "he and John came into bitter conflict over the treatment of the dispossessed Sikh leaders and land holders and those far-reaching social questions which always lay behind the administration of revenue in the Indian provinces, nevertheless there was much more that they shared in their common passion to bring peace and justice to these new, distracted and violent subjects of the British Raj."<sup>38</sup> Moreover he said that "Above all, he thought it the duty of the dominant power to look at all Indian questions from the point of view of Indians and, as a consequence, to open to Indians the higher ranges of promotion both in the Army and in the Civil Service."<sup>39</sup>

While paying glowing tribute to Sir Henry Lawrence, Radcliffe stated that "To him [Henry Lawrence] therefore honest administration of our empire, the right use of power, was founded on two things: a real understanding of native institutions and a sympathetic and considerate resolve to respect as much of them as did not conflict with the essential requirements of justice and human dignity."<sup>40</sup> Henry Lawrence always insisted on the point that the British government should pay utmost attention



to the welfare of the Indian population. He was intimately attached to the customs and lifestyle of the Punjabi people and had developed liking for the local customs, cuisine and mannerism. However, at the same time he was an ardent, committed and brave administrator of the British Empire in India. He not only served the Empire for a long time but gave his life to it and died while fighting against the mutineers during the events of war of independence of 1857.

Henry Lawrence “fought against the policy of annexing native States, whether in the Punjab or in Oudh, because he thought that it was an abuse of our power to overthrow established thrones and their dependents in the name of the better government that we could bring.”<sup>41</sup> He was convinced on the point that “we could do our work as counsellors, as trustees and receivers of revenue, but we had no right to press forward to sovereignty itself.”<sup>42</sup> Such ideas were not welcome to the Governor General of the day, Lord Dalhousie, and Radcliffe opined that “I do not know that they were ever much acceptable to British Viceroys or the Parliament at Westminster. There were those on the Board of the East India Company who were ready to support them: but then by this date the Company was on its way out of any responsibility for Indian affairs, set aside as belonging to the bad old days of selfishness and corruption.”<sup>43</sup>

He remained as President of the Punjab Board of Administration until “his mounting differences of policy with John made the work of both of them impossible and Henry was removed by Dalhousie and sent as Agent to Rajputana.”<sup>44</sup> The testimony of various documents lays bare the fact that while working together in the Board, Lawrence brothers had developed a serious difference of opinion on the policy of future governance of the Punjab and it ultimately led to the dissolution of Board. With the intervention of Lord Dalhousie, Henry Lawrence was sent to Rajputana as agent of the British government while John Lawrence was elevated to the position of Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

Henry Lawrence himself was not to remain for many years at the head of the Punjab administration. He had “never enjoyed the confidence of Lord Dalhousie, and when the differences of policy and outlook which divided the Lawrence brothers became so acute as to threaten the usefulness of both,” Dalhousie chose the younger brother for administration of the Punjab because he concurred with his views and Henry was transferred to the dignified but unimportant post of Political Agent for Rajputana.<sup>45</sup> He served in this position for a brief period of time and then was given the position of a Chief Commissioner of Oudh. While stationed in Lucknow, he had to move to Delhi and adjoining areas to serve as defender of Empire during the Indian War of Independence of 1857.

Henry Lawrence was a man of perseverance and courage, the qualities that many colonial administrators of Victorian era shared. He was dedicated to his objective of the service of Empire and people of colonial India. While writing a letter to his wife in England, Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Edwardes C. B. wrote that “Dear Sir Henry is evidently happy in this new appointment. He says so, and looks so. By as much as he felt injured and depressed by Lord Dalhousie’s removal of him from Lahore, by exactly so much does he go up again now that Lord Canning has taken off the weight, and conferred exactly the same charge on him that John has got.”<sup>46</sup> According to these letters, Henry was happy to serve people of India in his new capacity as Chief Commissioner of the province of Oudh. He was satisfied that he was serving the people of India in his new assignment.

There are three letters, dated 1857, of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence (1806-57), including one, dated 26 February, to Sir Herbert Edwardes on his motives for accepting the post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh and “his past bitterness at his treatment by his brother John, Lord Dalhousie and Others”; and one to Charles Raikes on his position at Lucknow written on 30 May.<sup>47</sup> Henry Lawrence remained part of initial administrative mechanism devised by Dalhousie and he served for short period yet “Henry had left upon the great new province the stamp of his own pattern which lasted as long as the Punjab was a province of British India. Even John adapted himself to it once he was left in sole control.”<sup>48</sup> This comment of Lord Radcliffe is a befitting tribute and bears testimony to the humane and longer-lasting vision of Henry Lawrence. His contribution to the Empire and Punjab is indelible imprint indeed. This was how he left his mark and influenced the policy regarding the governance of Punjab.

## Conclusion

Punjab was one of the last major regions to have become part of British Indian Empire. The British rule in Punjab was expected to usher in an era of Pax Britannica the hallmark of which would be demilitarization and paternalistic civilian administration which would lay the foundations of extensive and rapid economic growth and development in the newly-annexed province. The government was able to achieve spectacular economic development during the second half of nineteenth century. This became possible through canal irrigation system coupled with settlement of agricultural castes in the canal colonies. On the other hand as far as the British plan of permanent demilitarization of the Punjab was concerned, they were less successful. This was due to the exigencies of a mutiny in the Bengal Army and a popular revolt in north India popularly known as the war of independence. The British had to rearm Punjab to supply soldiers to get control of these revolts. John

Lawrence's efforts to limit the power of local elite brought him in conflict with his brother Henry Lawrence and ultimately abolition of Board of Administration.

Henry Lawrence was ousted from the Punjab Board of Administration and was transferred to Rajputana as British resident. It was a tryst of history that John Lawrence had to adopt the same policy towards landlords which was favored by Henry Lawrence earlier and due to which differences arose between these two brothers. The British Parliament took over the control of Indian affairs and the role of East India Company was relegated altogether. The proclamation of Queen declared unequivocally that no further territorial acquisitions be made in India and that the traditional privileges of princes of princely states be secured. The initial policy of annexations of states on one pretext or the other was halted permanently. The role of Punjabi landlords was recognized by conferring various titles on them by the Imperial Darbaars held in Lahore.

Sir Henry Lawrence is, however, criticized for aiding missionary efforts at Lahore. A Church Mission Association was established in 1852 under the Presidency of Sir Henry Lawrence, then President of the Punjab Board of Administration. There use to be inhibitions in opening mission stations during the time of British East India Company. However, after the events of 1857-58 and subsequent British victory these inhibitions were removed and church activities expanded at unprecedented pace. The network of Church expanded so much that "by the 1880s virtually the whole province extending from Rawalpindi in the west to Delhi in the east was covered with mission establishments."<sup>49</sup> Some scholars argue that the trend established by Henry Lawrence continued after he left Punjab Administration and his successors and leading Punjab administrators—John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery and Donald Mcleod— did not see much difference between British rule and evangelism. A Punjab Missionary Conference was held at Lahore in 1862. Donald Mcleod who was President of the conference was soon appointed as Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. The government officials use to intermingle and socialize with missionaries in a way that attracted criticism of the indigenous religious communities threatened by the conversion efforts of these missionaries.

## Notes and References

<sup>1</sup> British resident was Henry Lawrence who settled in Lahore “was in charge of controlling the administration with a view to ensuring that the indemnity owed to the Company would be duly settled”. See Claude Markovitz, *A History of Modern India 1480-1950* (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 275.

<sup>2</sup> For details see, Azizuddin Ahmad, *Punjab aur Bairuni Hamla Awar* (Lahore: Maktaba Fikr-o-Daanish, 1990), 134-135. Also see, S. Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-47* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1992), 2.

<sup>3</sup> The colonial Punjab, after annexation, included the present day Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and the North-West Frontier Districts. *Census, Punjab Report, 1901*, 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> B. B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India 1834-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 290-296. Board of Administration consisted of three commissioners with Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence as its President and his brother John Lawrence and Charles Mansell as its members. Mansell was senior member responsible for criminal justice system and John Lawrence as junior member was responsible for financial administration.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Nina Puri, *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 2005), 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>10</sup> India Office Records (IOR) and Private Papers renamed in British Library as Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC), MSS. EUR. F. 213/24. Hereafter it will be quoted as OIOC.

<sup>11</sup> Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Munro was a junior Captain at Seringapatam who rose to become Governor of Madras. John Malcolm was the first Resident of Mysore and became Governor of Bombay. Charles Metcalfe was sent to India in 1801, at the age of 16, graduated from the first class at Fort William and became Resident and Commissioner of Delhi at the age of 18. Mountstuart Elphinstone was a classical scholar, historian, and diplomat: he administered the Maratha territories from Poona.

<sup>15</sup> OIOC, MSS. EUR. F. 213/24.

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<sup>16</sup> Yong, *The Garrison State*, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab 1921-47*, 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Vol. XX*, 280.

<sup>20</sup> B. B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India 1834-1947* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 291.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ilhan Niaz, *An Inquiry into the Culture of Power of Subcontinent* (Islamabad: Alhamra Publishers, 2006), 186.

<sup>24</sup> Hirashima Shigemochi, *The Structure of Disparity in Developing Agriculture: A Case Study of the Pakistan Punjab* (Tokyo: East West Publications, 1978), 12.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Niaz, *An Inquiry into the Culture of Power of Subcontinent*, 186.

<sup>28</sup> The task of reconstructing the government machinery in all its details was also entrusted to Sir Henry Lawrence. The Government of India indicated the broad outlines of the administrative structure. The hierarchy consisted of a President of the Board of Administration on top followed by Commissioners at the divisional headquarters and the Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners and Extra Assistant Commissioners in the districts. For detail see B. B. Misra, *The Administrative History of India 1834-1947* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 290-296.

<sup>29</sup> Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947*, 20.

<sup>30</sup> S. S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War* (New Delhi: Nirmal Publishers, 1986), 84.

<sup>31</sup> Niaz, *An Inquiry into the Culture of Power of Subcontinent*, 187.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Niaz, *An Inquiry into the Culture of Power of Subcontinent*, 187.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 200.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Lord Radcliffe, G. B. E., *Sir Henry Lawrence* (Londonderry: Foyle College Old Boys Association, 1957), 11-12.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 10

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 10

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>46</sup> Letter From Lieut. Col. Herbert Edwardes, C. B. to Mrs. Herbert Edwardes, in England, Lucknow, 4 April, 1857. in Sheo Bahadur Singh (ed.), *Letters of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence* (New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1978), 2.

<sup>47</sup> OIOC, MSS. EUR. C. 412.

<sup>48</sup> Radcliffe, G. B. E., *Sir Henry Lawrence*, 13.

<sup>49</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 218.